

A NEW LIFE ON "UNCLE SAM'S FARM."
NEWFOUNDLANDERS IN MASSACHUSETTS 1846-1859

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

**TOTAL OF 10 PAGES ONLY
MAY BE XEROXED**

(Without Author's Permission)

EDWARD-VINCENT CHAFE

CCF158



A NEW LIFE ON "UNCLE SAM'S FARM:"
NEWFOUNDLANDERS IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1846-1859

by



Edward-Vincent Chafe

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts,
Memorial University of Newfoundland
December, 1982

ABSTRACT

During the 1840's Newfoundland experienced serious economic distress. The cod fishery which sustained most of the island's population was unable to expand fast enough to support the ever increasing numbers. Newfoundland's position was further undermined by the conflagration in 1846 which nearly destroyed its capital, St. John's, and the advent of a seven-year depression in the fishery the following year. Social and political change accompanied the economic distress. The commercially independent outports declined in importance as trade centralized at St. John's. The lack of productive work fuelled sectarian animosity, which in turn, manifested itself in a drive for political control.

The unstable situation in Newfoundland compelled many of its inhabitants to migrate. Newfoundlanders took passage to many different locations, but of them, Massachusetts appears to have been the prime destination. The state was attractive to migrants because of its geographic proximity, its placement along established shipping routes, and the low overhead required for movement. Not only did the Commonwealth extend permanent and temporary employment, but it offered work in maritime-related activities.

The movement from Newfoundland to Massachusetts occurring during the 1840's and 1850's, consisted largely of young, native-born Newfoundlanders. The migration was

selective in that a majority of those that left were Irish-Catholic and residents of St. John's. Occupationally the migrants were skilled and continued in their particular livelihoods upon arrival in the state. The move to Massachusetts was calculated and proceeded in stages. A member of the family, usually the father, went down to seek employment and later other family members came to join him. The settlement of Newfoundlanders in Massachusetts was highly concentrated, with the bulk of them settling at three locations, Boston, Newburyport and Gloucester. The homogeneous origins and the clustered distribution of the migrants fostered the transfer of existing kinship groups, which acted to consolidate the Newfoundlanders into distinct communities.

PREFACE

Nineteenth-century Boston was a magnificent sight to behold from the sea. Centrally located on the Shawmut Peninsula, overlooking a harbour covering seventy-five square miles, the city seemed almost to rise out of the water. From its massive granite warehouses and stylish Bulfinch townhouses to its slender-spined churches, the skyline soared upward. At the summit, the gold dome of the State House presided. Boston was toasted as the "Birthplace of American Freedom," and the "Literary emporium of the western world."¹

It was to this city that Philip Tocque, Newfoundland's first man of letters, was drawn in 1849. Exuberantly, Tocque explored Boston and the surrounding region, calling on former Newfoundlanders along the way and picking up interesting bits of information here and there. A year later he published his observations in a book entitled A Peep at Uncle Sam's Farm. The "object" of Tocque's book was "to acquaint" his fellow Newfoundlanders with "a country which is destined to be the greatest upon which the sun ever shone."² Tocque wrote a book which doubtless proved useful to prospective emigrants. In doing so, however, he

¹Philip Tocque, A Peep at Uncle Sam's Farm (Boston: Charles H. Peirce and Company, 1851), p. 14.

²Ibid., p. v.

v

inadvertently gave us one of the first "peeps" at Newfoundlanders residing outside of Newfoundland. Between 1846 and 1859, almost three thousand of Tocque's fellow countrymen sailed into Boston's commodious harbour.

The object of this thesis is to reconstruct this movement to Massachusetts to define its various characteristics, and to assess the position of Newfoundlanders living in the United States during the immediate ante-bellum period. Although a great many Newfoundlanders are reputed to have gone to the United States and Canada during the nineteenth century, the migration has never been studied systematically.³ The lack of research on this topic, however, is not an index of the importance of this phenomenon. The repercussions of the exodus sounded in every aspect of the island's history - political, social, and economic. The neglect of the subject may reflect the difficulty of undertaking such a study. The selection of Massachusetts as the focus of this thesis is due to Boston's reputation as the chief destination for Newfoundland migrants.⁴ Indeed the "Boston States" became synonymous with immigration to the United States. The period from 1846 to 1859 was chosen because the first major influx

³ Newfoundland emigration is mentioned, although not analysed, in works such as Edwin C. Guillet, The Great Migration (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1937), and Marcus Lee Hansen, The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945).

⁴ The Newfoundland Weekly, Feb. 8, 1941,

of Newfoundlanders into the state was alleged to have occurred during that period.⁵

Information regarding Newfoundlanders in Massachusetts comes primarily from Massachusetts sources. Newfoundland sources such as church registers, probate records, deeds, and private collections are helpful in identifying Newfoundlanders once they are found, but provide little help in finding them. The island's newspapers published an occasional editorial on emigration, a few obituaries for Newfoundlanders in Boston, and often the names of first class passengers departing for Massachusetts. This information, however, only concentrates on a small segment of the migrant group, so its use is limited. Thus, the major sources on which this thesis will be based are the passenger lists for the port of Boston, and the Federal Census returns for the state of Massachusetts.

To supplement these sources, the records held by the Massachusetts Division of Vital Statistics were also examined. These records contain all the birth, death and marriage certificates for the state from 1841 to the present. Over 1,816,597 birth, death, and marriage certificates were inspected. All three forms contain name, birthplace, parentage, occupation, residence, gender and date as standard information. The special value of these

⁵The Patriot, Nov. 8, 1862.

records is that they allow individual identification, and thus illuminate the subject in a way that aggregate statistics cannot.

Research on the micro-level can outline the basic characteristics of the Newfoundlander in Massachusetts, but it cannot reveal the individual's motivation for migrating. The scarcity of such personal sources as diaries and letters, which might serve to disclose various causes, leaves one only to speculate on possible reasons for departure. In an effort to make the migrant's characteristics meaningful and to suggest what may have impelled them to move, the thesis shall begin with a general overview of the society which produced the migrants, with attention to those attributes which stimulated movement to other locations and may have shaped their decision to leave for Massachusetts. Chapters two and three shall delineate the characteristics of the migrants from Newfoundland to Massachusetts as they were found in the passenger lists and the census returns. The fourth chapter shall deal with the fate of the Newfoundlanders after they set sail for Boston and disappeared into the horizon.

Much of whatever merit this thesis may possess is due to the assistance given me during its preparation. The bulk of this work was carried on under a fellowship provided by Memorial University of Newfoundland for which I am deeply grateful. The staffs at the Maritime History

Group Archives, Provincial Archives of Newfoundland, Massachusetts State Archives, Massachusetts Division of Vital Statistics, Boston Public Library, Memorial University Library, and Hunter Library have all at various times given valuable help. To the following individuals a special thanks is due: Professor Keith Matthews, who suggested this thesis topic and who gave me access to his Name Files Collection; Professor John Mannion, who gave me access to his Irish Surname Collection; Mr. Herbert Risser for granting me access to the records kept by the Division of Vital Statistics; Professors Louise Dawe, Shannon Ryan, and Stuart Pierson who read drafts of my thesis; and Miss Lorraine Rogers who typed it. I would also like to thank Reverend Dr. Raymond Lahey; Professors Patrick O'Flaherty, Michael Staveley, Rosemary Ommen, William Whiteley, William Kearns, and Linda Kealey; Kenneth Kerr, Melvin Baker, Patricia O'Brien, and Moira Mannion for their encouragement.

I owe a particular debt to my advisor, Lewis R. Fischer, whose guidance and criticism have been indispensable.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	ix
PREFACE	iv
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
 CHAPTER	
I NEWFOUNDLAND SOCIETY AND THE ORIGINS OF MIGRATION	1
II MIGRATION FROM NEWFOUNDLAND TO MASSACHUSETTS	19
III NEWFOUNDLAND EMIGRANTS IN MASSACHUSETTS	39
IV A NEW LIFE ON UNCLE SAM'S FARM	62
CONCLUSION	84
APPENDIX	89
BIBLIOGRAPHY	101

LIST OF TABLES.

TABLE	PAGE
1. Passenger Port of Departure, 1840-1859	23
2. Birthplace of Passengers Arriving in Boston from Newfoundland, 1840-1845, 1846-1854, 1855-1859	27
3. Status of Passengers Arriving in Boston from Newfoundland, 1840-1845, 1846-1854, 1855-1859. . .	29
4. Family Relationships of Passengers Arriving in Boston from Newfoundland, 1846-1859	32
5. Occupational Categories of Passengers Arriving in Boston from Newfoundland, 1840-1845, 1846- 1854, 1855-1859	34
6. Age Categories of Passengers Arriving in Boston from Newfoundland, 1840-1845, 1846-1854, 1855-1859	36
7. Age Categories of Newfoundlanders Residing in Massachusetts, 1850	45
8. Length of Residence for Newfoundlanders Residing in Massachusetts, 1850	46
9. A Comparison of Status for Newfoundlanders Found in the Passenger Lists, 1840-1849 with the 1850 Census	47
10. Household Composition of Newfoundlanders Residing in Massachusetts, 1850	48
11. A Comparison of Occupational Categories for Newfoundlanders Found in the Passenger Lists, 1840-1849 with the 1850 Census	49
12. Comparison of Occupational Categories for Newfoundlanders Residing in Boston with Newfoundlanders Residing in Other Parts of Massachusetts, 1850	51
13. A Comparison of Age Categories for Newfound- landers Found in the 1850 and 1860 Censuses . . .	54

TABLE

PAGE

14.	A Comparison of Status for Newfoundlanders Found in the 1850 and 1860 Censuses	55
15.	A Comparison of Household Composition for Newfoundlanders Found in the 1850 and 1860 Censuses	56
16.	A Comparison of Occupational Categories for Newfoundlanders Found in the Passenger Lists, 1840-1859 with the 1850 and 1860 Censuses	57
17.	A Comparison of Occupational Categories for Newfoundlanders Residing in Boston with Newfoundlanders Residing in Other Parts of Massachusetts, 1860	58
18.	A Comparison of Occupational Categories for Newfoundlanders Residing in Boston with Irish Residing in Boston, 1850	68
19.	A Comparison of Birthplaces for Newfoundlanders Found in the 1850 and 1860 Censuses	72
20.	Settlement in Massachusetts by Birthplace, 1850 and 1860	73
21.	A Comparison of Religious Categories for Newfoundlanders Found in the 1850 and 1860 Censuses	79

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
1. Principal Settlements of Newfoundland, 1845 . . .	5
2. Passenger Arrivals in Massachusetts, 1840-1859	26
3. Peak Years of Arrival by Status and Gender, 1846-1859	31
4. Passenger Arrivals Between St. John's and Boston, 1850-1859	40
5. Spatial Distribution of Newfoundlanders in Massachusetts, 1850	53
6. Spatial Distribution of Newfoundlanders in Massachusetts, 1860	60
7. Principal Settlements of Massachusetts, 1850	70
8. Cognatic Kinship Bonds Between Descent Groups	77

CHAPTER I

NEWFOUNDLAND SOCIETY AND THE ORIGINS OF MIGRATION

Newfoundland is an island, 350 miles long and 200 broad. It is the last land near the continent, on this side of the Atlantic, and about 1900 miles distant from the nearest part of Ireland.

Philip Tocque,
A Peep at Uncle
Sam's Farm (1851).

It was fish, specifically the codfish, that first lured West Country seamen to frequent Newfoundland's remote shores. Terra Nova, with its windswept rocky coast and stunted vegetation, had little to offer except its proximity to the cod. For over two centuries after its discovery, West Country seamen arrived each spring, fished throughout the summer and returned to their homes in England in the fall.¹ Eventually when disruption by war — and a growing demand for dried cod made it profitable to remain in Newfoundland, nominal settlement occurred. The virtual collapse of the transatlantic migratory fishery during the Napoleonic Wars shifted the prosecution of the

¹ For a discussion of the early history of the West of England-Newfoundland fishery see Keith Matthews, "A History of the West of England-Newfoundland Fishery" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1968),

fishery into the hands of the settlers.² With almost a world monopoly on dried cod, which in addition had dramatically increased in value, Newfoundland experienced an economic boom.³

This prosperity transformed Newfoundland practically overnight. Immigration dramatically increased. From 19,034 inhabitants in 1803, the population more than doubled to 40,568 by 1815.⁴ The concentration of a quarter of the population at St. John's established the port as the island's first town. As a result, aspects of colonial life soon appeared, such as a post office and a newspaper.⁵ These, in turn, fixed St. John's as Newfoundland's center of communications and subsequently as the social, political, and commercial capital.

The close of the war and the consequent recession brought hard times. The population was almost totally dependent upon the cod fishery, returns from which failed to keep pace with the growing needs of the island's

² John J. Mannion, "Introduction," in Mannion (ed.), The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1977), p. 6.

³ Shannon P. Ryan, "The Newfoundland Cod Fishery in the Nineteenth Century" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1972), p. 28.

⁴ Ibid.; p. 209.

⁵ S.J.R. Noel, Politics in Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 5.

inhabitants. As a result, supplementary industries were sought. Due to the paucity of other exploitable resources the outcome was generally negligible. Numerous attempts were made to stimulate agriculture. Under Newfoundland's first civil governor Sir Thomas Cochrane (1825-1834), new roads to Topsail, Bay Bulls, Torbay, and Portugal Cove allowed access to great tracts of land.⁶ Nevertheless, farming did not advance beyond the subsistence level because of the harsh climate and poor soil. Timber was a bountiful resource and was necessary for the construction of flakes and boats, but lumbering depended upon the needs of the fishery. It was within the context of the fisheries that some relief was found from dependence upon a single industry.

Newfoundland's diversification came from development of a migratory Labrador cod fishery and seal fishery. The Labrador fishery's late season presented fishermen with a second chance when there was a scarcity of cod in the traditional fishing grounds. Pursued during the winter months, the seal fishery provided extensive employment to a large number who would have otherwise remained idle:

The wonderful growth of the spring seal fishery....completely changed the social habits of the people; the work required for fitting out the vessels, building

⁶Daniel W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland (London: MacMillan and Co., 1895), p. 425.

punts, repairing and strengthening the sealing schooners, kept masters and crews at work all through the winter; what had formerly been a carnival of drinking and dancing now became a season of hard, laborious toil.⁷

The Labrador cod and the seal fisheries were decisive elements in Newfoundland's growth. Decentralized, like the traditional cod fishery, they offered a secondary occupation in which even the most geographically dispersed of the population could participate. These industries allowed the population to expand in size and to settle in parts of Newfoundland that were less desirable. They also postponed the island's economic decline.

The peopling of Newfoundland was still a relatively recent event in the 1840's, as the island's main settlement took place during the first three decades of the century. By 1845, a moderate volume of immigration plus natural fecundity brought the population count to 92,296.⁸ The entire population dwelled along the sea-coast with no inland settlements. Two-thirds of the island's people lived on the Avalon peninsula, especially in the districts of St. John's and Conception Bay, which contained eighty-three percent of the Avalon's population, and fifty-five percent of the island's total, as enumerated in the 1845

⁷ Ibid., p. 450-451.

⁸ Newfoundland, Department of the Colonial Secretary, Census of Newfoundland, 1845 (hereafter cited as Census of Newfoundland).

census. In spite of this regional density, the people of Newfoundland were basically rural, pocketed in small communities called outports. Over fifty percent of the population lived in outports of less than 750 inhabitants; in fact, a quarter of the population lived in outports with less than three hundred inhabitants. The larger harbours maintained populations ranging from one thousand to five thousand inhabitants, amounting to twenty-nine percent of the population. These centers were mainly local in importance, although Carbonear (4615) and Harbour Grace (4129) were fairly prominent. The capital of Newfoundland, St. John's (20,911) comprised twenty-one percent of the population (see Figure 1).

The heavy concentration at St. John's and on the Avalon may be traced back to the particular trade connections these areas had with the West of England and the Southeast of Ireland. Immigrants were channeled along established trade routes to specific locations on the island. The settlement pattern that developed acted to separate spatially the population by ethnicity and religion. As a result the Irish were prominent on the Avalon peninsula, especially at St. John's, along the Southern Shore to Placentia Bay, and in the more populous communities in the bays north of St. John's to Fogo Island. The English tended to predominate everywhere else.⁹ The

⁹Mannion, op. cit., p. 8.

FIGURE 1

Principal Settlements of Newfoundland, 1845

Source: Derived from the Census of Newfoundland.

7

1845 census, though it gave no ethnic breakdown, listed religious affiliation, which was virtually coterminous with natural origin. It was reported that just under half of the population were Roman Catholic, thirty-five percent were Anglican, fifteen percent were Wesleyan, and one percent were Presbyterians and Congregationalists. In terms of ethnicity, the majority of the Roman Catholics were Irish while the majority of the Anglicans, Wesleyans and Congregationalists were of English descent. The Presbyterians were largely Scottish and Nova Scotian in origin. Thus, the island's population was almost equally divided between Irish Catholics and English Protestants.¹⁰

The settlement patterns which distributed the inhabitants geographically by ethnicity and religion concentrated at St. John's a population seventy-eight percent Irish-Catholic.¹¹ Predominant only in numbers they were isolated from political and economic power. Spatially, the 20,911 residents of St. John's were confined to a relatively small area. Situated at the base of a steep slope, the town straddled two miles of thickly crowded waterfront. By contemporary standards St. John's resembled any other

¹⁰ All of the percentages were calculated from the Census of Newfoundland, 1845.

