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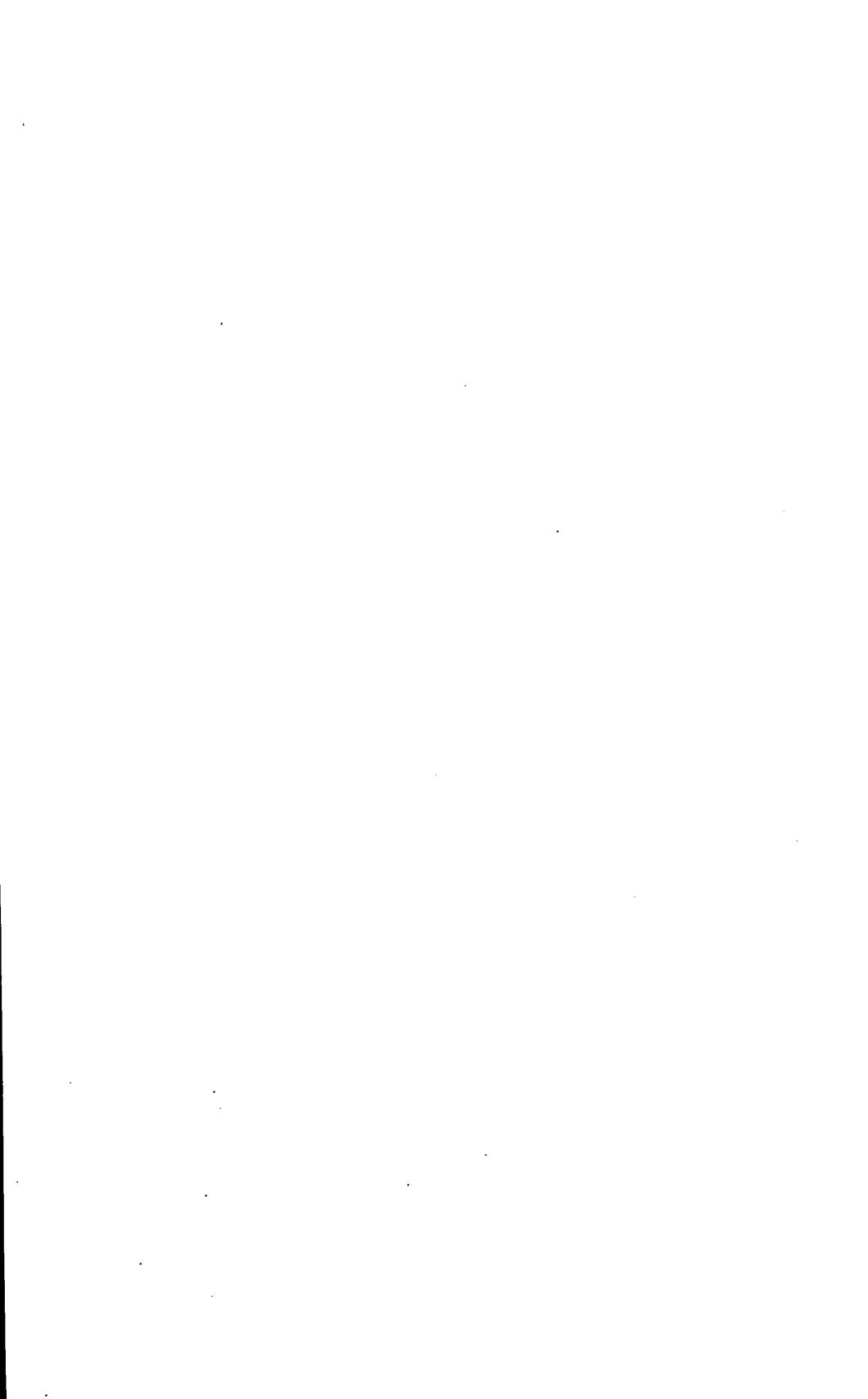
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PART III
STUDIES OF NATIONAL EMIGRATION
CURRENTS



CHAPTER IX

EMIGRATION FROM GREAT BRITAIN.¹

By
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General

Concerning emigration from Great Britain prior to 1815, only fragmentary statistics are available, for before that date no regular attempt was made to measure the outflow of population. For some years before the treaty of peace with France, under which Canada in 1763 became a colony of the United Kingdom, a certain number of emigrants from Great Britain to the British North American colonies were reported, but no reliable figures are available. During the five years 1769-1774 there was an emigration, probably approaching 10,000 persons per annum,² from Scotland to North America, and substantial numbers also left England for the same destination. It has been estimated by Johnson³ that during the first decade of the nineteenth century the annual emigration from the whole of the United Kingdom to the American Continent exceeded 20,000 persons, the majority going from the Highlands of Scotland and from Ireland.

Emigration can be considered from two distinct aspects:

- (a) from the point of view of the force attracting people to other countries;
- (b) from the point of view of the force expelling people from their own country.

There is no doubt that before the nineteenth century, and for a considerable part of the nineteenth century itself, the motive controlling British emigration was mainly the latter, *i. e.* expulsion from the home country. Much of the emigration from the Highlands of Scotland and from Ireland during the eighteenth century was due to the fact that the increase in the means of livelihood did not keep pace with the increase in population, and the standard of living was substantially and continuously reduced. In certain cases emigra-

¹[See *International Migrations*, Vol. I, pp. 97-105, 619-659.—Ed.]

