ASPECTS OF YORKSHIRE EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA,
1760 - 1880.

Four Volumes.

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SUMMARY

The following thesis investigates the emigration of Yorkshiremen and women to North America between 1760 and the latter years of the nineteenth century, a period which witnessed great changes in agricultural and industrial organisation and development on both sides of the Atlantic.

Several major aspects of such emigration have been chosen so as to include a geographical and occupational cross-section of the former three Ridings of the county. The aspects considered are:

(a) Part 1: Yorkshire rural emigration, primarily to Nova Scotia, in the years leading up to the American Revolution; also, secondarily, Yorkshire emigration to New York, Philadelphia and the Plantations, with some reference to the transportation of Yorkshire felons;

(b) Part 2: the Yorkshire ports of emigration, especially Hull, 1815-60; and the role of these in rural emigration from East Yorkshire and north Lincolnshire;

(c) Part 3: the temporary or permanent emigration of Yorkshire wool merchants, manufacturers and cloth traders to the American Atlantic seaboard, 1760-c.1880; the emigration of Yorkshire wool manufacturers, craftsmen, weavers, spinners, woolcombers and operatives at various times during the same period; domestic absconders from the West Yorkshire textile area in the 1830's to 1850's; and the American centres - New England, New York and New Jersey, Philadelphia and Pennsylvania - of Yorkshire textile immigration;

(d) Part 4: the temporary or permanent emigration of Yorkshire hardware and cutlery merchants, manufacturers and traders, 1760-1880; the emigration of Yorkshire hardware and cutlery manufacturers, craftsmen and operatives at various times during the same period; and the American centres - New England, especially Connecticut, New York and New Jersey, Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania - of Yorkshire steel, hardware and cutlery immigration;

(e) Part 5: nineteenth-century emigration from the North Yorkshire lead mining industry to the Upper Mississippi lead region of Iowa, Illinois and Wisconsin.

The following themes are to be found throughout the study: the causes of, and motives for specific regional, local and occupational emigration from Yorkshire; the modes of emigration; the impact made by Yorkshire emigrants upon North American industry, commerce and agriculture; and the adaptation of these emigrants to their new environment.
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<td>J.R.S.S.</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Statistical Society</td>
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INTRODUCTION

The emigration of ethnic, national, minority, religious, agricultural and industrial groups from Europe has attracted detailed research. In particular, the study of British emigration to North America is a well trodden path, and the Scots, Irish, Welsh and Cornish have all received due consideration.

In no way is the emigration of Yorkshiremen to North America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries considered to be the movement of an ethnic group, though many of the natives of the County of Broad Acres would believe that they possessed characteristics sufficiently unique to suggest a high degree of individualism, or even perhaps of separatism. Without investigating the question of "What makes a Yorkshireman?", it is sufficient to note that, although living and working many miles apart, the farmer of the Yorkshire Wolds or the Vale of York, the leadminer of the Pennine Dales and the weaver or cutler of the West Riding identified themselves as Yorkshiremen (and Englishmen) all. They readily looked upon themselves as being quite different creatures from those who lived to the west of the Pennines, north of the Tees or south of the Trent, though there was possibly some slight modification of this belief on the extreme peripheries of the county.

Yorkshire was not only a county, but also a regional consciousness. For the purpose of this study, Yorkshire is taken to mean the county as it was known in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
and indeed in the twentieth until the reorganisation of Local Government in 1974. The division of the county into three Ridings - North, East and West - should also be seen in the context of former years.

The 'aspects' of Yorkshire emigration have been chosen so as to include a geographical and occupational cross-section of the county. The predominantly rural and agricultural eastern half of the county - the North York Moors, the Vale of York, the Yorkshire Wolds and Holderness - is represented by emigration on the eve of the American Revolution and by the generally cyclical departures of agriculturists during the first half of the nineteenth century. In the context of mainly rural exodus, the important role of Hull as an emigration port for North America is considered, as are the parts played in this trade by the smaller Yorkshire ports. On the eastern flanks of the Pennines and the western side of the county, the manufacture of wool textiles, steel, hardware and cutlery, and leadmining, represented major industries of Yorkshire. Droves of Yorkshire merchants, manufacturers, traders and agents crossed the Atlantic to take up temporary or permanent residence in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Similarly, thousands of craftsmen, operatives and miners, driven by a wide range of motives, voluntarily expatriated themselves in expectation of wider opportunities in the United States.

The span of the study is also significant. The years 1760-1880 saw great changes in agricultural and industrial organisation and development in Yorkshire, as elsewhere. However defined, the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions led to a situation whereby Britain was not only the undisputed 'workshop of the world', but also the world's banker, clearing house and carrier for a few decades in the second half of the nineteenth
century. In 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition, Britain was producing over 40 per cent of the total world output of traded manufactured goods; and thirty years later, she still possessed some 38 per cent of the world export trade in manufactures.

Across the Atlantic, the years 1760-1880 also witnessed the evolution of thirteen separate British colonies into a steadily developing giant. Moreover, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, the United States continued to be Britain's most important foreign trading partner. The attractions of America, sometimes more apparent than real, were legion. Yorkshire agriculturists hoped to obtain a better return on investment in American acreage than was the case at home where they felt that profits were unnecessarily reduced by rents, tithes and taxes. Such emigrants frequently failed to realise that in many parts of America, although land was cheap, the lack of markets, transport and readily available labour was a grave disadvantage. Many agricultural labourers also hoped that by removing to the New World, they too would ultimately achieve their dream of owning land.

The impact of technological, social and economic change, often gradual, sometimes sudden, on the individual craftsman or industrial group, together with periods of industrial depression and redundancy of occupation, frequently provided the wider reasons for migration within Yorkshire or England, and for emigration overseas. Yorkshiremen whose skills brought little or no return during a depressed industrial period, indeed, whose whole livelihood was likely to disappear as a result of technological
advances, often looked to the United States as a land where their skills would be recognised. Yorkshire hand-weavers at the end of the 1830s and handloomers in the following years could discern only gloom ahead in England. Some, such as the Sheffield cutlers, hoped to escape trade fluctuations at home. Many entertained both economic and social fears about the future: relative independence as a domestic craftsman would be replaced at best by slavery within the factory, and a consequent debasement of his social status. Some craftsmen and operatives emigrated to achieve independence from the factory by farming in America, though not always with unqualified success.

From the standpoint of America's developing industry, however, skilled Yorkshiremen played a valuable, at times unique, role. In at least textiles, hardware and cutlery production, and in the mining of lead, the county's sons introduced new or different techniques, started new industry and in general stimulated the growth of infant, ailing or established industries. In the main, skilled Yorkshire weavers, technicians, cutlery workers and lead miners, impelled to emigrate for a variety of reasons, moved almost always directly to those parts of America where there was already evidence that their skills or knowledge would be appreciated. Their expertise was soon rewarded by supervisory or executive positions in industry. This
does not imply, of course, that skilled men necessarily settled permanently in their first location, or that a man skilled in one process at home did not take up work in an allied process after emigration. Again, the domestic worker who emigrated to avoid the Yorkshire factory very often found himself or his sons caught up in the American factory system. With the factory system firmly established in the United States, many textile operatives with specific skills in the West Riding production of worsteds, woollens and alpacas moved directly to American factories producing, or introducing the production of the same materials. Bradford operatives and overseers emigrated to the Pacific and Arlington Mills in such numbers in the years after the Civil War that Lawrence, Massachusetts, became known as the 'Bradford of America'. Again, for many Yorkshire craftsmen, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, the hoped-for acquisition of American land, a symbol of independence, was an additional motive in emigration to and migration within the United States.

This is a study of Yorkshire emigration to North America: the background to emigration, the means of emigration, the part played by Yorkshire emigrants in the development of certain American industries and, incidentally, the change effected in the lives of such emigrants.
PART 1. YORKSHIRE RURAL EMIGRATION ON THE EVE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The emigration of Yorkshire families and individuals to Nova Scotia and elsewhere on the North American continent in the years leading up to the War of Independence marks a convenient and important beginning to the study of Yorkshire emigration during the following century. The movement is important in that it occurred at a time of agrarian change in the North and East Ridings. Rising costs of living were also encouraging, indeed compelling, farmers of property, tenants and labourers alike to think deeply of their families' economic standing, and even more so of their children's future.

Against the general background of British emigration in the period between the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763 and the outbreak of colonial hostilities in the next decade, it is seen that although emigration from Yorkshire was only part of the general surge to North America, it was, nevertheless, one of major importance. Indeed, in the period January 1774 to April 1776, apart from the predictably large numbers from the London area—and not all of these were necessarily Londoners—the "second largest number came from the North country, with Yorkshire predominating."\(^1\) Also, despite the somewhat variable figures of Yorkshire emigration which may be compiled from different sources, it is clear that by far the greatest area of attraction was Nova Scotia, with resultant

far-reaching effects on the latter's history and development.

Moreover, the exodus of the 1770's, purely in the context of Yorkshire emigration, creates the precedence for the important role yet to be played by Yorkshire ports in this traffic after 1815, by the port of Hull in particular, and more spasmodically, by the other smaller ports on the Yorkshire coast.¹

Part 1 investigates the reasons for Yorkshire rural emigration, especially to Nova Scotia - the 'push' and 'pull' factors contemporarily operating; an analysis of the available statistics of Yorkshire emigration - numbers and origins of Yorkshiremen and families involved, and the ships by which the emigrants sailed; the life and lot of the emigrant on reaching Nova Scotia, and consequently, how the Yorkshire emigrant influenced that colony's later history.

Part 1 ends with a survey of other attempts in the 1770's to attract Yorkshire emigrants to mainland America - to New York and Georgia - and of the movement of indented labour to the Plantations.

It is convenient at this point, also, to remark on perhaps the most important source of evidence used in Part 1, and on its origins. Briefly, during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, and particularly after the Peace of Paris, 1763, a good deal of attention was directed towards the question of increasing population, in general, and increasing emigration, in particular, by such writers as John Mitchell,² Arthur Young,³

1. This theme is considered in detail in Part 2.
3. Arthur Young, Proposals to the Legislature for Numbering People (London, 1771).
Richard Price, Dr. Thomas Percival, and others. It was felt by some that emigration was a fine means of removing 'surplus' population from the country, and conversely, by others, that dangerous de-population would result if emigration were allowed to go unchecked. With continuing emigration, much agitation ensued for parliamentary action to ban this movement completely, though it is difficult to see how this would have been any more successful than acts earlier passed to prohibit the departure of skilled artisans to foreign countries, but not to the British colonies.

Lloyd's Evening Post described such a plan, indeed, which supposedly would soon reach Parliament.

Although such legislation was never effected, officialdom was sufficiently worried by apparent events to discover the truth, with the result that in December 1773, the Treasury ordered customs officials in all English ports, whence passenger ships departed, to forward weekly returns of numbers leaving, their names, ages, occupations, places of former...
residence, destinations, reasons for leaving, and names of ships. 1.

The weekly returns to the Treasury cover the period, December 1773 to April 1776: 2 from the standpoint of research into Yorkshire emigration, it in no way detracts from the excellence of these returns and source material for it to be stated that it is a pity the Treasury did not require their submission at the beginning of 1772. For the two-year period, then, prior to December 1773, evidence which can scarcely be as exact must be gathered from elsewhere.

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1. THE 'PUSH' FACTORS OF YORKSHIRE EMIGRATION IN THE 1770's.

The study of motives behind emigration comprises an intricate web of fears, desires and hopes, which, in summation, fall at one extreme between broad generalisations and, at the other, individual cases which, though fascinating and revealing in themselves, do not necessarily give an overall picture of motivation. Indeed, where the motives of individual families and persons known to us are few, the dangerous temptation is to accept them as ubiquitous and commonplace. Probably few emigrants left - or leave - a country permanently for a single reason, but for the sum total of disillusionment and difficulties in the past coupled with, or because of their hopes and fears for the future.

Writers such as Mildred Campbell have already indicated a number of the general ills besetting England in the 1760's and early 70's, and how some of the blame was apportioned - five successive wet seasons aggravated the ever-increasing price of grain, high taxes, the decay of trade, the poor state of public credit, enclosures, unworthy ministers, the luxuriant great, the indolent poor.¹ Valid or not as these reasons may be for the country as a whole, the treatment of Yorkshire motivation to emigrate must be more specific.

The overall picture of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire in these two decades was one of great agricultural change and development; and "it was not so much the hard times common to most of England at this period as it was the spirit of progress and improvement taking hold in this section of Yorkshire that proved unsettling to the farmers of uplands and wold country".² Enclosure, which had been occurring to some

¹ Mildred Campbell, "English Emigration on the Eve of the American Revolution", 3, 3f; some of the initial observations contained in this article have been valuable for parts of the present study

² Ibid, p.11.
extent for centuries, reached its peak in the case of the East Riding in the 1760's and 1770's, and markedly so. Only six Enclosure Acts for East Riding parishes are recorded by the Journals of the House of Commons as having been passed in the 1750's, yet these are followed by forty-two Acts during the 1760's and thirty-six in the 1770's, but only five and thirteen, respectively, during the two succeeding decades. 1.

Within the general pattern of these important agricultural changes, however, wide variations of land utilisation were to be found: indeed, the land itself varied considerably in aspect, for within the two Ridings were to be found high moors and deep valleys, wide vales and chalk wolds, rolling lowland and undrained marshes. When Marshall visited the Vale of Pickering, for instance, in 1769, he found it completely enclosed; although hedges in some parts of the Vale indicated earlier enclosures, much of this process was recent. 2. Grass, rather than corn, was the main crop here, and northwards, the cultivated moorland valleys were well wooded. Some parts of the Vale of Pickering were low-lying, ill-drained and, although "afford, during a few months of summer, a kind of ordinary pasturage to young stock, ... still remain a disgrace to the county". 3. To the south, Marshall noted that on those parts of the Wolds which had been enclosed and


3. Ibid., II, p. 185.
ploughed, excellent crops of oats and barley were being grown, though long-fleeced sheep were the main resource; and southwards again, the Plain of Holderness still displayed areas of marshland and woodland besides its fields. At the opposite end of Yorkshire, however, Tuke, writing two decades after the peak of Yorkshire emigration to Nova Scotia, noted that the heavy clay Cleveland area was highly productive of wheat, far more so than was the Vale of Pickering. The Vale of York in general produced good crops of wheat and barley. The highest areas of Yorkshire - the North Yorkshire moors of the North Riding and the great Pennine moorlands of the West and North Riding - presented obvious, usually inhospitable, similarities to eighteenth century observers: the first appeared to Marshall as "bleak mountains, covered with heath, and intersected by cultivated dales"; and the second remained largely bog and heath, apart from the dales in which oats, rye and meadow grass were cultivated. Arthur Young, that avid protagonist of enclosure, on his three tours of agricultural observation, 1769-71, described many of the Yorkshire farms as presenting "a melancholy prospect" and suggested improvement by planting carrots and cabbages.

Despite this high period of enclosure in the county, then, particularly in the East and North Ridings, Rennie, Brown and Shireff - though writing in the last decade of the century - indicated in their figures of waste land acreage that much could still be done to improve the land agriculturally. Their figures

5. Arthur Young, A Six-Months Tour through the North of England, 4 vols. (London, 1771); Young was referring particularly to the Wolds.
for the East Riding pointed out that some 31.1 per cent of the total area of the Riding could still be considered waste land, but that every last acre of this was capable of cultivation or conversion to pasture. Similarly, in the larger North Riding, 33.7 per cent of the total area was waste land, but in this case, only about one-half, it was believed, could be reclaimed for cultivation.

Nevertheless, although areas of such land - waste, unenclosed or capable of improvement - still amounted to probably one-third of each of the East and North Ridings in the late eighteenth century, 'the spirit of improvement' was well established in the period prior to, and contemporary with emigration to Nova Scotia in the 1770's. What was the relationship between enclosure and emigration, between land improvement on the one hand, and factors on the other likely first to unsettle, and then to encourage some or many to emigrate given encouraging signs of betterment overseas?

In the first place, the Yorkshire emigration was essentially rural in character and background, with 'farmers' and 'labourers' (and their families) representing the biggest single categories of occupation. The term 'farmers', however, covered several degrees of prosperity; by their own rural standards, a number on leaving were in comfortable circumstances. Among the earliest to leave for the Bay of Fundy was one emigrant "from the neighbourhood of Bridlington ... said to be worth 700l., who has hired a working servant at 30l. a-year, bed and board." Again, in October 1773, it was widely

2. V. analysis of emigrants sailing, Jan. 1774-Apr. 1776, pp. 1693, 1695, 1698, 1700, 1702, 1704, 1706.
reported from Stokesley in the North Riding that "several substantial farmers, in that town and neighbourhood, are preparing to go, with their families and effects, to America, by the first ships, and are hiring labourers and poor people to accompany them, for the purpose of cultivating their lands, &c." 1

But the most startling report of all was that from Scarborough in the Spring of 1774 concerning the sailing from that port of the William and Mary and Prince George for Nova Scotia at the beginning of April: "Some of the passengers", it declared; are of real and substantial property, particularly one of them, with 13 in the family, said to be worth £3000, £800 of which is left on security in England, and the rest taken with him". 2

However, another report on the same ships' passengers asserted that although "there are some People of good Fortune amongst them... the greater Number seem to want that Ingredient, and expect to find it in the Wilds of Nova Scotia". 3

Nevertheless, in the main, this body of Yorkshire emigrants seems to have consisted of small farmers, renting, not owning, the land they worked, men whose savings were probably small and whose principal material wealth lay in the ability to convert farm animals, equipment and superfluous household effects into cash. At a time when 'emigration fever' was high, and particularly when significant numbers were proposing to move from any given neighbourhood, perhaps Bridlington, Thirsk or Stokesley. 4

2. Newcastle Journal, 2-9, 9-16 Apr. 1774; York Chronicle, 8, 15 Apr. 1774; Leeds Intelligencer, 12, 19 Apr. 1774; York Courant, 12 Apr. 1774; Newcastle Courant, 16 Apr. 1774.
5. York Courant, 2 Mar. 1773.
this conversion may have presented some difficulty. Indeed, this may have been the very cause of the disappointment of the

Thomas and William's master, Samuel Pattinson, at not being able to sail "according to former advertisements, by reason the greatest part of the passengers not having opportunity to settle their affairs, so as to be ready to sail at that time; [the ship] will positively sail from Scarborough the 30th of March 1774 ...".1

Chiefly renters they may have been, but downtrodden they were not. One unusual feature noted by William Marshall towards the end of the century about this part of Yorkshire was that although only renters, they were "in full possession"of their 50-to 100-acre rented farms which were handed down through generations, and treated "with the spirit of owners ... in every respect as their own estates".2

At first glance, it would seem that as renters - though "in full possession" of their farms for many decades - the spate of Enclosure Acts in the two Ridings in the 1760's and 1770's would affect them only indirectly; they were not the Sykes, the Logards, of the East Riding who were enclosing and experimenting; only rarely were they, instead of renters, the smaller owner-occupier, for whom enclosure, despite its general promise of greater efficiency and higher productivity, could mean financial distress and often ruin in the early stages of change. Apart from the intangible unsettling effect on the conservative rural mind, enclosure, initially at least, might not seem to threaten the established way of life for such men.

On closer investigation, however, it becomes apparent that their very weakness in the face of change lay in their position as renters. In the shipping lists of 1773-76, time and time again emigrants about to depart for Nova Scotia from Yorkshire ports gave as their prime reason for leaving, "on account of the great advance of rents ..."; or variations on the same theme - "Their Rents being raised so high they cannot live"; or, "on account of his rent (or "their rents") being raised" (sometimes, "by .............") or, "Provisions, Rents and every necessary of life, being so very high they cannot support their family"; or, "Obliged to quit his farm being so high rented"; or, "His rent raised so high obliged him to quit".

The emigrants' reasons were clearly subjective, but the overall picture of increases in rents largely supports their complaints. Mingay has noted that after the temporary difficulties of the 1750's and 1760's, agricultural conditions improved markedly, farming became more prosperous, and landlords were able to raise rents considerably, so much so that, under the twin stimuli of population growth and industrial development, "upward rent movements became larger and more sustained, and increases of 40 or 50 per cent in the period 1750-90 seem to have been typical".

2. Ibid. (Jan. 1909), 28.
3. Ibid., 29.
4. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Spells of low prices, outbreaks of animal diseases and harvest failures in some areas.
In the early eighteenth century, the same writer observes, rents were commonly low on large estates; the great landlords "often kept rents low for political purposes and as a compensation to tenants whose land was hunted over". If anything, then, by the mid-century, rents on this land were not only low, but often artificially low. The second Earl of Egremont, for instance, on deciding to develop his Yorkshire estates in the 1750's, found the land to be "so under-rented that increases of 60 per cent could be made in the rentals". Although the Earl of Egremont was not specifically indicted by any emigrant as instrumental in raising his rents, it is significant that the Earl's lands were located in some of the very areas of the North Riding known, from other sources, to have been centres of emigration.

The question may be asked: on whose land was the upward movement of rents more marked in the later eighteenth century, the estates of the great landlords, or those of the gentry? Mingay's general verdict is the former. But increases are relative: where rents were kept low, perhaps artificially so, by the great landlords, increases in the order of 30, 40 or 50 per cent

2. Egremont Papers ... Papers etc., of Sir Charles Wyndham, 2nd Earl of Egremont, 1710-63, Sec. of State for Southern Department, are found in P.R.O. 30/47/25/3.
4. The earldom of Egremont and barony of Cockermouth passed from Algernon Seymour, Duke of Somerset (also created Lord Warkworth, Earl of Northumberland, Lord Cockermouth and Earl of Egremont in 1749) upon his death in 1750 to his nephew, Sir Charles Wyndham, bart., who acquired as a result the manor of Topcliffe (Birdforth Wapentake). Additionally, in Yorkshire, Charles, 2nd Earl of Egremont, bought the manor of Seamer, near Stokesley, in 1759, and (probably) a manor in Newby in 1760, both from Henry Earl of Deloraine. Charles, the second earl, died in 1763, to be succeeded by his son, George (d. 1837):

5. G.E. Mingay, p.52.
would appear startling and perhaps insupportable to the renter, but in absolute terms, might still not be as high as a relatively small percentage increase on already highly rented land, that of the gentry. One thing is certain: tenant farmers would not take kindly to the idea of paying higher rents to landlords big or small.

Whilst outside the scope of this thesis to determine the validity of the verdict when applied fully to the North and East Ridings, it is true to say that of the landlords actually named by emigrants as raising rents, most of these, but not all, must be classified as gentry. Unfortunately, in the shipping lists of 1773-76, only a mere handful of the large numbers emigrating to Nova Scotia named their former landlords, and these may or may not be truly representative. Other emigrants who objected to the raising of rents, or for some other complementary reason, may have had the same landlords as those noted, but did not care to mention them by name.¹ Some evidence is available from other sources, but further than this, an intelligent correlation must be made between the known measures being effected by the land-owners on the one hand, and those found so unreasonable by emigrating tenants, on the other, producing rent increases and, a point to be discussed later, the absorption of smaller farms by larger.

Who were these landlords whose measures found such disfavour among the emigrants of the early 1770's? In all, thirteen

¹. Or more simply, and perhaps more likely, the clerk recording the emigrants' replies found neither time nor space to record every detail. Again, whether fully representative or not, the named landlords, where traceable, provide a fairly accurate pointer as to the areas whence the emigrants came.
landlords who had raised rents to an unacceptably high level were named by emigrants, sailing by either the Two Friends\(^1\) or Albion\(^2\) in early 1774; apart from the first three of high order, the remainder were gentry:

1. **Duke of Rutland**
   - **Named by:** Lancelot Chapmain (aged 49), Farmer,
     wife (Frances, 42), and 7 children
   - (Ship Albion);\(^3\)

2. **Lord Cavendish**
   - **Named by:** William Chapman (aged 44), Farmer,
     wife (Mary, 42), and 9 children
   - (Ship Albion);\(^4\)

3. **Lord Bruce**
   - **Named by:** Richard Thompson (aged 25), Farmer.
   - (Ship Albion);\(^5\)

4. **John Matthews ("Jno. Matthews")**
   - **Named by:** Anthony Hill (aged 57), Farmer.
   - (Ship Two Friends);\(^6\)

5. **Beilby Thompson ("Beilly Thompson, Esq."")**
   - **Named by:** John Bulmer (aged 45), Farmer,
     wife (Grace, 46), and 3 children
   - (Ship Two Friends);\(^7\)

1. The Two Friends sailed from Hull for Fort Cumberland,\(^8\)
   - 5 Mar. 1774.
   - (York Courant, 11 Mar. 1774; Newcastle Courant, 12 Mar. 1774).
3. Ibid., 136.
4. Ibid., 138.
5. Ibid., 139.
6. Ibid., 136.
7. Ibid., 30.
6. William Weddell

Named by: Richard Bowser (aged 29), Farmer,
          Ann Bowser (26), Servant,
          Hannah Sterriker (12), Servant.

Also in group, Ann Bowser (60), Shopkeeper, "going to seek better livelihood",
probably mother of Richard and Ann Bowser.

Richard Stavely (30), Husbandman.
Robert Stavely (26), Husbandman.
John Linton (28), Butcher.
Robert Fenby (26), Husbandman.
Andrew Crawford (28), Husbandman.
Christopher Harper (40), Farmer.
Thomas Harrison (28), Husbandman.
William Thursby (28), Husbandman.
John Wry (23), Weaver.

(Ship Two Friends).

7. Chapman ("Mr. Chapman") -

Named by: Nathaniel Smith (aged 52), Farmer,
wife (Elizabeth, 52), and 5/6 children.
(Ship Albion)\(^1\).

8. Francis Smith (or Smith) ("Fran\(^2\) Smith Jr\(^3\) Esq.\(^4\)) -

Named by: Thomas Scurr (aged 34), Farmer,
wife (Elizabeth, 59), and 5 children.
(Ship Albion)\(^2\).

9. Thomas Walker -

Named by: George Reed (aged 33), Farmer,
wife (Hannah, 33), and 4 children.
(Ship Albion)\(^3\).

10. Knowsley ("Mr. Knowsley") -

Named by: Thomas Lusley (aged 45), Farmer,
wife (Ruth, 44), and 2 children.
(Ship Albion)\(^4\).

11. Durcan ("Durcan Esq.\(^5\)) -

Named by: William Truman (aged 52), Miller,
wife (Ann, 58), son (William, 22, grocer),
and John Beys (24, husbandman).
(Ship Albion)\(^5\).

12. John Wilkinson ("Jno Wilkinson") -

Named by: Charles Blinkey (aged 33), Farmer,
wife (Sarah, 33), and 2 children
(Ship Albion)\(^6\).

13. Bulmer ("Mr. Bulmer") -

Named by: David Bennett (aged 30), Farmer,
and wife (Mary, 30).
(Ship Albion)\(^7\).

2. Ibid., 136.
3. Ibid., 137.
4. Ibid., 138.
5. Ibid., 139.
Nine of the thirteen landlords may be identified with absolute or reasonable certainty, and on this evidence, together with the land they owned, it is possible to augment the picture of certain well-defined areas contributing emigrants in 1774. These areas in the main included the northern margins of the broad North York Moors, and Cleveland eastwards to include the hinterland of Whitby; the scarplands of the Cleveland Hills, running roughly north-east to south-west, and merging with the western edges of the Hambleton Hills and further to the Vale of York; parts of the last across to the lower reaches of the Ure, specifically the areas of Jervaulx and Newby; valleys running south-eastwards from the Cleveland and Hambleton Hills, such as Rildale and Ryedale, leading down to Rieavulx and Helmsley; and the northern and southern edges of the Vale of Pickering.

There seems little doubt, even from the relatively slight evidence available, that many of the nine identified landlords, named by emigrants, owned land in close proximity to one another, the Stokesley area, the western foothills of the Hambletons, Ryedale and parts of the Vale of Pickering being especially important. The influence of one improving landlord on another would be strongly felt where estates were close or adjacent.

1. The Duke of Rutland, Lord Cavendish, Lord Bruce, John Matthews, Beilby Thompson, William Waddell, Francis Smyth, Thomas Duncombe and John Wilkinson. Notes on the nine landlords so identified, and their estates, are contained in Appendix A1 pp. 168-84 in order of their naming by emigrants on the ships, Two Friends and Albion, March 1774.

A calculated risk has been taken in identifying 'Duncombe Esq.', with Thomas Duncombe; the similarity may not be at first apparent, but the Mill official's mistakenly interpreting the emigrant, William Truman's, dialect pronunciation of 'Duncombe' may have meant his recording 'Duncan', with a faulty transliteration of 'Duncan' for 'Duncan' at this or some later stage. Helmsley, as a likely home area of emigrants, was not taken into account in this possible identification.
Apart from geographical proximity, however, another important characteristic emerges. At least six of the landlords, perhaps more, came into possession of their lands between the mid 1740's and late 1760's, years contemporary with the great overall 'spirit of improvement' in the North and East Ridings. A landlord recently acquiring land, especially if by purchase, would be far more likely to begin improving his estates than, say, another, who perhaps ageing, had held his land over a considerable period. In the case of William Weddell, the inference might also be drawn that his preoccupation with the beautifying of Newby Hall extended to land improvement, especially as over two hundred acres were 'In Mr. Weddell's own hands'.

With Beilby Thompson, of Escrick, the evidence of increased rents is quite plain from the difference between the 'Old Rents', and the 'New Rents' operative from Lady Day, 1771 and 1772, listesat the end of his agricultural diary which was written in the years succeeding the surge of emigration: in this record occur instances of rents being almost doubled.

Also implicit in enclosure and improvement was the reorganization of land tenure. In a 'Letter from Stokesley' in 1773, one writer observed: "Our Country Gentlemen, by discharging their Old Tenants (a Custom very much in vogue) and by raising the Rents, will undoubtedly drive some of them to that Continent...." Whilst a great many emigrants grumbled about the steep increase in rents, at least two, leaving by Scarborough the following spring, echoed that very same point.

1. Lords Frederick and John Cavendish, Lord Bruce, John Matthews, Francis Smyth, Thomas Duncombe and John Wilkinson.
2. John Matthews, Francis Smyth and, probably, the Lords Cavendish and John Wilkinson, enter this category.
3. Newby Hall MSS (Introduction; NH 2131, P/3), Leeds City Archives.
4. Beilby Thompson's MSS diary; rents of £80 became £150, £29 became £48, and £12, £23 (cited by Wildred Campbell, 12).
5. York Courant, 23 Nov.1773; Leeds Intelligencer, 23 Nov.1773.
6. Bailed by William and Mary or Prince George, week 5-12 Apr.1774.
Matthew Walker disclosed that "All the small farms[had been] taken into larger ones in his Parish"; and Michael Pinkney had been "Turned off his farm it being taken into a larger one". In this context, was it also the reason why, two years earlier at Guisborough, "one John Thompson, a farmer, worth 40 l. a-year, hanged himself on account of losing his farm"?  

Although, admittedly, no Yorkshire emigrant in the 1770's shipping lists actually noted the Legards or the Sykes as being instrumental in raising their rents to a high degree, both families of East Yorkshire gentry are worthy of brief, but further consideration, for both, intent on improving their land in the Yorkshire Wolds, created or potentially produced just the conditions which were found unacceptable by many of those leaving for Nova Scotia.

Sir Digby Legard, of Ganton, had taken over in the early 1760's an estate of some six thousand acres mainly in the Wolds.

1. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Jul. 1909), 242-43; both, incidentally, appear to have been single men, sailing without family.


3. Sir Digby Legard's residences in 1772 are noted by Thomas Jefferys both at Ganton, and Etton, N.W. of Beverley: Thomas Jefferys, Map of Yorkshire, Plate 1X ("The Environs of Beverley, Market Weighton, Pocklington, Howden and South Cave").
of which, by 1769, a thousand acres had been radically altered, with an estimated outlay of £30,000 needed for the remainder. "Though the improvement of 5,000 acres might amount to so large a sum when the farms are as small as 35 lb. a year ...", stated Sir Digby, "yet if we dispose the farms on a larger scale, and as they ought to be laid out, viz. 200 acres to each instead of 70 acres, the expense will be greatly reduced".

Sir Digby Legard died in January, 1773, before his plans could be fully effected, but his intentions would clearly appear ominous to a number of tenants.

Also prominent among the East Yorkshire squires in improving the Wolds were the Sykes of Sledmere, who transformed themselves, particularly Sir Christopher Sykes, the second baronet, into landowning gentry from being

1. Arthur Young, *A Six-Months Tour through the North of England* (York, 1771), includes a letter from Sir Digby Legard in which the latter demonstrates the difficulties encountered by landlords in developing the Wolds for cultivation: Sir Digby's efforts are warmly praised by Young (cited by Olga Wilkinson, p.14).


merchants in Hull. At the time of the Yorkshire emigrations to Nova Scotia, however, these improvements had scarcely been planned, but they did add to the general conditions of uncertainty prevalent in the 1770's for the small tenant-farmer, especially for those whose livelihood depended on sheep-rearing, for, given a high level of manuring, many sheep-walk areas were suited to arable farming. In 1776, only one year after the last Yorkshire emigrant ship sailed for Fort Cumberland, Sykes was calculating the possible results of his enclosing some of the Sledmere property. Many large tracts of rough grazing land, hitherto renting only 1s. 3d., 1s. 9d. and 2s. an acre, would, immediately after enclosure, Sykes supposed, bring in double the amount, and in fifteen years time would be valued at 3s. 6d., 5s. 6d. and 6s. 6d. an acre. Sir Christopher's later achievements in the East Riding must be noted in passing, for they have now become part of Yorkshire.


2. The ship Jenny, sailed from Hull for Nova Scotia, week 3-10 Apr. 1775(Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXV (Apr. 1911), 123-25). According to the York Chronicle (14 Apr. 1775), the Jenny sailed 11 Apr. 1775; and to the Newcastle Chronicle (15 Apr. 1775), "last week".

3. Cited by F. H. L. Thompson, p.221: Thompson also notes that Sir Christopher did not necessarily expect a total conversion to arable farming; improvements in stock-keeping would probably be just as important as corn growing.
folk-lore; he effected wholesale ploughing, experimented with barley production and planted over fifty-four thousand larch trees, built a fine new mansion between 1788 and 1795 (of which he was probably his own architect), as well as farms, stables and barns, and obtained a baronetcry for his pioneering improvements. When he died in 1801, he owned some thirty-four thousand acres of first-class agricultural land.

The refrain of increased rents and 'small farms being taken into larger ones' was the one most frequently repeated by intending emigrants, but contributing factors, unspoken, at least to the scribe at the port of departure, must have just as surely played their part. In the North and East Ridings, every renter paid a tax for the poor rates of from 6d to 2s.6d. in the pound of the real rent. Even if expenditure on poor relief in any given parish remained constant, the raising of rents could bring an increased liability to the renter under this heading. But expenditure on poor relief did not remain constant. There is ample evidence from overseer's accounts in the East Riding that the amount of money necessarily spent on poor relief increased greatly during the second half of the eighteenth century. In the case of Othorne with Riswell, for instance,

1. Thomas Jefferys' Map of Yorkshire, Plate IX, notes that, in 1772, Slemdire is the seat of, simply, 'C. Sykes, Esq.'; similarly, 'Christopher Sikes of Sledmere' was one of the Gentlemen of the Grand Jury at the York Assizes which opened 14 Mar. 1772 (Newcastle Courant, 21 Mar. 1772), incidentally, the same Jury of which Sir Digby Legard was Foreman.


3. Mildred Campbell, 13, n., citing Rate Books in York Mss, Guildhall, York, years 1750-75.

4. Situated near Withernsea.
poor relief in 1769 cost £7.7s.3d., but by 1775 had risen to £26.16.0½d.; or at Thearne, over a longer period, only £1.17s.9d. was needed in 1757 for poor relief, but £22.11s.0d. in 1800. Writ large, and extended over many parishes, figures such as these are symptomatic of increasing rural poverty coinciding with the period of rapid enclosure.

Moreover, in parenthesis, there is some evidence of parish-assisted emigration to Nova Scotia. This is worthy of full note, for the question raised in 1774 was to be asked time and time again in later years, not only in Yorkshire, but also throughout the country. "It is confidently said", ran the report in the York Chronicle, and repeated in the Leeds Intelligencer, "that the overseers of the poor of a market town on the sea-coast of this County paid freight for as many of the poor in their parish who were, or were likely to become, chargeable, and were contented to be thus transported, in hopes of changing their present poverty for a better prospect in a different clime. How far this method of transporting a working set of poor people by the overseers of any parish is

1. Situated between Hull and Beverley.

2. N. Mitchelson, The Old Poor Law in East Yorkshire, E.Y. Local History Series, No. 2 (York: East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1953), pp. 4-5.

3. This may be identified with Hornsea or Withernsea.
warrantable, may hereafter be enquired into".1 The numbers assisted to emigrate by this, or any other Yorkshire parish in the 1770's could not, however, have been great.

A further element in the Yorkshire emigration of the 1770's was that of Methodism. Whilst, from the beginning, Methodism drew great support from the developing industrial areas of the North, with its main centres in Lancashire, the West Riding and the North East, much of rural Yorkshire also felt the impact of Wesley's tours and the religious fervour of the early preachers in the faith.2 As Read has shown in indicating "the backgrounds of Methodist preachers of the first two generations.....; most came from families

1. York Chronicle, 15 Apr. 1774; Leeds Intelligencer, 19 Apr. 1774. The report indicates that the William and Mary sailed on 4/5 April, and the Prince George on 9 April of that year, both from Scarborough. Unfortunately, no direct evidence of parish-assisted emigration to substantiate this report is contained in the shipping return for the 'Port of Scarborough, week 5-12 Apr. 1774'. (Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Jul. 1909), 241-44). Moreover, some discrepancy in the numbers of passengers recorded by the press and by the port official(s) may be noted: parish-assisted emigrants, not included in the return, may have therefore partly made up the difference.

2. See also Part 5, pp. 443-44, for Methodism in the Dales of the North Yorkshire Pennines, and its transference to the lead-mining region of the Upper Mississippi.
of skilled artisans, small tradesmen and small farmers". social levels closely akin to those of many of the emigrants of the 1770’s from the county to Nova Scotia. It is perhaps more than coincidental, then, that Methodism developed strongly in the farming communities of the Wolds and dales, and that those emigrating were chiefly of the Methodist faith. "Methodism...[gave] them a new morale, both hope for the future life and encouragement for the present one" — but not necessarily in Yorkshire, where this 'encouragement' was surely dimmed for many by rising rents, fear of possible land dispossession, the rising cost of provisions, and the like. For some, their observations of contemporary worldliness, by whatever definition, tipped the balance in favour of transporting themselves to the New World.

Charles Dixon was one of these: born at Kirklevington, near Yarm, in 1730, the eldest son of Charles and Mary (Corp, or Coop) Dixon, he was converted by Thomas Seccombe, a young Wesleyan preacher, in the square at Robin Hood’s Bay. "His preaching was such as I never before heard", narrated Dixon many years later, "for his word was with power; it made me cry out in the bitterness of my soul: what must I do to be saved?"


2. Ibid., p.38.

3. The first Methodist Chapel at Yarm was completed in 1763; the octagonal brick building was praised by John Wesley, who visited Yarm nineteen times between 1748 and 1788: Wardell, History of Yarm (1957), cited by T.H. Riley, Kirklevington, near Yarm, in letter to The Dalesman, XXXI,12 (Mar.1971), 1080-81.
A year later, Charles Dixon joined the Society, faithfully serving the cause at Hutton Rudby, where he owned a paper mill. By the end of the 'sixties, he wrote; "I saw [the] troubles that were everywhere befalling my [native] country, oppressions of every kind abounded, and it was very difficult to earn bread and keep a conscience void of offence".

On 16th March 1772, Charles Dixon, having sold his paper mill, and now aged 42, his wife, Susannah (Coates), aged 34, and four young children, sailed from Liverpool on the Duke of York, bound for Nova Scotia.

In considering the many factors, then, motivating Yorkshiremen and their families to leave the land they and their forefathers had worked - albeit, perhaps as renters - these very factors taken individually, and of necessity, arbitrarily, appears all-important and clearly defined.

Because some gave 'rising rents' as their reason for leaving, others 'the high cost of provisions', yet others because their farms had been 'taken up', one might dangerously assume these reasons to be the only ones. Indeed, many emigrants offered a permutation of reasons for departure: for Arnistead Fielding, his wife, Elizabeth, and six children sailing on the Two Friends in early March 1774, it was a matter of "Provision, Rents and every necessary of life, being so very

3. Mary Phillips, Ibid.
high they cannot support their family; 1 and for John Thompson, sailing on the Albion, also from Hull, the following week, it was "On account of the great advance of rents & in hopes of Purchasing". 2

Other factors, less definable, more intangible, also probably played their part. Some tenants had been under-rented, perhaps, for so long that any sustained increases, no matter how valid at the time, or in retrospect, would seem all the more onerous and apparently insupportable when they occurred. Not all tenants, of course, took this attitude; indeed, some found the signs propitious and were only too willing to take up the challenge of the new conditions, paying the higher rents, and more, for attractive land, and eagerly entering the spirit of development with confidence. 3 Others, certainly no less courageous, decided that for them the challenge lay in North America, and that rather than face a future of uncertainty as a renter in Yorkshire, it might as well be a future of uncertainty, for different reasons, as an owner-occupier sooner, rather than later, it was hoped - in Nova Scotia. Again the more prosperous of the emigrants did not want to see their relative prosperity gradually dissipated in paying higher rents, higher poor rates and more for provisions; some doubtless felt

3. The diary of Beilby Thompson (of Escrick), cited by Mildred Campbell, 13, clearly exemplified this.
that the time to emigrate was when they still possessed enough
to establish themselves on a firm base in a new environment
rather than wait until the seemingly inevitable poverty overtook
them. Moreover, potential developments meant that a renter
at any level could no longer expect to be able to treat the
land "as if it were his own"; his apprehensions might
become reality, perhaps during his own life-time, certainly
during his son's, and his fierce Yorkshire independence no
longer seemed assured.

The yeoman or Woldsman of rural Yorkshire may have
possessed an independent outlook and turn of mind, but he was
still not immune to news of events taking place in neighbouring
parishes. Just as one landlord with his plans for agricultural
improvement must have influenced, perhaps even provoked, another
to do the same, especially when their lands were in close
proximity, so the idea of emigration - negatively, as a means
of escape from the contemporary preoccupations in Yorkshire, or
positively, as a challenge to develop and, particularly, to possess
one's own land in Nova Scotia - circulated far more easily among
tenants living near or on adjacent estates. Once the germ had been
introduced as a result of planned propaganda by parties interested in
settling them in Nova Scotia, and elsewhere, and subsequently
nurtured by parties interested in conveying them thither, together
with letters home, if optimistic, from the first wave of emigrants,

1. This theme occurs frequently in the study of emigration.
Yorkshire is no exception, as will be seen later in
certain aspects of Part 3 (Textiles): those who
possessed just sufficient capital at least to transport
themselves to North America, emigrated; the abject poor and
those suffering from chronic unemployment were often willing,
but, without the means, totally unable to emigrate, unless
assisted by some external agency.
the 'fever of emigration' quickly infected contiguous estates and parishes in the North and East Ridings.¹

Group movement of emigrants with roughly similar backgrounds from similar rural areas also meant some security and peace of mind both on the long, arduous voyage and overseas. Towards the nucleus of emigrating farmers were drawn, by choice or circumstance,² other occupational groups, mostly allied or semi-allied to farming - ploughwrights, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, servants, carpenters, and the like. Some went as "hired servants", as did Thomas Gray (blacksmith), John Robinson (butcher) and George Cass (gardener), sailing on the William and Mary or Prince George in April 1774.³ Others emigrated as part of a family group.⁴

Emigrants may have succumbed to, or have been aroused by this propaganda - depending upon the viewpoint - but there is no doubt of the intensity of the fever raised. Little journalistic licence seems to have been needed in contemporary press reports to

1. This was also true of the Ridings in the post-Napoleonic War period, and especially at the beginning of the 1830's.
2. "...many Artificers and poor Labourers, with their Families, will be drawn to emigrate with them", noted the York Courant, 23 Nov. 1773.
4. Two interesting groups sailed on the Jenny, from Hull for Nova Scotia, at the beginning of April 1775. William Johnson emigrated, "Having purchased an Estate is going over with his Family & Servants to reside": besides his wife and three sons, William Johnson took George Johnson (possibly another son or relative, but described as "servant and carpenter"), James Hutton (apprentice) and Elizabeth Anderson ("Going over with her[five] Children to her husband who is Cooper to William Johnson"). Similarly, William Robinson, wife, Elizabeth and four children, were accompanied by two servants, Thomas Kalin and Patience Fallydown. (Ibid., LXV (Apr.1911), 124).
describe the movements taking place, despite the impression one gains of almost complete hostility towards emigration by the Yorkshire press. 1  "It is really surprising," reported one issue, "with what avidity they enquire for ships intending to sail there, being desirous to embrace the first opportunity". 2 The magnitude of the emigration in its rural context was constantly stressed: "great numbers of people of both sexes have absolutely sold their effects, and agreed to transport themselves to America [from Cleveland]"; 3 "vast numbers of farmers and artificers...are preparing to go to North America early this spring"; 4 "We have got a Town [Scarborough] almost full of Emigrants..."; 5 a very large number of emigrants are now waiting at Scarborough for a fair wind to transport themselves to America". 6 - ran the press reports. Whilst the press doubtless felt that it was to the county’s loss and "to the ruin and distress of their Mother Country"; 7 that so many Yorkshiremen should be leaving for America, it was nevertheless impressed by the intensity of the exodus. It is true, of course, that that emigrant element constituted only a small minority of the county’s total rural population so affected by rent increases, land reorganisation and the high cost of provisions, but the impact of its departure from so many parishes and estates over the Ridings effected wide recognition.

1. To be considered further in Part I (3), p. 55-60.
4. Ibid., 1 Mar. 1774.
6. York Chronicle, 8 Apr. 1774; Leeds Intelligencer, 12 Apr. 1774.
At this point, several valid questions are raised. Granted that the changes taking place, or likely to happen, all irked the tenants in the Ridings, and often made the future seem insecure and the mind open to the possibility of emigration, what were the inducements, the 'pull' factors, which within a seemingly short space of time demonstrated to many that emigration was the answer to their problems and doubts? The surprising fact is that so many actually emigrated, not that the majority of those affected by contemporary difficulties stayed in Yorkshire — indeed, that many of the men, in their forties and fifties and above the common age for emigration, were farmers whose fathers and grandfathers had worked the land before them, and men whose love for the dales and Wolds was as strong as their independent nature. The inducements must have been powerful, for the reaction of would-be emigrants was almost immediate. No Yorkshiremen, especially those living near Whitby, Scarborough or Hull, could be ignorant of the perils involved in an overcrowded, arduous voyage across three thousand miles of ocean; and yet the emigrants flocked first to Liverpool, and then, as ships became available, to the Yorkshire ports and Teesside.

Again, why was Nova Scotia the principal destination of most of the Yorkshire emigrants rather than, say, Georgia? "Nova Scotia..." wrote 'Philopatriae' to the York Chronicle, has a winter

1. See analysis of age groups, Appendix A-2, Tables 2-8.
of insupportable length and coldness; and to it immediately succeeds without the intervention of any spring, a heat as violent as the cold": whereas, "The Back Settlements of Georgia, and all high counties in the same latitude, as Judea, (or Canaan), &c. are universally allowed by all authors to enjoy a perpetual spring, and the most agreeable temperature of climate". Obviously not on the grounds of climate were Yorkshire families induced to go to Nova Scotia.

1. York Chronicle, 4 Nov. 1774; repeated in Leeds Intelligencer, 8 Nov. 1774.
2. THE 'PULL' FACTORS OF YORKSHIRE EMIGRATION IN THE 1770's.

The greatest single inducement to emigrate to the New World in the decade following the Peace of Paris was the promise of substantial areas of cheap land, with deferred taxes, and without the encumbrance of tithes, rent increases, rates for poor relief and, for some, fear of discharge from long-held tenancies. For those even of modest means, there was the positive hope that land purchase was a far greater possibility in North America than ever was the case at home. For Yorkshire emigrants, in particular, this inducement was rationalised in two basic forms. On the one hand, the propaganda of Michael Francklin of Nova Scotia, the more balanced, yet often laudatory, observations of Yorkshire visitors, and the information contained in the letters written home by the first surge of emigrants from the county, all encouraged the view that, with honest endeavour and perseverance, opportunities for betterment abounded whatever the social standing of the rural emigrant. On the other, there was inducement in the form of readily available transport to Nova Scotia, developed by Yorkshire ports once it was realised that the early exodus from North Yorkshire by way of Liverpool was the result of no mere passing whim, and that a cargo of emigrants was profitable. Lacking information, however biased, of land available in Nova Scotia, and lacking convenient shipping from the North Sea ports, the Yorkshire emigrant must surely have left for that part of the New World in far fewer numbers.

The figure of Michael Francklin looms large both in the
administrative history of Nova Scotia for nearly three decades, and, in the context of this study, as a dominant influence in inducing emigration from Yorkshire; and for several years, the two roles are seen to be closely interwoven. Born in Devonshire in 1720, Michael Francklin himself had emigrated to Nova Scotia in 1752, opening a small rum shop in Halifax, but his enterprise, integrity and early education soon enabled him to branch out into naval and military stores in which he developed a vast business, coincidental with the Seven Years' War. In 1759, he was elected for Halifax to the House of Assembly, and three years later, became justice of the peace and member of the Council of Twelve. In August, 1766, Francklin was sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, his administration being notable for his great influence over the Indians and Acadians, and in October 1771, he and Benjamin Green, in the absence of Lord William Campbell, Governor, administered the government. The following summer, Francklin, as Lieutenant-Governor, assumed the government until October 1773, when Francis Legge was sworn in.

2. Encyclopaedia Canadensis (Ottawa, 1958), IV, p.250.
5. 30 October 1771: Haliburton, I, p.250.
as Governor, Francklin remaining Lieutenant-Governor.1. Francklin’s relations with Legge were frequently far from cordial,2. and in February 1776, through Legge’s influence, he was removed from office.3. During the following two years, however, he organised the militia of Nova Scotia, and in general maintained the security of the province during the Revolutionary War.4. In 1781, he pleaded his case in England, and though not reinstated, he was made superintendent of Indian affairs; this, however, was short-lived for he died the following year.5.

The role of Michael Francklin in promoting Yorkshire emigration resulted partly from expedience and partly by chance.

In the wake of the deportation of the Acadians between 1755 and 1758, Governor Lawrence attempted to fill the vacuum so created by attracting settlers from New England, and, in 1758, and 1759, issued proclamations promising free lands in Nova Scotia.6. Whilst the Annapolis Valley was becoming populated, as were the lands at the head of the Bay of Fundy and around the Minas Basin,

1. 8 October, 1773; Haliburton, I, p.251.
5. Francklin died in Halifax, N.S., 8 November 1782; in 1762, he had married Susannah Boutinex, the union producing five sons and five daughters (Encyclopaedia Canadana, Ibid.).
6. As a result, about 4,500 settlers moved from New England to Nova Scotia between 1760 and 1763, the majority settling along the fertile Annapolis Valley and near the Isthmus of Chignecto at the head of the Bay of Fundy (C.B. Ferguson, “Nova Scotia”, Encyclopaedia Canadana, VII, pp.407-08).
large areas of valuable land on both north and south sides of the Basin were, in effect, still forming obstacles to township development and expansion in the 1760's because of their pre-emption earlier in the form of grants to speculators of the official group, from Europe and America. One such speculator of the official group was Michael Francklin, who, with his increasing commercial prosperity and gubernatorial aspirations, had acquired extensive lands around the Cumberland Basin and the mouths, leading there into, of the rivers Hébert and Maccan: the grants stipulated, however, that unless these lands were settled within a certain period of years by a fixed number of colonists, they would be lost to the grantee. Moreover, with the introduction of escheats for non-fulfilment in 1769, Francklin found himself in the difficult position of holding solid blocks of thousands of acres which would be inevitably forfeited unless quickly settled, and owing some £500 (stg.) unpaid quit-rents; a lack of ready cash and debts exacerbated the situation.

In order to ease himself out of his predicament, therefore, Francklin attempted settlement of his lands in the late 1760's.

1. J.B. Brebner, pp.113-114.
3. Brebner, pp.113-119; Legge to Dartmouth, 28 Sept. 1774; Nova Scotia State Papers, A 91, 27. Brebner (pp.118-119) also notes the instance of Governor Campbell's emphasising to Charles Morris - on the latter's departure for New York on official business in 1769 - his "Opportunity of inviting Settlers to come from those Colonies into this Province"; Morris was also to enquire of the proprietors there whose grants in Nova Scotia would soon be forfeited (30 Jun. 1769), Public Archives of Nova Scotia (Halifax) 170, 21.
4. These attempts are recorded in Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.36507, ff.255-70. Writing in 1829, Haliburton (II,p.64) noted that Minudie, close to the Yorkshire settlements on the Cumberland Basin, "is settled by Acadians, the greater of whom are the descendants of those who escaped the general transportation at Windsor, and who were induced to move thither by Mr. Francklin, and cultivate the ground as tenants. Here they found the wives and children of many of their countrymen, who had been torn from their families, and were thus left destitute of food and clothing, and deprived of their natural protectors. Only four or five of these people ever rejoined their relations in Cumberland [County], and of these there are now none surviving. There are about fifty families here, all of whom are tenants....."
but his real opportunity came on visiting England, ostensibly to settle bills. During his stay of three and a-half years, his mind ever open to the possibility of peopling his lands, Francklin learned from the Duke of Rutland that some of the latter’s Yorkshire tenants felt themselves unable to pay the increased rents being exacted. Seeing the main chance, Francklin hastened to Yorkshire in early 1772, and stayed there about two months. Not content, however, with the immediate success of his quest to direct the interest of potential emigrants towards Nova Scotia, he also left behind agents, locally appointed and strategically placed in the market towns and villages of the North and East Ridings.

1. Francklin sailed from Halifax, N.S., 26 January 1769, and returned 2 June 1772 (Brebner, p.119n.).

2. Perhaps the earliest press report of Francklin’s success in recruiting settlers is that contained in the Newcastle Journal (15-22 Feb. 1772), which reads: “We are informed from the neighbourhood of Bridlington, that several people were going to Liverpool to embark for the Bay of Fundy, in the province of Nova Scotia, in order to settle on the lands of Michael Francklin, Esq.” The report is repeated in the Leeds Intelligencer (25 Feb. 1772), for example, but without reference to Francklin.

3. Brebner, p.119; Mildred Campbell, 18; info. ex-letter, Dr. Will R. Bird, Halifax, N.S., to writer, 24 Nov. 1966. One agent, Martin Hobbs, called a meeting at “Benfield Hall, Yorkshire” [unidentified], for instance, in 1772 or early 1773 (info. ex-letter, Mrs. G.L. Cousins, Halifax, N.S., to writer, 14 Nov. 1966). There is some difficulty in isolating, on the one hand, the agents appointed by Francklin and others to further their aims, from those, on the other, listed by shipping advertisements in the Yorkshire and Newcastle press, from about November 1773 onwards. Whether any of the former acted the second role is not known, but since both types of agent aimed at the same potential emigrant, it would be remarkable if the two were not found in the same localities — Cleveland, the Hambleton foothills, Holmeley, Driffield, and the like — nor, indeed, that some agents fulfilled both roles. Whichever the case, Francklin’s efforts were being assisted, willingly or otherwise. A footnote to the advertisement for the Two Friends, due to sail for Nova Scotia (York Chronicle, 12 Nov. 1773, etc.) ran: “Great encouragement is given (in that land of liberty) for all sorts of tradesmen, but especially to farmers, and those skilled in agriculture.”
The terms offered by Franklin in 1772 to the Yorkshire tenantry, beset by uncertainty and rent increases, were highly attractive, if in some respect rather overdrawn; the offer included 500-acre grants of freehold land, free passage to Nova Scotia, and no taxes during the first years. John Robinson and Thomas Rispin, though more circumspect in their descriptions, were still enthusiastic. "A man may have as much land as he pleases", they wrote in 1774; "the first year he pays nothing; for the next five years a penny an acre; the next five three pence; for five years after that at sixpence; and then one shilling an acre forever to him and his heirs".

Not surprisingly, many accepted the proposition. John Robinson himself, after his careful exploratory mission with Rispin to Nova Scotia, in which the whole of 'Franklin Manor' was investigated, "bought an estate there". Charles Dixon, the

1. Charles Dixon's narrative; info. ex-letter, Will R. Bird to writer, 24 Nov. 1966. From the evidence available, the figure seems to be borne out; land grants to the early and some later Yorkshire settlers were in the order of five hundred acres, or multiples of this figure. One grant, that of James Hetcal, noted below, approximated to one-half the norm. Robinson and Rispin, however, listed in their tract (1774) of Nova Scotian travels "fifty-four farms and estates for sale or recently purchased by Yorkshiremen, ranging in price from £40 to £1,200;......farms......of all sizes, of great variety in land, and with varying buildings and stock" (summarised, Brebner, p.166, 166n.).

2. J. Robinson and T. Rispin, A Journey through Nova Scotia (York, 1774); John Robinson, A Journey to Nova Scotia (York, 1774), p.1. The York Chronicle, 3 Feb. 1775, advertised the following: "information about the ship Jenny, being prepared for Nova Scotia, can be obtained from Mr. John Robinson, of Bewholm in Holderness, an intended passenger, and author of the late Journey through Nova Scotia, who lately bought an estate there, and whose books are to be sold at Mr. Etherington's, York...." Etherington's York Chronicle, 7 Jan. 1774 to 28 Jun. 1776, was the current title of the York Chronicle, continuing as Etherington's York Chronicle, or the Northern Flying Post and General Advertiser until 24 Jan. 1777: George E. Laughton and Lorna R. Stephen, Yorkshire Newspapers: a bibliography with locations (London: the Library Association, 1960).

Methodist from Hutton Rudby, having sold his interest in the paper mill there, bought 2,500 acres of land, together with livestock, for £500, and built a family home at Sackville, on a ridge of land overlooking the Bay of Fundy. The great majority of the sixty-two passengers, however, who sailed from Liverpool for Nova Scotia in the Duke of York in March 1772, found land at Maccan (including the modern Athol and Mapleton) and Nappan, some dozen miles from Sackville, across the inlets of the Cumberland Basin. James Metcalf was probably one of these passengers: writing to his future wife still in Yorkshire, he declared: "I have 207 acres of land, very good land, a good part of it will be easily cleared because it hath been formerly cut by the French. I and other two have 45 acres more for 5 years. An orchard that grows plenty of apples; to desire to plow ye 45 acres and to sow it with wheat and other grain; it is pleasant and

1. After New Brunswick's creation as a separate entity in 1784, Sackville, resurrected from three earlier destroyed Acadian villages, became part of that province, about six miles inside the border. (Haliburton, II, p.613).

2. Mary Phillips, The Dalesman, XXVIII, 12 (Mar. 1967), 948-49; Haliburton, II, p.64; info. ex-letter, Will R. Bird to writer, 24 Nov. 1966. The Dixon land was located near marshland, known to the present day as Dixon Island Marsh. Only one other family from the Duke of York is known to have settled at Sackville, although Cumberland County of Nova Scotia then included much of the present Westmorland County of New Brunswick.
will be a fruitful place with cultivation”. 1. John Harrison, of Rillington, 2 who, together with his wife and nine children, left Scarborough for Nova Scotia in the spring of 1774, 3 obtained a grant of 500 acres on both sides of the Maccon River. 4 A second John Harrison, of Guisborough, was advertising for sale by September 1774, "A convenient FARM, consisting of a Dwelling-house and Barn, lately built, with a garden and orchard of good fruit-trees in their prime; also about 300 acres of clear land, and liberty of cutting wood on 2000 acres of wood-land, pleasantly situated upon the basin of Mines [ Mines Basin ] in Nova Scotia ......"; the notice concluded with a reference to the abundance of fish and proximity of the sea.

1. James Metcalfe, Maccon, to Ann Gill, 'with Mr. Thomas Wilkinson, Martin Lordship, near Genongwould, in Yorkshire, England', 10 Aug. 1772 (Original letter in possession of Will R. Bird, Halifax, N.S.; typescript copy held by writer). The aggregate of 207 and 45 acres was almost exactly one-half the normal Franklin grant. The conclusion that Metcalfe probably sailed on the *Duke of York* is based on:

(a) the date of the letter: after disembarking at Halifax, the passengers completed their journey to Fort Cumberland by schooner, arriving 21 May 1772 (Will R. Bird, *A Century at Chignecto: the Key to Old Acadia* (Toronto, 1928), p.213);

(b) Metcalfe suggests that Ann should sail by Liverpool ("The passage is paid at Liverpool before you go on board, but if you should not be able to pay, make friends to some that come and I will pay; write to James Shanks at Liverpool about it"). He also indicates that she will take the same route from Halifax onwards, followed earlier by the *Duke of York*'s passengers ("you will sail up to Fort Cumberland");

(c) the writer advises Ann, "If you write to me you must direct to me at Maccon near Fort Cumberland to ye care of Governor Franklin at Halifax, Nova Scotia".

'Martin Lordship near Genongwould' may be interpreted almost certainly as 'Marton Lordship, near (and east of) Esingwold,' in the North Riding. Marton Lordship is noted on Thomas Jefferys' *Map of Yorkshire*, Plate VIII (1772), and approximates in location to the modern Marton in the Forest.

2. Rillington is situated four miles N.E. of Walton.


for shipping. One Yorkshire emigrant, Thomas Lumley, who
left in March 1774, bought out four earlier settlers, thereby
gaining 2000 acres of land in the area of modern Southampton.

Although Michael Francklin's almost chance visit to
Yorkshire, and the rather later propaganda of his agents
established in the county, were undoubtedly of the utmost
importance in directing potential emigrant interest towards
Nova Scotia in the years 1772-73, the Lieutenant-Governor's
aims for peopling the province in general, and his own lands
in particular, by determined agriculturalists, gained unexpected
support in the writings of the two already noted Yorkshire
farmers, John Robinson and Thomas Rispin. In many respects,
the notes of these observers probably produced a greater impact
on the would-be emigrant than the propaganda of Francklin's agents.


2. Thomas Lumley (45), his wife, Ruth (44), and two children
(Diana, 14; John, 6) are noted as sailing on the Albion from
Hull, week 7-14 March 1774, for Fort Cumberland, N.S.
Reputedly a son of the Earl of Lumley (Durham), but noted in the
shipping lists as being from Yorkshire, and a tenant of
'Mr. Knowale', Thomas Lumley was a forebear of Dr. Will R. Bird

3. Apart from Francklin's encouragement of Acadian remnants to
settle at Minudie, Haliburton also notes, for 1 July,1768:
"Warrants of Survey issue, for lands lying between Sissaboo
and Cape St. Mary, to be laid out as a Township, which it is
ordered by Michael Francklin, shall be called Clare."
(Haliburton, I, p.247; II, p.64).

4. J. Robinson and T. Rispin, A Journey through Nova Scotia (York,
1774); J. Robinson, A Journey to Nova Scotia (York, 1774).
There is no evidence of collusion between Francklin and
Robinson and Rispin; indeed, the documents of the latter are
based on well-balanced observations, neither exaggerating the
advantages nor minimising the difficulties facing the new
settlers, and, though persuasive overall, are a far cry from
some of the more extravagant claims made by Francklin.
The visitors' observations were based on their own personal experiences in 1774, not on second-hand information: they saw the new lands, at first neutrally, through the farming eyes of Yorkshiremen abroad, and explained the situation to Yorkshiremen at home in easily understood language; and Robinson, despite the difficulties inherent in settlement, supported his contentions by buying land.1

What were these contentions? Underlying all the recorded observations of the Yorkshire travellers is the basic premise that as long as the emigrant worked with perseverance in his new land, whether he be landowner or tenant, farmer or labourer, he could not fail to benefit from the opportunities awaiting him in Nova Scotia. Moreover, even if he began as tenant or labourer, there was every likelihood for him of land ownership within a generation of arrival, and consequently, a far more secure future for his sons than could ever be the case in Yorkshire. Describing fully the land situation as they found it, for the benefit of their readers at home, Robinson and Bispin noted the

1. A discrepancy may be noted in the evidence relating to Robinson's acquisition of land in Nova Scotia. The advertisement in the York Chronicle, 3 Feb. 1775, noting Robinson's recent publications, clearly states that "Mr. John Robinson, of Bewholme in Holderness [near the East Yorkshire coast, 2½ m. W. of Atwick and 2¾ m. N.W. of Hornsea], an intended passenger [on the ship Jenny] .... lately bought an estate there". An addendum to this advertisement (10 Feb. 1775) further states: "Three of the above persons [these are named, one of whom is Robinson] purchased estates the last year [that is, 1774] in Nova Scotia ....". However, in the actual shipping list of the Jenny, the reason for leaving given by John Robinson, described as 'Husbandman' (aged 47), and accompanied by his daughters, Ann and Jenny (aged 15 and 9), is "To make a purchase or return". (Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXV (Apr. 1911), 125: the Jenny sailed from Hull, week 3-10 April 1775). Was this literary licence on the part of the Yorkshire writer in anticipating the event; or was it the latter's intention to buy more land, if possible; or did the customs' scribe misunderstand the reason; or was this a quite different John Robinson in the list of passengers, the least likely supposition? At all events, Robinson did buy land, at Cornwallis (Brebner, p.166n.).
earlier Acadian techniques in Cumberland County associated with the long-term refreshment of land by means of the regulated, but extensive, use of sea-dykes, or in the short-term, by the use of stream floodwater to obtain almost saltless silt deposits.\(^1\) Favourable impressions were also gained from the wide range of arable and pasture farming possible in the province - wheat, maize, rye, oats and barley; hemp and flax; peas, beans and pumpkins; horses, cattle, sheep and pigs.\(^2\) A quite different attraction rested in the inhabitants themselves: those of Halifax seemed "a civilised, well-behaved people", while those to the west, the ones most likely to be encountered by the Yorkshire settler, were "a stout, tall, well-made people, extremely fluent of speech, and remarkably courteous to strangers.\(^3\) Indeed the inhabitants, in general, poor as well as rich, possess much composure of good manners, with which they treat each other as well as foreigners."\(^4\)

Nevertheless, all was not perfect in the writers' eyes.

The imperfections lay, they asserted - often with some justification, but sometimes probably through ignorance of local conditions - in the mis-use or lack of use, past or present, of potentially rich land. The dyked marshlands of the Isthmus of Chignecto, ably worked by the former Acadians, were largely ignored, except for pastureage and hay, by the New England immigrants of the early 1760's, who preferred the river meadows of westernmost Cumberland County.\(^5\) The two Yorkshire farmers and

1. Robinson and Rispin, pp.12, 31-35.
2. Brebner, pp.139, 141-42.
3. This quality extended to their children.
5. C.B. Ferguson, "Novo Scotia," Encyclopædia Canadensis, VII, pp.408-08; after 1784, and the inauguration of New Brunswick, this part of Cumberland County was included in the new province.
other contemporary observers usually agreed that "the general level of farming intelligence and technique [both Acadian and New England immigrant] was low,"¹ that manure was wasted, that cows were only producing half their full potential of milk because they were not allowed to pasture at night,² and that the Acadians had been indolent cultivators,³ the New England settlers of the Annapolis valley, bad farmers.⁴

Rightly or wrongly, Robinson and Rispin felt that the seemingly low efficiency of Nova Scotia agriculture stemmed essentially from ignorance and poor technique, rather than from a lack of natural fertility, or the climatic effect of harsh winters. What was needed to produce substantial improvement was the incursion of determined, knowledgeable farmers, who, whilst well versed in practical husbandry, were not afraid to experiment in a new environment, improving the best elements of agriculture and rejecting the worst; and in the case of the Annapolis valley, by the substitution of "English farmers of substance" for the "very poor" ex-soldier settlers from New England.⁵ Through these Yorkshire eyes, then, the answer was seen to be a simple one. Nova Scotia needed Yorkshiremen, their investment, their skills and their

2. Robinson and Rispin, pp.22-24 (but manure was scarcely needed with efficient use of flooding and drainage for restoring fertility).
5. Ibid.
dependability!

Not all Yorkshiremen, of course, even those teetering on the brink of final decision to cross the Atlantic, saw the answer quite so clearly, and their seeming temerity was chided by Robinson and Rispin, "Who then would continue here [Yorkshire]", they demanded, "to be racked up till bread can scarce be got?" Turning the evidence of agricultural depression in Nova Scotia to their own argument, they went further in asserting that, apart from the wasteful, inefficient development of land by earlier settlers, the only reason for this low state of affairs was the faint-heartedness and fear of hard work on the part of the potential Yorkshire emigrant.2.

Robinson and Rispin were by no means the only torch-bearers for Nova Scotia, "that Land of LIBERTY and FREEDOM".3 Other individuals in smaller or more indirect ways played their part in explaining the advantages of emigration to that province. Those emigrants from Yorkshire who returned temporarily from America before setting out once more, whether intending to

1. Robinson and Rispin, p.34.
2. Ibid., pp.31-35. This dogmatism was, of course, intended for the Yorkshire reader. Compare the reflections of an independent Yorkshire observer reporting from Stokesley in Cleveland: "... I am of opinion, that those who talk most of emigrating, will not have the courage to venture thither..."; and of another, the following spring from Scarborough:"others... were much depressed, fearing they had been too precipitate in their resolution of leaving their native home". (Leeds Intelligencer, 23 Nov. 1773; 19 Apr. 1774). Even so, if we are to take John Robinson's reason for emigration, expressed prior to his sailing on the Jenny, at its face value, he himself left open the alternative, "To make a purchase, or return". (Pothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXV (Apr. 1911), 124).
3. Nova Scotia was frequently so described in shipping advertisements: two examples are (for ship Two Friends) York Chronicle, 12 Nov., weekly to 31 Dec. 1773; and (for ship Thomas and William), 7 Jan., weekly to 25 Feb., and 11, 18 Mar. 1774).
broadcast the opportunities of the province or not, by their very actions frequently influenced others to take the same step. Some sailed the second time accompanied by kinsfolk or friends. One such emigrant was William Clark, "a highly respected tenant farmer of Yorkshire", who, leaving (probably) Allerston, with his four children and nephew, John Bath, sailed from Hull in the spring of 1775 to Annapolis. About a year later, he returned to his former county and emigrated a second time with his brother, John (Clarke), wife and five daughters. William Clark may well have been influenced in his initial decision to emigrate by the writings of Robinson and Rispin, and by their reflections on the need of the Annapolis valley to be peopled by "English farmers of substance". In turn, at the family level, Clark presumably had some influence, first, on the emigration of his nephew John Bath, by the same ship, and later, on that of his brother John and family. He may well have had wider influence still through the medium of the press advertisement.

