

## New Directions in European-American Migration

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Peter Wilson Coldham (comp. and ed.)- *The Complete Book of Emigrants, 4 vols.* Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1987-1993. I: 1607-1660, xix + 600 pp., indices of persons and ships. US \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8063-1192-4. II: 1661-1699, vii + 894 pp., indices of persons and ships. US \$49.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8063-1282-3. III: 1700-1750, ix + 743 pp., indices of persons and ships. US \$44.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8063-1334-X. IV: 1751-1776, viii + 349 pp., indices of persons and ships. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8063-1376-5.

David Dobson. *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994. ix + 266 pp., notes, bibliography, index. US \$35, cloth; ISBN 0-8203-1492-7.

Marianne McLean. *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820.* Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991. xxiii + 285 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7735-0814-7, cloth; ISBN 0-7735-1156-3, paper.

Andreas Brinck. *Die deutsche Auswanderungswelle in die britischen Kolonien Nordamerikas um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts.* Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993. 295 pp., tables, bibliography, index. DM 120, paper; ISBN 3-515-06071-5.

Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth. *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, & Letters.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990. ix + 370 pp., maps, illustrations, figures, photographs, notes, index. \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-8020-6910-X.

Catharine Anne Wilson. *A New Lease on Life: Landlords, Tenants, and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada.* Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994. xv + 313 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, appendices, notes, a note on sources, index. \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7735-1117-2.

Walter Nugent. *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992. xvi + 234 pp., maps, figures, tables, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-253-34140-X.

Mark Wyman. *Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880-1930.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993. x + 267 pp., maps, tables, figures, illustrations, photographs, source note, notes, index. US \$34.50, cloth; ISBN 0-8014-2875-0.

Bruce M. Stave and John F. Sutherland, with Aldo Salerno. *From the Old Country: An Oral History of European Migration to America.* New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994. xx + 281 pp., photographs, notes and references, bibliography, index. US \$26.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8057-9109-4.

That interest in the history of transatlantic emigration and immigration has a long tradition is not surprising, in part because European expansion to the New World is predicated on

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such activity. Yet lately there has been a scholarly resurgence and reappraisal in which the influences of social history and historical geography have been felt. The ensuing revisionist studies have not only added to the overall body of historical knowledge but also — of particular interest to readers of this journal — aided maritime historians to chart more carefully the economic, political, cultural, and social elements of the trans-oceanic crossing. The books discussed here are all fine examples of the continued relevance of migration history and of the way in which such studies enhance our appreciation of the past and the way it shapes the present.

Any study of migration during the sailing era naturally depends on information about the people who made their way from the Old World to the New and the ships in which they sailed. In this vein, Peter Wilson Coldham's four-volume *The Complete Book of Emigrants* is a remarkable achievement and an essential resource for genealogists, historical geographers, and social and maritime historians interested in the passage of ships and people outbound from England between 1607 and 1776. Based on surviving sources in English archives, the contents include passenger lists, apprenticeship records, port books and criminal transportation orders; the books list dates, names, length and nature of apprenticeships, and ports of departure and destination. Readers should be cautioned, however, that with a few exceptions Irish, Welsh, Scottish and American records were not used. Nevertheless, Coldham's work is a first step.

The first volume of this impressive work begins in 1606, the year legislation was passed requiring emigrants to obtain licenses and to take oaths of allegiance to the crown. Though pre-1635 records were not always systematic, and many have since been accidentally destroyed or lost, Coldham was able to use Chancery and Exchequer material, as well as Bridewell accounts, to expand substantially our existing knowledge. Particularly useful is the re-discovery of the Bristol registers of "Servants to Foreign Plantations." These entries make it clear that the Americas, and particularly the thirteen colonies, were the first British penal colonies.

The second volume begins immediately following the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Coldham's lists reflect the impact of subsequent mercantilist strategies and governmental decentralization. Thus, and in addition to the voluntary emigrant, this volume contains evidence on the serious felon, the politically suspect, and the social nuisance. It also makes it evident that the practice of "spiriting" — the kidnapping of children and young adults and their sale as plantation labourers by unscrupulous merchants — was fairly common. Often criticized by contemporaries, the practice finally was regulated in 1682, though only the registry lists from London, Bristol and Middlesex survive to tell the tale. Unfortunately, there are no extant passenger lists, except for 1674, due to their collective destruction by fire in 1814. Coldham has therefore relied, where possible, upon port books and criminal transportation orders to reconstruct their lost contents.