²Stanley C. Johnson, *History of Emigration from the United Kingdom* (1913), p. 2.

³S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

tion was organized by the land owners, and a substantial proportion of the population of a particular village would emigrate under the care of the squire, for the purpose of setting up a new life in North America. Lord Selkirk at the end of the eighteenth century played an important part in this and the Hudson Bay Company also were prominent in facilitating the emigration of surplus population from Great Britain into Canada. The opening of Canada to the British in the last quarter of the eighteenth century fired their imagination and helped to solve the serious social problems of overpopulation in Ireland and the Scotch Highlands.

Many instances could be given of emigration as a result of local overpopulation. One frequently quoted is that of the island of Rum in the Hebrides. The absentee landlord visiting his tenants found them so overcrowded that many were unable to obtain a livelihood. He cancelled their debts and provided money and cattle to enable them to emigrate to Canada. Similar instances occurred in the south of England, where the population had increased by about 15 per cent in ten years, with no corresponding increase in employment. These circumstances led to falling wages, increased parish relief, and general demoralization.

According to some writers, this condition of affairs arose through the lax administration of the Poor Law, which enabled local authorities to eke out the wages of laborers from the local funds. The landlords, who paid most of the taxes, had an obvious interest in getting rid of as many of their indigent parishioners as possible. But the burden of maintaining these men fell largely upon the small farmer, who was also a small taxpayer, and many of them emigrated in order to avoid heavy taxation. A Select Committee appointed by Parliament to report upon the circumstances under which emigration occurred, and publishing its report in 1826 and 1827, gave numerous such instances.

Another cause contributing to the emigration of small farmers was that the growth of population had given a fillip to grain production, and it had been found that grain could be grown more profitably on large farms than on small ones. Many of the small farms were absorbed by the big ones, resulting in a saving of labor and a population surplus which tended to increase emigration. In certain parts of the country, however, by an opposite process occurring through the century but especially during the latter half, arable land was turned into pasture. This change went on most rapidly towards the end of the nineteenth century and continued, indeed was ac-

centuated, in the twentieth. The figures in Table 91 show the movement in England and Wales during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century.

TABLE 91.

CONVERSION OF ARABLE LAND TO PASTURE IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1871-1900.
(Thousands of Acres)

Period	Arable Land	Permanent Grass Land
1871-75	14,766	11,799
1886-90	13,243	14,560
1891-95	12,676	15,116
1896-1900	12,356	15,239

Apart from fragmentary statistics relating to the later years of the eighteenth century, the official records of emigration from the British Isles do not begin until 1815. For a number of years prior to that date much of the country's manhood had been engaged in European wars, and when these men returned home a new movement towards emigration began. For a long period the emigration records made no distinction between passengers of Irish and those of British nationality. It is known, however, that a substantial proportion of the emigrants from the British Isles to the United States were Irish, while Irish emigrants to other destinations were relatively few. The emigration figures to destinations other than the United States therefore approximately indicate the extent of the emigration from Great Britain during the nineteenth century. These statistics reveal a more or less regular ebb and flow for a considerable period. Following the Continental wars the movement reached its maximum in 1819 when 24,000 people left Great Britain for extra-European countries other than the United States, practically all for Canada.¹ The movement died away in 1824 when less than 9,000 people emigrated. Towards the end of the second decade, however, emigration to Australia and New Zealand began, and though towards the end of the third decade this was small compared with emigration to Canada, it was by no means inappre-

¹[Volume I, p. 627—Ed.]

cial. There was a substantial boom in the movement to Canada in the years 1830-34.

The most convenient and logical way of describing the motive forces impelling emigration will be to refer to various factors in turn and trace their effect on migration, although this method may involve a certain amount of repetition. The following main headings will be considered:

- (1) Government action facilitating emigration.
- (2) The effect on migration of agricultural depression and changes in agricultural methods.
- (3) The effect of industrial developments.
- (4) Emigration induced by propoganda and voluntary organizations.
- (5) Emigration promoted by private and semi-private assistance.
- (6) Emigration of women.
- (7) Emigration of children.

Before dealing with these separate aspects of the matter, it may be well to refer to the shortcomings of the available data. They are best stated in the following paragraphs from the final report of the Dominions Royal Commission issued in 1917:¹

The difficulties of obtaining a precise measure of the outflow from the United Kingdom are considerable, and may be described as follows:

(a) Until April, 1912, the returns of passenger movement at the ports of the British Isles did not distinguish permanent migrants from temporary arrivals and departures. The Board of Trade, however, in 1912, started to collect figures intended to distinguish passengers with future permanent residence within and outside the United Kingdom. These new returns are not regarded as trustworthy for various reasons, . . . and they do not of course afford any comparison with the course of migration in earlier years.

(b) The usual practice in dealing with migration questions has been to take the excess of passengers of British nationality from the United Kingdom to non-European countries over the arrivals of such passengers from non-European countries as representing the net emigration from the Mother Country. This course was followed by the President of the Local Government Board of the United Kingdom in discussing the question at the Imperial Conference of 1911. . . . The experience of the Board of Trade in the collection of new returns tends, however, to show that this is an underestimate, and that the excess of permanent emigration from the United Kingdom over permanent immigration may be greater than the excess of outward over inward passengers to non-European countries. . . .