¹¹ Derived from ibid.

colonial sea-port.¹² Its buildings, almost all of them made of wood, were generally in a dilapidated state with not so much as a dab of paint to brighten them up. Narrow roads and dark alleyways rambled aimlessly through the congested town. During inclement weather, the unpaved pathways flowed with sewage. The water supply for the middle of the town ran through the Anglican cemetery.¹³ Infectious diseases, like cholera or diphtheria, regularly ravaged the population.¹⁴ Reminding the visitor of the nature of Newfoundland's trade were the many oil-vats and flakes, and the ever present stench of drying cod. Almost half of St. John's workforce was directly involved in the fishery; an additional quarter was indirectly involved as trades people. Apart from the fishery, there were few ways for the inhabitants to supplement their incomes. Provisions and firewood had to be brought in, often at high prices. Hunting or garden plots, which were alternatives for those in the outports, were not options for many in town.

Scattered in hundreds of coves and harbours, isolated

¹²For a detailed description of St. John's see R.H. Bonnycastle, Newfoundland in 1842 (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1842), and John Mullaly, A Trip to Newfoundland (New York: T.W. Strong Printer, 1855).

¹³Great Britain, Colonial Office, Correspondence, Series 194, Vol. 127, p. 267.

¹⁴The Times, July 8, 1854.

in the winter by the lack of roads, each outport developed its own unique identity. Ethnicity and religious affiliation, coupled with intermarriage and kinship clustering, gave the outports a homogeneous character. Often particular surnames became synonymous with certain locations, such as the Sullivans of Pouch Cove, the Meserveys of Sandy Point, or the Rows of New Perlican. Self-contained and self-sufficient, the outport was its own world:

Every Harbour of importance on the East Coast built its own vessels...the crew belonged to the place and the fat was nearly all manufactured into oil in the same Harbour....¹⁵

Most of the activities of economic life were performed by the family. Whether it was splitting the cod and spreading them on the flakes to dry or merely brewing spruce beer and tending to the garden plot, the tasks were performed amidst a sea of familiar faces. If illness or disaster struck, a family could count on the aid of its kin and neighbors. To a stranger or friend, their homes were as open as the hearts of their owners. In spite of the many traits which typified the outport, they were by no means all alike. While it is impossible to ascertain the complete social and economic background of the Newfoundland community some extent of the differences among the communities may be seen in a contemporary description:

¹⁵ Levi George Chafe as quoted in Ryan, op. cit., p. 23.

In one place, you will find them clean, tidy, thriving; houses neatly and substantially built, and a certain air of sobriety and self-respect about the people; the children a picture of delight with their mothers, with their beautiful eyes, well-formed faces, soft flaxen hair.

In another close by, the very reverse of all this; houses or rather hovels of studs, the crevices gaping, wide or filled with moss, the roof covered with the rinds of trees and sods, the entrance constructed by heaps of dirt, often nothing that deserved the name of door, the aperture so low that one must stoop to enter, the interior without any furniture but a low table and rough stool, scarcely raised three inches from the ground; the children wretchedly ragged and dirty, crouching round, or creeping into the smoky wood fire, an oil sail and a few more studs forming the only partition between the kitchen and sleeping room, if such terms can be applied to such miserable dens.¹⁶

The interplay between identity and economics formed the basis by which the population was categorized into what contemporaries repeatedly referred to as "classes". Based on the graded system of status inherited from the English, this was a convenient way to differentiate among the various extremes to be found within Newfoundland society.¹⁷ While substantial inequality existed, the use

¹⁶ Jacob G. Mountain, Some Account of a Sowing Time on the Rugged Shores of Newfoundland (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1857), p. 17.

¹⁷ For a discussion on rank and status see Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost (London: Methuen and Company Limited, 1971), p. 23-54.

of the term "class" as a demarcation is misleading. Settlement on the island had been too diverse and too recent to have allowed solid class lines to develop. The amount of upward and downward mobility was probably enormous. For instance, John Bunting, Esq. Surgeon R.N. wed the daughter of a tavern keeper.¹⁸ Due to the unavailability of spouses, fishermen and merchants married planters' daughters. Everyone risked impoverishment by trusting in the unpredictable and unreliable fishery. An editorial lamenting the death of a Richard Perchard gives one such instance:

At one period of his life, Mr. Perchard carried on an extensive mercantile business here, and enjoyed all the affluences of life. One reverse after another, however, fell upon him, and he became so reduced in circumstances, as to take up any casual employment which gave him the means of obtaining daily bread for a large and helpless family.¹⁹

From an examination of nineteenth century Newfoundland probate records, it seems the colony was incapable of producing great wealth or an "aristocracy."²⁰ The island did have families comfortably circumstanced, but as Bonnycastle observed of them:

The upper class which at home would almost without exception be the middle

¹⁸ The Royal Gazette, Oct. 1, 1812.

¹⁹ The Patriot, July 8, 1861.

²⁰ Supreme Court of Newfoundland, Register of Wills, Probate Records, 1-3 Vols.

class, consists of clergy, judges, councillors, and officers of the state.²¹

This small governing elite generally used Newfoundland as a stepping-stone to more important positions elsewhere, and rarely became part of the island's society. In reality, Newfoundland was a one-class society. It accommodated overlapping groups, such as Baymen, Townies, Natives, Wesleyans, Anglicans, but they were not "classes."²²

By the 1840's it was apparent that not only was the cod fishery unable to expand to support the rapidly growing population, but the quality and value of its product had also decreased.²³ The Labrador cod fishery and the seal fishery were no longer alternatives but had become an essential part of the economy. Pauperism gradually increased.²⁴ The situation was brought to a "crisis" point by the Fire of 1846, which almost wiped out St. John's. Sixty mercantile establishments were destroyed, and twelve thousand residents were left homeless.²⁵ To further

²¹ Bonnycastle, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

²² For a discussion on class in Newfoundland see Gerald M. Sider, "The ties that bind: culture and agriculture, property and propriety in the Newfoundland village fishery," *Social History*, v. 5, no. 1 (January 1980), p. 1-39.

²³ Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

²⁴ *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1855, p. 259.

²⁵ Prowse, *op. cit.*, p. 460.

aggravate conditions, a terrific gale caused extensive damage a few months later. The following year, 1847, marked the arrival of the potato blight and the beginning of a seven-year depression in the fishery. A crucial change had occurred in Newfoundland:

Every winter brings with it demands on the government from almost every quarter of the island, for the sustention of life. To such an extent has this prevailed, that the Executive are kept verging on embarrassment; and we much fear with the present prospect of high prices, that it will be difficult, if not impossible, for them to meet, in the approaching winter all the applications for relief.²⁶

Accompanying the economic distress was a political and social change. Like their compatriots in Ireland, the Irish in Newfoundland were determined to acquire the power they had long been denied. The desire became sectarian as the Catholic church stepped in to help champion their rights. The increasing lack of productive work gave rise to vagabondage and fueled a hatred toward the inept government at St. John's. As intimidation was their only political weapon, the Irish not surprisingly committed acts of mischief towards those they viewed as oppressors. The "growing jealousy of the Irish element" and their "preponderance" in numbers, created "among the Protestant population of the island, an habitual dread of the Irish as

²⁶ The Newfoundlander, Sept. 22, 1853.

a class, which was more oppressively felt than expressed."²⁷ The Protestant population had ample reason to be tense. The outports were being robbed of their commercial independence by the centralization of commerce at predominately Catholic St. John's. Potentially explosive, these developments exacerbated the insecurities bred by the economy's rapid disintegration. Confronted with an uncertain future, with no prospect of improvement many considered migration.

The idea of migration was first introduced to Newfoundland through local journals and gazettes. They brimmed with accounts of the flight from Ireland, of the emigrés from the aborted revolutions of 1848, and of the hordes streaming toward the gold fields of California and Australia. Editorials cited and acclaimed the enterprise and pluck found among migrants. At times, it must have appeared that everyone was migrating. Newspapers played an important role in shaping the direction of migration, by offering data on specific areas and suggesting alternative destinations. A series of articles, carried by The Patriot, on homesteading in Wisconsin, was undoubtedly responsible for a movement from Conception Bay to that location in 1849.²⁸ The Harbour Grace Weekly Herald described this migration as follows:

²⁷ Edmund Gosse, The Naturalist of the Sea Shore: The Life of Philip Henry Gosse (London: William Heinemann, 1896), p. 43.

²⁸ The Patriot, April 5, 1847.

The Glide, Capt. E. Pike, with 49 passengers left this port yesterday for New York. As this was the first instance of an emigrant ship leaving the shores of Conception Bay no little interest was taken in the circumstances by all classes of the community....We sincerely hope that the flattering accounts which they received from Wisconsin and other parts of the United States where they intend to take up their future abode, will be more than realized.²⁹

Migration gained its first appeal among the literate and more prominent outport families living in Conception Bay. Assessing the changes that were occurring, they understood all too clearly the true nature of the situation:

Newfoundland will never be anything greater than it is at present, a mere fishing colony, the inhabitants in a great degree depending altogether on its fisheries for maintenance, and that the whole trade of the Island will eventually centre in St. John's and a few ports in the Northern Coast, which are good outlets for the seal fishery.³⁰

With the outports declining in importance, the positions of these families began to erode. Comfortably situated, they would remain secure for a while. But as one of their number revealed:

²⁹ The Harbour Grace Weekly Herald, June 6, 1849.

³⁰ Stephen Olive Pack to the Colonial Secretary, Sept. 6, 1852, Provincial Archives of Newfoundland, GN 2/2, "Incoming Correspondence of the Colonial Secretary's Office, July-Dec. 1852," p. 254.

It is not so much on my own account I am anxious to leave Newfoundland, but for the interest of my young family as there is no prospect of advancing them in life in this colony, or making any provision for them.³¹

Contemporary sources suggest that many families shared this concern. To ensure some sort of future for their children, many parents felt they either had to relocate themselves or set up their sons or daughters elsewhere. Both courses were taken. Joshua Green, sub-collector of customs at Brigus, and his family went to Australia. On the other hand, Thomas Martin of Port de Grave took his son to England and then shipped him to Australia; likewise, James Bayley sent his son Alfred to the same country.³² In most cases these moves were calculated. Stephen Olive Pack desired to continue as a civil servant after migration to Australia.³³ Horatio Dickson journeyed to California not to pan for gold but to establish a business.³⁴

Although migration gained its first appeal among those residing in Conception Bay, the majority of those "flying from the country" were residents of St. John's, primarily

³¹ Ibid., p. 254.

³² On Going Book Committee, The Savour of Things Past (St. John's, NF: Jespersen Press, 1981), p. 51.

³³ Pack, op. cit., p. 254.

³⁴ The Patriot, April 20, 1850.

artisans and shopkeepers by trade.³⁵ Among the "hardest hit" by the 1846 Fire, the tradespeople of St. John's were still struggling to recover when the depression hit.³⁶ The situation was aggravated further by the continuing centralization of commerce at St. John's. Those with specialized occupations were relocating to the capital from the outports and undoubtedly lessened the amount of employment available. Representative of both positions is the plight of Robert Wells. A mason by trade, Robert and his family relocated to St. John's from Trinity in 1843. Three years later they were among the twelve thousand burnt out in the 1846 Fire. Robert found ample employment as the town rebuilt but when the depression struck, the Wells family removed to Trinity. Their homecoming was short-lived and they soon returned to St. John's. On January 5, 1853, Robert Wells and his family sailed through the narrows on the Magnet, bound for Boston.³⁷

The selection of destinations for migration was often restricted, since certain moves could require a substantial outlay of capital. John Hayward, a son-in-law of Stephen Olive Pack, praised his new home in Wisconsin but warned

³⁵ The Newfoundlander, June 6, 1853.

³⁶ Gray to Harvey, Aug. 18, 1846, P.R.O., Colonial Office 194, v. 1, 126, despatch 61.

³⁷ Boston Passenger Systems File; for a detailed explanation, see Appendix I, p. 90.

his friends not to contemplate homesteading unless they had at least £300 to invest.³⁸ Following through with the actual movement presented further limitations. The lack of direct trade between Newfoundland and Australia, California, or Wisconsin meant a lot of extra effort and determination to get to those places. The various destinations which Newfoundlanders chose are revealed in the weekly shipping schedules and occasional notices found in many of the island's newspapers. The vast majority of the passengers departed for either Halifax, New York, or Boston. These cities were situated on trade routes from Newfoundland and were close, convenient, and relatively inexpensive destinations. Of the three, Boston appears to have been the favoured destination.

³⁸The Patriot, Jan. 19, 1850.

CHAPTER II

MIGRATION FROM NEWFOUNDLAND TO MASSACHUSETTS

We arrived in Boston after a stormy and most disagreeable passage of nine days. Among the passengers was Mrs. Haddon and family. (Mr. Haddon had previously gone on.) This gentleman had been sent over to Newfoundland by the Board of Ordnance in London to superintend the erection of the Government House in St. John's... Owing to adverse circumstances, Mr. Haddon has been compelled to seek a home in the great American Republic.

Philip Tocque,
A Peep at Uncle
Sam's Farm (1851).

On Thursday, the 27th of December, 1849, the brig Vixen, commanded by Captain Richard Meagher, docked at Boston. On board the vessel were sixteen passengers from Newfoundland: Philip Tocque; Thomas Martin; Sarah Parsons; Mary Haddon and children, Elizabeth (23), Mary (22), Josiah (16), Henry (16), Caroline (13) and Martha (8); Bridget Keating and children, Catherine (12), Anastasia (7), Patrick (5) and Fanny (3). The identities of the passengers who sailed on the Vixen are known to history through the existence of detailed passenger lists for the port of Boston.

The passenger lists survive in two forms, ship manifests and the passenger registry of the poor commissioners. The manifests date back to 1820 and are almost completely

intact for most years. Under United States' law, Boston was designated the official port of entry for all passenger ships entering the state of Massachusetts. Upon the ship's arrival, the manifests were submitted to the Customs House by the Captain. These documents report two kinds of information. The first deals with the vessel, giving its name, rig, tonnage, port of registry, voyage origin, captain's name, and date of arrival in Boston. The second relates to the passengers, listing their names, ages, status, occupations, and countries of birth.

The passenger registry kept by the poor commissioners begins in 1848, and was necessitated by the number of famine Irish flooding Massachusetts.² The register supplies little information about vessels but abounds in personal data, such as family relationships. The importance of the passenger registry is demonstrated by comparing it with the ship manifest. For instance, the manifests may simply list a passenger as "Bridget Keating". The register, however, might list the same passenger as "Mrs. John Keating". The difference often becomes crucial when trying to distinguish between people with similar names.

The register also can point out any variations in the

¹Status encompasses gender and marital condition.

²For the impact of the Irish on Boston see Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1941), p. 119.

spelling of names. For example, the manifests listed a "Hansbrowe Atfirl" and a "Rodge Hassah". The register, however, recorded them as "Ambrose Hatfield" and "Roderick Haskell". The discrepancies probably stem from different interpretations of their brogues.

Both forms of the passenger lists are valuable because they give an idea of how many people left Newfoundland to go to Massachusetts, when they went there, and who they were. The effectiveness of the lists as monitors of this movement is somewhat diminished, however, for several reasons. First, they do not include those individuals who entered the state by other means, such as by train or by fishing boat. Only a fraction of the movement came by alternative routes however.³ A more serious drawback to using the passenger lists is that neither form makes any distinction between ships coming from "St. John", N.B. and "St. John", N.F. To overcome this, The Boston Shipping List, Prices Current, Commercial and Underwriter's Gazette was examined for ships entering Boston from Newfoundland. To confirm that no ship was overlooked, the weekly shipping columns featured in The Newfoundlander were also scrutinized for ships clearing for and returning from Boston. The ships

³ A comparison was made between the passenger-lists and the 1860 Federal Census Returns for the state of Massachusetts. At least eighty-six percent of the Newfoundlanders found in the 1860 census are also found on the passenger lists.

extracted from these sources were then matched with those that appeared in the manifests and registers, and any necessary alterations were made.

For the purposes of this thesis, the ship manifests and the passenger registries were combined to create a more complete file. It is to this file that all future citations refer. All revised vessel and passenger information was then collected on coding sheets and entered onto the IBM 370 computer. Using a data management system (Mark IV) adapted for use from the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project, the material was sorted and made available for analysis. The results are on tape and are currently housed in the Archives of the Maritime History Group (see Appendix I). In reconstructing the movement from Newfoundland, the passenger lists for the port of Boston were studied for a twenty-year period from 1840 to 1859.⁴ The data relating to the passengers was broken down for analysis under seven headings; port of departure, year of arrival, status, family relationship, occupation, age and birthplace.

A total of 4385 passengers from Newfoundland was examined during the twenty-year period. Over ninety-two percent of them went directly from St. John's to Boston (see Table 1). According to demographer

⁴The passenger lists for 1840, 1842, and 1843 are incomplete, but there is no reason to doubt that the surviving lists are representative of the whole.