In the third volume, Coldham identifies another 25,000 English emigrants during the years 1700-1750. This was an era marked by much internal and international conflict — for instance, the records bear the imprints of the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-

1713), the Jacobite Rebellion, and the War of the Austrian Succession (known to American historians as King George's War, 1744-1748). Not only the numbers but also the destination of emigrants reflect the changing geopolitical map. Moreover, English courts after 1718 often relied on the transport of criminals to stanch a domestic social disorder: an estimated 35,000 convicts were sent to America. Again, Coldham relies on plantation apprenticeship records for Liverpool and London; port books for a variety of ports; and convict pardons on condition of transport. He admits that he has omitted certain records, including those on felons transported, Palatine emigrants and Scottish prisoners following the 1715 and 1745 uprisings. These migrations are covered elsewhere.'

The final volume is a natural extension of the preceding ones, ending with the outbreak of the American Revolution. Coldham characterizes this era as "one of slow, irregular but perceptible improvement both in standards of living and in a spirit of humanity and reform in Great Britain." (p. v) Yet "white servitude" remained prominent and the transport of criminals continued to enjoy wide support. He further points out that annual deportations of criminals rose from 500 to nearly 1000, many of whom are contained in this volume. By 1774 a government concerned about the haemorrhaging of population required emigrants to register their names and reasons for leaving. This also generated a source from which the motivations for voluntary emigration can be discerned.

If Coldham's compilation is impressive for its breadth, Brian Dobson's study of *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785*, explores more narrowly the dispersion of Scots and their role in the New World. His chronology is similar to Coldham's, with four distinct periods: 1607-1660, 1660-1707, 1707-1763 and 1763-1785. While he also evinces a genealogical interest, Dobson places the 150,000 Scottish emigrants into a broader economic and social context. He emphasizes that the Scots had a tradition of intra-European migration — along the coast from the Baltic to the Bay of Biscay, particularly in the Netherlands and Poland — wherever opportunities existed. This migration was caused in considerable measure by the nature of relations with the English, which led to a tension that helped to divide Highlanders from Lowlanders. The opening of the American colonies conformed to this well-established pattern. One of the earliest indications of a Scottish presence was in 1600, when *Grace of God* from Dundee brought home Newfoundland cod. This was followed by the voyage of *Lion* along the Labrador coast in 1606 and an expedition to Newfoundland and Acadia in 1622 to investigate the prospects for Scottish settlement.

As he describes events, Dobson consistently provides information on dates, ships, origins and destinations, captains, passengers and settlers. He estimates that prior to 1650 no more than a few hundred Scots had become permanent settlers. But the Cromwellian defeat of the Scots' army at Dunbar in 1650 triggered the first significant wave of Scottish migration to America. In the period between the Restoration and the Union, Scots had begun to appear in Newfoundland, New England, Rupert's Land, New York, East Jersey, the Chesapeake, the Carolinas, and the West Indies. All the voyages, migrations and settlements are thus placed in a political, social and economic context, including

mercantile links, based on sources such as the Ayr Burgh records, which provide assorted information on merchants, shipping and shipwrecks in the transatlantic trade.

Dobson next discusses the era up to the Peace of Paris, a period which includes the founding of the colony of Georgia. The Scottish presence in New England, Canada, and the Middle Colonies, he emphasizes, remained fairly small. Yet because the records are more readily available, Dobson is able to provide much detailed information on Scottish settlers. He notes, for instance, that Philadelphia, as the largest English-speaking port outside Britain, played a prominent role in the migration of the Scots, many of whom arrived as indentured servants. Others were fleeing religious and political conflict: the first Highland emigration occurred in the wake of 1745. In making sense of these events, Dobson provides occupational profiles of clergy, merchants, doctors, privateers, Jacobites and criminals. He also indicates where they settled and conveys a sense of why they left Scotland. Nor does he neglect the social and economic effects of this movement. For instance, he argues that the most significant contribution the Scots made to the economic and social development of the New World at this time was in the West Indies, especially Jamaica. Moreover, the transatlantic linkage was two-way. We are reminded that its mercantile efforts abroad facilitated the development of Scotland's industrial development.

Dobson's final chapter explores "Scottish America" from the end of the Seven Years' War to the conclusion of the American Revolution. In tracing Scottish arrivals, principally through Boston, New York and Philadelphia, he charts successfully the substantial role of immigration in both the US and British North America. The majority of Scottish emigrants to the Carolinas sailed from the west coast of Scotland and returned laden with American goods. Florida, taken from France after 1763, also entered the picture, as did Nova Scotia following France's defeat. Dobson gives some sense of how traditional patterns for merchant vessels changed on the Atlantic during the American Revolution. The Treaty of Versailles and the Loyalist migration triggered an influx of Scots into Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Québec; many came as soldiers who, having defended British interests, moved out of choice or under pressure. Thereafter, Canada was a principal destination for Scottish settlers.