¹[Great Britain, Dominions Royal Commission, *Final Report* (1917), p. 83, §423. —Ed.]

(c) In any case there is a certain amount of unrecorded emigration from the United Kingdom. Emigrants to Canada, Australia and New Zealand often work their passages out as temporary stewards or in other capacities and are consequently not recorded as passengers. Desertion of sailors abroad similarly contributes towards swelling the number of those who elude the recording officials.

In studying the subject of emigration from Great Britain since 1815, three points should be borne in mind:

First, early figures were obtained mainly through local records and related to British persons only. Later on statistics were obtained from steamship companies recording the number of persons carried abroad, and these figures did not differentiate between the British and the foreign elements. Emigration data during the latter half of the nineteenth century were probably appreciably swollen by the inclusion of a number of foreign persons.

Secondly, before 1860 the immigration into Great Britain was comparatively small, but subsequently there was a substantial increase and in certain years it reached large dimensions. It is true that in earlier years there was more or less regular immigration from Ireland into parts of Scotland, but until well after 1850 the volume of immigration from Europe remained small.

The figures of net emigration from Great Britain for the second half of the nineteenth century therefore should not be understood as showing a net loss to the country.

Thirdly, as the population of Great Britain was growing rapidly emigration figures do not measure the rate at which the population was being affected. The ratio of emigrants from the United Kingdom to population in successive quinquennial periods is given in Table 92 (page 244).¹

This table shows, for example, that although a larger number of persons emigrated in 1906-10 than in 1866-70, the proportion of the population leaving the country was only seven-tenths of the proportion in the earlier period.

The first instance of Government acting to facilitate emigration occurred in 1816, when the British War Office arranged for the settlement in Ottawa of certain British soldiers who had been serving in Canada, having in mind, no doubt, the idea that such men would be useful for purposes other than normal settlement. Later on these settlers were joined by families from Scotland, also sent out at the instigation of the War Office, and in this way emigration was

¹[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 348, Table V.—Ed.]

TABLE 92.

POPULATION AND AVERAGE ANNUAL NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS IN THOUSANDS, WITH EMIGRANTS PER 10,000 POPULATION, 1853-1910.

Period	Estimated Population of United Kingdom	Average Annual Emigration	Emigrants per 10,000 Population
1853-55	27,674	232	84
1856-60	28,392	123	43
1861-65	29,459	144	48
1866-70	30,696	171	56
1871-75	32,190	194	60
1876-80	33,929	142	42
1881-85	35,466	258	73
1886-90	36,892	253	69
1891-95	38,445	196	51
1896-1900	40,189	153	38
1901-05	42,703	117	27
1906-10	45,217	179	39

facilitated. Neither group, however, made satisfactory settlers and few of them remained long on the area where they had been placed. The British Government first gave serious attention to emigration in 1820, when it was looked upon as a remedy for social distress. Select Committees of Parliament, appointed to consider this distress and to report upon methods of remedying it, were asked to consider organized emigration as a method of alleviation. One of these committees made detailed recommendations for reducing the surplus population, and expressed its opinion that emigration afforded a far more satisfactory remedy for existing unemployment than any temporary measures which could be adopted. It further advised the Government to make grants to assist emigration.

As a result of this report, an extensive area of waste land in the Eastern Provinces of Canada was specially surveyed and prepared to accommodate about 10,000 people. After considerable progress had been made, it was found that a great deal of the land was not suitable for the purpose and that even if the scheme were successful the emigrants would only be able to repay the loans in

kind, so the Home Government abandoned the project. Substantial grants in aid of emigration of unemployed workpeople to Canada and elsewhere, were made by Parliament, £50,000 being granted in 1818, £69,000 in 1823, £30,000 in 1825, and £20,000 in 1827.¹

In 1818, following the Napoleonic Wars, there was much unemployment in the country, and the Government is said to have received 90,000 applications for advantages afforded by the grant of £50,000 made in that year. Under this scheme 3,700 persons went to the Cape of Good Hope in 1820. Most of them settled in the district of Albany but, owing to obstacles encountered, they got into serious difficulties, and the Home Government increased its original grant to £200,000, while further assistance was afforded by charity. After the settlers had suffered great hardships the scheme succeeded, and ultimately many of the emigrants became larger farmers.

The Home Government turned its attention again to Canada in 1823, and this time the scheme appears to have been successful. Each of 180 families was given 70 acres of land, and after three years only nine of these 180 families had removed to the United States. There were later emigrants under this scheme of 1823, but they do not appear to have met with so much success, and in course of time Parliament refused to vote further funds for this purpose.

In 1829 the Government of Canada placed at the disposal of Mr. Peel 500,000 acres of land for the purpose of settling emigrants.² This scheme was very largely a private enterprise on the part of Mr. Peel, who obtained the land from the government and undertook to pay all expenses of the voyage and to provide the emigrants with satisfactory wages, if they signed a contract to work for him for a period of years. This plan was unsuccessful because the emigrants, on arrival, found that they could obtain other land without conditions; they accordingly broke their contracts and left. Later on, finding that they were much worse off after the change, they returned to the original settlement; but by that time Mr. Peel had been financially ruined.

An Act of the Home Government was passed in 1834 with the object of enabling parishes to mortgage their rates, and to spend the proceeds on assisting emigration of poor people to an amount not exceeding £10 per capita. Emigration agents were appointed in different parts of the country, and for the next thirty years an amount

¹[See Volume I, page 100.—Ed.]