1. Allerston is situated in the North Riding, 5 m. E. of Pickering. In the advertisement for the Prince George, intending emigrants are referred to "William Clark, at Allerstone", if they desire information (York Chronicle, 27 Jan. 1775); and for the Jenny, to "Mr. William Clark, of Alestone". (York Chronicle, 17 Feb., 3, 24 Mar. 1775).  

2. Info. ex-letters, Mrs. G.L. Cousins, (temporarily in) Heywood, Lanes., to Hull Central Library, 25 Apr. 1966; Mrs. G.L. Cousins, Halifax, N.S., to writer, 2, 14 Nov. 1966, citing W.A. Colne, The History of Annapolis County (Toronto; Montreal; Halifax, N.S.; London, 1897). William Clark, farmer, aged 42, his four children (Mary, 13; William, 10; Richard, 9; Rachael, 3), and John Bath, servant, aged 23, are recorded as sailing on the Jenny, Hull to Annapolis (also Halifax and Fort Cumberland), week 3-10 April 1775 (Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXV (Apr. 1911), 123-24). Clark was another whose motive is stated as "Going to purchase or Return".


In this respect, Clark was only one of a number to whom the intending, but apprehensive, emigrant could turn for advice on his prospects. Where the man with information to give about Nova Scotia was himself emigrating, perhaps even sailing for the second time, his prestige-value to the ship-owner or ship's captain was immediately enhanced. Certain shipping advertisements in the Northern press are particularly illuminating on this point. In addition to John Robinson and William Clark, already noted, the group of notices in the York Chronicle referring to the Jenny lists a number of individuals from whom information about Nova Scotia and the means of conveyance could be obtained. One piece of advice reads: "Three of the above persons purchased estates the last year [1774] in Nova-Scotia and may be greatly serviceable in directing any that may go over." By process of elimination, and omitting the captain of the Jenny, the sellers of John Robinson's Journey, and Robinson himself, two names remain — "Mr. Christopher La(y)bourn, of Hull", and "Mr. Christopher Harper, of Barthorp-Bottoms". The former is not noted as sailing prior to 1776, but Christopher Harper (aged 45, farmer) — "Having made a purchase is going to reside there" — together

1. York Chronicle, 10 Feb. 1775.

2. Later described as 'merchant in Hull' (York Chronicle, 17 Feb. 1775).

3. Barthorpe Bottoms is a locality in the East Riding, situated below the western edge of the Wolds, 4m. N.E. of Stamford Bridge and 8m. S.S.W. of Malton.
with Elizabeth, his wife (aged 40), and seven children, ranging in age from 15 to 4, sailed on the Jenny for Fort Cumberland. 1

A further notice indicates that "Mr. William Black, of Huddersfield" is willing to give information about Nova Scotia; and this man (aged 43, a 'Linen Draper'), Elizabeth, his wife (36), four sons and a daughter (ages 15 to 7), and possibly two or three servants, are the first listed of the Jenny's passengers in April 1775. Black, also "having made a purchase, is going with his family to reside there". 2 A similar example was advertised in the Newcastle press the previous year: would-be passengers on the ship Mary, sailing from Stockton-on-Tees for Nova Scotia in April 1774, were advised to apply to, among others, "William Paterson, in Sunderland", or to "William Robinson, in Stockton, aforesaid, who lately arrived from that county, and is now going over again in the said ship". Both are duly noted as sailing on the Mary in the week, 19-26 April, the first, a 'Shop keeper', aged 34, and Robinson, a 'Tallow Chandler and Soap Boiler',


2. Ibid.; York Chronicle, 17 Feb., 3, 24 Mar. 1775. Mildred Campbell, 9, citing Historical Record of the Family of William Black (Amherst, N.S., 1885), pp. 1-8, recounts: "William Black and his well-born wife moved in proper county circles in the West Riding until a legal technicality deprived them of a comfortable legacy they had counted on. Rather than face a lowering of county status at home, they decided to emigrate, and along with four sons, a daughter, and two servants are in our list for March 1774, bound for Nova Scotia to buy land". I am unable to find any evidence among passenger-lists relating to William Black and his family's departure in the spring of 1774, nor at any time during that year. Yet, if his motive is recorded correctly, Black had already made the purchase in Nova Scotia before he and his family emigrated. Joshua Marsden, The Narrative of a Mission to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Somers Islands (Plymouth-Dock, 1818), p.25n., refers to William Black, indirectly through his son of the same name, as a "reputable farmer who had emigrated from Huddersfield, in Yorkshire", but does not state the year of emigration. According to the Jenny's passenger-list, William, jr., was aged 14 in 1775.
and his wife, Mary, aged 32 and 35: both men gave as their reasons for going, "To seek for better Employ". Whilst it is true that all the thirty-four passengers on the Mary were stated to be from Durham, and only three or four of the men described themselves as farmers, most, if not all, had found themselves caught up in the emigration fever prevalent in the county to the south. It was, after all, but a short distance from south Durham across the Tees to the Cleveland area of Yorkshire.

There can be little doubt that the men exemplified above, especially those sailing out to farm land perhaps already purchased, men able and willing to give information about Nova Scotia, formed a powerful inducement to the prospective emigrant, as long as this source of information reached his notice.

Another important 'pull' factor, usually taken for granted in the consideration of nineteenth-century emigration to North America, but frequently overlooked in the eighteenth, was the part played by correspondence at the personal or familial level. It is true that in the nineteenth century, particularly with the advent of regular sailing, especially steamship, dates to and from North America, and the improvement of overland routes, with their ever greater employment of rail, correspondence with

1. Newcastle Courant, 22 Jan., 12 Mar., 2 Apr. 1774; Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXII (Oct. 1909), 345-46; Leeds Mercury, 1, 22 Mar., 1774, notes: "Accounts from different parts of the North Riding... and South parts of the county of Durham indicate that]vast numbers of farmers and artificers are preparing to go to North America". Similar information was repeated in York Chronicle, 4, 25 Mar. 1774; and Leeds Intelligencer, 22 Mar., 5 Apr. 1774.
even remote western regions of the continent became more certain and of increasing volume. In the eighteenth century, it is equally true that, whilst correspondence was most commonly at the governmental, military and mercantile levels, and even so, their means of conveyance were frequently subject to harassment by foreign ships during wartime, and privateers at all times, letters were certainly written at the purely personal level by the emigrant to his kinsfolk and friends at home. Letters, despite the expense and uncertainty, were sent and received.¹

In the years, 1774-75, the Northern press printed, either in part or in entirety, a number of letters originally written home by recently departed emigrants, or by those who felt they had something of value to say about North America in general, and Nova Scotia in particular. The overall antagonism of the Northern press towards emigration after about 1772 has already been noted: the letters were presented as one element in the blast of counter-propaganda against emigration, and all were used to support the view that widespread emigration could only lead "to the ruin and distress of their Mother Country",² and that the individual emigrant "will soon (though too late) repent in sackcloth and ashes, of taking so precipitate a step".³

Even if totally authentic, and with printed extracts not taken

² Leeds Intelligencer, 5 Oct. 1773.
out of context, the letters tell one-sided, dismal tales of woe and despondency. With only one exception, the names of writers and recipients alike are omitted, possibly out of courtesy to friends and relatives still in Yorkshire, but, nevertheless, contrasting sharply with the open advertisement of names in the shipping notices, where, for obvious reasons, ship-owners and captains did all they could to extol the advantages of emigration.

In the spring of 1774, one Yorkshire newspaper printed an extract from a letter received from Maryland which referred in general geographical terms to the 'back country'. "Many people from England and Scotland", the writer rued, "are flocking to different parts of this Continent on divers schemes.... It is a very trying climate, the two extremes of heat in summer, and cold in winter, are severely felt here. Whole families are daily arriving and travelling into the back country, seeking to take up and cultivate land, which, from experience, they find to be a very laborious task: It is just like setting a man in the middle of a wood, for country, in its native state, is all covered with wood, and I have seen many people fatigued to death in a little time. — Happy are they that can rest contented at home." More pessimism appeared

1. This omission is generally far less suspect in the printed emigrant letters of, say, the 1830's, 40's and 50's, when emigration was not only accepted by many as a natural movement, but also, indeed actively encouraged to the developing British possessions.

later in the year from another writer: "They little know what they must suffer from change of soil and climate, and the toil they must endure before they can make bread to eat; and if, by their industry, they at the last attain to live free from want, they need never expect to grow rich, for they must settle so far inland, that the produce of their land will bear a very low price...." After noting the almost total lack of cash and the disadvantageous bartering of crops for clothing, tools, salt and sugar, the writer's extract concluded with the ominous warning: "Those who are gone to Nova-Scotia will have five or six months winter".1

Two further printed letters, in September 1774 and early 1775, expressed their jaundiced views. The first, an excerpt from a letter written from Halifax, N.S., by 'a young woman that sail'd from Hull the beginning of March in the Two Friends for Nova Scotia' would intimidate any uncertain emigrant who read it.2 The Two Friends was at sea nine weeks, during which time, the girl wrote, "the ill treatment we met with. I assure you our usage was as bad as tho' we had been transports, not being permitted to go on deck when the weather permitted, but as the captain pleased". Even on landfall, there was no improvement. "To our sorrow", she continued, "when we got on land we found it to the full as bad as when we were on board. As for my part I went to a place of service for three weeks.

2. The Two Friends left Hull in the week, 28 Feb. - 7 Mar., 1774. Of the 103 passengers listed and named, only four fit the description of the letter-writer: Elizabeth Wrightson, Jane Harrison, Elizabeth Abba, and possibly, Mary Brown: the first three are aged 20, the last, 26; all are described as 'servants', but Jane Harrison as 'maid servant', and appear to be travelling independently. (Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Jan. 1909), 28-31).
and had I been a poor beggar I could not have been worse used.* The province "is a desolate, oppressed, and almost uninhabited country"; the people "in general seem to be poor miserable beings; ... their food is chiefly fish, which is not very delicate, but cheap. Flesh is very scarce and dear". The final shot was: "I am going to leave this place soon ...." Without in any way belittling, the dangerous, uncomfortable, protracted crossing of the Atlantic, and the attendant homesickness felt by the girl, the letter, despite its inclusion of "pray describe the country as I have done, every word I have wrote being truth", displayed such pessimism, as printed, that the press was able to hit out at both emigration to Nova Scotia and the conveyors of emigrants.¹

The second letter, printed this time in the *Newcastle Journal*, though similarly full of distress, is of more than usual value in this study, because, for once, the whole letter was included - 'a literal Copy', it was claimed - and the names of the writer, the recipient and the emigrant's former landlord were all noted. Michael Noddins, who had emigrated

in early April, 1774, from a 'Farm belonging to Sir Griffith Boynton, of Rousby, near Whitby', wrote in the October of that year from Windsor, N.S., to Mr. John Outram of Kilham, East Yorkshire, pleading with him to allow a "Piece of Ground under your liberty, if you have any at vacancy, and we will come at the first opportunity next May [1775], for the Country we don't like; it will never dow any People any Good that come into it, ....." Nodding then went on to repeat the same complaints as those noted elsewhere: "... the Seasons are so short we have no Time to do any Thing, and the wheat has not Time to turn; there is a Sort of Maldue strikes on it in the Bloom, and it never fills....."; a lack of cash; costly goods, labour and wearing apparel; and a distant market. Added to this, Nodding's wife was also very unsettled: "my wife", he complained, "is very discontent, and she desires you would take Pitty on her and her Famely, for if we had known we would never have left Old England". Finally, the press criticism of emigration seemed

1. Michael Nodding(s), (age omitted; 'Farser') is listed as one of the passengers sailing the week, 5-12 Apr. 1774. There is 'No Account of Ships', but his passage would be by either the William and Mary or Prince George, sailing that week from Scarborough for Nova Scotia (Fothergill, "Emigrants from England" Will (Jul. 1909), 241-44).

2. Rousby, or Roxby: a township in the parish of Rinderwell, 2¼m.W. of that village, which stands overlooking Staithes Bay and the North Sea, about 9m. N.W. of Whitby. Sir Griffith Boynton, the landlord of Michael Nodding, died in 1778. He was the son of Sir Griffith (d.1761) and grandson of Sir Francis Boynton (d.1739); V.C.H. Yorks. N.E. 11, p.369; E.R. Kelly (ed.), F.O. Directory of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, with the City of York (London, 1879), p.163.

3. Kilham: situated 5m. N.E. of Driffield, on the edge of the Wolds. It seems possible that Michael Nodding, before emigrating, was a tenant of Sir Griffith Boynton, not in the Staithes area of the North Riding, but on the latter's land in or near the Wolds, for Kilham is only about 7m. W.N.W. of Barnston and 5¾m. S.W. of the hamlet named Boynton.
fully substantiated by the writer's statement that
"Them that came over two or three Years since, that gave
such Encoragement, are almost starved...." - a gross
exaggeration, as disproved by other sources, but an
indication of how one man's views could be turned to
the advantage of a set argument.1

Certainly, the above letters would do nothing to
dispel, indeed, would probably increase, the apprehensions
of prospective emigrants. These were the undisputed
intentions of the Northern press. But, what of the other
letters written home from Nova Scotia, those letters which
did not find their way into print, or were perhaps
intentionally ignored by the press, those letters presenting
the other side of the coin? Unfortunately, very few of
the original emigrant letters written from Nova Scotia are
now extant, and the reasons for this are not far to seek.
It is true that in the eighteenth century purely personal
letters, despite difficulties in corresponding, were

1. Michael Noddins, Windsor, N.S., to John Outram, Kilham,
3 Oct. 1774 (printed in Newcastle Journal, 18 Feb. 1775). There is no note in the passenger lists of the
William and Mary and Prince George, of Noddins being
accompanied by a wife and family, although there is some
doubt in the writer's mind as to the completeness of the
passenger-lists relating to these ships (see pp.85-86).
It is quite possible, however, that Noddins married the
daughter from another emigrating family, or a widow with a
young family in N.S., between April (the month of sailing)
and October (the date of the letter), 1774. The reference
to "her and her [ not 'our'] Famely", supports this view.
written home from overseas: in the specific case of Yorkshire emigration to Nova Scotia, it is probable that relatively few long personal letters were written home. One reason was that the emigration period only covered the years, 1772-75, before colonial hostilities in North America and warfare at sea clamped down both on emigration and - but did not entirely prevent - non-official correspondence. Again, a number of the letters written by the early emigrants in 1772 to their relatives in Yorkshire were in turn taken back to Nova Scotia by those who were induced to sail later. These, if preserved at first, were lost or destroyed with the passage of time. The factors of general rural literacy-standards in Yorkshire and the shortage of writing materials in the outlying parts of Nova Scotia doubtless also played their part; and these, in any case, perhaps excluded more than a cursory note home.

The direct evidence, or hearsay, contained in surviving correspondence, however, normally bears a marked contrast to that printed in the Yorkshire press. Of course,

1. Consider the protracted correspondence lasting some three years, 1744-47, between Susanna Lister, Neuse River, N.C. (and her father, John Lewis, Upper Appomattox, Va.), and her brother-in-law, Samuel Lister, Halifax, Yorkshire, over the settlement of a debt, stated by the last to be in excess of £1,000 stg. - although here, Susanna's tardiness in writing and probable reluctance to pay were factors. (Lister MSS, LL 43-50; J.T. Dixon, "The Problem of Imperial Communications...", Appendix B, esp. pp. 295-303).

just as it is true that the press was strongly motivated in its printing of emigrant opinions, albeit negatively, it is equally certain that other letters were written home with the express purpose of encouraging others to follow. Less-than-honest motives may well have been behind some correspondence. The possibilities of life in the province may have been painted in too glowing colours by the man tempting the girl left behind to join him as his wife, or by the man out to prove himself right in emigrating, whatever the new environment was in reality. These descriptions in emigrant letters may have ranged from the over-optimistic to the downright dishonest, but their consideration as a factor of inducement is totally valid because they did encourage potential emigrants to leave England.

Nevertheless, bearing all these possibilities in mind, one is impressed with the letter written by James Metcalf, from Maccan, in August 1772, to his betrothed, Ann Gill, and with its wise estimation of their chances together in Nova Scotia. Although Metcalf had at the time only been a few months in the province, his early impressions were favourable, yet he did not wish to pre-judge the country for others. "I shall be glad to see my master Wilkinson hear", he wrote, "but altho' ye countries good I would not advise him to come lest things should not do so well so I might be blamed, but if he should I think he might do well hear.... be
not discoriged by any thing in ye countery, for it is good...."1.

Guarded optimism was the keynote: "it is pleasant and will be a fruteful place with cultivation"; "people here are naturally kind, one to another, even the Indians, when a countryman comes to their wigwams, are, if they have any meat at all, they give him some". Was Metcalf being over-optimistic in planning to sow some wheat acreage and in asking Ann to bring with her "about a bushel of wheat if you can of 4 different kinds for seed; let yellow Kent be one and Hampshire brown another",2 in view of Michael Noddins' complaint that "the wheat has not Time to turn; there is a Sort of Meldue strikes on it in the Bloom, and it never fills...."?3 The two writers were in agreement over the shortage

1. Before his departure from Yorkshire in early 1772, Metcalf was probably a tenant, sub-tenant or labourer, and Ann Gill, at the time of the letter, still a servant, of the above-named [Thomas] Wilkinson, who, apart from this reference, is mentioned twice more in the letter:

(a) "I need not say much of my place nor of the countery by this letter for I have described it in the other letter to my master...."

(b) the letter to Ann Gill is directed to her, "with Mr. Thomas Wilkinson, Martin Lordship...."

It is possible that Metcalf was farming some of the acreage at Maccan on behalf of the said Wilkinson, before the latter's proposed emigration. Dr. Bird tells me that the letter took two years to reach Ann Gill (say, the Summer-Autumn of 1774), whereupon she left for N.S.; there is also a description of her first day at Fort Cumberland. An intensive search of the passenger lists from Jan. 1774 to Apr. 1776, however, has failed to reveal any relevant reference to Ann Gill or Wilkinson.

2. Ann is warned to "be carefull to keep it from salt water; you may if you please lay it like a pillow in your bed...."

3. Newcastle Journal, 18 Feb. 1775: But, Metcalf was farming at Maccan, Noddins writing from Windsor, N.S. Bremner, p.139, comments on the sharp climatic differences in N.S., and their effect on crops. Robinson and Rispin were surprised at the excellence of wheat grown on unmanured land.
of money, the variety of coinage, when available, and the high
cost of wearing apparel. Metcalf's only real complaint of his
new land — although he still had to spend a winter there — was
the nuisance of mosquitoes: "it is a little flye called a
misketo that is troublesome in some time and bites like a midge....
[the people] make a smoke at ye door sometimes in the evening
to keep them out of their houses". But, his optimism broke
through: "I am told by the people that came to the place 8 or 9
years ago 1 that there is becom much fewer of them; it is owing
to ye want of inhabitance and cattel to eat up the gras... This
is the only thing I have to say against ye place; all things I
think will be made up when inhabitance comes and trade increases".2

Another writer, however, found the mosquitoes unbearable
and saw no hope of the abatement of their furious summer activities
as the broadleaf marsh-hay was cut. "The muskeetoes are a
terrible plague in this country", he complained to his cousin
in Yorkshire: "You may think that muskeetoes cannot hurt a deal
but you are mistaken for they will swell our legs and arms
and faces, so that some is both blind and lame for some days,
and they grow worse and worse every year, and they bite the
English worst. When at work in the hay field some has to leave
their work and run home most bitten to death".3

1. These were presumably New Englanders.
2. James Metcalf to Ann Gill, 10 Aug. 1772 (Original letter in
possession of Will R. Bird, Halifax, N.S.; typescript copy in
writer's possession). Similar letters and, or extracts,
were formerly held by Dr. Bird.
3. Letter, N.S. to Yorkshire, c.1775: quoted by John Usborne,
"They Made History among the Spruce Forests....",
Yorkshire Post and Leeds Mercury, 18 Oct. 1956
James Metcalf's letter was only one of a number which were written home to Yorkshire by the settlers of 1772 and later. The fact that a fair proportion of these, whilst not minimising the difficulties involved, were confident in tenor may be partly inferred from the steadily continuing emigration to Nova Scotia, especially in the peak year of 1774. More specifically, at the village or small country town level, any letter from a recently departed acquaintance to his kinsfolk or friends would have great news — (and propaganda — ) value, and if the news were deemed genuinely hopeful, would greatly increase the inducement to emigrate. For this was the language readily understood by the unsophisticated, yet judicious, rural mind; it prompted many "to seek a better livelihood".

An element frequently occurring in the 'emigration tradition' is that of the husband setting out alone to find his fortune overseas, leaving his wife and family at home, until, having staked his claim to a 'better livelihood', he sends for them to join him.\(^1\) The fact that wife and children set out at some later date must also generally imply that the husband has somehow written home giving a sanguine view of the new country, and instructions on how the wife and family are to follow him.\(^2\) A number of Yorkshire wives in this category were recorded in the passenger-lists of 1774-75: all of them had presumably received some communication from husbands already resident in Nova Scotia, husbands who had almost certainly

1. *Sometimes*, of course, the family never did join the father, who conveniently 'disappeared' once he was in the 'Land of Fortune'.

2. Unless — surely on rare occasions — the wife followed on chance.
set out alone during the earlier departures of 1772-73. Ann Weldon (aged 38), who sailed with her four children on the Albion for Fort Cumberland in March 1774, was "going to her husband who is settled abroad".1 Similar reasons were given by several women sailing on the Jenny for Nova Scotia in April 1775: Mary Lowry and Mary Lowerson, each "Going over to her Husband"; Bridget Sedel (aged 38), with three children, "Going with her Children to her husband"; Elizabeth Anderson (aged 36), with five children, "Going over with her Children to her husband, who is Cooper to William Johnson"; and Mary Parker (aged 40), with two children, was "Going over to her husband, he having a Farm there". Although Sarah and Mary Fenton, aged 15 and 9, would be temporarily 'adopted' during the arduous passage by another family group, they were "going over to their Father", unaccompanied.2

2. Ibid., LXV (Apr. 1911), 123-25. 'Mary Lowry' and 'Mary Lowerson', both aged 27, and listed consecutively, may have been duplicate entries. William Johnson ('Farmer'), his wife, family, and a retinue of servants, also sailed on the Albion; it is likely that Elizabeth Anderson's husband had paved the way for his master, as well as his wife, Elizabeth, and children, to follow. William Johnson is noted as "Having purchased an Estate, is going over with his Family & Servants to reside".
Some correspondence, direct or indirect, must also have induced Sarah Barr (21, servant) and Richard Dobson (72, gentleman) to sail for Nova Scotia by the Albion, and Thomas E(l)ison (25, joiner), in April 1774, by the Thomas and William, William and Mary or Prince George, in each case emigrating perhaps only temporarily. "A relation being dead, they are going to settle their affairs", was the stated motive of the first two; "Being heir to an estate there", declared the third.¹

One 'pull' factor of immense importance, still to be considered, was that of convenient shipping to Nova Scotia. No matter how convincing the possibilities held out by Franklin in 1772, or the encouraging observations of Robinson and Rispin two years later, or the confident reports sent by the earlier settlers, it is almost inconceivable that Yorkshiremen would have flocked to that province, had it not been for the readily available means of conveyance from the country's ports. This did not mean, however, that Yorkshire ships were ready and waiting for emigrants before 1773. Indeed, all the early evidence points to Liverpool as being the recognised port of departure in 1772. "We are informed from the neighbourhood of Bridlington", ran a press report in early 1772, "that several people were going to Liverpool to embark for the bay of Fundy, in the province of Nova Scotia..." The

¹ Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Apr. 1909), 137; (Jul. 1909), 244.
Duke of York set out from Liverpool with a complement of
62 Yorkshire emigrants, including Charles Dixon and his family,
in mid-March of that year. James Metcalf, encouraging Ann Gill
to join him, suggested that she left by that port after writing
"to James Shanks at Liverpool about it", the inference being
that he followed the same route earlier in 1772, probably also
by the Duke of York.¹

It was, of course, occasionally possible to take passage
for Nova Scotia from a Yorkshire port prior to 1773, as witness
the advertisement, "For HALIFAX in NOVA-SCOTIA. The
SHIP HERMIONE will sail from Whitby about the Beginning of
June 1770, and proceed to Shields, where she will stop five or
six Days ... Freight of Goods or Passengers from either place...."²
But an infrequent, even rare, ship was neither an inducement to,
nor product of surging emigration. In general, during the
eighteenth century, the import trade from America through
Hull and the other Yorkshire ports was of small consequence
when compared with the Baltic trade by which most commodities,
particularly iron, timber and naval stores, could be obtained

¹ Newcastle Journal, 15-22 Feb., 1772; Leeds Intelligencer,
25 Feb., 1772; Mary Phillips, "Robin Hood's Bay...",
The Peaseman, XXVIII, 12 (Mar. 1967), 948; Will R. Bird,
A Century at Chignecto, p. 213; James Metcalf to Ann Gill,
10 Aug. 1772. Advertisements for the sailing of the
Duke of York appear in Liverpool General Advertiser, 14, 21,
28 Feb., 6 Mar., and the confirmation of sailing, 20 Mar., 1772.
The text of the advertisement is as follows: "For Halifax,
Annapolis Royal, and Fort Cumberland, in the Province of Nova
Scotia, The Ship DUKE OF YORK, John Ben, Master. A good strong
vessel, English built, with good accommodation for passengers,
will sail, wind and weather permitting, the first week in March;
For freight or passage apply to JAMES SHANKS, who has lands to
give to such as choose to become Settlers in said province".

² York Courant, 5 Jun., 1770.
more cheaply, easily and safely.\footnote{1} Since the American trade, particularly Nova Scotian, engaged so relatively few ships to and from Yorkshire, two adverse effects were felt by any potential passenger. First, only rare opportunities arose of sailing thither direct from the county. Moreover, from the standpoint of the ship-owner or captain only a small number of passengers, or emigrants, in total, were required as 'human ballast' to add to manufactured goods, on the outward journey to counter-balance the few inward-coming cargoes - that is, unless the potential trade became so great in itself as to warrant special charterings. For much of the century, passengers and emigrants were purely incidentals in the inferior American trade with and through Yorkshire ports.

Yet, during the two years, 1773-75, ship-owners at these ports, realizing that a highly remunerative trade in emigrants lay within their grasp, and, in particular, successfully gauging the increased demand for passages to Nova Scotia, quickly laid on vessels. For this short period, human rather than commodity cargoes took precedence; the stress lay not so much on finding emigrants to balance incoming cargoes, but on returning from Nova Scotia with some useful cargo to balance the outgoing Yorkshire families. In these circumstances, timber, though otherwise more cheaply and easily obtained from the Baltic, was perhaps the obvious choice.

\footnote{1} Gordon Jackson, Hull in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 37-39, 49-51. Even though ship arrivals at Hull from America became more numerous in the second half of the century, with 24 in 1768, the average annual number was only eight for the period, 1766-91; of these, 38 per cent came from N. Car.
The *Prince George*, for instance, which left Scarborough with emigrants on 9th April, 1774, reached Nova Scotia safely later that year. In advertising to would-be emigrants a further intended voyage of the same ship to the province at the beginning of 1775, Stephen Wharton, "merchant in Scarbrough", also added that he had for sale "about One Thousand Christiana clean Battens and Deals, likewise America clean Spruce Fir Planks, from 16 to 26 inches in breadth, and a parcel of Black Birch and Maple, &c., very suitable for cabinet makers' use". Wharton's interest in the Baltic trade seems certain, but were the saleable spruce fir planks, the black birch and maple, the return cargo of the *Prince George*'s 1774 voyage to Nova Scotia?

Similarly, the *Providence*, though admittedly of Newcastle, left the Tyne with emigrants for Nova Scotia in the second week of April, 1774, and returned "with Timber" at the beginning of the following October. It is likely, therefore, that some


3. *Newcastle Courant*, 19 Feb., 19 Mar., 3 Oct. 1774; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 11 Oct. 1774; *York Courant*, 19 Apr., 11 Oct. 1774. The sailing of the *Providence* is not noted in the shipping lists transcribed by Gerald Fothergill; the advertisements carried by the press indicated that the ship would be from Newcastle about the end of March, but the *York Courant* (19 Apr. 1774) specifically states: "Last Wednesday, the *Providence*, John Tinker, sailed from Shields for Annapolis Royal, in Nova-Scotia, having on board near 90 Emigrants".
ship-owners temporarily transferred at least one ship, perhaps their only ship, from the Baltic trade to the Nova Scotia run when there was this chance of higher financial return.1

Furthermore, ship-owners also doubtless hoped to gain by conveying, along with the emigrants themselves, goods most needed by the pioneering settlers in Nova Scotia. The cargoes of three Yorkshire emigrant vessels are noted in the shipping news of 1774-75; all are remarkably similar. In March 1774, the Two Friends left with "iron ware, linen and woollendrapery, Household Furniture, &c.," and the Albion with "woollendrapery, ironmongers ware and linen"; and the following spring, the Jenny carried "household furniture, wearing apparel, husbandry utensils, horses, bulls, earthen and ironmongers ware, linen and woollen drapery". The Prince George also had "excellent accommodations for passengers, or live cattle".2

This situation, then, for a brief period, produced a two-way inducement which worked to the mutual advantage of ship-owner and emigrant. The statute owner, by 1775, appreciated the profitable possibilities of laying on emigrant shipping (as opposed to the limited number of berths on the occasional ship) from Yorkshire ports, and the re-direction

It is impossible, with the evidence available, to compare total Nova Scotia passenger fares (plus value of goods carried out, and, say, timber, carried back) with Baltic trade returns, per ship and, or, per owner, but the former trade must have at least appeared more lucrative for relatively so many operators to have participated in 1774-75.

2. Leeds Mercury, 8, 15 Mar. 1774; York Courant, 8 Mar. 1774; York Chronicle, 11 Mar. 1774; 27 Jan., 17 Apr. 1775; Leeds Intelligencer, 15 Mar. 1774; Newcastle Chronicle, 12, 19 Mar. 1774; 15 Apr.1775. The first three ships all sailed from Hull. The York Chronicle, 1 Apr. 1775, adds "ale" to the list of commodities carried by the Jenny.
of some emigrant traffic from Liverpool towards the East Coast. Likewise, once it became generally known in the potential emigrant areas of Yorkshire that ships were being laid on, and that passages would be available from the Yorkshire ports (and the Tyne and Tees) to Nova Scotia, the inducement to leave became all the greater for those who were already three-parts convinced that emigration was the right path to take. The proximity of Hull, Scarborough and the like, to the Cleveland and the Wolds, may well have swung the balance in favour of emigration for those who had hitherto been only mildly interested in the idea. It is also possible that the emigrant response in 1774, and, to a lesser extent in 1775, surprised even some of the more sceptical Yorkshire ship-owners.

The advantages of sailing from a Yorkshire or north-eastern port were many. With the difficulties of overland travel, it was relatively easier for the emigrant to move himself, family and baggage, to the nearest Yorkshire port of emigration, albeit on the 'wrong' coast for North America, than to journey across 'the county of broad acres', the Pennine watershed and Lancashire, to Liverpool on the 'right', west coast. The distance from, say, the Cleveland area to Liverpool was, in a straight line, at least twice (and with the natural obstacle of the Pennines perhaps three times) the distance from Cleveland to Hull. It was surely far better and easier to travel with relatives, friends and neighbours, through York to Hull or Scarborough, facing the same problems of travel and embarkation, and sharing the same trials and sad farewells of departure, from a port in the same county, than to cross to
Liverpool in probably far smaller numbers. Liverpool did not, of course, lose its attraction for all Yorkshiremen even during this period, especially for those crossing to New York, and those originating in the West Riding, which, in any case, was roughly equidistant from the two coasts.

A further inducement to embark at a port on the Yorkshire coast was that of the potential emigrant's being well informed of proposed sailings by press advertisements. To select only two ships in 1774: the York Chronicle advertised the expected departure of the Thomas and William in every Friday issue from 7th January to 25th March, and of the Prince George from 28th January to 25th March. All other sailings were similarly advertised and repeated in the contemporary press of the county, as were the names of many scattered agents, from whom further information could be obtained, in the towns and villages of the North and East Ridings, besides York itself.

1. The York Chronicle, 25 Feb. 1774, noted: "Within these few days numbers of Farmers and artificers from the Northern parts of this county, have passed through this city in their way to Hull, where they intend to take shipping for North America". The Canterbury Journal, 29 Mar. 1774 (cited by Mildred Campbell, 16), recorded that a traveller from Kent encountered 40 emigrants, breaking their journey to Scarborough at an inn in York one evening in March 1774.

2. For example, the complement of the York Packet, which left Liverpool for New York in the week, 14-21 Mar., 1774, totalled 68 passengers, mostly "going to settle", and of these, 59 gave "Yorkshire" as their place of origin; Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Apr. 1909), 144-46.

Rather than crossing tediously to Liverpool on only the half-chance that a ship might be leaving for Nova Scotia, the would-be emigrant could be confident in the near certainty of departures from Yorkshire.¹

No consideration of this inducement would be complete without some brief reference to the fares charged by ship-owners in Yorkshire. The fares of three ships sailing in 1774 — the Two Friends (from Hull), the Thomas and William and Prince George (from Scarborough) — are noted as identical. For passengers aged ten, and over, the fare to Nova Scotia was £5; under ten, £2.10s.; and babies free.² The fares of the second ship were modified slightly nearer the sailing date: above ten, £5; between two and ten, £2.10s.; and under two, free; whilst for those finding their own provisions, the fares were reduced to £3.3s., aged ten and over; £2.2s., under ten.³

¹. It is remarkable that not a single sailing from Liverpool to Nova Scotia is recorded in the shipping lists of Jan. 1774–Apr.1776, whereas at least fourteen ships sailed from that port for Philadelphia, New York, Virginia, South Carolina and Jamaica during the same period.

². York Chronicle, e.g., 12 Nov. 1773; 7, 21 Jan. 1774.

³. Ibid., 18th Mar. 1774.
By contrast, the fares on two ships sailing for Nova Scotia from the Tees and Tyne (the Mary, 1774, from Stockton, and the Providence, 1775, from Newcastle) were advertised at slightly higher rates, but in themselves, were again essentially identical. Fares for the Mary were: above ten, £5.5s.; under ten, £2.12s. 6d.; and babies free. Passengers above ten years of age were allowed 5 cwt. of luggage free. Half the fare was to be deposited at the time of booking, the other half to be paid on embarkation. 1 Aboard the Providence, the fare was £10 for cabin passengers (with 10 cwt. of luggage free); passengers between decks, £5.5s. (with 5 cwt. free); children under ten, £2.12s. 6d.; babies, free between decks, but in cabins, to be charged £2.12.6d. also. 2

It has been stated that "captains and masters vied with each other in regard to passenger and freight space". 3 Certainly, there was the natural rivalry of several owners offering a similar service to emigrants, but even in 1774, this competition did not appear to result in the undercutting of passenger rates, which were so similar as to almost suggest a gentleman's agreement. The actual rates offered were probably occasioned by a rational assessment of several factors, including the cost of provisioning for emigrants, and the expense of modifying to some, but not great, extent, a former cargo vessel for passenger use; 4 the saleable value

1. Newcastle Courant, e.g., 22 Jan. 1774.
4. After the emigrant surge to Nova Scotia was over, the vessels doubtless returned to freight conveyance.
of goods carried out and those brought home on the return journey, and, above all, a reasonable profit-margin. On the positive side, competition was revealed in ship-notices as to the various advantages held by individual ships. Owners were quick to point out that the brig *Endeavour* (of Whitby), "220 tons burthen...two years old, hath good accommodation for passengers, being five feet six inches between decks, the greatest height of any Vessel of her burthen";\(^1\) that the *Thomas and William* (of Scarborough) was "well accommodated for passengers... [the] ship is now almost completely fitted out for...passengers";\(^2\) and the *Prince George*, "burthen 280 tons... [is] a remarkably fine vessel, a prime sailer, and has excellent accommodations".\(^3\) Similarly, the ship *Mary* (from Stockton), "burthen about 200 tons, will be well adapted for goods and passengers";\(^4\) and the owner of the *Providence*, due to sail from the Tyne in Spring 1774, described the ship as "a prime sailer, burthen about 240 tons, well found, four feet six inches between decks, with good accommodation for passengers". Two further advantages were offered: the *Providence* would "take only a limited number, to prevent sickness and the inconvenience which attend crowded vessels. A warehouse will be provided for goods, that the same may be properly stowed".\(^5\)

4. *Newcastle Courant*, e.g. 22 Jan. 1774.
If owners painted the advantages of their own ship in glowing colours, the individual might not have been averse to denigrating the ships of his rivals. One can only speculate that a rival was behind the malicious rumours spread about the Prince George and the Thomas and William, sailing from Scarborough in Spring 1774, although, perhaps, this suggestion is unfair in view of the many contemporary antagonists of emigration. "Some evil-disposed person or persons", ran the statement, "have maliciously reported that the ship PRINCE GEORGE...is totally unfit to perform the voyage, and that therefore the persons going therein must do it at the hazard of their lives and fortunes...." But, the owner replied: "the said report is without the least foundation and merely intended to draw all such passengers from him, for the emolument of some other owner, the...ship being not only in as good condition, but as well calculated for the above purpose as any other vessel advertised for such voyage". Further, the Prince George's owner was "determined to find out and call to severe account the propagator of the above most scandalous and malicious report"; and he doubted "not but every person's own reason will convince them that he (even void of common humanity) must know his own interest better than to send his vessel out to sea in order to be lost". ¹ The owner of the Thomas and William similarly hit back at rumour-mongers, by inviting "persons who reside in the country and intend to remove their habitations to this land of liberty, not being judges of a proper ship to accommodate them, for such a passage, [and who] have been intimidated by

¹ York Chronicle, 18 Feb. 1774.
threatening advertisements, and in doubt how to proceed;...
to make inquiry at Scarborough of any disinterested persons, who
are conversant in maritime affairs, and [to] go on board of
such ship, as they shall be advised is properly fitted, and
sufficient for the performance of such a voyage.”¹ As both
ships sailed with full complements, it seems that these
"scandalous and malicious" reports and "threatening
advertisements" were largely discounted or innocently ignored
by intending passengers to Nova Scotia.²

From the contemporary Northern press, one could gain
the impression that emigration to North America, and to
Nova Scotia, in particular, was essentially an idea put about
"by designing persons, who, it is believed, have some
sinister views";³ and that the outgoings were the result
of one vast confidence-trick in which ship-owners participated
out of greed in order to gain a quick profit. It can be seen,
however, that this Yorkshire movement in the 1770's, traditional
in some respects, unique in many others, developed through the
intricate interplay of a number of 'push' and 'pull' factors.
Whilst in no way underestimating the daunting prospect of an
Atlantic crossing or the hardships of settlement, Nova Scotia
as an answer to the problems and uncertainties of many
Yorkshiremen lay somewhere between the extremes described in print;
between an "unwholesome air and a trackless forest... a winter of
an insupportable length and coldness... [a summer] heat as
violent as the cold"; and the sarcastic observation, "in hopes

¹. York Chronicle, 18 Mar. 1774.
². York Chronicle, 26 Aug. 1774; Leeds Intelligencer, 19 Apr. 1774.
that when they arrive at the wished-for land, they will every
day have the pleasure of climbing up large mountains of roast
beef, and after that to swim in oceans of wine, and rivers of
rum".¹ Some emigrants, it is true, returned from Nova Scotia,
others might have done so if they had possessed the means, but
most stayed whatever the adversity to be faced.

¹ Philomatriae in *York Chronicle*, 6 Nov. 1774; 29 Apr. 1774.
3. YORKSHIRE SHIPS AND EMIGRANTS TO NOVA SCOTIA.

Various estimates of the number of emigrants and vessels from Yorkshire to Nova Scotia during all or some of the years, 1772-75, have already been made. Brebner, for instance, basing his estimate on several sources, has indicated that "from 1772 to 1775, when the Revolution checked the movement and almost ruined Franklin again, eleven substantial groups seem to have arrived, totalling well over one thousand settlers", from Yorkshire, with the overall total of settlers in the province from Britain during the same years perhaps in the region of two thousand.

Dr. Bird has stated that, as a result of Michael Franklin's mission to Yorkshire in 1772, eleven shiploads from the county reached Nova Scotia during the next two years, including nine in 1774 before the end of June. John Usborne repeated the same number of ships - "11 brigantines" - but in the years, 1772-73, and with total complements of "just over 600 Yorkshire men, women and children".


2. Brebner, p.120; For Scottish emigration during the same period, see: A.C. O'Dell and Kenneth Walton, The Highlands and Islands of Scotland (London: Edinburgh, 1962). pp.131-33.


4. John Usborne, Yorkshire Post and Leeds Mercury, 18 Oct.1956. Apart from the limited period noted, 1772-73, Usborne states that all the vessels left Hull. The Duke of York, at the very least, left Liverpool in March, 1772, for Nova Scotia; and from the evidence given later in this discussion, it would appear that Usborne overstates the case.
1772 and 1774 about 1,000 Yorkshiremen settled on the Isthmus of Chignecto, and in 1773 about 200 Scots settled at Pictou", estimated C.B. Fergusson.\(^1\) Mildred Campbell, using the official shipping lists, "numbered, all told, about eight hundred people", though Yorkshire emigrants sailing from ports other than in the county, and the destinations in North America other than Nova Scotia, were included in the total.\(^2\)

One aim of this section is to assess fairly the total number of Yorkshire emigrants involved in the movement to Nova Scotia; and two main sources are used - the nominal rolls collected at the Yorkshire ports of departure and contemporary references in the Northern press. The figures obtained from the two sources are not always coincidental: some ships are named in the press, but not in the nominal rolls, and the latter, though appearing quite exact, occasionally leave the reader doubting their completeness. Departures from other north-eastern ports on the Tyne and Tees are also mentioned, but emigrants sailing from these ports are, of course, excluded, unless some evidence demonstrates their Yorkshire origins. Against these departures and safe arrivals in Nova Scotia must also be considered the return of those emigrants who found the opportunities offered by the province below their expectations. Even taking into


account the biased reports of the Northern press, there is no doubt that some did return, but the number involved is very much a matter for conjecture, since only departures from Yorkshire are noted in the nominal rolls.

Not only does an assessment of the number of returning emigrants prove difficult, but also the total of those who set out prior to the surge of 1774, and before evidence was recorded in the weekly emigrant-passenger returns of December, 1773 - April, 1776. The only instance of Yorkshire emigration to Nova Scotia to excite the interest of the press in 1772 was in February of that year, in which, "from the neighbourhood of Bridlington, several people there are going to Liverpool to embark for the bay of Fundy, in the province of Nova Scotia, in order to settle." These, and others in the Cleveland area, including Charles Dixon and his family, were going "to settle on the lands of Michael Franklin, Esq." One man, it was reported, was worth £700, and was accompanied by "a working servant, hired at 30 pound a-year, bed and board". One point of interest for would-be emigrants was that "one Simpson has invented a machine by which six or eight men can draw very large trees up by the roots, which will be of very great use to that colony".1

The 1773 press reports of actual Yorkshire emigration to the province are only slightly more informative than those of 1772. Nevertheless, the pace was beginning to quicken.

In late February, "27 Persons from the Neighbourhood of Thirsk, and five from Malton, passed through Leeds on their Way to Liverpool, in order to ship themselves off for America," probably Nova Scotia; and towards the end of April, it was reported from Cleveland "that great Numbers of People have sold their Effects, and resolved to transport themselves to America", though, again, whilst probable, Nova Scotia cannot be claimed for certain as their destination, nor that they were definitely due to sail that spring. At the end of May, 1773, however, the Jupiter (Walker) sailed from Sunderland into the Roads, prior to a voyage to Nova Scotia, in order to take 150 "Persons" on board.

Towards the end of 1773, however, frequent press references foretold the developments in emigration about to take place from North Sea ports the following spring, with Cleveland and the North Riding being of particular interest. From Stokesley came the report "that several substantial farmers, in that town and neighbourhood, are preparing to go with their families and effects to America, by the first ships, and are hiring labourers and poor people to accompany them, for the purpose of cultivating their lands"; and another that "several families are preparing to go to America in the spring". With November, 1773, also came the first advertisement for a Yorkshire emigrant ship sailing to Nova Scotia.

2. Leeds Intelligencer, 1 Jun. 1773; Newcastle Journal, 5-12 Jun. 1773; York Courant, 8 Jun. 1773; York Chronicle, 11 Jun. 1773. It is possible that a number of the Jupiter's passengers were from Yorkshire.
the Two Friends (Roger Shepherd, Master) — due to sail at the end of March or early April, 1774, from Whitby. 1.

The high point of emigration to Nova Scotia from the Yorkshire ports, and the Tyne and Tees, came in 1774. Widespread reports told of many emigrants passing through York on their way to Hull, "vast numbers of farmers and artificers... preparing to go to North America", and "a very large number of emigrants... now waiting at Scarborough". 2 Reports such as these, the product of the great interest, even excitement, aroused by the transit of so many Yorkshiremen and their families to the coast, were shortly to be mirrored in ship-sailings.

In the spring of 1774, between the beginning of March and mid-April, five ships set out for the province from Yorkshire ports — two from Hull and three from Scarborough. 3 The Tyne and Tees also provided one ship-sailing each during the same period.

The Hull ships were the first to leave, the Two Friends (James Watt) sailing on 5th March, and the Albion (Thomas Forritt)

2. E.g., Ibid., 25 Feb., 4 Mar., 8 Apr., 1774.
3. The brig Endeavour was also advertised to sail from Whitby in March, but as no further press or roll evidence is noted, this apparently did not take place (York Chronicle, 14, 21 Jan. 1774; Newcastle Journal, 22-29 Jan. 1774).
in the second week of that month. Figures listed by the two sources of the numbers of emigrants carried by the two ships are quite comparable. In the case of the Two Friends, press reports are unanimous in noting 99 emigrants; the shipping roll lists 103 emigrants. Press reports of the Albion's sailing note, in general, 160 emigrants, though the latest Yorkshire edition gives the figure of 188, which is exactly the same as the shipping roll.

An accurate enumeration of the emigrants sailing from Scarborough, however, presents some difficulty. Three ships in all sailed from that port for Nova Scotia at the beginning of April - the Thomas and William (Samuel Pattinson, master), the William and Mary on the 4th and the Prince George (Robert Appleton, master) on the 9th. The Thomas and William's departure, although advertised, is not confirmed, nor is any emigrant figure given; the vessel's safe arrival at Halifax and Fort Cumberland, N.S., is noted, however, with "the passengers...landed all well, and increased two in number, two women being safely deliver'd in their passage".

The sailings of the William and Mary and Prince George within a few days of each other received wide press coverage, but emigrant

1. It is noteworthy that the Two Friends was originally advertised as due to sail from Whitby (York Chronicle, 12 Nov. 1773); and the Albion was described as "of Whitby" (ibid., 18 Mar. 1774). The respective owners obviously thought that Hull was a better prospect for emigrants and profit.


figures given are not precise: each treated separately carried "about" or "not less than" 150, or together, 270 emigrants.¹

Unfortunately, the emigrant return for the week, 5-12 April, is no more precise than the press reports, listing only 189 emigrants by name, or by relationship to the head of the family, as sailing from the port of Scarborough. Also, strangely enough, "No Account of Ships" is given on this occasion, whereas every other ship carrying emigrants from Yorkshire ports in the years, 1774-75, is named. The conclusion must be either that the press reports, though approximate, erred on the side of exaggeration, or that the weekly return omitted a substantial number of passengers. Moreover, is the nominal roll of 189 the total complement of two or all three ships sailing from Scarborough in the period? Other reports describing the preparations and movement of the many emigrants to the port would seem to suggest that the numbers were not fully listed. The official was perhaps overwhelmed by the surge for available shipping and failed to note some groups or individuals; he certainly failed to give, of those listed, the names of wives and children, this not being the general case at other ports.² Any assessment, then, of the numbers on board


2. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXII (Jul. 1909), 241-44. The official omitted to list, for example, a "Passenger... with 13 in Family" (York Courant, 12 Apr. 1774), the nearest being John Harrison (aged 54, Farmer), his wife and nine children; conversely, the press report may have exaggerated.
these three Scarborough vessels must be somewhat speculative. At the minimum, 189 emigrants are listed as leaving on two or all three ships, but the figure of 270 is probably nearer the mark for the combined totals of the William and Mary and Prince George.¹ The Thomas and William, despite the master's "being disappointed of sailing, according to former advertisements, by reason the greatest part of the passengers not having opportunity to settle their affairs, so as to be ready to sail at that time [mid-March] ", when it did sail at the beginning of April, probably augmented the above total of 270 emigrants by between another 75 and 100.²

A similar problem arises in the case of the Mary, although, since all the emigrants listed originated in the county of Durham, the ship's complement does not enter the calculations for Yorkshire. First advertised to sail from Sunderland at the beginning of April, the Mary, (John Cathrick) left that port on the 16th April for "the River Tees, having on board about 100 Emigrants, where they are to ship many more, and then proceed to Halifax in Nova Scotia".³ A slightly later report inferred that the Mary sailed from the Tees on the 16th (or 23rd), "with about 100 emigrants on board".⁴ For

1. York Courant, 12 Apr. 1774; Newcastle Courant, 16 Apr. 1774.
its part, the nominal roll recorded only 3½ men, women and children as sailing on the Mary from Stockton, during the week, 19-26 April, 1774. Was this another fault of omission, this time by the officials at Sunderland and Stockton: were the 34 emigrants from Stockton (if the list is complete) additional to "about 100 emigrants" from Sunderland, or part of "about 100 emigrants" sailing finally from the Tees? The two interpretations may produce answers of 'about' 134 and 66 emigrants, respectively, leaving Stockton by this ship. For the brigantine Providence (John Tinker, master), advertised to sail from the port of Newcastle, but reported as ultimately sailing from Shields for Annapolis Royal, N.S., on 15th April, no passenger list is included, and the noted "near 90" and "upwards of ninety emigrants" must be accepted as a reasonable estimate.

Fortunately, no problem of conflicting totals of emigrants exists in the one sailing to Nova Scotia from a Yorkshire port in 1775. It was apparent by the spring of that year that the flush of emigration to the province was over, and only two ships were advertised - the Prince George, which had sailed the previous April from Scarborough, and the Jenny (William Foster, Commander).

2. This assumes the press reports to be near the truth: the Leeds Mercury (22 Mar., 5 Apr. 1774) had indicated earlier that "great preparations" to emigrate were taking place in South Durham and Stockton.
due to sail from Hull or Bridlington. In the event, the Jenny sailed alone from Hull in early April, carrying "30 emigrants" - on this, both press and passenger lists concur - a number of whom, as already noted, were going to settle on land previously purchased. Even so, eighty emigrants on this unusually large, "remarkably fine lofty ship...of 500 tons burthen", was no great number, and the owner advertised letterly that the Jenny would also "take passengers and goods for Quebec". Also, in keeping with this marked decrease in emigrants from Yorkshire, only one ship was advertised to sail from the Tyne to Nova Scotia in 1775, this again being the Providence, which had carried out some ninety emigrants the previous April.

On this occasion, when the ship sailed from Newcastle in the week 17-24 April, she conveyed but a single emigrant - Mathew Newton, aged 30, a "Yeoman" of Durham, who was going out "In expatation of better Employ".

From the points already made and the summary included overleaf, it can be seen that even with the assistance of apparently precise passenger lists, it is impossible to calculate to the last man, woman and child, the exact number of emigrants leaving Yorkshire for Nova Scotia between 1772 and 1775.

4. York Chronicle, 31 Mar., 7 Apr. 1775; Newcastle Chronicle, 8 Apr. 1775. The Providence (Tinker) was even advertised to sail from Newcastle to Halifax, N.S., about 20th February 1776 (Newcastle Courant, 13, 20 Jan. 1776), but the passenger lists up to April 1776 contain no evidence of her sailing.
### Emigrants to Nova Scotia

#### 1772 | 1773 | 1774 | 1775
--- | --- | --- | ---
1. **Yorkshire Emigrants**
   - (a) from Liverpool:
     - Duke of York (62) (incl., or +, "several people from neighbourhood of Bridlington")
     - "From neighbourhood of Thirsk" (27)
     - Malton (5)
     - "Great numbers from Cleveland" (?)
   - (b) from Yorkshire ports:
     - Hull:
       - Two Friends (103)
       - Jenny (80)
       - Albion (188)
   - Scarborough:
     - Thomas and William (?75-100)
     - William
     - Mary
     - Prince
     - George (270)

2. **Emigrants from North-East**
   - (a) from Wear:
     - Sunderland
     - Jupiter (?150)
   - (b) from Tees:
     - Stockton
     - Mary (?34, 66 or) (134)
   - (c) from Tyne:
     - Shields
     - Newcastle Providence (about 90)

#### Totals

1. **Yorkshire Emigrants:**
   - (a) from Liverpool......94+
   - (b) from Yorkshire ports........716+
   - **Total, 810+**

2. **Emigrants from North-East**
   - (a) from Wear .... ? 150
   - (b) from Tees .... 34 - 134
   - (c) from Tyne ....'about' 91
   - **Total, 275 - 375**
It is reasonable to suggest, however, that during these four years, well over eight hundred emigrants left Yorkshire for the province, perhaps upwards of one thousand, if precise numbers taking passage by Liverpool were also known. From the figures available, probably eighty-five per cent of Yorkshire emigrants sailed from Yorkshire ports, roughly equal numbers passing through Hull and Scarborough. Comparing the figure quoted at the beginning of Section 3 with the findings on page 90, Brebner, Bird and Usborne, in their respective references to "eleven substantial groups", "eleven shiploads" and "11 brigantines", all cite, directly or indirectly, Miss Williams' computation of arrivals at Halifax: certainly six "substantial groups" can be accounted for as sailing from Yorkshire ports and, with the Duke of York and other probable departures of Yorkshire emigrants from Liverpool in 1772-73, these may well have totalled eleven. Apart from Brebner's estimate of "well over one thousand settlers" between 1772 and 1775, the figures suggested by Bird, Usborne and Ferguson, would all appear to be somewhat optimistic in total or restrictive in the years considered; and conversely, Mildred Campbell, basing her estimate of "about 800" on passenger lists, and including emigrants sailing to other parts of North America, would seem too conservative. 1

1. Brebner, p.119, n.s; Will R. Bird, A Century at Chignecto, p.213; John Usborne, Yorkshire Port and Leeds Mercury, 18 Oct. 1956; Mildred Campbell, 8-9. An analysis of age groups, marital status, occupational groups and stated motives for emigration, compiled solely from passenger lists, 1774-75, of ships leaving North Sea ports for Nova Scotia, is to be found in Appendix A-2, Tables 2-8.
Any attempt to estimate the numbers of Yorkshire emigrants who found Nova Scotia not to their liking, and who returned to the county within a short time, presents a far more difficult problem. As Yorkshire ports limited their passenger records to outgoing emigrants, and even these lists probably lacked completeness, the field was open for counterpropaganda, official or unofficial, to enlarge on the incidents of returning Yorkshiremen.

How authentic was the report from Scarborough that the Prince George, which had sailed for Nova Scotia in April 1774, "is returned to England with as many passengers on board as she had when she went out, and many more would have gladly returned but could not pay for their freight"; or, in the case of Newcastle and the ship, Providence, returning "with...all the emigrants that went out...who could pay their passage back"? In each case, the press could not resist adding the homestrips: "the country not being in any respect equal to the favourable idea they had formed of it"; and "[the emigrants] having met with a great disappointment, by the country not proving the Land of Promise they expected". 1 The sentiments expressed were no doubt valid and genuine in some cases, as witness the feelings of one Yorkshire emigrant. "We have all gotten

safe to Nova Scotia", he wrote, "but we do not like it at all, and a great many besides us, and is coming back to England again all that can get back. We do not like the country, nor never shall..." Michael Noddin(s) similarly indicated that he and his family would come, if a tenancy were available in Yorkshire, "at the first opportunity next May[1775], for the country we don't like; it will never dow any People any Good that come into it...".

Apart from a number of disillusioned emigrants who returned by one of the ships originally conveying them to Nova Scotia, official action taken, or recommendations made to promote re-migration included the proposal made in 1774 to Lord Suffolk that ships carrying troops across the Atlantic to quell American revolutionary stirrings should be employed to provide free return passage for all those emigrants requiring it. Indeed, some discouraged Yorkshiremen sailed back with General Massey in June, 1776. Governor Legge, writing to


Lord Dartmouth in May, 1774, categorised the emigrants admirably in the following terms: "These People ... do not come here with the expectations of having lands granted to them, some come to purchase, others perhaps to become Tenants & some to Labour ... Them that were able are purchasing lands of former settlers, others hiring themselves out to service, and others, wishing themselves at home again, will soon quit this province". 1 Legge's last prediction certainly came to pass in a small number of cases; 2 but this has always been one aspect of the emigration tradition, unless lack of transport to, or socio-political conditions in the homeland, has totally prevented return.

A powerful inducement to Yorkshire emigration was certainly the availability of shipping to Nova Scotia from Hull and Scarborough. Once aboard, however, what were the conditions encountered? Besides the natural elements, the inherent dangers and understandable fears of a three-thousand mile Atlantic crossing, physical comfort or otherwise on board ship depended upon a number of interrelated factors: the size of the vessel and the number of emigrants carried, the distance between decks of a ship often hastily fitted out for the

1. Legge to Dartmouth, 10 May, 1774, Nova Scotia State Papers NO 94 (cited by Brehner, p.120n.); Report of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1936), Appendix C (cited by Mildred Campbell, 19).

2. Besides the few returning disillusioned to England, some Yorkshiremen, as already noted, returned temporarily only to take passage for Nova Scotia a second time; others, or their children, left littoral for continental Canada after the War of Independence.
emigrant trade, the length of the voyage, the quality and variety of provisions. Whilst it is impossible to discover these characteristics relating to all ships engaged in the Yorkshire emigrant trade to Nova Scotia, certain facts may be gleaned or inferred about individual vessels, though, even so, a gulf often exists between the views expressed by press correspondents on the one hand, and ship advertisements on the other.

Considering the rigours and potential dangers of an ocean crossing, the ships engaged were small by any standard and were mainly in the range of two hundred to three hundred tons burthen: the brig *Endeavour* (advertised, but probably did not sail) was 220 tons, the *Prince George*, 280 tons, and exceptionally, not only for this period, but also for well into the nineteenth century, the *Jenny*, sailing in the spring of 1775, was 500 tons.

By comparison, the *Navy* (from the Tees) was "about 200 tons" and the *Providence* (from the Tyne), "about 240 tons." In an Atlantic storm, all emigrants would suffer equally on ships of this size, but in temperate weather, the distance "betwixt decks" was also of prime importance for emigrant comfort, not that any of the ship refitments allowed for most adult emigrants to stand upright below deck. Most of the ships

were advertised as being "exceedingly well accommodated for passengers"; but only two notices indicated the distance between decks; and it is probable that most emigrant ships from North Sea ports were nearer the "four feet six inches betwixt decks" of the Providence than the "five feet six inches...the greatest height of any vessel of her burthen" of the probably non-sailing Endeavour. Despite supporting the general press line that emigration meant a disastrous loss to the Mother Country, one report on the sailings of the William and Mary and Prince George from Scarborough in April, 1774, was likely close to the truth. "It is much to be feared", the report ran, "that few of them have considered the consequences attending so large a number of people being for at least two months crowded together four in a bed, and those beds one upon another three deep, with not so much room betwixt each as to admit even the smallest person to sit up on end." Such discomforts seem to be confirmed by the "young woman" sailing out by the Two Friends, who complained of "usage" on board during the nine weeks.

1. The Prince George and Thomas and William are examples (York Chronicle, 21 Jan., 18 Mar. 1774).


voyage "as bad as tho' we had been transports...".¹
There was also the discomfort in stormy weather of a likely
drenching below decks.² One owner did advertise that the
ship Providence would "take only a limited number, to prevent
sickness and the inconvenience which attend crowded vessels".³
the fact remains that no matter how well appointed these
emigrant vessels were by the maritime standards of the day,
overcrowding between decks, relatively or absolutely, must
have caused no little discomfort and displeasure to emigrants
accustomed for the most part to an open-air rural life.
Physical overcrowding must also have added to the pre-occupations
of those taunted by doubts as to whether they had taken the
correct course of action in emigrating at all.

To what extent was the gloomy press prediction of "so
large a number of people being for at least two months

1. "Young woman", Halifax, N.S., to parents, Hull, 31 May 1774
   (York Courant, 30 Aug. 1774; York Chronicle, 2 Sep. 1774).
   James Metcalf, however, struck a positive note in
   encouraging Ann Gill to join him in Nova Scotia. Referring
to his passage from Liverpool in 1772, he wrote:"...as to
your passage you need not bee affraid...when I was at sea
I was sick but 2 half days, half a day ye day that we
imbarke and again sometime after when the sea was very Ruff
and we all had a very good passage and were very helthful".
   (James Metcalf to Ann Gill, 10 Aug. 1772).

2. James Metcalf, in requesting Ann to bring him four different
   kinds of wheat from Yorkshire, warned her to "be carefull to
   keep it from salt water; you may, if you please, lay it like
   a pillow in your bed, or in easy place where ye salt water
does not come..." Ann would obviously recover from the
drenching, but the seed would not! (Ibid.).

crowded together..." realised. Of all the ships that sailed from Yorkshire and North-East ports for Nova Scotia, the duration of only two voyages is noted in the local press, and these differ quite considerably. The Two Friends, leaving Hull on 5th March 1774, took nine weeks to sail to Halifax, before continuing to Fort Cumberland, but the Thomas and William, sailing a month later from Scarborough, spent only five weeks in reaching Halifax. By comparison, the passage of the Duke of York, which left Liverpool in March 1772, to Halifax, lasted forty-six days, the passengers then transferring to a schooner for the last stage to Fort Cumberland, where they arrived on the 21st May. The time taken for the voyage from a North Sea port would be influenced to some extent by a vessel's sailing northwards and through the Pentland Firth, or southwards through the English Channel: in only one instance is the route actually noted, this being that of the Providence which sailed from the Tyne for Halifax by way of Dover in the spring of 1774.

The final destination of emigrant vessels, after crossing
the Atlantic to Nova Scotia, seems to have depended quite
distinctly upon a pattern established at the original point
of departure - Liverpool, the Yorkshire ports of Hull and
Scarborough, and the North-Eastern ports of the Wear, Tyne
and Tees. The first Yorkshire emigrants sailing from
Liverpool in 1772 disembarked at Halifax; and, as noted
above, this was true of the Duke of York’s passengers who
continued their journey to Fort Cumberland by schooner,
arriving 21st May. A further ship, unnamed, probably from
Liverpool, also released its emigrants at Halifax, but in
this case, whereas the women and children continued by
schooner to Fort Cumberland, the men in the party walked
overland by way of Fort Edward, by boat to Parrsboro,
thenence over the Boar’s Back to River Hébert and Minudie;
from there, boats conveyed them to their waiting families.¹
Conversely, and without exception, the emigrant vessels which
sailed from Yorkshire ports, after making landfall at Halifax,
extended their voyage to Fort Cumberland, or at least, were
advertised to do so. Specifically, in 1774, this may be noted
for the sailings of the Two Friends and Albion, from Hull.²
and of the Thomas and William, William and Mary and Prince George
from Scarborough.³ In addition to terminating its passage at

¹. Bird, p.213.
². York Courant, 8 Mar., 30 Aug. 1774; Newcastle Courant, 12, 19
Mar. 1774; York Chronicle, 2 Sep. 1774; Leeds Intelligencer,
6 Sep. 1774; Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII
³. Newcastle Journal, 9-16 Apr., 20-27 Aug. 1774; York Courant,
12 Apr. 1774; York Chronicle, 26 Aug. 1774; Leeds Intelligencer,
30 Aug. 1774.
Fort Cumberland in 1775, the *Jenny*, from Hull, also called at Annapolis, William Clark, his family of four children, and four others, disembarking at this stage. From the North-East, the *Jupiter* (1773), the *Mary* (1774) and the *Providence* (1775) were all advertised to sail only for Nova Scotia or as far as Halifax, but the 1774 voyage of the last vessel was listed for Annapolis Royal. Overall then, only the ships sailing from Yorkshire ports enabled emigrants as a matter of course to sail beyond Halifax as far as Fort Cumberland, an advantage for those continuing their journey which avoided the necessity of transferring baggage to a smaller vessel or conveyance by land as soon as Nova Scotia was reached. This advantage may also be seen as an inducement for Yorkshire emigrants to sail to the province from Yorkshire ports, as it was for Yorkshire shipowners to offer a service as far as the greatest concentration of Yorkshire settlement at the head of the Bay of Fundy.

The last salient feature to emerge from Yorkshire sailings to Nova Scotia in the years, 1774–75, is that despite the inevitable discomforts of the Atlantic crossing, no ships were lost and passengers were landed safely. Indeed, the complement of the *Thomas* and *William* "increased two in number, two women being safely deliver'd in their passage".

The 'young woman', writing back to Hull after her voyage out in the *Two Friends*, would have almost certainly added ship-fever and cases of mortality to her list of grievances and tale of woe if these had occurred; nor for that matter is it likely that the contemporary Yorkshire press would have omitted these facts from the original letter, thereby passing over a golden opportunity to demonstrate to potential emigrants the error of their ways in leaving the country.¹ Moreover, this record of safety and clean bill of health compared favourably with the fortunes of many emigrants concurrently quitting Scotland for North America: of these emigrant vessels leaving Dornoch (Sutherland) in the September of 1773, one was wrecked in the Shetlands with almost total loss of life; the second was long overdue and feared lost at the time of the report; and the third, the brig *Nancy*, reached New York in the middle of December after a voyage of three months, only 200 or 210 passengers surviving of the original complement of 280.²


2. "Letter from Dornock, in Sutherlandshire", York Chronicle, 18 Mar. 1774; O'Dell and Walton, *The Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p.132. The first source reports "the loss of 70 people"; the second, the surviving complement of "only 200". During the similar period of 3 Aug. - 29 Nov. 1773, 516 emigrants from Ireland landed at Halifax, N.S. (Leads Intelligencer, 19 Jul. 1774).
One reason, it must be surmised, for the healthy passage and safe arrival, "all well", as in the case of the Thomas and William,¹ lay in the state of health of Yorkshiremen and their families prior to departure. This is perhaps a dangerous assumption, but the fact remains that whatever the discomforts and overcrowding of the Atlantic voyage, a well nourished body was far better able to withstand these conditions aboard than one whose constitution had been undermined by years of privation.² Arnistead Fielding, leaving with his family on the Two Friends from Hull, may have stated that they were emigrating because "Provisions, Rents and every necessary of life, were so very high...", and Robert Jackson, William Ellis and Thomas Blackburn, sailing from Scarborough, that "they could not support their families on account of the high Price of Provisions", but this certainly does not infer that they were starving, nor even drastically deprived of food.³ Its message was simply that they and many others had felt the impact of rising food-prices, and this, together with perhaps other factors,


2. By contrast, the terrible toll of Irish emigrants taken by the Atlantic crossing in the 1840's can be attributed, partly, if not mainly, to their weakened state even before departure.

had finally induced them to emigrate. The fact that many were due to emigrate from the Cleveland area in 1773, "with a view to get bread by honest industry, which by their labour they cannot earn at home", may be translated both literally and metaphorically. But from the labourer to the large tenant farmer, emigrating with his servants and rural craftsmen, there was no actual starvation compelling an exodus to Nova Scotia. True, great hardships were being experienced in some areas of the West Riding, particularly in and around Leeds, with unemployment in specialised textile work; and in the winter of 1773-74, some six hundred poor people were fed by public subscription in that city. But these were not the emigrants sailing for Nova Scotia, nor the Yorkshiremen appealed to by Michael Francklin in 1772, nor by his agents later, to people his lands. Indeed, it must be assumed that most of the emigrants who originated in the North and East Ridings had lived on a simple, wholesome diet and had led, for the most part, a healthy, open-air life, thereby possessing a fair resistance to the privations of an Atlantic crossing. Whatever the reasons - including good fortune and

1. Leeds Intelligencer, 20 Apr. 1773.

the preference for spring departures — except for the almost inevitable indisposition of sea-sickness for some, the passage to nova scotia proved safe and healthy for the majority of yorkshiremen and their families.¹

¹ Many emigrants probably carried extra non-perishable provisions for the voyage, just as for those leaving Swaledale and Wensleydale in the 1840's for the United States, oatcakes were a staple. Metcalf advised Ann to "provide a little tea or something that is nourishing provided you should be sea-sick..." (James Metcalf to Ann Gill, 10 Aug. 1772).
4. **THE YORKSHIREMAN IN NOVA SCOTIA.**

The great majority of Yorkshire men and women who left for Nova Scotia between 1772 and 1775 settled in a well-defined area at the head of the Bay of Fundy, mainly sailing direct from Yorkshire ports through Chignecto Bay to the Cumberland Basin and the Isthmus of Chignecto. Most took up land in Cumberland County, which then included much of present-day Westmorland County, New Brunswick; more specifically, the greatest concentration was at Maccan, including the modern Athol and Mapleton, at Napan and Chapman Settlement, at and near the mouths and in the valleys of the Maccan and Hébert Rivers.  

1. John Harrison, of Rillington, Yorkshire, for instance, obtained a grant of 500 acres on both sides of the Maccan River; and many other grantees along the same river in Southampton district, such as John Atkinson, Francis and George Boss, James and William Brown, Matthew Fenwick, Samuel Freeman, Luke and Thomas Harrison, Matthew Lodge, Thomas Lumley, James Metcalfe and Jonathan Pipes, all bore testimony of Yorkshire origins.