TABLE 1

PASSENGER PORT OF DEPARTURE, 1840-1859

Location	Total	%
St. John's, N.F.	4054	92.5
Newfoundland	30	.9
Halifax, N.S.	152	3.3
Sydney, N.S.	119	2.6
Nova Scotia	11	.3
Other ^a	19	.4
Total	4385	100.0

^a St. Pierre, Miquelon, Labrador, and Prince Edward Island.

Source: Passenger Lists of the Port of Boston, Ship Manifests, 1837-1860, Boston Public Library; Passenger Registry, 1848-1860, Massachusetts State Archives, Boston (hereafter cited as Boston Passenger Systems File).

Everett S. Lee most migration proceeds along well defined routes toward highly specific destinations.⁵ Thus it may be stated that the movement to Massachusetts was not a secondary movement through another location, but was specifically aimed toward the state. Those passengers arriving via Sydney, and probably many of those who came through Halifax, entered these ports because their vessels needed

⁵ Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," Demography, v. 16, (1966), p. 48.

to pick up a cargo of coal or merchandise, and they usually did not spend more than a few days there.⁶

During the 1840's the passage to Boston was made on trading vessels. Accommodating between eight and twelve passengers, they were unable to meet the increased demands for passage to Boston. A regular packet, the General Washington, was established in 1850 by Captain Nelson Hammond, but by 1852 even this craft could no longer handle the numbers seeking passage. Captain Hammond disposed of his vessel and had a larger one built:

The Magnet is 180 tons new measurement, 260 carpenter's measurement - her length on deck is 103 feet - keel 90 feet - depth of hold 11 feet, and 24 feet beam. She is beautifully modeled, and pronounced by the Underwriter's surveyors in Boston to be the best colonial vessel they ever surveyed. Her cabins are on deck, and she is fitted up with every comfort for passengers.⁷

This vessel usually carried between seventy and eighty passengers per voyage, although a few times its capacity was extended to admit as many as 106 people. From 1850 to 1854, Captain Hammond's packets transported fifty percent of the individuals who left Newfoundland bound for Boston.⁸

During the twenty-year period, the movement from

⁶ Tocque, op. cit., p. 1.

⁷ The Morning Courier, Jan. 5, 1853,

⁸ Boston Passenger Systems File.

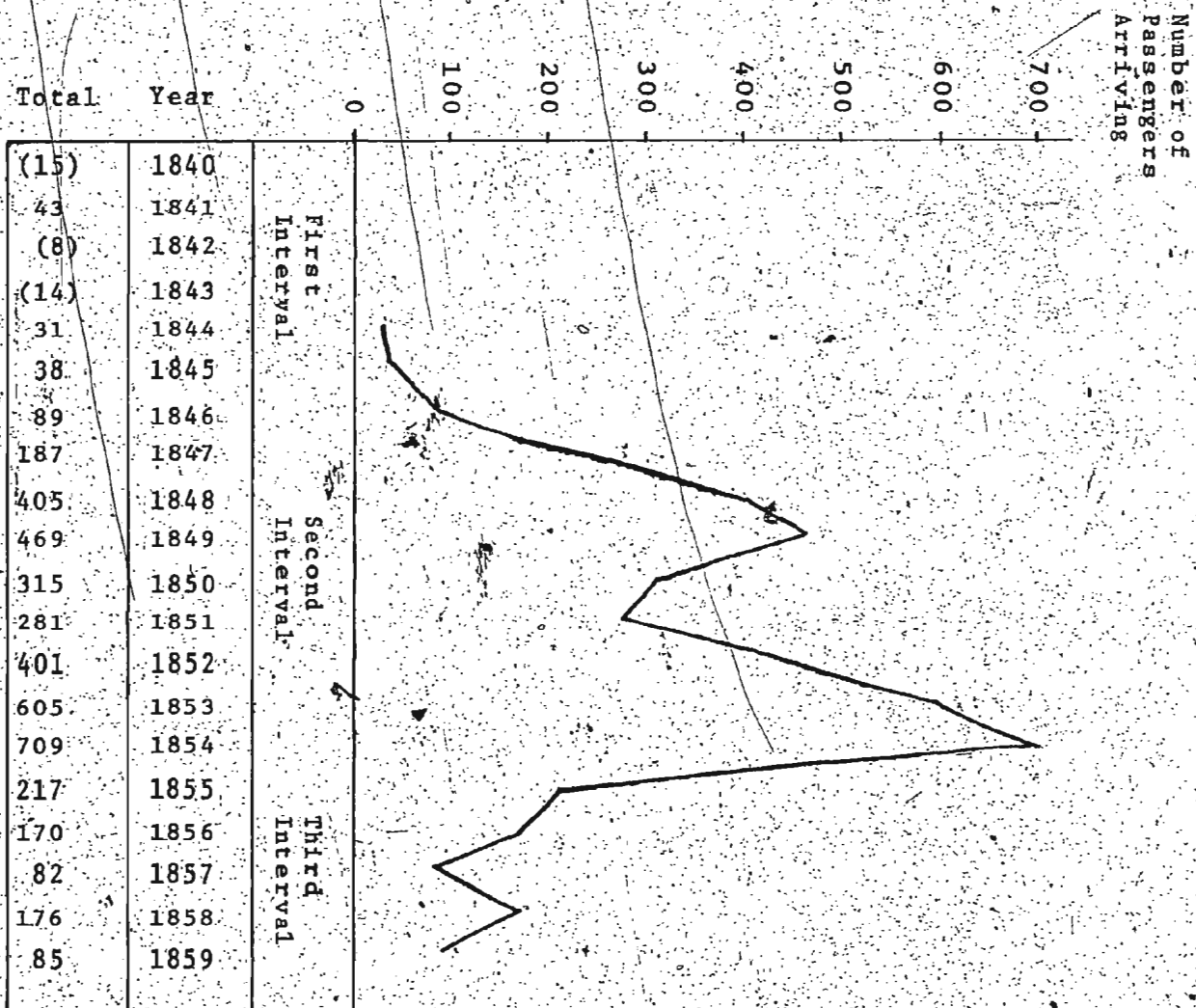
Newfoundland went through three distinct phases. The first interval encompassed the years 1840 to 1845 (see Figure 2). Although data for some of the years are incomplete, the surviving totals portray a relatively small movement, probably averaging in the vicinity of thirty to fifty persons a year. The second interval spans the years from 1846 to 1854. Characteristic of these years is the movement's dramatic increase in volume, from a total of eighty-nine people in 1846 to 709 people in 1854. The third interval covers the years from 1855 to 1859. During this period the volume of the movement plummeted yet remained larger than the migration portrayed in the first interval.⁹ The remainder of the passenger data will be analysed using these three intervals.

By comparing the first and second intervals for native-born Newfoundlanders, a dramatic increase may be seen in the proportion leaving the colony during the interval from 1846 to 1854 (see Table 2). Indeed the native-born comprised the largest percentage in each interval. This is significant for several reasons. Despite the massive flight from Ireland, the relatively low percentage of Irish-born

⁹ The concept of three intervals is also confirmed by regression analysis. The equation $\text{Log } Y = a + bt$ yields the following results: 1840-1845, $\text{Log } Y = 1.321 + 0.041t$, growth rate = 10.1% per annum; 1846-1854, $\text{Log } Y = 2.521 + 0.081t$, growth rate = 20.7% per annum; 1855-1859, $\text{Log } Y = 2.131 - 0.079t$, growth rate = -16.8% per annum.

FIGURE 2

Passenger Arrivals, in Massachusetts, 1840-1859



Source: Boston Passenger Systems File.

TABLE 2

BIRTHPLACE OF PASSENGERS ARRIVING IN BOSTON FROM
NEWFOUNDLAND, 1840-1845, 1846-1854, 1855-1859

Birthplace	First Interval 1840-1845		Second Interval 1846-1854		Third Interval 1855-1859	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Newfoundland	55	45.5	2318	75.0	479	65.6
Ireland	18	14.9	532	17.2	32	4.4
U.S.A.	13	10.7	78	2.5	125	17.1
England	18	14.9	80	2.6	20	2.7
Nova Scotia	0		28	.9	35	4.8
Scotland	16	13.2	39	1.3	10	1.4
Other ^a	1	.8	16	.5	29	4.0
Total ^b	121	100.0	3091	100.0	730	100.0

^a Italy, Spain, France, Germany and Denmark.

^b There were twenty-eight individuals with unknown birthplaces in the first interval and 415 in the second.

Source: Boston Passenger Systems File.

suggests that they were not using Newfoundland as a stepping stone to the New World in this period. Thus the movement from Newfoundland was not a secondary movement, but one originating from the island. There was also an increase in the totals for the foreign-born, reflected in the absolute numbers although not the percentages. If these figures are representative of emigration from Newfoundland to destinations other than Massachusetts, they suggest that not only was the island failing to keep its immigrant population, but its

native population was being uprooted as well.¹⁰

The large number of native-born leaving Newfoundland during the years from 1846 to 1854, a period of economic distress on the island, strongly suggests the movement was motivated largely by economic concerns. This corresponds to E.G. Ravenstein's contentions that economic motives dominate migration:

Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, unattractive climate, uncongenial social surrounding... have all produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to better themselves in material respects.¹¹

A leveling of opportunities, such as during depressions, fosters movement to places where prospects look brighter than those at home. Society's traditional breadwinner, the adult male, predominated in the migration stream from Newfoundland. In the first interval, adult males comprised over half of all the emigrants, and in the final two periods they made up close to fifty percent of all those arriving in Boston (see Table 3). Of the other passengers, the single woman emerges

¹⁰ Because of the nature of the 1845 Newfoundland census, it is impossible to be precise on this point. But it is significant that population growth in Newfoundland declined from 4.6% per annum in the 1801-1825 period, to 2.7% in the 1825-1845 era, and to 1.7% in the period 1845-1874. Given the high birthrate in Newfoundland in this period, the declining rates of population growth point strongly to net out-migration.

¹¹ E.G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, V. 52, (June, 1889), p. 286.

TABLE 3

STATUS OF PASSENGERS ARRIVING IN BOSTON FROM
NEWFOUNDLAND, 1840-1845, 1846-1854, 1855-1859

Status	First Interval 1840-1845		Second Interval 1846-1854		Third Interval 1855-1859	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Adults ^a						
Married Women	14	9.5	480	13.7	93	12.8
Single Women	19	12.9	399	11.4	103	14.1
Men	83	56.5	1603	45.8	351	48.2
Children	31	21.1	1018	29.1	181	24.9
Total ^b	147	100.0	3500	100.0	728	100.0

^a Adults are those individuals fifteen years or older.

^b There were two individuals with unknown status in the first interval, six in the second interval, and two in the third interval.

Source: Boston Passenger Systems File.

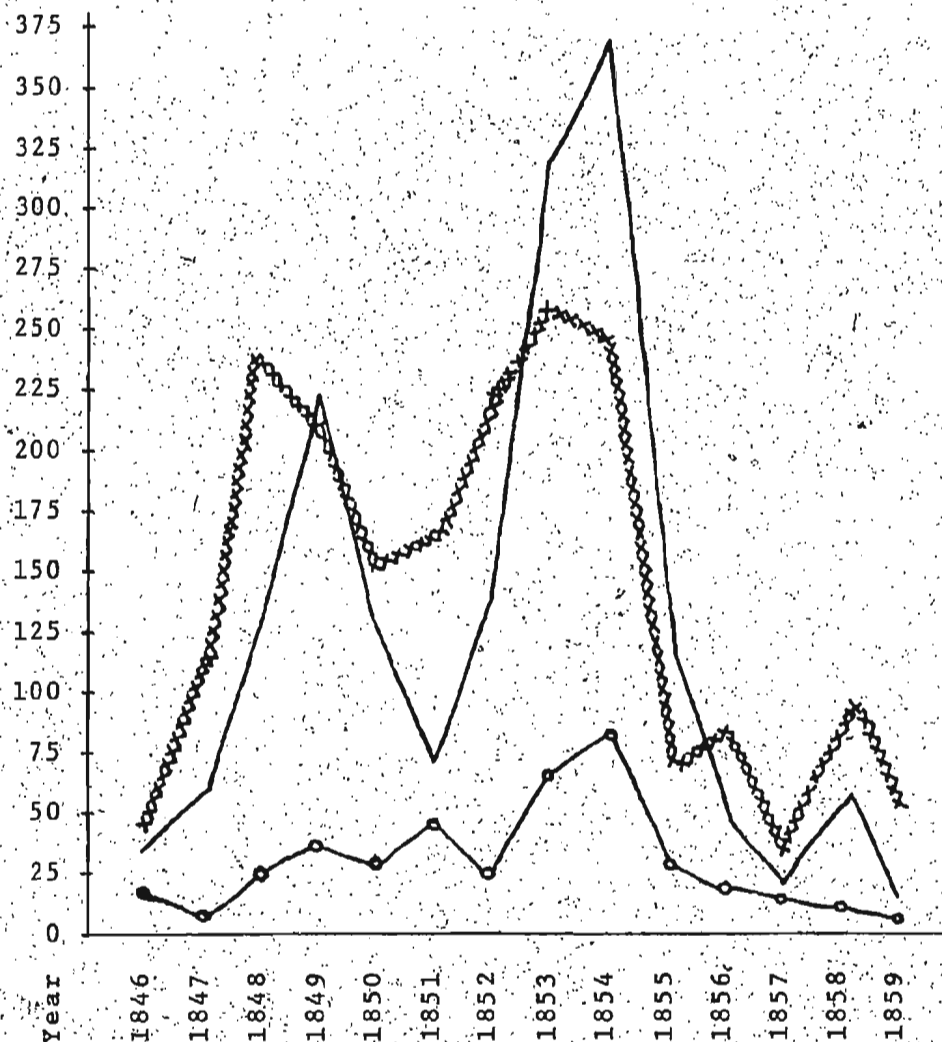
as another possible candidate for the Massachusetts labour force.

A different dimension is added to the movement by the arrival of married women and children. They generally took no role as wage earners, and were dependent upon male adults for financial support. Therefore, if the migration were provoked by economic conditions, it seems unlikely that the

expenditure would be made to bring wives and children to Massachusetts unless the move was meant to be permanent. The passenger lists do not differentiate between married and single adult males, but if one assumes that there are an equal number of married men for the married women, at least half of the passengers may be considered as immigrants.

If, in fact, a large number of the adult males were husbands, their movement might logically be expected to coincide with the movement of married women and children. Figure 3 compares these categories, and shows that this may have not been the case: the peak years of arrival for married women and children tend to lag behind the peak years of arrival for men by at least a year. For example, 1848 and 1853 were peak years for men, while 1849 and 1854 were peak years for women and children. This difference suggests that many "married" males may have been arriving in Massachusetts before their families. This supposition is bolstered by the family relationship analysis found on Table 4. While passengers travelling in the traditional grouping of "Parents and Children" accounted for the largest percentage, almost thirty-two percent of the passengers were unaccompanied married women and children. Although data taken from Table 4 does not necessarily prove that wives and children were emigrating to join husbands, it implies that this was probably so. This

FIGURE 3

Peak Years of Arrival by Status and Gender, 1846-1859.^aNumber of
Passengers
Arriving^a The years 1840-1845 are not depicted because of broken time series.^b xxx = Adult Males.^c — = Married Women and Children.^d o-o = Single Women.

Source: Boston Passenger Systems File.

TABLE 4

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS OF PASSENGERS ARRIVING
IN BOSTON FROM NEWFOUNDLAND, 1846-1859.²

Relationship	Total	%
Siblings	140	6.1
Husband and Wife	180	7.9
Parents and Children	1004	43.8
Mother and Children	730	31.9
Father and Children	104	4.5
Other ^b	134	5.8
Total	2292	100.0

^a The years 1840-1845 are not included because insufficient data.

^b Aunts, uncles, grandparents, grandchildren, nieces, nephews and cousins.

Source: Boston Passenger Systems File.

movement is significant since it intimates that the transfer from Newfoundland to Massachusetts may have been calculated. Husbands went ahead to secure employment before committing their families to a permanent move. For instance, William Haddon arrived in Boston aboard the brig Arthur on November 15, 1849. An architect by profession, he had no difficulty finding a job because the city was experiencing a "construction boom."¹² His wife Mary and six children joined him a

¹² Handlin, op. cit., p. 63.

month later. If this were indeed a calculated movement those arriving from Newfoundland were distinct in comparison to the Irish, who comprised the largest immigrant group in the state. The vast majority of the Irish landed without any fore-thought or conception of how they would earn a livelihood.¹³ It may also be speculated that in spite of the economic distress Newfoundland was enduring, the movement from the island never reached the proportions of a mass flight; unlike the Irish, Newfoundlanders engaged in what Lee has termed a selective migration.

Lee's theory of selective migration states that migrants are not a random sampling of the population at the point of origin because people respond differently to the various sets of circumstances. For the educated and professional people migration tended to mean opportunities for advancement. For the uneducated and those who in some way have failed economically, migration was a necessity.¹⁴

Corroborating the idea of a selective migration is the predominance of certain occupational skills among the passengers, suggesting a relationship between skill and movement. In total, seventy different types of occupations are represented in the passenger lists. To test for

¹³ Ibid., p. 59.