²[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 232.—Ed.]

averaging £25,000 was voted annually by Parliament to assist emigration, mainly to Australia.

In 1830 some new views on the subject of emigration were put before the government by E. G. Wakefield. He claimed that all schemes aiming merely at emigration of needy workpeople were bound to fail because they did not maintain a proper economic balance. He suggested that in any emigration scheme efforts should be made to provide a correct relation between capital and labor, so that the amount of land available for settlers should be in proper economic proportion to the amount of labor available for the land.¹ The discussion on Wakefield's proposals considerably affected the outlook on emigration, which came to be looked upon less as a means of ridding the home country of surplus labor and more as a means of developing Empire resources overseas.

Government committees and commissions were appointed at frequent intervals up to the middle of the century. The commission appointed in 1831 came to the conclusion that, though there had been a good deal of subsidized emigration, the greater proportion of those leaving the country had done so either by their own means or through the assistance of their friends. This commission pointed out that in the ten years following the Peace of 1815, emigration had averaged about 9,000 per annum, but that in the subsequent five years it had increased to 20,000 per year. The commission recommended that Government interference should be reduced to a minimum, and that the Government's function should be mainly one of supplying information.

In 1839 the Government issued a report on an inquiry made by Lord Durham into the unrest among emigrants in Canada, and the friction between the French and British inhabitants. The conclusion was that past Government measures had been defective in that they had failed to remedy the chief evils of emigration, such as the reception of emigrants at their points of destination.

A special Colonial Land and Emigration Department was established in 1840 for the purpose of collecting and distributing information regarding the British colonies, and more particularly for the sale of land in Australia. The proceeds from such sales were to be used to assist emigration. In the twenty-three years 1847-1869 over 339,000 emigrants were sent out under the auspices of the Department at a cost of £4,864,000 a sum practically all derived from

¹Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *A View on the Art of Colonisation*. See also p. 256.

the sale of land.¹ This Board continued in existence until 1873, by which time most of its duties had been handed over to the various colonies as they developed.

In 1845 a Select Committee was appointed which dealt incidentally with a number of problems of emigration, such as the capacity of the British laborers; the extent to which labor might be safely introduced into the various colonies; the effect of an increased supply of emigrants on the value of colonial land; the effect of colonization on the investment of British capital; the effect of such development on industries at home, *e. g.* industries catering for railway development. This inquiry made an important examination of the probable economic effects of emigration, but it did not lead to any definite Governmental action. For the next two or three decades Government interest in assisted emigration waned.

Later in the century (in 1873) the New Zealand Government co-operated with the Emigrant and Colonist Aid Corporation in a scheme for the furtherance of migration to that country. The Government provided 100,000 acres of land and paid the cost of transportation on condition that the Corporation settled 1,500 adults within four years. The latter provided all necessities of life for the emigrants. It is reported that this scheme was highly successful; the settlers remained on the land, and the Company actually paid an appreciable dividend on their investment.

In 1880 the Canadian and British Governments devised a scheme for developing jointly the northwest provinces of Canada. The Canadian Government undertook to provide each settler with 160 acres of land and the British Government was to advance £80 a family on security of a mortgage upon the land, but this scheme was abandoned. Three years later the British Government entered into an agreement with the Northwest Land Company of Canada (acting for the Canadian Government); this project was also given up, on account of unsatisfactory securities for investments. In 1886, as a result of pressure exerted on the Government, the Emigrants Information Office was opened. This Office was under Government control and received a subsidy, but it was managed by a voluntary committee and an account of its activities is included in another paragraph.

In 1888 the British Government developed a scheme for the migration of Scotch crofters to Canada. The Government contributed £10,000, while private enterprise added £2,000. The plan

¹[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.—Ed.]

was successful, and after a time its administration was put into the hands of a Colonization Board consisting of four commissioners appointed by the British Government, the Canadian Government, the private subscribers, and the companies who had provided the land. Regular reports of progress were made, and it appears that the settlers became generally contented and repaid the money advanced.

In 1889 the British Government appointed a Select Committee to inquire into migration schemes and to report whether further facilities should be afforded. The upshot of a lengthy report was that direct interference by the Government in migration schemes was abolished, but further financial assistance was given to the Emigrants Information Office. With the publication of this report in 1891, the Government practically closed its association with emigration projects. Many years afterwards, in 1905, the Unemployed Workmen's Act gave local authorities some power to assist emigration, but in actual practice the amount of help given to migration by either local or central governments was very small and the work for the most part was left in the hands of private organizations.

In 1908 the question of emigration was exhaustively discussed by the Poor Law Commission, but no definite action facilitating emigration followed. At the first Imperial Conference of Dominion Premiers, held in 1911, extensive reports on the development of migration from the United Kingdom to the Dominions were considered. A mass of statistics put before the Conference indicated that the number of emigrants assisted through the Emigrants Information Office had more than doubled in five years. The views of the Conference, however, were that the organization of emigration should be left to voluntary bodies and that the function of the Government was mainly that of oiling the machinery. Some emigration was effected through the local Poor Law Authorities (Boards of Guardians), and is referred to under those paragraphs dealing with the migration of children.