Not all expatriate Yorkshire families, however, settled in this area. Charles Dixon (and one other family on the Duke of York) took up land at Sackville, after 1784 to be located in New Brunswick. On reaching Halifax, Dixon wrote:


"the account we heard of Cumberland (the place of our destination) was enough to make the stoutest heart give way". Nevertheless, leaving his family at the old barracks at Fort Cumberland, he set out "to walk about the country", and at Sackville, finding rich farmland, Dixon bought 2,500 acres, with livestock, for £500. There, he and his family settled on a ridge of land overlooking the Bay of Fundy and close to marshland. One party went to Kings County, southwards across the Minas Channel from Cumberland. Indeed, it was "upon the bosom of Minas" that the "convenient Farm...Dwelling-house and Barn...with a garden and orchard", advertised by (another) John Harrison, of Guisborough, Yorkshire, "also about 300 acres of clear land, and liberty of cutting wood on 2000 acres of woodland", were "pleasantly situated." A further small group attracted to Nova Scotia, perhaps influenced by the reflections of Robinson and Rispin on the need of the Annapolis valley to be peopled by "English farmers of substance", settled in that area.

It is, however, the north-western margins of Cumberland County which must claim the greatest attention in respect of

Yorkshire settlement. On these littoral margins, strong tidal effects produced by the physical configuration of the Bay of Fundy, leading north-eastwards into the ever-narrowing Chignecto Bay and Cumberland Basin, exerted a profound influence. The twin topics of marshland and dyeland loomed large in the geographical and agricultural considerations of contemporary and later observers. From 1763 onwards, the townships of the Chignecto Isthmus-Amherst, Cumberland and Sackville — grew rapidly with the influx of New England settlers. This immigration, however, did little to develop, indeed redeem, the duked marshlands earlier worked skilfully and energetically by the Acadians. New Englanders used the salt marshes solely for pasturage and marsh hay; and many of their kin, because of the relative advantages of water transportation, worked westward to occupy the more manageable dyked meadows of the Memramcook, Petitcodiac ('Petticoat Jack') and Shepody rivers. It was the dyked marshlands, spurned by the Americans, lacking labour and skill, which were later taken up gradually by Yorkshiremen and re-instated Acadians.

For their part, the two Yorkshire farmers, Robinson and Rispin, were convinced of the low standards of technique they found in the dyked farmlands of the region; and that the agricultural possibilities, hitherto mishandled, were great. In defence of the New Englanders' failure to develop

this rich potential of Cumberland County, it may be surmised that the lack or high cost of labour for dykeing played an important part. But, it is patently clear that these immigrants failed to master the techniques required in revitalising their lands, ¹ although they did grow the cereals of wheat, maize, rye, oats and barley, the root crops of potatoes, turnips and carrots; and peas, beans, pumpkins, hemp and flax, as well as fruit and berries. As stock-breeders, and in the infant province’s commerce and fishery, the New Englanders were more successful than as cultivators. ² Charles Dixon, the Methodist convert from Hutton Rudby, on discovering rich farmland in the Sackville area, in 1772, failed to understand why it had not been so far a paying proposition, and concluded that the answer lay in hard work and good farming sense, both qualities sadly lacking in the New Englanders. Whilst the home for himself and family was sensibly built on a ridge of land, it was located close to marshland, later and still known as Dixon Island Marsh. ³

1. Brebner, pp.140-41; the techniques were to open “the dykes to the silt- and salt- laden water in the spring and [to wait] two or three years for the benefits... or partially by the more difficult maneuver of admitting the unsalted spring floodwater of the streams until its silt was deposited...but the sluggish, interrupted ‘sewer’ drainage of dyked lands, even with the rough automatic clapper valves on the sluice gates, was exasperatingly tedious and exacting”.


Dixon's initial judgment of rich land near the developing Sackville concurred with that of Haliburton, writing some half-century later, of the nearby lower reaches of the Missaquash and La Flanch rivers. Haliburton wrote in 1829: "On the former river, which is navigable about two miles, there are two thousand acres of dyke land, one half of which is in [after 1784] New-Brunswick; and on the latter river four thousand, one moiety being in this settlement [Fort Lawrence] and the other in Amherst. It is unquestionably the most productive part of Nova-Scotia, and not inferior to any portion of America of the same extent". The same writer continued: "From the bastion of the Fort [Cumberland] there is a splendid view, embracing the great Tanteimerr and Missaquash meadows, Berensfield, Westmoreland, and the County at the foot of the Shapody mountains; vast stacks of hay cover these alluvial lands, as far as the eye can reach, and the substantial farm houses, and numerous herds, bespeak the wealth and independence of the Yeomanry", whom he identified both at Fort Cumberland and in the adjoining Amherst township, as being "natives of Yorkshire...and their descendants".

1. The Missaquash, with its source not far from Northumberland Strait, flows south-westwards into Cumberland Basin.

2. The rival French and English forts of Beau Séjour and Lawrence (during the former hostilities) were separated by the Missaquash. After the capture of Beau Séjour, the name was altered to Cumberland.
New Englanders and a few Ulstermen. Amherst township, at the time of writing, included wide expenses of marshland, well dyked, sometimes well drained, but in the main uncultivated, despite possessing great potential. "These extensive meadows are devoted to English hay, and the de-pasturage of cattle." 1.

Southwards from Amherst, three valleys and settlements of the same name, situated on or near inlets of these rivers at the extreme head of the Cumberland Basin, Napan, Naccan and River Hébert 2 — took on a particular Yorkshire flavour as a result of the emigration from the home county in the 1770's, and the encouragement given by Michael Frankslin to this end. These inlets were, and are, also within the tidal reaches of the Bay of Fundy. Haliburton noted that in Amherst township, on the Naccan and Napan (and Tidnish 3) rivers, there were some two thousand acres of 'dyked-marsh'; and that up the River Hébert, the tide flowed thirteen miles, "enriching it with 1800 acres of excellent marsh land." 4.

The difference between marshland and meadowland, however, is not always clarified in the writings and descriptions of the early Yorkshire settlers. Many men,

2. Amherst has continued its local pre-eminence to the present time. The Official High-Way Map (Nova Scotia Travel Bureau, 1960-61) gazettes the following populations: Amherst, 10,301; R.Hébert, 1,549; Napan, Naccan, Athol and Southampton, under 1,000 each.
3. The Tidnish flows contrariwise across the Chignecto Isthmus into Northumberland Strait.
such as John Harrison, formerly of Rillington, and their families, had 500 acres freehold, or multiples, in the Maccan valley, including rich bottom land, heavily wooded but highly fertile.\(^1\) James Metcalf, writing from Maccan in August, 1772, declared he had "207 acres of land, very good land, a good part of it will bee easily cleared because it hath been formerly cut by the French. I and the other two have 45 acres more for 5 years. And orchard that grows plenty of appels".\(^2\) That many of the settlers held some marsh - or low-lying meadowland is almost certain for the most constant complaint was the prevalence of mosquitoes. This was Metcalf's only real complaint.\(^3\) Another writer complained that "the muskeetoes are a terrible plague in this country. You may think that muskeetoes cannot hurt a deal but you are mistaken for they will swell our legs and arms and faces so that some is both blind and lame for some days and they grow worse and worse every year, and they bite the English worst. When at work in the hay field some has to leave their work and run home most bitten to death".\(^4\) Even Joshua Marsden, writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, declared that one of the

1. John Usborne, *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Mercury*, 18 Oct. 1956. Amherst township was initially composed of 53 shares, or rights of 500 acres each, a total of 26,750 acres, "with allowances for Glebe, School, Minister and roads". (Haliburton, II, p. 63).

2. James Metcalf to Ann Gill, 10 Aug. 1772. Metcalf's stake was certainly near Maccan settlement, for he was within two-to-three hours' riding distance of Fort Cumberland (Will R. Bird to writer, 8 Dec. 1966).

3. Ibid.

qualifications required of a Methodist missionary was the ability to "bear", together with many other hardships, "thousands of mosquitoes".¹

Whatever the annoyance from mosquitoes, marshland and river meadows produced hay and pasture. Woodland was cut and trees burned (or put to building use), the ashes being hoed into the ground to grow, initially, rye and potatoes for a few seasons until tree stumps had rotted sufficiently for removal and ploughing. White clover was sometimes grown at this stage, and later, grain or roots could be cultivated.²

Metcalf was highly delighted with the agricultural possibilities of the lower Maccan valley: apart from growing apples, he had "great business to do and cattel to look after"; also, "we desire to plow ye 45 acres and to sow it with wheat and other grane; it is pleasant and will be a fruitful place with cultivation", and to this end, he requested Ann Gill to bring with her from Yorkshire "about a bushel of wheat, if you can, of 4 different kinds". Flax-growing was also noted: "all linen cloth and woolen cloth is very dear here, but they almost all grow their own line and dres it themselves, and the French and New England peopel, the women, are mostly weavers and work there own, both linen and wolen".³ In general, land

2. Brebner, pp.139-40.
in the Maccan valley, once cleared of spruce and juniper, was of high quality. Blueberries were found wild; and seed grain, vegetable seeds, even rhubarb root, were brought from Yorkshire. 1

Life for the Yorkshire settler in the 1770's, if not primaeval, was certainly primitive and rigorous. First, he had to contend with a climate, particularly a winter, hitherto unencountered. Joshua Marsden, whose Methodist mission in the first decade of the nineteenth century lay in the Chignecto Isthmus, outlined the harshness of winter, so:

"In the latter end of November, winter set in with all its rigours. Those who are accustomed only to the cold of England, cannot conceive the intense severity of the winters in Nova Scotia: the snow is often from four to six feet deep; the ice upon the river is two feet thick; the cold penetrates the warmest room, the warmest clothes, and will render torpid the warmest constitutions; it often freezes to death those who lose their way in the woods, or get bewildered in the thick and blinding fury of a snowdrift.

1. One root of rhubarb, brought from Yorkshire in 1774, survived until at least 1909 (told to John Usborne by Henry Harrison, Southampton, N.S.).

The closeness of Yorkshire origins and similarity of background became strongly pronounced in efforts to ward off the extremes of winter. Family frolics and social conviviality, strongly supported, despite commonly held Methodist convictions, by cheap, plentiful rum, helped to minimise the worst effects of those months.\(^1\) Similarly, the strangeness of the new environment was lessened to some extent by the settlers bringing with them as many household effects as possible, even including tall grandfather clocks. Ann Gill, for instance, on accepting Metcalf's proposal, took with her "eight full sacks sewn tied and two boxes", though some of the former may have contained the requested "bushel of wheat".\(^2\)

Other problems faced by the emigrants included flooding, bears, Indians\(^3\) and the few remaining outlaw 'Frenchmen', as well as the already noted mosquitoes.


"A freshet undermined" the first home of John Harrison in the Macca valley soon after its construction, and the family sought refuge in the hills until the water subsided. Near the coast, the inundation of marshland presented a danger to the traveller and a hindrance to communications. Joshua Marsden recounted one such route in the early 1800's:

"On Monday, I rode to Tantramar; a journey that sometimes cost me both trouble and fatigue, as the marsh was frequently overflowed, and the danger of crossing it was very great, owing to the various creeks and dykes that intersected in every direction, so that I was obliged on these occasions to have a guide, who rode with a long pole in his hand, which as the waters we rode through were muddy, he kept plunging to the bottom, a little ahead of his horse, to ascertain the direction of the creeks, and that we might not unawares plunge into any of them, and thereby endanger our lives. Thus I have had to cross six or seven miles of water often at the eminent risk of my life."  

Among the wild life, only racoons and bears appear to have

been a nuisance and a menace. "Raccoons were in the barley field (they still are, robbing the garbage pails at night) ... and sheep killed by 6 bears", one wrote to Yorkshire; 1. and when one of the Harrison womenfolk was buried on the banks of the Naccan, bears disturbed the grave, this having to be remade with "heavy logs dropped and piled on the surface" to prevent further desecration. 2.

The greatest time of trial, however, encountered by the Yorkshire emigrants during their first few years of settlement in and around the Chignecto Isthmus stemmed from the northward projection of the American Revolution. On their arrival in the period, 1772-75, Yorkshiremen found three basic groups already living in Cumberland: scattered remnants of Indians who had always shown preference to the French rather than the English; those Acadians who had escaped the general deportation between 1755 and 1758, and who, not unnaturally, looked upon new settlers, whether from England or New England, as usurpers; and, most important of all, the New Englanders. The


The last group, some 4,500 settlers in total, mainly migrated to Chignecto and the Annapolis Valley between 1760 and 1763 in response to Governor Lawrence's proclamations of 1758 and 1759, promising free lands in Nova Scotia and intended to fill the Acadian vacuum.1

Whilst the New Englanders soon dominated Nova Scotia's commerce, fishery and agriculture, and continued to do so until 1775, a number of interrelated factors gradually undermined the bases of their endeavour. The end of the Seven Years' War in 1763 brought peace, on the one hand, but economic depression, with the departure of the army and the navy, on the other; nor was the situation improved by the deflection of North American emigration in 1768. A slight revival occurred in the years, 1769-70, but this lapsed increasingly thereafter with embargoes and the deteriorating trade relations between Britain and her North American colonies. Economic depression in commerce was also reflected in uncertainty in agriculture. Many erstwhile New Englanders left or tried to leave Chignecto, and newcomers were tempted by local and absentee landlords with arrangements for tenantry, rental purchase and deferred payments. Robinson and Rispin, the Yorkshire observers of 1774, admitted that "many persons seem desirous to know the reason why some of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia are selling their lands", and some believed "that such land-sellers were

also about to quit" the province. To allay the fears of potential Yorkshire emigrants and perhaps their own apprehensions - the observers claimed that earlier settlers were simply keen to realise on the land they had already cleared, and that there should be no fears for the future so long as Yorkshiremen were not afraid of hard work or of improving wastefully developed land. Either through naivety or self-justification, but not duplicity, the two visitors reduced the province's agricultural depression to a problem of simple dimensions.

Brebner poses the question: "why were not debt-ridden Nova Scotians, hopeless as they became after 1768 of ever re-establishing public or private credit, tempted to rebel for the sake of debt-repudiation?" - a course of action frequently and gratefully accepted by many in the colonies to the south. The answer suggested is that Nova Scotians were tempted, but being, in the main, too sparsely distributed to take effective rebellious action, found it simpler to return, if possible, to New England, leaving creditors to be marginally mollified by abandoned assets. Those leaving generally formed the middle orders of earlier prosperity, in agriculture, fisheries and lumbering; for instance: the few rich were obliged to stay, for they had least reason to leave, and in any case, were creditors and could not sell;

1. Robinson and Rispin, p.34.
2. Robinson himself had bought a farm at Cornwallis for £350.
the poorest had not the means to leave. Some were able to sell out to the new arrivals from Yorkshire, among whom the more substantial representatives were only too willing to purchase improved estates. 1.

Although those tempted to repudiate debts by rebellion were generally dissuaded by the scattered nature of the population, preferring often to cut their losses and return to New England, disloyal action could not be altogether ruled out by those remaining in Chignecto and the Annapolis valley. The possibilities of an attack were considered during 1775 and 1776 to bring Nova Scotia under Congressional control. Both in the province and the area later to become Maine, extremists were to be found who saw rebellion and independence from Britain as the answer to the problems of Nova Scotia, and, in particular, of the expatriate New Englanders. The more important of these included the Rev. James Lyon, John Allan (a New England farmer from near Fort Cumberland, who had originally emigrated from Scotland in 1749), Josiah Throop, Jonathan Eddy, and the Rev. Seth Noble of Maugerville (N.B.). "Others...in the Province either emigrated to the centers of rebellion and sent memorials urging speedy action, while by committees and meetings they prepared the ground at home". 2.

1. Brebner, pp.293-94. This last statement may be compared with: "These People... do not come here with the expectation of having lands granted to them, some come to purchase, others perhaps, to become Tenants & Some to Labour", Legge to Dartmouth, 10 May 1774, Nova Scotia State Papers A 90, 94.

2. Ibid., pp.317-18. Brebner notes the creation of a local split at the head of the Bay of Fundy, caused by the Yorkshire presence.
Government in Halifax did not remain unaware, of course, of the rumblings taking place within the confines of the province and the factors affecting its security from outside. Not surprisingly, its attention was to be directed, in particular, to the "uncontrolled, distant Cumberland County".

In August, 1775, all inhabitants of Nova Scotia were required to appear at the following Quarter Sessions, in their respective counties, to take the oath of allegiance; and Magistrates, in their turn, were obliged to forward a list of those complying, and those not, to the Governor.\(^1\) At the same time, "companies of Light Infantry [were] ordered to be raised from the Militia, and be in readiness to march on the shortest notice"; the provision of "Cumberland and parts adjacent" to be one hundred.\(^2\) The rejoinder from Cumberland County was not long in coming; the inhabitants - or, at least, 246, including 56 Acadians - expressing their "Astonishment that Laws should

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1. 26 Aug. 1775: Haliburton, I, pp.253-54. It is interesting to compare this order with the contemporary "Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in London, to his friend in this town [Leeds], dated Aug. 31", reprinted in Newcastle Courant, 9 Sep. 1775: "The people of the Province of Nova Scotia have sent an Address to his Majesty, and a Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, in which they declare their readiness to support his Majesty's Government at the risk of their lives and fortunes; - their willingness to acquiesce in whatever taxes the Parliament shall think proper to impose on them, as well internal as external, and in every respect to submit themselves to the control of the King and Parliament".

2. Haliburton, ibid.; figures for other areas of Nova Scotia included, Halifax and neighbourhood, 100; County of Lunenburg, 200; Argyle and neighbourhood, 50; Clare, 100; County of Annapolis, 50; Horton and Cornwallis, 100; and Windsor, Newport and Falmouth, 50.
be made to aggravate our Distress", and should have come
to pass without consultation of Assembly members and their
constituents.\(^1\) There were no grounds for fear, the petition
continued naively (or, to be cynical, with foreknowledge),
because "The dispute arising between Great Britain and her
Colonies [has] no way reach'd this Quarter\(^2\) ...Those of us
who belong to New England, being invited into the Province
by Governor Lawrence's Proclamation\(^3\) of 1758 and 1759, it
must the greatest piece of Cruelty and Imposition, for them to
be subjected to march into different parts in arms against
their Friends and Relatives. Still, should any person or
persons presume to molest us in our present Situation, we
are always ready to defend ourselves & Property".\(^3\)

The Yorkshire group was also ready to defend itself
against any attack or disloyalty. In January, 1776,
Charles Dixon, formerly of Sutton Rudby, and now a Justice
of the Peace, outlined, in a letter to Halifax, the difficulties
facing him at Sackville where there were only fifty-one families,
three with only two men per family.\(^4\) Despite their being in a

1. 22-23 Dec. 1775, Nova Scotia State Papers AG1, 328, Brebner
(p.311) comments that this memorial was the work of the New
England group "who won over some Acadians and oversaw the
loyalist Yorkshire minority".

2. A report carried by the Providence (Tinker) from Nova Scotia,
and printed in Newcastle Journal (21 Oct. 1775) would suggest
otherwise: "...a body of the provincial troops have begun their
march for Halifax in Nova-Scotia (having heard that the
regulars intended to winter there) in order to destroy the
docks, seize the stores, &c. &c. There are no troops in
Halifax".


Unless the position had changed considerably from 1772,
Yorkshire families formed only a small minority of the total
of fifty-one.
minority, the 'Yorkies', as called by the New Englanders, stood firm for the establishment, severely discouraging any disaffection within Cumberland or any infiltration organised from the New England colonies.

The 'Yankees', for their part, remained either neutral, or, in small numbers, openly rebellious, and a "nagging thorn in the side of British officialdom". In March, 1776, "50 men [were] sent to Cumberland, in consequence of disturbances in that district, and Michael Fraenklin", who, in the years, 1776-77, organised the province's militia, was "ordered to proceed thither and enquire into the same". Encouraged by these 'disturbances' in Cumberland, and by a meeting at Naugerville (later, N.B.), held in order to appoint a committee to approach the Massachusetts Assembly with proposals for an attack on Nova Scotia, and hopeful of support from the Chignecto New Englanders, Jonathan

1. Will R. Bird, A Century at Chignecto, pp.213-14;
   John Usborne, Yorkshire Post..., 13 Oct. 1956;
   Andrew Hill Clark, Geographical Magazine, XLV, 3 (Dec.1972), 223.

2. 16 Mar. 1776: Haliburton, I, p.256; Encyclopedia Canadina, IV, p.250.

Eddy put into effect his plan of invasion, or, to be less
gratuitous, his 'rush raid', in the autumn of 1776. The
details of the incursion are in themselves of little
importance: Eddy collected supporters — significantly, only
seventy-two in number — at Machias (Maine), Passamaquoddy (N.B.)
and Maugerville (N.B.), and sailed in small boats up the
Bay of Fundy: an armed outpost at Shepody Point was taken,
29th October, and Col. Joseph Goreham and some two hundred-
strong garrison isolated by Eddy's seizure of vessels and
occupation of the Windsor ferry terminus at Partridge Island
on the north side of the Minas Basin. Eddy's invaders,
encouraged by the not-unfounded promises of a friendly
reception from Cumberland 'Yankees', and of opportunities to
loot from the Yorkshire loyalists, found these generally
fulfilled.1 Yankee sentiments ranged from neutrality,
though appearing to support the temporarily stronger side,
to outright 'aid and comfort' and rebellion.2

1. Brebner, p.323.
2. Haliburton (17 Nov. 1776: I, p.257) recorded dispassionately:
"Certain disaffected people, appearing before the fort at
Cumberland, with a number of rebels from New-England,
rewards are offered for their apprehension"; and one year
later (6 Nov. 1777: I, p.258): "A cartel having arrived at
Windsor with several prisoners, and others, who appeared
not to have been prisoners, in order to effect an exchange
for the wives and children of those persons who had fled from
Cumberland, she was ordered back, and directions given, that
the families of those who had joined the Americans should be
removed to Halifax".
Yorkshire reaction was predictable in the circumstances: no question of disloyalty to the Crown arose, nor any of neutrality in the crisis. Yorkshire personnel were certain to be found in the ranks of "Light Infantry, ordered to be raised" in August, 1775; equally certain was their signing of the oath of allegiance.\textsuperscript{1} In realistic terms, however, invasion from outside, with its Yankee support from within Cumberland, meant to the individual Yorkshireman and his family, as well as his compatriates, the defence of a newly settled home and acreage. Bands of hostile intruders, and some New Englanders, hitherto uncertain neighbours, were seen not only as rebels, but also, more particularly, as looters, out to take full advantage of the lawless situation. At the domestic level, Charles Dixon, for instance, buried his money in the woods; his wife "with homelier urgency threw the family silver in a pail of pig-wash".\textsuperscript{2}

Many recent writers and observers, particularly those themselves of past or present Yorkshire stock, not unnaturally and correctly lay great store by the loyalty of the 'Yorkies' of Chignecto in their rejection of revolutionary principles.\textsuperscript{3}

\begin{enumerate}
  \item Haliburton I, p.\textsuperscript{255}.
  \item Mary Phillips, \textit{The Dalesman}, XXVIII, 12 (Mar. 1967), 949. Dixon's negro servant, called 'Cleveland' after the settler's origins in North Yorkshire, was pledged to secrecy.
  \item For example, Will R. Bird, Mrs. C.L. Cousins, Henry Harrison (in John Usborne, \textit{Yorkshire Post and Leeds Mercury}, 18 Oct. 1956) and Mary Phillips.
\end{enumerate}
The underlying thesis is that Cumberland, even Nova Scotia, was saved from American domination only by the resolute spirit of the Yorkshire immigrant, though credit is given to English seapower as a whole for saving the Maritime Provinces from such a fate. It would be churlish not to agree with these sentiments of local community pride and perhaps iniquitous to ask the question, why, in the face of rebel action, did the new settlers not side with the Yankee majority, for in terms of spatial communications, Halifax was almost as far removed from Chignecto as was north-eastern Massachusetts (late Maine). In brief, the answers are simple and perhaps self-evident: the Yorkshireman had no reason to rebel, and decidedly good reasons why he should support established government, rudimentary as its influence was as yet in Cumberland. Unlike the Yankees, whose existence as an immigrant group in Cumberland and the Annapolis valley had dated from the years, 1760-63, and many of whose kith and kin continued to reside in New England, the Yorkshire group were newcomers—the first ship-load had left Liverpool on the Duke of York in mid-March, 1772, the last by the Jenny from Hull in April, 1775. Moreover, whatever their reasons for leaving the Ridings had been, their identities and sympathies were still with 'Old England', and in so short a time could scarcely be expected to have become submerged in the North American scene, or partisan to any rebellious course
of action.\footnote{1} Once in Nova Scotia, the Yorkies were too
busy establishing themselves to worry over-much about the
rights and wrongs of the Yankee argument, unless, of course,
these were expressed practically in acts of molestation
towards the newcomers, especially during Eddy's transitorily
successful incursion. From the first, the Yankee reception
of the Yorkshire settlers had been mixed: on the one hand,
the newcomers were welcomed by those of the New England group,
debt-ridden as many were, wanting to sell their partly
improved land before their departure for the south; on the
other, there was undoubted envy of those Yorkies possessing
the means and confidence to invest in land.\footnote{2}

Were Robinson and Rispin's observations that the New Englanders
were "a stout, tall, well-made people, extremely fluent of
speech and remarkably courteous to strangers...the inhabitants,
in general, poor as well as rich, possess much complacence
of good manners, with which they treat each other as well as
foreigners", somehow reflected in the travellers' interest in
buying land, and in the fact that other Yorkshiremen, also with

1. This support of, perhaps nostalgia for, the home country, is
not unique amongst newly-arrived immigrants. A similar
contemporary situation arose, for example, when Yorkshire
emigrants landed in Georgia (see two letters to J. Morrison,
Birtley White House, Co. Durham, from friend, Wrightsborough,
Geo., 3 Jan. 1776, and Friendsburgh, Geo., 22 Mar. 1776;

2. One is reminded of the somewhat similar mixed sentiments felt
shortly after the arrival in the 1960's of Pakistani
immigrants in the Northern industrial areas of England,
for example, Bradford, by the owners of declining near-city-
centre property. Whilst few immigrants at first possessed
the means, a combination of lower initial nutritional and
clothing standards, relatively good wages in work
decessingly attractive to the indigenous population, thrift,
high-density living and national solidarity, soon produced
this ability to purchase.
the ability to purchase, were due to follow shortly?1

In the confused situation of 1777 and after, Halifax
endeavoured to re-establish its authority in the Chignecto
Isthmus and Gobequid regions. No one overall solution,
however, could be implemented to cover attitudes ranging
from absolute loyalty to open rebellion. Predictably,
Yorkshire settlers pledged their unswerving support for
law and order, central government and the Crown. Whilst
the Attorney General was required to use his own discretion
in prosecuting the rebels,2 little success attended the
efforts of authority to compel oaths of allegiance to be
taken by non-Yorkshire inhabitants, or to prevent the
emigration of families of the rebels.3 Loyalists sued those
who were alleged rebels in deed or moral support for "wrongs,
injuries, and losses", sustained during Eddy's rash raid of
1776, and in the year following. To cut through the ensuing
legal tangle, a special judicial commission was instituted
and board of arbitration established. By 1782, the Council
with its measures, was able to resolve "that such of the
Inhabitants of the County of Cumberland who had been in Arms
and had taken the Oaths of Allegiance to the King, be deem'd
Subjects and allow'd to Arm themselves as Militia".4

1. Robinson and Rispin, pp.34-35.
2. 16 Apr. 1777, Nova Scotia State Papers, B17, 98.
3. But see: Haliburton, I, p.258 (6 Nov. 1777).
4. 20 Jun. 1782, Nova Scotia State Papers B18, 64;
Brebner, pp.342-43.
It would be impossible, even if space permitted, to trace the fortunes of every Yorkshire settler and his family during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and through the nineteenth. Nevertheless, there is fair truth in the assertion that Yorkshiremen, united by common county origins, inevitable (and almost invariable) intermarriage between their huge families, common problems and Methodism, did much to produce a steadying influence on Cumberland County, N.S., and on the heterogeneous elements forming New Brunswick in 1784. Some of the descendants of the original settlers, as might be expected, moved on into Upper Canada, but many names introduced by the first immigrants of 1772-75 continue to the present day in Chignecto and nearby. Charles Dixon of Sackville, appointed a J.P. prior to January 1776, rose to be Judge of the Common Pleas in 1778 - a position requiring the negotiation of the dangerous Petitcodiac river in a frail boat to hold his court in scattered riparian settlements - and eight years later, became member of Westmorland County in the New Brunswick Assembly.

When Dixon died in 1817, in his eighty-seventh year, he left 125 living descendants.

1. A separate consideration of the Yorkshireman and early Methodism in Nova-Scotia - New Brunswick will be found in the last part of this Section, pp.

2. Joshua Marsden, The Narrative, p. 50, also noted the dangers of the Petitcodiac river: the furious current; the bore, caused by the phenomenally high tides of the Bay of Fundy; and the quicksand.

3. Haliburton (II, p. 61) noted (in 1829) the disadvantages of holding land in the Sackville area. Prior to 1784, and the creation of New Brunswick as a separate province, Sackville township was in Cumberland Co., N.S.; after that date, it became part of Westmorland Co., N.B. "The border line is... to be found productive of the most serious inconveniences", recorded Haliburton. "By dividing the farms and allotments of lands, the inhabitants become proprietors in both Provinces, are rendered liable to two jurisdictions, and required to perform duties, and to pay taxes in either Government".

Will R. Bird has located the original settlement, or the present residence of descendants of at least eighteen of the emigrant heads of families on the Two Friends and Albion (1774), and the Jenny (1775). The following examples will suffice, although the list is by no means exhaustive of the possible total.

1. *Encyclopaedia Canadiana*, VI, p.166, notes: Will R. Bird, of Halifax, N.S.; b.1891, "a voluminous, tireless and popular writer", among other works, has written many novels and short stories specifically based on Chignecto and Yorkshire immigrants. *Examples* include *Here Stays Good Yorkshire* (1945), *Judgment Glen* (1947) and *The Passionate Pilgrim* (1949). I am greatly indebted to Dr. Bird (to writer, 8 Dec. 1966) for his information on the location of some Yorkshire settlers and their descendants, and this forms the basis of the compiled list (pp.110-11).

2. The list could be augmented by many other Yorkshire names carried to Nova Scotia by the original settlers, and still found in the Chignecto district — Lasby, Oxley, Keilor, Siffall, Wells, Denkin, Carter, King, Trenholm, Dobson, Hauier, Petterson, Wry, Ripley and Coates, are further instances. The Coates family in Nova Scotia originated in Thomas Coat(e)s of Sutton-under-Whitestone Cliff, near Thirsk. Coat(e)s, born in 1741, was the son of Thomas and Mary Coat(e)s, of the same place, and the husband of Ann (? Hood). (Ernest R. Coates, N.S., to *The Dalman*, XX1V,8(Nov. 1952), 627). The maiden name of Charles Nixon’s wife, Susannah, was also ‘Coates‘.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHIP</th>
<th>HEAD OF EMIGRANT</th>
<th>ACCOMPANIED BY</th>
<th>LOCATION IN N.B.</th>
<th>LOCATION ELSEWHERE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two Friends</td>
<td>(1) John Smith, 29, farmer.</td>
<td>Wife, Mary, + 3 children.</td>
<td>descendants of, throughout Cumberland Co.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Robert Fawcett, 30, sail-cloths maker.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>descendants of, now 'Fawcett', at Sackville, N.B.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albion</td>
<td>(4) John Bulmer, 45, farmer.</td>
<td>Wife, Grace + 3 children.</td>
<td>descendants of, mostly at Sackville, N.B.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6) George Reed, 33, farmer.</td>
<td>Wife, Hannah, + 4 children.</td>
<td>descendants of, now 'Reed', at Nappan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(9) John Thompson, 32, farmer.</td>
<td>(7 brother: Joseph Thompson, 26, farmer).</td>
<td>descendants of, at Ft. Lawrence.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10) Ralph Sidell, 29, cartwright.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>descendants of, now 'Sidell', throughout Cumberland Co.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Ibid. (Apr. 1909), 135-40 (sailing week, 7-14 May 1774).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHIP</th>
<th>HEAD OF EMIGRANT FAMILY, AGE, OCCUPATION</th>
<th>ACCOMPANIED BY</th>
<th>LOCATION IN N.S.</th>
<th>LOCATION ELSEWHERE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albion</td>
<td>(11) Thomas Lumley, 45, farmer.</td>
<td>Wife, Ruth, + 2 children.</td>
<td>Southampton Son, John, moved to St. Thomas, Ont.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(12) Thomas Shipley, 31, butcher.</td>
<td>Wife, Elizabeth, + 2 children.</td>
<td>descendants of, at Fenwick, Brookdale, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13) Richard Lowerson, 32, husbandman.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>descendants of, now 'Lowerson', at Amherst Sackville area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(14) William Trueman, 52, miller.</td>
<td>Wife, Ann, + 1 son (28).</td>
<td>descendants of, now 'Trueman', at Truemanville,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(17) Matthew Lodge, 20, house-carpenter.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Southampton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(18) Christopher Harper, 45, farmer.</td>
<td>Wife, Elizabeth, + 7 children.</td>
<td>N. of Sackville; many descendants of, at Nonacan, N.B.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Methodism has already been noted as a strong element in the developing industrial area of the West Riding, and in the farming communities of the Yorkshire Wolds and dales, from about the mid-eighteenth century onwards. Many of those who emigrated from the county to Nova Scotia in the 1770's were men who, as realistic beings, were hostile to and fearful of rising rents, the increasing cost of provisions and possible land dispossession, and who, as Methodists, observed, like Charles Dixon, of Sutton Rudby, contemporary worldliness and "oppressions of every kind...it was very difficult to earn bread and keep a conscience void of offence". So it was that "Yorkshiremen...among their other contributions introduced Methodism to Nova Scotia."  

From the early years of the eighteenth century, an Anglican congregation, mainly consisting of military personnel, worshipped at Annapolis, but with the general withdrawal of the garrison to Halifax and the influx of New Englanders into Annapolis and Granville townships, Thomas Wood maintained the connexion by visits. Wood's congregation was composed essentially of very few Church members and many Dissenters, and when the latter established their own congregations, Wood's numbers, despite his energy and enthusiasm, dwindled.


4. In 1763, Wood became resident missionary, with a yearly salary of £70, under the aegis of the S.P.G.
Very similarly, at Fort Cumberland, services were at first held by various military chaplains: later, the figure of John Eagleson, a former minister of the Presbyterian persuasion, loomed large. Eagleson, on the recommendations of the Halifax committee of the S.P.G. that he should be admitted to Anglican orders, went to London; and on returning in 1769, and after a stay of one summer at Cornwallis, Eagleson went back to Cumberland, where he was soon to minister to the needs of newly-arrived Yorkshire immigrants.\(^1\) As the only established minister, 'Parson Eagleson' was predictably in great demand at officiations: James Metcalf, after a pre-dawn ride from Maccan, and Ann Gill, were married by him at Fort Lawrence, a mile and a-half from the wharf, early in the morning following Ann's late-evening arrival at Cumberland from England.\(^2\) John's marriage to Mary Cornforth, so the story goes, was even more precipitous, for 'Parson Eagleson' actually accompanied John to meet the ship, the happy couple being married on the wharf-side in the dark!\(^3\)

In his letter to Ann more than two years earlier, James Metcalf had summarised the state of religious affairs at Cumberland in 1772, and of his hopes for the future of his own Methodist faith. "The people here are of different persuasions in religion", he wrote; "they are mostly presbyterians and

1. Brebner, pp.189-90: the Yorkshiremen, as Methodists, had still not broken away from the Anglican Church.
2. Will R. Bird to writer, 8 Dec. 1966. Two daughters were born to the marriage.
3. Ibid.
Baptists; ye church of England are fewer than either. I believe that if one of our methodist preachers wear here, he would be gladly received by peopel of all persuasaions; they are very strict in regard to ye Lord's day and consious of family dutys, but as to the mane thing in religion, would it were more known among all the peopel. I trust that religion in its purity will be preached here...."¹. Whilst many Yorkshire emigrants carried firm Methodist convictions to the province, these had to be renewed in an environment quite different from the one already known. The first part of Metcalf's implied plea for "one of our methodist preachers", in 1772, was to remain unanswered for some years, but from the first, "Methodism absorbed some of those who failed to get religious satisfaction from the older Church, doing so with comforting Loyalist implications because it stemmed from England and the Church of England rather than from America"².

No doubt individual families held prayers in the faith as soon as they arrived in Cumberland, but, according to Marsden, "the first particular excitement or revival" of the "vital piety" of co-ordinated Methodism occurred in 1780 when a Mr. Newton and several other Methodists, including probably Charles Dixon, established prayer-meetings.

William Black, who, with his father (of the same name, formerly a 'linen draper' in Huddersfield, now "a respectable farmer"), mother, three brothers and one sister, had sailed in the Jenny in 1775,¹ "was brought to the knowledge of divine things; at this time, though a very young man,² God intrusted him with excellent gifts, which directed and influenced by divine grace, rendered him in a little while the chief speaker in this colonial church".³ For at least the next twenty years, Black, and others with him, such as John and James Man, laboured ceaselessly in the Methodist cause, spreading its gospel "from Cape Cano to Cape Sable, and from Halifax to the Gulf of St. Lawrence".⁴ By about 1800, upwards of one hundred preaching places had been established in the greater Cumberland area, but only one custom-built chapel, "embowered in the woods". This reputedly the first Methodist Church in Canada,⁵ and probably having accommodation for 250 worshippers, was built at Pont de Bute, near Sackville, in 1788, on land deeded by the holder, William Chapman, another Yorkshire immigrant.

² William Black, jnr., was aged 19 in 1780.
⁴ Maraden, ibid., pp.15n., 25n., 43. Maraden considered that Black merited "the title of Apostle to Nova Scotia".
⁵ Robinson and Rispin (p.7), observed a "Methodist preaching-house" in Halifax in 1774.
to "John Wesley and his successors in the Methodist line".  

In 1785, five years after the introduction of lay prayer-meetings in Nova Scotia, the province was placed on the Minutes of the Methodist Conference, although from then until the turn of the century, only limited and intermittent help was of necessity forthcoming from London in the guise of two missionaries, the Revs. Wray and Abraham I. Bishop, both of whom, after some toil in the province, departed for, and died in the West Indies.  

William Black thereupon went to England to obtain a replacement from the Conference, and on offering his services to Black, Joshua

1. Joshua Marsden, The Narrative, pp.15n., 23; Mrs. C.L. Cousins to writer, 14 Nov. 1966; Will R. Bird, A Century at Chignecto, p.241. The recorded price for the church site was 5s.; and though built of stone, with a thatched roof, the church has since vanished: its site, however, was commemorated in 1927 by a memorial gate, erected at an assembly of all the United Church clergymen in the Maritimes. Ironically, the brick-built house of William Chapman on the Pont de Rute road was still standing, and occupied by descendants, as late as the 1950's.

2. Joshua Marsden, ibid., pp.15n., 25n. Joshua Marsden, Sketches of the Early Life of a Sailor, (n.d., prob. 1821), p.130, notes that in the last years of the eighteenth century, only two missions were under the patronage of the Methodist Conference -- the West Indies and British North America -- and in the whole of the latter, there were only four Methodist missionaries.
Marsden was subsequently appointed by the Conference of 1800 to mission work in North America.\(^1\)

Joshua Marsden's *Narrative*, based on the experience of fourteen years' missionary endeavour in North America, is valuable on a number of counts.\(^2\) For the most part, his time was spent preaching "the greatest of all blessings... the unsearchable riches of Christ" in the very area - not surprisingly, after William Black's solicitations - most widely settled by Yorkshire emigrants, namely, a mission extending "about twelve miles in the one province [Nova Scotia] as far as the river Napan; and about twenty two into the other [New Brunswick] as far as the river Membrancocock". Moreover, his descriptions of the rigours of the climate, particularly in winter, and the difficulties of the terrain are highly informative, as are his references to a number of the settlers by name and their convictions in the Methodist word. Marsden "found a loving well-informed


2. Joshua Marsden, born 21st December, 1777, the son of a dyer, at Warrington, Lancs., was only 22 when he embarked on the Snow Sparrow at Liverpool for N.S., 24th August, 1800. Details of his marriage are vague, except that children were born in America, and his family returned with him to England in 1814, shortly prior to the publication of his *Narrative* in 1816. Marsden died 11th August, 1837 (Ibid., pp.1,3,132; The *Narrative*...p.9; Minutes of the Methodist Conference (London, 1838), pp.269-70).
and hospitable people ... [who] treated me with great kindness and affection". 1

It is tempting to retell Marsden's encounters in full, but, apart from those concerning Yorkshire personalities already mentioned in The Narrative, two examples must suffice. On Tuesday evenings, Marsden usually preached at Tantoram, or Sackville, where he was entertained "by my friends, John and William Fawcett, 2 two respectable farmers, who having left England in rather indigent circumstances, were become, by persevering industry, pretty able men"; and on Fridays, he sometimes preached at William Fawcett's house. The latter's two sons and daughter-in-law were "deeply pious", as was a "young woman who lived with them as a servant... she lay, I think, three days in a trance, and saw and heard most singular things". 3 Two years after his arrival in Chignecto,


2. A John Fawceti (29, farmer), his wife, Jane (28), and daughter, Mary (4), sailed on the Two Friends, "on acct' of their rent being raised", in 1774: Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Jan., 1909) 31 (week, 28 Feb. - 7 Mar. 1774).

Marsden visited "Pedicodiack [Petitcodiac] river, many settlements along the banks having no preacher, and but seldom any ordinances". Recounting how "My good friends Justice Dixon and Weldon accompanied me on this tour", he continues:

"Our accommodations were poor in the extreme, for at one place we were all three obliged to sleep in one small bed, and, as the worthy magistrates were both portly men, I think it might safely be affirmed, that it never at one time contained so much law and gospel before; at other times we had no bed at all, and lay all night on the floor; but we had refreshing seasons in the woods among the people, and I trust several were both quickened and awakened".

1. 'Justice Dixon' is undoubtedly Charles Dixon, formerly of Hutton Rudby, and referred to several times above. 'Justice Weldon' may well have been a fellow-passenger on the Duke of York in 1772, for an Ann Weldon (38), accompanied by four children, "going to her husband who is settled abroad", sailed on the Albion in 1774; Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LX111 (Apr. 1909), 140 (week, 7-14 Mar. 1774).

There is little doubt that the efforts of Marsden and his successors, on the one hand, and those of Black, Dixon and fellow Yorkshire settlers, and their descendants,\(^1\) on the other, renewed the Methodist allegiance of the early immigrants, and established Methodism as a corner-stone of Chignecto, indeed Nova Scotia's religious faith. Perhaps Marsden foretold one of the reasons for the success of the Methodist movement in the Maritimes when he wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century: "other ministers are chiefly stationary - they are pastors of flocks, and seldom go far from their centre. The methodist Missionary roves far and wide".\(^2\)

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1. For example, the grandson of Matthew Lodge, who had sailed at Southampton, became a noted Methodist minister: Will R. Bird to writer, 8 Dec. 1966.

The Yorkshire emigrants to Nova Scotia constituted
in the main a fairly typical cross-section of rural tenantry
in the North and East Ridings of the 1770's; among their
ranks were to be found all grades of renters and servants,
artisans and tradesmen, often similar in background and
motivation. Most of these emigrants sailed from Yorkshire
ports and most were conveyed to a relatively localised
part of Nova Scotia.

On turning to other contemporary Yorkshire movements
to North America, however, no easy type-casting or
generalisation is possible. Emigration from both urban
and rural backgrounds in all three Ridings is represented;
so, too, is a wide variety of occupational groups. Again,
almost every colony on the Atlantic seaboard southwards
from New York may be noted as a destination for Yorkshire
emigrants, although that port, as might be expected, received
the greatest number. Yorkshiremen found only slight
attraction in the Carolinas, and, in keeping with the general
trends of English emigration between the beginning of 1774
and the Spring of 1776, little in the West Indies and none
in New England.1

As already indicated, even with the assistance of

1. Mildred Campbell, 7-8.
seemingly irrefutable passenger lists covering the above period, it is difficult, if not impossible, to calculate precisely the number of emigrants leaving Yorkshire for Nova Scotia between 1772 and 1775. If some doubt has been cast on the total number of emigrants listed as sailing for the province, especially from Scarborough in the Spring of 1774, how far is it possible to quote with certain confidence the number of Yorkshire emigrants sailing for New York and Philadelphia? Against the figure of 560 Yorkshire emigrants, actually named or listed by relationship to the head of the household, sailing for Nova Scotia between January 1774, and April, 1776 — although there were almost certainly more — may be quoted the figures of 199 for New York and 42 for Philadelphia during the same period. Apart from Whitehaven, whence, perhaps surprisingly, the greatest number of Yorkshire emigrants took passage for New York, the same three ports — Liverpool, London and Hull — shared this trade of conveying Yorkshiremen and their families to both New York and Philadelphia.

The first ship to leave Whitehaven which was noted by the Yorkshire press during the surge of emigration of the 1770's was the Favourite (Fisher, master), which arrived in New York in September, 1773, with 140 emigrants, "all of them in good Health, said to be the most likely Cargo landed on the Continent for these three Years": the favourable

1. See pp. 80-91.
2. including 22 'passengers'.
3. including 4 'passengers'.
reports of the passengers, "of the good Provision and Accommodations by the Merchants", were likely to encourage "several Hundreds of People in different Parts of this County" to emigrate the following April. Since the Favourite's departure took place in the summer of 1773, some months before the directive issued to port officials made returns of passenger lists obligatory, neither the complement of 140 nor the county origins of passengers can be confirmed. It is, however, probable that a fair proportion of those embarking on this vessel were of Yorkshire origin. Certainly, there is no doubt about the county origins of the Favourite's complement when she sailed again from Whitehaven for New York in early June, 1775. On this occasion, all 101 passengers, without exception, were from Yorkshire, and all the heads of families and single adults were "Going to follow their respective trades & callings". The majority of the adult males were farmers (19), but shoemakers (3), smiths (2), one mason and one tailor also sailed.

1. York Courant, 7 Dec. 1773.
2. Leeds Intelligencer, 20 Jun., 1775; Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXV (Jul. 1911), 232-33. The latter states that the sailing was during the week, 29 May - 5 June. The notice refers to a second vessel, the Albion (Hogg), which sailed from Whitehaven for New York on Friday, 9 Jun. 1775, but the shipping lists contain no reference. The passengers of the two ships included "several people of considerable property, Farmers, Smiths, Joiners and Tradesmen of different kinds".
Of course, not all emigrants could be so easily type-cast by occupation: there were always those, who, as characters in the emigration saga, from Yorkshire and elsewhere, sailed to seek adventure or their fortune at this time, perhaps simply as the result of a chance decision. One such was George Taylor, a young bachelor from Sheffield, who, after an evening's conversation with merchants and a ship-captain at a Whitehaven inn, made the overnight decision to sail for America. "The next morning", he wrote, I arose with a determined resolution to go over sea and immediately settled my affairs in order to embark". 1

Between January, 1774, and April, 1776, if the contemporary passenger lists are to be accepted with total confidence, 57 emigrants and 22 'passengers' of Yorkshire origin sailed from Liverpool for New York. During this period, all Yorkshire emigrants taking passage at Whitehaven did so by the one ship, the Favourite, in June, 1775. From Liverpool, all sailed for New York in only two ships, the York Packet, which left in the third week of March, and the Gato, in the last week of May, 1774. The total complement of the two ships may not have been exceptionally great, but in each case, Yorkshiremen and their families accounted for a high proportion of the total passenger list - 59 out of 68 on the York Packet.

and 20 out of 27 on the Gato, in all, 79 out of 95, or over 83 per cent. 1 John Wright, a 41 year-old farmer from near Tadcaster, found the Atlantic crossing on the York Packet to be tedious, unpleasant and of fifty-seven days' duration. Writing to his wife, on his arrival at New York, he complained: "[we] have had a ver}y dangr's and long pas ids; we sat sale on the 17 day of March[and arrived on] 12 of May, and for 5 weeks we was al mos[?]to deat[h].... [the] Capten was No bater; wee Had a vilant storm on the first of April and wee[———]all have a goone to the botam for many an ower but than[t] god for it ... we Had very of tens but 3 pottaas a day and a pint of water; thear for [if an]ey of my Countrymen that has a fansey to Com here, to find thear[———]other ways; will find very indefiant doungs at seay". 2

In contrast to the large numbers sailing from Hull to Nova Scotia, only 17 Yorkshiremen and family members are noted as sailing from that port to New York during the

1. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Apr. 1909), 144–46; (Oct. 1909), 353–54. The York Packet (Capt. Sadler) sailed for New York on 16th March, and "the ship Cato, Andrew Wilson, Master, Burthen 250 tons, has excellent accommodation for passengers", sailed on 30th May (Williamsons Liverpool Advertiser, 18 Mar., 22 Apr., 3 Jun. 1774). In the passenger lists, the two ships, respectively, are noted as sailing in the weeks, 14–21 March, and 24–31 May, 1774.

period. Indeed, of these, 14 — of whom, one husband, wife
and family of four actually gave Hull as their place of origin —
sailed on the *Adventure* in the week, 10–17 July, 1774. 1. The
other three emigrants took passage in the *America*, sailing the
following month. 2.

Somewhat surprisingly, London accommodated the recorded
departures of only two Yorkshiremen sailing for New York.

John J. Glover, the 28-year old merchant from the West Riding,
a member of the firm of Elam and Glover, Leeds, who was to
become one of the many important Yorkshire expatriates on the
American wool scene after the Revolutionary struggles, and in
the first decades of the nineteenth century, sailed on the
*Earl Dunmore* towards the end of February, 1774, in order
"to settle". 3. Samuel Lockweer, a 17 year-old "Gentleman's
Servant", sailed on the *York* from London as an indentured servant
at the beginning of 1775. 4.

   Except for one Scottish emigrant on the *Adventure*, the total
   complement was of Yorkshire origin. The "*Adventure*, Thomas
   Courser, Commander, Burthen about 200 tons, a remarkable fast
   sealer, has excellent accommodation for Passengers", had been
   advertised to sail also from Hull the previous summer "for
   The *Speedwell* (Sanderson) was also advertised to sail for New

   (week, 7-14 Aug. 1774).

3. Ibid., LXIII (Jan. 1909), 22 (week, 20–27 Feb. 1774); Herbert
   Hoetan, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States, 1770–
   The name of Elam occurs frequently in Hull shipping
   advertisements of the early 'seventies, e.g. "Mr. Samuel Elam
   in Leeds" (Leeds Intelligencer, 28 Aug. 1770); "Mr. John Elam
   and Son, Merchants in Leeds" (Ibid., 22 May 1770).

   (week, 3–10 Jan. 1775).
During the same period, far fewer Yorkshire emigrants, overall, sailed for Philadelphia, 43 in number, than for New York; and these sailed from Liverpool (18, including 4 'passengers'), London (23) and Hull (2). Moreover, these small numbers were scattered among the complements of several ships rather than forming the major part of any one ship's passenger list, as in the case of Hull and Scarborough to Nova Scotia, or Whitehaven and Liverpool to New York. From Liverpool, three vessels carried Yorkshire emigrants and 'passengers' to Philadelphia, again, all in the Spring of 1774: the Sam and Lydia in early March and the Boston Packet(t) in mid-May. "The brig Sam, John Burrows Master, A constant Trader", sailed on 5th March carrying four apparently single men in their twenties who were "going to settle there & seek for Employment". The Lydia, "Thomas Dean, Master, Burthen 300 tons, sails remarkably fast, hath good accommodation for passengers", sailed a few days later on the 8th and carried only one Yorkshire passenger, William Shakespeare, a 40 year-old merchant who was going out "to trade". The greatest number giving Yorkshire as their county of origin, and leaving Liverpool for Philadelphia, sailed by the Boston Packett in the week, 17-21 May: 18 sailed by this brig.

1. The unspecified number of 'children' in Capt. Gill's family of York, sailing from London to Philadelphia in the Charming Molly, week, 24-31 Jul., 1774, is limited to two.

2. Ibid.
"Frederick North, Master, Burthen 200 tons, a remarkably fast sailer, hath good accommodation for passengers".  

In the period under consideration, some twenty-three emigrants from Yorkshire embarked on no fewer than seven vessels leaving London for Philadelphia, all except one in 1774. The *Free Mason* and the *Charming Holly* sailing in June and July, 1774, carried seven and at least eleven Yorkshire emigrants, respectively, but the other five—the *Minerva*, *Dolphin*, *Sally*, *London Packet*, and *Hawk*—only one each. In general, then, Yorkshire representation on these vessels was small or insignificant; it may be noted, however, that after excluding the five children, one-third of the remainder, six out of eighteen, sailed as 'indented servants'.

Similarly, the sum total of those emigrants sailing from Hull to Philadelphia, and of Yorkshire origin, was insignificant—only two on the one ship, *Amelia*, which left in July, 1774. "Going to seek a better livelihood" on this ship were Thomas Webster, a 50 year-old husbandman, and Robert Mitner, a grocer and tallow-chandler, aged 20.

1. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Jan.1909), 31 (week, 28 Feb. - 7 Mar. 1774); (Apr.1909), 141 (week, 7-14 Mar. 1774); (Oct.1909), 349 (week, 17-21 May 1774). *Williamsons Liverpool Advertiser*, 11 Mar., 6 May 1774; no precise sailing-date can be traced for the Boston Packet, but an advertisement in the issue of 6 May states that the ship 'is now ready to sail'.


5. Ibid., 351 (week, 24-31 May, 1774).

6. Ibid., LXIV (Jul. 1910), 217 (week, 3-10 Oct. 1774).

7. Ibid., LXV (Jul.1911), 241 (week, 14-21 Aug. 1775).

At this point, the questions must be asked: who were the emigrants who left Yorkshire by various ports for New York and Philadelphia; and did the backgrounds and motive of those taking these routes differ substantially from those who were leaving in far greater numbers for Nova Scotia? As already noted, emigrants sailing for Halifax and Fort Cumberland came from an essentially rural society, mainly from the North and East Ridings of the county. It is true that not every man was a tenant farmer or husbandman or labourer, but, in the main, even those who did not actually till the land, were part of, or strongly associated with contemporary agricultural society in these Ridings. The blacksmith, the butcher, the wheelwright, the cartwright, the tanner, the miller – these occupations and other rural skills may have been later drawn into and incorporated in the peripheries of expanding industrial society in the West Riding; but in the 1770's, and indeed even to the present, the small agricultural towns of Pickering, Malton, Stokesley, Helmsley and Driffield could scarcely be placed in the latter category¹ – and these were sizable by comparison with most settlements known locally by many potential emigrants.

It is equally true, however, that a number of emigrants sailing to New York and Philadelphia also referred

¹ Even the boundaries of the cities of Kingston-upon-Hull and York are still clearly defined by the rurality of the 'County of Broad Acres'.
to themselves as 'farmers' and 'husbandmen', but the incidence of cloth manufacturer, merchant, weaver, clothier, cloth dresser, mercer, tailor, takes on the more industrial air - albeit, still in most aspects 'domestic' - of the West Riding. In one sense, emigrants from all three Ridings possessed the same motivation: they were emigrating "to seek a better livelihood", a better opportunity for themselves and their children." However, whereas in the North and East Ridings, small tenant farmers, beset by rising rents and the cost of provisions, land reorganisation and uncertainty of tenure, looked apprehensively to the future, and with inducements from Nova Scotia, decided to emigrate, many of those leaving the cities, towns and nearby villages of the West Riding for North America, did so, directly or indirectly, as a result of industrial depression and in the hope of domestic self-help and - sufficiency overseas. Of course, not all sections of industry, even within wool textiles, suffered depression to the same degree; nor did the most penurious, perhaps including those most wanting to leave, have the means to do so. Nevertheless, representatives of many levels of industrial society are to be found in the ranks of emigrants from the West Riding; a few from the other Ridings also sailed for New York and Philadelphia.

1. Weaving, particularly in the West Riding, was so ubiquitous that the term could infer either a weaver who perhaps farmed a small acreage as a secondary occupation, or a farmer who also wove when time or season permitted. The first inference is stressed here.
General prosperity in British-American trade in 1770-71 declined towards the end of 1772. The following year, British policy produced colonial resentment and radical anger, leading in turn to non-importation, non-consumption and non-exportation policies in late 1774 and to physical clashes in 1775. Nowhere were the consequences of depression and non-importation more keenly felt than in the West Riding. 1.

Although depressed conditions were to be found to some extent in all urban centres in the Riding, the worst to be hit in 1773-74 appears to have been the Leeds area, including smaller nearby towns and villages. Unemployment in specialised lines occurred, as well as labour troubles.

1. H. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States, 1770-1840", 230-31, 235. Professor Heaton cites three indications:

(a) the number of broad cloths milled in the West Riding fell from 120,000 (1773) to 88,000 (1774), whereas figures for three years in the post-Seven Years’ War period show a steady rise (55,000 in 1765; 74,000 in 1766; and 102,000 in 1767).

(b) British manufactures imported through New York from provincial ports fell in value from £16,000 (1773) to £6,000 (1774), and only £33 (1775).

(c) the total value of colonial imports from England fell from over £2,500,000 (1774) to only £82,000 (1775).

H. Heaton, "Benjamin Gott and the Anglo-American Cloth Trade", J. Econ. & Bus. Hist., II, 1 (Nov. 1929), 147, also cites one of John Wesley's letters written when he visited the West Riding in 1775: "In Leeds, I had appointed to dine at a merchant's, but before I came the bailiffs were in possession of the house. Upon my saying 'I thought Mr. ——— had been in good circumstances' I was answered 'He was so, but the American War has ruined him'."
between masters and journeymen; the nourishment of several hundreds by public subscription in Leeds in the 1773–74 winter has already been noted. Those who actually left the area were not, however, those who were totally destitute. One man who left Bramley, near Leeds, in late February, 1773, for Liverpool, "purposing to go to Philadelphia", took with him "some woollens and marketable Goods". Another, Alexander Hogg, from Leeds, sailed to Philadelphia in the Two Friends in order to claim a £5,000 legacy and freehold estate bequeathed to him there by an uncle. Later that Spring, it was reported that several families from Horsforth and nearby had left for Liverpool to try their luck in America: this report was followed by the warning that "many more families are preparing to follow their example". It also appears that some specialised weavers were induced to leave, for in October, 1773, "several of the [Yorkshire] baize weavers are preparing to go to America, on account of an invitation received from thence". The story of departures continued the next Spring.

1. Mildred Campbell, 17.
5. Leeds Intelligencer, 17 May 1773; York Chronicle, 21 May 1773.
6. Newcastle Courant, 30 Oct. 1773. Compare the report the following year that "A great number of journeymen clothiers from Wiltshire and Gloucestershire are going over to New-York, to be employed in the woollen manufactories in that province" (Newcastle Journal, 10–17 Sep. 1774). The phrase, 'to be employed in' rather than 'to seek employment in', also suggests an invitation.
including those of men whose occupations in and around Leeds were not directly associated with textiles, but who were affected consequentially by the recession in that staple industry.

"Several families in this town", ran the report, "among which are butchers, joiners, &c. are disposing of their effects in order to try their fortunes in the western world. There is scarcely a week but some are removing from this part of Yorkshire, for the plantations; finding it next to impossible, in the present lamentable state of trade, and dearness of provisions, to provide, in any sort, for themselves and families". There was no suggestion, however, that these families were destitute and had perhaps been supported by public food the previous winter; indeed, "some that have lately gone, and are now going, are persons of considerable property".1

Apart from those whose livelihoods were clearly blighted by current economic conditions in the West Riding, there were others whose motives can be less precisely correlated with the textile recession. The inclusion of several merchants in the passenger lists - some sailing out to trade, some to settle - has already been noted, and will be considered at greater length in the succeeding chapter. Nevertheless, at this point, it may be noted that, in all, ten Yorkshiremen describing themselves as 'merchants', and one as 'cloth manufacturer', sailed for America in 1774. Of these, seven sailed for New York - John J. Glover

1. York Chronicle, 20 May 1774; York Courant, 24 May, 1774; Newcastle Courant, 26 May 1774.
(aged 28) in the Earl Dunmore from London, and six in the Gato from Liverpool. William Shakespear (40), as already noted, sailed in the Lydia from Liverpool to Philadelphia; William Walker (37), in the Folly, from Liverpool to South Carolina; Daniel Bridges (25), of Hull, in the Jamaica Packet from Hull to Jamaica, "to settle in business"; and William Nelson (37), a cloth manufacturer, in the Kingston Packet, from Hull to Norfolk, Va., "to transact business for two merchants". By coincidence, Joseph Elsam (50), describing himself as a 'Gentleman', and probably of the Leeds textile firm of merchants and shipping agents, sailed on the last-named ship, "to purchase or return". Merchants such as these, though not all necessarily concerned with wool textiles - whether intending to leave the country permanently or temporarily, and for whatever immediate reason - sailed with the intention of furthering trade with America on their own behalf, or on that of their colleagues or seniors.

1. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIll (Jan. 1909), 22 (week, 20-27 Feb. 1774); H. Heston, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States, 1770-1840", 231. On this occasion, Glover was going out "to settle", but he had been earlier sent out in 1768 by Emanuel Elsam to serve as the latter's New York agent, and to supersede an American who had until then handled his business.

2. Fothergill, ibid., (Oct. 1909), 353-54 (week, 24-31 May 1774): the six merchants were Richard Hornsall (aged 25), Robert Smith (32), John Bigson (43), Henry Swanton (36), and William and John Haywood (29, 27).

5. Ibid., LXIV (Jul. 1910), 215 (week, 19-26 Sep. 1774).
7. Ibid., 25.

8. The inter-relationship of Yorkshire textiles and New York or Philadelphia is also suggested by announcements of contemporary marriages: e.g. "On the 23rd. past[March] was married at Mirfield, Mr. Mark Freeman, an eminent merchant of Philadelphia, to Miss Catherine Holdsworth..." (York Chronicle, 1 Apr. 1774; York Courant, 5 Apr. 1774).
At least one merchant carried Joseph Elam's plans to purchase or return' in Virginia a stage further by purchasing land and offering its re-sale to would-be emigrants from the county. John We(a)therhead, "formerly of the town of Leeds in Yorkshire, but now in the City of New York in North America, Merchant", in June, 1774, forwarded an advertisement for inclusion in the Leeds Intelligencer. The announcement, published in February, 1775, declared that Weatherhead was

"a principal Proprietor of several considerable Tracts of uncultivated Land in the Province of New York; one of the largest of which Tracts consists of 46,000 acres of Land erected into a Township called Blenheim, by Letters Patent from the King....The principal proprietor of the Township of Blenheim being himself a Yorkshireman is very desirous of selling to and settling the said Tract with Forty or Fifty Families of his own Countrymen on whose Industry and Honesty he could entirely depend. He therefore proposes to sell the Fee Simple of the Farms or Lots to such a Number, or to a lesser Number of good substantial Farmers, at the rate of Six Shillings Sterling per acre".
It is unlikely that the announcement drew much response. This offer of seventy-two square miles of isolated, uncultivated land in the wilderness of the Schoharie valley (reached from New York by the Hudson and Catskill rivers) was clearly not supported by the same degree of propaganda broadcast earlier by Michael Frenchlin in his efforts to people lands in Nova Scotia.

In any case, by the spring of 1775, most of those intending to emigrate from the Ridings, and with the means to invest in land, had already sailed for Fort Cumberland. Moreover, if, by its publication in Leeds, the announcement was primarily directed at West Riding investors, only "Forty or Fifty Families", at most, were required to fulfil We(a)t(her)head's aims. 1

Nevertheless, emigrants classified as 'farmers' did sail for New York and Philadelphia - for instance, of the York Packet's total complement of 68, 59 were of Yorkshire origin, and of these, 13 (including two women) were farmers 2 although there is no evidence to suggest that they necessarily limited their aims to the immediate hinterland of those ports,

1. Leeds Intelligencer, 21 Feb. 1775; Ruth L. Higgins, Expansion in New York (Columbus, Ohio), 1931, pp. 50-56; also cited by R. Heaton, "Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States, 1770-1840", 235-34; and Mildred Campbell, 17. Professor Heaton states that as late as the 1940's, much of the land remained uncultivated, and that the town of North Blenheim had fewer than 1,000 inhabitants. The village of Leeds is also located in the area.

nor that they remained in the provinces of New York or Pennsylvania. Certainly, the aims of one of the emigrants on the York Packet were clearly defined. John Wright, at the age of 41, the farmer from near Tadcaster, who endured the "very danger and long pausing" on this ship, starting out 17th March 1774, moved inland from New York. He wrote:

"Now I am a going as far as [____]age 1. which is c. 260 miles from New York which I [may have] to lease. I my enter To it now and have it 5 years for nothing] and any years end to pay 7d. an acre, Which is ls.; that money for ever... I hope this journey will prove greatly to my satisfaction and. But farming was not Wright's sole aim. "I am in formed", he continued, "the land is verre good but very full of wood; there is mill streames. I may have from about 200 to 2000 if I please, but I disier Joseph Litster to Wright a Letter To georg savedg of Hull and disier him] to let you know what sort of wood suits him best and in what form [he] likes it best and the prices..." If the price were right, Wright evidently hoped to clear his land over a period of time, and ship the timber to Hull;

1. Perhaps identified with 'Saratoga', although the official distance, New York - Saratoga Springs, is now 181 miles.

2. George Savage, millwright of Hull, is recorded as having entered an agreement in 1775 with Beverley Corporation, for £285, to "cleanse the Beck from the Low Bridge to the River Hull...", and "to provide all the materials and labour and make the dams as required, the Corporation indemnifying from all damage which might arise thereby...": K.A. Macmehon (ed.), Beverley Corporation Minute Books, 1707-1835 (Yorks. Archeol. Soc., Rec. Ser. CXXII for 1956; London and Hull, 1958); specif., Beverley Corporation Minute Book (1765-1803), p. 55 (15 May 1775).
no doubt he would be able to support his wife's enquiries if,
as hoped, he could "come over at micklemas if possibl". 1

Compared with the urban centre of Leeds and neighbourhood,
industry in the Sheffield area remained relatively buoyant, in
part no doubt due to the greater range of metal manufacturers -
"plating works, cutleries, lead and iron works". 2 Nevertheless,
the area was not immune to the reduction in Anglo-American trade
from the latter part of 1772 onwards; and this, in turn, directly
or indirectly, encouraged some to believe that emigration - though
not necessarily to North America - would lead to an alleviation
of their problems. Witness the report from Sheffield at the
beginning of 1773: "the distresses of the manufacturers in
the hardware business", it ran, "have induced several of them to
accept of the offers made by a foreign power to leave this
kingdom, and many more are daily expected to follow their
example". 3 More specifically, Sheffield was named as their
home town by three emigrants leaving for America in the summer
of 1774: Owen Shaw (aged 21), a cutler, sailing in the Free Mason
for Philadelphia, 4 William Ward (18), also a cutler, in the
Elizabeth 5 and James Horsfield (24), a Smith, in the Russian Merchant; 6
both for Maryland. In the last ship also sailed Luke Horsfield (36),
a 'Yorkshire' cutler, perhaps a brother or relative of James. 7

1. John Wright to Mrs. Jane Wright, 12 May 1774. Wright, in the
meantime, hoped for a reply at New York.
4. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIV (Jan., 1910), 19 (week
14-21 Jun., 1774).
5. Ibid., 21 (week, 3-10 Jul., 1774).
6. Ibid., 22 (week, 10-17 Jul., 1774).
7. Ibid.
Towards the end of the same year, Joseph Mthershaw (21) and John Weedham (16), both 'York' cutlers, sailed in the Active and William for Virginia. All six sailed from London.

In one important respect, the picture of emigration from Yorkshire between 1774 and 1776 differs sharply from that in the country at large. Figures for the country indicate that some $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent of all emigrants paid their own passage, about 55 per cent sailed as indentured servants and 6 per cent as redemptioners, leaving approximately 5 per cent who were transported as convicts. In the case of Yorkshire alone, out of the computed total of 392 emigrants for the above period, the great majority paid their own fare, and relatively few went out as indentured servants - 71, or slightly under 8 per cent.

Of these, only four sailed as 'redemptioners', "People that have shipped themselves on Board... are going to settle abroad & by an agreement with the Capt' are to pay him so much for their passage to Maryland, on their arrival, but if they cannot then the Capt' is to dispose of them for a number of years to defray the expenses of their passage".

2. Mildred Campbell, 4-5.
3. To the overall figure of Yorkshire departures may be added 32 'passengers' and an imprecise number of transported convicts.
4. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXV (Jan. 1911), 22 (week, 24-30 Jan. 1775); (Jul. 1911), 234-36 (weeks, 5-12, 12-19 Jun. 1775). All the Yorkshire 'redemptioners' were bound for Maryland from London: one on the Jane (Jan. 1775), one on the Baltimore and two on the Nancy (Jun. 1775).
Between them, the colonies of Maryland and Virginia claimed a high proportion of the indentured servants from Yorkshire, some 84.5 per cent of the 71:46, or 64.8 per cent sailed for Maryland (37 by London, 6 by Hull, and 3 by Bristol); and 14, or 19.7 per cent, sailed for Virginia (all by London). Moreover, indentured servants account for the sum total of Yorkshire people emigrating from the county direct to Maryland. For those emigrating in this way, the most usual period of service under indenture seems to have been four years.1

It is important to emphasise, then, that whereas in the country at large many more emigrated as indentured servants or redemptionists than those paying their passage before departure, the converse was true of Yorkshire emigration. Granted that the many hundreds sailing to Nova Scotia formed a high proportion of those paying their fares from Yorkshire to America,2 and in a sense, this distorts the country-wide picture of the more prevalent sponsored passages. But the very fact that so many were able to pay their own fares from the county reflects at least a certain minimum level of prosperity, a greater degree of independence in the East and North Ridings, and the reduced necessity of entering a 'temporary bondage' in order to emigrate.