¹⁴ Lee, op. cit., p. 56.

occupational selectivity, these vocations were grouped into four categories; unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled, and professional. The unskilled category consisted of such occupations as labourers, gardeners, and coachmen. The semi-skilled category consisted of such occupations as fishermen, servants, and farmers. The skilled category consisted of such occupations as coopers, carpenters, tailors, and printers. The professional category consisted of such occupations as physicians, clergymen, and teachers.¹⁵ By comparing the categories, an increase may be seen in skilled and semi-skilled people from the first to the second interval (see Table 5). Both categories saw a

TABLE 5

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF PASSENGERS ARRIVING IN BOSTON
FROM NEWFOUNDLAND, 1840-1845, 1846-1854, 1855-1859

Occupational Category	First Interval 1840-1845		Second Interval 1846-1854		Third Interval 1855-1859	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Unskilled	14	21.5	86	6.7	30	12.2
Semi-skilled	16	24.6	414	32.2	72	29.4
Skilled	35	53.9	755	58.8	132	53.9
Professional	0	0	30	2.3	11	4.5
Total	65	100.0	1285	100.0	245	100.0

Source: Boston Passenger Systems File.

¹⁵ For a breakdown of occupations into classifications see Peter R. Knights, The Plain People of Boston 1830-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 144.

decrease in the third interval yet maintained percentages equal to or higher than in the first interval. In contrast, the number of people in unskilled occupations declined by the end of the period, in spite of an increase in the third interval, while the number of professional occupations experienced continual growth after 1846. Thus, not only is occupational selectivity demonstrated by the predominance of the skilled category, but also it is evident that emigration was proving more attractive to those with higher levels of skills as the period progressed.

Selectivity also manifests itself in the predominance of certain age categories among the passengers, suggesting another relationship: one between age and movement. Lee contends that there is a propensity to migrate during certain stages of the life cycle. For instance, it is to a degree part of the rites de passage for a young person or the newly married to leave their parental home.¹⁶ Among those leaving Newfoundland the young predominated. A breakdown of ages found on Table 6 illustrates this. During the first interval, almost fifty percent of the passengers were under the age of twenty-five years, and seventy-nine percent were less than thirty-five years of age. The mean age for the passengers 1840-1845 was twenty-six years. During the second interval, the youthfulness

¹⁶ Lee, op. cit., p. 57.

TABLE 6

AGE CATEGORIES OF PASSENGERS ARRIVING IN BOSTON
FROM NEWFOUNDLAND, 1840-1845, 1846-1854, 1855-1859

Age Category	First Interval 1840-1845			Second Interval 1846-1854			Third Interval 1855-1859		
	Total	%	Cumulative	Total	%	Cumulative	Total	%	Cumulative
1-14	16	11.3	11.3	847	24.9	24.9	162	22.3	22.3
15-24	55	38.7	50.0	882	25.9	50.8	215	29.6	51.9
25-34	42	29.6	79.6	969	28.4	79.2	188	25.9	77.8
35-44	13	9.1	88.7	441	12.9	92.1	96	13.2	91.0
45-54	12	8.5	97.2	210	6.2	98.3	44	6.1	97.1
Over 55	4	2.8	100.0	58	1.7	100.0	21	2.9	100.0
Total ^a	142	100.0		3407	100.0		726	100.0	

^a There were seven individuals of unknown age in the first interval, ninety-nine in the second interval, and four in the third interval.

Source: Boston Passenger Systems File.

of the movement remained constant: those under twenty-five and thirty-five comprised exactly the same proportion of total emigrants. Yet within the age categories there was substantial change. An increase in the number of children arriving lowered the mean age for passengers 1846-1854 to twenty-three years. In the third interval the number under the age of twenty-five years increased slightly to fifty-one percent, and those under thirty-five years of age declined to seventy-seven percent. These changes affected the mean age only marginally, raising it to twenty-four years.¹⁷ Thus it may be stated of the migration from 1840 to 1859, that fifty-one percent of the passengers were under the age of twenty-five years, and seventy-eight percent of the passengers were under the ages of thirty-five years.

The computer analysis sketches the outlines of a movement which, although differing in volume at times, remained relatively consistent in its traits. The transition to Massachusetts was made directly from Newfoundland and not from a secondary location. The composition of the movement was largely native-born, the majority of whom left the island during a period of economic distress. Almost half of those who left were adult males. A number of single women arrived as well, presumably sharing the adult male

¹⁷ For all the intervals, the median age for passengers was twenty-four years and the mode was thirty years.

aspirations for employment.¹⁸ The movement may have started out as temporary but became permanent involving over half the group, as wives and children came to join their husbands and fathers. Selectivity occurred with the occupationally skilled and young predominating in the movement.

¹⁸ There is some evidence to suggest that some of the single women may have arrived affianced.

CHAPTER III

NEWFOUNDLAND EMIGRANTS IN MASSACHUSETTS

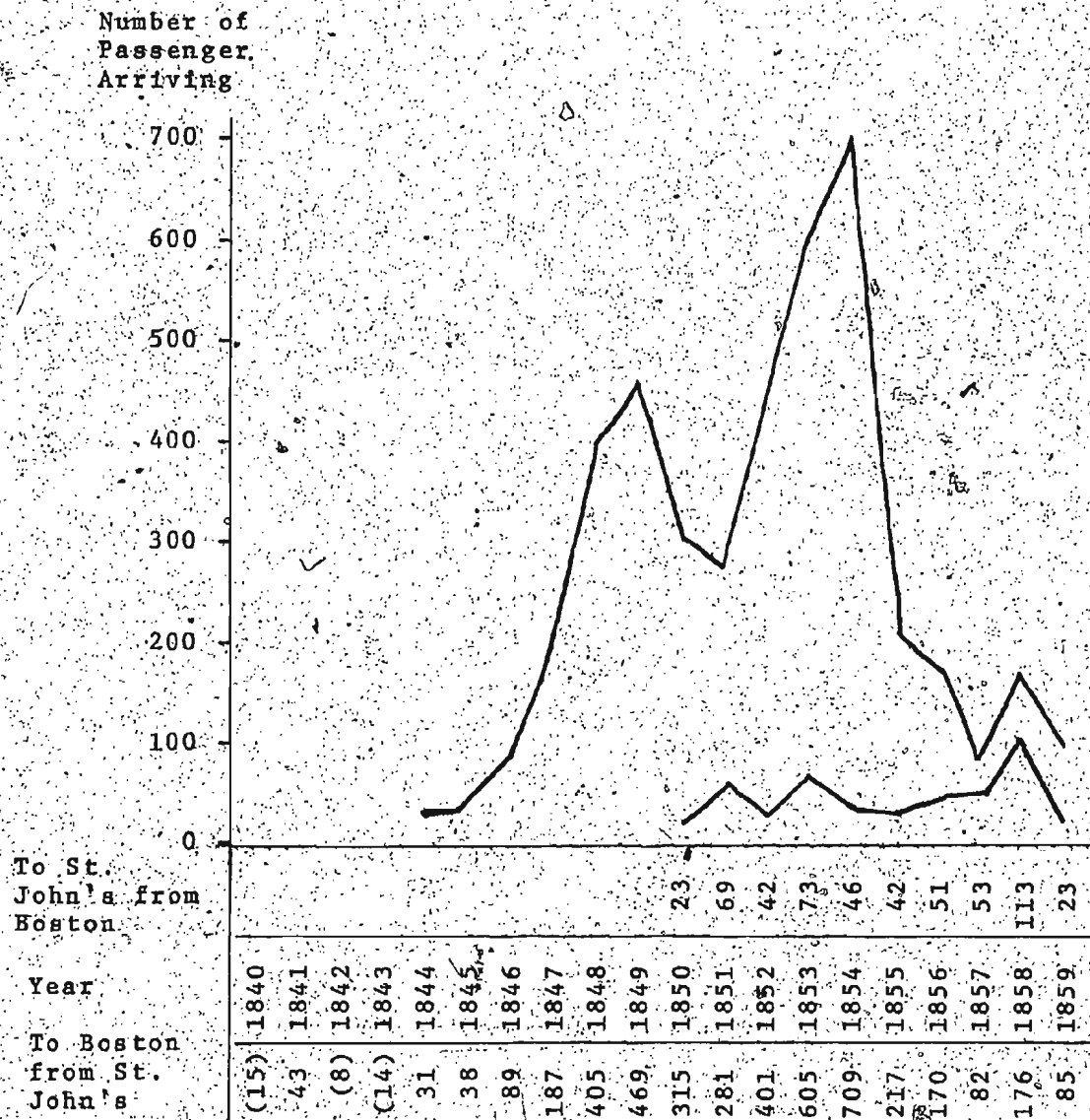
The sacrifice is very great indeed in becoming expatriated from one's country. I cannot describe the painful emotions I felt, when for the last time I saw the shadowy outlines of my native land die away in the distance. A thousand fond recollections clustered around my heart, of home, and kindred, and friends, perhaps never to see on this earth.

Philip Tocque,
A Peep at Uncle •
Sam's Farm (1851).

For Philip Tocque, the move to Massachusetts proved to be temporary. Yet for the other passengers who arrived on the brig Vixen that winter's day in 1849, the journey to "the great American Republic" was final. Examination of the passenger lists enable reconstruction of the movement from Newfoundland to Massachusetts. It cannot, however, indicate whether the movement was temporary or permanent in nature. The weekly shipping columns featured in The Newfoundlander report the number of passengers arriving at St. John's from the port of Boston. From this, it is evident that there was a small counter-movement to Newfoundland (see Figure 4). If these passengers were Newfoundlanders returning home, and not immigrants to the island, the total number of them suggests that over eighty-two percent of

FIGURE 4

Passenger Arrivals Between St. John's and Boston, 1850-1859

Source: Boston Passenger Systems File; The Newfoundlander.

those who went to Massachusetts from 1850 to 1859, actually migrated permanently to the United States.¹ But in an effort to determine more accurately whether the movement was permanent or temporary, the 1850 and 1860 Federal Census Returns for the State of Massachusetts were examined.

Starting in 1790 the United States Federal census was taken every ten years. Down to 1840, only heads of households were recorded; thereafter the census enumerated all household members. Every entry included the name, gender, birthplace, occupation and literacy of the occupant. The censuses are the most useful of sources for the study of Newfoundlanders in Massachusetts. For instance, the passenger lists mention the surname "Aylesbury" at three different times. Michael Aylesbury arrived in July of 1852; Rachel, Ellen and Mary Aylesbury arrived in April of 1853; John Aylesbury arrived in September of 1854. One could have speculated that all the Aylesburys might be related, but there was no way to confirm this until they appeared in the 1860 Federal census, living in the same household. The census also reveals those who might not be found in the passenger lists or the vital statistics records.

Nevertheless, the censuses also have their limitations. Census takers had the habit of missing corner houses as

¹The Newfoundlander did not regularly print information about passengers entering St. John's from Boston prior to 1850; hence, it is impossible to extend this analysis before this date.

they changed streets.² Often householders would not divulge information to the census taker, especially concerning their literacy. More critical are the inconsistencies between the censuses. In the 1850 Federal census for example, there were thirty-one households containing Newfoundlanders in Newburyport. In the 1860 Federal census, there were only twelve such households in the town. The dramatic decrease could have meant that these families had relocated to nearby Gloucester, which was experiencing a population explosion at the time. However, these families did not appear in the 1860 Federal census returns for Gloucester either. A re-examination of the 1860 census returns for Newburyport disclosed seventeen additional households, which were among the thirty-one listed in the 1850 Federal census, whose occupants were now enumerated as Irish.

The researcher is thus confronted with two complicated questions. The first is whether those seventeen households contained Newfoundlanders or Irish. By referring to the passenger lists and the Vital Statistics records, it was confirmed that these seventeen households actually did contain Newfoundlanders. The second question is how frequently these inconsistencies occurred. Rather than re-examine the entire 1860 Federal census, the researcher only has to consult the Vital Statistics again to see that

²Knights, op. cit., p. 144.

many Newfoundlanders living in Massachusetts were not so listed in the 1860 Federal census. For example, Dennis and Mary Ryan, both natives of Newfoundland, are known to have resided in Boston at 59 High Street between the years 1856 and 1864. This can be ascertained from their children's birth certificates. Yet they were not identified in the 1860 Federal census as Newfoundland-born. The result is an official under-estimation of the Newfoundland population in Massachusetts.

In an effort to present a more accurate portrayal of these census years, an adjustment in the returns was necessary before analysis. The entire 1850 Federal census for Massachusetts, consisting of thirty-nine volumes, and the entire 1860 Federal census, consisting of forty-four volumes, were examined. To determine inadequacies, each return was traced through other sources. The original returns were compared with the passenger lists and the Vital Statistics. Portions of the 1855 and 1865 Massachusetts State censuses were also examined.³ Those erroneously labeled as Newfoundlanders in the 1850 or 1860 census were rejected. For instance, George Winslow was enumerated as a Newfoundlander yet his marriage and death certificates show him to have

³ Ideally the families should be compared in the Newfoundland and Massachusetts censuses, but there are no complete nominal census returns for Newfoundland before 1921.

been a native of Massachusetts. Those omitted from the 1850 or 1860 census, such as Dennis and Mary Ryan, were added to the appropriate returns. In spite of amendments to the census returns, the adjusted censuses are only an estimate of the number of Newfoundlanders in Massachusetts; the precise totals may never be known (see Appendix II). Nevertheless, the estimates presented here should more closely reflect reality than the official figures. Future references are to these amended censuses.

Reconstruction of the 1850 Federal Census for the State of Massachusetts revealed that there were at least 598 Newfoundlanders residing in the Commonwealth. Of the 534 with recorded ages, over seventy-five percent were under the age of thirty-five years (see Table 7). Not only is the youthfulness of the group consistent with the passenger list analysis, but the reconstruction also suggests that this was a recent movement as well. Over forty percent of the group was under fourteen years. By subtracting the ages of these children and the ages of siblings born in Massachusetts from the year of the census to determine their year of birth, it is possible to give an estimate of when they and their parents settled in the state. For instance, Thomas and Alice Neagle had nine children, five born in Newfoundland and four born in Massachusetts. The last of their offspring born in Newfoundland was son William in 1838. The first of their children to be born in

TABLE 7

AGE CATEGORIES OF NEWFOUNDLANDERS RESIDING
IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1850

Age Category	Total	%	Cumulative
1-14	217	40.6	40.6
15-24	96	18.0	58.6
25-34	92	17.2	75.8
35-44	73	13.7	89.5
45-54	35	6.6	96.1
Over 55	21	3.9	100.1
Total ^a	534	100.0	

^aThere were sixty-four individuals of unknown age.

Source: Derived from United States, Seventh Census of the United States (1850). Massachusetts, vol. 1-39. The census was modified by the use of other official records as described in the text (hereafter cited as 1850 Federal Census File).

Massachusetts was daughter Catherine in 1840. Thus the Neagle family arrived in the state between 1838 and 1840. Roughly sixty-nine percent of the Newfoundlanders in the Commonwealth had arrived within five years of the census. Table 8 shows that the movement is not a continuation of an older movement to the state, but a new development.

Examination of the death registers at the Vital Statistics upholds this finding. There was a virtual absence of Newfoundland-born individuals appearing in the death records before 1870. This is not surprising for a group of

TABLE 8

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE FOR NEWFOUNDLANDERS
RESIDING IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1850

Duration	Total	%	Cumulative
0-5 years	403	69.8	69.8
6-10 years	46	8.0	77.8
11-15 years	71	12.3	90.1
more than 15 years	57	9.9	100.0
Total ^a	577	100.0	

^aThere were twenty-one individuals of unknown age.

Source: 1850 Federal Census File.

migrants predominately under the age of thirty-five years, but is unlikely for an older movement.

While the passenger lists established that the adult male led the movement to Massachusetts, the 1850 census establishes that this segment was prone to temporary migration. Table 9 gives a breakdown of the group by gender and marital status. In comparison with those Newfoundlanders found in the passenger lists from 1840 to 1849, there is a significant decline in the percentage of men. The high ratio of married adult males suggests the single adult male was more inclined toward temporary migration.

A breakdown of the group by household composition lends support to the prior conclusion that wives and

TABLE 9

A COMPARISON OF STATUS FOR NEWFOUNDLANDERS FOUND IN
THE PASSENGER LISTS, 1840-1849 WITH THE 1850 CENSUS

Status	Passenger Lists			1850 Census		
	Total	%	Cumulative	Total	%	Cumulative
Adults ^a						
Women						
Married	80	12.3		104	17.4	
Single	65	10.0	22.3	70	11.7	32.8
Widowed	-	-		22	3.7	
Men						
Married				121	20.2	
Single	305	47.2	47.2	62	10.4	30.9
Widowed				2	.3	
Children	198	30.5	30.5	217	36.3	36.3
Total	646	100.0		598	100.0	

^aAdults are those individuals fifteen years or older.

Source: Boston Passenger Systems File; 1850 Federal Census File.

children were immigrating to join husbands and fathers already in Massachusetts (see Table 10). Over seventy-one percent of all the Newfoundlanders lived within the traditional family grouping of parents and children, while eight percent lived in female-headed households. Remarkably, over ninety-two percent of the Newfoundlanders were found to have lived in a family setting of some sort, and an additional two percent resided with fellow Newfoundlanders,

TABLE 10

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION OF NEWFOUNDLANDERS
RESIDING IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1850.