The Dominions Royal Commission was appointed in 1911 under the chairmanship of Sir Edgar Vincent (later Lord D'Abernon). This body exhaustively investigated the whole subject of emigration from Great Britain to all parts of the Empire, and travelled to each one of the self-governing Dominions to take evidence on the spot. The reports and volumes of evidence published by this Commission

contain a vast amount of information on migration from Great Britain before the outbreak of the World War.

The change from arable to pasture land in Scotland has been mentioned as a factor stimulating emigration. Depression in agriculture throughout the island during a considerable part of the nineteenth century contributed to the same result. In the early decades especially wages were falling and after the amendment of the Poor Law Acts in 1834 the laborer's earnings were eked out by the parish. During the 6 years from 1816 to 1822, there were 475 petitions presented to the House of Commons deploring the depression in agriculture, and ultimately a Royal Commission to investigate its causes was appointed.

In Scotland, early in the century, the withdrawal of large areas of land from tillage resulted in decreased employment, and skilled shepherds were brought in from other parts of the country for the new industry. In certain areas this involved the almost complete displacement of the wage-earning classes. A report on Scotland states that 3,000 people who had formerly cultivated arable land migrated to America in 1801. At that time the outflow of population became so great that proposals were made to prevent the number of persons on a particular area of land from falling below a given figure. In certain parts of Scotland this depletion of population during the early part of the nineteenth century was particularly noteworthy, and even late in the century there was little recovery. In spite of the general increase in population in Scotland as a whole, the number of inhabitants in Perthshire fell from 142,000 in 1831 to 129,000 in 1881, in Argyllshire from 101,000 to 76,000 and in Invernesshire from 95,000 to 90,000, the main reason being the change from arable to pasture land.

The report of the Commission of 1822 makes interesting reading now that agriculture in Great Britain is again seriously depressed. The Commission considered that the difficulties arose mainly from the continuous fall of prices after the Napoleonic Wars. In 1793 the price of wheat was 50 shillings a quarter, but increased steadily up to 120 shillings in 1801. At the end of 1813 it was down to 40 shillings and in 1815 the law placed a duty on wheat whenever the price fell below 80 shillings a quarter. Following this there were violent fluctuations in prices and the farmer on sowing his wheat had little idea what price he would get at the harvest, circumstances which naturally produced great dissatisfaction. Under these cir-

cumstances there was a steady flow of farmers and agricultural laborers from Great Britain to the United States and Canada. In 1830 the total emigration from the United Kingdom to North America was 55,000, in 1831 it rose to 71,000, and in 1832 was over 99,000; the average of those years being nearly 4 times that of the previous ten.¹ The south of England, notably the counties of Kent, Hampshire, Somerset and Surrey, were the chief centers of emigration.

A great wave of emigration began in 1847 and continued up to 1854.² The motive behind it was mainly the serious potato famine, which was particularly acute in Ireland, but also to some extent in Great Britain. The potato famine of 1847 has been termed the most potent factor which has ever influenced the flow of emigration. It is interesting at this stage to reflect upon the cumulative nature of migratory movements. The emigrants already settled overseas saved money and sent it to their friends in the home country to assist them also to emigrate, and it was reported that in 1848 the total sum remitted to the United Kingdom in this way was not less than £460,000, an annual amount which increased rapidly during the next 5 years until it reached the figure of £1,400,000 in 1852. This particular movement led to a detailed study of the association between agricultural crops and emigration, and it appears to have been well established that emigration and prosperity were negatively correlated in a fairly high degree.

After the middle of the century the situation greatly improved; wages of agricultural laborers increased and the price of food stuffs and other articles steadily fell. Though emigration from the countryside continued, it was directed mainly towards the towns in England and after the middle of the century the number of farmers and agricultural laborers leaving the country was relatively small. The development of industrialism in Great Britain caused a marked slackening in the volume of agricultural emigration. This state continued up to the outbreak of the World War in 1914. The Dominions Royal Commission reported in 1917 as follows:³

There were clear indications before 1914 that the agricultural population of the United Kingdom, on which the Dominions had drawn so largely in past years, was no longer capable of providing any considerable supply of migrants.

¹[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 47.—Ed.]

²[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 50; but see in this connection, Volume I, p. 99 ff.—Ed.]

³[Great Britain, Dominions Royal Commission, *Final Report* (1917), p. 87, §439.—Ed.]

In the past the coincidence of natural increase of population with a decreased demand for labour (owing largely to the conversion of arable into grass land, and other economic causes) rendered chronic migration either to urban centres or abroad both natural and inevitable. But by 1914 it was generally recognised (and the view is one in which we entirely concur) that the purely rural population of the Mother Country was not in excess of her own necessities. The situation was fully set out in a Memorandum and evidence furnished to the Commission by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries. . . . The position as there explained was confirmed by the evidence given by the representatives of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in Canada. They stated that the Company came to the conclusion that an active campaign in Great Britain to remove men from the farms was a mistake and that they had consequently reduced to a large extent their activities in the Mother Country.

It is not only to the condition of agriculture that we must look for the causes of emigration in the first half of the nineteenth century. Industrial circumstances also gave rise to emigration. One of the most noteworthy of these was the development of labor-saving implements in cotton spinning and weaving, creating immediate unemployment which led to emigration. The Select Committee of 1826-27 mentions specifically the distress of the hand-loom weavers. At the same time there was a considerable improvement in methods of production and a smaller demand for the product. The labor market was flooded by Irish immigrants, and this had a marked effect upon wages in industry. The wages of skilled operatives in Glasgow which were 20 shillings a week between 1810 and 1816, fell steadily to only 9s. 6d. in 1838, a reduction of 50 per cent in less than 30 years. Food prices during this period fluctuated strongly and the standard of living of the workpeople must have been very hazardous.