1. 20 indentured servants indicated their period of service, and 16 of these stated it was of four years' duration (3 of the others stated for '4, 5 or 6 years', and one, '4 to 7 years'). Some or many of the other 51 indentured servants or redemptioners may have served for four years.

2. Only three indentured servants are noted as sailing from Yorkshire to Nova Scotia - on the Two Friends from Hull - and as these were aged 4, 2 and 1, the children of John Smith, the description of 'indentured servants' hardly seems to fit the general designation: Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Jan. 1909), 28 (week, 28 Feb. - 7 Mar. 1774).
Although it was from the Tyne that the Adventure (Capt. Wharton Wilson) sailed, or was advertised to sail, in the Spring of three successive years - 1773, 1774 and 1775 - and, so far as is noted, no Yorkshire emigrants were carried, a further study of this ship and its passengers is worthwhile for two reasons. First, its destination in each year, Maryland, was the same as that found most attractive by indentured servants from Yorkshire, though admittedly, the latter sailed mainly in small groups or as individuals from London. Secondly, the ship's sailing from the northern outport of Newcastle, or Shields, was aimed at attracting local emigrants into indentured service overseas, with special reference to certain occupations.

The Adventure first sailed from Newcastle during this period on 17th March, 1773, "with servants and convicts", arriving safely at Baltimore on 24th May. The following year, 1774, the Adventure (200 tons burthen) was initially advertised to sail "for Virginia and Maryland" from Shields on or about 20th March, finally sailed on 4th April, and carried nearly fifty emigrants. The advertisements bore "good encouragement" for "men, women, or boys, from 1½ years of age and upwards"; and more specifically, "The Captain hath a Commission to engage two Taylors and one Barber, for four

years, at 171. per annum, with board and lodgings, for the above term; and one Shoemaker, at 201. per annum, with board and lodgings; to serve in Baltimore town.1 During March, issues of the Yorkshire press carried an ominous, carping and pessimistic report from a correspondent in Co. Durham on the slim chances of success awaiting the emigrant in North America;2 and in answer to this, 'A Redemptioner... on board the Adventure, for Maryland', stated his motives, and, as he (and doubtless many others) saw it, the reasons why so many were indeed crossing the Atlantic. He wrote:

"That the frightful bugbears, exhibited in this and other Newspapers of late, small strong of ministerial portraits. - Had the legislature, instead of framing schemes to put a total stop to emigration from this country, endeavoured to retrench their own luxuries, and lower their rent-rolls a little, thus enabling the poor to subsist in this

1. Newcastle Courant, 19, 26 Feb., 12 Mar., 9 Apr., 1774; York Courant, 12 Apr. 1774; York Chronicle, 26 Aug. 1774. Surprisingly, no note of the Adventure's 1774 voyage from Shields to Maryland is found in the shipping returns. A ship of the same name, however, left London for Maryland in the week, 19-26 April, carrying 32 emigrants, all indentured servants, including John Thompson (22), husbandman, from Northumberland. It seems probable that this was the same ship, finally leaving England with 'near fifty emigrants' from Shields and 32 from London, a total complement of about 80: Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIII (Oct. 1909), 343-44.

2. E.g., Leeds Mercury, 22 Mar. 1774."
now oppressed country, few persons would have deserted their native soil, to become bond slaves in another. — 'Tis need makes the naked man run; and where the reward of labour is Peace and Plenty, a temporary bondage abroad is much preferable to the perpetual pangs of Hunger at home". 1.

Not that a letter from 'a gentleman of Baltimore county in Maryland to his friend in York' would have given 'A Redemptioner' much more encouragement. "I see many who wish themselves at the place they came from", he wrote on 15th January. "It is a very trying climate, the two extremes of heat in summer, and cold in winter, are severely felt here. Whole families are daily arriving and travelling into the back country, seeking to take up and cultivate land, which from experience, they find to be a very laborious task". 2 Yet, for the indented servants who travelled in the Adventure that year, early June at Baltimore, the undertaking was highly satisfactory, for "after a fine passage, all on board in perfect health... within ten days after their arrival,...the Captain had procured masters for upwards of two-thirds of his passengers." 3 The Adventure was again advertised to sail under Capt. Wilson's command in April, 1775, "for Cape Fear or Maryland".

with the same encouragement given to all over fourteen years of age. ¹

The port of Hull played but a small part in the conveyance of indentured servants from Yorkshire to Maryland. The six, however, who sailed by this route on the Shipwright, in late February or early March, 1774, formed an interesting group. Spinsters, Mary Hemingway (aged 27), Mary Smith (25), Mary Williamson (17), Elizabeth Fitzgerald, Ann Butler and Maria Harrison (all 16), were listed as being of Hull, and "From the Charity Hall, Hull, going as Indentured Servants for 4 years". ² The Charity Hall, or workhouse, in Hull, was essentially a place of refuge for old people over the age of sixty, and children under the age of fourteen—children (but not orphans, who were put out to foster) whose parents temporarily could not or would not support them. The admittance of others, singly or in families, was strictly regulated and allowed only in exceptional circumstances. The accommodation of single women, however, was frequently undertaken, many

1. Newcastle Chronicle, 15 Apr. 1775. The Adventure's burthen is this time given as 260 tons, and "near six Feet in Height between Decks". There appears to be no press note of the ship's sailing from Shields, as advertised, nor once again is the departure recorded in the shipping lists. However, as in 1774, a ship of the same name left London for Maryland in the week, 10-17 Apr. 1775, carrying 77 "passengers and redemptioners". (Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXV (Apr. 1911), 125-27). If this were the same vessel, as seems likely, a few were probably conveyed from Shields, to be augmented by the 77 from London.

2. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXV (Jan. 1911), 31 (week, 27 Feb. - 6 Mar. 1774). The total complement of nine also included three men (from Scotland, Norfolk and Lincoln), all indentured servants for four years.
entering to have their babies; indeed, it is conceivable that at least one of the girls on the Shipwright had entered the Charity Hall for this very reason.\textsuperscript{1} The actual mode of emigration suggests a number of possibilities, but the most likely seems to have been that the master of the Hall received a request for at least six young women to go into indentured service in Maryland; and the women, for their part, with perhaps hidden pressure from the master to accept, preferred the chance to start afresh overseas.

In 1775, three indentured servants from Yorkshire also sailed by way of Bristol for Maryland on the Fortune: Samuel Hardcastle, a 28 year-old cordwainer from Leeds, and his wife, Elizabeth (27), and John Merrill (36), a whitesmith from York. In each case, the term of service was to be four years.\textsuperscript{2}

The recorded number of Yorkshire emigrants leaving for Virginia were comparable with those leaving for Maryland.\textsuperscript{3} London as the port of departure was again well represented; all 14 emigrants were indentured servants, sailing singly or in twos and threes in no fewer than nine ships between February, 1774, and April, 1775.\textsuperscript{4} The low overall figure of 14 indented

3. The numbers were 43 and 46.
servants, however, suggests that Virginia, at a time of otherwise high emigration, did not possess great attraction for Yorkshiremen. Indeed, the greater proportion of those from the county who did leave for Virginia went essentially for the same stated reasons as those given by the emigrants to Nova Scotia, namely, that farm rentals had been raised excessively, or that they were seeking a "better livelihood", and in some cases, "to purchase or return". In all, 28 in this category (excluding one merchant from Hull) sailed for Virginia, including three from Liverpool and one from Whitehaven. But the largest group of 24 constituted the total complement of the Kingston Packet, sailing from Hull in mid-July, 1774. Three-quarters of these passengers bound for Norfolk, Va., were of farming stock.


3. The Kingston Packet (Joseph Turner, Commander) had also been advertised to sail for Virginia, "with good accommodation for Passengers, ... from the Port of Hull the last Week in June [1773]": Leeds Mercury, 1 Jun. 1773.

4. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXV (Jan. 1910), 23-24 (week, 10-17 Jul. 1774): Robert Medway (35), his wife and four children, William Morfett (44), his wife and three children, David Wheelhouse (49), his wife and three children, William Mitchinson (30) and Thomas Wetheral (30), made up 18 of the 24 passengers.
Yorkshire emigration to Georgia presents an interesting picture, and, though not great in extent, a number of unresolved questions. Apart from two sailings in successive years from the Yorkshire port of Whitby, one departure from Newcastle, also for that destination, must be considered, not only because some Yorkshire emigration figured in each case, but also because the voyages were roughly contemporary, the same routes - as far as is known - were taken, and the same revolutionary stirrings greeted their arrival at Savannah.

The ship, Marlborough (Capt. Presswick, or Pressick), of 300 tons, was advertised in July, 1774, issues of the Yorkshire press to be about to sail at the end of that month for Savannah. The vessel, "completely fitted and accommodated, ... [would] take on board passengers, to settle the new-coded valuable lands in that province [Georgia]. Any persons", the notice continued, "desirous of a particular information of the situation, quality, and mode of purchasing these lands, will have the fullest intelligence, by applying to Mr. Jonas Brown at Whitby ... [who will] give or transmit copies of the proclamation issued by his Excellency Sir James Wright, Governor of the Province of Georgia, for encouraging the settlement of the lands ....".

1. York Chronicle, 1, 8, 15, 29 Jul. 1774. The proclamation, or paraphrase, together with details, is included in the advertisements for the Marlborough's sailing, Summer 1775 (Ibid., 7, 14, 21, 28 Jul. 1775). V. Appendix A-2, p. 1690.
When the Marlborough left Whitby at the beginning of August, at least 29 passengers were on board, though only Robert Harrison, a 33 year-old "Innholder & Shopkeeper", and William Alexander (32), a labourer, his wife and three children, gave Yorkshire as their place of origin, and "Going to seek for better Employ to stay there or return" as their prime motive for emigration. Of the total complement, only one head of family, a husbandman, claimed to be directly connected with farming. 1.

From Whitby, the ship sailed northwards for Orkney, where, it may be inferred, she remained about three weeks, taking on further passengers. By the time of her departure from Stromness on 9th September, the complement had increased to "about 80" with the addition of 55 Orcadians. The Marlborough, it was reported, "is the first ship that has purposely stopped here [Orkney] for emigrants since emigration begun to be so frequent in Britain". Certainly, competition for places was brisk, even at apparently short notice, for "Mr. Jonas Brown, the owner of the ship, would have got three times the number had he occasion for them". 2.

1. York Chronicle, 12 Aug. 1774; Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXIV (Apr. 1910), 109 (week, 31 Jul. - 7 Aug. 1774). Apart from one linen weaver and his child, from Lancashire, the remainder originated in Scotland. The 'children' of Richard Fenton (26), canvas weaver, and his wife have been counted as two in number. A later report (York Courant, 27 Sep. 1774) notes that "25...embarked at Whitby".

2. 'Letter from Orkney, dated Sept. 10', reprinted, with comments, in York Courant, ibid.; York Chronicle, 30 Sep. 1774; Leeds Intelligencer, 4 Oct. 1774. The press followed up the letter with the almost expected carping comment: "This prevailing spirit [of emigration] surely merits the attention of the legislature".
The 1774 voyage of the Marlborough to Georgia must have fully satisfied Jonas Brown’s expectations both as regards the numbers carried — if only just over one-third from Whitby — and the financial rewards gained, for during several summer weeks in 1775, the press again carried advertisements of the ship’s sailing, identical to those printed some twelve months earlier. The Marlborough on this occasion was due to sail from Whitby on 10th August. 1.

When the Marlborough did sail for Savannah in mid-August, her route also followed almost exactly that taken the previous year. With "about 1/4 young and old of both sexes who embarked at Whitby", 2. the ship sailed northwards for Stromness where she remained some four weeks indenting emigrants — 24 from Caithness and 27 from Orkney — before sailing for Georgia on 13th or 16th September. 3. The voyage appears to have been uneventful,

1. York Chronicle, 30 Jun.; 7, 14, 21, 26 Jul. 1775; Newcastle Journal, 29 Jul.; 5 Aug. 1775. It is noticeable that advertisements for this ship were printed in the Newcastle press later than those in York, and it is possible that Brown hoped initially that the Marlborough would pick up more passengers on Tyneside.

2. Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXV (Jul. 1911), 242 (week, 14-21 Aug. 1775). Fothergill’s transcript, however, surely erroneously, lists the Marlborough’s departure as being from London. According to the passenger list, 18 started out, 14 or 15 of whom were from Yorkshire: the remainder originated in Durham (2), Nottingham and Preston, though the last might have been Preston-in-Holderness rather than the Lancashire town. Mark Morton, a 42 year-old wheelwright, his wife and three children, were from Hull.

but on arrival at her ultimate destination at the
beginning of November, the Marlborough's captain,
"having brought some coals for sale, was obliged,
by the committee of safety, to throw them overboard,
before she could enter [Savannah]."

Jonas Brown's possible intention of the
Marlborough's calling at Newcastle or Shields for
emigrants was perhaps thwarted by the almost
contemporary sailing of the Georgia Packet (or, Pacquet)
for the same destination. Advertised to sail from
Shields, the latter, Capt. Manson, finally left for
Savannah on 8th September, "with her full compliment
of emigrants (105), all in high spirits".

1. 'Letter from Capt. Manson of the Georgia Packet,
Savannah, 16 Dec. 1775': extract printed in
Newcastle Journal, 17 Feb. 1776. Manson also notes
the "Marlbro: belonging to Mr. Brown of Whitby,
from the Orkneys with emigrants", thereby further
refuting Fothergill's transcript.

1775; Fothergill, "Emigrants from England", LXV (Jul.1911),
233-46 (week, 4-11 Sep. 1775). The shipping list records
exactly 100 emigrants on the Georgia Packet, the majority
of whom were from Scotland (55) and the neighbourhood
of the Tyne (Newcastle, 23; Sunderland, 9; Shields, 4;
S. Shields, 1; Elyth, 1). The remainder were from
Stockton (1), Coventry (1), London (3), [the unidentified]
Rudwith (1), and Margaret Brown, a 19 year-old 'spinster'
the only Yorkshire emigrant, from Whitby.
The popular response in the North to the Georgia Packet was probably due to a number of factors presented to potential emigrants, quite apart from their personal motivation. First, it was advertised that:

"The Back Settlements of Georgia, and all high countries in the same latitude, as Judea, (or Canaan), &c., are universally allowed by all authors to enjoy a perpetual spring, and the most agreeable temperature of climate, as well as to produce with the least trouble the most valuable products of the world. And to these so happily situated Back Settlements of Georgia, the greatest encouragement is given for indented servants to go out; who after their term of servitude is expired will be enabled to settle on these lands as proprietors, and acquire to themselves or leave to their posterity an easy competency".

Moreover, though the Captains of both the Marlborough and the Georgia Packet were soon to be disillusioned on this score, "the province of Georgia is no ways concerned in the present
disputes with this country". 1 Whilst it was admitted that "this extensive undertaking" promised "considerable emolument" to the ship-owners and was likely to produce some extension of the port's trade, "the most honourable steps were pursued in engaging their servants:—Such as owed trifling debts had them discharged, and the few who repented of their engagement were released from their obligations without paying any expense whatever". 2

The voyage of the Georgia Packet, however, was not without incident: Capt. Manson, whilst behaving "with the greatest wisdom and prudence, which shews itself in every countenance", had to contend with many problems before reaching Savannah. After sailing "from Shields North about" on the 8th, the vessel anchored at Stromness on 16th September, not to pick up passengers as had the recently departed Marlborough, 3 but to bury "a sailor who died of the gravel". A trouble-maker was also put on shore, after causing the passengers "perpetual mischief" and threatening to stab his bedfellow. 4

On leaving

1. Newcastle Journal, e.g., 29 Jul. 1775. Compare the advertisement with that for the Marlborough (ibid.): "These lands [in Georgia] are esteemed the richest in North America, are near a thousand miles distant from Boston in New-England, and this province has no connection or concern with the troubles now subsisting with Great-Britain".

2. Ibid., 16 Sept. 1775.

3. It seems likely that the Marlborough, during her four weeks' stay at Stromness, had taken on all those locally available from Caithness, and particularly Orkney, who were willing to leave for Georgia. Certainly, there is no note of the Georgia Packet augmenting her "full compliment".

4. The press records that the "person alluded to [a 'radical'] was lately in this town [Newcastle], and propagated several fictitious stories, asserting the emigrants were discontented and ill treated...."
Stromness "with the first fair wind", Captain Manson, it seems, first thought of sailing to St. Mary’s River, Florida, so as to avoid the disturbances at Savannah; more land would have to be traversed to reach the "Back Settlements of Georgia", but at least, there would be "no opposition from the sons of liberty". Nonetheless, Manson had second thoughts and returned to his original route, for, on 12th December, eighty-two long days out from Orkneys, the Georgia Packet berthed safely in Savannah harbour: the early part of the voyage had been marred by a small-pox outbreak, four children dying from the disease - partly by way of natural compensation, three children had been born - but as all signs of the infection had ended some six weeks before arrival, no period of quarantine was necessary. In one respect, the Georgia Packet was more fortunate than the Marlborough, which had arrived five weeks earlier. Whereas the captain of the Whitby ship had been obliged to throw overboard coals he had brought for sale before being allowed to enter harbour, Capt. Manson was successful in his plan to the Committee of Safety that the only goods he had on board were those for plantation use. "We were permitted", he wrote, "to land our stores, and will be allowed to pass peaceably to our plantation in the back settlements, two hundred

miles up the country." 1.

By way of postscript, the problems of the Georgia Packet were not over even after landing her passengers. The vessel narrowly avoided the closure of the ports of Georgia to the export of goods "from this day [16th December] to the first of March next [1776], but with permission for such ships as have entered and cleared outwards before, to complete their loading" - by clearing on 15th December for London, and initially taking on six barrels of rice, "at 3l. per ton, which is a very high freight, owing to so few ships being here". However, the day prior to sailing, warships and troop-transports entered Savannah harbour: in order to prevent the Georgia Packet's sailing, the rebels demanded sails and rigging be put on shore, whereupon troops boarded the ship to prevent seizure, and in the ensuing skirmish, the rebels suffered seven killed and wounded and four prisoners. Two more engagements followed before the vessel managed to leave harbour, safely but for the loss of the ship's boats. Even so, the partly stored cargo of rice was commandeered by the navy and put on the transports for Boston.

1. It is possible that Capt. Manson himself took up land, for a second letter (from the second mate of the Georgia Packet) states: "Mr. Wm. Manson and his people were all in good health, and in the interior parts of the country [Georgia] in Feb. last [1776], since then no intelligence, but we expect the communions of the province would not extend to them." (Newcastle Journal, 18 May 1776). It is significant that no 'William Manson' appears in the passenger list, and the captain's name is left blank in news of the ship's arrival at Dover.
The ship, in ballast, finally reached Dover in early May.¹

Within a short time, reports began to reach England of the unsettled, troubled conditions in Georgia, and though it is likely that those emigrating by the Marlborough and Georgia Packet, on moving well inland to the 'Back Settlements', were little disturbed at first by dissident elements, "all the inhabitants of Savannah who wished the prosperity of old England, retired into the country and left the rebels in possession of the town".² The same story was reported by a writer in Friendsburgh, who wrote in his letter home: "All the women, children, and valuable effects are removed from Savannah, which is filled with armed men, who live there in the true Liberty style, breaking into stores, and knocking in the heads of the rum puncheons, &c. -". Earlier, this man had been subjected to verbal harassment by two 'committee men' at Wrightsburgh, but in Friendsburgh, "most of the people here abouts are well affected in their hearts to government, and are heartily sick of anarchy". However over-optimistic this view might have been, newly arrived immigrants almost certainly found more settled conditions once inland from the port of arrival, Savannah.³

2. Ibid., 18 May 1776.
Little evidence exists of the Carolinas attracting Yorkshire emigration in the years immediately prior to 1776.¹ No doubt individual Yorkshiremen could be found there in the 1770's, as witness the marriage on 12th December, 1771, at Charleston, S.C., between James Wakefield, son of Mr. Alderman Wakefield, of York, and Miss Betty Cannon, "a fine young lady with a fortune of 50,000l. sterl."² The passenger lists for the years, 1774-76, however, name only four (in 1774), and one of these, William Walker, a 37 year-old merchant, sailing from Liverpool to South Carolina in the March by the Folly, was concerned with trade.³ The other three, all from York, sailed from London to 'Carolina' in the Mary and Hannah late in the year: William Ripley (22) and John Sanderson (45), both farmers, were "going to settle"; and James Trenham (22), butcher, was an "indentured servant for two years".⁴ Additionally, it is possible that Ripley and Sanderson went in response to the following advertisement:

1. It is possible, of course, that some of those noted as sailing for Virginia, and Norfolk, Va., specifically, later moved into North Carolina. For note of Norfolk, Va., as an entrepôt for North Carolina, see: J. T. Dixon, "The Problem of Imperial Communications during the Eighteenth Century...", pp. 147, 153.
4. Ibid., LXIV (Jul. 1910), 224 (week, 7-14 Nov. 1774).
"WANTED, to go to a Plantation at Charles Town, South Carolina, in North America, about the middle of September next, two stout MEN, who have been used to husbandry business, particularly to ditching, draining and banking. Two persons from Holderness would be the more agreeable. Good encouragement will be given. Further particulars may be known by applying to Mr. William Crofts, at Kirkhammerton." 1

An interesting feature of Yorkshire emigration, albeit forced emigration, in the decade and a-half before Anglo-American hostilities prevented its further implementation, was the overseas' transportation of convicted felons. In the fourteen years, 1760-73, some seventy persons in the North Riding received sentence of transportation; and in the eight years, 1768-76, forty-two were similarly sentenced in the West Riding. As might be expected, a high proportion of these were men: 60 (or 62) from the North Riding, and 34 from the West Riding, during the shorter period, were male, 36 and 81 per cent of the respective totals. Moreover, with the exception of Ann Richmond, who was sentenced to life in 1761 at the Northallerton Sessions, 2 all the other transported women from the North Riding - seven in number -

2. Bond, 21 Sep. 1761 (QST, 19), memorandum of contract (QST, 61); Justices' certificate (QST, 66), N.Y.C.R.O.
received the shortest sentence of seven years overseas.\(^1\)

In the case of transported felons from the West Riding during the period, 1769-76, information contained in the official return takes a somewhat different form: as for the North Riding, all felons, male and female, are named, but whereas reference is invariably made to the term received by every prisoner sentenced to transportation at Northallerton, but without mention of the crime committed, the reverse is true of those found guilty at the various Sessions held in the West Riding - the crime, but not the term, is recorded.\(^2\)

1. The three periods of possible sentence were 'life', 'fourteen years' and 'seven years'. No women in the North Riding received a sentence of fourteen years. Table II, p. 1709, contains a break-down for the years, 1760-73, of male and female transports from the North Riding, together with their terms of sentence.

2. "A List of Persons transported from the West Ridg. Sess\(^a\) between 1st Nov. \(^P\) 1769 and 1st of this inst. Nov. \(^T\) 1776", W.I.C.R.O. This return was made in response to the directive: "Ordered That the Clerks of Assize, Clerks of the Peace, Town Clerks, and other proper Officers of Liberties and Towns, holding sessions, at which Felons have been usually ordered for Transportation, do on or before the 1st Day of January next, make out correct Lists in writing, of All Persons, who, between the 1st Day of November, 1769, and the 1st Day of this Instant November have, at their respective Sessions of Oyer and Terminer, of Gaol Delivery, or of the Peace, been sentenced to Transportation; or have, within their respective Districts, been ordered for Transportation in consequence of conditional Pardons, or otherwise; distinguishing the Names of each Person, his or her Crime, and the Time when he or she was ordered for Transportation, and whether by Judgement of the Court, or by means of conditional Pardons, or otherwise; and do forthwith transmit the said lists to the Sheriffs of their respective County": JHC., 17 George III, 8 Nov. [1776], p.15.
In all, Sessions in nine West Riding locations pronounced sentences of transportation: of the forty-two convicts, fifteen were sentenced at Pontefract, eight at Leeds, seven at Bradford, and six at Wakefield; apart from Rotherham, two, one each was sentenced at Barnsley, Doncaster, Sheffield and Wetherby. 1 Theft specifically constituted all but four of the charges leading to conviction and transportation, and even Christopher Umpleby 2 and Robert Allanson 3 were transported for 'feloniously receiving', as was George Lucas, alias Grice, for "Defrauding one Chris" Thornton of Two Guineas in Gold and a Bill of Exchange of the Value of Ten Pounds at Bradford". 4 Ann, the wife of William Owles, 'otherwise Olds', apart from her theft of a vast selection of women's clothing and cloth, was also convicted on a charge of

1. Table 12; p. 1710: contains a breakdown for the years, 1769-76, of male and female transports from the West Riding, together with their place of sentence.


3. Sentenced at Bradford Sessions, 1 August 1771: ibid.

"feloniously breaking out of the House of Correction at Wakefield". Rachel Dobson was described as "an incorrigible Rogue and Vagabond". Many of the felonies reflected aspects of local trade and industry - 'broken wool' and nails stolen at Halifax, broad woollen cloth at Birstall and Leeds, hanks of linen yarn at Rawcliffe, penknife hafts and blades, files and clamps at Sheffield.

Returning to the Quarter Sessions' transportation records of the North Riding, a feature of these is the inclusion of merchants named in bonds as contractors to the Clerk of the Peace for the overseas' conveyance of felons. The first note of a merchant to be contracted with was Robert Gilpin, of Whitehaven, Cumberland, in 1736-37, but from then until 1759, contracts were largely in the hands of two London merchants, Andrew Reid, followed by John Sydenham. About the mid-century, however, three

2. Sentenced at Pontefract Sessions, 27 April 1772: ibid., p.2.
5. Andrew Reid: bonds, 23 Apr. 1741, 11 Sep. 1742, 9 May, 8 Nov. 1743, 2 Aug. 1749, 1 Sep. 1750 (QST, 3-6, 8-9).
Hull merchants — William Cookson, Haldenby Dixon — James Hambleton — temporarily entered the scene, with one contract each. The almost total monopoly by London merchants continued in the period, 1760–73:

John Sydenham, 1760–62; John Holloway, in 1763;

Jon Forward Sydenham, 1764–70, and Moses Israel Fonseca

1. William Cookson: bond, 15 Oct. 1748 (QST. 7);
   Gordon Jackson, Hu 11 in the Eighteenth Century... p. 99n. William Cookson originated in Leeds, the son of William Cookson, merchant of that city; the former was apprenticed to William Mowld in 1726.

2. Haldenby Dixon: bond, 30 Aug. 1751 (QST. 10);
   G. Jackson, ibid., pp. 153, 186. Haldenby Dixon was both a merchant in partnership with Richard Nor(d)cliffe, and one of the earliest master ropers in Hull, taking apprentices in 1746. One or both of these activities led to his bankruptcy c. 1757. Dixon possessed a one-share interest (sold in 1758 after his failure) in the short-lived Hull Whale Fishery Company.

3. James Hambleton: bond, 27 Aug. 1752 (QST. 11);
   G. Jackson, ibid., pp. 114, 140, 145, 157–59, 165–66, 171, 195. The James Hambleton noted was almost certainly James Hamilton, Hull merchant and ship-owner; as a merchant, Hamilton had at least a controlling interest in the Crowle, Beyard, Bosville, Ann and York, it being common for such firms to employ their own ships in ventures interesting them. The York went to Greenland on a whaling expedition in 1754, the Bosville (formerly, and later, from 1757, after the temporary decline in whaling, a regular American trader) and York in 1755. Hamilton's ship, Manchester, another American trader, went to Greenland in 1770, but was sold to John Staniforth, shipowner, the following year.


and Abraham Lopes Fernandes, in 1773.\textsuperscript{1} Only two Northern merchants broke this complete monopoly with one contract each - Edward Mirfield, of Leeds, in 1771,\textsuperscript{2} and James Gildart, of Liverpool, in 1773.\textsuperscript{3} In total, London merchants received all but seven of the thirty-two contracts between 1736 and 1773, and all but two of the fifteen, 1760-73. Throughout the latter period, £6 was paid for each convict transported, except on two occasions, both in 1773: Fonseca and Fernandes received an 'unspecified consideration' for five felons, and Gildart, £36.15s. for four.\textsuperscript{4}

In comparing the numbers of felons transported from the two Ridings, it may be noted that, in the respective periods under consideration, the average number conveyed each year was five. The annual average, however, tells only part of the story. During the last four years of the Seven Years' War, the number transported from the North Riding declined from five in 1760 to only one in 1763. The following year saw an increase to four, and the years, 1765 to 1773, are remarkable for their consistency, totals of seven, eight or


2. Ed. Mirfield: bond, 21 Aug. 1771 (QST, 30). The firm of Mirfield ('Kesars. Samuel Mirfield and Son, Leeds') are noted, for example, in connection with the advertised sailing of the Kitty, from Hull for Virginia, with "Goods and Passengers", the same month (Leeds Intelligencer, 16 July 1771).


nine being maintained each year.\textsuperscript{1} Figures for the West Riding, however, are far more variable, ranging from nine transported in 1775, and seven in 1773, to the predictable two in 1776. In both Ridings, the year 1772 produced the fewest candidates for transportation, three in the West Riding and an apparent two in the North Riding.\textsuperscript{2} It is unfortunate that the official passenger returns for 1774-76 do not, with minor exceptions, list the names or county origins of transported felons. It is unlikely, however, that among the 106 convicts who were conveyed on each of two occasions from Bristol, in early October, 1774, and in late April, the following year, some of those sentenced at Yorkshire Sessions failed

1. This remains essentially true for the North Riding, although one total of nine transports covers the two years, 1768-69, and the two noted for 1772 (as evidenced by an order for payment of Clerk's fees, 1772: QST, 82), may constitute only part of the total for that year.

2. See Tables 11 and 12, pp. 1709-10.
to be included. 1.

In the North Riding records, several instances occur of felons who were initially sentenced to death, but who were reprieved and committed to life or fourteen years' transportation. In 1769, John Atkinson and John Soulsby received the death sentence at Northallerton, this later being commuted to fourteen years' transportation.

Joan Forward Sydenham, the London merchant, was contracted to "take and receive from the Gosler of the Castle of York aforesaid or his Deputy, the said ... John Atkinson, John Soulsby[and others]... and then put on Shipboard & transport them out of Great Britain within two months after the date hereof[16 April 1769]& as soon after as may be, deliver &

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Most of the felons disappear from sight on receiving sentence, but one case of reappearance occurs in the West Riding.

Joseph Crowther was sentenced to transportation at Wakefield Sessions on 12th January, 1775, for "Stealing one pair of Women's Stays at Birstall". Whether Crowther was one of the "One Hundred & Six Convicts from different Jails of this Kingdom", transported in the Elizabeth from Bristol for Maryland at the end of April, 1775, is not known, nor are the means by which he returned illegally to Yorkshire the following year.

At the York Assizes of July, 1776, however, Crowther was charged with "returning from transportation before the expiration of his term". As his rather far-fetched defence, the prisoner declared that after he had been landed in Pennsylvania (not Maryland), he had discovered that the rebellious "Provincials compelled every person to take up arms or quit the country"; and that his only reason for returning to England was to avoid the stigma of acting treacherously against King and Country! Two witnesses

4. William Weddell, of Newby Hall, one landlord cited by emigrants leaving for Nova Scotia as raising their rents excessively, was one of the gentlemen of the Grand Jury at the York Assizes, 20-27 July, 1776.
were called in his defence: one confirmed his statement, but the other, a merchant, denied that conditions at the time were so extreme. Nevertheless, Joseph Crowther's plea was accepted by judge and jury, for although sentenced to death, he gained reprieve.\footnote{Newcastle Journal, 27 Jul., 3 Aug. 1776.}
1. **Hull as an Emigration Port, 1815-29.**

Opportunities for taking passage at Hull for North America immediately after the end of hostilities in 1815 remained much the same as they had been during the two decades or so of peace-time conditions since 1763. The flush of Hull emigrant-sailings for Nova Scotia in the years 1774-75, as already noted, was exceptional in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

From press notices advertising ship-sailings to North America in the 1790's, the impression is readily gained that those passengers sailing for business reasons or as emigrants were merely remunerative adjuncts to the prime purpose of trade. Passenger accommodation in varying degrees was usually available if and when a vessel had taken on, or was likely to take on, sufficient merchandise to effect a profitable enterprise. Despite assurances that passengers could obtain "excellent accommodations", by no stretch of the imagination could these ships be claimed as emigrant vessels, that is,
ships sailing primarily for the purpose of conveying emigrants rather than commodities. In the spring of 1795, for example, four ships were advertised to sail for North America: the Robust (Capt. Richard Black), Clothier (Capt. N.D. Gardner), Rebecca (Capt. Richard Brown) and The Fair American (Capt. Ebenezer Allyn). Philadelphia was the destination of the second, New York, the others.

Apart from the Robust, which possessed "excellent accommodations for passengers, and is in every respect a very particularly fine ship", no other vessel advertised passenger space, except as a postscript to the all-important motive of trade. In at least the first three cases, perhaps the fourth, Hull was an intermediate port of call for the loading of the "Fall Goods" for American ports: the Rebecca, for instance, a small brigantine of only 19¼ tons, was "daily expected from Hamburg", and the Robust and Clothier were both described as "American Ship[s]". In every case, trade, not human conveyance, was of first importance.1 And yet, at the beginning of

1. Hull Packet, 14 to 26 Apr., 12 to 26 May 1795; Gordon Jackson, Hull in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 60, 97, 102, 123, 189, 247. The advertisers of the Robust were William Head, Tottie & Co., and of the Clothier, William Williamson. Richard Tottie was an important oil-seller at the turn of the century. William Williamson, and his brother, Joseph, were members of Hull's merchant aristocracy, and undoubtedly the most important firm and biggest exporter in that port during the eighteenth century, trading especially with Hamburg, Sweden and the Baltic.
that very same year, 1795, the Hull press had advertised large-scale land sales in North America - in Success, Percy, Stratford, Fairfield and Grafton Townships, New Hampshire, in Vermont, near Fort Stanwick and elsewhere in New York, in Upper Canada, Virginia and Georgia.¹

The end of the Napoleonic Wars saw no immediate change in the pattern of facilities offered to those wishing to leave from Hull for North America; nor was there any sudden stimulus to provide passages in 1815. Only three ships were advertised to sail from the port in the autumn of that year - the Venus (Robert Burton),² Draper (John Robinson)³ and Earl Fitzwilliam (Garrison),⁴ the first for Philadelphia, the other two for New York - and amenities were mainly restricted to cabin passengers.

1. Hull Advertiser. 3 Jan. 1795.
4. Ibid., 11 Nov. to 23 Dec. 1815. Owners, Richard Moxon and Sons. The Moxon family were Hull merchants, bankers and ship-owners. Richard Moxon entered into partnership (1791/2) with Edmund Bramston (Alderman, merchant and goldsmith) as the 'Hull Commercial Bank' (in Whitefriargate). After Bramston's death (1795), the bank continued in the hands of Richard, George and John Moxon, until their liquidation (1815). Richard Moxon lived at Cottingham (Gordon Jackson, pp. 111, 150, 212, 265).
In the following year, however, 1816, the number of vessels offering passenger accommodation doubled to six, four destined for New York, and two for Quebec. Moreover, in these sailings may be noted two elements which were to become so characteristic of Hull's North American departures in later years. First, all six ships sailed out of the harbor between the beginning of April and early summer. In May, for example, "several farmers who lately occupied about four thousand acres of land in Lincolnshire . . . emigrated . . . after having sold all their live and dead stock. They were accompanied by the curate of the village"; and in early August, "two hundred and thirty-two . . . persons arrived in New York in one day, from Hull [England] and Waterford, Ireland."

Secondly, the Nancy (William Norsen, Master), a cockleshell of 107 tons, for Quebec, was intended "FOR PASSENGERS ONLY. . . . As this vessel will not take any goods on freight, the accommodation for passengers will

1. For New York: the Orient, Comet, Laura, and Latona.
2. For Quebec: the Fame and Nancy.

be very superior"; and the *Comet* (John Sugden, Commander), "a fast-sailing Coppered ship" of 300 tons, had "superior Accommodation for Passengers, having been fitted as a Packet..." In the event, the *Comet* sailed for New York on 29th May, 1815, "with upwards of 80 passengers...many of them small farmers, or labourers in husbandry", and the press comment is reminiscent of the hostility and pessimism displayed during the emigrations from the county in the years, 1773-75, and more generally, in the mid-1790's. "It is only a few years", the report observed in 1816, "since many of our countrymen, who adopted a similar measure, found their mistake when too late, and such of them as could raise the passage money, actually returned. We wish the above persons may not find themselves in a similar situation." Certainly, at the time of writing, almost exactly a year later, from Delaware, Thomas Smith, who, with his

3. *Ibid.*, 1 Jun. 1816. Compare *Hull Packet*, 27 Sep. 1796: "A list of fortunate English emigrants to America, has lately appeared in some of the papers; but unfortunately for the writer, many of the persons mentioned in it have long since returned from that land of promise, totally disappointed in their expectations, if not ruined by their adventurous trip".
wife, had taken passage in the Comet, appeared to have no regrets. After a crossing of seventy-three days from Hull, the Comet’s passengers were landed safely at North Amboy, N.J., and after a short stay, Smith and his wife set out for Philadelphia, but on the way, accompanied by “two comrades”, they worked for five weeks for Joseph Buonaparte, “the late King of Spain, who is the freest and best gentleman I ever saw in my life...is good-like, and extremely condescending”. On reaching Philadelphia, Smith met an English farmer for whom he worked through the winter of 1816-17 near Port Penn, Delaware, but soon he was trying to strike roots. The following spring he wrote:

“I have taken a little place at 50 dollars a year, and 4 dollars taxes, on which I have two cows, &c., two acres of Indian corn and a good garden. This is a good country for a poor man or any man that follows farming, and has a little money to lay out in land; for you may buy more land here for a hundred pounds than you can in England for £1,500. No man needs be afraid of coming here that works for the farmer, as he will get a dollar and a quarter a-day, that is 5s.7d., in the summer, and in winter half a dollar and his victuals”.2

1. North Amboy: situated westwards across the southern end of the Staten Island Sound from Staten Island, N.Y.

2. Thomas Smith, Port Penn, Delaware, 27 May 1817 (extract of letter in Hull Rockingham, 4 Oct. 1817.)
Just as Thomas Smith appeared to have no regrets in his new country, another recent arrival from Yorkshire expressed delight and amusement for other reasons. The story, as related in August, 1816, in Miles' Weekly Register, a publication not noted for its lack of chauvinism, is worth retelling in full:

"This be a main queer country", said a Yorkshireman who, with three well-grown sons and a large family of small children, was travelling from New York to Zanesville [Ohio], to a gentleman who met him not far from Bedford, Pa., "it is a main queer country", said he, "for I have asked the laboring folk all along the road how many meals they eat in a day, and they all said three and sometimes four, if they wanted them. We have but two at home, and they are scanty enough, sir", continued he, in his broad dialect, which I know not how to express with English types, 'Only think, sir', added he, 'many of these people (the laborers) asked me to eat and drink with them: we can't say so in Yorkshire, sir, for we have not enough for ourselves'. What a field for reflection is there in the facts here stated? What American would have thought of inquiring how many meals the working people eat in a day?
But this was the first thing the poor Englishman thought of, and he had done it 'all along the road', to be convinced of the truth of the matter. He was delighted with the prospect of a full belly for himself and his children; the country 'was worth fighting for' where the laborers eat three times a day; and he voluntarily declared that he and his three boys would support it as long as they could stand; 'besides, sir', said he, 'I have some more coming on in the wagon that will soon be able to help us'.

The year, 1817, saw a substantial rise in the number of vessels, destined for North America from Hull and offering accommodation to emigrants. The six of the previous year — four for New York and two for Quebec — increased to sixteen, four for New York or Philadelphia, and twelve for British North America.


2. For New York: the *Phocion*, *Recent*, *William*; and for Philadelphia: the *Richard* and *Ann*.

3. For Quebec: the *Fane*, *Haida*, *Monique*, *John*, *Nancy*, *Earle*, and — "Laid on at Lynn" — *Bramble*; and for Nova Scotia and/or New Brunswick: *Fenosa*, *Camerdown*, *Valiant*, *Trafalgar* and *Ann*. 
This increase was symptomatic of post-war depression in agriculture and industry, side by side with developing technical innovation. The situation was reflected in Lord Lancelles' presentation to the House of Commons of an emigration petition from Yorkshire clothworkers, who, as skilled artisans, were still officially prohibited from leaving the country, and to whom, it was decided by Lords Sidmouth and Liverpool, no special treatment could be afforded.¹

Nevertheless, in the first six months of 1817, some 740 emigrants left Hull for British North America.² A number of the twelve vessels carrying these emigrants may be considered further. The first of the year, advertised as having "Good accommodations for Passengers" by Wilson, Wilkinson and Co., was the Fame (Thomas Minnitt),³ which left the Old Dock towards the end of March, and reached Quebec on 13th May, "the first vessel there, with goods and passengers."⁴ In the first and second weeks of May, the

¹ N.O. 42/17, 28 Sep. 79/3, 12 Oct. 1817; Parl. Pap. XXXV (1817), 322: cited by Helen Y. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America: The First Hundred Years (Toronto, rev. edn., 1964), p. 49. But compare Hull Advertiser, 11 Jan. 1817: "I understand that repeated applications have recently been made to Government, as to the encouragement which will be given to persons proceeding as settlers to Canada—Government...do not intend to provide conveyances for persons desirous of emigrating thither; but will recommend them to the Governor of the Province, in order that they may on their arrival receive a grant of land proportioned to their means of cultivation".

² Helen Y. Cowan, p. 49.

³ Hull Advertiser, 4 Jan. to 15 Mar. 1817. The Fomea (Jabes Roberts), for New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, was also advertised "FOR PASSENGERS ONLY" (Ibid., 22 Feb. to 15 Mar. 1817), but there is no press evidence of her sailing or arrival.

⁴ Ibid., 29 Mar., 28 Jun. 1817.
Manique (300 tons burthen; Robert Sacker, Master) and Maido (500 tons; Hunter Estill) left the port for Quebec, the former arriving safely on 9th July,\(^1\) and the latter shortly afterwards.\(^2\) Those going by the Manique would have the great advantage of obtaining, on their arrival at Quebec, Grants of Land and other indulgencies from the Government at that place, at either of the Settlements now forming: one at Drummond's Ville, in Lower Canada, the other on the River Rideau, in Upper Canada, both of which places are situated in a fine climate, with a good soil for cultivation; and have the great advantage of Water Carriage for their produce to the capital City of Quebec.\(^3\) The Settlers who went to Quebec last year \([1816]\), obtained Grants of Land of 100 Acres each, with Seed for sowing down, and had Subsistence for Twelve Months allowed them.\(^4\)

1. According to one writer, "after a tedious passage of nine weeks". (Hull Advertiser, 20 Dec., 1817).
3. Ibid., 19, 26 Apr., 1817.
Those sailing by the *Maide* were encouraged by the owners, Widow Hollingsworth and Holderness,¹ to inspect "A letter from Earl BATHURST...on the subject of Settlement".² One emigrant, who had sailed on the *Manicoua*, in a long letter home a month after his arrival in Canada, outlined his impressions of the prevailing conditions: after arriving at Quebec on 9th July, and a few days' stay there, he had continued his journey by steam boat to Montreal by the 14th. Quoting prices, he found food, accommodation, clothes and personal services costly by comparison with those in Yorkshire, but wages correspondingly higher. "Wheelwrights and servant-girls are much enquired for", he wrote; "a clever young woman may get £25 a year, a young man about £30 a year...I fell into work as soon as I got to Montreal at 4s. a day...There are hundreds of people here", he continued, "that would be glad to get back to England.

¹ Mrs. Hollingsworth was the widow of Andrew Hollingsworth, alderman, broker, timber merchant, with interests in whaling, who operated towards the end of the eighteenth century; he was one of the first two secretaries of The Society for the Purpose of Literary Information, which flourished in Hull, 1792-97 (Gordon Jackson, pp.145, 156, 172, 276).

² *Hull Advertiser*, 19 Apr. 1817.
if they could; a great part of the winter they cannot earn any thing. I am of opinion, if a man has money he may do a little good for himself, but he must look sharp, and very sharp too; there are some that have come over this spring and have fallen in well, but there are a great many that cannot fall in at all...Farms are very plentiful here, and persons who have plenty of money may do well; and I have no doubt to get into one by next spring". The promise of 100-acre land grants was fulfilled, "but there is no provisions given from our government". The bleaker aspects of the writer's letter seemed to be substantiated by the earlier comment in the same paper: "What a miserable prospect for the poor emigrants who went to Canada? By a ship just arrived we learn that, in consequence of the number, bread flour was 6d. per pound in Quebec, and meat not to be had for them".

Several vessels carrying emigrants also sailed for the Maritimes, a practice that was to be well-established for many years. In late March 1817, the Camperdown (314 tons; Capt. James Evans) sailed, with


2. Ibid., 1 Nov. 1817.
passengers, for Miramichi, N.B., arriving safely; and towards the end of the following month, the Valiant (361 tons; Capt. John Essard), after securing the services of a surgeon, sailed, "with passengers only", for New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The Ann (369 tons; Capt. William Wilkinson) also sailed from the New Dock for New Brunswick at the beginning of May. The Trafalgar (Capt. John Welburn), however, was not so fortunate in its passage. This vessel of 270 tons burden was advertised by Hugh Cochrane, No. 4, North Walls, to sail for Halifax, N.S., and Saint John, N.B., towards the end of May, and its description is worth noting:


2. Ibid., 22 Mar. to 5 Apr., 26 Apr. 1817. Advertiser: Widow B.B. Thompson and Sons, Grims tonic Street - the widow of Alderman Benjamin Blydes Thompson. A number of Hull firms were temporarily controlled by widows during the period of their children's minority, for example, Stephenson & Fearnley, Eggingtons, Hollingsworth. Most of Benj. B. Thompson's capital was bequeathed (will, 26 Aug. 1799) to 'Widow Thompson & Sons'; £9,000 was to be spent on his children's education; and if it were necessary for the firm to be wound up, the capital should be invested in government securities (Gordon Jackson, p.98).


4. The original reads, "St. John's, N.B." - not to be confused with "St. Johns", Newfoundland.
"The Trafalgar has just undergone a complete repair,¹ will be soon in high order in every respect for the comfort and accommodation of passengers, having two large cabins, and four state-rooms, and more fitting up, suitable for families; the height between decks is six feet, where every accommodation will be completely made up, and the greatest attention to every passenger on board. This is a most desirable vessel..."²

Fares for the passage were (cabin passengers), single person, £15.15s.; man and wife, £29.3s.; (steerage and between decks), single person, £10.10s.; man and wife, £16.16s.; children, aged 5-14, £6.6s.; aged 3-5, £5.5s.; and under 3, £3.3s. The ship would find provisions.³ The Trafalgar sailed as scheduled, passing safely through the Pentland Firth on 12th June, "passengers and crew in good health and spirits,"⁴ and reached Halifax apparently without incident. On sailing into the Bay of Fundy, however, on the last stage of

1. The term 'repair' may mean repair of damage, or refit to accommodate passengers.
2. Hull Advertiser, 19 Apr. to 24 May 1817.
3. Ibid., 24 May 1817.
4. Ibid., 28 Jun. 1817.
her passage to Saint John, the Trafalgar ran aground on Brier Island, and became a total wreck, but without loss of life or baggage. Describing the event to the owners, Capt. Welburn wrote:

"I am sorry to inform you of the loss of the Trafalgar, on the 25th July, about half past eight o'clock in the evening...I had been running up all the day;...it being very thick could not see any-thing; at seven p.m., I have the ship to, with her head to the Westward, thinking we were well over to the Westward, sounding in 40 fathoms; the tide running very strong, and before we could see the land, we heard the surf against the rocks; got sail upon the ship, but being so close the strong tide set us upon the rocks; it being high water when we got on, run out a kedge to heave her off, but all to no use. At low water, the ship was dry all round, amongst the rugged rocks, which went through her in different parts; the ship having as much water in the inside as there was on the outside at high water...We are saving all the stores that we can, but they must be taken up to St. John's to be sold, as there are no people upon Brier Island to purchase anything."

1. Original references note 'Brier' or 'Briers' Island.
The total number of sailings available for passenger conveyance from Hull to North America in 1818, though slightly fewer, differed little from the previous year; again, four were offered for New York or Philadelphia,¹ and ten for British North America.²

As in 1817, the first vessel to leave for Quebec was the Fame (Minnitt), with "most superior accommodation for passengers", at the end of March. "Spoken with twenty leagues W. of Scilly", her "many passengers all well", the Fame reached the south of the St. Lawrence on 28th May, to find it "full of ice". By happy chance, Capt. Minnitt encountered the Russia Company, Dye, of London, carrying goods, and sinking as the result of collision with an iceberg; and consequently, saved the master, crew of sixteen and two gentlemen passengers, with their luggage, before the ship sank shortly afterwards. The Fame reached Quebec safely.³ Also, as in 1817, the Hanique and Haide sailed for Quebec, in the first two weeks of April, arriving at their destination, with "crew and passengers all in good health", on 18th and 19th May.⁴ Indeed,

1. For New York: The William Howland, United States; and for Philadelphia: the Richard and Ann was advertised (Ibid., 21, 28 Feb. 1818), but later replaced by the John and Sarah.

2. For Quebec: the Fame, Haide, Hanique (two voyages), Fidoa; for N.S. and Quebec: Nancy; for N.B./P.E.I.: Pomona, Valiant, Ann and Dixon.


the Manique undertook a second voyage from Hull for Quebec that same year, leaving towards the end of August, 1818, but was lost in the St. Lawrence, near Cape Rosier, on the morning of 29th October. The crew and passengers were saved, however: Capt. Draper and part of her crew returned to Liverpool aboard the Emma; three passengers and six of the crew returned to London by the Sarah; and the remaining passengers were presumably taken on to Quebec.

In May, the Fides (353 tons burthen; Thomas Jefferson, Master) left the Nore Harbor on the 17th, with passengers for Quebec, and the Nancy (W. Norman, Master), about the same time, for Prince Edward Island and Quebec. By the 23rd May, the Fides was well out into the Atlantic, being 'spoken with' in lat. 49° 54' N., long. 13° 39' W.; and after reaching Quebec safely, returned to Hull by mid-September in twenty-nine days.

The Nancy, whose passenger rates were advertised as follows:

"At the Ship's Expenes, Adults, Ten Guineas - To Provision themselves, Seven Guineas - children, Half the above Price - Families will be engaged on the most liberal terms...."

3. Ibid., 11 Apr. to 2 May, 23 May, 13 Jun., 19 Sep. 1818.
arrived at Charlottetown, P.E.I., on 23rd June, after "a fine passage of thirty-eight days". Three days later, the vessel sailed safely for Quebec.¹

The Nancy, however, was by no means the first ship in 1818 to carry emigrants from Hull to the Maritimes, but she was the only such ship to convey them both thither and to Quebec. The Pomona was advertised to sail for Saint John and Dorchester, N.B.² The Ann (500 tons burden; Capt. Wa. Wilkinson) sailed for Miramichi,³ N.B., towards the end of March, arriving there safely,⁴ as did the Dixon (314 tons burden; Capt. James Roberts), for Charlottetown,⁵ P.E.I., and Buctouche,⁶ N.B., arriving on 9th and 12th May, and taking only twenty-four days to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.⁷ In April, the Valiant sailed from the Number for Charlottetown, "where she delivered all her passengers in health and safety", on 8th June.⁸

2. Ibid., 17, 24 Jan. 1818. As in 1817, there is no further evidence of the Pomona's departure (scheduled for about 25th March), or arrival in N.B.
3. Spelling, formerly, often 'Mirimichi'.
5. Spelling, formerly, 'Charlote Town'.
6. Spelling, formerly, 'Buctuch'.
1818 Hull sailings for the United States, as will be remarked yearly, were of far less importance than those for British North America, and were more scattered throughout the year. Gregson and Keighley, of the Old Custom House, High Street, were pleased to advertise that the Richard and Ann had "made her Passage last Year [1817] from this Port to Philadelphia in forty days; and is particularly adapted to Passengers"; but the John and Sarah was substituted, sailing mid-April.

The brig, William Howland (Capt. Southworth), sailed in early July, and the United States (Thomas Windsor), probably in October. But, it may be noted, even at this date, Hull could not hope to compete with Liverpool as a port for emigration to New York or Philadelphia, if speed of conveyance were of major consideration.

As one emigrant on the William Howland complained, a fortnight after his arrival in New York: "...our passage was 57 days. A ship from Liverpool, with passengers, (the Magnet) from port to port (New York), was only 23 days!"

2. Ibid., 7 to 28 Mar., 13 Apr. 1818.
With the new season of transatlantic sailings, in 1819, even more vessels were offered to convey emigrants from Hull: four were advertised for New York or Philadelphia, also two from Grimsby,¹ and thirteen for British North America.²

Yet again, the Fame, was the first vessel from Hull to weigh anchor for Quebec: leaving the Old Dock at the very end of March, 1819, with passengers, she reached the Canadian port safely on 7th May.³ In the first ten days of April, three more vessels quickly followed for the same port - the Maida, Andersons (300 tons burden; Capt. Clark) and Isabella (382 tons; Capt. Cornelius Brady). The Maida left at the turn of the month, and reached Quebec, apparently without incident.⁴ The second, carrying 101 emigrants, was 'spoken with' in lat. 49° 22'N., long. 27° 30'W., on 23rd April, and reached her destination in safety.⁵ The Isabella, "Late Discovery Ship in Davis' Straits", took out 148 emigrants, was similarly 'spoken with' on 24th April in lat. 46° 23', long. 29° 23', and arrived at Quebec, despite ominous rumours to the contrary,

¹ For New York: the Venus (and from Grimsby: Eliza Ann, Farmer); and for Philadelphia: John and Sarah, Little Cherub, Triton.
on 21st May, "with passengers all well". Others followed for Quebec in rapid succession — the

Whim, Harmony and Kingston set sail in the first and 
second weeks of May, the Arathusa at the beginning 
of June, and the William Pitt and Friends in the first 
week or so of July. The Whim (Capt. William Barchard), 
with 97 passengers on board, was 'spoken with' on 28th 
May in lat. 51°10', long. 35°17', and arrived safely. So, too, did the Harmony (360 tons; Capt. Samuel Taylor), 
with 22 passengers, the Kingston (John Stewart, Master), 
with 99, and the Arathusa (350 tons; William Wharton/
Wise, Master) with "about 125".

The William Pitt (350 tons; Thomas Stonehouse, Master) 
and Friends (William Clark) were both 'spoken with' on their 
Atlantic crossing to Quebec — the first on 28th July in 
lat. 47°, long. 42°30', and the second on 14th August 
in lat. 48°40', long. 34°1'.

1. Hull Advertiser, 6 Mar. to 3, 10, 17 Apr., 1, 15 May, 
26 Jun., 1819; Hull Rockingham, 10 Apr., 1 May 1819.

2. Shipping Intelligence (Hull Advertiser and Hull Rockingham, 
15 May 1819) also notes the departure of the Robert (Capt. 
Stewart) from Hull, with 30 emigrants, but without prior 
advertisement. This ship perhaps originated at another 
port, and called at Hull, hopeful of collecting passengers.

3. Hull Advertiser, 27 Mar. to 17 Apr., 8, 15 May, 19 Jun., 
11 Sept., 1819; Hull Rockingham, 15 May 1819.

Hull Rockingham, 15 May, 1819.

5. Hull Advertiser, 3 to 24 Apr., 15 May, 21 Aug., 1819; 
Hull Rockingham, 15 May 1819.


7. Ibid., 5 to 26 June, 3, 10 Jul., 21 Aug., 11 Sep., 16, 
30 Oct., 1819.
In addition to those vessels sailing direct to Quebec with emigrants, three were destined for the Maritimes at weekly intervals during April, 1819. Repeating her fast passage of the previous April, to Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, the Dixon (Roberts), with 101 passengers, arrived at Charlottetown on 6th May after only twenty-eight days from the Number.¹ Similarly, the Valiant (Ashton) sailed again, for Saint John, N.B., with only 11 passengers;² the Eagle (Healey) for Charlottetown, P.E.I., and Pictou, N.S., 'spoken with' in lat. 43°20', long. 51°, on 16th May, some twenty-seven days out from Hull, carried 84 passengers.³

In total, 221 passengers appear to have sailed for the United States direct from Hull on four ships between mid-April and the first week of June, 1819.⁴ The

² Hull Advertiser, 3, 17 Apr. 1819.
³ Ibid., 20 Feb. to 20 Mar., 24 Apr., 26 Jun., 10 Jul. 1819. The Eagle may have later sailed on to Quebec.
⁴ Perhaps a further 60 left Grimsby for New York by the Eliza Ann (Thomas Alderton), "30-40 passengers", and Farmer (William Martin), number unspecified, both described as 'American' ships (Hull Advertiser, 10 Apr. to 22 May, 5, 12 Jun., 31 Jul., 4 Sep., 23 Oct. 1819).
John and Sarah (Capt. Walter Bilton), which had fulfilled her passage to Philadelphia the previous spring in forty days, left Hull with 59 passengers in mid-April, 1819, reaching the same American port on 5th June. Leaving at almost the same time, the Triton (William Heseltine), with 75 passengers, arrived four days earlier. A third vessel, the American Little Cherub (John Mckever), which at the beginning of March, had had the misfortune to run ashore near Spurn Point on her passage from Philadelphia to Hull, but "was got off", set out again in mid-May, with 32 passengers, was 'spoken with' on 14th June in lat. 43°56', long. 42°, and reached Philadelphia safely. The Venus (Francis Allison) was the only vessel destined for New York from Hull: leaving at the beginning of June, the ship was 'spoken with' on 16th July in lat. 45°N, long. 44°W, and, with her crew and 55 passengers 'all well', reached New York about the middle of August.

Most standard text books of nineteenth-century British history have described and discussed at length 'the years of distress and discontent' of the post-Napoleonic period. In so far as the interrelated causes and results of the depression as a whole affected social conditions in Yorkshire, and, in particular, the 'emigration-hinterland' of Hull, some further consideration is necessary as a background to the steady increase in emigration by those

2. Ibid., 20 Mar. to 10, 24 Apr., 10 Jul. 1819.
port to North America between 1815 and 1819; an increase which was paralleled in overall emigration from the United Kingdom during the same period.¹

Wartime boom and speculation in many industries were replaced by post-war gloom and unutilised capital. Demand and profits fell: the ranks of the unemployed - swelled by returned servicemen - increased. Thousands were thrown out of work in the metal and mining industries; unemployment or short-time working was rife in the textile trades. Similarly, in agriculture, the home demand for corn and the near-closure of Continental sources during wartime - with the favouring enclosure of land for arable purposes, whether suitable or not² - gave way after 1815 to increased supplies of corn from Europe. Corn prices fell and farming profits were reduced. Many smaller farmers who had earlier stretched every means to increase their arable acreage and thereby take advantage of wartime

1. Emigration from the United Kingdom (in round figures) for the years, 1815-19, was 2,000, 13,000, 21,000, 23,000 and 35,000. The figure for 1819 was not to be surpassed until 1830 (57,000); Anthony Wood, Nineteenth Century Britain, 1815-1914 (London, 1960), p. 451, citing W. Page (ed.), 'Commerce and Industry': Vol. 2. Tables of Statistics (1919).

conditions, became insolvent; tenants found it difficult or impossible to pay rents; labourers were laid off. Whilst the Corn Law of 1815, with its exclusion of wheat importation until the price rose above 80a. a quarter (or 67s., before importation from British North America), was designed to protect the agricultural interest, this very protection resulted in the price of bread becoming exorbitant for the worker on short-time and well-nigh impossible for the unemployed. The interaction of industrial and agricultural depression produced an all too evident vicious circle.¹

Emigration as one possible means of alleviating industrial distress came to the fore in Leeds. The presentation by Lord Lancelles of an unsuccessful emigration petition to the House of Commons in 1817 from Yorkshire clothworkers has already been noted.² Two years later, with the textile trade of the city and neighbouring villages in the depths of depression, one writer, after describing in detail the calamities about him, advocated the aided removal overseas of those willing to leave. "Emigration, in such a case, is rather a good than an evil", he observed.


2. Helen I. Cowan, p.49.
"Part of the company retires, and they spread and cover tables in another region. Of the two thousand men, which number, it is stated, were parading the streets of Leeds for want of employment, last Monday, one half of them, at least, possess some little knowledge of agriculture, and might soon be brought to cultivate the earth—but in England, we have already a sufficient number of husbandmen. In Canada there are fine tracts of country that would soon reward the labour of the industrious, and we wish government would make grants of land, and afford support, for a time, to such persons as might choose to emigrate to that country ... there are difficulties in the way, but our situation presents only a choice of difficulties, and all that we can do is to choose the least. A tenth part of the money expended during one year in the operations of the late war, would settle all the redundant population of this country in situations of peaceful industry in our transatlantic colonies. This money, ill as it can be spared, would be well spent. The persons
suffering for want of labour and of bread, would thus be supported, and the tranquillity of the country would be preserved." 1.

The plight of the several hundreds of unemployed workmen, mainly croppers, who had paraded themselves in orderly fashion in Park Row and Briggate - the scene had prompted the above observations - was somewhat assuaged by local parishes granting "liberal relief to the claimants", in the case of Leeds Workhouse at a rate never previously experienced. 2. Distress, however, continued to prevail.

In the third week of May, the Mayor of Leeds received applications on behalf of 150 cloth-dressers (with their families, totalling 577 persons) and 76 croppers (augmented by 56 wives and 161 children), who were resolved to emigrate to Canada, provided that assistance to do so was forthcoming. After consideration, the workhouse committee decided that "the scheme was visionary; or, at least, that sufficient information was not as yet before them, whereby they might be induced to act in so weighty and important a matter"; or, that "the proposed plan was not likely to promote the object they had in view". 3. During the summer, the problem,

relating specifically to 120 croppers (with families, about 500 persons), was re-considered, this time at a meeting of Leeds merchants, but again it was not thought "advisable at the present time to originate any public subscription for the proposed purpose" of assisting would-be emigrants to Canada, though should the same conditions exist the following spring (1820), a further appraisal would be made. 1.

Even so, these events were illustrative of contemporary depression in the developing urban society in Yorkshire. Some, without aid, from the Leeds area, certainly did leave for the United States and the North American colonies during this difficult period, though Liverpool was far more likely to be the port of choice and convenience than Hull. Emigration by the port of Hull, except where it concerned those smitten with "emigration fever" in the city itself, was essentially of rural origins; and, it will be noted, this continued to be the case throughout its history as an emigration port, with its hinterland for this rôle lying chiefly in the East and (to a lesser extent) North Ridings, and the northern half of Lincolnshire.

1. Hull, Rockingham, 7 Aug. 1819. Helen I. Cowan (pp.50-51), citing Some Office and Colonial Office files, notes the flood of demands for Government assistance during 1818-19; private petitions from tradesmen, demobilised soldiers and individuals; and petitions from parishes requesting help in removing families willing to emigrate to Canada. One government measure - not policy - was exceptionally granted in 1819 to enable about 300 families to sail for the Cape of Good Hope. The vote in question was for £50,000.
Whilst the outward evidence of depression in the rural East Riding in the years, 1818-19, was perhaps less blatant than that in urban Leeds, and the troubles of the small farmer less conspicuous than those of the parading cloth-dressers, nevertheless, there is ample confirmation of the hard times being experienced in those areas providing emigrants for the Humber port. Space does not permit an intensive enquiry into the causes of such rural distress: it may be concluded, however, that this was in part the result of land-enclosure and partly occasioned by post-war conditions, and indeed, often the interaction of the two. After the high-point of Enclosure Acts for East Riding parishes during the 1760's and 1770's came a decline to the end of the century, but a sharp increase between 1800 and 1809, and a significant number in the following ten years, with very few thereafter. 1.

It would be uncritical to lay the blame for the decline of the small landowner fully on enclosure, and "Yet, indirectly, enclosure may have hastened the end of some of the peasant farmers, since it made them more sensitive to economic change by making them more dependent, with the loss of the common, on the money which they could earn. Among the owners of the smallest holdings there must have been part-time farmers, men described...as inn-keepers, blacksmiths or wheelwrights, who were soon conscious that there.

1. Olga Wilkinson (p.7) notes the following numbers of East Riding Enclosure Acts, by decade: 1760-69, 42; 1770-79, 36; 1780-89, 5; 1790-99, 13; 1800-09, 26; 1810-19, 11.
was no place for them in the new agriculture". 1 The paths open to such small freeholders varied considerably. Some concentrated on their hitherto secondary occupations; others rented instead of owning land. Some, selling well, left their rural surroundings, and invested in industry; others, whose returns were small, became labourers on the land or factory operatives. Many others in the East Riding, the subject of these considerations, decided that, with whatever they had been able to salvage, great or small, from the sale of their land, emigration offered an opportunity to re-establish themselves in North America. 2 The proximity of Hull and the availability of shipping for those ports offered a further inducement to those thinking along these lines.

Post-war slump, and attendant distress in the East Riding, may be noted or inferred from a number of sources. Among "many of the most opulent and intelligent land-owners", Sir William Strickland of Boynton observed that local farmers were either living on their capital or selling out at highly disadvantageous prices, and that there was "great want of employment among the labouring poor". 3

2. Ibid., p.18; Pauline Gregg, p.29.
Wartime demand for labour — and consequently, wages — increased as more arable land was brought into use.

Compared with those of 1770, wages for a farm servant by 1812 had risen by from 50 per cent to over 100 per cent, and for a day labourer (in employment), roughly 100 per cent; but in the same period, food prices had nearly trebled. 1

After 1815, arable acreage in the Riding declined, less labour was required, and, where work was available, wages returned to pre-war levels. 2 The substantial increases in expenditure on poor relief were also an index of intensifying distress in the Riding. Four examples may be quoted: Thearne (south-east of Beverley), Owhorne with Rimswell (north-east of Patrington), Hunmanby (near Filey) and the city of Hull. 3 At the first of these, £22.11s.0d.

1. Olga Wilkinson, p.20, compares the following wages and prices:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>1770 (Arthur Young)</th>
<th>1812</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>farm servant</td>
<td>£12. p.s. (avge)</td>
<td>£18 - £26 p.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day labourer</td>
<td>4s. - 5s. p.week</td>
<td>9s. - 10s. p.week</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prices</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beef</td>
<td>3s. 6d. p. stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butter</td>
<td>5½d. p.lb.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. N. Mitchelson, The Old Poor Law in East Yorkshire, p.5, for cost of living index.

3. Ibid., p.4.
was spent on poor relief in 1800, increasing to £49.9s.5d. in 1810, and in the peak year of 1819, reached £112.6s.9d. 1 At Outhorne, 1819 was also a peak year for expenditure, for in that year, £215.19s.8d. was spent on poor relief. 2 Similarly, in the case of Hunmanby, the cost of relief rose sharply from the 1780’s onwards, with a more than four-fold increase between 1800 and 1819, and a peak year in 1825. 3 For Hull, the peak year came in 1818, when the expenditure of £31,200 was exactly twice the average annual amount of £15,600 spent between 1814 and 1817. 4 At Pocklington, the end of the war brought "much distress" and a rise in the poor rates from 1s. 6d. to 4s. 6d.; and in "one Holderness parish", it was stated that half the farmers were insolvent and all the labourers receiving assistance. 5

1. As the population of Thorne in 1819 was about 90, the figure of £112.6s.9d. represents almost 25s. per head of inhabitants.

2. Outhorne's population in 1819 was about 260, and thus, nearly 17s. was spent per head of inhabitants. Earlier figures were £26.16s.0d. (1775) and £27.18s.3d. (1783). After 1819, expenditure shows a gradual decrease.

3. Representative figures for Hunmanby are: £69.5s.9d. (1784), £113.9s.3d. (1800), £275.6s.0d. (1810), £504.19s.3d. (1819) and £620.12s.3d. (1825).

4. Earlier figures for Hull are £1,456 (1780) and £4,150 (1800).

It is significant that of the four East Riding overseers' accounts considered by Mitchelson, three bore peak years of poor relief in 1818 or 1819, and the 1819 expenditure of the fourth (Humbersby) was almost twice that of 1810. Moreover, although the four examples constitute only a small representative proportion of the total, it is, indeed, more than coincidental that 1819 was also a high-point for Hull emigrant sailings to North America (exclusive of two sailings from Grimsby, and one from Bridlington) - sailings which prompted the Rev. J. Hatfield's twelve poetic verses. Granted that all but a very few of the emigrants, with the exception of those formerly living within the confines of Hull itself, were from an agricultural background, how far is it reasonable to assume that those most directly the victims of enclosure and post-war depression in the East Riding, namely, the small landlord and labourer, were the very ones taking passage? It is clear that many small farmers, even though they may have sold their holdings and many of their possessions at ruinously low prices, had still retained or acquired sufficient to pay

1. N. Mitchelson, p.5.
2. The Eliza Ann (Adderton) and Farmer (Martin) for New York (Hull Advertiser, 10 Apr. to 15, 22 May, 5, 12 Jun., 31 Jul., 4 Sep., 23 Oct. 1819).
3. The Mary-Ann and Isabella (Stephenson) sailed for Philadelphia, "with a full complement of passengers", on 23rd April: the ship's route was by way of the Pentland Firth, and her arrival was 25th June. (Ibid., 8 May, 7 Aug. 1819).
4. Hull Rockingham, 1 May 1819 (the verses are repeated in full in Appendix B-1).
for the crossing and perhaps establish themselves by buying land in North America, the relative cheapness of which was an inducement in itself. It is equally certain that, difficult as the position was for the small-holder, far more perplexing was that of the labourer. At first sight, it would seem almost impossible for the labourer and his family, if maintained on poor relief, and with no hope at this time of obtaining parish-assisted emigration, to find the means to pay even the passage from Hull. The answer seems to lie in the fact that not all labourers were near destitution, although it is true that most were hard-pressed, working as they were, when work was available, at pre-war wages. Many instances also probably occurred where labourers were taken under the wing of an emigrating East Riding farmer, as in the emigration of the 1770's to Nova Scotia, partly for altruistic reasons, but mainly to provide for assistance in agriculture overseas.