Situation	Total	%
Boarding House	15	2.5
Boards With Employer	13	2.2
Boards With Unrelated Newfoundlanders	14	2.3
Boards With Sibling	7	1.2
Father and Children	6	1.0
Mother and Children	53	8.9
Husband and Wife	27	4.5
Parents and Children	429	71.8
Extended Family ^a	13	2.5
Multi-generational ^b	17	2.8
Other ^c	2	.3
Total	598	100.0

^aAunts, uncles, cousins, nephews, or nieces.

^bParents, children, and grandparents.

^cA priest and a student.

Source: 1850 Federal Census File.

although unrelated. Thus, in spite of the upheaval of emigration, the bonds of family friendship were by no means severed. Even among those thirteen boarding with their employers, most were not likely removed from kin: at least eight of them are known to have had relatives in Massachusetts. For example, Mary and Anastasia Granger arrived at Boston on the brig Clipper on June 12, 1849. In the 1850

census, the two sisters were living at Newburyport. Mary was employed as a domestic with the Marchant family, while one block away Anastasia was in the service of the Tuttle family.

Approximately thirty-seven percent of the Newfoundlanders residing in the state were employed. The majority of them were adult males engaged in skilled occupations. A comparison of occupational categories created from the 1850 census with those from the passenger lists shows that there was a decrease in the percentage of skilled workers by fifteen percent (see Table 11). This possibly indicates

TABLE 11

A COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES FOR NEWFOUNDLANDERS FOUND IN THE PASSENGER LISTS, 1840-1849 WITH THE 1850 CENSUS

Occupational Category	Passenger Lists		1850 Census	
	Total	%	Total	%
Unskilled	14	6.3	21	10.3
Semi-skilled	47	21.2	64	31.2
Skilled	157	70.7	114	55.6
Professional	4	1.8	6	2.9
Total ^a	222	100.0	205	100.0

^aThere were eighteen individuals with unknown occupations enumerated in the 1850 census.

Source: Boston Passenger Systems File; 1850 Federal Census File.

that those prone towards temporary migration were skilled occupationally.⁴ Presumably the skilled could more readily afford the expenditure to relocate than the other categories. On the whole though, there appears in each category enough continuity to suggest that the majority of these who came continued in their respective occupation after settlement in Massachusetts.

Further analysis of occupational categories discloses a significant relationship between occupation and the area of settlement within the state. The semi-skilled tended to be found in areas outside the city (see Table 12). This division is the result of several factors. Skilled Newfoundlanders migrating to the state for temporary employment would not go beyond Boston in search of a job. Those less-skilled were presumably not as well equipped, given Boston's orientation toward small-scale industry, to find employment. Some may have been compelled to seek work in other areas of the state. For those with jobs specifically relating to the cod fishery, settlement in coastal towns, particularly those like Newburyport and Gloucester with a fishery, was preferable.

The distribution of Newfoundlanders within Massachusetts

⁴The possibility that this difference was accounted for by an earlier migrant stream with very different occupational skills was also tested, but analysis revealed no significant differences between the pre-1845 (or even pre-1840) emigrants and the later group.

TABLE 12

A COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES FOR
NEWFOUNDLANDERS RESIDING IN BOSTON WITH NEWFOUNDLANDERS
RESIDING IN OTHER PARTS OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1850

Occupational Category	Boston		State	
	Total	%	Total	%
Unskilled	12	11.8	9	8.7
Semi-skilled	14	13.7	50	48.6
Skilled	74	72.6	40	38.8
Professional	2	1.9	4	3.9
Total ^a	102	100.0	103	100.0

^aThere were ten individuals with unknown occupations residing in Boston, and eight individuals with unknown occupations residing in other parts of the state.

Source: 1850 Federal Census File.

was also highly concentrated, with the majority residing in a few locations in the eastern half of the state. In 1850 over forty-nine percent of the group resided in the city of Boston, and roughly fourteen percent lived in the adjoining towns of Cambridge, Charlestown, Chelsea, and Roxbury. Thirty miles north of Boston, the towns of Newburyport and Gloucester were the home of an additional nineteen percent and three percent, respectively. The remaining fourteen percent of the group were scattered in

communities in the general vicinity of Boston (see Figure 5).

The characteristics of Newfoundlanders in Massachusetts were but little altered by the large stream of immigrants who arrived in the early 1850's. Indeed, a comparison of information derived from the 1860 Federal census with the material just discussed reveals striking similarities. Although the number of Newfoundlanders dwelling in the state had more than doubled, the principal traits of the group had changed little. Reconstruction of the 1860 Federal Census revealed that there were at least 1379 Newfoundland-born living in Massachusetts. Of the 1235 with recorded ages, over seventy-six percent were under the age of thirty-five years (see Table 13). Within the age categories, the percentage of those one through fourteen years dropped by five percent in comparison to their percentage in 1850, but this was likely due to the maturation of the children into the 15-24 year group, and subsequently of those in the second category into the 25-34 year interval. Thus, the youthfulness of the group is remarkably consistent throughout the period.

The breakdown of gender and marital status found in Table 14 indicates little change between the census years. In comparison with the 1850 census, there was a small increase among adults, probably bolstered by the five percent decrease among children. Combined, women and children

FIGURE 5

Spatial Distribution of Newfoundlanders in Massachusetts, 1850

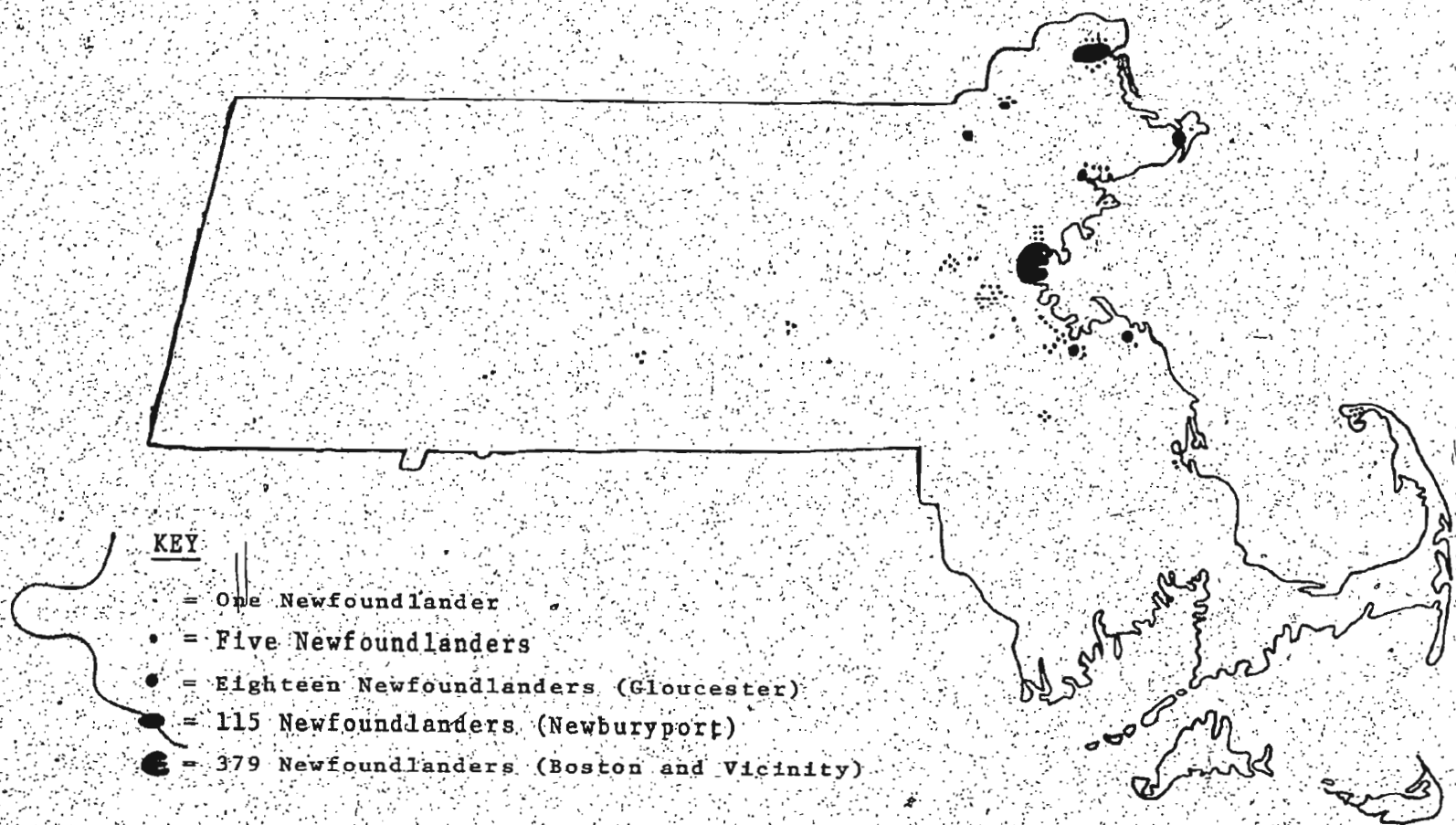


TABLE 13

A COMPARISON OF AGE CATEGORIES FOR NEWFOUNDLANDERS
FOUND IN THE 1850 AND 1860 CENSUSES

Age Category	1850 Census			1860 Census		
	Total	%	Cumulative	Total	%	Cumulative
1-14 ^a	217	40.6	40.6	432	35.0	35.0
15-24	96	18.0	58.6	236	19.1	54.1
25-34	92	17.2	75.8	277	22.4	76.5
35-44	73	13.7	89.5	156	12.6	89.1
45-55	35	6.6	96.1	68	5.5	94.6
Over 55	21	3.9	100.0	66	5.4	100.0
Total ^a	534	100.0		1235	100.0	

^aThere were sixty-four individuals of unknown age in 1850, and 144 in 1860.

Source: 1850 and 1860 Federal Census Files.

continued to predominate in the census tabulations, but declined from sixty-eight percent in 1850 to sixty-six percent in 1860.

In both the census years, the family remained the focal point for the Newfoundland emigrant. The most common household type contained the traditional family grouping of parents and children. This category declined relatively, however, by eleven percent due to the dramatic increases in the other household types, particularly among women and

TABLE 14

A COMPARISON OF STATUS FOR NEWFOUNDLANDERS
FOUND IN THE 1850 AND 1860 CENSUSES

Status		1850 Census			1860 Census		
		Total	%	Cumulative	Total	%	Cumulative
Adults ^a							
Women	Married	104	17.4		307	22.2	
	Single	70	11.7	32.8	145	10.5	35.7
	Widowed	22	3.7		41	3.0	
Men	Married	121	20.2		234	17.0	
	Single	62	10.4	30.9	215	15.6	33.0
	Widowed	2	.3		5	.4	
Children		217	36.3	36.3	432	31.3	31.3
Total		598	100.0	100.0	1379	100.0	100.0

^aAdults are those individuals fifteen years or older.

children, the next largest family grouping (see Table 15). The third most common type was a husband and wife, usually young and recently married. Those boarding with siblings saw the largest percentage increase, quadrupling to four percent. In spite of the minor shifts in most of the categories, the composition of the group changed little. Over ninety percent continued to live in a family setting of some sort.

In 1860 over forty-two percent of the Newfoundlanders

TABLE 15

A COMPARISON OF HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION FOR NEWFOUNDLANDERS
FOUND IN THE 1850 AND 1860 CENSUSES

Situation	1850 Census		1860 Census	
	Total	%	Total	%
Boarding House	15	2.5	32	2.3
Boards With Employer	13	2.2	42	3.0
Boards With Unrelated Newfoundlander	14	2.3	43	3.1
Boards With Sibling	7	1.2	70	5.1
Father and Children	6	1.0	22	1.6
Mother and Children	53	8.9	171	12.4
Husband and Wife	27	4.5	88	6.4
Parents and Children	429	71.8	838	60.8
Extended Family ^a	15	2.5	22	1.6
Multi-generational ^b	17	2.8	37	2.7
Other ^c	2	.3	14	1.0
Total	598	100.0	1379	100.0

^a Aunts, uncles, cousins, nephews, or nieces.

^b Parents, children, and grandparents.

^c Students, orphans, tourists, and clergy.

Source: 1850 and 1860 Federal Census Files.

residing in Massachusetts were employed. As in the 1850 census, the majority were adult males engaged in skilled occupations. Between the censuses, there was a five percent increase in the total number employed in proportion to the size of the group (see Table 16). This is likely a result

TABLE 16

A COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES FOR
NEWFOUNDLANDERS FOUND IN THE PASSENGER LISTS,
1840-1859 WITH THE 1850 and 1860 CENSUSES

Occupational Category	1850 Census		1860 Census		Passenger Lists	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Unskilled	21	10.3	32	5.8	40	4.5
Semi-skilled	64	31.2	205	37.1	302	33.8
Skilled	114	55.6	303	54.9	537	60.1
Professional	6	2.9	12	2.2	14	1.6
Total ^a	205	100.0	552	100.0	893	100.0

^a There were eighteen individuals with unknown occupations enumerated in the 1850 census, and thirty-six in 1860 census.

Source: Boston Passenger Systems File; 1850 and 1860 Federal Census Files.

of maturing children entering the workforce. It is also evident that during this period there was a steady improvement in the quality of skills for the group as a whole. This is suggested by a decrease in the percentage of unskilled occupations and by an increase in the percentage of the semi-skilled. Among the skilled and professional categories there was a marginal decrease, suggesting the presence of temporary migration. In comparison to the entire movement of Newfoundlanders there is minor variance

occupationally between the percentages of those who took up residence in Massachusetts.

The occupational division between Boston and the rest of the state had narrowed somewhat by 1860. Although the skilled continued to predominate among the workforce located in the capital, there was an eleven percent increase in the number of semi-skilled Newfoundlanders there (see Table 17). Statewide, there was an increase in the number

TABLE 17

A COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES FOR
NEWFOUNDLANDERS RESIDING IN BOSTON WITH NEWFOUNDLANDERS
RESIDING IN OTHER PARTS OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1860

Occupational Category	Boston		State	
	Total	%	Total	%
Unskilled	22	8.4	10	3.4
Semi-skilled	66	25.2	139	47.9
Skilled	168	64.1	135	46.6
Professional	6	2.3	6	2.1
Total ^a	262	100.0	290	100.0

^aThere were twenty-two individuals with unknown occupations residing in Boston, and fourteen individuals with unknown occupations residing in other parts of the state.

Source: 1860 Federal Census File.

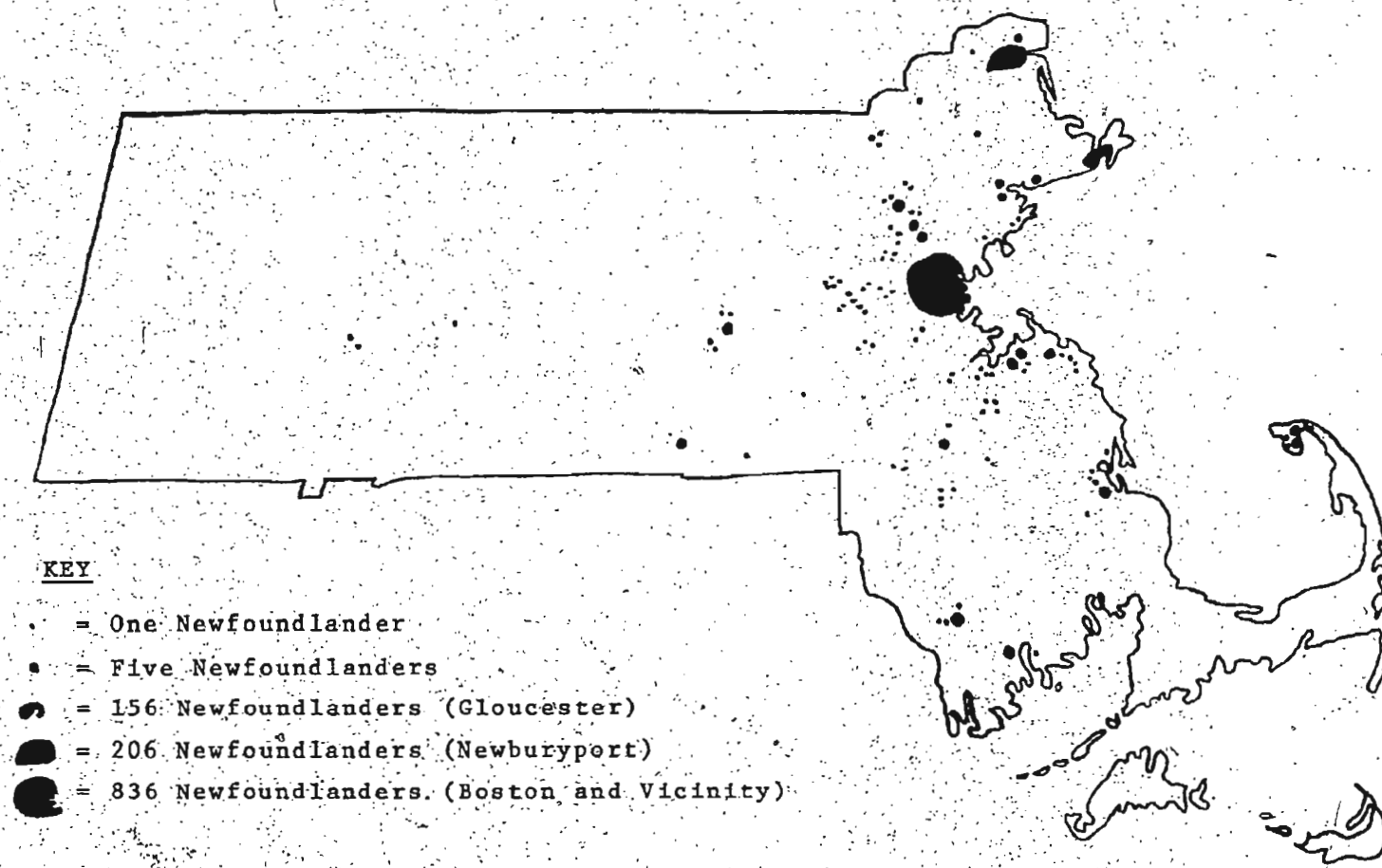
of skilled. This suggests that the skilled Newfoundlanders were leaving Boston for other parts of Massachusetts, thus lowering the percentages for the city and raising them for the state.