The figures of unemployment among textile operatives at this time show the effect of new methods of production. In 1826 unemployed weavers numbered 15,000 in Yorkshire and 90,000 in Lancashire. The local magazines of that day give frequent accounts of the emigration of bodies of workpeople. This movement, though unorganized, appears to have reached substantial dimensions and must have largely contributed to the increase in emigration shown in the statistics.

The introduction of the steam engine also depressed the labor market and stimulated emigration. Prior to the use of steam power many industries of the country had been located in the south of England, but since the main coal fields were in the north of England the new industries developed there. The new operations could be carried on to a large extent by unskilled boys and girls in place of

skilled men, and this obviously created a surplus of labor which contributed towards increased emigration.

The development of industry in England also led directly to the migration of skilled operatives. About 1830 Great Britain was taking the lead in the new industrialism. Other countries strove to emulate her progress and skilled workmen were offered many inducements to emigrate, particularly to America. For a time the export of machinery was actually forbidden, and it had to be smuggled from Great Britain to America. The American calico-printing trade was founded under these circumstances, special agents being employed to entice the best workpeople to leave England. A Royal Commission, appointed in 1841 to consider the question of the export of machinery, concluded that for the previous 15 years there had been an organized campaign to entice British workpeople to move with their machinery to the United States.

The natural result of these adjustments was that America, having learned the new methods of production, began to produce more than was required for her own consumption and developed an export trade to Great Britain. This affected the output of the latter's industry, unemployment reappeared, and operatives emigrated on their own initiative. The cotton town of Stockport, Cheshire, was particularly and seriously affected by the increasing foreign competition. Emigration from this town was especially brisk during the '50's. Paisley and Coventry also suffered. In the latter town distress among the women weavers was so great that special emigration schemes enabled not less than 11,000 women weavers to leave the district between 1860 and 1863.

After the first half of the century, however, industrial developments in Great Britain had a depressing effect on emigration. The needs of an ever-enlarging industry called for a rapidly expanding labor roll that was not satisfied by the natural increase in the industrial population and stimulated migration from the countryside to the big towns. The flow from the rural areas to the cities was very large indeed from 1850 to 1900, but only a small proportion of this stream left Great Britain.

The earliest recorded organized efforts at propaganda to promote emigration from Great Britain was the formation in 1823 of the American Chamber of Commerce at Liverpool, the object of which was to induce workpeople to migrate to the United States. A few years later propaganda regarding life in Canada was begun,

leaflets being circulated among workpeople advertising opportunities and conditions in that colony. These leaflets are reported to have influenced many people to give up their life in the United Kingdom and to settle in North America. It was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that there was a rapid expansion in the number of organizations aiming at the dissemination of information regarding life abroad, particularly in the British Dominions.

The Emigrants' Information Office, opened in 1886, was controlled by the Colonial Office but it was established as the result of private representations and managed by a voluntary committee. This bureau, almost from its inception to the outbreak of the World War in 1914, was the most important organization for spreading news of opportunities for life in the British Colonies and for promoting emigration. The Government gave a small grant and quarters, and subsequently increased the grant. Although originally formed to assist only those emigrants going to the British Dominions, the bureau's functions were afterwards extended. Moreover it did not confine itself to assisting emigration, but from time to time issued warnings against emigration to certain parts of the world. The accomplishments of this organization were reviewed at the first Imperial Conference in 1911, and it was reported that the work of the Office had doubled in four years, and that more than a thousand public libraries, municipal authorities, and postoffices throughout the country were used by the head office for the purpose of distributing propoganda. The Dominions Royal Commission in its Final Report in 1917 remarked:¹

We feel that hardly sufficient credit has been given to this most useful institution, and we are glad to find that several witnesses in the Dominions acquainted with its methods spoke very warmly in its praise.

The Salvation Army must also be mentioned in connection with private organizations stimulating emigration, though its organized effort did not begin in earnest until near the end of the century. This body, in its endeavors to find employment for the needy, developed an emigration organization. Although most of the emigrants came from the cities, the occupations found for them abroad were mainly agricultural. It was reported that 76 per cent of the occupations found for 5,000 emigrants in two years were on farms. Sir Rider Haggard, who had travelled extensively throughout

¹[Great Britain, Dominions Royal Commission, *Final Report* (1917), p. 88, §442.—Ed.]

the Empire and was a strong advocate of emigration from the Imperial point of view, especially included the Salvation Army in the scheme¹ which he put before the authorities. He proposed that money should be advanced to this organization for the special purpose of transporting town-bred families to farming land in Canada.

The Charity Organization Society, the Salvation Army, the East End Emigrants' Fund, the Self-help Emigrants' Society and the Church Army may be specially noted among the many volunteer bodies mentioned in the literature of the subject as having materially assisted emigration, particularly among the poorest classes, during the last two decennia of the nineteenth century. Most of the other volunteer bodies, such as the Jewish Migration Society and the Liverpool Self-Help Society, were of a local or specialized character.