A number of examples of the categories noted above are to be found in the comment and shipping news of the contemporary press. When, towards the end of May, 1816, the Comet left Hull for New York, with a complement of "upwards of 80 passengers ... many of them[were] small farmers, or labourers in husbandry, who expected to better their condition by the removal". ¹ Three years

¹. Hull Advertiser, 1 Jun. 1816.
later, Isaac Gothard met a sad end by accidental death in the Humber Dock Basin, prior to embarkation for America with his wife (presumably) and six children. Gothard had formerly been a farmer, with "a small property at Hook, near Howden, upon which he had always lived comfortably, and brought up his family very respectfully. These premises he had lately sold". A measure of his earlier living "comfortably", and of the proceeds from the sale of his holding, may be gauged from the facts that on his body were found "three watches [gold?], twenty-five guineas in gold and bills [of exchange] amounting together to upwards of one hundred pounds"; also that, on persuading four others from Hook - perhaps labourers - to accompany him to America, he had paid for their passage.¹

Like Gothard, William Trenholm was no rootless malcontent. Prior to his departure for Canada in 1819, at the age of 40, with his wife and family, Trenholm had lived for seventeen years at North Cave.² The year, 1826, found him living in Kinsey Township, Three Rivers, L.C., but on one fateful July morning, he set out with four neighbours to prospect lands in Ely Township. Several lots were viewed during the day, and the party's tent was pitched for the night. Expecting the following day to be wet, the party set fire to a tall, dead, hollow tree,

¹. Hull Rockingham, 3 Apr. 1819.
which soon collapsed away from the tent, lodging its
top in another tree. All apparently safe, the party
retired for the night; but the tree burnt through
again some distance from the ground, detached itself
from the next tree, and fell across the tent, killing
William Trenholm outright, fatally injuring another
and severely injuring a third. At the time of his
death, aged 47, he left a widow, four sons and one
daughter. 1

An even more harrowing tale was recounted by
the eleven year-old Mary Fox, in a letter from Canada
in June, 1819, to her grandparents in Lincolnshire.
T. Fox, Mary's father, "who had lost in two or three
unfortunate years his whole property on his farm near
Gainsboro", on managing to raise £100 from local
friends, had sailed from Hull, in April, with his wife
and eight children, of whom Mary was the eldest, and
reached Quebec in May. But, on arrival, the fortunes of
the Fox family were even worse than in England. The
father died on 8th June after a three weeks' illness,
which had progressed from "a dreadful cold" - resulting
from heavy rains on the up-country passage, during which
the beds aboard "floated under" the parents - to "a fever...
and bowel complaint". Mrs. Fox, tending her husband without
rest, miscarried yet another child. All the family were sick
with fever, but were gradually improving. In desperation,

therefore, Mary wrote to her grandparents begging help; but, they being unable to assist financially, a subscription list was opened at "Mr. Isaac Wilson's, Bookseller, in Hull", in order to forward assistance and provide passage for at least the females in the family to return to England.¹

Unfortunately, passenger lists comparable with those relating to the Yorkshire emigrations of the 1770's, which record names, ages, family relationships, occupations and reasons for leaving the country, are not widely available for the years, 1816-20. The representative complement of one vessel carrying emigrants in the latter period does, however, warrant further consideration, despite the list omitting confirmation of family relationships, occupations and motives for emigration. The John and Sarah (Capt. Walter Bilton), advertised to leave Hull at the end of March, 1820, but actually sailing about the middle of April, "with

¹ Mary Fox, Ambleton, U.C., 13 Jun., 1819, to grandparents, Lincolnshire (letter, verbatim, in Hull Advertiser, 4 Sep., and Hull Beecham, 11 Sep., 1819). Apart from Mary, the children, John, Joseph and Letitia Fox, are also noted; probably the older children, they followed the (hearse) wagon at their father's funeral. Isaac Wilson, bookseller, is listed by Baines (Dir. of Yorks., E. & N.R., II, p.316) at the following Hull addresses: (business) 49, Lowgate; (home) 2, York Street.
27 passengers" on board, reached Philadelphia safely on 26th June. From the ship's complement of nineteen males and eight females, a number of probable family relationships may be extracted. One surmises that William, Jr. (aged 19), Joseph (15), George (12) and Mary (10) were the sons and daughter of William Chapman (50), who headed the list; that George Reader (32) was accompanied by his wife, Elizabeth (38), daughter (2), of the same name, and Thomas (72), his father; and that the Cox group of John (38), Mary (37) and George (13) were husband, wife and son. Thomas (48) and Elizabeth (13) Lawson were probably father and daughter, and William (50) and Joseph (10) Pearcy, father and son. The remaining eleven emigrants included eight young men, with an age range of 18 to 26 (with one exception: a young boy of 12, John Pearson), and three women, aged 58, 33 and 28 - all apparently travelling as individuals, and of single status. Although John Steele, the Customs House Collector at Philadelphia, did not note the passengers' former occupations in England, it is reasonable to suggest that the majority had been engaged in agriculture within a relatively short distance of Hull, the single men perhaps as labourers.

A small number of those who emigrated by Hull during this period, though formerly resident in an agricultural area, were not necessarily engaged in

2. Persons of the same surname appear consecutively in the list.
farming. The grey-beard, William Raley, for instance, had been an apothecary in the village of Newbald, for many years before he decided, at the age of 79, to take passage, probably with the family of a married son or daughter, in the _Venus_ for New York in June, 1819, only to expire in Philadelphia about two weeks after landing. Some from Hull itself would also be caught up in the surge of emigration.

True to the tradition of emigration, some would-be emigrants at this time experienced varying degrees of indecision. Thomas Langdale was a case in point. Born in 1767, the eldest son of John and Mary Langdale, he was raised through childhood by his grandfather, also named Thomas (Langdale), "at whose expense he received a liberal education and likewise a considerable fortune". The family, "industrious and respectable", lived at Knayton, about four miles from Thirsk, near the foot of the Hambleton Hills, where they and their forebears had owned property for over two centuries. After his marriage in April, 1796, to Elizabeth Hill, Thomas Langdale, the grandson, became an excise officer for a short period, his wife continuing to live with her parents, tenant farmers for many years at nearby Cowesby Hall.

1. Newbald: situated 4m S.E. of Market Weighton, and about 13m. N.W. of Hull.

2. _Hull Advertiser_, 4 Dec. 1819: W. Raley died 30 August, 1819.
Very soon, however, the couple returned to live at Ensayton, until, in April, 1809, Elizabeth's father, Robert Hill, "undertook another farm in the same township of Cowesby on which he placed [Thomas] and family who continued as servants to him". Within the year, however, Robert Hill was dead, and Thomas became the "servant" of his brother-in-law, Christopher Hill, the late father's eldest son and executor. Thomas Langdale continued thus in the service of Christopher until 1812, when the former took over the tenancy of the farm hitherto occupied by the latter at Cowesby. But, wrote John Langdale, Thomas's eldest son, in his diary:

"This circumstance unexpectedly proved a most unfortunate one to my father and a family, consisting of nine children, who after having sunk most of his property in stock and improvements which he made in the farm, the benefits from which he had not received, was discharged the premises in 1818 through the instrumentality of my uncle Christopher, who, having married a woman of that disposition whose conduct seldom fails of reducing their husbands to wretchedness, was quite unable to proceed with his present concerns and therefore"
compelled to seek a smaller undertaking, and my father's situation being a very promising one, he, by the most unjust means, prevailed with the Steward to discharge my father of his farm for the alone purpose of accommodating him with the situation.

Not until March, 1819, with the county in deep agricultural depression, was Thomas Langdale successful in obtaining a farm-tenancy some miles to the south at Sutton-under-Whitsonecliffe. John Langdale was convinced

"that the situation engaged could not in all probability answer our purpose. This idea which proved but too correct added to the sensibility to the injustice or inhumanity that forced us from our native village and perhaps the almost unprecedented difficulties which our new undertaking presented drove me to the very border of despondency. Indeed, such were my sufferings at this period as are inconceivable to those who have not drunk deeply of the bitter draught of adversity. It was not, however, in particular for my own safety that I grieved but for the welfare of my beloved parents and eight children..."

The ingredients of rural depression, insecurity and
disillusionment in human nature may all be found, therefore, in Thomas Langdale's determination in the Autumn of 1820 to emigrate to America. Every preparation was made to leave the following spring with his wife, family and brother-in-law, John Dobson, when, less than a month before the date of departure, he changed his mind and took a small property of his own at Knayton. Dobson, however, carried out his intention, but within a fortnight of reaching Canada, probably by Hull, he had died from fever. Even so, Thomas Langdale did not settle permanently at Knayton, for in 1828, at the mature age of 61, and caught up in the beginnings of another rural emigration surge, he crossed the Atlantic with his wife and large family, now adult, to settle finally at Georgetown, Dearborn County, Indiana, where he died in 1837. 1

If Thomas Langdale, in 1821, decided not to emigrate - a decision proving only temporary - there were some Yorkshire emigrants, who, having reached North America, decided not to stay, and others, whilst wanting to return, did not have the means to do so. It is certain that

for some, beset by homesickness, the difficulties of establishing themselves in new surrounding overseas could not be assuaged - even for those passengers leaving England for Canada before 1st June 1817, with their "Grants of Land of 100 Acres, with Seed for sowing down, and ... Subsistence for Twelve Months...".1

As in the 1770's, however, the scarcely veiled pleasure with which contemporary Yorkshire reports recorded instances of returning emigrants to the North of England must be regarded with caution, as must the broad accounts of multitudes, lacking the means, clamouring to re-cross the Atlantic. "There are hundreds of people here that would be glad to get back to England if they could", wrote one passenger, from Montreal, who had sailed on the Manique from Hull in May, 1817, for Quebec.2 Similarly, two years later, in the summer of 1819, the Triton "brought back a single man, and a man, wife, and two children, who emigrated to America, by the Fame, Minett,3 and after going 500 miles up the country, were glad to return home; three-fourths of their

1. This inducement is noted, or inferred, in several ship advertisements, e.g. Hull Advertiser, 19 Apr., 10, 24 May, 1817; and is reported in Ibid., 11 Jan. 1817.


3. The Fame left Hull at the end of March, 1819, and reached Quebec on 7th May (Hull Advertiser, 26 Jun. 1819).
companions out would gladly have accompanied them home if they could raise the means". This was quickly followed by the news that "Two passengers, who sailed from hence [Hull] in the Valiant, Ashton, for America [Saint John, N.B.], in April, returned in that vessel last week, preferring a voyage back again, to settling in that country, which was their first intention". The same story was told of other ports. Because of depressed economic conditions in New York, there was "little call for British ships [in August, 1819]....; some of them, however, [were] getting employed to carry home the poor unfortunate emigrants, who [had] been enticed to leave their native country in the hope of bettering their circumstances...., and in which most of them [had] been miserably disappointed". The Magnet carried at least 160 passengers, who had emigrated in 1818-19, back to Liverpool. Press comments on the return of several emigrants who had earlier left the Grimsby area by way of the Humber were particularly sardonic: "[the emigrants] have brought letters from those (that could procure a scrap of paper) they have left behind. The tone of their sentiments and arguments wear quite a different aspect -


2. Ibid., 4 Sep. 1819. The Valiant, however, had only conveyed eleven passengers on the outward voyage (Ibid., 24 Apr. 1819).
a little disappointment took place in their introduction—not being landed exactly on the spot where the land flowed with milk and honey! \(^1\) The truth must be that the sentiments of newly arrived immigrants ranged widely: from extreme optimism in their new surroundings, through reasoned confidence, to abject despair, the last resulting from an arduous, enervating passage, perhaps from the high cost of food and services in Quebec, \(^2\) or from the prevalent depression, unemployment and yellow fever in New York and Philadelphia. \(^3\)

With the end of the peak emigration season, 1819, all evidence indicates a general falling-off in passenger conveyance to North American ports from Hull, up to and


including 1826. The same story is told by a decrease in the numbers of ships advertised, and definitely sailing, by few references to passengers in the shipping news, and by the almost total absence of 'human-interest' stories relating to emigrant departures during this period. 1

Whilst it is true that the fifteen transatlantic sailings from Hull in 1820 do not show a sharp decrease from the seventeen of 1819—and perhaps reflect to some extent a conveyance of that peak year's emigration 'surplus'—the downward trend continued with twelve in 1821, and nine the following year. A return to twelve in 1823 was again succeeded by further annual decreases: eleven in 1824, then nine, and only seven in 1826. Even so, in every year, sailings to Quebec (and Montréal) exceeded those to New York and Philadelphia, in 1820, by as many as twelve to one, and one season after an observer wrote from the last port:

"I can only repeat, how discouraging every thing around us is in the commercial world, failures, embarrassments, stagnation, depression of property, whether real, personal, or mixed, our government stocks excepted. Let no emigrants come to us under the idea of doing any good in our cities. Already hundreds and thousands are out of employment—Mechanics."

1. It is noted that the number of emigrants (2,893), sailing from Hull to Canada and the U.S. in 1830, was "more than that of all the nine preceding years, [i.e., 1821-29] put together". (Yorkshire Gazette, 17 Jul. 1830).
artizans, labourers, menials, all are seeking for work. In the back country there is elbow room; but there, only the robust, the hardy, the resolute, and persevering, can sustain the toils and overcome the difficulties incident to such situations. 1

The Maritimes, for their part, attracted no more than two or three sailings a year, often only one, and indeed, in 1825, none at all, a trend which continued even during the next peak emigration period from Hull, 1830-34.

In 1820, Hull provided fifteen sailings in all for North America — twelve for Quebec and Montreal, 2 two for the Maritimes 3 and one for Philadelphia. 4

Eight of the vessels bound for Quebec left the Number during April, and, yet again, the first was the Fame (Thomas Minnett), which sailed with 35 passengers in the early days of the month, and reached her


2. For Quebec: the Fame, Neida, John, Harmony, Earl Fitzwilliam, Triton, Brothers, John Richard, Anderson(s), Hambler, Liberty, Isabella.

3. For the Maritimes: the Dixon (two voyages).

4. For Philadelphia: the John and Sarah.
destination safely on 17th May.\textsuperscript{1} The\textit{Naide} (Hunter Estill), another regular sailer, with 25 passengers, left about the same time and arrived safely.\textsuperscript{2} Leaving in the second week of April, the\textit{John} (Capt. Jas. Rennie), advertised for Montreal, direct, and the\textit{Harmony} (Capt. S. Taylor), having accommodation for a "Limited number of Steerage Passengers", and 'spoken with' on 4th May in lat. 56° N., long. 30° W., may well have carried a mere handful or no emigrants at all.\textsuperscript{3}

Three vessels, however, sailing in the third week of April carried out a total of 156 passengers: the\textit{Earl Fitzwilliam} (Capt. Henry L. Jackson), a newcomer,advertised under the heading of "EMIGRATION TO CANADA", conveyed 49 passengers, and was 'spoken with' on 22nd May in lat. 53°30' N., long. 26° W.; the\textit{Eriton} (William Reseultine) carried 79; and the\textit{Brothers} (Jenkinson), 28.\textsuperscript{4}

1. \textit{Hull Advertiser}. 4 Feb. to 31 Mar., 7, 14 Apr., 23 Jun., 3 Nov. 1820. This was to prove the\textit{Fame}'s last voyage to Quebec, for, after her return to England, a voyage to Sweden was undertaken; and on the return passage from Sundsvall, the vessel ran aground (3rd October) on the island of Gregrund in the Gulf of Bothnia, and became a total wreck, though her crew and cargo (presumably timber) were saved.


conveyed by the remaining five vessels which set out between the end of April and mid-July, 1820, for Quebec, is not specified: all offered passages, but the fact that passengers were actually carried is only confirmed in two cases. The John Hickard (400 tons; Isaac Ward, Master) left the New Dock towards the end of April, and the Andersons (Capt. Michael Teasdale) in early May.1 The brig Rambler (Capt. Samuel Pape) and Liberty (257 tons; Capt. John Meggett) both left Hull in the second half of June and reached Quebec safely "with goods and passengers", the latter being 'spoken with', en route, in lat. 46°20'N., long. 57°30'W. 2

The year 1820 proved an eventful one for the Isabella, of 382 tons, for after she had delivered her passengers the previous year at Quebec on 21st May, she re-crossed the Atlantic in mid-winter under Capt. Brady's command, but suffered serious damage, being stranded at the mouth of the Humber on 6th January. After "lying in Mr. Gleadow's Dry Dock, at the South end", no doubt while extensive repairs were undertaken, the Isabella was not surprisingly the "last vessel this season[1820]" for Quebec. Now under John Todd's command, the ship was still dogged by misfortune, for on leaving Hull yet again, and sailing northwards, she ran upon a rocky reef, near Lepeens.

2. Ibid., 5 May to 30 Jun., 8, 29 Sep. 1820.
in the Orkneys, in thick fog, on 16th July, but was
got off with little damage the following day, reaching
Canada in the Autumn. Passengers, however, are not
definitely noted.\(^1\)

The Maritimes attracted only one ship, the
**Dixon** (315 tons; Capt. William Wilson), in 1820,
although the vessel made two voyages in the same
year. Advertised for Charlottetown, P.E.I., and
New Brunswick, the **Dixon** sailed from the Old Dock
in the first week of April, with 23 passengers,
and reached Buctouche, N.B., on 16th May. Returning
to Hull near the end of July, the same ship set out
a month later for Shediac, N.B., this time without
evidence of passengers.\(^2\) Similarly, the **John and
Sarah** was the only ship to sail from Hull to the
United States in 1820, arriving at Philadelphia on
26th June, with 27 passengers.\(^3\)

1. **Hull Advertiser**, 26 Jun., 1819, 28 Jan., 2 to 30 Jun.,
14 Jul., 4 Aug., 1 Dec. 1820. The **Isabella**, under
Capt. Todd, continued her annual voyages to Quebec,
up to and including 1823.


3. **Hull Advertiser**, 21 Apr., 11 Aug. 1820. The commercial
interchange of ship-sailings to North America and the
Baltic has already been instanced by the total loss of the
**Fame** (Kinnett) in October, 1820, on a voyage from
Sundsvall (S. Sweden) to Hull. The **John and Sarah** (Bilton),
carrying a cargo which included hemp and linseed from
Riga to Hull, was abandoned on 3rd January, 1821, "having
been beset by heavy ice off Liebou, and driven into shoal
The years, 1821-26, provide but sparse evidence of emigration by Hull to North America. Annual transatlantic sailings from the port for the period averaged only about nine, the greatest number being twelve in 1823, and the lowest, seven, in 1826. Most ship-owners and agents continued to advertise for passengers, though, in general, on fewer occasions. Equally, sailings, though relatively few in number, were dependable, and some vessels made the round trip to the St. Lawrence year after year. The Clarkson (300 tons; William Cox, Master) for example, sailed every year between 1821 and 1831 - indeed, twice in both 1827 and 1828 - and the Oxenhope, under Thomas Minnett, who had lately commanded the ill-fated Fame, sailed every year between 1821 and 1828. Nevertheless, despite ample notice and dependability, it is certain that the years, 1821-26, were lean for those owners who hoped to augment their sometimes small, incomplete loadings of manufactured articles with numerous emigrants to British North America, although timber cargoes in the reverse direction continued to form the major part of the venture. Moreover, during the whole of the period, 1821-26, the local Hull press failed to include a single definite news item on emigrant departures from the port, and evidence in shipping news is limited to just three items; and even then,
in no instance is the total of emigrants carried recorded. In 1821, the Naister (370 tons; Capt. Peter Berrisaan), which had left the Old Dock in early May, was 'spoken with' on 25th June, south of Newfoundland, in lat. 45° 45' N., long. 58° 30' W., well on her way "to Quebec, with passengers".

The following spring, 1822, the Earl Fitzwilliam (Jackson) which had left Hull in the first week or so of April, was lost on Anticosti Island, at the south of the St. Lawrence, on 25th May, though her "crew and passengers were saved, and arrived in perfect safety at Quebec". The Oswego (Minett) reached Quebec "with passengers", on 21st May, 1823, after having left Hull, again at the beginning of April.

Despite very few references to the conveyance of emigrants, it must be assumed, however, that a number of vessels, apart from the three afore-mentioned, perhaps carried at least two or three passengers. This equally applied to ships on the United States' run, few as they were. In the period, 1821-26, the destination of New York or Philadelphia was represented by at least one sailing every year, with a maximum of four each in 1824 and 1825: the most regular vessel was the brig Charles Hamilton Aberdeen (John Kendall, or William Dickenson, Commander), which sailed twice for New York in each of the three successive years, 1823-25. It may

1. Hull Advertiser, 6 to 27 Apr., 11 May, 10, 24 Aug. 1821.
3. Ibid., 28 Feb., 7, 14 Mar., 11 Apr., 11 Jul. 1823.
4. Ibid., 4 Apr., 26 Sep. 1823 (second voyage; 42 days); 15 Apr., 3 Sep. 1824; 24 Jun. (ref. arrival in N.Y.); 12 Aug. 1825 (first voyage, 30 days).
also be noted that in the period, 1821-26, four vessels apparently failed to sail for New York or Philadelphia after being advertised: the Charles Hamilton Aberdeen and Richard and Ann (1821);¹ and the Iris and Olive, American ships (1824).²

Extracts of two emigrants' letters appear in the Hull press in 1821 and 1824; and whilst both include references to the ocean crossing, there is insufficient exactitude to indicate the ships involved. Writing from Newburgh, N.Y., in early 1821, a former tradesman in Hull recorded that "myself, [wife] and family arrived safely at this much talked of land of rocks and mountains after a passage of nine weeks from leaving Hull. We all... are pretty well satisfied with our transportation..." Frustratingly, neither the date of sailing nor the ship is specified by the writer. Most correspondents describing their passage and early settlement to those at home usually took the opportunity of writing within the year or eighteen months, often much sooner, after departure.

The first ship out of Hull for New York in 1821 was the William (250 tons; Capt. T.F. Williams), but its sailing, well into February, had already postdated the writing of the letter by at least two weeks. On the other hand, the only


ship sailing from Hull to the United States in 1820 was the John and Sarah, with 27 passengers, and this vessel landed its complement at Philadelphia, not New York, the more likely disembarkation port for the Hudson and Newburgh.  

Also, taken literally to refer to the United States, the writer's later remark that "I have been two years and a half in different parts..." may stipulate that his family's arrival there antedated the John and Sarah's in 1820 by a far greater length of time.

A similar problem arises in attempting to establish the ship which carried another emigrant from the Hull area, Elizabeth, his wife, and family, to the United States in 1823. The account of the route followed is, with one omission, well detailed. "On Friday morning, May 30 [1823]", he wrote, the following February from Indiana, "we saw land on the Delaware and Jersey shores, which caused much rejoicing, both among passengers and crew; we landed safe at Philadelphia on June 3rd, which is 120 miles from the sea, up the river Delaware". According to the advertised and confirmed ship sailings from Hull in 1823, however, only two crossings to the United States were undertaken.

1. It is possible that the unnamed emigrant and his family had moved northwards into New York State from Philadelphia. His nine weeks' crossing does correspond roughly with the time taken by the John and Sarah, which left Hull about mid-April and reached Philadelphia on 26th June, 1820 (Hull Advertiser, 21, 26 Apr., 11 Aug. 1820).

2. Emigrant, Newburgh, Orange County, N.Y., 7 Feb. 1821, to Hull (extract of letter in Hull Advertiser, 13 Apr. 1821).
from that port and both were by the Charles Hamilton Aberdeen, to New York, not Philadelphia. It must be assumed, therefore, that Liverpool was the most likely port of departure on this occasion. 1.

The year 1827 marked the beginnings of greatly renewed interest in North American sailings from Hull. After the two low years of 1825 (nine sailings) and 1826 (seven), the number of sailings in 1827 rose sharply to fifteen — thirteen to British North America; 2* and two to New York. 3* With the exception of 1829, when fifteen transatlantic sailings were again recorded, the rising trend continued steadily with twenty in 1828, twenty-five in 1829, and in the all-time peak year for passengers carried from Hull, 1831, no fewer than thirty-five.

1. Emigrant, South Hogan Creek, near Aurora, Dearborn County, Ind., 5 Feb. 1824, to Hull (extract of letter in Hull Buckingham, 8 May 1824). It is tempting to quote this emigrant’s letter in full, but the main items must suffice. Three days after their arrival at Philadelphia on 3rd June, the family engaged a waggoner for $22.00 to take themselves and luggage the 300 hot, tiring miles to Pittsburgh, where they arrived on 29th June. There they bought “a large covered skiff”, and set out down the Ohio on 1st July, reaching Aurora, Dearborn County, on the 11th, a distance of about 550 miles. For a short time, the family stayed at a brother’s farm, but then took up a rented farm of 160 acres, including good cleared land and many amenities, belonging “to Mr. Harris, who formerly kept the druggist’s shop near the Old Dock Bridge [Hull]”. It may also be noted that Thomas Langdale emigrated from Knyton with his wife and large adult family, to Dearborn County, Indiana, in 1828, dying there in 1837 (Mrs. Edith L. Stallings, Athens, Geo., to writer, 1 Oct. 5 Nov. 1967).

2. For Quebec: the Clarkson (twice), Cremony, Ursuline, Triton, Unity, Ida, William Pitt, Kirkalla and Allerwill; and for N.B., the Ann and Andes. The Potton was also advertised to sail for Quebec, but apparently failed to do so (Hull Advertiser, 18, 25 May, 1 Jun. 1827).

3. For New York: the Danner, and Freak (Oct. 1827). Advertised sailings of the Freak (Spring, 1827), and Diana did not materialise.
Surprisingly, however, despite the sharp increase in 1827 sailings, many advertising the typical "Cabin and Steerage fitted up purposely for Passengers", only one of the eleven sailings to Quebec that year is definitely recorded as carrying passengers. 1.

The *Kirkella* (410 tons; Capt. Carllill), a suitably local name, for which John Hollingworth, 2* Land of Green Ginger (Hull), had advertised for a surgeon, 3* sailed from the Old Dock in the first part of May, and, reaching the Gulf of St. Lawrence on 9th June, "with passengers", arrived at Quebec shortly afterwards. 4.

A measure of the increasing interest in more regular direct communications with the United States, represented almost singularly by New York, may be gauged, from 1827 onwards, by two interrelated developments. The first was the mid-1827 announcement in New York of the intention to establish a line of packets, specifically brigs, between that port and Hull, the initial vessel to sail for the Humber in the middle of September. Whilst improvement of trade was undoubtedly the major motive, and "the saving of carriage and post charges in the transfer of hardware and Yorkshire woollens, is mentioned as the reason for this speculation", any potential increase in the frequency of sailings was likely to prove an incentive to the would-be emigrant. 5* In the event, one is struck by the recurrent departures

1. It is probable that many of the others, and also those for the Maritimes and New York, conveyed one or two per ship, but not enough to be deemed worthy of comment.
2. Presumably a son of the perhaps now deceased "Widow Hollingworth".
from the Humber, from 1827 onwards, and often twice a year, of the Dapper, Diana, Frequest, and others; these rose from two in 1827 to eight the following year, then five and seven in 1829 and 1830, succeeded by ten and eleven in the peak years of 1831 and 1832.1

For sailings, and available passenger conveyance from Hull, 1828 maintained the impetus of the previous year: twelve occurred for Quebec;2 and eight for New York.3 Of these sailing for the St. Lawrence, at least two, named, and perhaps three or four, unnamed, had, by mid-May, set out with a sufficient number of

1. The following, all advertised for the first time in 1827 or 1828 for the New York run, are described distinctly as braw: the Dapper (209 tons; William Dickinson), Frequest (201 tons; James Bouch), and Camberwell (240 tons; Robert Rounding). The Diana (314 tons; John Sugden, Jnr.) was a three-masted packet-ship, by contrast.

2. For Quebec: the Clarkson (twice), Caxaphone, William Pitt, Unity, Triton, Maida, Ellerswill, Kirkella, The John Beinbridge, Halcyon, Victory. The Meteor was also advertised but apparently did not sail. (Hull Advertiser, 8 to 22 Feb. 1828). No advertisements occur for the Maritimes.

3. For New York: Dapper (twice), Camberwell (twice), Diana (twice) and Frequest (twice).
passengers to warrant press reference.\(^1\) The *Halcyon* (356 tons; P. Barriman) reached Quebec on 21st June, "with passengers", after leaving Hull in the second week of May.\(^2\) The *Kirkella* (John Carlill), advertised by Thomas Carlill, of 45, Whitefriargate (Hull), sailed for Quebec on Thursday, 15th May, with 125 passengers, and reached Stornoway, Orkney, on the 19th, after a sixty hours' passage from the Humber. Setting out again the same day, with her "crew and passengers all well", she reached Quebec on 21st June, the same date as the *Halcyon*, with her human cargo reportedly in the same healthy state.\(^3\) One incident of note concerning the *Kirkella*, and illuminative of an emigration port and North America providing an escape route for debtors, is worth recounting. Two days prior to her actual departure from the Humber, as she was working her way out into the roads, the *Kirkella* was boarded by Mr. F. Stamp, Sherriff's Officer, in order to apprehend one Henry Pickering, wanted for non-payment of debts. But the arrest of this emigrant, leaving with his family for Canada, was to prove no easy task. The prisoner resisted Mr. Stamp

\(^1\) Hull Rockingham, 17 May, 1828.


violently, who was also "assailed by four or five stout fellows, who used him brutally"; and, indeed, only Capt. Carlill's intervention saved the Officer from being thrown overboard. The debtor and the other offenders, one of whom was "a man of very loose character with a wife and many children whose passage had been paid by the parish officers", were ultimately brought ashore. Pickering paid his debts; and the others were fined the sum of £10, which, with no little difficulty, was paid, some assistance being given by bystanders, even Mr. Stamp, who, very magnanimously in the circumstances, contributed 5s.0d. Pickering and the "stout fellows" were then allowed to join the rest of the Kirkella's company, Capt. Carlill no doubt exasperated by the delay and the fear of missing the tide.¹

With the advent of the Spring of 1829, the surge of emigration by Hull was well under way, and although rather fewer departures occurred for North America - ten for Quebec² and five for New York³ - than in the previous year, nevertheless, there is every indication that a high proportion

1. Hull Rockingham, 17 May 1828; Hull Advertiser, 16 May, 1828. The postscript to the story is that Mr. Stamp contributed 25.7s.6d. to the treasurer of Hull Infirmary: the sum was the balance of the £10 received by him, less expenses incurred in the arrest, including perhaps his own 5s.0d!

2. For Quebec: Clarkson, Minerva, Triton, Friends, Earl Dalhousie, Helga, William Pitt, Westmoreland, Victory and Cambion.

3. For New York: Dapper (twice), Diana (twice) and Fressk.
of these sailings was actually involved in the conveyance
of emigrants, and that the exodus of greatly increased
numbers produced more local comment in the port than
had been the case for many years.

The reasons for these rising numbers are not far to
seek, especially as most of those leaving by Hull were
drawn, yet again, from an agricultural background in
the port's 'emigration-hinterland' of Yorkshire, especially
the East Riding, and Lincolnshire. The problems of rural
depression, already observed in the years towards the
end of the second decade, were reflected in a peak
emigration year in 1819. Moreover, this self-removal
of a certain 'surplus' of discontented Yorkshire rurality
to North America was repeated in the late 1820's and
early 1830's, for the basic reason that "conditions of
steadily increasing misery", described with such passion
and clarity by Gobbett in his Rural Rides (written, 1820-30),
continued to prevail for agricultural labourers whether
in work or unemployed, and, perhaps to a slightly lesser
degree, for the small farmer. On the one hand, in the
country at large, arable acreage gradually declined in the
years after 1815, to be replaced by pasture, which
required less labour. On the other, poor rates, highly
inflated by increasing agrarian unemployment, became ever
more burdensome to farmers whose land had been reduced
sharply in agricultural values. The misery of the employed
labourer, eking out his diminishing wages and extorted by those with full stomachs to change his eating habits from wheaten break to potatoes and oatmeal, was paralleled by the out-of-work labourer on parish relief.¹

After 1815, during years of exceptional rural distress, rick-burning and hunger riots had been the product in many Midland and Southern Counties, but the agricultural uprisings here and throughout the Eastern Counties in 1830-31 were on the largest scale, proved to be the most serious, and invoked the most savage retribution.²

On the eastern side of Yorkshire, at the same time, especially in the winter and early spring months of 1829-30, there is much evidence to indicate the miseries of the poor. "From the depressed state of Agriculture", one report ran, "the distress of the Walton poor has been greater than in former winters, but, we are happy to add, the liberality of the inhabitants will soften their sufferings. A subscription, more than usually liberal, has been entered into for supplying work; and to such as are unable to work, meat and coal. Earl Fitzwilliam, with his usual benevolence, has given fifty guineas."³

At nearby Scampston, William

¹ Cole and Postgate, pp. 239-30; N. Mitchellson, The Old Poor Law in East Yorkshire (p.14), quotes the amounts spent on food at Pauli warehouse in 1826. Out of a total of £219.3s.8d., £136.4s.10d. covered meat, flour, potatoes and skim milk; other items included tea (£6.8s.6d.), molasses (£5.5s.3d.), oatmeal (£3.3s.0d.) and butter (£5.6d.). Green vegetables are not mentioned. Food was perhaps sufficient in quantity, but lacking in variety and vitamin content.

² Cole and Postgate, pp. 239-41; Pauline Gregg, pp. 175-76. Nine were hanged, 457 transported, and hundreds imprisoned in England.

³ Hull Advertiser, 22 Jan. 1830.
St. Quentin issued coals to the poor on his East Riding estates. Lord and Lady Macdonald donated coals, blankets, wearing apparel and a fat ox to the poor of Rudston parish.

At Beverley, a £57 surplus from a trust under the will of Charles Wharton, Esq., "for binding out boys apprentice", was transferred to a relief fund for the poor, providing supplies of flour at one shilling a stone. Great privations were also experienced in Hull itself: in the first week of March, 1830, no fewer than 4,251 families and 15,000 individuals were in receipt of relief; and 10,412 bread tickets were issued. One person had died from starvation, and many, it was recorded, had not eaten for days; whilst the earlier severity of the winter had not helped matters, the basic problem was "an actual want of the necessaries of life...amongst the poor to a most deplorable extent".

Although the plight of the labourer and the poor was in many ways indicative of severe agricultural depression in the East Riding, those most in need of making a fresh start,


2. Ibid., 26 Feb. 1830: Rudston, situated about 5m. W. of Bridlington.

3. Ibid., 5 Mar. 1830.
perhaps overseas, were the very ones, true to the
'emigration-tradition', least able to leave, unless
assisted. It is true that one of the "stout fellows...
a man of very loose character", who had assaulted
Mr. Stamp on board the Kirkella in 1828, had had his
passage and those of his wife and large family "paid by
the parish officers". 1 But, overall in the East Riding,
there seems little evidence to support a picture of
widespread parish-assisted emigration at this time. Indeed,
the Hull Advertiser, in an acute observation of March, 1830,
supports the opposite view:

"Should this country unfortunately remain in
circumstances nearly similar to those under
which it has laboured for some time past...
there will be little need of Mr. WILMOT HORTON's
measure for promoting Emigration on a large scale.
The work is already rapidly proceeding; but
unfortunately among rather a different class than
those whom the right hon. gentleman has in view.
He proposes to disburthen the parishes of their
poor; Those to whom we refer are mostly persons of
some property, — many of them rich, — and the rest,

1. Hull Recorder, 17 May 1828. Grounds additional to
poverty would seem to have provided the motive for parish
assistance to emigrate in this case!
active, intelligent, and industrious farmers and mechanics precisely of
that description of persons who form
the strength, and constitute the best
riches of a nation... We understand...
that nearly all the middle classes of
whole parishes, in this part of the
kingdom, have been and are making
inquiries respecting the localities,
rates of passage, &c., preparatory to
forming arrangements for emigration,
and that not fewer than EIGHT THOUSAND
of these persons are expected to sail
from Hull in the course of the present
season!!"¹.

The 1829 emigration season "commenced with renewed
alacrity". News of preparations being made in the East
Riding and Lincolnshire to emigrate by Hull began to
reach that port, and the evidence was soon there for all
to see. "In consequence of the distress experienced in
the agricultural interests", seven young bachelors
"of the agricultural class" left Epworth on 14th April
to seek their fortune in America. Throughout the northern

¹. Hull Advertiser, 12 Mar. 1830. In the event, the figure
of eight thousand emigrants was a wild exaggeration for
1830, or any other year, but the tenor of the message
is clear.
parts of Lincolnshire, the air was heavy with talk of emigration, especially "amongst the small farmers and country mechanics". Many auction sales were planned in the vicinity of Lincoln; and scarcely a village existed thereabouts which did not have family connections in North America beckoning relatives and friends to follow. 1.

Such was this pressure from areas north and south of the Humber for passages by Hull that, before the end of April, seven vessels had weighed anchor for Quebec, succeeded by two towards the end of May and one in August. The first, the Minerva (John Carrick), 2 was closely followed by the Clarkson (Richard Ward, Master).


2. No actual sailing date is recorded for the Minerva, but advertisements by John Bredick, 21 High Street (Hull Advertiser, 27 Feb. to 27 Mar. 1829), and before the proposed sailing date of "about 1st April"; also the issue (26 Jun. 1829) noting the vessel's arrival at Quebec ante-dates the news of all other vessels in that year.
"with about one hundred passengers", on 10th April.1

Four days later, the Triton (Robt. Keighley, Jnr., Master) sailed "with a full share of passengers";2 then the Friends (Luke Taylor)3 and Earl Dalhousie (320 tons; John Spring)4 on the 17th, the William Pitt (423 tons; Thomas Wildredge) on the 22nd,5 and lastly in April, the Naida (400 tons; Joseph Peckett) on the 24th.6

Not unnaturally, such an exodus - about four hundred by the third week of April - evoked comment, observations and anecdotes.7 Large numbers of emigrants, "both males and females of every age, and of various classes of society", were to be seen in Hull: very few appeared to show any regret at leaving home, "though it is more than probable", suggested the report, "the observation of the poet 'nescio qua natale solum', &c., may be verified some few years, perhaps months, hence". Again, probably few had any idea of the voyage they were about to undertake, though occasionally, this was

3. Hull Advertiser, 20 Mar., 3, 17 Apr. 1829. After delivering her passengers at Quebec, the Friends re-crossed to Dublin, but on setting out yet again for Quebec, encountered severe gales, was "driven about many days in the Irish Channel", and finally wrecked with loss of life, on 28 August near Hoylake, at the mouth of the Dee estuary (Ibid., 4 Sep. 1829).
4. Ibid., 27 Mar., 17 Apr. 1829.
5. Ibid., 3, 24 Apr. 1829.
7. Doncaster Gazette, 24 Apr. 1829. The total of 400 also includes those emigrants bound for New York.
not without its unconscious humour. The Triton, on leaving the Hull Old Dock on 14th April, was obliged to 'beat about' in the Humber for several hours in an unfavourable wind. After some time, one old woman, who had gone below on departure, ventured on deck, and seeing Paull Church, asked the pilot in her East Riding dialect:

"Pray'ee, honey, is that 'Mericky'?

"No, not yet, mother!", was the answer.

"Why, beirn", rejoined the old lady, "I whoop it be'ant much further, or me an' my owd man'll gang back agin, for I niver wur sae sick o'nought i' my whoal life!".

However, another mother, Ann Duncan, who sailed with her four children in the William Pitt, despite the "very boisterous passage", was well satisfied and most grateful to Captail Wildredge for his kindness. No doubt many others apart from Mrs. Duncan would be pleased to reach Quebec safely, in the Clarkson on 18th May, in the Triton, Friends and Earl Dalhousie, all on the 23rd, and in the Meida and William Pitt on 7th and 10 June.

Two more vessels were to sail for Quebec towards the end of May. The Westmorland (400 tons; Thomas Knill, Commander) left on 21st May, was 'spoken with' on 24th June in lat. 47°N., long. 34°W., and reached her destination safely on 23rd July.

1. Paull: situated about 8m. down-river from Hull.
3. Hull Rockingham, 12 Sep. 1829.
5. Ibid., 17, 24 Apr., 1, 8, 22 May, 18 Sep. 1829; Doncaster Gazette, 29 May, 1829.
(Thomas Simpson) followed a similar schedule; leaving Hull on 23rd May, she was 'spoken with' three times, including once on 11th July off St. Paul Island, before reaching Quebec.\(^1\) At least one emigrant on the Victory, out of a reported total complement of "four hundred passengers, chiefly agriculturists", was in difficulties even before the ship sailed.\(^2\) Marshall Brown, a young blacksmith from Crowle,\(^3\) paid his fare to Quebec a few days before departure, and settled himself aboard; but, on rising the following morning, he was dismayed to find that his wallet, which he had left on a nearby chest, and which contained twenty-five sovereigns, two letters he was taking to Montreal, and miscellaneous papers, had been stolen during the night.\(^4\)

The performance of regular sailings to New York, though somewhat fewer than in 1826, continued. The **Emperor**

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1. Hull Advertiser, 24 Apr., 1, 8, 22 May, 7, 14 Aug., 4, 11 Sep. 1829; Doncaster Gazette, 29 May 1829. St. Paul Island: situated in the Cabot Strait, separating Cape Breton Island from Newfoundland.

2. The total of 400 passengers reported in Doncaster Gazette, 29 May 1828, could be the complements of the Metamoros and Victory together, or that of the Victory alone. The latter is more probable.


(Mr. Dickenson) sailed "with an extraordinary number of passengers" on 10th April, \(^1\) the *Diana* (John Sugden, Jnr.) in May, \(^2\) and the *Frank* (James Bouch) in July, \(^3\) the first two repeating their passages with departures in August and October. \(^4\) One story of a would-be emigrant who left in May on the *Diana* is worth repeating if only to demonstrate that not all emigrants were "driven to that measure by the pressure of the times"; despite the press placing the "utmost reliance" on the source of information, the tale, if not apocryphal, is surely romanticised.

The emigrant in question, an unnamed Beverley miller, on failing to induce his wife to accompany him to New York, counted out four hundred five-guinea notes "to alleviate the pangs of separation", whilst he himself set out for embarkation at Hull with "three stones and a half

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1. *Hull Advertiser*, 3 Apr., 19 Jun., 1829; *Doncaster Gazette*, 17 Apr., 1820; *Yorkshire Gazette*, 16 Apr., 1829.


weight of sovereigns!". But the adventurer's exile was not to prove permanent. Within a short time of reaching New York, he was strolling the streets "with the intention of devising the means of employing most profitably his talents and his sovereigns". His amazement knew no bounds when on entering a coffin-warehouse, he encountered huge quantities of "those narrow tenements of the dead" of all shapes and sizes awaiting customers; and consequential of his observation that "people must die a great deal faster there than they did in England, or there could be no occasion for such numbers of coffins", he set out by the first ship available for England and home, having spent only four days in the United States.

With the end of the 1829 season and the departure of some nine hundred emigrants by Hull to Canada and the United States, the stage was set for the port's greatest-ever period of activity in this field.

1. In the postscript to the story three months later, the weight of sovereigns carried by the miller is reduced to "a stone and a half"!


3. The figure of about 900 is estimated from the 2,893 (for the first six months of 1830 - essentially the 'emigration season') "being more than three times the number of last year [1829]" (Yorkshire Gazette, 17 Jul. 1830). Less precisely, the same estimate may be reached by the aggregate of "about four hundred" by the third week of April (Doncaster Gazette, 24 Apr. 1829), augmented (possibly) by those in the William Pitt and Neida, and (certainly) by those in the Westmoreland, Victory and Camden, for Quebec, plus those taking passage for New York.
The first few years of the 1830's marked Hull's hey-day as an emigration port for North America, especially as a point of embarkation for Canada. In the port's all-time peak year of 1831, more passengers were carried from Hull to Quebec than from any other port in England and Wales, and, with the marginal exception of Greenock, from any port in Scotland. The following year, with 1,288 recorded passengers for the St. Lawrence, Hull came fifth in order of English and Welsh ports, behind London, Liverpool, Bristol and Plymouth, but in 1833, with 655 passengers, was exceeded only by London. In 1834, however, Hull returned to the first position.

1. Helen I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America: the First Hundred Years (Toronto, rev. edn., 1961), pp. 291-92 (Table IV). Figures for the years, 1831-39, 42-43, 49, 52-60, of emigrants arriving at Quebec, with Montreal, from British ports, quoted in this and future references, were compiled for this table (pp. 291-93) from: Parliamentary Papers 1840, XXXII (613), 73-4; 1850, XXII (1204), 36-7; 1854, XXVIII (1833), 82-3; 1854-5, XVII (1953), 62-3; 1856, XXV (2089), 52-3; 1857, XVI (2249, Sess.2), 58; 1857-8, XXIV (2395), 68; 1859, XIV (2555, Sess.2) 66; 1860, XXIX (2696), 60; 1861, XXII (2842), 46.

Between them, Hull (2,780) and Liverpool (2,261) accounted for almost one-half of all those (10,343) arriving at Quebec from ports in England and Wales in 1831; the third largest number arrived from London (1,135). Greenock sent out 2,983 passengers.
with 1,171 arrivals at Quebec.¹ Hull's total of 462 passengers in 1835, though much reduced, was still only exceeded by that of London amongst ports in England and Wales. It is also noteworthy that in each of the four years, 1831, 1833-35, more passengers reached Quebec from Hull than Liverpool, a reflection of the emigration surge from the essentially rural East Riding and Lincolnshire.²

The already noted upward trend of emigrants through Hull in 1829 continued unchecked in 1830, when eighteen sailings occurred for Quebec,³ and seven for

1. Helen I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America: the First Hundred Years, pp.291-92 (Table IV):

1832: London, 4,150 passengers for Quebec;
Liverpool, 2,217; Bristol, 1,836;
and Plymouth, 1,398.

1833: London, 1,287.

1834: other major ports in order were:
Greennock, 1,140; Liverpool, 1,060;
London, 1,051; Plymouth, 850.

2. Helen I. Cowan, p.291, 1835: London's total was 762 passengers for Quebec. Comparable totals for Hull and Liverpool were: 1831-2, 780 and 2,261; 1833-655 and 551;
1834 - 1,171 and 1,060; 1835 - 462 and 388.

3. For Quebec: the Neida, Clarkson, Triton, Wilberforce, Westmoreland, Experiment, Suffolk, St. Mary, Earl Dalhousie, Almorah, Ellersill, Victory, Brothers, Catherine, Foster, Caledonian, Julius, Waterloo. The Lady Ann was also advertised, but apparently did not sail (Hull Advertiser, 23 Apr., 7 to 28 May 1830). No advertisements occur for the Maritimes.
New York. Moreover, as in 1829, the same rural areas constituted Hull's 'emigration-hinterland'. The 'depressed state of Agriculture', the severity of the 1829-30 winter months and the "actual want of the necessaries of life...amongst the poor to a most deplorable extent", all contributed to an air of general gloom over the East Riding and northern Lincolnshire, which not even the benevolence of Earl Fitzwilliam at Melton, William St. Quentin at Scampston, or Lord and Lady Macdonald at Rudston, nor the remission, by such as Richard Watt, of Bishop Burton, of ten per cent of rents to his tenancy, could hope to alleviate. It is not surprising, therefore, that among the many hundreds leaving their East Riding homes and making their way to Hull in late March, 1830, were "great numbers" from Malton and district, and a group of seventy-three persons who had "casually met" in the small Wolds village of Wetwang. Again, by no means all those leaving did so out of extreme desperation; rather, exasperation: indeed, "some of them [were] persons of good property", who probably left for reasons not dissimilar to those of the roughly contemporary Yorkshire farmer, who, though reasonably comfortable at

1. For New York: Dapper (twice), Meteor, Sovereign, Diana and Freak (twice).


3. Doncaster Gazette, 2, 9 Apr. 1830; Yorkshire Gazette, 3 Apr. 1830: Wetwang, situated c.6m. W. of Driffield.
home, was yet faced "with a certain prospect of ruin... should he continue to struggle on much longer in a country where the poor rates [were] absolutely overpowering from a surplus population, the depreciated value of labour and the high price of bread".1.

The picture was no better and the results little different in Lincolnshire. Throughout the county, families were preparing to emigrate that spring: in the northern parts, Lindsey, most made their way to Hull, but south of Lincoln where the limits of Hull's catchment-area were less clearly defined, departure by Liverpool, though necessitating a tedious cross-country journey by river and canal, was not uncommon. In early April, for instance, about twenty families, or more than one hundred individuals, left Boston in the Humber keel, True Blue, for Lincoln, and thence by canals to Liverpool.2. Although, on this occasion, Hull was not involved, the make-up of these emigrants is noteworthy for it mirrors in many respects those leaving the Yorkshire Wolds. Most were described as "middle-aged farmers and industrious merchants with small capitals", some of whom had lived the whole of their

2. The report in Hull Rockingham, 3 Apr. 1830, refers to "two small vessels termed lighters". Additional emigrants from Dogdike, Coningsby, the Fen, Chapel Hill and Lincoln, evidently demanded more accommodation.
past lives in Boston; and from Lincoln and neighbourhood, the departures included "the most industrious artizans, such as basket-makers, coopers, cabinet-makers and smiths". ¹

After more than sixty years' residence in England, the elderly Mr. and Mrs. Williams set out from Leverton with children and grandchildren — for whose sakes the move was being made — and, reportedly, £2,000 in cash.

Mr. Whitworth, a dyer, having sold his estate and effects, was leaving with his family to farm in the West, but should this prove unsatisfactory, was taking his materials with him to resume business. ² Many of those emigrating certainly appeared to possess the qualities recommended by Christopher Pearson, a cabinet-maker, who had left Boston the previous summer, 1829, and was now in Buffalo. "Those who do best", he wrote, "are, first, superior workmen in all trades; secondly, persons who command small sums of money; and thirdly, those who could bring with them 2 or 300". ³ The emigrants' departure was witnessed by "at least 1000 persons...[and] several near relatives...[with] fervent and affecting adieux"; but, it is clear that once they were on their way, the crossing to Liverpool from Boston and Lincoln by canal boats was a devious and dreary first stage to North America, and yet, the travellers were left with

¹ Doncaster Gazette. 9 Apr. 1830.
² Ibid., 16 Apr. 1830; Leverton, situated c. 5m. N.E. of Boston.
³ Christopher Pearson, Buffalo, N.Y., 3 Mar. 1830, to Boston, Linca. (Extract of letter in Ibid., 23 Apr. 1830).
little alternative, for "the quantity of goods stowed into the hold of the...vessel was very considerable, being packed in suitable cases, and consisting chiefly of those wares and merchandize which are dearest in America". The conveyance of the extras would have been far more difficult and exorbitantly expensive by land routes to Liverpool. 1

If the limits of Hull's catchment-area for emigrants were ill-defined southwards from Lincoln, so too were its peripheries in the Vale of York, and even perhaps at times in the Yorkshire Wolds. The fifty emigrants who left, in mid-April, 1830, the villages of Hutton Rudby and Osmotherley, near Northallerton, and the families from Reinton, near Ripon, did so, from there, for Liverpool, not Hull. 2. It is also fairly certain that the "great number of persons of all ages...many of them in possession of considerable means", who were leaving Knaresborough and the vicinity about the same time, chiefly for British North America, embarked on the west coast rather than the east. The embarkation port for the "50 or 60 persons" from the Yorkshire Wolds who passed through York, might well have been either Liverpool or, perhaps less likely, Hull, by way of Ouse and Humber. 3.

1. *Doncaster Gazette*, 16 Apr. 1830.

2. *Ibid.*, 30 Apr. 1830: Hutton Rudby, situated 10m. N.E., and Osmotherley, 6m. E.N.E. of Northallerton; Reinton, 4m. E.N.E. of Ripon.

There is no doubt, however, about the origins of the overwhelming majority of emigrants by Hull in 1830. It was in the Wolds and Holderness where "the rage of emigration, especially in the district within 20 or 30 miles of [Hull]" was rampant, and it was at the Humber port where at least fifteen ships had been 'laid on', primarily for Quebec, by early April; where, indeed, the reported 4,400 applications had proved so excessive that, rather than be disappointed, some emigrants had been obliged to cross to Liverpool. Apart from those leaving in the prime of life it was, as usual, the unusual which excited press attention: one elderly couple, nearly eighty years of age, left Hornsea; and another old man was noted, "scarcely able to crawl along the streets, who had been arrested in his career by the lawful authorities, and detailed to finish his course on English ground with his aged consort, whom he was intending to leave under the protection of the parish officers of a place on the wolds".  

It was no idle hope that "the proprietors of every [vessel] calculate on a full cargo", for, by the end of April, no fewer than nine sailings had occurred for Quebec — exactly half the total for 1830. The first to sail was probably the Clarkson (Capt. Coltman) on a voyage marred by near-disaster and tedious delay. Sailing from the Old Dock, near Lowgate End, on the 9th April, the ship was well into the Atlantic, in lat. 59°, long. 37°, when, on

1. Hull Rockingham, 10 Apr. 1830; Doncaster Gazette, 16 Apr. 1830.
the 25th, she was struck by a heavy sea, losing her main
and mizzen masts, bulwarks, stanchions, hatches and boats.

Turning about, the ship limped back to Cork on the 17th
May, whence, after a refit, she did not sail until the 5th
July; 'spoken with' on the 3rd August in lat. 46°42'N.,
long. 45°31'W., the Clarkson apparently reached Quebec without
further incident. 1 The passage of the Maids (400 tons;
Joseph Peckett) was more fortunate, for leaving Hull shortly
after the Clarkson, she passed through the Fingland Pirth on
the 16th April, with her "passengers, all well", and reached
Quebec safely. 2 Four more vessels left Hull by the
middle of April - the Triton (Robert Keighley, Jr.),
Wilberforce (395 tons; Capt. Gowland Clark), Westmoreland
(400 tons; Thomas Knill) 3 and Experiment (239 tons; Geo. Bruce)
and all reached Quebec, almost in convoy, between the 4th
and 8th June. 4 In the third week of April, demand

1. Hull Advertiser, 19 Feb., 19, 26 Mar., 16 Apr., 21 May,
16 Jul., 3 Sep. 1830. The Clarkson sailed again from
Hull in 1831 (Ibid., 13 May 1831). Probably "upwards of
200...stout brave fellows" sailed by this ship in 1830
(Yorkshire Gazette, 10 Apr. 1830).

1830.

3. "I will...give you some directions for your guidance...",

wrote one emigrant, Richard Beilby, "Hull is the best
port to embark at, and if the ship Westmoreland should
sail for Quebec, I would advise you to take passage in
her. She is a fine staunch vessel, and Captain Knill is
an excellent obliging man, willing to do every thing in
his power for the comfort and convenience of his
passengers". (Richard Beilby, York, U.C., 9-14 Nov. 1830,
to John Beilby, Bempton, Mr. Bridlington; reprinted in
Ibid., 18 Feb. 1831). Unfortunately, most of R. Beilby's
very long letter on conditions and prospects in Canada,
though in the main probably genuine, must be treated with
cautions, for, on 2nd March, J. Beilby wrote to the
Hull Advertiser (printed in Ibid., 4 Mar. 1831) from
Bempton, complaining he had never received the letter
from his brother, recently emigrated. On investigation,
the newspaper stated the letter had been copied from The
Times, but that the original "had been detained and
opened in London, by parties connected with the Canada
Company". (Ibid., 25 Mar. 1831; Hull Buckingham, 26 Mar.
1831).

required three more sailings for the St. Lawrence — the Suffolk (400 tons; Anthony Peart), the St. Mary (403 tons; Barrick Gill), 1 which carried "an experienced Surgeon", and a total of 255 passengers, 205 above the age of fourteen, and 50 under that age, 2 and the Earl Dalhousie (315 tons; Wm. Raisbeck), also carrying a surgeon and reaching her destination between the 4th and 8th June. 3

Emigrant departures continued in May at a regular, but slightly reduced pace, with five, possibly six ships leaving the port for Quebec. The sailing of the Ellengill


2. Doncaster Gazette, 23, 30 Apr. 1830. The St. Mary's complement was well within legal limits. By the Act of 1828 (9 Geo. IV. 21 May 23), "An Act to regulate the Carriage of Passengers in Merchant Vessels from the United Kingdom to the Continent and Islands of North America", the relevant ruling was: "5 adults, including crew, to be carried for every 4 tons: 2 children under 14, 3 under 7, and mother and baby respectively to equal one adult". By this reckoning, for the St. Mary:

205, over age of 14, + (say) 15 crew = 220 adults

50, under age of 14 = 25 adults (max.)

245

By the Act of 1828, therefore, the St. Mary, of 403 tons, was legally allowed to carry 301 adult passengers (including crew), or equivalent. The St. Mary would have a lower deck space of about 95 ft. long, 25 ft. wide and 5½-6 ft. high, that is, "a space not as wide as a tennis court and not quite the length and one third". (Kathleen A. Walpole, "Emigration to British North America under the Early Passenger Acts, 1803-42", (M.A. thesis, London, 1929), pp.205-06).

(500 tons; Capt. John Corbett) on the 5th May, with its "deck...crowded with passengers of all ages, from the infant of a month old to its hoary headed grand sire, whose years had reached three score and ten", presented a fine opportunity to display lugubrious sentiment. The report ran:

"One of these poor fellows played a lively tune upon a clarionet by way of raising the spirits of his companions, but it would not do - the music had a melancholy cadence; a kind of 'dying fall', which connected with their situation, drew tears from eyes, apparently but little accustomed to such exhibitions...
They [the advocates of emigration] would have seen these lowly exiles bidding a long, and probably a last adieu to England, with grief visible in every feature of their countenances, and they might have been led to consider the causes, the obvious causes, which have left the best supporters of the country, and indeed its very sinews, the miserable alternative of banishment or starvation". 

Following closely in the wake of the Ellersill, the Almorah (423 tons; Richard Ward) reached Quebec between the 4th and 8th June, after a speedy passage. Later in May sailed the Victory (414/600 tons; Thos. Simpson), Brothers (414 tons; Wm. Jenkinson)\(^2\) and Catherine (340/550 tons; Luke G. Taylor), the last named leaving somewhat prior to the 17th, for, on that date, one of the crew washed overboard in a heavy gale, was fortunately recovered, and on the 30th, the ship passed safely through the Pentland Firth.\(^3\)

Four more vessels sailed for Quebec in 1830. The Foster (500 tons burthen; Capt. Callender) left at the end of May or early June, and was 'spoken with' on the 12th July in 1st\(^5\)\(^7\)\(^0\), long. 26\(^b\)\(^h\). The Caledonian (500 tons burthen; John Carrick)


2. Capt. Jenkinson was accompanied by two of his sons, aged about 18 and 16. On the return voyage from Quebec, as the Brothers was off Flamborough, on 26th September, the younger brother was accidentally shot, while the elder was struggling to dissuade him from shooting sea-birds. Despite his being taken at once by boat to the North Star public house near Flamborough, the boy died before a surgeon could arrive from Bridlington. Mrs. Jenkinson reached the scene from the family home at Filey the following morning.

James Bullock, who sailed to Quebec in the Brothers, immediately after his marriage in May 1830, decided against staying, returned by the same vessel, but becoming ill shortly afterwards, died at Bridlington on 23rd February, 1831. (Ibid., 1 Oct. 1830, 25 Feb. 1831).

3. Ibid., 2 Apr. to 28 May, 11 Jun., 13, 27 Aug. 1830. Beginning in 1830, a number of the shipping advertisements, referring to individual vessels, includes both registered tonnage and 'burthen', that is, the tonnage carrying capacity. Henceforth, when these are stated in the original, as for instance in the case of the Catherine - '340 tons Reg., 550 tons Burth.' - the reference will be abbreviated thus: "340/550 tons".

4. Ibid., 30 Apr. to 21 May, 4 Jun., 27 Aug., 3 Sep. 1830.
set out in mid-June, and was 'spoken with' three times before reaching her destination—on the 26th June, in lat. =, long.9°, on the 21st July, in lat.49°, long.53°, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. 1 with passengers to the amount of nearly one hundred", the Julius (500 tons burthen; Capt. Geo Higton) departed on the 26th June, and was 'spoken with' fifteen days out from Hull, in lat.50°, long.34°40'. 2 Lastly, the Waterloo (400 tons Reg.; John Rayne, Jnr.) sailed about the beginning of July. 3

As usual, sailings from Hull to New York were quite overshadowed by those for the St. Lawrence, and yet the seven departures in 1830, the Dapper, Meteor, Sovereign, Diana and Frack—the first and last named each making two voyages—display a number of interesting features. The announcement in New York in 1827 that a "line of packets (brigs) . . . [was] about to be established between that port and Hull, the first of which was to leave . . . in the middle of September", and circumstantially proved by the repeated departures of many of the same vessels thereafter, was confirmed by John Hollingworth's advertisement of his "NEW YORK LINE OF PACKETS" for

the first time in 1830.1 During the first half of the year, the 'Line' provided vessels from Hull at roughly monthly intervals: the Dapper left towards the end of February, the Meteor at the beginning of April, the Diana on the 3rd May, the Frack in early June and the Dapper again, towards the end of July, and arriving the 3rd September.2 The Frack also sailed again in early November.3 Whilst the prime object in establishing the 'Line' was to facilitate commercial intercourse,4 and was in no way designed to exist solely for human conveyance across the Atlantic, many of the vessels accepted, indeed advertised for passengers. This was equally true of non-'Line' ships. The Sovereign, for instance (420 tons; Capt. William Gowland) was advertised as having "several Cabins in the Poop, in which two or three genteel Families can be suitably accommodated".5

1. Yorkshire Gazette, 27 Oct. 1827; Hull Advertiser, 5 Mar. 1830. John Bellington, now of Church Lane, Hull, advertised the Dapper, Meteor, Diana and Frack, adding the note that the Meteor "succeeds the Dapper", the Diana "succeeds the Meteor", and so on. The Sovereign was advertised by Holderness and Ward, Exchange Buildings, Hull.


4. The Diana, for example, in 1829, had brought from New York: "Prime Mess Beef and Pork, superfine flour, in Barrels and ½ barrels". (Ibid., 24 Apr. 1829).

5. Ibid., 5 to 26 Mar., 2 Apr. 1830.
In assessing the hardships and dangers of a transatlantic crossing faced by emigrants, the great majority of whom travelled steerage, in the early part of the nineteenth century, the researcher is hampered by the general lack of vivid, subjective observations relating to the actual voyage. It could scarcely be otherwise. Staving off bouts of sea-sickness or perhaps ship-fever, most emigrants, living as they were in congestion, had neither will nor wish to jot down experiences as they happened: many were illiterate, or not given to written expression. For many, mere survival was often a major preoccupation; and, indeed, where letters exist in the original, or were published at the time, most pass quickly over the voyage and dwell on the new-found home and hopes for the future. It is all the more fortunate, therefore, that, although experiences recorded by emigrants on voyages from Hull are equally scarce, the illustrated diary kept by Thomas K. Wharton has survived.

1. One tragic example was the case of the Nelson (of Whitby, but sailing from Killala, Co. Mayo, for Quebec), which made landfall at St. John's, Newfoundland, in August, 1831, after three months at sea, with 18 of her passengers dead, and the rest in an extreme state, caused by starvation and lack of water. A vessel of only about 250 tons, the Nelson, carrying 350 passengers, was grossly overloaded; and the captain, being unable to pay a fine of £300, was imprisoned, and the vessel detained (Ibid., 23 Sep., 11 Nov. 1831; Doncaster Gazette, 30 Sep., 1831).


3. James A. Rodabaugh (ed.), "From England to Ohio, 1830-1832: The Journal of Thomas K. Wharton", Ohio Historical Quarterly, LXV,1 (Jan., 1956), 1-27; 2 (Apr., 1956), 111-51. The original MS journal, covering the period, 3 May 1830-15 Oct. 1834, a record of the journey to, and residence in Ohio, as well as two years in New York, was transcribed by T.K.W. in 1854, and acquired, in 1919, by the N.Y. Public Library, which also possesses many of Wharton's numerous drawings and paintings, executed in several media.
The decision of the Wharton family to emigrate to the United States was taken in the late 1820's, apparently when the district's father, a general merchant and ship owner, suffered business reverses.\(^1\) Leaving his home at Wyton House, Wyton Bar, near Hull, in 1829,\(^2\) and presumably sailing from that port, Wharton, senior, bought a farm of 182 acres for $2,000 at Piqua, Miami County, Ohio, in the June, and sent for his family.\(^3\) Thereupon, Thomas Kelah Wharton, a highly perceptive and artistic lad of just sixteen years,

1. A Thomas Wharton, with the business address of Exchange Buildings, Hull, advertised spasmodically in the Hull Advertiser: sailings noted are of the Coast (for N.Y., 1816), Shannon (Quebec, 1822), Clarkson (Quebec, 1824) and Heka (Quebec, 1825).


3. The Wharton family stayed but a short time at Piqua. T.K.W. wrote in his journal in 1831 (Rodabaugh, 2,119-20): "The farm was fertile and under good cultivation but I do not think my father made it profitable. The extravagantly fond of country life his talents were decidedly mercantile, and all his manhood in England had been spent in active business as a ship owner and general merchant, so that his want of success in agriculture, and the recollection of his reverses in Europe seemed to prey upon his spirits, and corrode his naturally affectionate disposition". The farm at Piqua was sold in the autumn of 1831 for $3,500 (Ibid., 2,120), and the family moved indirectly to Senecaville in 1832, where Wharton, senior, bought "a large warehouse for a wholesale business...capable of storing 6,000 Barrels", for $1,700 (Ibid., 2,139). Mrs. Wharton died 10 September 1834 (Hull Buckingham, 8 Nov. 1834).
accompanied by his mother, three brothers (Henry, Robert and Charles) and two sisters (Marianne and Emily) "engaged staterooms on the Packet Barque Diana, Capt. Sugden, for New York", the vessel already noted as being one of John Hollingworth's "NEW YORK LINE OF PACKETS".

"On Monday May 3rd [1830], Wharton recorded,
"we said our last farewell and went on board.
The partings were the more painful as but few of our friends were reconciled to our leaving our native land, and many of them strongly opposed it. My mother, however, considered it the path of duty and the rest of us who were old enough to know anything were buoyed up by the prospect of seeing distant lands, and I, being the oldest, the but 15 [16] felt proud of new responsibility".

Leaving the Hull pier-head at three in the afternoon, the Diana sailed down the Humber, tacking frequently in a moderate breeze, and reached the Spurn Head Lights before midnight. Dropping the pilot at this point, Capt. Sugden set a northward course and at sunrise on the 4th May was off Flamborough Head. As the day wore on, one scene after another familiar to Wharton came in view, "Filey Bay - Oliver's Mount - Scarborough Castle and the well known heaths of

1. T.K. Wharton later refers to another of these vessels, when, on 5th May 1831, from Fiqua, he "sent off a parcel for England, per J.D. Jones, Cincinnati, Kesters & Markoe, New York, and Capt. Dickinson, of Packet Brig Frock, running between N.York & Hull". (Roddabough, 2, 123).

2. According to his date of birth, Wharton was 16 on 17th April 1830.
Silpho and Suffield", until Whitby was passed in the
late afternoon, and with its passing and darkness, the last
sight of Yorkshire and England. 1 A "Mr. Stanley from the
West Riding" was, at first, the Whartons' only companion in
the cabin, but within a few days, they were "joined by a
Mr. Boyd, a man of delicate frame, and wholly unfitted for
the privations of the steerage in which were from 70 to 80
persons". The 5th May found the Diana opposite Montrose, at
11.0 a.m., five miles abreast of Buchan Ness and Peterhead,
and in the evening, Caithness came within view. Wharton
concluded the entry for that day on an ominous note:

"It now turned cold and windy and the waves
swept by as dark as midnight with foam
specks of the purest white where they parted
at the bows. I retired early and missed the
renowned John O'Groats House and Duncansby Head
which we passed by moonlight";

and began that for the 6th May with:

"We cleared the Pentland Firth in the night —
the most dangerous point in the whole voyage —

1. Rodabough, 1, 6-7. Wharton drew sketches from the Diana
of "Gleethorpe opposite Spurn Head, Mouth of the Humber", "Flamboro' Head and Filey Bay, Yorks.," and "Scarbro' and
Castle, Yorkshire", (reproduced, Ibid., 15).
a region of storms and tempests,
and a wild volume of waters, pent up
between the rocks of Scotland and the barren
Orkneys alternately rushing thro' from the
German Ocean to the Atlantic and back again.
We were fortunate in having both wind and tide
in our favour but those who stayed on deck
say the surges were perfectly terrific, and
it was indeed a fearful sight to see how they
whirled us by the frowning precipices of
Caithness. The violent motion kept me awake
nearly all night, tossing from side to side of
my berth, and conjuring up images of 'Norna of
the Fitful Head and his mis-shapen sprite - the
shades of Cassian - the uncouth offspring of mists
and whirlwind'.

The first signs of sea-sickness which had begun to trouble
our writer off the North Yorkshire coast, now afflicted
the family in varying degrees:

"my mother now began a severe course of
sea-sickness which continued with little
intermission to the end of the voyage. It
bore very hard upon me, too, for a full
fortnight from this time[6th May] often
confining me to my berth the livelong day,

1. Rodabaugh, 17-8. Wharton's allusions are to Norna, one of
the Norse Fates, and Cassian, the Celtic poet.
and even after I was pretty well over it, a little extra motion seldom failed to bring on a relapse. What dreary days, and wakeful nights of suffering! but the assiduous kindness of Capt. Sugden and his Steward greatly alleviated our forlorn condition, and every comfort was provided for us from their ample stores. My brothers were but little affected and Marianne escaped entirely. Little Emily, however, had occasional attacks but they were soon over. Poor Boyd was a pitiable object, but Stanley enjoyed himself as much as if on shore.

On the afternoon of Saturday, 8th May, Wharton, feeling a little better, saw from the deck of the Diana, "the hazy mountains of Lewis — murky clouds above — wild, crested waves around — barren ridges before us and rocks forever washed by driving mists and the vexed ocean. There were the savage Hebrides of which the Flannan Islands soon lay close under our lee bow — the most remote of the whole group — seven surf-beaten creaggy islets whitened over with myriads of Solan geese, sea mews and storm birds, but human inhabitants there were none. Nothing could be more desolate, yet it was sad to see them dwindle away to mere specks on the horizon. They were to us the last of European earth, and we were now fairly embarked on the trackless ocean, and emphatically cast
upon his Providence..."