By the end of the decade, the distribution of Newfoundlanders in the Commonwealth had not changed much. Boston was still the prime site of Newfoundland settlement with forty-eight percent of the group's total. New settlement was occurring in other areas of the state, but for the most part, growth between the censuses occurred in the areas of previous settlement and expansion to other locations in the state radiated from those areas (see Figure 6).

In conclusion, it may be stated that the migration which occurred between Newfoundland and Massachusetts in the years from 1840 to 1860 increased both temporary and permanent resettlement. Those with a propensity toward temporary migration tended to be single adult males with high levels of occupational skills. Emigrants from Newfoundland were young and part of a recent influx to the state. The composition of this group differed at times but was fairly equal in numbers among men, women, and children. The majority lived within a family setting. There is evidence that the majority of those employed were skilled and continued in their respective occupations after migration. Occupation was related to area of settlement.

FIGURE 6

Spatial Distribution of Newfoundlanders in Massachusetts, 1860



Those with skilled occupations tended to remain in the city of Boston, while those with semi-skilled occupations were more likely to settle in other parts of the state. The distribution of Newfoundlanders in the state was highly concentrated with the majority living in Boston and its environs, Newburyport, and at Gloucester.

CHAPTER IV

A NEW LIFE ON UNCLE SAM'S FARM

One cannot visit Boston without being reminded that he is in the home of the Pilgrim Fathers, who fled from persecution in their own land, and braved the storms of the Atlantic Ocean, that amidst the "rocking pines of the forest" they might find for themselves a burial, but for their children and principles a home.

Philip Tocque,
A Peep at Uncle
Sam's Farm (1851).

Boston was a city with a sense of destiny. Two hundred and twenty years after the arrival of John Winthrop's fleet at Massachusetts Bay the city still strove to the diligence, and to the high intellectual and spiritual standards on which the Commonwealth had been founded. The citizens of Massachusetts could be justifiably proud of their capital. Through the enterprise and industry of its inhabitants Boston not only flourished but also remained the second commercial city in the Union.¹ Boston was the healthiest city in the Republic. From its water supply to its comprehensive system of garbage collection every aspect was carefully ordered and regulated to insure the populace's well-being.² In the field of education, it was asserted

¹Tocque, op. cit., p. 15.

²Handlin, op. cit., p. 17.

that Boston's institutions "were not surpassed by those of any other country."³ America's greatest intellectual and literary period had reached full flower at Boston, with the works of Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Longfellow and others. By 1848 the city boasted more than 120 periodicals with an aggregate circulation of more than a half-million.⁴ The insight drawn from these sources gave impetus to the reforming efforts of Dix, Stowe, and Garrison. Contemporaries truly believed that "a more enlightened society is not to be found in the world than in the city of Boston."⁵

Boston achieved its exalted position in part as a result of the state's economic transition from a predominantly agricultural base to manufacturing. The initiators of this transformation were merchants and shipowners who had made fortunes in the China and Russia trades.⁶ Exploring for ways to invest their wealth, in the 1820's they began building shoe and textile mills along the state's many rivers. These proved successful so more were built. The advantages of the state capital as a entrepôt for these new commodities led to an increasing centralization of

³Tocque, op. cit., p. 30.

⁴Handlin, op. cit., p. 22.

⁵The Public Ledger, Jan. 25, 1850.

⁶Handlin, op. cit., p. 4.

overseas trade in Boston.

The effects of industrialization were far reaching. As Boston claimed commerce and shipping as its specialty, it relinquished the fishery to Cape Ann and Cape Cod, neither of which had many mills. As well, low wages and low status caused many to turn from the sea. In 1848 the fishery collapsed at Salem with the opening of the Nawnkeag Steam Cotton Mill.⁷ In Marblehead over one thousand people made shoes worth twice the amount of the average catch of the fishing fleet.⁸ By 1860 shoemaking employed sixty thousand people, twenty-eight percent of the state's working population, and textiles employed fifty thousand people, encompassing twenty-four percent.⁹

Socially the Commonwealth was far from settled. The soul-searching Congregational orthodoxy which had held the populace together was split over the issue of Trinitarianism. Coupled with this was rapid urbanization, overpopulation and the influx of ethnically and culturally different people. In 1840 the Cunard Line established service to Boston from Liverpool, raising the number of immigrants arriving to over

⁷ Samuel Eliot Morison, Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1921), p. 224.

⁸ Ibid., p. 217.

⁹ Richard D. Brown, Massachusetts (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1978), p. 142.

1,000 per month, most of whom were impoverished.¹⁰ The new arrivals spread throughout the state looking for work.

The immigrant was the symbol of change and the Irish-Catholic became synonymous with the term "immigrant". For many, religion became the major issue, with the survival of middle-class Protestant values at stake. Fundamentalist ministers warned the public that Irish immigration was a "Papist plot" and that the Catholic vote was being organized to overthrow American liberty.¹¹ Nativists banded together for protection, forming fraternal organizations which eventually evolved into political parties. By 1853, the peak year of Irish immigration, these political parties were organized nationally as the Know-Nothing Party. In the 1854 elections, this party furnished the mayor of Boston, the governor of Massachusetts, the entire congressional delegation, and all but three members of the state legislature.

Between 1820 and 1855, over 311,000 immigrants sailed into the port of Boston, half of whom were Irish. Of that group the majority were transients, but by 1850 there were 35,000 Irish residing in the city.¹² In 1860 Boston's

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 188.

¹¹ Thomas J. Curran, Xenophobia and Immigration 1820-1930 (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1975), p. 37.

¹² R.G. Albion, W.A. Baker, M.A. Labaree, New England and the Sea (Conn: Wesleyan University Press, 1972), p. 121.

Irish numbered 45,000 out of a population of 177,000. John Winthrop's "city on a hill" was now half Roman Catholic. The entrepôt to which Newfoundlanders came was a city undergoing profound changes.

Upon arrival in Boston, vessels from Newfoundland usually docked at Foster's Wharf, near the run-down Irish quarter. Here Newfoundlanders found their first lodgings. The slum was not only near their point of debarkation in a city unfamiliar to the immigrants, it was also the least expensive section of the city. While residing there, Newfoundlanders undoubtedly were subjected to the same poor housing and overcrowded conditions as their Irish counterparts.¹³ They were exposed to xenophobic outbursts, such as Know-Nothing marches through the district. Spiritually they were caught in a confusing tug-of-war between Tractarian and Roman Catholic priests, both performing Roman-rite Masses.¹⁴

Economically, though, the Newfoundland immigrants appear to have been in a better situation than the Irish. With their marketable skills, the majority of Newfoundlanders were able to relocate in other parts of the city within a year of arrival, frequently in respectable, middle-class

¹³ For a description of the living conditions in the Irish quarter see Handlin *op. cit.*, pp. 101-113.

¹⁴ Eight Catholic Newfoundland couples were married by Tractarian priests.

South Boston. When compared with the peasant Irish flooding Boston, Newfoundlanders appear to have been more versatile, and thus better able to adjust to Boston's orientation toward small-scale industry, trade and shipping. Of the 102 Newfoundlanders employed in Boston in 1850, eight percent were coopers, seven percent were carpenters, six percent were printers, five percent were bookkeepers, and forty-six percent had other skilled occupations. Another thirteen percent were semi-skilled: six percent were mariners, three percent were servants, and four percent had other occupations. The unskilled, comprising eleven percent, were primarily labourers. By contrast, of the 14,418 Irish employed in the city, forty-eight percent were labourers. Only twenty-three percent of the Irish workforce held semi-skilled jobs, and roughly twenty-six percent were skilled workers (see Table 18).¹⁵ The differences suggest that Newfoundlanders residing in Boston were more highly skilled than Irish immigrants.

The settlement of Newfoundlanders outside of Boston reflected each town's particular economic orientation. In New Bedford, coopers were needed for the whaling industry. Cohasset, Scituate, and Duxbury all had shipyards. There was a fair fishery at Plymouth and Provincetown. The distance from the coast up-river to the ever-increasing

¹⁵ Handlin, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

TABLE 18

A COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES FOR
NEWFOUNDLANDERS RESIDING IN BOSTON WITH
IRISH RESIDING IN BOSTON, 1850

Occupational Category	Newfoundlanders	Irish
	%	%
Unskilled	11.8	49.5
Semi-skilled	13.7	23.4
Skilled	72.6	26.6
Professional	1.9	.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: 1850 Federal Census File; Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1941), p. 251.

network of mills was short. Newfoundlanders drifted inland to Bridgewater, where they made shoes, or to Taunton where they worked in the cotton mills. Of those Newfoundlanders who settled in the western half of the state most migrated with no maritime-related skills and thus had nothing to tie them to the coast. They settled in places like Worcester with its eleven cotton and six woolen mills, and all along the Connecticut River, at places such as Holyoke with its three cotton mills or at Chicopee with its eleven cotton mills, and even as far as Pittsfield with its

woolen mills (see Figure 7).¹⁶

For those Newfoundlanders who settled outside of Boston, the preferred locales were two communities north of Boston, Newburyport and Gloucester. Because of its location at the mouth of the Merrimack River, Newburyport had always been a leader in commerce, exporting raw goods from its hinterland. With the centralization of commerce in Boston, the town was reduced to supplying Boston with provisions, although maintaining its rum and sugar trade with Puerto Rico. In 1851, Newburyport's small but prosperous fishery consisted of ninety vessels and 985 men, fishing on the Grand Banks, off Labrador and in Bay Chaleur. By 1860, however, its fishermen were heading to Gloucester or to work in the cotton batting and comb-making mills built along the Merrimack.¹⁷

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Gloucester was a sleepy, homogeneous little town situated on the rock-bound Cape Ann peninsula. Traditionally its residents had supported themselves by jigging for mackerel; when local fish were scarce its fishermen turned to other occupations. To replace the fisheries, alternative industries were developed, including a trade in ice to

¹⁶ Walter Muir Whitehill, Massachusetts (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1976), p. 10.

¹⁷ John J. Currier, The History of Newburyport, Massachusetts 1764-1905 (Somerworth: New Hampshire Publishing Co., 1906), p. 175.

FIGURE 7
Principal Settlements of Massachusetts, 1850



India.¹⁸ In 1846 when Boston took control of the ice trade, a branch line of the railroad was built to Gloucester. The railway revived the fishery. Fish, packed in ice, could now be sent to the most distant markets in a fresh condition at minimal cost. There were other inducements to return to fishing as well. A bounty of eight to ten dollars a year for cod fishermen was offered by the Federal government, in an effort to create a nursery of seamen.¹⁹ By 1865 Gloucester harboured 341 cod and mackerel schooners and had a catch worth over three million dollars annually.²⁰

The distribution of Newfoundlanders throughout Massachusetts, however, was not based entirely upon economic determinants. The origins of the group appear to have been an equally important factor. By tracing those individuals found in the 1850 and 1860 censuses through the records held by the Division of Vital Statistics and then through Newfoundland parish registers it becomes clear that the migrants originated from highly localized source areas. Over three-quarters of the Newfoundlanders were natives of St. John's. The towns of Harbour Grace and Carbonear

¹⁸ James R. Pringle, History of Gloucester, Cape Ann, Massachusetts (Gloucester: G.H. and W.A. Nichols Printers, 1892), p. 107.

¹⁹ Morison, op. cit., p. 309.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 311.

together contributed an additional seventeen to eighteen percent to the total (see Table 19). Those native to St. John's favoured Boston's urban lifestyle. In contrast,

TABLE 19

A COMPARISON OF BIRTHPLACES FOR NEWFOUNDLANDERS
FOUND IN THE 1850 AND 1860 CENSUSES

Birthplace	1850 Census		1860 Census	
	Total	%	Total	%
St. John's	304	78.6	841	77.2
Carbonear	39	10.0	109	10.0
Harbour Grace	31	8.0	76	7.4
Trinity	5	1.2	18	1.7
Fortune Bay	4	1.0	8	.7
Other	5	1.2	43	3.0
Total ^a	388	100.0	1095	100.0

^a There were 210 individuals with unknown birthplaces in 1850, and 284 individuals in 1860.

Source: 1850 and 1860 Federal Census Files;
Division of Vital Statistics; Parish
Registers.

"Baymen" gravitated toward Newburyport, Gloucester and other small towns. For example, all five Newfoundland families living at Provincetown in 1860 were originally from Trinity (see Table 20).

TABLE 20

SETTLEMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS BY BIRTHPLACE, 1850 AND 1860

Birthplace	1850					1860				
	Boston	Boston Area	Newburyport	Gloucester	State	Boston	Boston Area	Newburyport	Gloucester	State
St. John's	167	42	53	11	31	462	134	91	75	79
Carbonear	7		19	4	9	40	1	38	23	7
Harbour Grace	14		17			30	1	33	12	
Trinity	1				4	1				17
Fortune Bay					4				4	4
Other	4				1	20		14	7	2
Total	193	42	89	15	49	553	136	176	121	109
Unknown	103	41	26	3	37	121	30	35	26	2

Source: 1850 and 1860 Federal Census Files; Division of Vital Statistics; Parish Registers.

Prior analysis of family relationships and household composition suggested not only that the migration from Newfoundland occurred in family groups but also that Newfoundlanders maintained a family-orientation upon arrival in Massachusetts. As Richard Sennett has shown in his study of Chicago in the period of industrialization, the family became the refuge of many during periods of

instability; this was particularly true of minority groups.²¹ There are no obvious reasons to expect Newfoundlanders to be different. Yet for Newfoundlanders it appears that the family also served as the basis for a community. The family was not the only cornerstone of this development, to be sure, but it was an extremely important facet of a complex phenomenon.

The development of a Newfoundland community suggests there was a need to bond together to ease the adjustment to life in a foreign society. During his sojourn in Massachusetts, Philip Tocque resided with his sister Jane Levi and her family. Tocque also went outside of the family circle to seek the company of other Newfoundlanders. Upon his arrival in Boston, Tocque "immediately" called on his "friends", Michael Rice and James C. Pearce, who had recently immigrated to the city.²² Tocque was accompanied on his "wanderings" through Boston by Dr. Patrick Molloy, who had left the island years before.²³ The desire to share the company of one's compatriots was only natural. After all, "there is a bitterness in expatriation which none can know but those who have actually

²¹ Richard D. Sennett, Families Against the City (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).

²² Tocque, op. cit., p. 3.

²³ Ibid., p. 4.

experienced it."²⁴

The basis of this community may well be what Oscar Handlin has termed "group identity." In Handlin's view, "all immigrants" brought with them "an awareness of group identity."²⁵ Group identity has its roots in many institutions. Of these institutions, the most basic is kinship.²⁶ It is generally held that immigrants arrive as unrelated individuals or as nuclear families. Kinship is supposed to have been lost in the upheaval of emigrating.²⁷ Yet among Newfoundland emigrants in Massachusetts, there is evidence to suggest this is false. By a comparison of parentages given on the marriage certificates, it is possible to link what were seemingly unrelated Newfoundlanders in the censuses into families or descent groups. For instance, James Towan, Sarah Keach, Flora Phelps, and Mary Check were all discovered to be the children of Joseph Towan and Mary Perchard. As lineage is traced through both males and females, the descent group may be termed cognatic. When a member of one descent group unites with a member of another cognatic

²⁴ The Harbour Grace Weekly Herald, June 6, 1849.

²⁵ Handlin, op. cit., 151.

²⁶ Kinship is a relationship by blood or, loosely, by marriage.

²⁷ This point is made explicitly in Handlin, op. cit.

descent group, their children bond these two groups into one kinship group. To demonstrate the kinship bonds between descent groups, Figure 8 looks at two families from St. John's, residing on Purchase Street in Boston in 1860.²⁸

Descent group one and descent group two are joined together in kinship by a core group. This core group consists of a double marriage between a widow (A) and a widower (B). Living in the same household with A and B are their offspring (2), the offspring of A's first marriage (1a), and the offspring of B's first marriage (1b), plus their families. The link between descent group one and descent group two occurred when (C) from offspring group 1b, a member of descent group one, wed (D) a member of descent group two. Kinship now results between the offspring of 1a, 2, 1b, and 3 plus their children. For instance, (E) and (G) share no common ancestor, but both share (F) as a relative.