Voluntary organizations for assisting emigration from Great Britain were not confined to Great Britain herself. Associations with the same object existed in other countries, particularly in the United States and in Canada. In Canada the Canadian Pacific Railway was an important factor, while in the United States the western railway companies and the wealthy land companies of the republic played a considerable part in encouraging emigrants.

The Dominions Royal Commission examined carefully the work of all the societies, and in its final report proposed that the Emigrants' Information Office expand its functions and be made the central controlling authority over societies engaged in the work of emigration.

It is difficult to say what proportion of the migration from Great Britain has been assisted by external help and what proportion has been spontaneous. Undoubtedly, during the nineteenth century and up to the outbreak of the World War emigration was cumulative in its action; that is, emigrants already settled arranged for their relatives and friends to come out to them and often sent them help. Towards the end of the nineteenth century it was computed that 70 per cent of the emigrants coming to the United States had their fares paid by friends already settled there. The percentage settling in this way in Canada was relatively small, owing, doubtless, to the large number of organizations ready to assist emigration to this Dominion, while much of the migration to the United States came from Ireland.

¹See p. 257, footnote 1.

Steamship companies engaged in traffic between Great Britain, the United States, and the British Colonies, have taken an active part in inducing migration. At one time a transatlantic steamship company had no fewer than 3,400 agents arranging passages and advancing money from the United States to emigrants from this British Isles. The Dominions Royal Commission after reviewing exhaustively the work of these agents, concluded:¹

The whole system requires revision and reconstruction. In particular we are convinced that the arrangements under which passage brokers and passage brokers' agents are appointed and are controlled demand radical reform.

In the early days of migration the captains of boats transported poor emigrants to North America without charge on the condition that, on landing, these captains might dispose of their passengers' labor for a number of years to persons already settled. This practice, amounting almost to slavery, existed in both the United States and Canada until the early part of the nineteenth century.

Early records contain many instances of philanthropic individuals assisting deserving persons to emigrate from the Old Country. Again, during the agricultural depression, certain landlords found it less expensive to assist in the emigration of unemployed local laborers than to pay heavy parish rates.

Later on, a number of entirely disinterested individuals associated themselves with migration schemes. One of the pioneers was Baroness Burdett Coutts, who advanced money to Scottish weavers for migration. In this case the emigrants prospered but their benefactress was not reimbursed. Another prominent name was that of Mr. Tuke. Nearly 10,000 people were sent out to Canada and the United States between 1882 and 1884 under his auspices and with money collected by him. The attitude toward emigration at that time is illustrated by the fact that at a public meeting where a collection was made for the purpose of helping emigrants, the Duke of Bedford contributed £3,000.

Lady Gordon Cathcart was prominent in assisting emigration from the Hebrides. In 1883 a number of families sailed from these islands with a loan of £100 each from Lady Cathcart, while, in association with the Northwest Land Company of Canada, 56 families were similarly settled in the following year. Many of the

¹[Great Britain, Dominions Royal Commission, *Final Report* (1917), p. 88, §44.—Ed.]

settlers became prosperous and raised large crops, but only one is reported to have repaid his benefactress.¹

Sir John Rankine secured a substantial acreage in Manitoba, selected 25 families to work the land, and himself bore the whole expenditure, said to have amounted to £32,000. This enterprise proved a failure, and the assisted emigrants ultimately deserted the land, though it is on record that the work which they had done so improved its value that Sir John was able to sell it without loss.

One of the earliest philanthropic efforts was the Colonization Society started by Wakefield. His scheme, already mentioned, was that labor and capital should be emigrated together. His idea was that the capitalists should emigrate to land obtainable at market price in South Australia, and that selected laborers should follow to develop the land. Unfortunately the scheme failed from the outset. The capitalists left their farms and moved to Adelaide, where many of them speculated in urban land and so caused a substantial boom in land round Adelaide. The result was that when the selected laborers came to the colony, the employers whom they expected to find waiting for them had left. Serious difficulties at one time seemed likely to result, but the trouble was settled through the intervention of the Home Government. Although this scheme failed, a very large number of persons—some hundreds of thousands—emigrated in the 23 years from 1847-1869 on lines similar to those suggested by Wakefield.²

A private enterprise in South Africa is associated with the name of Lady Ossington. Twenty-four families were selected with great care to form a settlement near King William's Town, Cape Colony. Although one of the most carefully devised emigration schemes, it also failed completely. These emigrants were so well provided that they employed Kaffirs to look after their farms, and in this way the project was wrecked.

Another private venture was launched by two Canadian clergymen—Archdeacon Lloyd and the Reverend I. M. Barr. The emigrants in this case were drawn from the middle classes and paid their own expenses. They took up land granted by the Canadian Government, but although provisions were made for control of the

¹[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, page 74, 237.—Ed.]

²[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 234.—Ed.]

workers, yet at the end of two years only a quarter of the number were found on the land provided for them. This failure was explained on the grounds that the settlers were very largely ignorant of agricultural life.