For several days, the wind blew "strong & fair", and the Diana continued her steady way, averaging from seven to nine miles an hour: variable wind and weather followed, "but always very cold, as we sailed in high latitudes for a wind, and at one time, Greenland was our nearest shore". Monotony, for most of the travellers, and cramped conditions, for those in steerage - but not as congested as on many ships - were the worst aspects to bear, though the occasional encounter with other vessels, mostly bound for American ports and soon overtaken by the speedy Diana, provided welcome experience. "Sea gulls, boatswains and stormy petrels followed in our wake and hovered around the shrouds - and we once thought we saw a whale". Of cabin conditions and the attentions of the captain, Wharton continued to speak highly:

"Our accommodations were excellent - every thing clean & orderly - the cabin and staterooms very comfortable, and the provisions abundant and of the best quality.

Good order & good humor prevailed in every Department of the Vessel. Capt. Sugden's
gentlemanly bearing and strength of character

1. Wharton also drew: "Mormond Hills and Kinnaird's Head, Scotland" and "The Hebrides (Lewis)", (reproduced, Rodabaugh, 1.1.)
made themselves uniformly felt throughout the voyage. Every body liked him, and every body respected him, and Ratliff, the steward, was unwearied in his attentions. In short, in spite of sea sickness, and the weariness of sea-life our time upon the whole passed cheerfully and pleasantly enough.¹

By the 20th May, the Diana had reached the Newfoundland Bank, where she was becalmed for several hours in a dense fog.² The mate was able to take advantage of it for cod fishing. He hung out two lines astern baited at first with pieces of meat, afterwards with the fleshly part of muscles taken from the fish. Some 30 noble fellows were soon floundering upon deck. Part were distributed in the steerage and the rest gave a delightful variety to our meals as long as they remained fresh.³

A day or two later, the passengers gained their first

1. Rodabaugh, 18–9.

2. The prevalence of fogs in this area presented a regular danger to shipping, in the nineteenth century, especially with the advent of steam-ships, and in the present century before the introduction of RADAR. Perhaps the most notable nineteenth century sea-disaster here was the collision in fog, off Cape Race, on 27th September, 1854, of the 2,794-ton U.S.M. Steamship Arctic (Capt. Jas. A. Luce), New York - bound from Liverpool, and the 250-ton French steamer Vesta (Capt. A. Duchesne), with the loss of more than 300 lives: Alexander C. Brown, Women and Children Last: the Loss of the Steamship Arctic (London, 1961), passim.
sight of land since leaving Britain - St. Mary's Bay, Newfoundland - and, in fair weather, Capt. Sugden sailed to within less than a mile of the shore, "determined to gratify us with a good view of it", before standing off and then sailing southwards. On Sunday, the 30th May, Wharton noted:

"the air was filled with dense steamy vapour, and as we were near the shoals of Nantucket, there was no little apprehension on board, but the Capt. and all hands were on the alert, and by the time the mists cleared away we were beyond the reach of danger from that quarter. Early the next morning the shores of Long Island were clearly visible to the north and remained in sight for some hours".

With wind and weather foul on the 2nd June, "Capt. Sugden was compelled to stand out to sea again", but at 2.00 p.m. on the 3rd, the Diana safely entered the Narrows, forming the entrance to the Bay of New York. Anchoring near the Quarantine Station,

"The Doctor soon came on board, and complimented the ship highly on her general condition and the healthy appearances of the passengers & crew, and dismissed us without further detention. We immediately weighed and set sail towards the city, every one upon deck, dressed in their best,

1. Wharton drew: "The Diana at St. Mary's Bay, Newfoundland" (reproduced, Roodbaugh, 1,16).
2. The graveyard of many ships: one is reminded of the collision between the Andrea Doria and the Stockholm in fog off Nantucket Shoals as recently as 25th July, 1956.
and gazing with all their eyes at the objects.
before us - the steamers, the trim, light rigged
vessels, a thousand interesting details along the shore.
Governor's Island with its military works at the
mouth of East River, and the "Bedloe's" Island
towards the Jersey coast - but above all the City -
the Island City - now clearly defined and gradually
filling up the field of view until at 4 P.M. we
brought to in the East River at a few rods distance
from the Quay". 1

It would seem that the Wharton family received preferential
treatment, either because they were stateroom-passengers,
or because Wharton, senior, now resident in Ohio, had
been formerly known in Hull by the captain in shipping
circles, for,

"An hour after, my mother, Capt. Sugden and I
got into the boat and in a few minutes landed at the
Old Slip[foot of William Street] in the midst of the
busy crowd. The Captain took us first to the
Post office to see if there were letters from my
Father awaiting our arrival, but there were none so we
hastened up Broadway to Beekman Street, to the boarding
house of Mr. Thomas Slocum, according to my Father's
instructions. We quickly made ourselves known and were
warmly welcomed by our new friends, who at once
installed us into excellent quarters until we should
receive intelligence from the interior [Ohio]...

1. Another sketch by Wharton was: "The Diana and New York Bay
from the Battery" (reproduced, Rodabaugh, 1,17).
I returned to the Quay for my brothers and sisters and at 7 o'clock we all sat down to an excellent supper, highly delighted with our American friends, and full of gratitude to the Supreme for having led us safely thro' the dangers of the uncertain ocean.1

The Whartons were fortunate to have taken fast passage in the Diana, for, as a letter from New York on the 8th June declared, in announcing "the safe arrival of the Diana, Sugden, on the 2nd [3rd] inst", the vessel brought "from Hull dates a week later than by any other arrival from England. The Liverpool and London packets of 1st May, not yet arrived". To this, the Hull Advertiser added: "the Diana sailed from Hull on the 3rd of May, and accomplished the passage in thirty days."2

During the emigration season of 1830, namely, the first six months of the year, some 2,893 emigrants sailed from Hull to British North America and the United States. These emigrants, augmented by the smaller numbers still to sail from July onwards, "in point of property and other qualifications", it was reported, "...far surpassed those in former seasons; ...and independently of those[sailing from Hull], great numbers, from the adjoining districts


2. Hull Advertiser, 9 Jul. 1830. In 1828, but for an unfortunate 'neaping' at Stromness, the Diana's passage would have been of similar duration, as she took 48 hours from Hull to Stromness; and 28 days from Stromness to New York (Ibid., 30 May, 1828).
have left the country by way of Liverpool.\textsuperscript{1}

The year 1831 represents the peak year for emigrants taking passage from Hull to North America. In 1830, 2,893 emigrants, as already noted, had left the port for Canada and the United States before July: in 1831, 2,780 recorded individuals were destined for Quebec alone.\textsuperscript{2} Again, in 1831, no fewer than thirty-five transatlantic sailings were effected from Hull — twenty-three for Quebec,\textsuperscript{3} one for the Maritimes\textsuperscript{4} and eleven for the United States\textsuperscript{5}.


2. Ibid.; Helen I. Cowen, p. 291 (Table IV).


4. For Misc., N.B.: Lord Hulgrave.


For Charleston, S.C.: *Andromache*. The *Haida* was advertised initially for Quebec, later N.Y.; the *Me. Lee* was advertised for New York and Saint John, N.B.; the *Montreal*'s first voyage of 1831 was to Quebec, the second to New York.
an increase of ten on the previous year. Yet, strangely, despite the frequency of sailings in 1831, relatively little anecdotal reporting occurs in the Yorkshire press. Conversely, perhaps because of this frequency, such events failed to provide the same degree of newsworthiness; and perhaps the sight of great numbers of emigrants arriving at Hull to embark on the many vessels berthed in the Old, Humber or Junction Docks, became commonplace and aroused less excitement than in former years. 1

As usual, April proved the most popular month and accounted for no fewer than fourteen of the year's twenty-three sailings to Quebec, as well as the one ship, Lord Mulgrave (600 tons burth.; Mr. Gordingley), destined for Miramichi, N.B. 2 During the first week, three vessels set sail: a ship of 700 tons burthen, the Aurora sailed with passengers, 3 followed by the Almorah (423 tons Reg.; Richard Ward) 4 and Westmoreland (Knill), the latter's passengers reaching Quebec after a voyage of thirty-seven days. 5 By the end of the second week, four more had sailed for the same destination - the William Pitt.

1. Departures from the Old Dock exceeded all others: actual berths specified are "near the Gates", "near Lowgate", "Quay Street End", "North Side of Old Dock" and "near Whitefriargate Bridge". The location of one vessel in the Junction Dock was "near the Mariners' Church".


Brothers, Triton and Experiment. By Saturday, 16th April, "at least 1000 emigrants" had reportedly left Hull "during the present season"; and, on that day, "about 500 passengers" all left the Junction Dock in the Lord Suffield, Ellersill and Foster, the first arriving at Quebec on the 25th May, the second, the following day, and the Foster, 'spoken with' about the 10th May in long. 43°, and on the 27th, in the St. Lawrence, arrived on the 2nd June. From the Old Dock shortly afterwards sailed the Caledonian (John Carrick) and St. Mary (Barrick Gill), both reaching Quebec on the same day, 29th May, the former having been 'spoken with six days earlier off St. Paul Island in the Cabot Strait. Two more ships were to sail before April was out. The Wilberforce (395/600 tons; Capt. Gowland Clark), which had "excellent Accommodations for more than 200 Passengers, which number she exceeded last year [1830]", was another vessel to reach Quebec on the 20th May, as was the Montreal (Botterill Frost), of similar Register (385 tons), 'spoken with' in the St. Lawrence five days earlier.

Despite only slight local press reference to the former residence and station of those emigrating by Hull in 1831, it may be assumed that most passengers to Quebec were essentially from the same catchment areas as in former years. Mr. Kent, for instance, was "a sturdy, industrious and independent yeoman in Lincolnshire", before he left Saxilby.

2. Ibid., 18 Feb. to 8, 22 Apr., 10, 24 Jun., 8 Jul. 1831; Doncaster Gazette, 22 Apr. 1831.
5. Saxilby: situated c. 52° W. N. W. of Lincoln.
in the April to take passage, with his family, from Hull. Writing from Quebec at the end of May, his son, Edwin, described "the advantages which they had gained by exchanging the uncertain pursuits of an English farmer for those of an American cultivator"; and how one of the passengers, "a cabinet-maker from Hull, was offered 7s. a day wages and constant work; and another passenger named Smith, from Holderness, a bricklayer, was bid 6s. a day".1 Another emigrant, Aaron Barker, a former carrier from Roos, in Holderness, to Hull, took with him about £120, and on his arrival in Upper Canada, sold each sovereign for £1.3s.4d., before speculating in land and taking a farm of one hundred acres, half cleared, on a lease of ten years, in Vaughan Township, sixteen miles from Little York, for which, in subsequent years, he paid £25 p.a.; clear of taxes, plus about four days' highways-work a year.2

From the beginning of May onwards, the frequency of sailings and the numbers of emigrants carried gradually slackened. Nevertheless, no fewer than nine vessels were still to sail from the Humber port to Quebec in 1831.

Advertised to sail on the 4th May, the John (556 tons Reg.; Geo Bulmer) reached Quebec on the 15th June.3 The Victory

1. Edwin Kent, Quebec, to R. Dawber, Lincoln, 29 May 1831 (paraphrased in Hull Rockingham, 3 Sep. 1831).
2. Aaron Barker, Vaughan Township, U.C., to Edward Wallis (grocer), Roos, 20 Apr., 1832; 18 Nov. 1833 (extracts of two letters printed in Hull Advertiser, 17 Jan. 1834). Barker later took on a second farm, containing about thirty acres of cleared land, paying £12.10s. p.a., on an eleven-year lease.
3. Hull Advertiser, 8 Apr., 22 Jul. 1831.
Stephen Coltman) left the following week, the former probably on the 10th May, arriving the 20th June, with her "passengers, all well".1 "To succeed the Clarkson", was the Manchester (300 tons Reg.; Wm. Walker) at the beginning of June, and Esak (300/450 tons; James Gray) at the end of the month.2

Finally, that year, between the last week of July and the 10th August, the Campion (300/400 tons; Henry Chambers), Chilton (400 tons burth.; W. Muir), and, on their second voyages of 1831, the Aurora and Almorah set sail for Quebec.3

If 1831 represented a peak year for Hull sailings (with 2,780 emigrants) to Quebec, the number of sailings for the United States was also the highest since the end of the Napoleonic Wars. With the exception of the Andromache (346 tons Reg.; Francis Hunter), advertised by Richard Terry and Sons, and Charleston-bound in the October,4 every departure was for New York, seven by John Hollingworth's Line of Packets and three advertised by Holderness and Ward. The Dapper, Sir Edward Hamilton, Volga and Neida all set sail before the end of April, and were succeeded by the Freak, Sarah Lee and Diana in consecutive months.5 The Dapper and Freak repeated their sailings.

3. Ibid., 15 Jul. to 12 Aug., 28 Oct., 4, 11, 18 Nov. 1831. The Almorah left Hull on 10th August, and reached Quebec safely; but, leaving that port on 5th November for her homeward voyage, the ship was never seen again after 1st December. Those who perished with Capt. Ward were his wife and son (two other children had remained in England), and the crew of several men, including eight husbands. (Ibid., 28 Sep. 1832).
5. Ibid., 21 Jan. to 11, 25 Mar., 1 Apr. to 13, 27 May, 3 Jun. to 1, 15 Jul., 26 Aug., 7 Oct. 1831. The Sir Edward Hamilton and Volga left Hull in the first week of April, and reached New York on the 20th May; the Freak left in the first week of May, and arrived after a passage of 38 days on the 8th June; the Diana left before the middle of July and arrived the 2nd September.
voyages in August and September; and the Montreal, after her earlier passage to Quebec, planned to re-cross to New York, but within a few days of leaving Hull in early November, was obliged to "put back with loss of anchors and cables, and other damage, having been on shore". It must be reckoned that many of the vessels which sailed in at least the spring and early summer for New York carried their complement of emigrants. However, only the Misida (400/600 tons; Capt. Peckett) is specifically noted as having carried passengers on a thirty-four day voyage which began at Hull on or about the 27th April, included a safe negotiation of the Pentland Firth on the 29th, and ended at New York on the 31st May.2.

Emigration from English and Welsh ports to Quebec in 1832 increased sharply over the previous year, from 10,343 to 17,481. However, despite being one of only five such ports to send out more than one thousand emigrants to British North America, Hull's passengers were fewer than one-half of those sailing in 1831.3 Fewer emigrants were also paralleled by fewer sailings for the St. Lawrence, sixteen as compared with

2. Ibid., 29 Apr., 13 May, 24 Jun. 1831.
3. Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1V): arrivals at Quebec from Hull were (1831) 2,780 and (1832) 1,288.
twenty-three in 1831, although three vessels additionally sailed for the Maritimes: departures for the United States numbered eleven, the same as in 1831. Moreover, the year 1832 is momentous in Hull's history as an emigrant-port in that two vessels were lost and cholera made its dreaded appearance.

Of those ships sailing for Quebec, the majority, as usual, left before the end of April and, indeed, all but three before the last days of May. The Intrepid (400 tons Reg.; Thos. Robinson), which reached Quebec before the 9th May and was "the first ship from England this season," had left Hull towards the end of March. In early April, at least six further vessels - the Foster, Aurora, William Pitt, Westmoreland, Amazon and Lord Suffield - followed in quick succession, all, with the exception of the last, arriving safely, the first three on the 27th and 31st May, and the 2nd June, respectively. The Lord Suffield (365 tons Reg.; Capt. J. Carlill), however, came to grief in her passage through

1. For Quebec: the Intrepid (twice); Westmoreland; Lord Suffield; William Pitt; Aurora; Foster; Amazon; Experiment; Triton; Brothers; Thomas Wallace; Victory; St. Mary; Waterloo; Minerva.
2. For Saint John, N.B.: Kirkella, Civilian; and for Miramichi, N.B.: Lord Fulgrave.
3. For New York: Montreal; Fresk (twice); Sir Edward Hamilton (twice); Wolga; Haide; Robert Peel; Danper (twice); for Savannah, Geo.: Orwell.
the most feared section of the northern route.
Negotiating the Pentland Firth in thick fog on
the 10th April, the ship, one of eight, ran aground
in Gillo Bay and became a total wreck, fortunately
without loss of crew, passengers or much baggage.
In this instance, the passengers made their way to
Thurso, where they hopefully awaited a vessel from
Aberdeen to take them on to Quebec.¹ A similar
fate befell the Experiment, although the Brothers
(420 tons Reg.; Wm. Jenkinson) and Triton (Robert
Keighley, Jun.), sailing later in the month, reached
Quebec safely.² The Experiment, a ship of 350 tons

1. Hull Advertiser, 20 Apr. 1832;
   Yorkshire Gazette, 21 Apr. 1832.

2. Hull Advertiser, 10 Feb. to 23 Mar., 20 Apr.,
   13, 20 Jul. 1832. The Triton, "with passengers",
   reached Quebec on the 26th May.
burthen, belonging to D. and J. Peacock of Hull, and under the command of Capt. Geo Bruce, left from near the Junction Dock Bridge, Whitefriargate, with her cargo and complement of forty-five emigrants, including one family from Fulford, near York, "principally of the poorer classes, many [of whom] had exhausted their whole stock of worldly means in providing necessaries for the voyage, and others were sent out at the cost of their respective parishes". Sailing southwards from the Humber, the Experiment was caught in a violent gale in the Straits of Dover, and struck rocks on the French coast a few miles east of Calais on the 12th April. All barely escaped with their lives, and as they were totally destitute, the British Consul at Calais furnished some relief before putting them aboard the London steamer for Tower Wharf at government expense. In an explanatory letter to the Lord Mayor of London, the Consul recommended that Messrs. Peacock should either convey them to Quebec by another vessel or refund part of the passage money. For his part, the Lord Mayor gave £5 from his private purse and wrote to the Home Secretary to discover "the best course to pursue for the alleviation of their misfortunes". Lord Melbourne's reply was scarcely constructive, for he "considered the emigrants came under the description of casual poor, and as such should be relieved in the customary way".

1. D. and J. Peacock were probably the descendants, perhaps the sons, of Ralph Peacock, a Unitarian, prominent Hull merchant and ship-owner, member of Trinity House, in the late eighteenth century (Gordon Jackson, Hull in the Eighteenth Century, p.189).
The Lord Mayor, though he donated a further £5, indicated to
the emigrants, now starving in public-houses near the Tower,
that he could hardly continue to maintain them out of his own
pocket, nor could the parish be expected to pay for their
return to Hull. The outcome is not clear, but it is probable
that, as suggested by His Lordship, temporary relief was
provided in London by small subscriptions, until sufficient
money was similarly raised, with or without the help of
Messrs. Peacock, in Hull. 1

Not dismayed by the loss of the Lord Suffield and
Experiment in April, five more departures occurred between the
middle of May and the end of June — those of the Thomas Wallace
(450 tons burth.; Capt. Forde), Victory, St. Mary, Waterloo and
Minerva; and all, with the exception of the last, appear to
have reached the St. Lawrence without incident. 2 Unhappily,
double-tragedy was to strike the Minerva in the form of cholera
and drownings, at the beginning and end of her transatlantic
passage.

Some mention must be inserted here of the widespread
cholera epidemic of 1832 — to be repeated in 1849 — and of its
impact on North American emigration. Not without reason, it
was officially feared that the disease raging on the Continent
of Europe, and particularly in France, would sooner or later
make its dreaded appearance among emigrants in passage, and in
the settlements and towns with, as yet, only rudimentary forms
of sanitation, on the far side of the Atlantic. In the hope

1. Hull Advertiser, 20 Apr. 1832; Yorkshire Gazette, 21, 28 Apr.
1832; Doncaster Gazette, 27 Apr. 1832; Hull Rockingham,
28 Apr. 1832. The Peacocks, themselves, may well have been in
financial difficulties after the loss of the Experiment, for
this ship sailing in the three years, 1830-32, was the only
recorded vessel advertised by them for North America.

2. Hull Advertiser, 16, 23 Mar., 6 Apr. to 25 May, 8, 29 Jun.,
17 Aug., 4 Sep. 1832.
of thwarting, or at least minimising the extension thither, an order in council decreed that "all vessels carrying 50 passengers, including the crew and master, to the British possessions in North America, or to the United States of America, shall carry a surgeon in order to prevent, as far as possible, the disease called cholera reaching those places...; and the surgeons, who are to continue the whole of the voyage... will be required to show certificates of their having passed their examination". Moreover, in Canada, it had already been announced before the end of February, that strict quarantine regulations would be enforced at Grosse Island, about thirty-five miles downstream from Quebec, "on all vessels from suspected places, or not producing clean Bills of Health"; and by mid-May, any vessel arriving without a clean bill of health, even though no sickness was present, was being detained three days, or longer, if deemed necessary by the health officer at the quarantine station.


2. Hull Advertiser, 6 Apr., 29 Jun., 1832.
All these tentative measures were in vain; although some medical opinion felt that the disease had been carried by five weeks of easterly winds and had erupted with the onset of warm weather, there is little doubt that emigrants unwittingly bore the responsibility for its transmission. With hindsight, and the knowledge that "two hundred and ten vessels and 9,076 emigrants had arrived at Quebec up to the 25th May" (later increased to "not less than 25,700... up to the 9th of June"), it would have been little short of miraculous if the disease had not prevailed aboard cramped, unhealthy emigrant ships, especially those from Ireland, and had not been transferred to North America.

After the first case of cholera in Quebec in early June, apparently occurring in a lodging house occupied by emigrants, the recorded cases and deaths, rose alarmingly. On the 11th of the month, sixty cases were noted in the port, several proving fatal; and on the 13th and 14th, seventy-seven and forty-eight cases were admitted to the Cholera Hospital alone, with eighty-one

2. Hull Advertiser, 29 Jun.; 13 Jul. 1832. One vessel, the brig Carricks, reportedly lost 42 of her passengers from cholera on her passage from Dublin.
deaths in those two days, though probably as many again occurred in private dwellings. By the 19th June, the disease had exacted a toll of over one thousand lives in Quebec, especially in the Champlain Street and St. Roe's areas. At Montreal, where cholera had made its appearance by the 6th June, boatmen refused to convey emigrants to Upper Canada, and many victims were buried in common graves. By September, however, the epidemic was abating; in Montreal, although smallpox and typhus fever were common, no deaths from cholera took place in the first half of the month; in Quebec, a few cases were still being recorded. The toll by that time was over 2,200 deaths in Quebec, 3,000 in Montreal, and about 1,000 each in the rural areas of Lower and Upper Canada.¹

Alexander C. Buchanan - in 1828, appointed Resident Agent for Emigrants in Quebec - had exerted every effort in early 1832 to persuade the port authorities to insist on the cleansing of an emigrant's person and clothes before permission to disembark was granted. The permanent

establishment of the special quarantine station, therefore, at Grosse Island, under the command of Captain Reid, with its choler hospital and doctors, and sheds affording temporary shelter to the non-infected, required every emigrant vessel sailing to Quebec to anchor there and discharge its passengers, their clothes and bedding. Ironically, however, the measure initially adopted of requiring all passengers, sick and well, to undergo examination and detention, was not only inconvenient, but also decidedly dangerous. Those in good health undoubtedly ran the risk of infection by the uncertain isolation of the sick and by the drinking of water from the St. Lawrence, in whose polluted shore-line pools of Grosse Island, hundreds had washed dirty bedding and soiled clothing.¹

Considering the virulence of the cholera epidemic both in Europe and Canada, and the prevalence of the disease in Hull itself, emigrants by that port were fortunate in apparently escaping the worst of the infection while aboard ship. From evidence available, the disease affected passengers on only one vessel. The Minerva (John Burton, Master), a barque of 243 tons Reg. set out from Hull

¹. Kathleen A. Walpole, pp.106, 133-36. With the epidemic over, vessels with a clean bill of health were allowed to proceed to Quebec in 1834.
with 92 passengers, about one-half of them children, in the last week of June. On Thursday, the 28th, as the vessel was opposite Robin Hood's Bay, two of her passengers complained of "violent sickness and cramp in all their limbs" - Thomas Bickerdike, a 50-year old pensioner from York, and William Robinson, aged 60, the head of an emigrating family. Capt. Burton consequently returned to Scarborough on the Friday afternoon for medical assistance, but shortly before a doctor was able to board, Bickerdike died, and a 15-year old boy, Broadbent, was taken ill with the same symptoms. From Scarborough, the barque retraced her route to Whitebooth Roads in the Humber, to be attended by Surgeon Aitcheson of the Salsette frigate, which had been converted into a hospital ship as a result of the Hull epidemic. Meanwhile, both Robinson and Broadbent had died, and the next few days were spent in the Roads anxiously awaiting further signs of the disease. 1.

1. Capt. Burton reasoned that the disease had made its appearance because, despite all the passengers seeming to be in good health on departure, they had remained on deck rather late in cold and drizzling rain to overcome seasickness, and had thereby become chilled. His reasons for the low incidence of three cases, albeit fatal, were probably nearer the truth - namely, that the Minerva was a "full seven feet between decks", that she possessed accommodation for double the complement actually carried, and that there were several vacant cabins, thereby allowing "free air and ventilation".
None appeared so that Capt. Burton, on being presented with a clean Bill of Health by Mr. Aitcheson, was able to set out a second time for Quebec, passing safely through the Firth on the 9th July. The Minerva's ocean passage seems to have been uneventful, but after reaching the St. Lawrence, the ship was again struck by tragedy. In accordance with quarantine regulations, all the passengers were landed at Grosse Island where they had to remain four days before continuing to Quebec. As the skiff was carrying its final load from the island to the Minerva on the 31st August, it was upset near the barque; and although some of the emigrants were rescued by boats going to their assistance, the second mate, James Hague, and ten women and children were drowned.¹

Despite the example of the Minerva, and the vessel's three cholera victims, Hull's passengers were lucky to avoid the worst effects of the disease during their transatlantic passage. Once in Canada, however, they were as subject to the infection as any other immigrants, especially

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¹ Hull Advertiser, 8, 15, 29 Jun., 6 Jul., 5, 12 Oct., 1832, 24 Apr., 1840; Leeds Intelligencer, 5 Jul., 1832; Yorkshire Gazette, 7, 21 Jul., 13 Oct., 1832; Hull Mercury, 7, 21 Jul., 13 Oct. 1832. The full list of fatalities, apart from the second mate, was: Mrs. Miller and two children; Mrs. Lightfoot and one child; two small girls of Mrs. McCarron; two sons of Mrs. Broadbent (probably brothers of the young Broadbent, a cholera victim off the Yorkshire coast); and one child of Mrs. Johnson.
if detailed or resident in Quebec or Montreal.
A number of these may be noted from obituaries in
the Yorkshire press, and one can surely assume that
their insertion represents only a fraction of the
total who succumbed. Mrs. Mottershed, for instance,
died in Montreal of cholera on the 17th June, soon
to be followed by her husband, a former shoemaker in Lowgate,
Hull, on the 19th.¹ A week later, on the 26th June, in
the same place, the Rev. George Newlove, a 21-year old
Wesleyan Methodist missionary and son of a York watchmaker,
died only four days after his arrival from Quebec on his
way to Stanstead, U.C.²

In the case of the Maritimes, not since 1823 had as
many as three vessels sailed in the one year from Hull:
but it must not be assumed that the increased interest
in New Brunswick in 1832 was in any way a reflection on,
and deflection from the hot-beds of cholera in Quebec
and Montreal. Indeed, all three vessels set out before the
epidemic was raging on the St. Lawrence; and shipping
advertisements indicate the original intention to sail
for Saint John or Miramichi. The vessels concerned were

the Kirkella (400 tons Reg.; Capt. Carlill), which sailed on the 1st March for Saint John; and the brig Civilian (348 tons Reg.; Capt. Thos. White) and Lord Mulgrave (600 tons burth.; William Cordingley), advertised to sail on the 15th March and 1st April, for Saint John and Miramichi, the last also forwarding passengers to Prince Edward Island. One of the Kirkella's passengers, a brickmaker, named Ward, had first left Market Weighton some fifteen years earlier to seek his fortune across the Atlantic. There, by dint of "industry and economy", he had developed a farm and brickyard, and was returning to New Brunswick with his wife and family to enjoy the fruits of his labours. Unfortunately, Ward fell into the Junction Dock, having failed to notice that the Kirkella had loosed her moorings and had moved a short distance from the dock wall prior to departure. After some

1. Hull Advertiser, 10, 17 Feb., 9, 30 Mar., 8, 22, 29 Jun., 28 Sep., 1832; Hull Rockingham, 3 Mar., 1832. The Kirkella's captain was advertised as George Mackenzie, but on three later occasions is recorded as Capt. Carlill, not to be confused with Capt. J. Carlill of the Lord Suffield, wrecked in the Pentland Firth on the 10th April, on route for Quebec. A seaman named Shaw was lost overboard from the Kirkella on her outward passage, leaving a wife, Rachel, and two children under four years, in Hull.
minutes he was rescued and taken to the Opening of the Dock public-house, where, for a while, he lay in such an exhausted state that medical opinion deemed it dangerous for him to proceed, and his family and furniture were taken off the ship. So rapidly did he recover, however, that all were able to re-embark and sail for New Brunswick.

Departures for the United States in 1832 continued as steadily as in the previous year with eleven sailings, all destined for New York, with the exception of the **Orwell** (405 tons Reg.; Capt. Alexander Gow), Savannah-bound late in November. The regular sailers of John Hollingworth, the **Montreal** and **Freak**, began the season in early February and March, and although the former was still in lat. 38°, long. 59° on the 6th April, sixty-five days out from Hull, both reached New York safely. The first week of April saw the departures of the **Sir Edward Hamilton** and **Wolse**, and, late in the same month, that of the **Maida**; the first of these reached her destination on the 24th May. A newcomer to John Hollingworth's **New York Line**, the five-year old barque, **Robert Peel** (394 tons Reg.; John Jones), with several families from York aboard, left the Humber Dock at the end of the first week in May, and by the 22nd had reached lat. 52°, long. 24°, on her ocean crossing.

1. **Hull Rockingham**, 3 Mar. 1832. Presumably, the Ward's furniture was hastily stowed on board again!


The last vessel to sail in the first half of 1832 was the brig **Dapper**, advertised for the 13th June, but the **Freak**, Sir Edward Hamilton and **Dapper** each made a second voyage, in August, October and November, respectively; the last reaching New York on the 26th December. William Suddards, an Agent for the Sunday School Union Society of Philadelphia, and one of the passengers on the Sir Edward Hamilton's second voyage of 1832, wrote to his father in Hull about the dangers he had just experienced. The ship left the Humber Dock about the 15th October and reached New York after a stormy passage on the 3rd January, 1833: the vessel's foretopsail was struck by lightning on the 8th December, resulting in burns and injuries to one person and shocks to many.

3. Extract of letter in Ibid., 8th Feb. 1833. (Further extracts of letters, William Suddards to his father, are also printed in Ibid., 12, 19 Apr. 1833). Suddards expressed thanks for Capt. Lundy's "courteous conduct" throughout the voyage.
The pandemic wave of Asiatic cholera, which had originated in India in 1826, had reached European Russia, Moscow and St. Petersburg in 1830, had traversed Germany and France to Britain by 1832, and had been transmitted by emigrants to the St. Lawrence in that same year, now reached its maximum geographical extension in the United States. The scourge, which in Montreal had made its first appearance on the 6th June, 1832, moved rapidly up-river to Ogdensburg, N.Y., by the 18th, onwards to Illinois, Chicago and Wisconsin Territory, attacking white and Blackhawk alike, and down the Mississippi Valley to New Orleans, where some five thousand lives were claimed. From Montreal, the disease also moved southwards into the Upper Hudson Valley, reaching Whitehall and Mechanicsville, N.Y., on the 14th and 18th June, and New York itself by the 26th. Few settlements, from the largest city to the remotest hamlet, finally escaped its terrifying visitation: carried by railroad, canal and steamboat, cholera was present in most of the United States by 1836, and did not disappear until 1838.\footnote{Charles E. Rosenberg, \textit{The Cholera Years}, pp.13-98, but esp. pp.23, 25-26, 36-37; William Burrows, "Cholera", \textit{Encyclopaedia Britannica} (Chicago, 1968), V, 674.}
Although cholera hospitals were established in many of the larger cities, quarantines were continued and urban cleanings attempted, the inherent problem is illustrated by the contemporary lack of adequate sanitation in New York, whose population in 1830 was over 213,000.

"In respect of cleanliness...", ran one commentary, "New York is not to be compared with an English town. There is hardly such a thing as a sink or common sewer in the whole city: the night-soil and filth are collected in pits, of which there is one in every house, and, being conveyed to the nearest quay, are thrown into the water; but as these quays are made of timber, with many projections, a great deal of filth is retained about them, producing, in hot weather, an abominable stench". In the case of yellow fever, "by which New York is sometimes visited... the general opinion seems to be, that if stones were substituted for timber in the quays, sewers constructed, and proper regulations enforced as to cleanliness, the scourge would entirely disappear". 1

1. J.R. McCulloch, A Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation (London, 2nd ed., 1834), pp. 834-35. Ironically, the measures suggested would have been more efficacious in minimising the effects of cholera than of yellow fever.
Similar remedies were attempted for New Orleans, with a population (1830) of 46,309, a city far more prone to the ravages of yellow fever than New York.

"The unhealthiness of the climate is the great drawback on New Orleans... The unhealthy season includes July, August and September; during which period the yellow fever often makes dreadful havoc, particularly among the poorer classes of immigrants from the North and from Europe. Latterly, great efforts have been made to improve the health of the city, by supplying it abundantly with water, paving the streets, removing wooden sewers, and replacing them with others of stone, &c."  

As in Canada, a number of Yorkshire expatriates died during the first phases of the cholera epidemic in the United States. Francis Thompson, for instance, one of the originators of the Black Ball Line of American Packets between New York and Liverpool, succumbed to the "bilious

cholera" in New York on the 10th July, 1832, in his fiftieth year. At Philadelphia, Christopher Lawson and his wife, Charlotte, from Leeds, died on the 19th and 20th August of the "malignant cholera". At the age of 58, John Everard, a saddler, became another victim of the same disease on the 17th August, the course of which lasted only eleven hours; he was formerly of Sibsey and Stickney, Lincolnshire, but had lived latterly in Hull, from where he had only recently emigrated to America with several of his family, three of whom recovered from the infection. Two years later, in 1834, further deaths from cholera of former Yorkshire residents were recorded: Hugh Bell, aged 33, the eldest son of Richard Bell, of Beverley Parks, died on the 23rd July, at Utica, N.Y.; and James Caley, aged 29, whose father of the same name was employed in the Hull Customs, expired on the


1st September, at Halifax, N.S. 1 During the early months of the epidemic in Canada, the "distressing fact" had been observed "that a large proportion of the victims were male heads of families". 2

Certainly, of the fatalities already recorded from the triple tragedy aboard the Minerva, in June 1832, through to Caley's death in Nova Scotia, in 1834 - the cholera seems to have had a predilection for the male sex. 3 The sample, however, is very small, and no doubt a great many more deaths of Yorkshire men and women due to this cause escaped printed notice.


3. The death from cholera on 31st August, 1833, at Brayton, Montgomery County, Ohio, of John Barker, aged 35, the eldest son of Thomas Barker, of Rawcliffe (4m. W. of Goose, W.R.) was also recorded (Doncaster Gazette, 3 Jan. 1834). J. Barker had emigrated to America about 1831, and there had married a daughter of a Mr. Lawson, formerly of Stobbs (locality in Pontefract, W.R.), an emigrant about 1823.
temporal tribulation facing the emigrants. 'Emigration fever' in the early 1830's was fed by widespread propaganda, numerous press articles and advertisements, and by countless letters, both official and personal, crossing the Atlantic. Local schemes organised the relief, by emigration to British North America, of agricultural unfortunates. A notable contemporary example was the assisted emigration from Wiltshire in 1831 and 1832 (and after 1837) from, mainly, the estates of the Earl of Heytesbury, using private subscription and parish aid. The first batch of emigrants was found places on the Euphrosyne (Capt. Sampson) on the 23rd April (1831), and was furnished with letters of recommendation to A.C. Buchanan, the Resident Agent for Emigrants in Quebec, by Col. E.H.A'Court, a kinsman of Lord Heytesbury, and Viscount Goderick, "whose anxiety for the amelioration of the distresses of the people is unbounded". More than ample provisions, some profitably sold in Quebec, were donated to the travellers, as well as £2 to £3 each, handed over on arrival at that port. Some obtained employment at once as servants and labourers in and around Quebec; some, about twenty families, went to the flourishing settlements of Inverness township; and the remainder, about one-half the original total,
was forwarded to Upper Canada, together with a similar group from Yorkshire, to be settled under the protection of Lieutenant-Governor (Sir John) Colborne, in Oro, Dumfer and Douro townships. An equally celebrated case occurred in early April, 1832, when the Earl of Egremont paid for the conveyance to Canada of two large parties of Petworth (Sussex) parishioners, allocating a further £1,500 for their rehabilitation on arrival: and in 1833, the Petworth Emigration Society published a series of letters received from the emigrants, the booklet running to a second edition the same year.

Although these assisted movements, especially in the southern counties, naturally attracted attention, the rural emigrant passing through Hull in the peak passenger-years of the 1830’s, was more than likely to be a man of certain capital, who was able and willing to invest in North American acres. This, of course, was not a characteristic unique to Yorkshire emigrants, but it was a characteristic so frequently noted of those

leaving the county for overseas. The Select Committee of 1833 remarked that the Poor Law, the Law of Settlement and Game Laws had combined to encourage the strongest to emigrate, the weakest to stay behind. "It is not the aged, the halt, the miline", observed Cobbett; "it is not the paupers that are going, but men with £200 to £2,000 in their pocket!"

Writing from Canada in early 1832, Francis Jackson, a Yorkshire emigrant of 1830, heartily endorsed Cobbett's observation:

"People who emigrate here, with a capital from one to five hundred pounds, have a great advantage over the people in England, with the same sum; for there it would scarce stock a farm; but here they may buy a farm with a good clearance. Here they may locate themselves comfortably for life; and leave a competency for their children after them. Speculating on land is very profitable in this country. There are some that bought land last year for three dollars per acre, that have now been offered 10 dollars per acre...I do not recommend people without money to take up land, for their privations are many, though they may work with spirit, having a prospect before them."

1. W. Cobbett, Rural Rides, 13 Apr. 1830; 11, p. 258; cited by Pauline Greggs, p. 60. In one case, at Hull, Cobbett had seen a farmer, possessed of £1,500, embark with his five sons for America.
To support his contention, Jackson summarized the fortunes of several former Yorkshiremen, then in and around York (Toronto, after 1834), all of whom had been able to transfer capital from England.  

1. William Braithwait, from Skirlaugh, had "bought 200 acres of land, with 100 cleared and nearly free from stumps, for $450."  

2. D. Smith, from West Bulls, purchased "100 acres of land for $300, with 50 acres cleared, with the crop, house, barn, stables, &c., 16 miles from York [U.C.]" and John Marriot, "100 acres... with 30 cleared, for $150, with house, &c.," eleven miles from the same place. Yet another countryman friend of Jackson, investing $25 the previous year in a small lot of land, had yet sold it for $50 only five months later. In the case of poorer emigrants, landing with little or no money - "these people, and such like, I think, are the worst off at present" - some had bought government land in Oro township at 5s. an acre, payable over five years; and when four acres had been cleared, they received a government grant of $12, repayable at the end of three years. Apart from the death of his wife, and his own "sickness of ten weeks".

1. Hull Advertiser, 30 May, 1834.  
2. Skirlaugh: situated c.8m. N.E. of Hull.  
3. West Bulls is recorded on the 6" O.S. sheet (1850) as a farmhouse, two outhouses, several fields and an orchard, located between Setting Dyke and Cottingham Drain. The West Bulls public-house is now located on the same site, at the junction of Cottingham Road and Bricknell Avenue, c.5m. N.W. of Hull city-centre, and c.200 yds. within the city boundary.
Jackson was

"well satisfied with the country. Indeed", he wrote, ... I live as well as any farmer in Yorkshire. I have consumed in my house weekly 70 lbs. of beef, mutton, &c., 5 stone of flour, 7 lb. of butter, 6 lb. of sugar, ½ lb. of tea, ½ lb. of coffee. I have my house better furnished than when I was in England, and I have a comfortable fire to sit at, and a good feather bed to sleep upon, well covered with blankets":

all this, despite his claimed possession of only "one copper" on landing at York eighteen months earlier. ¹

Similarly, when the executor of John Gray's will, Alexander Gray, of Alexander Gray & Co., St. Jean Baptiste Street, Montreal, directed his attentions to readers of the Hull press, he was appealing, as potential vendor of lands, not to penniless labourers, but to those who could at least pay "a very small part only of the Purchase Money ... [with] the remainder payable in five, ten or fifteen Years, with Interest". The lands offered for sale, mainly bordering on the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers, were considerable, totalling 20,560 acres in eleven townships of Lower Canada,

¹. Francis Jackson (March Street, York, U.C.) to Editor of Hull Beecham, 27 Feb. 1832 (printed in Hull Beecham, 14 Apr. 1832). Jackson arrived at York, 26th August 1830. Jackson also refers to one Thomas Petch, who, with a large family, was parish-assisted to emigrate from Preston (probably Preston-in-Holderness, Lan. N. of Hedon) in the spring of 1831: Petch had told him that "he had procured last summer [1831] as much provision as would serve him nearly through the winter [1831-32], and that he never was so comfortable with his family in his life".
and 15,150 acres in sixteen townships of Upper Canada. Acreses available within individual townships varied widely from 10,800 in Durham, L.C., to just 100 in West Hawkesbury, U.C. Also particularly tempting to the Yorkshireman with some capital behind him was "A FARM, containing 500 Acres of Land, with House, Stables, Sheds, Barns, also Orchards, well stocked with Fruit Trees", as were two smaller farms of 90 and 70 acres, and the "House and Garden" of 30 acres, "late the Residence of Mr. Gray", himself. 1

Francis Jackson was by no means alone in broadcasting the advantages of investment in the developing lands of Canada. A contemporary of Jackson, the already-noted Aaron Barker, carrier, from Roose-in-Holderness, who emigrated in 1831, and by 1834 was established in Vaughan Township, U.C., opined "that America is extremely advantageous for any one to emigrate to who has a little money with which to speculate in land, as, from the increasing numbers of the population, it will, in a few years, be worth twenty times the value it is at present". Barker himself, had transferred about £120 from England, part, at least, in sovereigns, and with the sum had taken a 100-acre farm, half-cleared, on a ten-year lease; and whilst "his money...is all gone, in consequence of stocking his farm,...that affords him no uneasiness, as he has a good prospect, and is much more contented than he was in England". 2

1. Hull Advertiser, 30 Mar. 1832. All the farms were within three miles of Montreal.

But what of those in Canada who were not as "contented" as Barker and Petch, or as "well satisfied" as Jackson, especially those who were sick and unemployed? Certainly, the question did not escape the thoughts of some Yorkshiremen, when they considered the multitudes who had embarked at Hull, many in great naivety and with only the haziest notions of their future life across the Atlantic. This was the very question raised by A.C. Baker, of Easton, in the East Riding, when he wrote to Lord Goderich at the Colonial Office requesting information about the provisions existing in the colonies for the care of the sick and destitute; and if, in failing to find employment, would the poor emigrant be "placed upon the government works". The official reply was two-fold. The sick, destitute and orphans would be dependent on charitable institutions in the colonies, but no relief would be allowed to adults who were infirm or disabled prior to their leaving England. In the case of public works, the Governors of the North American colonies had been directed to find employment for the out-of-work, though the type of work would naturally depend on the individual colony, the location of the emigrant and the time of year. Unemployment, however, except of a very

1. Easton: situated 12 m. N. of Bridlington.

2. "The construction of a great road" in New Brunswick was cited, "on which emigrants will be offered employment upon very advantageous terms". Measures for the unemployed were confirmed by a hand-bill of A.C. Buchanan, an extract of which appeared in Quebec Mercury, 16 May 1833, and was quoted by Hull Rockingham, 22 Jun. 1833: "All emigrants who reach York (Upper Canada), and may require it, will be employed by the government."
temporary nature, was most unlikely to occur in a rapidly developing country. Francis Jackson was less prosaic on the subject: "We have two great men dwelling in this country", he wrote from Canada, "whose names are Mr. Consolation and Mr. Humanity, and when emigrants arrive here, Mr. Consolation meets them, and says, friends, be of good cheer, only work, and you shall eat; and if any be pining through want or sickness, Mr. Humanity relieves them, providing they make their case known to him."  

The year 1833 saw a slight overall reduction in the total number of Hull sailings for North American ports, twenty-six, as compared with thirty in 1832, including three fewer for Quebec, and one fewer for the United States: the three sailings for the Maritimes were the same as in the previous year. However, although thirteen ships left the Humber for Quebec in 1833, only 655 passengers were carried to that port.

1. Baker to Ld. Goderich, 12 Apr. 1832; Elliott to Baker, 23 Apr. 1832 (Hull Rockingham, 5 May 1832). The same reply in article-form is printed in Hull Advertiser, 11 May 1832.

2. Hull Rockingham, 14 Apr. 1832.

about one-half the total (1,288) recorded for 1832.

Even so, the number conveyed from Hull surpassed all other ports in England, Scotland and Wales, with the exception of Greenock (1,458) and London (1,287).\(^1\)

Despite assurances that "the emigration of the past season [1832] had been eminently successful in every point of view in which it is to be desired...notwithstanding the visitation of the fatal disease, which was so prevalent in Canada during the summer...", the ravages of cholera probably played their part in discouraging the faint-hearted and in reducing the total numbers emigrating to Quebec in 1833.\(^2\) Smaller numbers embarking at Hull for the St. Lawrence were paralleled by smaller totals at other ports in the United Kingdom.\(^3\)

Nevertheless, the emigration season passed briskly enough, all thirteen Quebec-bound vessels leaving the Humber between the beginning of April and late June. The first


3. Helen I. Cowan, pp. 291-93 (Table IV). Emigrants to Quebec in 1832 and 1833 totalled, from ports in England and Wales, 17,481 and 5,198; from ports in Scotland, 5,500 and 4,196; and from ports in Ireland, 28,204 and 12,013.
departures, the Meteor (400 tons Reg.; Geo. Watson, Master), Aurora (Capt. Chalmers), and the newcomer, Cressinus (208 tons Reg.; Capt. Henry Stalker), reached Quebec on the 28th May, early June and the 10th June, respectively.¹ One emigrant, a farmer from Whitby named Thomas Hardy, had arrived in Hull to sail on the Meteor. Instead of his wife and family, who had remained in Whitby, Hardy was accompanied by a Miss Harrison, whose rash withdrawals from the local Savings Bank were now in his possession. Although passing for men and wife in Hull, their plans to embark were foiled by friends of the young woman, who, with the assistance of the Chief Constable and Magistrates, "rescued the foolish girl from her perambul". Hardy apparently proceeded to Canada, whilst the girl, "under proper protection", returned to Whitby.² A further four vessels left Hull before the end of April. The Westmorland sailed about the 10th or 11th of the month, passed through the Pentland Firth on the 13th, and reached Quebec safely.³


2. Hull Packet, 6 Apr. 1833. Hardy’s decision to sail from Hull rather than Whitby was perhaps partly influenced by the lack of conveyance offered by the latter (only 46 passengers left Whitby for Quebec in 1833; Helen L. Cowan, p. 291); and partly, by the greater likelihood of his escaping detection.

A few days later, the 284-ton brig, William (Capt. Chas. Jordan), and the far larger, 700-ton Amazon (John Brodrick, jnr.), sailed out of the Junction Dock, the latter destined to reach Quebec on the 1st June with her own passengers augmented by those - sixty in number - saved from the Lady of the Lake. The Foster (Capt. Callender) also sailed about mid-April.

The April sailings were succeeded by three, probably four more in May. In the first ten days of the month, the St. Mary (Barrick Gill), an annual sailer between 1830 and 1836, and the Ross (600 tons burth; Capt. Thos. Bell), on her only recorded trip, weighed anchor. The St. Mary's schedule, however, was interrupted by sea-damage, including loss of her bulwarks, in the Atlantic, which occasioned a return to Stromness for repairs, whence she deported on the 5th June, reaching Quebec on the 2nd August. In the second half of the month sailed the Victory (Simpson), which arrived in the St. Lawrence on the 30th June, and at her destination shortly afterwards, with her "passengers, all well": the Triton (Keighley) also probably left the Old Dock about the same time.


2. Hull Advertiser, 5, 12 Apr., 12 Jul., 20 Sep., 1833; Hull Rockingham, 14 Sep., 1833. During the Foster's return passage from Quebec, on the 26th August, Capt. Callender was unfortunately washed overboard and drowned.

with a similar arrival-date in Quebec. Among the many who left Yorkshire for North America during the six weeks of April and early May was "a great number of persons of different occupations, some possessing considerable property and others with little or nothing but their brains and muscular strength", from the Malton area, their chief destinations being Little York, U.S., and Utica, N.Y.; and others were preparing to follow them. The last two ships of the season for the St. Lawrence, leaving the Junction and Old Docks about the middle of June, were the Waterloo (600 tons burth.; Wm. Frost) and Harmony (700 tons burth.; Wm. Frost), both arriving safely, the latter on the 15th August.

Those passengers wishing to direct their emigration to the Maritimes were able to consider three sailings from Hull in the spring of 1833. John Hollingworth, of Bowlesley Lane, William Ward, of 6, North Walls, and John Brodrick of 21, High Street, each offered one vessel. The Ann (279 tons Reg.; Capt. Dale Brown) sailed for Halifax, N.S., probably in mid-March, the Henry Grattan (Wm. Brown), a barque of 448 tons, in late March, for


2. Hull Advertiser, 10 May 1833.

Saint John, N.B.; and a regular sailor for North America, the Lord Mulgrave (600 tons burth.; Capt. William Cordingley) left for Miramichi, N.B., with passengers for Prince Edward Island, on or about the 11th April. The last-named barque, which reached Miramichi on the 20th May after a 40-day passage, was the first arrival of a Hull vessel in North America that season. An early crossing, however, was fraught with greater dangers: apart from the tail-end of heavy winter storms and the problem of fogs on the Newfoundland Banks, the earlier the passage, the greater the likelihood of icebergs. The crew and passengers of the Lord Mulgrave experienced just such an encounter, more with wonderment than apparent apprehension. Near the Banks, the attention of Capt. Cordingley

"was arrested by a close view of a circular piece [of] solid ice, the circumference of which was not less than a mile, and its height above water not less than 30 feet. The piece thus described formed merely the pedestal of two lofty columns, which rose out of it, each to the height of about 120 feet. In sailing past this strange edifice, it assumed a variety of interesting appearances".

Of the ten sailings from Hull to the United States in 1833, only that of the Maids (Capt. Joseph Packett) was not advertised by John Hollingworth. Moreover, on at least five out of the ten occasions - with one exception, all consecutive between late March and early September - the conveyance of passengers was specifically noted; and this does not exclude the possibility of smaller numbers carried on other sailings. The Freak (Capt. James Bouch), which had sailed at least once, often twice, in every year, and ten times in all for New York since 1827, sailed twice yet again in 1833, at the end of February and in mid-July, the second voyage ending on the 30th August. Towards the end of March,

1. The Maids was advertised by Holderness and Chilton, Exchange Buildings, Hull, the Sir Edward Hamilton by "Thomas Ward/John Hollingworth, Bowlalley Lane".

2. Hull Packet, 11 Jan. to 15 Feb., 1 Mar., 24 May to 5, 19 Jul., 27 Sep. 1833. This was the last noted or advertised time the Freak departed for New York. In probably late-1834, the Freak sailed for the Far East; for, on the 3rd August, 1835, Capt. Bouch died at Manila in the Philippines, and on the 12th September, the Freak, now under one Smout, sailed from Canton for Liverpool (Hull Advertiser, 29 Jan., 26 Feb. 1836).
the *Wolfe* (Capt. John Good), and in mid-April, the *Brothers*
and *Maide* set out for New York, all noted as carrying
passengers. The *Wolfe*, encountered on the 9th May, in
lat. 43°, long. 55°, reached her destination on the 20th of
that month; and the *Brothers* and *Maide* arrived on the 4th
and 8th June.\(^1\) The *Sir Edward Hamilton*, another regular
sailer to New York in the 1830's, left with passengers
towards the end of May, passed through the Pentland Firth on
the 1st June, and reached New York on the 11th July, with
the loss, by drowning from the ship in port, of one passenger
(or crew-member) on the 16th, 22-year old Benjamin Jewett,
late of Barton-on-Humber.\(^2\) Four more departures, all
apparently speculative, remained for the United States in
1833 - for New York, the *Symmetry* (293 tons Reg.*;
Capt. W.G. Riley) at the beginning of September, the *Jabez*
(224 tons Reg.; Geo. Tindall) in late October, and *Samuel*
*Cunard* (303 tons Reg.; James E. Deane) in early December;
and for Charleston, S.C., the brig *Jane* (165 tons; John Young)
in the second week of November. Only the *Symmetry* definitely
conveyed passengers, who reached port on the 23rd or
24th October, after a stormy transatlantic passage
of fifty-three days.\(^3\)


Although the total number of sailings from Hull to North American ports in 1834 showed yet again a slight decrease on that of the previous year — from twenty-six to twenty-four, and represented by two fewer departures for the United States — Hull vessels returned a successful year in terms of passengers carried. Indeed, whilst the number of sailings for Quebec remained the same at thirteen, passengers arriving at that port from the Number increased by nearly eighty per cent over those of 1833, when 655 were carried. In fact, the figure of 1,171 passengers was the highest for any port in England, Scotland and Wales in 1834, fell barely short of the 1832 total of 1,288, and exceeded the combined totals of the four years, 1836–39. Moreover, during three years, 1834–36, an

1. For Quebec: Amazon, John, Aurora, Westmoreland (twice), Triton, Scarborough Castle, Harmony, St. Mary, Foster, Victory, British Queen, Christian(s); for Saint John, N.B.: Zephyr, Campion, Isabella; and for New York: Chilton, Helga (twice), Sir Edward Hamilton, Haida, Emma, Envoy, Havre.

2. Helen I. Cowan, pp.291–92 (Table IV). The nearest rivals to Hull in 1834 — apart from Ireland — were the ports of Greenock (1,140), Liverpool (1,060) and London (1,051).
average of 699 emigrants annually reached Quebec from Hull; and a yearly average of 979 emigrants set out from Hull for all destinations during the same period. A comparison here with Liverpool is interesting, the corresponding averages for the latter port during the same three years being 1,732 and 21,815; and although the average figure of Liverpool's exodus for Quebec are somewhat exaggerated by the leap to 3,748 in 1836, two points become increasingly clear. Liverpool's emigrant interest chiefly lay in destinations other than Quebec, primarily New York, but from 1836 onwards, Liverpool also outstripped Hull in every year in emigrant totals for the St. Lawrence. 1

The 1834 emigration season began with three vessels leaving Hull for Quebec on the 2nd April. The Amazon, owned by John Brodrick, and captained by his son of the same name, reached Quebec safely with her complement of passengers on the 12th May. The Aurora (Capt. Chambers), also John Brodrick's, reached her destination with passengers eight days later.

1. R.W. Rawson, "Emigration from the United Kingdom" (Abstract of Official Reports, 1838), Journal of the Statistical Society of London, I (July 1838), 159. In "A Return of the Annual Number of Emigrants, on an Average of Three Years, from 1834 to 1836, from the Principal Ports of the United Kingdom...", Hull's total of 979 ranked fourth of the English ports behind Liverpool (21,815), London (8,836), and Yarmouth (1,237). Bristol and Plymouth followed with 374 and 347. Liverpool, London and Bristol are noted as "Ports at which are appointed Agents for Emigration"; and although Hull is not included in this list, there is anecdotal reference (Hull Rockingham, 30 May 1835) to "The gentleman who acts as agent in this town [Hull] for emigration".
Interposed between the two was the John (900 tons berth.; Henry Cammell), which passed through the Pentland Firth on the 8th April and arrived at Quebec on the 15th May. These vessels were closely followed by three more.

The Westmorland (420 tons; Thomas Knill), a regular sailer to the St. Lawrence in every year from 1829 to 1836, left on the 10th April, and the newcomer, Scarborough Castle (Capt. James Mosey), a brig of 224 tons, about the same date. Both vessels, advertised by Holderness and Chilton, Exchange Buildings, offered certain advantages to those emigrants possessing some capital:

"Emigrants going in this Ship (or any Ship taken on by the same Agents) can deposit their money before leaving England, without the slightest risk, and receive it in Quebec, Montreal, York [Toronto], or any principal Town in Canada, at the Current Rate of Exchange, on demand, and free of any charge; and Sums of £50 and upwards, will bear Interest at 4 per Cent, per Annum, from the time the payment is made in England, till called for in Canada".

The John also sailed from Hull, unadvertised, in the first week of August; on the second occasion, there is no note of passengers.
 Whilst the passengers sailing by the Westmoreland crossed apparently without incident, any of these, "only four, or five in number", aboard the Scarborough Castle who had deposited money in this way, were fortunate to be able to claim its return in Canada, for the brig, Quebec—and Montreal-bound with a general cargo, 

foundered on the 30th April in long. 41° W. 1°. The 

Triton (450 tons burth.; Robt. Keighley, Jnr.), another regular annual sailer between 1827 and 1836, and advertised by Robert Keighley, "opposite the Old Custom-House, High Street", sailed from Hull, also on the 10th April, and reached the Grosse Island quarantine station on the 21st May with a clean bill of health, proceeding to Quebec by the 27th. 2°. Perhaps the greatest number of passengers to embark in any single ship in 1834 was that emigrating by the Harmony (430 tons Reg.; William Brown) which sailed on the 21st April and arrived at Quebec on the 9th or 10th June.

The day prior to departure, a Sunday, the Rev. J. Sibree, of Hull, preached on the Harmony, "to an attentive congregation of about 260 persons, the greater part of whom were passengers". 3°. The St. Mary (Berrick Gill),

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1. Hull Packet, 14 Feb., 21, 28 Feb., 11 Apr., 22 Aug., 1834; 
Hull Advertiser, 18 Apr., 27 Jun., 1834. The crew and passengers of the Scarborough Castle were saved and forwarded to Quebec. The Westmoreland also sailed from Hull, unadvertised, in mid-August.


advertised by Robert and John Gill, of Exchange Alley, Lowgate, sailed almost concurrently with the Harmony, reaching Quebec with her passengers in good health on the 9th June. 1.

After the normal spate of April sailings for Quebec, two more occurred in May - both advertised by John Brodrick and certainly conveying passengers - and one each in the months of June and July. The Foster (500 tons burth.; John Bibbing, Master) left the Junction Dock on the 7th May and reached Quebec on the 9th June. 2.
The Victory (700 tons burth.; Capt. Simpson), which sailed from the Old Dock, near Lowgate End, in the third week of May, arrived off the Orkneys on the 25th, and thereafter was sighted twice on her voyage, once, near the Newfoundland Banks on the 12th June, and again, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the 27th by the Hull-bound Westmoreland, before arriving at Quebec on the 9th July. 3.
The two minor Hull sailings of June and July were those of the British Queen (500 tons burth.; James Miller), advertised by Robert Garbutt, No. 6 North Dock Walls, and reaching Quebec on the 4th August; and the Scarborough vessel Christian(i)e (320/450 tons; Capt. A. Wilkie), sighted off Cap Chat in the St. Lawrence on the 29th September. 4.

As in the two previous years, three vessels sailed for the Maritimes, all, in 1834, destined for Saint John, N.B., but none specifically noted as providing emigrant berths. The Zephyr (Dale Brown) sailed in mid-March, and probably again at the beginning of August, the Cannion (300 tons; Thomas Brewer) on the 1st April, and the Isabella (Capt. John Pashby, or Pashley) in early September, arriving the 5th November. 1

Hull ship-owners and agents felt somewhat less need to direct vessels to New York in 1834 than in the previous year. Nevertheless, John Hollingworth was again prominent in planning five of the eight sailings to that port. 2 The first sailing of the season for the United States, the 280-ton barque Chilton (John Wildridge), left Hull on the 15th February, and reached New York safely, before making her way on to Quebec. 3 The second barque, the Welge (John Good), departed on the


2. Holderness and Chilton advertised two, and William Ward, of

15th March and arrived at New York on the 20th April. 1 Two vessels followed in the first half of April from the Humber and Junction Docks: the Sir Edward Hamilton (Robert Lundy) conveyed her cargo of goods and passengers to New York by the 16th May, the Haide (Capt. Josh. Peckett, or Peckit or Peckitt) by the 31st of the same month, before re-sailing for Saint John, N.B., on the 12th June. 2

About the 22nd May, the "remarkably fastailer, new Coppered" Emma (500 tons burth. J. Ransom), advertised by Holderness and Chilton, left the Humber Dock, passed through the Pentland Firth on the 25th, was sighted in lat. 41°, long. 58°, and reached New York, with her "passengers, all well", on the 8th July. 3

It seems certain that most captains, whether en route for the St. Lawrence or New York, preferred to take the northern route from Hull through the Pentland Firth, despite its attendant danger of strong tides, races and eddies, rather than the southern route through the English Channel. The Wolga's second voyage of 1834:


3. Hull Packet, 18 Apr. to 9, 23 May 1834; Hull Advertiser, 6, 13 Jun., 8 Aug., 1834.
however, illustrated how adverse winds could place the captain in a quandary as to which route he should take at the beginning of his transatlantic crossing. Wrote one passenger aboard the *Wolga* (Capt. Good) from Stromness, 5th September:

"we left the Humber on the 22nd ult. [August], with a fair wind, which continued until the 24th, when we were the length of Peterhead, and the Capt, not choosing to contend with a contrary wind, about ship and run to the southward; when the length of Cromer,\(^1\) the wind again became contrary for our proceeding southward, and we stood to the northward again. We arrived safe here on the 3rd inst., all well, and proceed for the Atlantic this morning with a fair wind".

The *Wolga* finally reached New York on the 13th October, after a passage of 51 days, her passengers in good health, and a considerable quantity of livestock in excellent condition.\(^2\)

1. Cromer, Norfolk.

2. Hull Packet, 18 Jul to 8, 22, 29 Aug. 1834; Hull Advertiser, 22 Aug., 19 Sep., 14 Nov. 1834; Hull Buckingham, 8 Nov. 1834. A Mr. Weddle, perhaps the writer of the letter, and family, are identified as passengers on the *Wolga*. 
The last two vessels of the year were also sent out by John Hollingworth, but in neither case is there specific mention of passengers for New York. The American Envoy (264 tons Reg.; E. Dunn) left Hull on the 4th November, arriving the 19th December, the Havre (291 tons Reg.; E. Hunt) on the 6th December, arriving the 27th January, 1835.1

Figures of emigrant arrivals at Quebec in 1835 recorded a sharp fall on those of 1834: total arrivals from English and Welsh ports fell from 6,799 to 3,067, from Scottish ports, from 4,591 to 2,127, and even from Irish ports, from 19,208 to 7,108. Of all the ports in the British Isles which had participated in the St. Lawrence emigrant trade in both years, only Portsmouth and Bristol sent out more emigrants to that destination in 1835 than in the previous year, and their totals were in any case small.2 Following the general pattern, the 462 arrivals at Quebec from Hull in 1835 showed a sharp decrease from the 1,171 of 1834. And yet, this figure of 462 was only exceeded, among English and Welsh ports, by the 762 of London, and, among Scottish ports, by the 597 of

2. Figures for Portsmouth in 1834 and 1835 were 163 and 247, for Bristol, 64 and 129.

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Greenock and the 545 of Aberdeen. 1.

The much-reduced total of emigrants sailing from Hull to Quebec in 1835, a decrease of 61 per cent on the previous year, was paralleled by only nine vessels sailing from the Humber to the St. Lawrence. A similar situation prevailed in the case of vessels destined for the Maritimes and the United States, the former receiving two, and the latter only four, from Hull. 2 Out of all fifteen vessels bound for North America, only two were definitely noted as conveying passengers, the Victory, for Quebec, and the Sir Edward Hamilton, for New York. It is most unlikely, however, that, unless the owner and master of the Victory were grossly contravening the regulations of the Act of 1828, all 462 passengers for Quebec were carried by this one ship: what is more likely, though not stated, was the spread of the aggregate over a number of ships. 3

1. Helen I. Cowan, pp. 291-93 (Table IV), Quebec arrivals from Liverpool in 1835 totalled 388.

2. For Quebec: Westmorland, Kirkella, Brunswick, Triton ("Montreal, direct"), Foster, St. Mary, Harmony, Amazon, Victory; for Saint John, N.B.: Civilian, Isabella; and for New York: Tuscany, Volga, Sir Edward Hamilton, Minstrel.

3. John Brodrick's first advertisement for the Victory (Hull Advertiser, 9 May 1828) stated the ship's (registered tonnage to be 420 (later re-phrased as 600 or 700 tons burthen). Taking the relevant figure of 420 tons, and assuming a crew of 20, the Victory, by the Act of 1828 (9 Geo IV, 21 May 23), was allowed to carry a maximum of about 295 adult passengers to Quebec.
Despite sparser reference to ship-sailings in the Hull press, it is almost certain that no fewer than seven of the nine 1835 departures for Quebec occurred during the most popular month of April.\(^1\)

The Westmoreland (Capt. Thomas Knill) and Kirkella (406 tons Reg.; Capt. R.W. Humphreys) left in the first few days of the month;\(^2\) and these were soon followed on the 10th April from the Junction Dock by the Brunswick (357 tons Reg.; Geo. Smith), arriving Quebec the 28th May, and by the barque Triton (Robert Keighley, Jnr.), arriving Montreal the 17th June.\(^3\) Towards the end of the month sailed the Foster - later cleared from Quebec on the 11th July - the St. Mary, which left on the 27th and reached Quebec on the 19th June, and the Harmony.\(^4\)

The last two voyages to Quebec in 1835 were those of the Amazon and Victory from the Old Dock: the former set out on the 1st May, was sighted in lat.\(^5\)47°, long.\(^6\)59°30'.

1. The seven sailings include the Triton's for Montreal, direct.

2. Hull Packet, 27 Feb., 3, 10 Apr., 1835. The sailing of the Westmoreland was not advertised: a number of vessels in 1835, for example, the Kirkella, were advertised only once.


and arrived on the 22nd June, whilst the Victory left with passengers in the third week of May, passed through the Pentland Firth on the 28th, was sighted in the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the 4th July, and reached Quebec on the 15th July.¹ The Civilian (Capt. R. Lawson), a brig of 347 tons, sailed for Saint John, N.B., in March, as did the Isabella.² Only four vessels sailed for the United States from Hull in 1835, all New York-bound; and one was noted as carrying passengers. The Tuscany (257 tons Reg.; Cushing Prince, Master), a copperred brig, sailed in mid-March and arrived the 5th May.³ The Wolda left in early April.⁴ The Sir Edward Hamilton was originally advertised to sail on the 8th May, but a "long succession of contrary winds[had] unexpectedly delayed the arrival of this ship", and, despite an amended date of the 8th June, passengers


² Hull Packet, 6, 20 Mar. 1835; Hull Advertiser, 22 May 1835. The sailing of the Isabella was not advertised.


⁴ Ibid., 6, 13, 20 Feb., 6, 13, 27 Mar., 10 Apr. 1835.
were unable to begin their voyage until the 16th.
The ship sailed through the Pentland Firth on the 23rd, was sighted on the 12th July in lat. 48°, long. 43°, and on the 20th in lat. 49°, long. 54°, before arriving at New York on the 3rd August. 1
Lastly, the Minstrel (356 tons Reg.; Capt. William Jenkinson) sailed for New York on the 15th September, arriving the 27th October, after a voyage of forty-two days. 2

In three respects, 1836 was a repeat of the previous year. As in 1835, the port of Hull effected fifteen sailings for North American ports, including the same figure of nine for Quebec. 3 Moreover, the number of arrivals at Quebec from Hull were almost identical in the two years — 462 in 1835 and 465 in 1836.

1. Hull Packet. 3 Apr. to 5, 19 Jun., 1835; 
   Hull Advertiser. 19 Jun., 3 Jul., 21, 28 
   Aug., 1835.


3. For Quebec: Ellen Rumney, Westmorland, Ellergill, 
   Elizabeth Holderness, Triton, Rolla, Amazon, St. Mary, 
   Victory; for Saint John, N.B.: Regent (twice); 
   for Richibucto, N.B.: Loyal Briton; and for 
   The Chilton was also advertised for Miramichi, N.B. 
   (Hull Packet, 19 Feb., 1836), but apparently did not 
   sail. The three sailings for New York was the lowest 
   figure since the two of 1827.
This situation was not, however, repeated in the overall picture of emigration to Quebec from ports in other parts of the United Kingdom, substantial increases being recorded in emigrant numbers from English (3,067 to 12,188) and Irish (7,108 to 12,596) ports to the St. Lawrence, although numbers from Scottish ports (2,127 to 2,224) remained essentially the same. Consequently, whereas the 462 emigrants arriving at Quebec from Hull in 1835 had gained for the Humber port a position that year second only to London, and, inclusive of Scottish ports, fourth place after Greenock and Aberdeen, the 465 emigrants of 1836 ranked only ninth behind Liverpool (3,748), Yarmouth (3,025), London (1,666), Lynn (810), Portsmouth (778), Aberdeen (696), Cromarty (545) and Greenock (519).  

The 1836 season commenced with the departure on the 8th April of a newcomer to the Quebec route, the 385-ton Llan Rumney, commanded by Capt. T. Simpson.

1. Helen I. Cowan, pp.291-93 (Table IV). Numbers emigrating by Yarmouth and Lynn in 1836 were exceptional, and indicative of high emigration from the rural hinterlands of East Anglia and the Fens.
late of the **Victory**. Somewhat unusually, the vessel sailed southwards from the Number, reached Deal on the 13th April, was sighted on the 3rd May in lat. 46°, long. 36°, and arrived safely at Quebec on the 25th.