Kinship between Newfoundlanders in Massachusetts is not isolated to this case study. Kinship bonds may be found among the Damerall, Balsom, and Oldrieve families of Chelsea, among the Butler, Joy, Walsh, and Becket families of Newburyport, or among the Lundrigan, Tobin, and Sargent

²⁸ The identities of these families must remain anonymous due to the restrictions placed on the records held by the Division of Vital Statistics.

Cognatic Kinship Bonds Between Descent Groups



- Δ - Male
 ○ - Female
 ✕ - Deceased
 ■ - Emigrant
 = - Marriage

families of Gloucester. In every instance the marital bonds which connect these particular families were contracted prior to migration. From this it can be argued that migration transported an existing kinship community to a different location.

Group identity as members of a Newfoundland community may also have been aided by sharing a common faith. For instance Tocque and his two "friends" happened to have been active members of the same church at Carbonear. By examining the names of the presiding clergymen recorded on the marriage certificates, it is possible to get an idea to which religions the Newfoundland community subscribed. For example almost two-thirds of the migrants were married in the Roman Catholic church. Bolstering the conclusion are the results of an analysis of religious composition using the 1850 and 1860 censuses, the records found in the Division of Vital Statistics, and Newfoundland parish registers. Roughly seventy-nine percent of the migrants from Newfoundland were adherents of the Roman Catholic Church (see Table 21).²⁹

²⁹ This appears to correlate with Noel's contention that the balance in Newfoundland politics by 1857 had tipped in favour of the Protestants due to "the high rate of Irish Catholic emigration to the United States". S.J.R. Noel, Politics in Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 22.

With many ethnic groups, the church served as a focal point.³⁰ Newfoundlanders were no exception.

TABLE 21

A COMPARISON OF RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES FOR
NEWFOUNDLANDERS FOUND IN THE 1850 AND 1860 CENSUSES

Religious Categories	1850 Census		1860 Census	
	Total	%	Total	%
Roman Catholic	449	79.8	1054	78.7
Protestant	114	20.2	285	21.3
Total ^a	563	100.0	1339	100.0

^aThere were thirty-five individuals in 1850 whose religion was unknown, and forty individuals in 1860.

In Boston no single parish appears to have served as a focal point for Newfoundlanders. However, at Newburyport twenty out of the twenty-one marriages involving Newfoundlanders took place in Immaculate Conception Church. At Gloucester, sixteen out of the nineteen marriages involving Newfoundlanders took place in St. Anne's Church. The fact that both towns had only one Roman Catholic Church would bring Newfoundland parishioners into more frequent contact

³⁰For the role of the church in the lives of immigrants see Handlin, op. cit., pp. 127-129.

with each other.

Contact with other community members, however, does not necessarily insure that a member will continue to identify with the group. But given the opportunity of contact, Newfoundlanders appear to have chosen to associate with other Newfoundlanders. In Gloucester, Newfoundlanders clustered together in particular locations, especially along Pearl, Warren and High Streets. In Boston, clustering also occurred on Oswego, Oneida and Albany Streets, and also on Silver, Athens, and Bolton Streets.

Group identity is evident in other ways. The majority of Newfoundlanders appeared to have preferred to marry other Newfoundlanders. For instance, of those 21 marriages involving Newfoundlanders at Newburyport, fourteen were between Newfoundlanders. Of those nineteen marriages involving Newfoundlanders at Gloucester, twelve were between Newfoundlanders. Boston's ratio of marriages between Newfoundlanders was lower, but this does not necessarily mean that Newfoundlanders in the state capital had lost their identity. Boston had a much larger population than Newburyport or Gloucester, which would lessen the opportunities of Newfoundlanders meeting each other, while at the same time giving them a wider selection of potential spouses.

The cohesiveness of the Massachusetts-Newfoundland community is revealed in yet another way. It was common

practice for the men of the Gloucester community to seek wives in the Boston-Newfoundland community. Of the sixteen marriages performed at Gloucester between Newfoundlanders, seven marriages were to women from the Boston-Newfoundland community.

The extent to which Newfoundlanders continued to identify themselves with the island also becomes apparent by the number of men who returned to Newfoundland to get a wife. Eighteen year old Richard May emigrated with his family to Newburyport in 1845. Seven years later he returned to Newfoundland to wed Mary Harding, and then promptly took her back to his people in Newburyport. Jeffrey Fanton of Carbonear settled at Gloucester about 1853, returned to Carbonear in 1857 where he married Mary Hamilton, and then took her back to his home in Gloucester.

A final component may have worked further to strengthen the Newfoundland identity. This was the physical landscape of coastal Massachusetts. Tocque, on his way to visit Newburyport, stopped at the town of Marblehead for the night. Upon seeing the community he remarked:

The whole place has a Newfoundland-like appearance. The barren, naked rocks skirting the water, covered with fish-flakes, the fishermen moving about, the schooners preparing for the fishery, and the ocean billows in all their wildness dashing without the harbour, wrapping the rocks in sheets of spray

and foam, all strongly reminded me
of my native home.³¹

Newfoundlanders appear to have adjusted successfully to their new life on "Uncle Sam's Farm", in spite of the rupture of immigration and the throes of industrialization. In Boston where most of them lived, the Newfoundlanders were found to be occupationally superior to the largest immigrant group in the city, the Irish. Roughly seventy-two percent of the Newfoundlanders were skilled, while only twenty-six percent of the Irish were skilled. Often lumped together with the Irish due to ancestry and religion, the Newfoundlanders were clearly a breed apart.

A sense of identity as Newfoundlanders was bolstered by their homogeneous origins and their concentrated distribution in Massachusetts. Over three-quarters of them were natives of St. John's and most of the remainder came from the Conception Bay area. Roughly half of the Newfoundlanders settled in the city of Boston, and a quarter at Newburyport and Gloucester. The homogeneity of the Newfoundlanders continued after immigration with settlement at specific destinations in the state from particular locations on the island. Those native to St. John's preferred Boston, while those from the outports favoured small towns. The effect of these settlement patterns was

³¹ Tocque, op. cit., p. 95.

to foster the transfer of existing kinship groups, which in turn acted to further consolidate the Newfoundlanders into communities. That the Newfoundlanders saw themselves as a separate community is evidenced by their clustering on particular streets and in certain neighborhoods where they lived. It is again seen in their choice of spouses. Given the opportunity, Newfoundlanders chose to live with, and marry, their own.

CONCLUSION

In all my subsequent interviews with some of the leading men of this country, I found that whenever Newfoundland was the subject of conversation, they invariably carried in their minds the idea that it formed a part of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.

Philip Tocque,
A Peep at Uncle
Sam's Farm (1851).

It is ironic that the society to which these migrants came had no idea where Newfoundland was located. This is not surprising. The hordes of immigrants that brought Ireland to recognition were lacking in the movement from Newfoundland. Yet Newfoundlanders left their mark on the places where they went.

Wherever they went, they enjoyed high repute. It was noted that, "Newfoundlanders with any pretensions to talent are thought much of in the States, and obtain first-rate situations."¹ Specific merits were attributed to Newfoundlanders and appear to evolve out of the self-contained and self-sufficient nature of the island's society. By necessity Newfoundlanders had to be innovative and hard-working to survive the rigors of prolonged isolation and economic decline. During migration, their aptitude manifested itself in leadership.

¹The Harbour Grace Weekly Herald, July 6, 1853.

Whereas the tradesman here understands one branch of his particular profession, the man who comes from Newfoundland knows the whole business and is therefore a valuable workman to his employer....I know poor boys who came to Boston and other places years ago, and not worth 20 dollars at the time of landing, who since mounted to superior positions and places of trust, simply by honest endeavor and determination to win out.²

Among the Newfoundlanders residing in Massachusetts during the period from 1840 to 1859 were several with prominent positions. William Charles St. John, of Harbour Grace, was the publisher and proprietor of The Anglo-Saxon Weekly News, and Robert Winton, from St. John's, was the editor of The North Adams Weekly Transcript. The Reverend Joseph Hart Clinch, a native of Trinity, was an authority on the origin of languages. Andrew Lanergan, who hailed from Port aux Choix, was celebrated for his spectacular 4th of July fireworks. In the following years other Newfoundlanders distinguished themselves. Editor R. William Waterman established the Massachusetts Press Association. Andrew McCoubrey reorganised the Commonwealth's Democratic Party. William Taylor was appointed the superintendent of the New York and Boston railroad. Henry O'Mara was a noted poet and lecturer.

Through migration Newfoundland was being drained of

²A letter from William Hurley of Boston, The Evening Telegram, Feb. 9, 1916.

its educated, its skilled, and its youth. Tradespeople comprised over half of the migrants. Three-fourths of those who left were under the age of thirty-five years. The movement was especially hard on two segments of the island's society. Roman Catholics, who made up forty-nine percent of the population, contributed seventy-nine percent of the migrants. St. John's, which comprised twenty-one percent of the island's population, yielded seventy-eight percent of the migrants.

The quality and the homogeneous characteristics of the Newfoundland migrants enabled their successful adjustment to life in Massachusetts. This is evident by the appearance of Newfoundland communities, primarily in Boston but also at Newburyport and Gloucester. The establishment of permanent Newfoundland communities is probably the most significant aspect of the movement from 1846 to 1859. As the island's economy continued to experience periods of crisis, more and more Newfoundlanders looked toward migration. The presence of friends and relatives in Massachusetts lessened the uncertainties and hesitations of such a move. The increased volume of migration in turn stimulated further movement. In a sense, Massachusetts became the "Labrador" of the south. It offered Newfoundlanders a second chance in times of economic stress. After a few years down in Boston, a lad could return to Newfoundland with enough money to buy a boat and gear.

By 1865, the Newfoundland community in Boston had grown large enough that its members felt the need to organise for themselves the Terra Novian Association. The objective of the association was to provide financial assistance to Newfoundlanders who were ill, and to widows and orphans.³ As the movement to Massachusetts steadily grew, a host of new organizations appeared such as the Newfoundland Mutual Benefit Association, the Newfoundland Charitable Society, the Newfoundland Ladies Auxiliary, the Boston-Newfoundland Marathon Club, and the Notre Dame Bay Society. It was estimated in 1925 that there were over 40,000 Newfoundlanders in and about Boston.⁴

From the surviving contemporary sources, it is clear that Newfoundland was unsure of the significance of this migration to Massachusetts. On one hand there was great concern:

There is no subject affecting the welfare of this colony that seems to demand more earnest reflection than the outgoing of the population which is now taking place... our only creative capital is our labour, and of this we have none to spare. With its diminution we must experience a corresponding decline of the trade and of our commercial position... Revenue must go down, while the demands upon it will increase - assuming as we may do, that those who are commonly a burthen on the

³The Newfoundland Weekly, Sept. 20, 1924.

⁴The Newfoundland Weekly, April 11, 1925.

public funds remain where they are. We shall then have to deal with diminished Trade, diminished Revenue, and an undiminished amount of pauperism.⁵

On the other hand however, there was no anxiety over the event:

We cannot suppress the astonishment we feel at the course pursued by our usually judicious ally of The Newfoundlander, in sounding the "gong of alarm" at what he terms "the outgoing of the population which is now taking place." We do not at all subscribe to the sentiment of our contemporary on this score. The "outgoing", we believe, will be followed by an incoming far more extensive when parties find that the Goshen they sought was only to be found in the imagination of the seekers.⁶

Newfoundland's loss was Massachusetts' gain.

⁵ The Newfoundlander, Sept. 22, 1853.

⁶ The Patriot, Sept. 24, 1853.

APPEND IX

APPENDIX I

Boston Passenger Files System

Any scholarly analysis involving a large body of data requires a system that can be designed and programmed to answer the kinds of questions asked by historians and social scientists. The most important feature of this system was to provide a way to analyze the information using standard statistical programmes. Then the system must allow new data to be added and reorganize the new data within previously stored entries. Finally the files should be manageable so that other computer installations may be used if desired.

In choosing the system for this research project, the question of file organization surfaced first. The single fixed-length record is the most popular form used in systems design. In this type of file, all vessel and passenger data would appear as a string of information in a single record. A drawback to the file design is that its compatibility with other computer installations is limited. Another drawback is that space would have to be allotted for all variables to allow for the maximum number of pieces to be stored. For example, while vessel capacity was extended to admit as many as 106 passengers, most vessels carried less than seventy or eighty passengers. This would mean wasting a good deal of storage space, as most of the vessels did not need the maximum. Because of these deficiencies, the single fixed-

length record was discarded as an option.

A variable-length file was designed as an alternative. While not as simple as the fixed-length record, this design does minimize wasted storage space and can be structured to fit specific requirements. To provide for logical organization, the records were accessioned hierarchically. The selection of the variable-length file required a programming language that would allow for easy handling. FORTRAN and PL/I were considered but both use up large amounts of computer time, and FORTRAN is unable to handle variable-length records. MARK IV was chosen because it contains a number of automatic features of file management and data input, thus reducing the possibility of error and the amount of programming. But more importantly it can handle variable-length records efficiently. After the file design and appropriate language were picked, a codebook and coding sheets were developed.

For each passenger vessel examined, two Master Files were created. The first was for data concerning the vessels. This file was divided into eleven variables encompassing seventy-two columns (see ship record). Every ship was delegated a code by the computer. Code numbers were also created to represent type of rig, class, voyage origin and the number of times a particular vessel may have made the journey to Boston (see codebook). Uncoded were the vessel's name, and the captain's surname and first name. All of this

SHIP RECORD

ACTION	SEGMENT	SHIP #	VESSEL NAME	RIG	TONNAGE	CLASS	VOYAGE ORIGIN
☐	☐						
DATE ARRIVAL		MASTER SURNAME		FIRST NAME			
☐	☐						
DATE ARRIVAL		MASTER SURNAME		FIRST NAME			
☐	☐						
DATE ARRIVAL		MASTER SURNAME		FIRST NAME			
☐	☐						
DATE ARRIVAL		MASTER SURNAME		FIRST NAME			
☐	☐						
DATE ARRIVAL		MASTER SURNAME		FIRST NAME			

NEWFOUNDLAND IMMIGRANTS TO BOSTON

CODERBOOK

Unit of Analysis = Passenger

Segments = 2

Master File = MARK IV

Source: Passenger Ship Records, Port of Boston

Passenger Record (Segment Code = P)

Variable No.	Variable Name	Columns	Description
VAR1	Transaction Code	1	Code as Below: N = New Record R = Replace Part of Record D = Delete an Entire Record K = Clear Part of a Record (sets to blanks)
VAR2	Segment Code	2	Always P (Passenger)
VAR3	Case No.	3-6	Assigned by Coder (from 0001 to n)
VAR4	Ship No.	7-10	Coded as in VAR3 from Ship Record
VAR5	Passenger Surname	11-30	MD = blanks
VAR6	Passenger First Name	31-40	MD = blanks
VAR7	Occupation	41-43	Assigned by Coder MD = blanks
VAR8	Age	44-45	MD = blanks
VAR9	Birthplace	46-51	Code by ACSP Table TB381002 MD = blanks
VAR10	Sex	52	1 = Master 2 = Mister 3 = Miss 4 = Mrs. 5 = Ms. 6 = Infant
VAR11	Family	53-54	Assigned by Coder

Ship Record (Segment Code V)

VAR1	Transaction Code	1	Code as Passenger Record
VAR2	Segment Code	2	Always V
VAR3	Ship No.	3-6	Code from 0001 to n
VAR4	Vessel Name	7-26	
VAR5	Vessel Rig	27-28	Code as Below: 01 = Steamer 02 = Steam/Sail 03 = Steam/Paddle 04 = Schooner 05 = Brig 06 = Brigantine 07 = Barque 08 = Barquentine
VAR6	Tonnage	29-32	
VAR7	Tonnage Class	33	Code as Below: 1 = 1-9 tons 2 = 10-49 tons 3 = 50-99 tons 4 = 100-149 tons 5 = 150-249 tons 6 = 250-499 tons
VAR8	Voyage Origin	34-39	Code by ACSP Table TB381002
VAR9	Date Arrival Boston	40-46	Code Last Three Digits Century, Two Digits Month, Two Digits Days (e.g., Aug. 15, 1849 = 8490815)
VAR10	Master Surname	47-66	
VAR11	Master First Name	67-76	

95
information was arranged in chronological order by date of arrival in Boston.

The second file contained data pertaining to the passengers who arrived on the vessels. This file was also divided in eleven variables encompassing fifty-four columns (see passenger record). A code number was given to every passenger by the computer. Every ship was designated by the code given in the first file. Codes were then manually assigned to occupations, to status and gender, family relationships and birthplace (see codebook). Uncoded were passenger surname and first name. Passengers were then indexed by surname and first name alphabetically. By equipping both files with the same vessel code number, they can be linked together and used as a single record, even though stored separately (see Registry File Organization).

Once the data was coded, it was sent to the Newfoundland and Labrador Computer Services Limited (NLCS). There they were keypunched onto cards and then were fed into the system for analysis (see schematic design).