Sir Rider Haggard is still remembered as author of a very detailed emigration scheme that called for the coöperation of the Imperial Government, the Colonial Governments, the Municipal and Poor Law Authorities of Great Britain, and many voluntary organizations. This plan was never put into operation, but the discussions arising out of it led to an appreciable amount of emigration.¹

The emigration of women from Great Britain has long been a subject of special study. The earliest recorded special organization is the London Female Emigration Society formed in 1850, when 18 women were migrated to Toronto and their expenses borne by the Society. This original experiment was entirely successful, and in 1859 the British Ladies' Emigration Society was formed. Two years later the Female Middle Class Society was formed and began the transportation of gentlewomen to employment in the Colonies. Later on, the British Women's Emigration Association was formed and in time became the most important body assisting female emigration. This Association selected suitable women and girls to be sent out to chosen families in the various colonies, and arranged for all protection and assistance needed both during the journey and on arrival. In addition, it kept in touch with the emigrants after arrival. It had, throughout the United Kingdom, an organization of honorary workers who examined thoroughly the circumstances of every woman who wished to emigrate with the assistance of the Association. Suitable persons were trained in order to ensure their efficiency in the new country. Special arrangements were made for their reception at their destination, and no stone was left unturned in the effort to ensure the success of this project. The Association undoubtedly played a most important part in the settlement of the British Colonies during the nineteenth century, and assisted a large number of women from all ranks of society.

¹[For the characteristics of Sir Rider Haggard's scheme and the conclusions reached by the committee appointed in 1906 to consider it, see S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 244 ff.—Ed.]

Many of the women who emigrated were domestic servants, for whom there was a special demand. Women trained in other occupations also frequently emigrated, particularly milliners, dress-makers, teachers and nurses. It would be difficult to over-estimate the part played by those organizations aiming at female emigration. Practically no women would have left on their own initiative in the nineteenth century, and the associations helped to solve the double problem of the surplus of women in the home country on the one hand, and the shortage of women in the Dominions on the other.

The Dominions Royal Commission found that female emigration was a much more subtle problem than it appeared on the surface.¹ It was the general impression that there was a large surplus of women in Great Britain who might emigrate if encouraged by suitable organizations. It was found, however, that few of these surplus women were of the type required by the Dominions, and that the emigration of women could not be regarded as a simple means of adjusting the balance between excess of females in the home country and excess of males in the Dominions.

Attention was given early in the nineteenth century to the emigration of children, particularly children maintained under the Poor Law. In the early years of the industrial period these children were placed by the officials in factories where conditions were almost intolerable, and in course of time Acts of Parliament prohibited workhouse officials from sending the children who were under their care away to factories. These Poor Law officials then found that emigration afforded a way out of their responsibility. Magistrates in the big cities also welcomed any action taken towards the emigration of children as tending to reduce juvenile crime. The Children's Friendly Society was founded in 1830 to promote the emigration of Poor Law children. After some training in England these children were sent out to responsible persons in the colonies and became assimilated by colonial life. The emigration of orphans was specially organized, and large numbers were sent to Australia.

About the middle of the century the attitude towards child emigration changed. Though the colonies were anxious to receive

¹[Great Britain, Dominions Royal Commission, *Final Report* (1917), pp. 94-99.—Ed.]

children, the authorities at home discouraged their emigration. Many cases of proved unsatisfactory treatment of the children in their new homes developed a natural opposition to child emigration. This feeling also passed away, and emigration of children began again about 1870. The Poor Law authorities, who were the guardians of a very large number of children, obtained permission from the Central Government to use money raised from local rates for the purpose of emigrating children, and adopted measures insuring their protection.

At the Dominions Conference in 1911, it was stated that in 21 years, nearly 10,000 children had been sent out to the Dominions at a cost to the Rates of more than £100,000. Canada in particular showed a readiness to receive child emigrants, and a formal list of regulations was drawn up between the Canadian Government and the local Government Board in London (the central authority controlling the various Poor Law authorities).

Private organizations also promoted child emigration. One of these societies, "Dr. Barnardo's Homes," was specially prominent in the transfer of destitute children from Great Britain to the Dominions. In about 40 years (1867-1910) it sent over 22,000 children to Canada alone, and smaller numbers to other Dominions. This Society developed a very successful organization which has received high praise from all who have studied the subject of child emigration.¹ Other similar bodies in the large provincial cities dealt with some thousands of suitable child emigrants.

At the beginning of the present century the emigration of children into Canada was about 2,000 per annum. This figure increased later, and large numbers also went to other Dominions.

The Dominions Royal Commission, after listening to a considerable amount of evidence on State-supported child emigration, reported as follows:²

The history of the migration of State children has been marked, like other phases of migration, by violent fluctuations of public opinion. Sometimes the removal of these children to a new sphere and new surroundings has been thought a panacea at other times it has been regarded

¹[S. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 284 ff.—Ed.]

²[Great Britain, Dominions Royal Commission, *Final Report* (1917), p. 104, §508.—Ed.]

simply as a condemnation to slavery. Anyone possessing the slightest acquaintance with the conditions of life in the Dominions would indignantly scout the second of these suggestions, and before concluding this branch of our Report we desire to place on record our own views on the question.

Our belief is that, while all young emigrants have great chances of success, those whose surroundings in early life have not been normal, and whose environment has not been healthy, are likely to benefit to an especial degree by the freer life in the Dominions.

In our judgment the risk involved is inappreciable and the gain exceptional. We would therefore urge generally that the Government Departments and local authorities in the United Kingdom should pay greatly increased attention to the whole question of the possibilities which migration offers to the children under their charge, and equally we would call the attention of the Oversea Governments to the advantages of this potential supply. . . .

Conflict of interest is absent to a remarkable degree. The migration of such children is of benefit alike to the senders and the receivers.