The Westmoreland (Thos. Knill) sailed for Quebec on the 11th April, arriving on the 30th May; and the barque Ellergill left on the 12th April, arriving the 5th June. Another newcomer, the Elizabeth Holderness (Capt. Geo. Bruce, jnr.), advertised by Holderness and Chilton, had an eventful voyage to Quebec, and perhaps Montreal. Leaving Hull on the 14th April, the vessel was struck by a heavy sea in long. 26° 30' W., which washed away her bulwarks and produced serious leaking, causing the crew to throw overboard a hundred tons of wheat to lighten

1. Capt. Simpson's command of the Victory was taken over by Capt. Josh. Peckitt, late of the Maid's, regularly noted on the New York run. The Maid does not appear to have sailed for New York in the years, 1835-36, but sailed to Quebec for the first time in 1837 under Wm. Willis. The Maid returned to the New York route in 1838, and although first advertised under Willis's captaincy, sailed under one Capt. Nicholson.


3. Hull Packet, 19 Feb., 18 Mar. 1836; Hull Advertiser, 15 Apr., 1, 15, 22 Jul. 1836. Thomas Charles Jenkinson, the 36-year old mate of the Ellergill, was drowned on the voyage to Quebec when he fell from the mast on the 6th May.
her. When sighted on the 14th May, in lat. 56°, long. 19°, the leaking, disabled vessel was making for the Orkneys, where she unloaded the rest of her damaged cargo, to "be hauled on Mr. Davidson's patent slip, at Stromness", on the 20th May, for repairs. The *Elizabeth Holderness* finally reached Quebec on the 4th September.  

1. *Holderness* and Chilton were more fortunate with the *Triton* (Capt. R. Neighley), which sailed from the Junction Dock on the 18th April, was in the St. Lawrence by the 14th June, and arrived at Montreal on the 3rd July.  

2. Three more vessels were yet to sail in April. The *Bolle* (451 tons burth.; Capt. William Blyth), first advertised in 1836 by John Blyth (Brunswick House, 31 Whitefriargate), was the only vessel for Quebec that year to specify a human cargo in so far as "All passengers..."were reminded to "be on board on Monday Morning, the 18th[April], to muster".  

In the event,

   *Hull Advertiser*, 15 Apr., 27 May, 3 Jun. 1836.  

   *Hull Advertiser*, 1, 22 Apr. 1836.  

3. Although the *Bolle* was the only vessel noted as actually conveying passengers to Quebec in 1836, the 465 arrivals from Hull could not have been carried by this ship alone, and probably at least two or more carried a complement of emigrants.
the **Rolla** sailed from the Junction Dock on the 20th April, was sighted on the 21st May in lat. 49°, long. 49°, and reached Quebec on the 5th June.¹ The **Amazon** also sailed for Quebec on the 20th April, arriving there on the 30th May; and three days later, the **St. Mary** sailed, reaching Quebec on the 13th or 14th June.² The last vessel of the season for the St. Lawrence was the **Victory**, which sailed from Hull on the 26th May, arriving the 19th July.³

Only three sailings for the Maritimes occurred in 1836, and in no case is there specific mention of emigrant conveyance. The **Recess (Capt. O. Stephenson)** sailed for Saint John, N.B., on the 15th March, and again in mid-August; and the **Loyal Briton (Capt. Watson)** left on the 4th April, arriving at Richibucto before the 6th June.⁴

³ **Hull Packet**, 11 Mar., 8 Apr., 6 May, 3 Jun. 1836; **Hull Advertiser**, 27 May, 26 Aug., 7 Oct. 1836. At the beginning of October, "the **Victory**, Capt. Peckitt, on her arrival from Quebec, ran foul of the West Pier of the North Dock Basin, with a tremendous crash, broke one of the piles and four cross timbers, and tore up several of the planks on the roof. The vessel escaped uninjured".
Similarly, New York was the destination of only three Hull vessels in 1836, but, on at least two occasions, passengers were carried. The Sir Edward Hamilton passed through the Pentland Firth on the 14th April after leaving the Humber Dock on the 6th, and reached New York on the 29th May, with her passengers "all well". Also carrying a human cargo, the Minstrel (Wm. Jenkinson) sailed for New York on the 12th May, reaching her destination after a 37-day crossing on the 20th June. Lastly, the Wolfe departed on the 26th August.

For the third successive year, fifteen North American sailings took place from Hull in 1837: and yet, sailings for Quebec fell from nine to seven, and to New Brunswick, from three to two. Sailings for New York, however, doubled to six. The reduced number of sailings

1. Hull Packet, 12, 19, 26 Feb., 11, 18 Mar., 8 Apr. 1836; Hull Advertiser, 8, 22 Apr., 1 Jul. 1836.
4. For Quebec: Lilian Runray, Halcyon, Maida, Andrew Marvel, Queen, Amazon, Victory; for Saint John, N.B.: Sovereign, Mary; and for New York: Wolfe, Minstrel, Cumbrian, Eliza, Westmoreland, Hannibal. The Rolla was also advertised for Quebec (Hull Advertiser, 3 Mar. 1837), as was the barque Asia (328 tons; Capt. Philip Wood) for New York (Hull Packet, 19 May 1837); but neither apparently sailed.
from Hull to Quebec in 1837, compared with the previous year, was reflected in the drop from 465 to 367 in emigrant arrivals from the Humber. There was, however, a significant fall in the overall total of emigrant arrivals at Quebec from both English and Scottish ports — from 12,188 to 5,580 and 2,224 to 1,509; and the 367 from Hull ranked sixth in those ports — after Liverpool (2,747), London (987), Greenock (698), Yarmouth (617) and Plymouth (403) — a promotion of three places over 1836.

As in the previous year, the first vessel out of Hull for Quebec in 1837 was the **Llan Ruane** (Capt. T. Simpson), which left the Old Dock on the 5th April, was sighted in the St. Lawrence River on the 23rd May, and reached her destination the same day. The **Halcyon** (358 tons; Capt. William Shepherd) followed suit in the second week of April, arriving at Quebec on the 1st June. Two vessels

1. Helen I. Cowan, pp.291-92 (Table 1V); R.W. Rawson, "Emigration from the United Kingdom" (Abstract of Official Reports, 1838); Journal of the Statistical Society of London, I (Jul. 1838), 164. The emigrant totals for 1837, noted by Cowan and Rawson, for (a) principal ports, and (b) England, Scotland and Ireland, are identical, except in one instance. Cowan (p.291) tables the number of arrivals at Quebec from Lynn as 1,546, Rawson, as 156. The latter is taken as accurate in order to produce the correct aggregate of 5,580 arrivals from all English ports. Hull's ranking consequently stands at sixth, not seventh.


sailed from Hull on the 16th April, the Maida and Andrew Marvel. The Maida (Capt. W. Willis), last noted New York-bound in 1834, was advertised by G. and J. Eglington and Sons, No. 8 North Walls, as "having received extensive repairs...Six Feet high in her betwixt Decks", and was one of only two sailing for the St. Lawrence in 1837 definitely recorded as conveying passengers. The Andrew Marvel (379 tons Reg.; Capt. Matthew Wright), advertised by Holderness and Chilton, arrived on the 7th June, the Maida, six days later.¹ The last two vessels sailing in April were the Queen (422 tons Reg.; Capt. Thomas Hawkins) on the 20th, and the Amazon on the 28th, both reaching Quebec on the 10th June.²

Of the 367 arrivals at Quebec from Hull in 1837, over one-third left the Humber after the end of April aboard the Victory (Capt. Peckitt), which drew out of the Old Dock on the 27th May with its complement of 129, passed through the Pentland Firth on the 30th, and reached its St. Lawrence terminal on the 30th June.³

³ Hull Packet, 24 Mar., 14 Apr., to 19 May, 2, 9 Jun., 4 Aug., 1837; Hull Advertiser, 2 Jun. 1837. The remaining 238 arrivals at Quebec, not carried by the Victory, were therefore taken either entirely by the Maida, or more likely, by the Maida, and one or two of the other named vessels.
Only two sailings occurred for the Maritimes - the *Sovereign* (420 tons Reg.; Capt. John Markham) and the barque *Mary* (Capt. Jacob Brown) - both leaving on or about the 25th May, and both arriving at Saint John, N.B., on the 21st May.¹

Six vessels in all crossed from Hull to New York in 1837. The first of the year, the *Volga*, left on the 20th March, and sailed by the southern route, quitting Portsmouth on the 2nd April, and reaching New York on the 11th May.² Advertised to succeed the *Volga*, the barque *Minstral* set out on the 19th April, arriving the 9th June.³

The initial stages of Hull's development as a transit port for European emigrants to North America, especially New York, may be noted in 1837.⁴ Even at this date, two roles, acted sometimes alternatively, sometimes concurrently, are readily discernible: on the one hand, the transference of Continental passengers from packet boats plying North Sea routes to transatlantic vessels sailing direct from Hull;⁵ and, on the other,

2. *Hull Packet*, 3, 10, 24 Feb., 24 Mar., 16 Jun., 1837; *Hull Advertiser*, 24 Mar., 7 Apr., 1837. As Quebec had received 778 arrivals from Portsmouth the previous year, perhaps Capt. Good hoped to pick up some passengers there for New York in 1837.
4. This development is discussed in
5. In 1837-38, there were six sailings a week to Hamburg, run by the Hull and Humber Steam Packet Company and the St. George Steam Packet Company (*V.C.H. Yorks. E.H.* p. 221).
the forwarding of such passengers overland from Hull for embarkation at Liverpool. On 3rd May, 1837, about sixty passengers—described as "natives of Hungary, mechanics and artificers of a respectable class, with their wives and children, and one or two couples of aged persons... [taking] with them a considerable quantity of tools and personal property of value"—arrived at Hull from Hamburg on the William Darley steamship. Most of them "were domesticated on board the Cumbrian", William Ward's successor to the Minstrel. A further contingent of Hungarian mechanics who disembarked at Hull from Hamburg the following week were unfortunate in finding all berths taken on the Cumbrian, and went on by canal to Liverpool. In the event, the Cumbrian (374 tons Reg.; Capt. Robt. Dring) left port on the 19th May, and favouring the southern route, reached Falmouth on the 27th, and New York on the 17th July. A further party of fifty-nine German artisans and their families arrived by the Lee steamer 1. The second rôle later became by far the more prominent, especially from July 1840 onwards with the extension of the Leeds-Selby railway line, itself opened in 1834, to Hull; and with the increasingly rapid conveyance from Liverpool by transatlantic 'liner' (V.C.H. Yorks., E.R.I., pp.220,392). 2. Hull Packet, 14, 21 Apr., 26 May, 2 Jun., 1837; Hull Advertiser, 5, 12, 26 May, 11 Aug., 1837.
from Hamburg on the 3rd June; but finding themselves
too late for the Eliza (343 tons Reg.; Capt. Nicholas
Furley), scheduled to sail on the 1st June, and too
early for the barque Westmoreland (Capt. Sydney Cooke),
scheduled for the 1st July - but probably leaving early
August - they set off to embark at Liverpool, after
luggage examination at the Hull Custom House.\(^1\)
The last vessel of the year was the Hannibal (432
tons Reg.; Capt. John Roberts), which left about the
third week of July, and reached New York on the
22nd September.\(^2\)

The year 1837 proved to be one of the lowest
ebbs of emigration to Canada from the British Isles.
From all English ports, only 990 emigrants made their
way directly to Quebec, from Scottish ports, 347, and
from Irish ports, after a total for 1837 of 14,538,
a mere 1,456. Emigrant departures from individual English
ports were correspondingly small, the insignificant total
of 86 from Hull ranking fourth behind Liverpool (367).

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1. Hull Packet, 26 May, 9, 16 Jun., 1 Sep. 1837;
   Hull Advertiser, 9 Jun. 1837. The Eliza, advertised
   by Mr. Ward, "To succeed the Cambrian; this ship has a
   spacious and handsome poop, with State-Rooms for
   Private Families. The 'twixt decks are fitted with
   The Westmoreland's arrival date at New York is not noted,
   but a message, 16th August, from Freswick (village
   situated in Caithness, 12m. N. of Wick) intimated the
   vessel's safe passage through the Pentland Firth.
   (Ibid., 25 Aug. 1837).

   Hull Advertiser, 20 Oct. 1837.
Moreover, the nine North American sailings from Hull proved the lowest since the seven of 1826, and the four for Quebec, the lowest since the two of 1815: only four sailings occurred for New York and one for the Maritimes. The basic reason for few emigrant arrivals at Quebec in 1838 was to be found in the rebellions of the previous year, undertaken by the discontented elements, French and British, in the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada. Certainly, this was the view expressed in Hull: "the disturbances in this colony have materially affected emigration, ..."

1. Helen I. Cowan, pp.291-93 (Table IV).

2. For Quebec: Llan Rumney, Andrew Marvel, Everetta, Victory; for Saint John, N.B.: Man(s)field; for New York: Naida, Sir Edward Hamilton, Minstrel, Welga. The Sally (360 tons Reg.; Capt. Geo. McKenzie) was also advertised for New York (Hull Advertiser, 3 Aug. 1838), but apparently did not sail.

3. Ironically, a number of the dissidents had themselves perhaps originated in Yorkshire. The Hull Advertiser, 25 Jan. 1839 (citing Toronto Guardian, 12 Dec. 1838), observed that "several persons, said to be from Whitby or Pickering, in Yorkshire, have been apprehended on suspicion of treason. The names are Garner Clarke, Daniel Cornstock, Israel Dunham, Spencer, Knowles, Bentley, Woodruff, Nelson Matthews (son of P. Matthews who was executed), and W. and H. O'Brian". Although outside the scope of this thesis, the rebellions, whilst temporarily causing widespread alarm, were easily subdued. One result of the disturbances was the production of the Durham Report, laying down the general principles of the dominion self-government system.
and our quays which, in other years, were thronged
with farmers and their labourers, crowding to embark,
are now completely empty. Poverty is bad to bear", concluded the observation, "but war, probably
accompanied by poverty, is much worse".  

Three of the four vessels that did sail for Quebec
in 1838, left Hull in the first half of April, the
Llan Rumney on the 7th, arriving the 12th May, the
Andrew Marvel on the 11th, arriving on the 17th May, and
the Ezeretta on the 13th April, following the northern
route. A fourth vessel, the Victory, sailed from the
Old Dock on the 19th May. The total of 86 passengers
may have been conveyed by any one, or all of the
four vessels.

2. Hull Packet, 2 Mar., 6, 13 Apr., 4 May 1838;
Hull Advertiser, 20 Apr., 4, 25 May, 15, 22 Jun, 1838.
Minimal interest in the four sailings planned for Quebec is also indicated by the fact that only the
advertisement for the Victory appeared in more than one
issue of the Hull Packet, and that merely twice.
There is no note of the Ezeretta's arrival date at Quebec, but a message, 22nd April, from Huna
(hamlet on Pentland Firth, situated 3m. W. of Duncansby
Head) specified the vessel's safe negotiation of the
Firth. The Victory's arrival date also went unnoticed.
Only one vessel was publicised for the Maritimes. The barque Man(a)field (360 tons; Capt. T.W. Brewer), advertised by Wm. Ward, of North Walls, to sail for Saint John, with "Goods for St. Andrew's, also", left Hull on the 13th April, and reached her first destination on the 25th May, and Halifax, N.S., on the 25th June. 1

Sailings for New York from Hull were as sparse as those for Quebec. The Maid, advertised first under the command of William Willis, later Capt. Nicholson, sailed on the 17th March, and was sighted on the 31st in long. 2° 20' 5" W. 2 The Sir Edward Hamilton (Robert Lundy, Master) followed on the 10th April, reached Orkney on the 18th, but lay wind-bound, together with other vessels, until the 22nd, when she passed through the Firth to reach her destination on the 17th May. 3 Shortly afterwards, the Minstrel

3. Hull Packet, 16 Feb., 13 Apr. 1838; Hull Advertiser, 27 Apr., 4 May 1838. It may be noted that a shipping news item (ibid., 22 Jun. 1838) mentions the Sir Edward Hamilton's arrival at Quebec, not New York. This would seem to be a printer's error, for the advertisement of the vessel's 1838 sailing indicates New York; moreover, her destination was New York in every year between 1831 and 1844 (except 1837, when no transatlantic voyage was undertaken by this ship).
(Wm. Jenkinson), advertised as having "the best Accommodation for Passengers, and will be despatched with the Goods which leave Sheffield and Leeds on the 7th April", sailed on or about the 14th April, and arrived at New York on the 25th May.¹ The only vessel to confirm the conveyance of passengers from Hull to New York in 1838 was the barque Wolze which left on the 4th July, sailed through the Pentland Firth on the 14th, and reached New York on the 4th September.²

Emigration to Quebec in 1839 showed only a slight increase over that of the previous year. Out of 1,586 arrivals in the St. Lawrence from English ports, an overwhelming proportion, 1,220, or about three-quarters, sailed exceptionally from Maryport, in Cumberland, whilst 90 of the remaining 366 embarked at the second-ranking port of Hull.³ Arrivals from Scottish ports fell sharply from 847 to 485, only Greenock (239) and Aberdeen (157) forwarding relatively large numbers:

3. Only 83 passengers embarked at London.
Irish emigration, however, rose from 1,456 to 5,113, with Sligo (1,378) and Belfast (1,072) the foremost ports of emigration in 1839.\(^1\) Although Quebec passenger-arrivals from Hull in 1838 (86) and 1839 (90) were almost identical, and equally sparse, the actual number of voyages from the Humber to the St. Lawrence rose from four to seven; two vessels sailed for Saint John, N.B.; and nine set out for New York, more than double the number of the previous year. In all, the total of nine transatlantic sailings from Hull in 1838 rose to eighteen in 1839.\(^2\)

April, as usual, proved the most popular for Quebec sailings, three occurring in that month of 1839. The 379-ton barque Andrew Marvel (Henry Chambers) left the Old Dock on the 5th, passed Staxigo(e) on the night of the 10th, and entered the Pentland Firth the following day, arriving at Quebec some time prior to the 5th June, on

1. Helen I. Cowan, pp.291-93 (Table IV).

2. For Quebec: Andrew Marvel, Llan Runney (twice), Amazon, Victory, Sovereign, Providence; for Saint John, N.B.; Sovereign, Chester; and for New York: James and Thomas, Neida, Evertta, Sir Edward Hamilton, Frances Lawson, Brunswick, Ann(e), President, Washington. The Sovereign made two outward crossings in 1839, first to Saint John, then to Quebec. The Amy (Capt. Simon Graham) was also advertised for Saint John (E.C.H., 11,18 Jul.1839), as was the Flore (293 tons Reg.; Capt. Elisha Hoves) for New York (Ibid., 15, 29 Aug. 1839), but neither apparently sailed.
which date she was 'entered out' for her return to Hull.  

1. Two vessels left Hull on the 9th April: the Llan Rumney (Thomas Simpson), on the first of her two voyages to the St. Lawrence that year, presumably sailed by the Pentland Firth, whilst the Amazon (Charles Brodrick), sailing by the English Channel, was sighted off Start Point, Devon, on the 17th: both vessels were 'entered out' at Quebec on the 3rd June.

2. On the 23rd May, a fourth vessel sailed for Quebec, the Victory (Jos. Peckett), with her share of the 90 passengers, and by the 28th June had arrived off Newfoundland. No vessel left Hull in the June for Quebec, but the Sovereign (John Markham) sailed on the 25th July, negotiating the Pentland Firth on the evening of the 2nd August. The last two Quebec sailings undertaken in 1839 were those of the Providence (950 tons burthen; Capt. Gowan Wilson), which left with passengers on the 9th August, and passed through the Firth on the 14th; and the Llan Rumney, which set out on the 10th, and was sighted at Nuna and Thurso on the fifth and sixth days of her passage.


The two vessels sailing for New Brunswick were the Sovereign (John Markham) — on the first of her two American voyages of 1839 — which left Hull in early March and reached Saint John on the 4th May; and the Chester (580 tons; Capt. E. Lawson), which departed on the 16th November, and was sighted on the 24th in lat. 39°, long. 47°.

In the case of sailings to New York, the year 1839 was noteworthy in that the port of Hull once again attempted, not surprisingly without success, some semblance of competition with Liverpool on that route. The earlier firm of Widow Hollingworth & Holderness, of Exchange Buildings (Hull), which, in its North American activities, had concerned itself particularly with shipping goods and passengers on the outward voyage to the St. Lawrence, and timber on the inward, between 1817 and 1824, gave way in 1825 to John Hollingworth, of Land of Green Ginger. Whilst Hollingworth continued to send vessels to Quebec, his interests soon became increasingly centred on the New York route, and after the announcement


2. John Hollingworth advertised from Land of Green Ginger, 1825-27; from Church Lane, 1828-early 1830; from "opposite the Pilot Office, Queen Street", summer 1830-32; from No. 1 Exchange Alley (one advertisement), 1832; from Bowhall Lane, 1832-35, and, as "Hollingworth & Hadley", from the same address in 1836.
in 1827 in New York that it was intended to establish a line of packets (brigs) between that port and Hull. It is significant that for several years thence, almost all the vessels bound for New York whose names recur once, sometimes twice, a year, were advertised by John Hollingworth. Indeed, his advertisement for the Spring 1830 sailing of the Meteor was headed specifically for the first time: "NEW YORK LINE OF PACKETS". After a number of years of constant importance, however, Hollingworth's individual activities in shipping bound for New York waned sharply by 1835, and the advertisement for the sailing of the Sir Edward Hamilton in Spring 1836 was in the hands of "Thomas Ward...or Hollingworth & Geo. Hadley".

Despite much public excitement, the attempt in 1839 to re-establish a New York 'line' from Hull was unfortunately short-lived. The formation in the early months of that year of the Hull Shipping Company, with its offices at No. 8, Parliament Street (John Smith, agent-secretary), was intended to achieve two prime

2. The same heading continued to be used for Hollingworth's advertisements until at least the end of 1832.
commercial objects: the line of Al. packets would
"essentially improve the intercourse between the
two ports and increase our trade";¹ and, at least
by the following year, would also be able to extract
advantages from the conveyance of passengers, especially
the substantial numbers of Continental emigrants, who
had crossed the North Sea from Hamburg, preventing
"the necessity of ... [their] having to pass through
Hull to Liverpool to obtain shipping to New York".²
Consequently, the Hull Shipping Company commissioned
the building of two New York 'liners', both of similar
tonnage, at Sunderland. The President (319 tons Reg.)
was launched on the Wear in early June, and arrived at
Hull on the 22nd after a two-day voyage, to be fitted out,
prior to her departure for New York under Capt. Dickson
Askham on the 30th July, with "First Rate Accommodation
for Passengers" and a cargo of oil.³ The second vessel,
the Washington (306 tons), was launched on the 2nd July
at the yard of Denton, Reed and Taylor, and although it
was initially expected that the barque would be "despatched

1. Hull Rockingham, 4 May 1839.
2. Hull Advertiser, 24 May 1839.
3. Ibid., 7 Jun., 2 Aug., 22 Nov. 1839; Hull Rockingham,
   1839. The President reached New York on the 3rd
   October, and after re-loading was expected to leave
   for Hull on the 7th November.
direct from Sunderland to Hamburg, and there load either for Hull or New York, she did in fact leave the Number port, with "goods and passengers", on the 12th September, under the command of Capt. Wm. Walker, arriving at New York on the 30th October. 1

The schemes of the Hull Shipping Company proved abortive. Although the Company's Providence (900-950 tons burth.; Capt. Gowan Wilson) sailed for Quebec, not New York, in August 1839 (carrying goods and passengers) and in March 1840 (with costs), neither the President nor Washington was advertised to sail again from Hull. 2 No press comment occurred as to why this should be so, but it may be surmised that, apart from possible financial embarrassment and lack of return from outlay, the Company's ventures were frustrated in two ways. In the first place, the seven sailings for New York in 1839, excluding those of the President and Washington, were already well above the average annual number between 1838 and 1845; and almost certainly, "the intercourse between the two ports" was,

1. Hull Advertiser, 24 May, 7 Jun., 2 Aug., 22 Nov. 1839; Hull Rockingham, 25 May, 6 Jul. 1839; Sunderland Beacon, 4 Jul. 1839; E.C.H., 1 to 29 Aug., 28 Nov. 1839; Bradford Observer, 19 Sep. 1839. During the Washington's voyage, her complement was increased by two births.

in the event, satisfied by those vessels already sailing, without the addition of two more. The second aim of the Company, that of providing emigrant passages, was undermined from the beginning by adequate conveyance already being available from Hull for those originating in the port's emigration-hinterland, and by the general preference of Continental passengers to embark at Liverpool, a facility made easier after the completed rail link between the two ports in 1840.

The Hull Shipping Company as a New York line, indeed Hull itself, could hardly hope to compete with the arrangements offered at Liverpool in 1839 "to despatch regular lines of first class fast sailing Packets, punctually...For NEW YORK, FOUR TIMES EVERY MONTH". Consequently, the ability of Hull to siphon off more than a tiny proportion of the hundreds of European emigrants intending to embark at Liverpool was not great, although the former's importance as a transit port should certainly not be understated.

1. Hull sailings for New York were as follows: 1838 (4 sailings), 1839 (7 + President and Washington), 1840(5), 1841(3), 1842 (3), 1843 (2), 1844(4) and 1845 (2).

Other Hull departures for New York must not be forgotten in the light of the publicity afforded the Hull Shipping Company in 1839. In fact, all the other seven sailings of that year occurred before those of the President and Washington. The first, the James and Thomas (383 tons Reg.; R. Gardall) left on the 31st January and reached harbour safely.\(^1\) No advertisement appeared for the Maida's ill-fated voyage of 1839, but the vessel sailed on the 6th February.\(^2\) On the 9th April, the "Maida, Nicholson, of and from Hull for New York, with a cargo of oil [and passengers], out 63 days", owned by G. and J. Egginton & Sons, was encountered by the brig Gertrude in long. 36° 49'. During a severe gale on the 27th March, the Maida had lost three topmasts and bowsprit, and sprung her foremost. Capt. Mills of the Gertrude supplied Capt. Nicholson with water and provisions, and relieved him of four passengers - George and William Waddington, William Stevenson and Thomas Freen. Although the Maida was attempting to return to Britain, "almost unmanageable", she was later abandoned at sea, and her crew carried to Quebec by the Indus.\(^3\) The Everette (550 tons; Thomas Chaplin, later, Hull Advertiser, 14, 28 Dec. 1839, 1 Feb., 7 Jun., 1839. Some discrepancy occurs in the noted duration of the James and Thomas's voyage: according to a shipping notice of early June, the vessel reached New York on the 11th May after a passage of forty-five days!\(^1\)


3. Hull Advertiser, 26 Apr., 24 May, 7 Jun. 1839; Hull Rockingham, 8 Jun., 1839. So ended the career of the Maida, which had sailed to Quebec in the years 1827-29, 1830 and 1837, and to New York, 1831-34, and 1838.
Geo. Watson) also met with a delay when she left a month later, on the 12th March. Working down the Humble on the 14th, she ran aground above the Hole Buoy and had to return to port, finally reaching New York on the 12th May after sailing a second time about the 12th April. The popular month of April was represented by three departures. The very regular sailer, Sir Edward Hamilton, advertising a sailing date of the 1st April and "best Accommodation for Passengers", was sighted on the 26th in lat. 48°, long. 13°, and arrived safely at New York, being cleared for Quebec on the 26th June. Both the barque Frances (or, Francis) Lawson (292 tons Reg.; Capt. James English, later, Capt. Chaplin) and the Brunswick (357 tons Reg.; Thomas Porter) definitely carried passengers to New York: the first set out on the 13th April, the second on the 27th, putting in for one day, the 4th-5th May, at Longhope, Orkney. Lastly in 1839, the Ann(s), of Bridlington (280 tons Reg.; Wm. Capst), advertising for passengers, left Hull in early May, was sighted on the 1st June in lat. 49° 22', long. 30°, and was cleared at New York for her return trip on the 7th July.

Towards the end of the 1830's, it must have seemed to the local observer, with memories of the 1830-32 outpourings to Quebec, that Hull's important role as a port where emigrants might embark for North America was fast disappearing. The 'emigration fever' of 1831, the twenty-three vessels bound for the St. Lawrence, and eleven for New York, had given way to the 'empty quays' of 1838, when a total of only eight vessels had set out for the two destinations. The 86 arrivals at Quebec from Hull in 1838 were but a pale reflection of the 2,780 in 1831.1 By about 1840, there were possibly strong grounds for believing that Hull's future participation in the emigrant trade would be of limited duration; indeed, that her direct commercial intercourse with North America, even with Quebec - generally less in any case than with the Baltic and Scandinavian ports - would decline almost, if not totally, to the point of extinction.

Several interrelated factors in Hull's overall geographical and commercial position contributed to this pessimism. In the first place, the port's natural outlook was eastwards, on the 'right' side of the country for

sailings to Europe, and especially the Baltic, but on
the 'wrong' side for North America. Even so, Hull's
shipping trade, concentrated as it was on the former,
retained three features for most of the century: it was
highly seasonal because of the winter freezing of the
Baltic; it suffered badly from the effects of European
wars; and lastly, there was a constant shortage of
export cargoes to balance timber imports. 1.

Again, advantageous as Hull's location was on the
northern shore of the Humber, in close proximity to
the deep water channel of the estuary, this situation
by no means gave total security to the port's commercial
position in the nineteenth century. Not until about the
1870's would this be a factor of high importance, for
sailing vessels of the 1840's with a tonnage of between,
perhaps, 350 and 500 tons, and a draught of from twelve
to fifteen feet (and later, steam-ships of greater burthen),
were not totally restricted to deep water channels.
The port of Hull, when compared with Liverpool, was,
therefore, in a far more vulnerable position: Liverpool
had few competitors on the west coast, but Hull, on the east,
faced competition at different times from several ports —
from the Yorkshire coastal ports of Whitby, Scarborough and
Bridlington, from Stockton, Sunderland and Newcastle, and
particularly after the mid-century, from Goole, Grimsby
and Harwich. As early as 1834, McCulloch noted that

"the port of Goole has latterly drawn off some portion of the trade of Hull... [and although] about 22 miles more inland than Hull, promises to prove a formidable rival to the latter...
Though so remote from the sea, vessels drawing 15 or 16 feet of water reach Goole in safety...
[which] has 2 wet docks and a basin". 1.

But the level of competition faced by Hull in any given year of the 1830's and 1840's from east coast ports, whether in the Baltic or North American trades - including the conveyance of passengers to the St. Lawrence from Yorkshire ports possessing almost the same 'emigration-hinterlands' as that of the Humber port - was small compared with the rivalry offered by Liverpool's far superior geographical position in relation to transatlantic trade and communications. Indeed, definite limitations were imposed on Hull's trading opportunities by Liverpool's amenities and long-established trading relations with North America.

It is true that Hull's development in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had strongly influenced, and had been influenced by the utilisation of a wide system of inland waterways based on the Rivers Ouse, Aire, Calder and Trent, enabling both imports and exports to be trans-shipped at the port. Yet the fact remains that Hull was situated a far distance from the rapidly developing industrial areas of the North, for example, 55 miles from Leeds, 65 miles from Sheffield and 95 miles from Manchester, and in the 'wrong'

direction for the carriage of goods to and from North America. By contrast, Manchester was only 35 miles from Liverpool; and, despite the intervening Pennines, the West Riding manufacturers of Leeds and Sheffield, some 75 and 73 miles distant, found the exporting facilities offered by the Mersey port difficult to resist. In effect, the basic rurality of Hull's hinterland contrasted sharply with the industrial development of Liverpool's.

Moreover, the advent of the railway did little in the early years to advance Hull's position as a major port, and incidentally, to provide an improved means of movement for emigrants embarking there. Hull was badly placed as a railway centre: hindered in its communications to the south by the Humber, the port was about 35 miles from the main route to the north at York. Until the rail link with the West Riding was finally forged in July 1840, with the extension of the Leeds-Selby line to Hull, there was, indeed, a possible threat to the port's trade; but during the rest of the decade, the port was in a strong competitive position on the east coast.¹

¹. *V.C.H. Yorks.* E.R., I, pp.219-20, 392. Grimsby's first rail-link was with Sheffield in 1849: the following year, the direct Grimsby-Peterborough-London route was opened. Docks at Grimsby were operated from 1858.
In terms of the emigrant trade, however, the
number's rail-link with the West Riding from its
very beginning proved, ironically, more of an
advantage to Liverpool than Hull. For European
emigrants arriving at Hull, so long as the overland
crossing to Liverpool meant a tedious journey, often
by river and canal, to obtain passage for New York,
many might be persuaded to sail direct from Hull,
even though departures were more spasmodic and the
transatlantic voyage likely to be far more protracted.
But after 1840, such emigrants were able to travel
speedily to the West Riding, and thence to Liverpool,
with the certainty of frequent sailings to the United
States. No doubt many emigrants from East Yorkshire,
even from Hull itself, were also induced by the new
communications to embark at Liverpool for the same
destination.

Still, the St. Lawrence, not New York, was the
prime destination of Hull vessels crossing the Atlantic.¹
The reason is not far to seek. Throughout the period
of Hull's participation in the emigrant trade, emigration
formed an integral part of the timber trade, and at no

¹ 1847 was the first year, from 1820 onwards, in which
vessels sailing for the United States outnumbered
those destined for Canada.
time were 'liners' laid on for the constant and exclusive conveyance of passengers. After a vessel had returned from Quebec with timber, rudimentary accommodation was hurriedly constructed "betwixt decks" for steerage passengers; and on the outward voyage, emigrants, together with a varied assortment of manufactured goods, hardware, textiles, barrels of oil and livestock, might form the cargo. A round trip freighting timber on the inward voyage, and a full cargo of emigrants and commodities on the outward, promised a prosperous venture, but a small freight and few or no passengers on the outward, augured only moderate returns.

At this point, some consideration must be given to the merchant's preference for importing Canadian rather than Baltic timber, despite the latter's alleged superiority and geographical proximity, remembering at the same time that some vessels, sailing regularly to Quebec, also supplemented their annual trip with a visit to the Baltic in the autumn.¹ Preferential duties lay at the heart of

¹ J.R. McCulloch, A Dictionary of Commerce, p. 1154: a timber-laden vessel from Norway could make six voyages a year, from Prussia, three or four voyages, and from Russia, two, whereas in the case of Canada, only two voyages a year, at most, could be undertaken. It should be remarked again that the Fame, a regular sailer to Quebec, was lost on the island of Cregrund, in the Gulf of Bothnia, on her return voyage from Sweden to Hull in October, 1820 (Hull Advertiser, 3 Nov. 1820).
the matter. During the Napoleonic Wars, at the very
time when a feverish building of naval vessels occurred,
Continental restrictions produced a deficiency in
the traditional Baltic supplies of timber for Hull. As
a result of lobbying by ship-owners, who wished to employ
their vessels in substitute markets, and by the Canada
merchants, promoting the lumber trade of British North
America, support was given to the importation of timber from
that source, in that, in 1809, duties on timber from Northern
Europe were greatly increased, whilst those on the Canadian
product were almost entirely repealed. The following year,
duties on Baltic timber were doubled, and in 1813,
ironically, after the restoration of free navigation in
the Baltic, a further 25 per cent was added to the duties
on European timber.\textsuperscript{1} As overall imports from Northern
Europe decreased, so British exports to the area declined;
and in 1821 in order to alleviate the situation, the duty
on Northern European timber was reduced from £3.5s. to
£2.15s., whilst on Canadian timber a duty of 10s. per load
was laid. At the time, it was felt that the excess of
duty £2.5s. per load) continuing on Baltic timber over the
duty exacted on B.N.A. timber "was not more than enough to

\textsuperscript{1} By 1813, the various duties on European timber, when
consolidated, amounted to £3.5s. a load. The effect of
increasing duties may be seen from the following: in
1809, despite Continental restrictions, 428,000 tons of
British shipping entered inwards from the Baltic, in
1814, 242,000 tons, and in 1816, 181,000 tons.
balance the higher prime cost, the greater freight[etc.]", and that in future it would be "indifferent to a merchant whether he imported timber from Hemel or Miremichi!" Nevertheless, Canada still gained great benefit from the preferential duty. 1. A further attempt to introduce a greater degree of equability in the two rates of duties was made in the alterations suggested by Lord Althorp in March 1831, but the motion was lost. 2. The tariff of 1842 did, however, reduce the preference given to British North American timber, and duties were further reduced in 1847 and 1848. 3.

In relating emigration to the timber trade, therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that while duties on Baltic timber remained high, compared with those on Canadian timber, Hull ship owners found it advantageous to undertake the long transatlantic haul, even if only a moderate cargo of goods and emigrants were available for conveyance on the outward voyage. As the gap between the two rates of duties narrowed, so it would become more imperative for a full complement of passengers, or a valuable

1. McCulloch, admittedly an antagonist of the preferential treatment received by Canadian timber, records (p.1153) the fact that some vessels carried Northern European timber to Canada, and brought it back to England as Canadian timber.

2. The proposals were that, as from 1st January, 1832, duties on Baltic timber should be reduced by 6s. a load, from 1st January, 1833, by a further 6s. a load, and from 1st January, 1834, by another 3s. a load, finally leaving protection of 30s. a load in favour of Canadian timber (McCulloch, p.1157).

cargo, or lucrative proportions of each to be carried to make the journey worthwhile. Indeed, it was suggested in 1834 that if a 30s. or 40s. bounty a head were paid on emigrant arrivals at Quebec, "it would more than indemnify the ship owners for any inconvenience resulting from a new arrangement of the timber duties [as well as stimulating emigration]." When the 1837 rebellions in Canada temporarily caused some dislocation of the timber trade there, and cast doubt on the St. Lawrence as a market for manufactured commodities and as a destination for emigrants, only four and seven sailings from Hull to Quebec, carrying 86 and 90 passengers, occurred in the next two years.

The local observer of the late 1830's, then, could be forgiven for believing that Hull's participation in the emigrant trade with Canada would decline to minor proportions. If he could have foreseen the 1842 reduction in preference given to B.N.A. timber, his fears, purely on this score, would have seemed even more justified. Yet, two important factors amongst several continued to encourage Hull's role in emigration for almost two decades. A

1. McCulloch, p.1157.

2. Hull Rockingham, 24 Mar. 1838; Helen I. Cowan, p.291 (Table 1). In 1838 and 1839, after considering the risk of little reward by sailing for Canada, some Hull ship-owners probably preferred to send their vessels to the Baltic, despite the higher duties imposed on timber from that source.
resurgence of substantial rural emigration through Hull from East Yorkshire and north Lincolnshire occurred at the same time that the railway boom of the 1840's stimulated the demand for timber from both major sources. Though of far less significance, the chequered history of the Hull cotton industry also allowed irregular opportunities for emigrants to sail direct from the Humber to the southern ports of the United States.

As in the years of the post-Napoleonic period, large-scale emigration in the early 1840's was set against a background of widespread urban and rural discontent. Presented as perhaps the most obvious element in this distress was the artificially high level of corn prices, though duties on sugar, tea and butter also added considerably to the cost of living. In 1835 and 1836, wheat prices averaged 39s.4d. and 48s.6d. a quarter. But from 1837 to 1841, years of bad harvests, average prices rose to and stayed at exorbitant levels - 55s.10d., 64s.7d., 70s.8d., 66s.4d. a quarter. Average wheat prices fell somewhat in the years 1842 to 1845, to 57s.3d., 50s. 1d., 51s.3d. and 50s.10d. In 1846, the year of the repeal of the corn duties (but not its coming into effect), prices averaged 54s. 8d. a quarter. Poor harvests and high wheat prices between 1837 and 1841 effected a steady worsening of agricultural conditions, which, though improving temporarily, became established as outright depression in the late 1840's.
and early 'fifties'.

To the Hull Advertiser, the reason for considerable embarkation at the port in 1843 was quite clear: "...berths are being rapidly filled up by agriculturists who seek to escape from a corn-taxed country to a cheap one. We would rather that our legislators would allow the food to come to the people, than drive the people to the food; but the observation concluded, "whilst landowners' influence is supreme in parliament, the best resource that can be had, is to leave 'Old England' for a happier land, whilst the means to do so remain". In the town of Hull itself, distress was at its greatest for several years, the poor rate was steadily increasing, and the number of beggars "soliciting alms...almost beyond calculation".


2. Hull Advertiser, 14 Apr. 1843.

3. Hull Advertiser, 12 May 1843. Poor-rate trends were noted as follows: 1839, 2s.8d. in the Feb.; May 1840, 2s.6d.; Aug., Nov. 1840, 2s.4d.; Feb., May 1841, 2s.6d.; Aug., Nov. 1841, 2s.10d.; Feb., May 1842, 3s.2d.; Aug., Nov. 1842, 2s.6d.; Feb., May 1843, 3s.10d. In 1840, a tradesman assessed at £500 would pay £6.0s.10d. p.a. for poor rates; but in 1843, he would pay £9.11s.8d.
One year earlier, at a stagnant Beverley Fair, "curses long and deep were directed at the premier, the income tax, new tariff and treacherous M.P.'s...[by farmers], compelled, for want of pasturage, to offer their stock for sale, but no purchasers to any extent [were] in the market, and even the few sold were disposed [of] at a decline of from 20 to 25 per cent". 1

As in the early 1830's, emigrants embarking at Hull in the following decade presented a broad cross-section of rural life in East Yorkshire and Lincolnshire; and "many who were not ready to leave in the 'turbulent thirties' were dislodged by the 'hungry forties!' 2 Some were undoubtedly well-do-do. Others were small-holders, on the one hand facing large-scale competition and finding agriculture increasingly unprofitable, and on the other, harbouring fears that the end of English farming was implicit in the 1846 repeal of the Corn Laws. The Don's passengers, for instance, sailing for Quebec in April, 1844, were "of a respectable class, being chiefly farmers with a little capital"; and several of those on the Fergus, the following month, were "persons who [had] conducted farms, and hoped shortly to see themselves comfortably settled upon land of their own". 3

1. Hull Advertiser, 6 May 1842.
2. Shepperson, p.68.
Yet, the largest group leaving by Hull was covered by the all-embracing term, 'agriculturists', or more specifically, by the frequent reiteration of 'agricultural labourers', 'agricultural working people' and 'mechanics'.

Whilst it is true that many Yorkshire and Lincolnshire labourers saw North America as an encouraging answer to their insecurity, perhaps even present or future redundancy, relatively few of them appear to have sailed from Hull with parish assistance. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 officially authorised all parishes, with the Commissioners' approval, to subsidise emigration of the poor to a British colony by mortgaging the rates. In the event, parishes taking advantage of this means of off-loading their poor overseas were almost exclusively rural and situated especially in the southern and eastern counties of England.

Nevertheless, scattered references to parish-assisted

1. E.C.H., e.g., 28 Apr. 1842, 4 Apr. 1844, 20 May, 1845, 21 May 1846. Agricultural labourers also left, of course, by Liverpool: in early March, 1845, for example, seven farming labourers, the fathers of large families, including two accompanied by their wives (Wm. Allison and wife, Chas. Allison, Isaac Jackson, R. Mitchell, Thos. Hunt, J. Clarkson, Robt. Wood and wife) entrained at Selby for Liverpool (Doncaster Gazette, 7 Mar. 1845).

2. 4 & 5 Will. IV, c.76, sec. lxii; Hull Packet, 2 May 1834; Hull Advertiser, 16 May 1834. A condition required, somewhat optimistically, that "such sums...be recoverable from any person refusing to emigrate after such expense is incurred, or becoming chargeable within twenty years after emigrating..."

emigration by Hull in the 'forties and 'fifties do occur. In 1844, the Llan Rumney sailed on the 29th March, with "chiefly agricultural labourers and their families - sent out at the expense of various parishes"; and the Ellersill left on the 26th May, with 26 steerage passengers, consisting entirely of "poor mechanics and agriculturalists", with their families, whose passage money and a small sum for receipt on landing had been paid by mainly Lincolnshire parishes. Similarly, in 1851, the Isabella left for the St. Lawrence on the 8th May, with five parish-assisted passengers, and the Meteor and Rolla on the 17th June, with five and eleven; but on these occasions, free passage only was paid.

2. E.C.H., 30 May 1844. All the emigrants, it was stated, were "comfortably clothed and their cleanly appearance were creditable to them all".
3. Helen I. Cowan, p. 299 (Appx. B, Table X). Two Yorkshire examples of parish-assisted emigration were also noted by the county press; but, in neither case was Hull the likely port of embarkation. Yorkshire Gazette, 26 Oct. 1844 (citing Appendix to Tenth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1844) notes that Topcliffe, in the North Riding, expended £35 in emigration that year, the only listing for Yorkshire as a whole. The following year, Joseph Dent, High Sheriff and Magistrate, of Ribston Hall, near Knaresborough, offered a premium of £5 to any poor families living in Hunsingore and Walsford (near Wetherby) "who may be inclined to emigrate to America". A similar offer was made by the parish officers and, it is recorded, many families "avail themselves of the opportunity" (Doncaster Gazette, 9 May 1845; Yorkshire Gazette, 10 May 1845).
Although insignificant when compared with Hull's emigrant trade to Quebec, or even New York, distinct opportunities were offered, from the early 1840's to the mid-1850's, for those wishing to sail direct from the Humber to the southern states of America. Hull's commercial relations with Quebec were based, as already seen, on timber carried on the inward voyage, and emigrants and manufactured goods in varying proportions on the outward. In the port's connections with New Orleans, primarily, and Charleston and Savannah, to a lesser extent, cotton was substituted on the inward route. Again, whilst in no way could Hull's intercourse with New Orleans be compared with that carried on by Liverpool, Le Havre or Bremen, the complementary pattern of cotton imports, and marketable or human exports was, nevertheless, repeated.1

In Hull, the floating of two joint-stock companies in boom years - the Hull Flex and Cotton Mill Co., in the Groves district in 1836, and the Kingston Cotton Mill Co., on Cumberland Street, further up the River Hull, in 1845 - established an important, if, with hindsight, somewhat uncertain element in the trade of the town.\(^1\) Raw material for the Hull cotton industry was obtained mainly from North America and India. The William Lee, belonging to Thomas Thompson of the town, sailed frequently to Calcutta in the 1840's.\(^2\) But trans-atlantic voyages predominated between 1841 and 1856, the nineteen advertised sailings for the southern states of America from Hull comprised eleven for New Orleans, five for Charleston, two for Savannah and one for Galveston (as well as one for Vera Cruz, Mexico).\(^3\) Moreover, out of the total of

1. Building at the mills continued, respectively, \(1836-40\) and \(1845-47\); and in 1845, two more cotton mills were planned. The Hull Flex and Cotton Mill went into liquidation in 1857, was re-established in 1860 as the New Hull Flex and Cotton Mills, but finally failed in 1866; the Kingston Cotton Mill, despite periodic difficulties, continued until 1894. The cotton industry employed large numbers: in 1841, 551 males and 185 females were engaged in textiles, including sailmaking, in the town part of Hull and Sculcoates; in 1851, 971 men and 1,247 women; and in 1861, 735 men and 1,179 women worked in the Hull cotton industry. In 1871, however, only 238 persons, aged 20 and over were in cotton manufacture (V.C.H.Yorks.E.R., I, pp.223-24, 456-57; Hull Advertiser, 26 Sep., 24 Oct.1845; Joyce Bellamy, "Occupations in Kingston upon Hull, 1841-1948," Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, 14, 1 (Jan.1952), 36 (Table 1), 37).

2. V.C.H.Yorks.E.R., I, p.221. Thomas Thompson was probably one of the sons of the late Alderman Benjamin Hlaydes Thompson, and of the family of 'Widow Thompson & Sons' (Gordon Jackson, p.98).

nineteen, no fewer than twelve were advertised by the Hull
Flax and Cotton Mill Company. Yet another, the Hull
Shipping Co.'s barque, *Stentor* (500 tons burth.; Capt. Thomas),
later a regular Quebec sailer, but on this occasion offering
"EMIGRANTS TO TEXAS...a most favourable opportunity", sailed
for New Orleans on 16th October, 1841, and returned to Hull on
23rd March, 1842, "laden with cotton...for the Hull Flax and
Cotton Mill Company". It has been stated that the Mill
was run in association with a fleet of sailing ships
owned by the manager, Joseph Rylands. Whilst it is
certainly true that the Tamarac (1,200 tons; Thomas Patching),
which sailed for New Orleans on 16th August, 1851, was
advertised by the Hull Flax and Cotton Mill Co.'s being the
"property of John Rylands, Esq."; four named 'American ships'
also sailed on behalf of the Company in the 1840's, together
with the already-noted *Stentor*, belonging to the Hull
Shipping Company, in 1841. Most of the vessels sailing from

1. The twelve sailings were: 1841, *Tiger*; 1843, *Nashville*;
1846, James H. Shepherd; 1850, *Royal Victoria*, fallas,
*Queen Victoria*, Tamarac; 1851, Tamarac, *Royal Victoria*;
1852, Tamarac, *Royal Victoria*, *Queen Victoria*; also, in
1843, for Vera Cruz, *Vistula*.

11, 25 Mar., 1842. The *Stentor* reached New Orleans at
Christmas, 1841, and cleared the port for Hull on
30th January, 1842.


1851. The four vessels were: *Tiger* (600 tons; Capt. R. Baker)
sailing 14th September, 1841, for New Orleans; *Nashville*
(500 tons; Capt. H. Pemberton), 2nd February, 1843,
New Orleans; *Vistula* (Capt. G. Schmeidau), 8th March, 1843,
Vera Cruz, Mexico; and James H. Shepherd (300 tons;
Hull to the southern states no doubt provided accommodation, and at least six during the period actually publicised their intention to do so. Indeed, in 1852, a year of three vessels for the Gulf and South Carolina, at the same time the plan was again promulgated, with once more negative results of introducing "a line... between Hull and New York" - on this occasion with "screw steamships" - it was further proposed "at convenient seasons, to establish a communication with New Orleans and Charleston, that back freights of material for our cotton mills may be obtained".

Between the Autumn of 1841 and January, 1853, (except in the three years, 1847-49), therefore, it was fairly easy for the Hull emigrant to sail direct to New Orleans, so long as he carefully planned his departure date; it was, of course, easier if he wished to cross to, and take his chance by Liverpool. If, however, on reaching New Orleans or Texas, he was not enamoured of the prospect before him, and wished to return by the same routes to Hull or Liverpool, his chances of securing a passage were not great. The

1. The six vessels were: Tiger and Stentor (New Orleans, 1841), Genesee (New Orleans, 1842), Nashville (New Orleans, 1843), Tamarac (Charleston, 1850) and Royal Victoria (New Orleans, 1851). The (unconfirmed sailings) Diadem (Galveston, Tex., 1843) and Ganton (Charleston, 1856), also advertised for freight and passengers, the latter publicising that second-class passengers were to be accommodated in first-class cabins; and that passage money, including board, was £5.10s.

2. Hull News, 26 Aug., 25 Sep. 1852. From the points made in the statement, it is clear that 'communication' included the conveyance of both English and Continental emigrants direct from Hull to the U.S.
simple fact was that vessels loaded with cotton had little or no room to spare for passengers: berths were removed, every space in steerage and cabin was fully packed with bales of cotton, and even the captain himself often vacated his cabin, sleeping on a bale of cotton.\footnote{When R.J. Atkinson, a former livery-stable keeper in Hull, emigrated with his family to Texas in 1842, and was soon disillusioned with conditions in the new republic, he found it impossible to obtain return passage at New Orleans, and decided, somewhat prematurely as events turned out, to sail from New York.\footnote{From Cincinnati, Ohio, in May 1843, he wrote:}}

1. A.A. Conway, pp.2-3.

2. It seems likely that the Atkinson family, if leaving by Hull, not Liverpool, sailed out to New Orleans on the American ship, \textit{Genesee} (700 tons; Capt. John Lombard) - offering accommodation for "Cabin and Steerage Passengers" - on the 15th September, 1842. The \textit{Genesee} was the only vessel advertised to sail from Hull to New Orleans in 1842, and the departure date accords with subsequent statements and events (\textit{E.C.H.}, 25 Aug., 1, 3, 22 Sep. 1842).
"I was in Texas five months; I then left with a determination to return to Hull, but on arriving at New Orleans, there was no ship direct for Hull, and those for Liverpool being full of cotton, would not take me for less than double what they charged me in coming out. Finding I could get cheaper by way of New York, I took that course in a steamboat up the Mississippi..."\(^1\)

Direct emigration, however, from Hull to New Orleans was at best spasmodic, and could not be compared with the regular opportunities for sailing to Quebec in the 1840's. Although the high point of sailings from the port in 1830 and 1831, when eighteen and twenty-three occurred directly for the St. Lawrence, was never again reached, the years, 1840 to 1846, provided ample opportunity for those wishing to leave by the Number. In that period, a total of eighty departures for Quebec was recorded.\(^2\)

1. R.J. Atkinson, Cincinnati, Ohio, to William Hird, Crown and Cushion, Hull, 24 May 1843 (extract in E.C.H., 6 Jul.1843). Atkinson travelled to Evansville, Ind., then by the Ohio to Cincinnati. On the recommendation of an English merchant, he went by horse to Lexington, Kentucky, where he was much impressed by the fine race-horses; and decided to remove his family there and begin business (presumably in his old trade).

2. Sailings, Hull to Quebec: 1840, 9; 1841, 8; 1842, 10; 1843, 12; 1844, 12; 1845, 13; 1846, 16.
Transatlantic departures from Hull in 1840
totalled eighteen, the same number as in the previous
year, but with less emphasis on those for the
United States: nine were destined for Quebec, four
for Saint John, N.B., and five for New York. As
usual, the majority of vessels for Quebec sailed in the
early part of the year, only two leaving after the
end of May. Both the Andrew Marvel (Capt. Henry Chambers)
and the Hull Shipping Company's Providence (Capt. Gowan
Wilson) sailed on the 28th March and reached Quebec
together on the 18th May, the former having put into
Longhope, Orkney, on the 5th April; one was in ballast;
the other carried coals, and neither noted the conveyance
of passengers. The Llan Rumney (Capt. Thos. Simpson),
however, definitely carried a cargo of goods and
passengers: leaving Hull on the 3rd or 4th April, the
vessel reached Quebec safely, was entered out there on
the 30th May, and returned to Hull on the 20th July.

1. For Quebec: Andrew Marvel, Providence, Llan Rumney,
William, Amazon, Corinthian, Victory, Sovereign,
Jane: for Saint John, N.B.: Sovereign, Volunteer,
Calcutta, Ben Nevis; and for New York: Sir Edward
Hamilton (two voyages), Nimrod, Lucy Ann, Eliza
Kirkbride. The Harmony was also advertised for New York
(E.C.H., 12, 19 Mar. 1840), but apparently did not sail.

2. E.C.H., 6 Feb. to 2 Apr. 1840; Hull Advertiser, 17 Apr.,
19 Jun. 1840; Bradford Observer, 30 Jul. 1840. The
Providence returned to Hull with timber and deals on the
22nd July.

30 Jul. 1840; Hull Advertiser, 10 Jul. 1840.
Two more vessels sailed from Hull for Quebec in April.
The brig William (Capt. Thos. Northwood), of Scarborough, left about the 11th and was sighted on the 30th in
lat. 50°, long. 13° 30' W. 1 The Amazon (440 tons
Reg.; Capt. Chas. Brodrick), with passengers aboard, set out on the 22nd, reached Orkney four days later, proceeded on the 30th, and arrived safely at Quebec on the 28th or 29th May. 2 The following vessel, the Corinthian (400 tons; Capt. Davidson), sailing from Hull on the 6th May, also carried passengers; leaving the Nuneaton on the 8th, the ship was caught up in dense foggy weather as far north as Lerwick in the Shetlands, where she arrived on the 15th; three days later, she set out again and reached Quebec on the 8th July. 3 Two of the three remaining vessels for the St. Lawrence in 1840 may have conveyed some passengers: the Victory (Capt. Joseph Peckett) left on the 27th May, and arrived at Quebec on the 25th July, clearing on the 20th August; the Sovereign (Capt. John Morkham) sailed on the 4th July, passing Huns and the

2. E.C.H., 26 Mar. to 16 Apr. 1840; Hull Advertiser, 24 Apr.;
   1 May, 3 Jul.; 26 Aug. 1840; Hull Rockingham, 4 Jul. 1840.
The Amazon had almost reached the end of her return voyage, when, in fog and during a violent thunderstorm on the 25th August, she went ashore outside of Spurn Point; two days later, the vessel, lightened somewhat and "much damaged", was towed into Hull.
3. E.C.H., 9 Apr. to 6 May 1840; Bradford Observer, 14 May,
   1840; Hull Advertiser, 5 Jun.; 14 Aug. 1840.
Pentland Firth on the 11th, and reached Quebec safely before being sighted off Cape Race on her return voyage on the 15th August; and lastly, the Jane (Capt. Slater) sailed on the 7th October. Nevertheless, although ship-sailings from Hull in 1840 are quite clearly recorded, the total number of passengers leaving by the port in that year and arriving at Quebec can only be roughly estimated. It is very probable, however, that, after the low points of 1838 and 1839, when only 86 and 90 passengers arrived at Quebec from the Humber port, a decided upward trend began in 1840, with perhaps some 200 passengers sailing the route on the Llan Rumney, Amazon and Corinthian, and on other vessels not actually confirmed as carrying emigrants.

Exceptionally, four vessels sailed from Hull to Saint John, New Brunswick, in 1840, but in no case is there mention of passengers on the outward voyage complementing timber freightage on the inward. The Sovereign (Capt. Markham), on her first transatlantic crossing of the year, sailed about the 1st March, and reached Saint John on the 18th April. The Volunteer

2. Helen X. Cowan (pp. 291-93, Table 1V) omits passenger arrivals at Quebec from British ports in 1840.
(Capt. Wm. Lickis) left on the 30th March, the
Calcutta (733 tons; Capt. John McKinnell) on the
23rd May, and the Ben Nevis (Capt. P. Burns) on
the 23rd September, being sighted off Freswick,
near Wick, on the 5th October.¹

New York sailings from Hull in 1849 fell from
the nine of the previous year to only five; even so,
the latter figure was not reached again until 1847.
Only the regularly sailing Sir Edward Hamilton (Capt.
Robt. Lundy), on the first of her two transatlantic
voyages of 1840, carried sufficient passengers to evoke
press comment: leaving on the 4th April, the vessel
reached Longhope, Orkney, on the 10th and sailed again two
days later for New York, where she arrived on the 23rd May
with her human freight "all well".² Three other
voyages from Hull were undertaken by the American vessels,
Nimrod (287 tons; Capt. Francis Chadbourne, or Chadburn)
and Lucy Ann (240 tons; Capt. J. Snow), and by the

1. E.C.H., 5, 12 Mar., 2, 30 Apr., 7, 28 May, 3, 10 Sep.,
   1 Oct. 1840; Hull Advertiser, 16 Oct. 1840.

2. E.C.H., 6 Feb., to 19 Mar., 9 Apr., 6 to 20 Aug.,
The Sir Edward Hamilton's second voyage to New York
began on the 10th September.
Eliza Kirkbride (266 tons; Capt. Thos. Borkwood): the first left Hull on the 28th August, reaching New York on the 25th October, the second on the 16th September, arriving the 2nd November, and the last sailed on the 11th or 16th December.¹

Hull sailings to North America in 1841 declined slightly on those of the previous year, from eighteen to fifteen: eight occurred for Quebec, two for Saint John, N.B., three for New York and two for New Orleans.² Of the eight vessels leaving for Quebec, five sailed before the end of May, and three of these carried noteworthy complements of passengers. The first out of Hull, on the 1st April, was the Llan Rumney (Capt. Simpson), "having on board upwards of one hundred emigrants", who arrived safely at their destination on the 22nd May.³ Following in the next few days, the Andrew Marvel (Henry Chambers) sailed on the 3rd, and the Amazon (Charles Brodrick), which, by the end of the previous month, had "obtained nearly her complement of emigrants [to Canada]", on the 8th April, both vessels reaching Quebec on the 18th May, four days before the

Llan Rumney. A newcomer to the Quebec route, the Newland (Capt. W. Lickis) set out from the Junction Dock on the 13th April, and passed through the Pentland Firth on the 16th. The fifth vessel of the year for the St. Lawrence, and the third to carry an appreciable number of emigrants, was the regularly sailing Victory (Joseph Peckit), of Whitby, which left the Old Dock, at Lowgate End, on the 26th May, passed Huns on the 30th, and reached Quebec on the 14th July. The last three vessels of 1841, the Sovereign (Capt. John Markham), Aldebaran (603 tons; Capt. J. Hurl) and Calcutta (Capt. John McKinnell), departed on the 12th July, 7th and 18th August, respectively; the Sovereign sailed through the Pentland Firth on the 18th July, and the Aldebaran reached Quebec on the 21st September.

As in 1840, the number of emigrants leaving Hull for Quebec in 1841 can only be estimated. Yet, there seems little doubt that the upward trend noted in 1840 was maintained in 1841, with probably some 250 to 300 emigrants taking passage mainly in the *Llan Rumney*, *Amazon* and *Victory*.¹

Two vessels, which were later to sail for the St. Lawrence, first made one complete voyage to and from New Brunswick. The *Sovereign* (Markham) left on the 8th March, passed through the Pentland Firth on the 13th, and was cleared at Saint John on the 8th May: the *Calcutta* (McKinnell) sailed out on the 3rd April, passed Hans two days later, and reached the same destination on the 16th May. In neither case, however, are passengers mentioned.²

Again, it is uncertain whether the three New York-bound vessels carried passengers, although one advertised "cabin and steerage", and a second, the *Sir Edward Hamilton*, transported at least a few in most other years. But, in total, 1841 appears to have been a bleak year for emigration from the Humber to New York. John Hollingworth's brig, *Traveller* (254 tons Reg.; probably Capt. Robt. Brown), offered accommodation, and after several delays, finally

¹. By comparison, emigrant departures from Liverpool for B.N.A. (including the Maritimes), 1 Jan.-31 Oct. 1841, were 3,870 (H. & E.R.T., 30 Nov. 1841).

left Hull on the 15th March, passed through the
Firth on the 24th and arrived at New York on the
1st June. 1

1. The Whitby-built brig, *Cane Grove* (186 tons; Capt. Wm. Storr), also sailed on the 15th March, put into Stromness, Orkney, on the 24th, and reached Halifax, N.S., on the 4th June, en route for New York. 2

2. The *Sir Edward Hamilton* (Capt. Robt. Lundy) set out, probably with some passengers, on the 4th May. 3

For the second successive year, fifteen
North American sailings took place from Hull in
1842: sailings to Quebec increased from eight to
ten, none occurred for the Maritimes, and those
for the United States remained at five. 4 In the
case of Quebec, the extra sailings were reflected
in an apparent increase from (probably) about
250 or 300 emigrant-arrivals from the Humber in 1841,
to 578 in 1842. Hull's total for 1842 ranked sixth

1. E.C.H., 7 Jan. to 18 Feb. 1841; Hull Advertiser,
19 Mar., 9 Apr., 2 Jul. 1841. The *Traveller* was
first advertised to leave on the 8th February,
then the 16th, later the 1st March, before her
actual departure on the 15th, with "goods".

2. E.C.H., 21 Jan. to 4 Mar. 1841; Hull Advertiser,
19 Mar., 2 Apr., 2 Jul. 1841.


4. For Quebec: Andrew Marvel, Llan Rumney, Lord Wenlock,
Eweretta, Meteor, Amazon, Aurora, Regent, Reward,
Ellersgill; for New York: Defender, Sir Edward Hamilton
Delaware; for Savannah, Geo.: Sovereign; and for
New Orleans: Genesee.
amongst English and Scottish ports, well behind the substantial numbers leaving Liverpool (5,823), Glasgow (3,797), Plymouth (1,207), Padstow (exceptionally: 1,173) and London (1,035), but fractionally above those leaving Greenock (546), Bristol (535) and Aberdeen (495).

As might be expected, over half the total number of 578 emigrants arriving at Quebec from Hull in 1842, "chiefly agricultural working people, and a few mechanics", began their voyage in April. The **Andrew Marvel** (Hy. Chambers) left on the 8th April with "about 80" passengers, traversed the Pentland Firth on the 13th, and reached Quebec safely on the 29th May. On the 9th April, the **Llan Rumney** (Thos. Simpson) set out with 128 or 130 passengers, passed through the Firth on the same day as the **Andrew Marvel**, and reached her destination on the 24th or 25th May. Six days before the end of her fast run out, Capt. Simpson was fortunately able to take off some fifty survivors from the **Kent**, wrecked ten days earlier in Seven Islands' Bay at the mouth of

1. Helen I. Cowan, pp.291-292 (Table IV).
the St. Lawrence, and to land them at Quebec. On the 23rd or 24th April, a newcomer, the Lord Wenlock (650 tons; Capt. Wm. Mitchell), sailed out with 108 passengers, through the Pentland Firth on the 30th, and on to Quebec by the 16th June.

So far then, out of the year's total arrivals at Quebec from Hull of 578, about 318 had been carried by the first three vessels St. Lawrence-bound in April. The fourth to sail - the Everettia (Capt. Thos. Tucker), on the 9th May, arriving the 26th June - was the only further vessel actually confirmed as carrying passengers; and although it is just possible for this 600-ton ship to have taken the year's remaining 260 passengers, without additional cargo, the most likely fact is that perhaps upwards of one hundred took passage in this, and the remainder were scattered throughout most of the other six still to sail. One potential misfortune always awaiting

1. E.C.H., 10 Feb. to 14, 28 Apr. 1842; Hull Advertiser, 22 Apr., 17 Jun. 1842. The rescued acknowledged Capt. Simpson's "humane and generous conduct"; the passengers from Hull extolled "his conduct throughout the voyage".


the 'innocent abroad' was well illustrated by
the example of the "fresh-looking countryman",
William Johnson, about to sail by the Everett,
who was the victim of a time-honoured, or -
dishonoured, confidence trick. The following
alleged facts were later revealed at the local
Magistrates' Court. Three days before the vessel
sailed, Johnson had already taken his place as a
passenger. The accused, John Clark, employed by
Messrs. Norton, horse-dealers, of Lepton, near
Huddersfield, and recently come from Lincoln
fair, went on board falsely representing to the
victim that he was a plumber and glazier from
Doncaster, and that he too was an emigrant,
shortly expecting his parents' arrival. Ingratiating
himself into Johnson's company, Clark suggested that
he should transfer his sleeping berth, so that they
could 'lig' together. The stage for the dupe was
now set. Both men strolled down to South End for
refreshment at the Granby Inn, and here they were
joined by two others, equally thirsty and dishonest.
The victim, sitting next to Clark, paid for his share of drinks from a purse containing his emigration savings of sixteen guineas. All left the public house together, but at the request of one of the others, Johnson returned for a presumably non-existent raincoat; on reaching the street a second time, however, he found his money and erstwhile companions had disappeared. Johnson was fortunate to encounter Clark again, and the latter was taken into custody.  

After the Everetta, three more vessels sailed for Quebec towards the end of the same month - the Meteor (Capt. Daniel Brown) on the 23rd, the Amazon (Capt. Josh. Peckett) on the 26th, and the Aurora (500 tons; Capt. Hunter) on the 30th May. The first passed through the Pentland Firth on the 28th, and reached Quebec on the 7th July. The Amazon was sighted off St. Paul Island, in the Cabot Strait, on the 2nd July, and off the Gaspé Peninsula, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, four

1. E.C.H., 12 May 1842. As a result of his loss, there is no certainty that Johnson was able to proceed on the Everetta to Quebec: the case was heard on the day of the ship's departure; and at the time of Clark's remand, the 16 gns. had not been recovered. Johnson perhaps returned to his village, a sadder but wiser man.

days later, before arriving at her destination on the 15th July. The Aurora arrived on the 7th July, the same day as the Meteor.

Three vessels remained to sail for Quebec in 1842. The Recent (Capt. O. Stevenson) left on the 6th June, the Reward (Botterill Frost) on the 28th, being sighted on the 30th July in lat. 47°15′ N., long. 38° W., and the Ellergill (Richard Hill), advertised by Robert and John Gill, Exchange Alley, Lowgate, departed from the Junction Dock on the 24th July, and reached Quebec on the 14th September.

New York was the destination of only three vessels in 1842. The first transatlantic sailing out of Hull was the Defender (325 tons; Capt. John Duncan) on the 4th March, which was sighted on the 27th in lat. 46°12′ N., long. 10°20′ W., and reached New York on the 28th May. The last to sail, the American brigantine Delaware (Capt. Joseph Grafton), left on the 27th July and arrived at New York on the 28th September.

In the interval between the Defender and Delaware, the very regular Sir Edward Hamilton (Capt. Rob. Lundy) sailed towards the end of April with 130 or 131 passengers, the only vessel bound for New York in 1842, confirmed as carrying human freight. As few descriptions survive of North American voyages undertaken by emigrants from Hull, it is fortunate that extracts from the observations of one unnamed passenger on this vessel later found their way into print.\(^1\) Lacking one person, a young man who had "broken some of his bones while on shore in company the preceding evening", the Sir Edward Hamilton slipped her moorings in the Humber Dock on Wednesday, 27th April, and by 1.20 p.m. was anchored off Spurn, where she remained until eight in the evening. By six the next morning, sailors were scrubbing the decks, and "at ten, the Rev. D. Taylor had a meeting upon deck". Eight hours later, the vessel was off Flamborough Head, to be met shortly afterwards by two boats which had come out from Bridlington, an event giving great pleasure to the emigrants, for many of them had been formerly resident in that neighbourhood.\(^2\) By the morning of Monday, 2nd May,

\(^1\) The writer notes the difficulties of keeping a diary on board ship without the amenity of a writing desk, and with other passengers looking on.

\(^2\) The ship, captain and some of the crew also hailed from Bridlington.
the emigrants were off Ness Head, "viewing the scenery of Scotland and in not losing the opportunity of sending letters on shore... by the [pilot-] boat"; like the writer, they expected this to be the last chance of writing to kith and kin before their arrival in the United States. Rounding Duncansby Head, the vessel passed safely through the Pentland Firth and made such good progress during the day along the coast of Scotland that by seven o'clock the following morning (Tuesday), she was abreast of Cape Wrath. Lewis was sighted on Wednesday, the 4th, and passengers, with some apprehension, reached the full vastness of the North Atlantic on the 5th.