ACTION SEGMENT	CASE #	SHIP #	PASSENGER SURNAME	FIRST NAME
OCC.	AGE	BIRTHPLACE	GENDER	FAMILY

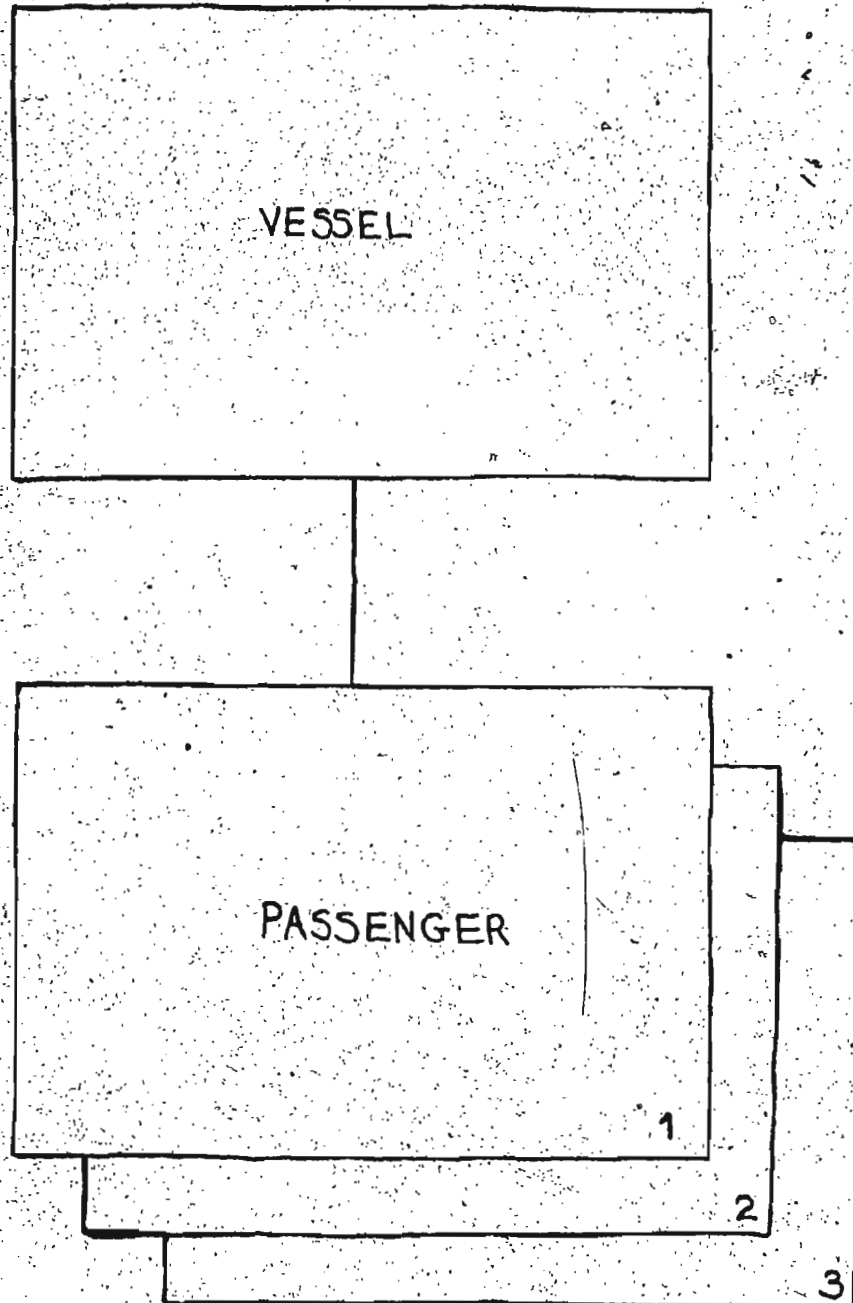
ACTION SEGMENT	CASE #	SHIP #	PASSENGER SURNAME	FIRST NAME
OCC.	AGE	BIRTHPLACE	GENDER	FAMILY

ACTION SEGMENT	CASE #	SHIP #	PASSENGER SURNAME	FIRST NAME
OCC.	AGE	BIRTHPLACE	GENDER	FAMILY

ACTION SEGMENT	CASE #	SHIP #	PASSENGER SURNAME	FIRST NAME
OCC.	AGE	BIRTHPLACE	GENDER	FAMILY

ACTION SEGMENT	CASE #	SHIP #	PASSENGER SURNAME	FIRST NAME
OCC.	AGE	BIRTHPLACE	GENDER	FAMILY

REGISTRY FILE ORGANIZATION





APPENDIX II

Information collected from each census was gathered on three by five index cards. These cards were arranged in alphabetical order by the surname of the individual enumerated. In a household containing more than one individual, those bearing the same surname were included together. Households with more than one surname were listed separately and cross-referenced. Material obtained from the Vital Statistics was also gathered on three by five index cards. These cards were arranged in alphabetical order, under three headings; births, deaths, and marriages. The marriages were cross-referenced by both the bride and groom's surnames. The data from the censuses and vital statistics were then combined on five by eight index cards to create a master file of Newfoundland immigrants to Massachusetts. The format of each card resembled the census enumerations, and usually took the traditional family form - father, mother, and children. To these cards, the passenger list printout was compared, and whenever possible the date of arrival was matched to each surname. This research was further supplemented by data found in other sources such as parish registers, the registry of Wills and Deeds, newspapers, and private records were added to the master file.

Amended and Original Census Totals

Location	1850 Census			Adjusted Total	1860 Census			Adjusted Total
	Original Return	People Rejected	People Added		Original Return	People Rejected	People Added	
Boston	184	34	146	296	325	65	214	674
Boston area	58	9	34	83	98	8	72	162
Newburyport	109	14	20	115	111	6	101	206
Gloucester	13		5	18	115	2	43	156
State	94	20	12	86	154	15	42	181
Total	458	77	219	598	1016	96	472	1379

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Materials

Great Britain. Colonial Office Correspondence, Series 194, Volume 126.

Great Britain. Incoming Correspondence of the Colonial Secretary's Office, GN 2/2 July-December 1852.

Massachusetts. Passenger Registry. Massachusetts State Archives, Volumes 1-12, 1848-1860.

Massachusetts. Ship Manifests. Boston Public Library, Volumes 11-58, 1837-1860.

Massachusetts. Secretary of the Commonwealth. Dept. of Public Health. Division of Vital Statistics. Records of Birth, Deaths, and Marriages 1841-1882.

Massachusetts. State Census. Massachusetts State Archives, Volumes 8, 11, 20, 21, 32-38, 1855.

Massachusetts. State Census. Massachusetts State Archives, Volumes 8, 11, 32, 35, 44, 1865.

Newfoundland. Dept. of the Colonial Secretary. Census of Newfoundland, 1845.

Newfoundland. Dept. of Justice. Registry of Deeds, Companies and Securities. Records of Central District, Volumes 1, 2, 9-14.

Newfoundland. House of Assembly Journals (J.H.A.) 1846-1860.

Newfoundland. Supreme Court. Registry Office. Registry of Wills. Probate Records, Volumes 1-3.

United States. Despatches from the United States Consuls in St. John's, Newfoundland, 1852-1861.

United States. Federal Census. Massachusetts, Volumes 1-39, 1850.

United States. Federal Census. Massachusetts, Volumes 1-44, 1860.

Private Collections

John J. Mannion, Irish Surname Collection.

Aspell, Richard; Aylward, John; Brennan, Michael;
Burns, William; Butler, William; Carew, Patrick;
Christopher, Nicholas; Condon, Diglen, Conway,
Thomas; Cullen, Patrick; Culleton, Michael; Cummings,
Richard; Daley, John; Dawson, William; Dorsey,
Michael; Doyle, Martin; Dulhanty, Richard; Dunster-
ville, James; Evans, Michael; Fennelly, Thomas;
Finn, Edward; Flynn, John; Grace, Nicholas; Green,
John; Groves, John; Joy, Michael; Lundergan, Peter;
Lundergan, Philip; Lynch, Daniel; Lynch, Thomas;
McGlynn, John; McGrath, Patrick; Martin, Thomas;
May, Richard; Morgan, Thomas; Neagle, Thomas; O'Brien,
John; Ryan, Jeremiah; St. John, Andrew; Shallow,
Richard; Shea, Thomas; Sinnott, Patrick; Talbot,
John; Tobin, Patrick; Tobin, Thomas; Tobin, William;
Wallace, John; Whitty, John.

Keith Matthews, Name Files Collection. Maritime History Group.

Belcher, Samuel B146; Bird, Joseph B253; Bishop, John
B254; Brine, Robert B473; Burton, George B550;
Damarell, Thomas D16; Doyle, Edward D187; Driscoll,
Maurice 09; Duchemin, Peter D256; English, James E77;
Forward, Mark F139; French, Samuel F198; Howell,
Peter H328; Keilly, Edward K12; Lee, William L106;
Lilly, George L210; Loveys, William L271; Masters,
William M33; Molloy, Patrick M415; Morey, Timothy
M351; Murphy, Sylvester S417; Newell, Thomas N27;
Nurse, John N103; Penney, Robert P116; Perchard,
Richard P114; Pynn, George P333; Rendell, John R28;
Rogers, James R70; Sargent, Bernard S166; Satchwell,
Thomas S167; Solomon, Simon S32; St. John, Oliver
S94; Stickley, John S92; Tocque, Philip T77; Tong,
William T206; Towan, Joseph T195; Tozer, William
T100; Tremlett, Robert T111; Tuck, Philip T137;
Warner, Isaac W75; William, William W20; Wiseman, W43.

Parish Registers

Anglican

Cathedral of St. John the Baptist, St. John's,
Newfoundland.

Baptisms, 1796-1870. Marriages, 1754-1891.

Church of the Advent, Boston, Massachusetts.
Baptisms, 1844-1923.

St. Mary's Church, Lamaline, Newfoundland.
Baptisms, 1807-1892. Marriages, 1831-1891.

St. Thomas's Church, St. John's, Newfoundland.
Baptisms, 1830-1868. Marriages, 1830-1892.

Presbyterian

Queen's Road Congregational Church, St. John's,
Newfoundland.

Deaths, 1844-1891. Marriages, 1834-1892.

St. Andrew's Kirk, St. John's, Newfoundland.
Baptisms, 1842-1891. Marriages, 1842-1891.

Roman Catholic

Basilica of St. John the Baptist, St. John's,
Newfoundland.

Baptisms, 1802-1860. Marriages, 1798-1860.

Cathedral of Immaculate Conception, Harbour Grace,
Newfoundland.

Baptisms, 1806-1845. Marriages, 1812-1844.

Immaculate Conception Church, Newburyport,
Massachusetts.

Baptisms, 1854-1871. Marriages, 1852-1871.

St. Anne's Church, Gloucester, Massachusetts.
Baptisms, 1856-1878.

United Church

Wesleyan-Methodist Chapel, Carbonear, Newfoundland.
Baptisms, 1794-1870. Marriages, 1794-1891.

Wesleyan-Methodist Chapel, Lower Island Cove,
Newfoundland.

Baptisms, 1816-1852.

Wesleyan-Methodist Chapel, Western Bay, Newfoundland.
Baptisms, 1817-1842.

Newspapers

The Boston Shipping List, Prices Current, Commercial and
Underwriter's Gazette, 1843-1859.

The Carbonear Sentinel, 1839-1840, 1843-1845.

The Conception Bay Man, 1856-1857.

The Evening Telegram, 1916.

The Harbour Grace Weekly Herald, 1845-1849, 1853-1854.

The Morning Courier, 1846-1859.

The Morning Post, 1850-1851.

The Newfoundlander, 1843-1859.

The Newfoundland Weekly, 1924-1931, 1941.

The Patriot, 1846-1868.

The Public Ledger, 1850.

The Royal Gazette, 1812, 1860.

The Times, 1852-1854.

Periodicals

Brookes, Alan A. "Out-Migration from the Maritime Provinces, 1860-1900." Acadiensis, V. 5, No. 2 (Spring 1976), pp. 26-55.

Lee, Everett S. "A Theory of Migration." Demography, V. 16, (1966), pp. 47-57.

Ravenstein, E.G. "The Laws of Migration." Journal of the Royal Statistical, V. 52, (June, 1889), pp. 241-301.

Sider, Gerald M. "The Ties that Bind: Culture and Agriculture, Property and Propriety in the Newfoundland Village Fishery." Social History, V. 5, No. 1 (January 1980), pp. 1-39.

Vedder, R.K. and Gallaway, L.E. "Emigration from the United Kingdom to the United States: 1860-1913." Journal of Economic History, V. 31 (1971), pp. 885-897.

Vedder, R.K. and Gallaway, L.E. "Settlement Patterns of Canadian Emigrants to the United States 1850-1960." Canadian Journal of Economics, V. 3, (1970), pp. 476-486.

Theses

- Brookes, Alan A. "Migration from the Maritime Provinces to Boston, Massachusetts, 1860-1900." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1979.
- Matthews, Keith. "A History of the West of England-Newfoundland Fishery." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1968.
- Ommer, Rosemary E. "Scots Kinship, Migration and Early Settlement in Southwestern Newfoundland." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1974.
- Ryan, Shannon P. "The Newfoundland Cod Fishery in the Nineteenth Century." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1972.
- Staveley, Michael. "Migration and Mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador: A Study in Population Geography." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1973.

Books

- Adams, William Forbes. Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World. New York: Russell and Russell Co., 1932.
- Albion, Robert G., Baker, William A., and Labaree, Benjamin W. New England and the Sea. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1972.
- Babson, John J. History of the Town of Gloucester, Cape Ann. Gloucester, Mass.: Procter Brother Press, 1960.
- Bonnycastle, R.H. Newfoundland in 1842. London: Henry Colbourne Publisher, 1842.
- Brebner, John Bartlett. North Atlantic Triangle. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.
- Brown, Richard D. Massachusetts. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1978.
- Bushee, Frederick A. Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston. New York: Arno Press, 1970.

Curran, Thomas J. Xenophobia and Immigration 1820-1930.
Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1975.

Cowan, Helen I. British Emigration to British North America. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.

Currier, John J. The History of Newburyport, Massachusetts 1764-1905. Somerworth: New Hampshire Publishing Co., 1906.

Davis, Kingsley (ed.) The Demographic History of Massachusetts. New York: Arno Press, 1976.

Fox, Robin. Kinship and Marriage. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1967.

Gosse, Edmund. The Naturalist of the Sea Shore: The Life of Philip Henry Gosse. London: William Heinemann, 1896.

Guillet, Edwin C. The Great Migration. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1937.

Gunn, Gertrude E. The Political History of Newfoundland 1832-1864. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.

Hansen, Marcus Lee. The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1945.

Handlin, Oscar. Boston's Immigrants. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941.

Howard, Mildred. Vital Statistics and Items from Newspapers of Newfoundland from 1834 to 1854. Sydney, Cape Breton: n.p., 1980.

Howard, Mildred. Vital Statistics and Items from the Newfoundlander, 1854-1870. Sydney, Cape Breton: n.p., 1980.

Hutchinson, Thomas. Hutchinson's Newfoundland Directory for 1864-1865. St. John's: Thomas McConnan, 1864.

Innis, Harold A. The Cod Fisheries. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940.

Knights, Peter R. The Plain People of Boston, 1830-1860. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Laslett, Peter. The World We Have Lost. London: Methuen and Company Limited, 1971.

Mannion, John J. (ed.). The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1977.

Martell, J.S. Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia, 1815-1838. Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1942.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921.

Mountain, Jacob G. Some Account of a Sowing Time on the Rugged Shores of Newfoundland. London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1857.

Mullaly, John. A Trip To Newfoundland. New York: T.W. Strong Printer, 1855.

Murphy, Michael P. Pathways Through Yesterday. St. John's: Town Crier Publishing Company Ltd., 1976.

Noel, S.J.R. Politics in Newfoundland. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.

O'Neill, Paul. A Seaport Legacy: The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland. Erin, Ontario: Press Porcépic, 1976.

On Going Book Committee. The Savour of Things Past. St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1981.

Passenger Arrivals 1819-1820. Baltimore: Geneological Publishing Co. Inc., 1971.

Passengers Who Arrived in the U.S. 1822-1823. Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Co., 1969.

Pringle, James R. History of Gloucester, Cape Ann, Massachusetts. Gloucester, Mass.: G.H. and W.A. Nichols Printers, 1892.

Prowse, Daniel W. A History of Newfoundland. London: MacMillan and Co., 1895.

Ricketson, Daniel. The History of New Bedford. New Bedford, Mass.: Lindsey Printers, 1858.

Seary, E.R. Family Names of the Island of Newfoundland.
St. John's: Memorial University Press, 1976.

Sennett, Richard. Families Against the City. Cambridge,
Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970.

St. David's Presbyterian Church, Bicentennial History
Committee. The Dissenting Church of Church of Christ
at St. John's 1775-1975: A History of St. David's
Church at St. John's, N.F., St. John's: Creative
Printers, 1975.

Thornstrom, Stephan. Poverty and Progress. Cambridge,
Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.

Tocque, Philip. A Peep at Uncle Sam's Farm. Boston:
Charles H. Peirce and Company, 1851.

Tocque, Philip. The Newfoundland Almanac for the Year of
Our Lord 1849. St. John's: Published by the Author,
1849.

Winsor, Justin (ed.). Memorial History of Boston. Boston:
James R. Osgood and Co., 1982.

Whitehill, Walter Muir. Boston - A Topographical History.
Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Whitehill, Walter Muir and Kotker, Norman. Massachusetts.
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976.

Woods, Joseph. The Newfoundland Almanac for the Year of
Our Lord 1852. St. John's: Published by the author,
1852.

Wrigley, E.A. Population and History. New York: McGraw-
Hill Book Co., 1979.