"This morning, at 4...", observed our writer,
"there was a disturbance about the ship, both from the waves of the ocean and voices of the women, which made things appear much worse than they really were. I have often looked steadfastly upon a picture which all of you will have seen in the stationers' windows entitled 'My child! my child!'. But here I heard the words in reality, as well as the sound of that wave which struck the ship's bows, and put all in jeopardy excepting those who knew the power of water".

Nor were the passengers reassured during the next few days by continuing high winds: on the 7th May, at
"four p.m., the main-yard broke. The ship is very uneasy, but much more so by losing her mainsail. This is what the sailors call a white squall; they think little of it, but I am afraid it will increase the length of our voyage by a few days."

Nevertheless, much of the crossing seems to have passed uneventfully, except on Wednesday, 25th May, when "A child of Mr. Elliot, a passenger, slipped down the steps, and her ankle-bone put out of joint, but it was immediately set by Mr. Taylor." 1

Four days later, the vessel reached the Newfoundland Banks, and on Wednesday, 1st June, the tediousness of the voyage was broken by the appearance of icebergs, a frequently noted source of wonderment to the landsmen:

"If there were three two of them formed a good resemblance to a church, about four times as large as York Minster, the other a castle or cliff... (and, on the 4th June)...At 6 p.m., passed a large iceberg. They are a most beautiful sight, see them where you may. This one resembled some of the high hills of Westmoreland and Cumberland..."
The Sir Edward Hamilton, after passing a barque closely in rain - "the stranger's decks... crowded with emigrants", probably "one of Rankin's ships of Glasgow, bound for Quebec or St. John's" - on the 7th June, finally arrived at the outer reaches of New York on the 17th, and was relieved of her complement on the 19th or 20th June.  

In 1843, increased emigratory activity at Hull was paralleled by a rise in the number of sailings for North America, mainly Canada: compared with the previous year, voyages to Quebec rose from ten to twelve, of which at least nine entailed passengers; and two sailings for New Brunswick occurred after the nil return for 1842.  Only two vessels, however, sailed for New York.  Emigrant-arrivals at Quebec from Hull in 1843 numbered 739, a


2. For Quebec: Minstrel, Ellen Rumney, Andrew Marvel, Queen Victoria, Amazon, Persus, Foster, Ellergill, Oakbrook, New Brunswick, Victory, Reward; for New Brunswick; Canton, Andrew Marvel.

3. For New York: Sir Edward Hamilton, Comet. Also advertised were the Wilson (400 tons; Capt. Chas. Jordan) for New York (March, 1843) and brig Diadem (280 tons; Capt. Robt. Fox) for Galveston, Tex. (November, 1843), but neither apparently sailed (E.C.H., 9, 16 Feb., 12 Oct. 1843). The Nashville sailed for New Orleans, and the Vistula for Vera Cruz, Mexico.
marked increase over the 378 of 1842; and the total for 1843 ranked fifth amongst English and Scottish ports, after Glasgow (3,074), Liverpool (2,312), London (1,069) and Plymouth (758).1

Before detailing the transatlantic passages of Hull vessels in 1843, however, it is necessary at this stage to consider briefly the requirements and implications of the Act of the previous year "for regulating the Carriage of Passengers in Merchant Vessels..."2 This Act, consisting of over fifty wide-ranging clauses, together with penalties for non-compliance, aimed at providing a greater degree of safety, comfort and health for passengers; and regulated such aspects as the total complement related to ship-tonnage, rudimentary standards of passenger-accommodation, provisions of food and water, medical care and ships' boats. Total complement was to be based on the equation of three persons to every five tons, including master and crew, two

1. Helen I. Cowen, pp.291-93 (Table 14). It is noteworthy, however, that the overall totals of emigrants arriving at Quebec in 1843 fell substantially from those of the previous year: from English ports, from 2,191 to 6,499; from Scottish ports, 6,095 to 5,006; and from Irish ports, 25,532 to 9,728. Of all British ports regularly sending emigrants to Quebec, only three (London, Greenock and Kilsala), apart from Hull, showed an increase in 1843 over the previous year; and the increase in each case was less than that of the Hummer port. The more demanding Act of 1842 probably played initially an important part in reducing numbers.

2. 5 & 6 Victoria 107 August 12th.
children under fourteen to equal one adult passenger, and babies under one year to be excluded from the calculation.\(^1\) In accommodation, passengers were not to exceed one for every ten feet of space on the lower deck of vessels bound for North America, whilst in the poop and orlop deck, each passenger was to receive thirty feet of space; the distance between the two decks was to be not less than six feet, and there were to be not more than two tiers of berths, securely constructed six inches above the deck, six feet long and eighteen inches wide. Whereas the Act of 1828 had required fifty gallons of water and fifty pounds of bread stuff to be carried for each person aboard, the Act of 1842 demanded more clearly defined daily and weekly amounts of water, and bread, biscuit, flour, oatmeal or rice, with permitted proportionate substitution of potatoes. Moreover, the passenger was to receive the same rations if the vessel were delayed in starting its voyage by up to two days; above two days, subsistence was to be granted at the rate of 1s. 0d. per day, though the latter was not payable if the delay were caused by unfavourable weather.

\(^{1}\) The earlier Act of 1828 (\(\text{c George IV 21 May 23rd}\)) required a maximum of three adults, including crew, to be carried for every four tons, with two children under \(\frac{1}{4}\), or three under 7, or mother and baby to be treated as one adult.
or if the emigrant were already being lodged and maintained ashore at the expense of some agency. Similarly, at the port of destination, the passenger was to be maintained for two days after arrival, unless the vessel were proceeding to another port. Water was to be carried in "Tanks or sweet Casks" of not more than three hundred gallons' capacity; and spirits were not to be sold aboard.

To protect the health of passengers during the voyage overseas, the Act provided for "a doctor and suitable medicines to be carried by every vessel (except to North America) carrying 100 passengers, or 50, if [the] voyage be longer than 12 weeks. All other vessels [were] to carry [a] suitable supply of medicines, etc., duly inspected by a doctor and passed as sufficient and suitable".¹ Vessels carrying emigrants were also to provide, as a minimum, though hardly adequate, emergency measure, boats (with supplies) according to tonnage: vessels, 150-250 tons, two boats; 250-500 tons, three boats; and over 500 tons and 100 passengers, four boats.²

¹. Ten weeks were "deemed necessary" for a voyage to North America, except the West Coast.

². One boat was "to be a Long Boat of size proportionate to tonnage".
Lord Stanley's Act of 1842 obviously applied
in principle to all British vessels conveying
emigrants. In the general absence of evidence
relating to charges directed at Hull vessels, and
to penalties imposed on Hull captains and ship-owners,
and accepting the fact that reasonably strict supervision
and inspection occurred at the port prior to departure,
it must be assumed that there was fair compliance with
the letter of the law. Many Yorkshire and Lincolnshire
emigrants were no doubt aware of the general terms of
the Act, if not its finer points, from at least their
reading, if literate, of the press. 1 Once aboard the
vessel, the passenger could peruse one of two copies
required by the Act "to be kept on...every ship". 2

Of the twelve vessels from Hull to Quebec
in 1843, five sailed before the end of April and nine
before the end of May. "Symptoms of rather extensive
emigration to Canada and to the States" had been
observed on the Hull quays by early April: "the
number of vessels laid on is much larger than for some
years past, and their berths are being rapidly filled
up by agriculturists who seek to escape from a corn-taxed

1. References to the Act are contained in, e.g., Doncaster Gazette, 6 May 1842, and E.C.M., 4 Apr. 1844.

2. Kathleen A. Walpole, "Emigration to British North America...", Appendix II.
country to a cheap one". The first vessels of the season to leave, the Minstrel (700 tons; Capt. Matthew Wright), on the 7th, and the Elan Runney (600 tons; Capt. Thos. Simpson), on the 9th April, each carried out, reportedly, nearly 170 passengers; and both reached Quebec on the 23rd May. Shortly afterwards, also with passengers, the Andrew Marvel (Capt. Henry Chambers) and the 520-ton barque, Queen Victoria (Capt. George Cookman), sailed on the 11th and 12th April, arriving at their destination on the 23rd and 24th May.

The last emigrant vessel in April, the Amazon (442 tons; Capt. Henry Pearson) left the Junction Dock, near Whitefriargate Bridge, on the 24th, passed Hune, Pentland Firth, on the 27th, and reached Quebec on the 28th May.

1. Hull Advertiser, 14 Apr. 1843.

2. E.C.H., 26 Jan. to 16 Feb., 2 to 30 Mar., 13 Apr. 1843; Hull Advertiser, 14 Apr., 16 Jun., 11, 18 Aug. 1843. The Minstrel was unfortunately wrecked on her return voyage from Quebec to Hull, when, on about the 7th July, the vessel went aground in thick fog at St. Need's, on the Newfoundland coast. After three days, all the crew were rescued, some by mid-August having reached the home port. The "old and experienced" seaman, Capt. Wright, a part owner of the Minstrel, had for long been engaged in the Northern Fisheries. There was no truth in the earlier report that the Minstrel had struck on a bank off Newfoundland on the outward voyage.


The preference of ship-captains for taking the northern route through the Pentland Firth, when sailing from Hull to either Quebec or New York, has already been well noted. The second voyage of the Wolga in 1834 (Aug.–Oct.) to New York affords only one example of a captain perplexed by contrary winds in the North Sea; how the vessel sailed northwards as far as Peterhead, then southwards to the length of Cromer (Norfolk), before ultimately gaining the Pentland Firth and the Atlantic. The 1843 voyage of the Queen Victoria to Quebec also illustrates a change of plan by the captain; and for this information we are indebted to James Taylor, a passenger, who recorded and later published the daily events of the passage as well as his observations and experiences of a two and a-half years' stay

1. Hull Packet, 18 Jul. to 8, 22, 29 Aug. 1834;
   Hull Advertiser, 22 Aug., 19 Sep. 14 Nov. 1834;
   Hull Rockingham, 8 Nov. 1834.
in Canada. 1 Taylor left his home at Crowle, in Lincolnshire, on the 10th April, and reached Hull the same day; and on the 11th, he embarked on the 900-ton (burthen) Queen Victoria, waiting with goods and passengers in the Junction Dock. All preparations completed, the vessel was hauled through the docks and anchored just in the Humber to await the arrival of Capt. Cookman.

"We had intended", recorded Taylor, "on sailing from Hull, to steer for the coast of Scotland; but on our nearing Spurn Point, the wind veered round to an unfavourable quarter, and blew very strong; the captain was therefore under the necessity of altering his course and steering for the south of England". 2

The narrative is here worth repeating in full:

"About midnight [12th-13th April], when crossing Boston Deeps, we encountered a severe hail-storm, which carried away our main and fore-yards; and, had not the crew exerted themselves to the utmost, in making everything secure, the damage would have been much more serious. Soon after this we reached Yarmouth Roads, where we cast anchor and hoisted our Union Jack to the mast head, as a signal that we needed assistance from the shore, which was quickly noticed, and promptly attended to.

1. James Taylor, Narrative of a Voyage to, and Travels in Upper Canada, with Accounts of the Customs, Character, and Dialect of the Country, also Remarks on Emigration, Agriculture, &c. (Hull, 1846). The publication is noted in the obituary of Taylor’s daughter, Mary Ann, who died, aged 22, at Crowle (Doncaster Gazette, 28 Aug. 1846).

2. Ibid., p. 1.
The wind was blowing very strong when we anchored at Yarmouth, and scores of vessels might be seen scudding back for shelter to the moorings they had left early in the morning, not thinking it prudent to face such a strong north-wester. After undergoing all necessary repairs, we weighed anchor.

With a fair wind, the vessel reached Lowestoft about seven in the evening of the 15th, but,

"About this time the wind suddenly changed to the south-east, and showed every prospect of remaining in that quarter; the captain therefore determined to 'about ship', and steer for the north coast, which course we had not followed many hours before the wind again changed, "chuck in our teeth", and blew very hard; the captain therefore thought it advisable again to steer for the south coast of England".

1. James Taylor, Narrative of a Voyage to, and Travels in Upper Canada, with Accounts of the Customs, Character, and Dialect of the Country, also Remarks on Emigration, Agriculture, &c., p.2; Hull Advertiser, 26 Apr.1843.

The Queen Victoria continued to experience changeable weather in home waters. By ten o'clock on the 19th April, the vessel was nearing the Isle of Wight in fine conditions, but,

"At noon, the sky was cloudy and dark, with every appearance of an approaching storm, for which we had barely time to make preparations before it overtook us, blowing a hurricane, the rain coming down in torrents, for about an hour, after which the storm abated, and the sky became once more serene".

Towards evening on the 20th, Start Point was sighted (more "heavy squalls...thunder and lightning, at intervals, during the night"), and in fine weather, on the afternoon of the following day, Eddystone Lighthouse. The Lizard Lights came in view on the 22nd. With the vessel constantly beset by foul weather, however, the discomforts of the emigrants, venturing away from land for the first time in most cases, are difficult to imagine, especially as for the next few days, the elements seem to have been at their worst by night. On the 23rd April,
"Off the Land's End, with the wind blowing fresh against us. At night, the weather changed - the sky was suddenly covered with dark clouds - the sea became a sheet of foam - the thunder growled over our heads, and the forked lightning terrifically rent the air. Our sails were taken in and yards lowered, the top-gallant masts struck, ... About midnight, the wind increased to a hurricane, and the vessel being 'laid to', drifted a considerable distance back into the British Channel'.

The following morning, in somewhat gentler conditions, the vessel again sighted the Lizard Lights, passed Land's End and entered the Atlantic; but by evening the story was the same:

"...we had again to make preparations for a storm; and during the night the wind continued to blow heavily against us [and on the 25th] Running under close reefed canvas, the waves increasing to mountains. At noon, the wind still continued to blow with unabated fury, the watery element raging with violent commotion. The gale continues; and the waves swelling, with a beam sea, occasions a heavy rolling of the vessel. At midnight, heavy squalls, which split our jib sail to atoms.

1. J. Taylor, Narrative of a Voyage... pp.3-4.
In the morning [26th] we shipped a heavy sea, which found its way into the galley, smashing our crockery and upsetting every moveable, and making its escape at the opposite side of the vessel, merged into its own element". 1.

A pleasant day was enjoyed on the 27th until mid-evening, when,

"the atmosphere showed indications of an approaching storm. About midnight, the wind increased to a hurricane; all hands who had retired were summoned from their berths; the sails were taken in, and the vessel's wild career partly subdued, suffering no other damage than the loss of a second jib sail, which may be justly attributed to our worthy Commander, Captain Cookman, whose conduct and assiduous attention to his duties, entitled him to the implicit obedience of his crew, and the esteem and gratitude of every one on board".

Good progress in more moderate weather on the 28th was - with surely great understatement on Taylor's part - "most agreeable to all parties". The improvement was not to last, however, for on the night of the 29th-30th,

yet another electrical storm and high winds occurred deluging the ship in water. Days passed with frequent storms, and moderate intervals, with little to break the succession, except the view of a ship some miles away (30th April), solitary gulls, some fifteen hundred miles from England (2nd May), a visitation by whales and a hailing of the bark, Onyx, from Grangemouth (8th May). By the 10th May, the Queen Victoria had reached the Newfoundland Banks, and by the 18th, had lost sight of Newfoundland itself; and on the 19th, Anticosti was near, on the 23rd, the vessel entered the St. Lawrence, and the following day, was in sight of Quebec, "the long-looked-for port after a stormy passage of six weeks". On the 25th May, the travel-worn passengers were landed.

A pause of three weeks followed between the last sailing in April, the Amazon, and the first of four departures in May for the St. Lawrence. The Fergus (430 tons; Capt. Wm. Blyth) sailed with goods and passengers on the 13th May from the Old Dock, Grimston Street End, and reached Quebec on the 28th June. The Foster (350 tons; Capt. C. Lickis) followed on the 20th May and reached her destination on the 7th July. The Ellersill

2. Ibid., pp. 6-9.
3. Ibid., pp. 10-12.
4. E.C.H., 2 to 16 Mar.; 6 Apr. to 4 May 1843; Hull Advertiser, 19 May, 4 Aug. 1843.
(500 tons; Capt. Rd. Hill) and Ockbrook (600 tons; Capt. L. Lawson) both set out on the 26th May, the former from the Old Dock, and were still in company when sighted thirteen days out between Portland Bill and Start Point: the first reached Quebec on the 28th July, the second on the 11th August.\(^1\) Whereas only the Fergus of the May vessels had definitely carried passengers — indeed, the Foster and Ellergill are noted as being in ballast — all three June vessels, and all from the Junction Dock, conveyed their share of human freight, the last passengers Quebec-bound from Hull in 1843. The barque, New Brunswick (600 tons; Capt. H. Hunter), sailed out on the 1st June, was sighted on the 30th in lat. 44°, long. 49°, and reached Quebec on the 20th July.\(^2\) The Victory (650 tons; Capt. Jos. Hill) left on the 4th June, also with passengers, and arrived on the 11th August.\(^3\) Lastly, the Reward (500 tons; Capt. Botterill), leaving with passengers on the 14th June, appears to have been much delayed, probably by adverse winds, in the early part of her voyage, for twelve days elapsed before the vessel reached Freswick Bay, Caithness; arrival at Quebec was the 10th August.\(^4\)

3. E.C.H., 4 May to 8 Jun., 1843; Hull Advertiser, 1 Sep., 1843.
4. E.C.H., 1 to 15 Jun., 1843; Hull Advertiser, 7 Jul., 1 Sep., 1843.
Two vessels only sailed for New Brunswick, both during the summer months. The Canton (481 tons; Capt. John P. Tonge), in subsequent years a frequent transporter of emigrants to Quebec, left for Saint John on the 26th July; and the Andrew Marvel (Capt. Henry Chambers), after her voyage earlier in the year to and from Quebec, set out unannounced for the same destination on the 10th August. In neither case are passengers specifically mentioned.¹

Likewise, New York was the destination of only two ships from Hull in 1843. The dependable Sir Edward Hamilton (Capt. Robt. Lundy), with a very similar complement to that of the previous year - 135 steerage passengers as compared with the 130 or 131 of 1842 - sailed on the 18th April and reached New York "after a fine passage" on the 21st May.² The second vessel, the Comet (500 tons; Capt. Henry Wright), left about the 25th May, and arrived on the 21st July.³

North American sailings from Hull in 1844, whilst increasing in total from eighteen to twenty, exhibited a number of characteristics similar to those of 1843. For the second successive year, twelve vessels set out for Quebec - though probably only eleven arrived - and of these,

at least nine again carried passengers.¹

Sailings for New Brunswick rose from two to three, and for New York, from two to four.² Emigrant-arrivals at Quebec from Hull were also similar in the two years: in 1843, 739 were landed, in 1844, between 750 and 800.³

The 1844 emigration season opened slightly earlier than usual at Hull with one vessel sailing towards the end of March, six before the end of April, and all but two of the remainder before the end of May. The first departure of the season for Quebec, that of the Llan Rumney (Capt. Thos. Simpson) on the 29th March, aroused much press and local interest, and was

¹ For Quebec: Llan Rumney, Suffolk, Canton, Don, Stenter, Amazon, Fergus, Foster, Prince Regent, Ellerhill, Aldebaran, Andromache. The 177-ton brig, Crown (Capt. Laughton), was also noted as an arrival at Quebec on the 13th June, having left Hull on the 10th April. The voyage was neither advertised in the Hull press, nor reported in the home shipping news; and the Crown's indicated complement of six steerage passengers may well have been taken out from Stromness, the vessel's port of registration.

² For New Brunswick: evening Star, Elizabeth Holderness, Pandora; for New York: Ellikon, Tuscany, Sir Edward Hamilton, St. Lawrence; and for New Orleans: Lord Wenlock. The American barque, Gleaner (Capt. Smith) was advertised for New York, but apparently did not sail (E.C. H.tg Sep. to 10 Oct. 1844)

³ Helen I. Cowan, pp. 291-93 (Table IV), in her totals of emigrant-arrivals at Quebec, omits the years, 1844-49. The compilation of emigrant-totals from Hull has been mainly based, therefore, on two other sources:

(a) MS. Register of Ship Arrivals at Quebec, 1844-49. Held at Archives du Quebec, Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, Quebec: Ref. (MS. AQ) Arrivals from Sea; henceforth, MS. AQ A/6.

(b) Hull press references. When figures for the same vessel are available from both sources, those noted in (b) tend on the whole to be somewhat higher; and occasionally, one source but not the other quotes passengers. Dates of departure and arrival may also vary slightly in the two sources.
described in detail. The vessel's large complement — recorded variously at Hull as "about 180 passengers", "158 emigrants" and "150 steerage... [and] two cabin passengers", and at Quebec as one cabin and 159 steerage passengers — consisted mainly of agricultural labourers and their families, entirely from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. From the latter county a few had left Brigg, but the majority were from the East Riding, especially from Sutton, Skidby, Market Weighton and around Beverley. One cabin passenger was identified as a son of the late John Norman Crosse, Esq., of Hull. To the many sightseers at the Humber Dock and on the pier, the picture presented was one of mixed emotions as the *Llan Rumney* was hauled out into and down the Humber by a steam-tug. The men emigrating

"who were robust and healthy looking, apparently well fitted to endure hardships and subdue the forest wilds to fertility, sat on coils of rope on the deck in the ship's boats, or stood on the ship's sides hanging on by the rigging, looking as if they would like to lend a hand and help the sailors..."
Young couples, hopeful of their future prospects in Canada, apparently displayed little regret at leaving. The large numbers of children on deck

"seemed highly delighted with the novelty of every thing around them. Most of them had never seen a ship before, and they gazed with childish curiosity and interest from the ship's side on every movement of the sailors, and on the crowds that thronged the dock sides".

The older women, however, wore a more sombre aspect and many were in tears: they would

"find their future solace in the consciousness of duty done... [having] given reluctant assent to the proposal to quit their native country;... nothing less strong than maternal love, and the most lively picture of future advantage and prosperity to their children had induced them to emigrate".

As the ship was towed out, three cheers issued from on board, to be returned with much hat-waving from shore.

The Llan Humpy, having left Hull on the 29th March, reached Huna on the 4th April, and Quebec, with her
passengers "all well", on the 26th May.\(^1\)

Some mystery surrounds the second departure for Quebec. Unadvertised, the **Suffolk** (Capt. Mayers), reportedly "with goods and passengers", left on the 1st April, and passed Huna on the 6th. On reaching long.\(19^\circ\)\(W\), however, the crew refused to continue the voyage as the vessel was in a leaky condition and turned the ship about for Stromness, where they arrived on the 1st May.\(^2\)

The barque **Canton** (Capt. J.P. Tonge), the second vessel of the year for Quebec despatched by H. & E. Burstall, of Hull, sailed on the 4th April from the Old Dock. Apart from her complement of 24 passengers, the number somewhat limited by the "terms...being rather higher than some other ships" — mainly strong, young agricultural labourers from the East Riding — the **Canton** carried a cargo


2. *Hull Advertiser*, 12, 19 Apr., 10 May 1844. The projected sailing of the **Suffolk** was not advertised in *E.C.H.* or *Hull Advertiser*, an unusual occurrence in a year when other sailings to Quebec were well publicised. Again, if the vessel carried emigrants, there is no indication as to whether these were returned to Hull, or forwarded to Quebec by another ship. Certainly, there is no indication in MS. AQ.A/8, 1844, of the **Suffolk's** reaching Quebec after repair.
carried a cargo of oil and coals, and a crew of
15. Huna was passed on the 9th April, and Quebec
reached on the 12th June.1

Emigrants continued to leave the same areas
of the two counties. The Don's complement of
"120 souls" (or, if the Quebec arrival figures are
accepted, three cabin and 94 steerage passengers)
included family-heads "of a respectable class,
being chiefly farmers with a little capital", from
the vicinities of Beverley, Driffield and Briggs.
A procession of thirty-two waggons had carried the
belongings of thirty-four persons from Wrawby,
near Briggs, to Barton, prior to embarkation across
the Humber at the Old Dock. When the Don (Capt. Thomas
Muir), belonging to G. B. Blankin, of Whitby, but
"well-known in Liverpool for her quick and prosperous
voyages", left Hull on the 6th April, she was
"as nearly full as possible". The barque reached
Quebec on the 12th or 21st June.2

1. E.C.H., 1 Feb. to 11 Apr. 1844; Hull Advertiser,
12, 19 Apr., 5 Jul. 1844. MS. AQ.A/S, 1844/323
registers the Canton's arrival, but fails to record
any passengers.

2. E.C.H., 8 Feb. to 11 Apr. 1844; Hull Advertiser,
5 Jul. 1844; records the Don's arrival as the 12th June,
MS. AQ.A/S, 1844/456, as (probably correctly) the 21st
June. In addition to emigrants, the Don carried a
crew of 17 and "a full [general] cargo of 300 tons
of goods".
Yet another vessel despatched by H. & E. Burstall, the Stentor (Capt. Matthew Wright), sailed three days after the Don. Passengers sailing in her represented a number of villages in the neighbourhood of Doncaster, including Arksey, Skirhouse and Worsley Hill, and numerous other locations in both Yorkshire and Lincolnshire - York, Bedale, Horsnsea, Keyingham and Roos, Gainsborough, Wrawby, Middle Rasen and Flenton. The vessel's total passenger complement was noted as 114 and "about 100" at Hull, and 93 at Quebec; and the Stentor left the Junction Dock, opposite Posternagate, on the 9th April, was sighted off Point Diamond on the 19th June, and arrived at Quebec on the 23rd June.\(^1\)

The last vessel to sail from Hull in April was the Amazon (Capt. Chas Pearson), despatched by G.B. Symes, of Hull. Even at the beginning of the month, the vessel had "a good number of berths engaged"; and although the final complement at the time of departure was not publicised, 152 steerage passengers were recorded on arrival at Quebec. After leaving the Junction Dock, near

\(^1\) E.C.H., 22, 29 Feb., 14 Mar., to 11 Apr. 1844; Hull Advertiser, 12 Apr., 19, 26 Jul. 1844; MS.A.G.A.2, 1844/472. The Stentor carried a crew of 15 and a cargo of coals. On the return voyage to Hull, the vessel put into Scrobster Roads (Thurso Bay) on the 18th September, "to obtain medical assistance for the master, who had been confined to his bed for four weeks" (Hull Advertiser, 27 Sep. 1844). Fortunately, Capt. Wright recovered, for he commanded the Stentor in 1845.
Whitefriargate Bridge, on the 24th April, the Amazon passed through the Pentland Firth on the 29th, and was sighted on the 4th and 11th June in the St. Lawrence, before her arrival on the 13th or 14th of that month at Quebec. 1.

Four vessels in all left for Quebec in May —
the Fergus, Foster, Prince Regent and Ellergill. Passengers on both the "large and very commodious" Fergus (Capt. Wm. Blyth) and the smaller Foster (Capt. Jas. Aikett) were chiefly made up, as on ships already in mid-Atlantic, of agricultural labourers and their families, with the usual sprinkling of "persons who have conducted farms, and hope shortly to see themselves comfortably settled upon land of their own"; and allied rural skills were represented by a few joiners and wrights, and one blacksmith. The totals carried by the Fergus and Foster were "about 130" (at Quebec, also, 130) and "about 70" (at Quebec, 45); and on the Sunday prior to the vessels' departures on the 15th and 16th May, many of these were to be found in the congregations at three divine services performed aboard the former ship by the sailors' missionary. Both vessels sailed from the Junction Dock:

the Fergus arrived at Quebec on the 28th June; 
the Foster was sighted twice - on May 28th, in 
lat. 46° 35' N., long. 15° 7' W., and on June 13th, in 
lat. 45°, long. 45° - before reaching port on the 
1st or 2nd July. Yet another barque belonging 
to H. & E. Burstall, the Prince Regent (Capt. Hy. 
Chambers), was first advertised to sail on the 5th 
April. When the vessel did actually sail on or 
before the 23rd May, she reached Quebec in ballast 
on the 11th July. The last vessel to sail for the 
St. Lawrence in May was the Ellergill (Capt. Rd. Hill) 
on the 26th, with "26 steerage and one cabin passenger" - 
though recorded at Quebec as 32 steerage passengers - 
who were entirely "poor mechanics and agriculturalists 
with their families"; assisted by mainly Lincolnshire 
parishes with passage money and a small sum per head 
to be given on landing. The Ellergill, whose departure 
was delayed by one day, when, on leaving the Humber Dock

1. E.C.H., 22 Feb., 14 Mar., to 4, 25 Apr., 2 to 23 May, 
1844; Hull Advertiser, 14 Jun., 5 Jul., 2 Aug. 1844; 
MS. A.Q.A/S, 1844/486, 503. The Fergus (owned by 
H. & E. Burstall) carried a crew of 14, the Foster 
(despatched by G.B. Symes), a crew of 15. Both 
vessels carried coals.

2. E.C.H., 3 Feb. to 21 Mar. 1844; Hull Advertiser, 
2 Aug. 1844; MS. A.Q.A/S, 1844/539. Quebec records note 
the Prince Regent's departure from Hull as the 23rd 
May, but the vessel was sighted (according to Hull 
Advertiser, 14 Jun. 1844) on the 25th May in lat. 49° 
long. 21°. The vessel could hardly have sailed nearly 
one-third of the way across the Atlantic in only two 
two days of outward passage from Hull! A crew of 16, 
but no passengers were indicated.
basin, she ran into a brig, causing considerable damage to the latter and necessitating the replacement of her own bowsprit, reached Quebec on the 17th July. 1.

The last vessels of the season sailed for Quebec in early July. The Aldebaran (Capt. R. Fishwick) and Andromache (Capt. G. Hunter) left on the 6th or 7th, and the 10th of the month, and both reached their destination on the 24th August. The Andromache carried 20 passengers in steerage. 2.

New Brunswick attracted three sailings from Hull in 1844. The barques Evening Star (Capt. John Green) and Elizabeth Holderness (Capt. Fredgen) left the Norder on the 9th and about the 21st March, the latter reaching Saint John on the 15th June. The Pandora (Capt. David Brown) sailed for the same destination on the 28th May. 3.

At least two of the four vessels for New York conveyed passengers. The unusually early Ellison (360 tons; Capt. Powdrell) took "out the first, although a rather small group", from the Norder Dock on the 21st February; sailing from Grimsby Roads, two days later, the vessel arrived at New York on the 27th April. 4. The American brig Tuscany (320 tons;
Capt. Prince), left for New York on the 9th March, was off the North Foreland by the 14th, and arrived with a cargo of iron and oil on the 26th April.1

Almost inevitably, the *Sir Edward Hamilton* (Capt. Lundy) had "a good number of berths engaged" by early April. The vessel, sailing with 84 passengers, "chiefly of the agricultural class", left the Humber on the 16th April and passed Freswick on the 19th, anchored at Longhope, Orkney, between the 20th and 29th, and reached New York on the 12th June.2

Lastly, the *St. Lawrence* (600 tons; Capt. C.P. Brown) departed on the 25th October, and was off Portland on the 30th, en route for the United States.3

The port of Hull witnessed a drop in total transatlantic sailings in 1845 to fifteen from the twenty of the previous year, although departures for Quebec rose by one to thirteen.4 No vessels were


destined for New Brunswick, and only two for New York, though both carried passengers. 1 Moreover, emigrants were taken on all but two of the vessels for the St. Lawrence, and human arrivals there numbered upwards of 750, by observations at Hull and records at Quebec, or 714, by the latter alone. 2

Five vessels sailed for Quebec before the end of March, but the first two carried no passengers: the Fakim (Messrs. Rankin, of Glasgow) and the Walton (Capt. John Johnson) both left on the 25th, the latter calling at Longhope on the 3rd April, and reaching Quebec and Montreal on the 23rd and 29th May. 3

On the 26th March, the Andromache (Capt. Wm. Hunter), "the first passenger vessel from this port for any part of the world this season", was towed out into the Harbour by steamer. Carrying only 26 steerage passengers, being "nearly full of goods", the ship reached Longhope on the 3rd April and Quebec on the 21st May. 4 The barque Canton (Capt. J. F. Tonge) sailed out on the 27th March with 36 or 40 passengers in steerage and reached her destination on the 18th May. 5 The last vessel to leave before the end of March

2. MS. AQ. A/S, 1845.
was the regular Llan Rumney, now under the command of Capt. Willoughby, with 39 or 44 passengers: quitting the Junction Dock on the 29th, she arrived on the 29th May.¹

It seems that some slight delay in sailing occurred in the case of the Llan Rumney, but that passengers on this occasion were little troubled. At times in the past, however, there had been "very bitter complaints" when emigrants had been obliged to dally at the port for a week or more, using up their provisions and "losing the profit which they might have realized in their own business, had not the mismanagement of the shipping agents frustrated their designs". Complaints of this type were certain to harm the emigrant business which was just as profitable as that of merchandise. The temptation faced by the ship's captain of delaying a few days in order to pick up a few more passengers was self-defeating in the end, it was argued: by losing a few fares one year, the captain would gain the following year by his enhanced reputation of sailing on time.

No doubt behind the argument also lay the fear that if Hull gained the general reputation of unpunctual sailings, the advantages already possessed by Liverpool would be accentuated by Hull's failures.²

¹. E.C.H., 30 Jan. to 3 Apr. 1845; Hull Advertiser, 28 Mar., 11 Apr., 4 Jul. 1845; MS. AQ. A/S,1845/354. Capt. Thos. Simpson died at sea, aged 44, on 14th Oct. 1844; he had been ten years in the Llan Rumney, and before that, had commanded the Victory (Hull Advertiser, 1 Nov. 1844). Hull press notes 44 passengers, Quebec records, 39. The Llan Rumney carried a crew of 13, and was despatched by G.A. Blenkin & Co.

Although at the end of March, with only about 100 passengers already at sea, "the season [did] not promise to be a great one for emigration", almost every vessel sailing in April carried a substantial human cargo; and indeed, the aggregate for 1845 proved only slightly smaller than the totals for 1843 and 1844. The first vessel in April, the barque Stentor (Capt. Matthew Wright) sailed on the 5th, with 85 or 93 passengers, and reached Quebec on the 19th May.\(^1\) The Fergus (Capt. Martin), advertised by William Rylth, the owner, as "having taken out within the last Three Years 644 Passengers", and despatched by H. & E. Burstall, followed on the 12th April; carrying 155 or 160 passengers, the vessel passed Dover on the 15th, and arrived the 2nd June.\(^2\) The Amazon (Capt. C. Pearson) conveyed an almost identical number of passengers - 154 - when she left on April 21st: the vessel also sailed southwards from the Humber, was off the Isle of Wight on the 26th and was sighted on the 12th May in lat. 46°, long. 41°, before finally reaching her destination one day before the Fergus.\(^3\)


3. E.C.H., 13, 27 Feb., 13, 27 Mar., 10, 17, 24 Apr. 1845; Hull Advertiser, 28 Mar., 2 May, 6 Jun., 4 Jul., 1845; MS. A.Q.A/S, 1845/446. In March, the Hull press noted 51 passengers already booked; Quebec arrivals were 154. The Amazon carried a crew of 17, and was in ballast.
Two more vessels left for Quebec in April – the barque *Douglas* (600 tons; Capt. Wm. Hodgson, or Hodgson) on the 23rd, and the barque *James and Thomas* (600 tons; Capt. Hill Forrest) on the 30th or 31st. The first, carrying 32 passengers, a crew of 16 and a general cargo, took the southern route, anchored at Deal between April 29th and May 2nd, and at Brixham between May 6th and 9th, to take on water, before reaching Quebec on the 9th June.\(^1\) By contrast, the *James and Thomas*, with 74 or 102 passengers, plus 18 crew, and a general cargo, took the northern route, remained at Longhope, Orkney, between the 3rd and 5th May, and arrived on the 16th June.\(^2\)

After, or perhaps because of the flush of departures in March and April, only three vessels were still to sail for the St. Lawrence; and these provided passage for about 100 persons. The *Prince Regent* (Capt. Henry Chambers) and *Lord Mulgrave* (417 tons; Capt. John Lickiss), leaving on the 6th May and

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\(^2\) *E.C.H.* 27 Mar., 17 Apr., 8 May 1845; *Hull Advertiser*, 2, 16 May, 18 Jul. 1845; *MS. AQ. A.8*, 1845/600. The Hull press notes 102 passengers; the Quebec register, recording the *James and Thomas* incorrectly (as the *John and Thomas*), notes 74.
18th July, each carried only 10 passengers.¹ The former passed Freswick on the 14th May, but was prevented from entering Longhope by contrary winds until the 17th, despite having had a pilot on board since the 13th: Quebec was reached on the 28th June.² The Lord Mulgrave arrived on the 3rd September with a cargo of bricks.³ The "fine new" William Gibson (Capt. G. Cookman), however, sailing on the 29th May, carried 85 or 87 passengers, chiefly agriculturalists, with many children, from the two counties adjacent to the Humber. The ship was sighted on June 5th in lat.59⁰ long.⁰ - thereby indicating a voyage by the northern route - and reached Quebec on July 13th.⁴

1. The progress report of the Prince Regent (Hull Advertiser, 23 May 1845), claiming 70 passengers, seems highly optimistic compared with the 10 arrivals at Quebec (MS.AQ.A/S, 1845/748).

2. E.C.H., 20, 27 Mar., 10 Apr., to 1 May 1845; Hull Advertiser, 9, 23, 30 May, 1 Aug., 1845; MS.AQ.A/S, 1845/748. The Prince Regent, with a crew of 16, was despatched, in ballast, by G.B. Symes.


For those passengers wishing to sail direct
to the United States from Hull in 1845, only two
opportunities arose, and not surprisingly, the
Panama and Rambler, both 700-ton American vessels,
carried a sizable complement. The Panama (Capt. F.G.
Cameron) left on the 3rd May, with 110 passengers, and
reached New York on the 14th June.¹ In the case of
the Rambler (Capt. Baxter), on only her second
transatlantic voyage, it is possible to learn more than
usual about the accommodation and performance of an
above-average emigrant sailing ship. This vessel was
seven feet between decks, a far superior breadth than
most, and able to carry 400 passengers, though restricted
by American law and her tonnage to 169. For those willing
and able to pay cabin fares, the passage could be
comfortable by contemporary standards. A dozen persons
could be accommodated in her after-cabins, fully equal
to those on ocean steamships; it was claimed:
the dressing-room was particularly spacious and had
 fittings of French-polished oak, with much inlaid
decoration in zebra and satin woods. The Rambler's

¹ E.C.H., 30 Jan., 13, 27 Feb. to 17 Apr., 15 May 1845;
1845, Capt. Cameron "hereby cautions Tradesmen and
others against trusting any of the crew of the [Panama],
either in their own or Ship's Account".
performance to date had proved most satisfactory.

On her first transatlantic voyage of only 47 days in all, the vessel had sailed from Boston to Charleston, S.C. (800 miles), unloaded, taken on more cargo, and crossed to Liverpool. Returning to New York from Liverpool, the Rambler was the sole vessel to brave immense storms, which had forced the return of about twenty other ships to the Mersey and occasioned the loss of two packets. Even so, New York was reached in 38 days. On her second visit to England, the vessel had reached Land's End in 20 days from New York, and Hull in 27 days; and at Hull, "she was one of the most attractive objects which "trippers on a special train from the West Riding" found in their perambulation of the docks." The Rambler sailed out of Hull, with goods and passengers, on the 19th May, arrived at Deal the following day, and New York on the 24th June, despite encountering only light winds during the last two weeks of her passage.1

1. E.G.H., 1 to 22 May, 17 Jul. 1845; Hull Advertiser, 11 Apr., 30 May, 18 Jul. 1845.
The detailing of transatlantic sailings from Hull in 1846 presents a number of perplexities and contradictions. Not that voyages to the United States are difficult to list: only two vessels sailed for New York, and one for Charleston. Problems arise, however, in reaching a conclusion based on Hull sources and Quebec records, and, for that matter, in estimating the year’s total of emigrants carried between the two ports. Ideally and logically, vessels advertised and confirmed as sailing from the harbor, unless waylaid by some misfortune, should be recorded on arrival at Quebec. By the same token, the number of passengers leaving Hull on any given ship should approximate to that noted as disembarking, always allowing for the possibility of births and deaths, and the addition of others collected at some intermediate port — in Scotland, including Orkney, or less likely, in England or Ireland. During 1846, there is evidence of sixteen departures from Hull for Quebec, the highest figure for fourteen years. Yet, this aggregate

1. For New York: North Bend, Hadram; for New Orleans, James H. Shephard (or for Charleston).

2. For Quebec: Columbine, Peel’s One, Prince Regent, Canton, Fergus (two voyages), Stentor, Aurora, Meteor, Amazon, Orwell, Queen, Foster, Sir Edward Hamilton, British King, Ellen Runney.
includes vessels noted at Hull, but not at Quebec—
and vice-versa—and vessels sailing unannounced.
Similarly, some vessels are instanced in the Hull
press as conveying passengers, but reach Quebec
apparently minus their human cargo; and the reverse
is also true. On the one hand, Hull readers were
informed in early April that "the departures of
passengers from this port...this year appears likely
to be considerably below average, owing to the unsettled
state of the Oregon question"—though this judgment was
perhaps coloured by the lack of late-March sailings; on
the other, using Quebec records only, at least 867
passengers were landed from Hull vessels in 1846, a total
somewhat greater than in any of the several preceding years.1

The first vessel of 1846 for the St. Lawrence, the
barque Columbine (Capt. Wm. Taylor), offering "Superior
Accommodation for Cabin Passengers", left Hull on the
2nd April, landed four steerage passengers at Quebec on
the 20th May, and reached Montreal six days later with a
general cargo.2 Within the next week or so, no fewer than
five or six vessels left for the same river. The Fell's One
(Capt. Dickon Askam) sailed in ballast on the 8th April,
passed through the Pentland Firth on the 14th, and reached

1. E.C.H., 9 Apr. 1846; RS. AQ. A/S, 1846/175, 189, 246,
304, 367, 545, 713, 717.

Hull Advertiser, 19 Jun. 1846; RS. AQ. A/S, 1846/189.
Quebec on May 26th or 27th. Three more vessels left on the 8th or 9th April, the Prince Regent (Capt. Henry Chambers), Canton (Capt. Tonge) and Fergus (Capt. Martin). The first arrived at Quebec on the 28th May carrying a general cargo, a crew of 16 and only five passengers in steerage; and the second, unadvertised, but "with goods and passengers", reached her destination on the 27th May. On the first of her two voyages in 1846, the Fergus, advertised as "Well-known in the Trade for her Quick Passages, having taken out within the last Four Years upwards of 800 Passengers", and the first Hull ship of the season to convey a substantial number of emigrants, reached Quebec on the 24th or 25th May.

1. E.C.H., 12, 26 Feb., 16 Apr. 1846; Hull Advertiser, 24 Apr., 19 Jun. 1846; N.S. A.Q. A/S, 1846/332 (noting departure date as Apr. 12th, and a cargo of coals). The Peel's One (then commanded by Capt. Lickiss), was lost in 1848; leaving Hull on the 19th August of that year for Richibucto, N.B.; the barque foundered near Cape North, C. Breton Is., on the 18th September. Six of the crew were drowned, but 23, including eight passengers and crew of a local schooner, escaped (E.C.H., 19 Oct. 1848). Capt. Askam (then commanding the Steator) died at New York, aged 39, on the 12th June 1849 (Ibid., 28 Jun. 1849; Hull Advertiser, 29 Jun. 1849).

with 90 or 95 in steerage. The barque Stentor
(Capt. Matthew Wright), which had received
applications for a few berths, sailed from the
Old Dock on April 10th with a cargo of coals,
passed through the Pentland Firth on the 13th, and
arrived at her destination on the 20th May with
ten steerage passengers. Unannounced, but
probably leaving Hull about the same time, the
Meteor (Capt. Brown) reached Quebec, "with emigrants",
on the 28th May. Similarly, the Aurora (Capt. Hunter),
unnoted at Hull, but nevertheless stated to have
left the port on the 13th April, arrived on the
20th May, with a cargo of coals. The last vessel
to leave the Humber in April, the Amazon (Capt. C.
Pearson), despatched by H. & E. Burstall, also carried
coals, but additionally 110-120 steerage passengers.
Sailing from the Junction Dock on the 15th or 16th,
the ship was off Freswick and through the Pentland Firth


4. MS.AQ.A/S, 1846/245.
on the 20th, reaching Quebec on the 19th or 20th
May, with her passengers all well.¹

Of all the vessels leaving the number for the
St. Lawrence in 1846, the complement of the Orwell
(Capt. John Martin) presents the greatest apparent
discrepancy. The dates of departure and arrival —
the 2nd May and the 24th June — are not open to doubt.
On the other hand, the total of 391 steerage passengers
registered on disembarkation at Quebec was not only
unusually high, but also remarkable in that, if
correct, it provoked a singular lack of interest
at Hull. Whereas, normally, the Hull press was
quick to remark on any individual ship's complement
exceeding one hundred passengers, and often far
fewer, in the event, the only observations were,
first, that by early April "a few berths [had been]
applied for" on the Orwell, and secondly, in the news
of departures, that the vessel carried "goods and
passengers".² Assuming the figure of 391 arrivals
to be correct, the answer may lie in the fact that
the vessel sailed the southern route and possibly
picked up substantially more when she called at Deal

1. E.C.H., 19 Feb., 5, 19 Mar. to 9, 23, 30 Apr. 1846;
   Hull Advertiser, 17 Apr., 1 May, 19 Jun. 1846;
   MS. A/R, 1846/178. During the first week of April,
   the Amazon had 80 berths engaged.

on the 10th May and, perhaps, at other ports on the south coast. Assuming the figure to be incorrect, wide speculation ensues, not least the possibility of human error on the part of the scribe at Quebec; and weight is added to the early-April expectation at Hull that "the departure of passengers from this port for America this year appears likely to be considerably below average", for the figure of 391 represents some 45 per cent of the then erroneous total of 867.1.

In the case of the Queen (Capt. Geo. Watson), however, the second of the four vessels leaving Hull for Quebec in May, there is no conflict in detail. "She has been fitted in a very superior style, by Mr. Thompson, her owner," ran the contemporary report: "Her separate berths for families surpass any that we have seen in the ordinary emigrant vessels, and the common berths are more finished than usual". The complement of 96 passengers - confirmed both at Hull and Quebec - comprised, apart from one German family, mainly agriculturists from Lincolnshire and all three Yorkshire Ridings. Leaving the Junction Dock.

1. E.C.H., 2 to 23 Apr. 1846; Hull Advertiser, 8, 15 May, 17 Jul. 1846; MS. A.A/S, 1846/643. The Ornell was lost in late 1846 (Hull Advertiser, 1 Jan. 1847).
Whitefriargate End, on the 21st May, with these passengers, a crew of 15 and a cargo of coals, the Queen was spoken with on the 5th July in lat. 45° N., long. 54° 50' W., and reached Quebec on the 24th July. 1

The Foster and Sir Edward Hamilton left two days after the Queen. In the case of the Foster (Capt. Thos. Brodrick), there is some speculation. The voyage is well evidenced: from the Junction Dock, near Whitefriargate Bridge, and the Humber, the vessel sailed southwards with goods and passengers, was off Dartmouth on the 28th May, off St. Pierre on the 23rd June, and was sighted the same day in lat. 46°, long. 57°. No note of the vessel's safe arrival appears, however, in either the Hull press or Quebec records; nor is the vessel reported lost. 2 The complement of the well-known Sir Edward Hamilton (Capt. Lundy), 155 or 156 in total, contained only ten native-born Englishmen: the majority of passengers

1. E.C.H., 16 Apr., to 21 May 1846; Hull Advertiser, 29 May, 31 Jul., 21 Aug. 1846, MS., Q.A.G.S. 1846/713. The Queen's "capacity was certified by the Customs for 186 passengers", about twice the number actually carried on this occasion.

2. E.C.H., 7, 14, 28 May; Hull Advertiser, 5 Jun., 24, 31 Jul. 1846. The second sighting is noted as "off St. Peter's"; and from the third sighting, this location must be identified as the French fishing island off the south coast of Newfoundland. A Foster (Capt. Thos. Hunter) sailed for New York from Hull with goods and passengers on the 24th May, 1851 (E.C.H., 29 May 1851).
had arrived at Hull a little earlier in the batches from Hamburg by the Victoria and Hamburg steamers, and were described as chiefly agriculturists and craftsmen - Germans, Belgians, Russians, Prussians, Saxons and Danes - including 32 from the neighbourhood of Kiel, and one cabin-passenger acting as interpreter. The vessel cleared the Humber Docks on the 23rd and the Humber on the 24th May, sailed by the Pentland Firth, and reached Quebec with passengers, crew of 18 and cargo of coals on the 24th July.¹

The last three departures of the year for Quebec occurred in June, July and August, respectively. All three vessels were despatched with cargoes of coal by H. & E. Burstall. The British King (Capt. J. Houghton) sailed on the 27th or 29th June, arriving August 19th.²

The Lian Rumney (Capt. John Ellis) left on the 29th July, was sighted on the 9th September near Anticosti Island, and reached Quebec on the 21st.³ Lastly, the

Fergue (Capt. Martin), on her second voyage of 1846, carrying goods and passengers—though this is not confirmed by Quebec records—cleared on the 24th August, was encountered on the 21st September in lat. $44^\circ 56'$, long. $55^\circ 23'$, having lost her main and forecastle yards, but reached her destination safely on the 5th October.¹

Only two vessels sailed from the Humber to New York in 1846. The sailing of the American North Bend (Capt. Sprague), with goods, from the south side of the Old Dock as early as the 18th February was of small consequence for emigration. The vessel arrived at Deal on the 21st and reached New York on the 6th April.² As in the case of the coincidental Sir Edward Hamilton for Quebec, the complement of the 800-ton frigate, Madras (Capt. Bernard Collins), was made up almost entirely of transit passengers, and indeed, had it not been for "the importations from the continent the passenger ships from Hull would have been unusually short of customers".³ Much of the

3. E.C.H., 21 May 1846. This statement also supports the view that the Orwell's 391 passengers did not all embark at Hull for Quebec.
vessel's "very superior Accommodation for Cabin Passengers...Eight Feet high between Decks, thoroughly ventilated, and very roomy and capacious in every other respect, with a Commodious Poop", had already, it seems, been reserved for the five after-cabin and 210 deck passengers, who had mainly originated in Baden and Bohemia and had crossed from Antwerp on the steamship Monarch. The Madras sailed for New York on the 4th June, was sighted thirteen days out in lat. 57°32', long. 16°15', and reached New York on the 12th August. 1

Hull emigration to North America in 1847 presents a far less complicated picture than that of the previous year. Total transatlantic sailings from the port were more than halved, from nineteen to nine. The figure of only three sailings for the St. Lawrence was the lowest in all the years since 1820 - indeed, even lower than the four of 1838 - and a very significant decrease from the sixteen of 1846. 2

1. E.C.H., 14 May to 11 Jun., 1846; Hull Packet, 29 May 1846; Hull Advertiser, 5 Jun., 17 Jul., 4 Sep. 1846, 9 Apr. 1847. The Madras was lost early the following year, voyaging from New York (dep., 23rd Feb.) to Rotterdam. In lat. 43°2' O', long. 41°35', on the 7th March, the frigate lost all three masts in a hurricane and took in water. A few days later, Capt. Collins and crew were taken aboard vessels bound for New York and Limerick.

2. For Quebec and Montreal: Llan Rumney, Fergus; for Quebec (only): Mountaineer.
If Hull press observations are correct, two of the three vessels carried passengers, amounting to the meagre total of 266.\textsuperscript{1} After nil returns for the two preceding years, one vessel set out for New Brunswick, but was lost; and four left for New York, as well as one for Philadelphia.\textsuperscript{2}

In 1846, reduced numbers of emigrants leaving Hull — though not necessarily substantiated by Quebec registrations — had been attributed to the "unsettled state of the Oregon question...[but] by another year we trust this cause will have been removed": in 1847, even smaller numbers were ascribed to "the strict regulations of the legislature, as to passenger ships".\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} Hull Advertiser, 9 Apr. 1847.

\textsuperscript{2} For Saint John, N.B.: Canton; for New York: Tuscany, Douglas, Concord, Charlotte. The Worsley and Victory were also advertised for N.Y., but apparently did not sail. The Countess of Yarborough was advertised for N.Y., but ultimately sailed for Philadelphia.

\textsuperscript{3} E.C.H., 9 Apr., 21 May 1846, 8 Apr. 1847; Hull Advertiser, 9 Apr. 1847.
Whilst, in 1845, on average, the length of a voyage from the British Isles had been less than in 1844, mortality had increased both during the passage and at hospital in Quebec. Many cases of fever and small-pox, it was claimed, were caused by "the crowded, filthy and ill-ventilated lodgings" accommodating emigrants prior to their departure. Of 256 passenger vessels reaching Quebec from Britain during the 1845 season, only 147 came within the regulations of the Passengers' Act of 1842, though few complaints about provisions and stores were received. The regulations of the 1842 Act, however, were extended, by 1847, to all vessels carrying passengers; and it was ruled that all emigrant vessels not registered at Lloyd's, and not of at least A2 classification, should "undergo a survey under the 12th clause of the Passengers' Act".

1. E.G.H., 1 Jul. 1847, citing Quebec Gazette, noted the unfavourable situation at Grosse Island quarantine station: "There are thirteen hundred sick, and about thirteen thousand in forty vessels at the stations. According to all accounts, death and starvation are nearly as bad...as in Ireland".

2. Hull Advertiser, 19 Jun. 1846. 5 & 6 Victoria 107 August 12th, 12, required: "If doubt of seaworthiness, Government Emigration Agent or Controller to order Survey by two competent persons, and if not satisfactory, vessel not to be cleared out until report disproved before Land and Emigration Commissioners and Commissioners of Customs, or till vessel seaworthy".
Whilst it is certain that not all the sixteen vessels sailing from Hull for Quebec in 1846 would fulfil the stringent extensions of the Act, it is equally evident that the sharp fall to only two conveying passengers in 1847 could be partly attributed to other reasons. Foremost among these were the reduced demand for emigrant passage and the employment of such vessels on more lucrative business. The two vessels laid on at Hull for Quebec with passengers - again mainly agricultural families from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and a few Germans - both sailed on the 16th April. The Fergus (Capt. Richard Martin), with 130 passengers, passed Stavigo on the 16th April, and reached Quebec on the 23rd May. 1. The Llan Rumney (Capt. John Ellis),

1. E.C.H., 11, 18 Feb., 18 Mar. to 15 Apr. 1847; Hull Advertiser, 9, 30 Apr., 18 Jun. 1847; Halifax Guardian, 10 Apr. 1847. Only the name of the Fergus is registered in MS. AG. A/S. 1847: the vessel may have sailed on to Montreal, as advertised.
well known as a "Regular Trader to America, has just undergone an extensive repair, is reclassed in Lloyd's Book", sailed out of the Junction Dock, with 136 passengers. Despite the rumoured loss of the ship, she was sighted on April 19th in lat. 48° 52', long. 7° 28', and reached Quebec on May 28th and Montreal on June 16th. 1 The third, and only other departure of the year for Quebec, the 195-ton brig, Mountaineer (Capt. Geo Fleming), sailed from Hull on the 4th May, passed Huns on the 8th, and arrived at Quebec and Montreal on the 18th and 22nd June. Although the vessel advertised "room for a few passengers", and, indeed, was noted as sailing with "goods and passengers", Quebec reported the vessel in ballast and no passengers disembarking at that port. 2


The first vessel in three years to sail from Hull for New Brunswick met with disaster. The Canton (Capt. John P. Tonge) set out on the 14th August, but was wrecked on the formidable Far-out Head,¹ some few miles east of Cape Wrath, on the 22nd, in violent gales sweeping the coasts of Caithness and Sutherland. There were no survivors of the crew of eighteen, mainly Hull men and several married, and two passengers, Moses Jordan and his wife, Sarah, from Beeford, in Holderness, who were going to join their father and mother, brother and two sisters (passengers, coincidentally, in the same vessel bound for Saint John in July, 1843).²

1. (More precisely) Faraid Head.

2. E.C.H., 19 Aug., 2 Sep. 1847; Hull Advertiser, 3 Sep. 1847; Doncaster Gazette, 3 Sep. 1847; Sheffield Mercury, 4 Sep. 1847; Yorkshire Gazette, 4 Sep. 1847; Bradford Observer, 9 Sep. 1847. Early reports from Tongue (24 Aug.) and Aberdeen (28 Aug.) note the Canton as being a "three-masted emigrant ship", and (mistakenly) as carrying 300 passengers. The bodies of the victims were buried in Durness church-yard.
Just as Hull sailings to British North America from 1847 onwards were subject to more exacting passenger legislation, so too were those carrying emigrants to the United States. Acts passed by Congress in February and March, 1847, related to passenger vessels from Britain arriving in the United States after the 31st May. In effect, American requirements were more demanding than those of the British. Main provisions were that not more than one lower-deck passenger was to be carried for every fourteen feet of space, nor more than two passengers, including children, however young, for every five tons of burthen. Penalties for infringement were severe: masters were liable to a fine of £50.00 for every single passenger above the prescribed limit, or to imprisonment of up to twelve months, or the vessel was liable to be forfeited if excessive passengers totalled twenty.

Passenger accommodation was to be equally scrutinised. A vessel was to have no more than two tiers of well constructed berths; the distance between the deck and lower berth was to be at least six inches; and the dimensions of the berths themselves were to be not less than six feet by eighteen inches for each passenger.

Infringements by the captain and owners carried a fine of
£5.00 for every passenger aboard and the vessel could be sold for payment.1.

Four vessels left Hull for New York in 1847.
The Tuscany (Capt. Joshua Gray) advertised for goods and passengers, and, with a cargo of coals, sailed on the 25th February, reaching her destination on the 23rd April.2. The barque, Douglas (550 tons; Capt. A. Booth), set out on the 11th March and was cleared at New York for her return voyage on the 11th June.3. Departure dates of two further vessels are uncertain. The Concord (400 tons), advertised at Hull in February, was cleared at New York for Liverpool on June 27th;4 and the Charlotte (600 tons; Capt. John Hawkins), sighted on the 4th June in lat. 50°, long. 11° 50', carried passengers.5. The Countess of Yarborough (500 tons;

2. Ibid., 7, 14 Jan., 11 Feb., 11 Mar. 1847; Hull Advertiser, 21 May 1847.
5. E.C.H., 18 Mar. 1847; Hull Advertiser, 18 Jun., 22 Oct. 1847. The Charlotte may well have undertaken a second voyage in 1847, for she was sighted again, off Cape Sable, on the 14th September, "from Hull".
Capt. Bennett, Philadelphia-bound, was sighted thirty-six days out from Hull on the 2nd April in lat. 39°, and sailed from that port on the 10th June. 1

Transatlantic sailings from Hull in 1848 were even scarcer than in the previous year; and the total of only eight departures represented the lowest ebb of emigration possibilities at the port for over twenty years. 2 Nevertheless, six ships — twice the number of 1847 — sailed for the St. Lawrence; and four of these, according to Quebec sources, carried a total of 309 cabin and steerage passengers. 3 One vessel sailed for New Brunswick, but, as in 1847, was lost. Possible departures for New York were doubtless influenced by the recent American passenger legislation and only one occurred for that port. 4

2. In 1826, only seven vessels left Hull for North America.
3. For Quebec and Montreal: Columbine; for Quebec (only): Prince Recent, Venerable, Fergus, Meteor, Royal Victoria. The Thomas Harrison (650 tons; Capt. Kelly) may also have conveyed a few passengers from Hull in her Quebec arrival-complement of 109. Advertised as carrying "an experienced Surgeon... Now lying at Grimsby" (E.C.H., 25 May 1848), the vessel probably left the Humber about the 5th June, was recorded as leaving Thurso on the 14th June, and reached Quebec on the 19th July (MS. A.Q. A/s. 1843/601).
Four of the six vessels for the St. Lawrence sailed from the Humber in the first half of April. The Prince Regent (Capt. Henry Chambers) sailed out on the 4th or 5th with a general cargo and crew of sixteen, landing her 105 steerage passengers at Quebec on the 20th May.¹ The second, the unadvertised barque, Venerable (Capt. Martin), despatched in ballast by G.B. Symes & Co. on the 10th April, but without evidence of passengers, reached her destination on the same day as the Prince Regent.² The barque Fergus (Capt. Rd. Martin), however, despatched by H. & B. Burstall with a general cargo on the 10th or 11th April, carried 132 steerage passengers; arrival date was May 18th.³ Lastly, in April, the Columbine (Capt. Geo Taylor), leaving on the 14th with a general cargo and 19 cabin passengers, arrived at Quebec and Montreal on the 25th.

² MS.AQ.A/S., 1848/183.
and 29th May. 1.

By the end of April, only two vessels remained to sail for Quebec, and both were despatched by H. & E. Burstall, of Hull, with general cargoes. The Meteor (Capt. Daniel Brown) sailed from the Junction Dock on the 13th May with 53 passengers, arriving June 27th; and the Royal Victoria (Capt. Edw. Hunter), without evidence of passengers, left the 2nd or 3rd June, reaching Quebec the 7th July. 2.

There is no evidence to suggest that standards of health and sanitary conditions aboard Hull ships voyaging to Quebec in 1847-48 were any worse than what they had been in the years immediately preceding the extravagant incidence of ship-fever on many vessels, especially those carrying Irish emigrants, in 1847, and its repercussions in Canadian towns. The reasons seem self-evident: the 266 passengers embarking at Hull in 1847, and the 309 in 1848, found themselves in by no means overcrowded accommodation; nor had famine already induced a debilitated state with

1. E.C.H., 10 Feb. to 6, 20 Apr. 1848; Hull Advertiser, 30 Jun. 1848; MS. AQ. A/S, 1848/260. The Columbine was advertised as having "superior accommodation for a limited number of Cabin Passengers". Quebec sources note "Capt. Clayton", and departure date as April 4th.

which to confront the rigours of a transatlantic voyage. Hull readers, would-be emigrants or not, were steadily apprised of information culled from the Quebec Gazette and Mercury, the Montreal Herald and Toronto Globe. Upwards of 70,000 emigrants had arrived at Quebec and Montreal during the first half of 1847, and very few vessels conveying them had been free from fever. From alarming reports at Grosse Island quarantine station in the early summer, it was assumed that death and starvation were almost as serious as in Ireland: 1,300 were sick, as were another 13,000 in forty ships; about a hundred children had been made orphans. But worse was to follow. In the Grosse Island report for the week ending 6th August, 2,148 were sick and 197 deaths had occurred. In the Montreal Board of Health report of the 12th August, one vessel, originally sailing with a complement of 496, was instanced: 158 had died on the passage and 186 more were sick on arrival. On ten vessels, with an aggregate of 4,427 passengers, there had been a toll of 804 deaths and 847 sick. The Lord Ashburton reached Grosse Island as late as October 30th: of the 475 emigrants who had set out, 107 had died on the voyage, and 60 more were sick; and yet another five died on the


transit steamer between quarantine and Quebec.

By the end of October, the immense death roll was made up of 3,900 who had died in passage, 3,452 at Grosse Island, 1,282 in ships at quarantine and 1,000 at the Quebec marine hospital, a total of 9,634. This figure, however, excluded those deaths occurring at the sheds and hospitals in Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, Bytown and Hamilton, and those who had fallen by the wayside. At Montreal hospitals in the week ending 6th November, there were 66 deaths, and an average number of 702 sick. The 266 emigrants from Hull were indeed fortunate to escape the worst of the scourge, at least until they reached Canada.\(^1\)

In an attempt to prevent a recurrence of the tragic events of 1847, and to minimise the risk of ship-borne disease, the North American Passengers’ Act was passed in mid-April, 1848.\(^2\)

By the Act, an emigration officer, if convinced that any emigrant about to sail was suffering from an infectious

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2. H. Victoria, c.6.
disease likely to endanger the health of other passengers, could compel that person, as well as his family and dependants, to leave the ship; nor was a ship to be cleared out until such an emigrant and family had disembarked. Passage-money paid by the emigrant was recoverable by summary process before two magistrates. These provisions were strengthened by a penalty, not exceeding £50, on any captain "wilfully proceeding" on his voyage with infected persons aboard. Other provisions of the Act related to cleanliness and ventilation on vessels carrying passengers to North America.

Apart from the six vessels bound for Quebec or Montreal in 1848, only one sailed from Hull for New Brunswick; and this met with the same fate as the Canton in 1847. The barque, Peal's One (Capt. Lickiss), which had left Hull for Richibucto on the 19th August, was nearing the end of her passage when, on September 18th, she was totally wrecked near Cape North, Cape Breton Island. At the time, the Peal's One carried eight passengers and the crew of a Saint John schooner apparently rescued earlier. In all, twenty-three persons were saved, but six crew members of the Hull vessel perished.

1. E.G.H., 27 Apr. 1848.
2. Ibid., 19 Oct. 1848.
Only one vessel also sailed for New York in 1848. The Kalmia (Capt. Geo. Gilpen, or Gilpin), a fine 300-ton barque from Plymouth, was hauled out of the Old Dock, at the end of Lowgate, on the 19th April, and sailed the following evening, carrying goods and about 50 passengers. Taking the southern route, the Kalmia reached Deal on the 22nd, and was sighted on the 30th in lat. 48°, long. 25°, before arriving at New York prior to the 6th June, with her passengers all well.  

Transatlantic sailings from Hull in 1849 increased slightly over those of the previous year, from eight to ten. Departures for the St. Lawrence remained the same at six, all but one noted as carrying passengers. Two each occurred for New Brunswick and New York.  

1. E.C.H., 23, 30 Mar., 27 Apr., 1848; Hull Advertiser, 21, 28 Apr., 19 May, 23 Jun., 1848. One crew-boy from London, however, was drowned on the passage when he fell from the foretopgallant yard.  

2. For Quebec: Aldebaran, Fergus, Prince Regent, Columbina, Meteor, Minstrel. The Sovereign (426 tons; Capt. G.W. Holland) was also advertised to sail for Quebec, and her departure, "with coals," is noted as the 2nd July; her destination, however, is not confirmed, nor is her arrival at Quebec (E.C.H., 28 Jun., 5 Jul. 1849).  

3. For New Brunswick: Corinthian, Forager; for New York: Elisewell, Thomas Dickson. The Wilywatch and St. George were also advertised for San Francisco.
Emigrant-arrivals at Quebec from Hull in 1849 numbered 592, almost double the 309 carried in cabin and steerage in 1848. Hull ranked sixth amongst English and Scottish ports, behind Liverpool (4,630), Glasgow (2,979), Plymouth (1,171), London (927) and Stornaway (exceptionally, 691).¹

The first vessel of the year for Quebec, the Aldebaran (Capt. Barre), unadvertised at Hull, but consigned in ballast by G.B. Symes & Co., sailed from the Number on the 29th March, and, with 21 steerage passengers, reached her destination on the 16th May.² As frequently the case, however, the majority of the year's emigrants left in April, with "berths...being taken with great rapidity" towards the end of March.³ Indeed, in the case of the

¹ Helen I. Cowan, pp.291-92 (Table 1V). The reasons for the substantial rise in emigration through Hull in 1849 and the early 'fifties are worthy of further consideration, and are treated in the introduction to Chap.⁴.

² MS.AQ.A/S., 1849/85.

³ Hull Advertiser, 30 Mar. 1849.
Fergus (Capt. Martin), moored near the Monument, some passengers were on board by the 27th March. Taking on a complement of 150, the legal limit allowed for a ship of her tonnage, the Fergus sailed on the 8th April by the southern route and reached Deal on the 14th, before proceeding to Quebec. 1. The Prince Regent (Capt. Henry Chambers) sailed from the Old Dock on April 12th, carrying about 100 passengers, and also sailed southwards, passing Deal on the 15th and reaching Quebec on the 24th May. 2. Although advertising "superior Accommodation for a limited number of Passengers", there is no evidence that the Columbine (Capt. Fes) conveyed other than "goods": the vessel sailed on the 18th April, was sighted five days from land on the 27th in lat. 49°, long. 9°, and was cleared from Quebec on the 16th July, after probably first visiting Montreal. 3. The last two Quebec-bound vessels of the season, however, took out substantial human cargoes. The Meteor (Capt. D. Brown), like the Fergus, consigned by H. & E. B. urstall, left Hull on


the 28th April, and reached Quebec on the 17th or 18th June, with five cabin and 134 steerage passengers. When the 500-ton Bridlington barque, Minstrel (Capt. Edmund Jenkinson), equipped with a "very large and commodious lifeboat...with lockers and every requisite", was hauled into the Number Dock on the 25th May, the vessel already had on board nearly all her 109 passengers. Most of these emigrants, small farmers and agricultural labourers, in the main, with a scattering of wrights, had journeyed but a short distance to embark - from villages around Hull, Patrington, Beverley, Driffield, Bridlington and Scarborough; others had set out from Lincolnshire and a few even from Norfolk. The Minstrel sailed on the 26th May and reached Quebec on the 21st July, where she was entered for loading on August 3rd.


2. The Minstrel's complement of 109, albeit incomplete, noted at Hull, was far lower than the 170 recorded as arriving at Quebec. Nevertheless, references to the total number of emigrants from Hull in the 1849 season are very comparable. Hull press reports, perhaps omitting the Aldebaran's complement, indicate "above 560" and "560 to 576", whereas Helen I. Cowan (p.291) notes 592 arrivals at Quebec.

Two sailings occurred for New Brunswick, those of the Corinthian (Capt. C. Davidson) and Forager (Capt. H. Spendlove), but passengers were not specifically mentioned in either case. The former left on the 1st March from the Humber Dock, carrying coals, was sighted on the 22nd in lat. 48°, long. 22°, and reached Saint John on the 19th April. The Forager followed shortly afterwards on the 22nd March from the Old Dock, also with a cargo of coals. ¹

Similarly, two vessels sailed for New York. Leaving early, the Rimwell (Capt. Robt. B. Miller) set out on the 22nd February, with coals, was off the Isle of Wight by the 2nd March and reached New York on the 14th April. ² Advertising "Cabin passage... With Permission to call at the mouth of the River Ems for Passengers" - the Danish blockading Squadron being off the Elbe - the Thomas Dickenson left the Junction Dock on the 14th June, and arrived at New York on the 22nd August. ³