Dobson has produced a major study. Yet despite the publisher's claims, it does not present "all known information about Scottish emigrants" to the British colonies in the New World. Still, Dobson has made an important contribution to our understanding of Scottish migration and settlement. His helpful introduction discusses much of the existing historiography and provides a useful overview. The study is also based on an impressive range of archival sources. Curiously, however, in Canada Dobson used only the Public Archives of Prince Edward Island, although others would have undoubtedly aided his quest. He was also highly selective in his choice of Canadian secondary sources.

A more limited, albeit fruitful and detailed examination of Scottish emigration, is Marianne McLean, *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820*, which links emigration from the northwestern Highlands to Glengarry County in Upper Canada (Ontario), where a new Highland community was created by the roughly 3500 migrants between 1773 and 1853. McLean expertly places this flow into the context of

Scottish and British North American history, as well as the economic and social transition from clan-based agriculture to an increasingly commercial society. The author deftly explores the complexity of this process, linking conditions in Scotland and Canada and tracing the timing and impact of specific migration patterns. Her arguments are based on both Scottish and Canadian archival sources, including Scottish estate records, religious materials, government files, and private papers; her writing reflects their richness.

Contrary to the arguments of scholars like Jack Bumsted, McLean contends convincingly that for the most part Scottish landlords did not pressure their tenants to move. Rather, the economic changes introduced by landlords created a climate that induced Highlanders to leave because of concerns about their declining economic status. Moreover, she demonstrates that this emigration was not dominated by individuals but by families, who voyaged and settled as groups. They belonged to the stream that paid their own fares and brought along their cultural and social baggage. The promise of land, a decreasing possibility at home, made emigration attractive.

McLean begins with a look at western Invernesshire after the battle of Culloden and the forced integration of the rebel Gaelic clans — which she describes as "conservative" — into the British realm and culture. This transformation is illustrated effectively by an examination of the communities of Barisdale and Lochiel, where families sought to maintain their traditional society and agriculture but were soon forced to adjust. As these changes were incorporated into law, they broke down the power and authority of the clan chief, introduced commercial values, and fostered southern norms. As large landholders and government officials sought to improve and civilize the estates by protecting woodlands, for example, tenants wishing to remain were forced to accept their terms.

In the face of agricultural "improvement," McLean describes how the traditional Highland social order steadily lost its legitimacy, resulting in a major rupture between 1770 and 1800. The Glengarry estate typified this. More efficient animal husbandry, among other farming innovations, undermined subsistence practices. In essence, the threat to long-term security, combined with higher rents and an unwillingness to acquiesce were prime factors behind the late eighteenth-century exodus. Moreover, the American Revolution steered Loyalist emigrants to the remaining colonies. Glengarry County was initially an attempt to replicate what was lost. It became a preferred destination for some 14,000 Scots, mostly Highlanders, who left between 1774 and 1815. McLean successfully applies Bernard Bailyn's model of provincial emigration to this phenomenon.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from tracing emigrant routes, McLean also provides a comparison of various Highland emigrant groups, including information on whether they hired their own vessels and the local ports of departure. Each emigrant wave is treated separately. While her references to actual ocean crossings are sparse, the names of individual vessels are often mentioned, and the author provides relatively full descriptions of their passage up the St. Lawrence.

The emigration organized in 1802 by Archibald McMillan of Murlaggan illustrates well the entire process of recruitment, passage and settlement in Glengarry County. Included is a discussion of the Passenger Act, which was widely seen not as a

humanitarian measure but as a way of reducing emigration and raising rents. McLean also discusses why the British government abandoned schemes for assisted emigration in favour of voluntarism at the time of the last large-scale migration from Scotland to Glengarry County and the kind of endemic poverty which many were anxious to leave behind. Changes in the Highlands accelerated by the 1790s, leading to widespread emigration as the economic status of clansmen was further reduced. The strength and pervasiveness of these changes were interrupted by the Napoleonic Wars, but resumed vigorously after 1815. The two final chapters deal with settlement and adaptation in Upper Canada, where the Highland immigrants usually arrived with family members and were supported by kinship and community. A fine conclusion reiterates the author's findings and affirms her contention that while economic transformation was central to Scottish Highland emigration, most who left were not forced off their lands.

The revival of interest in migration and ethnic history has also made significant inroads in Germany. Germans comprised one of the largest immigrant groups in the US, outnumbering the Irish and Italians during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A detailed and well-researched work on the early history of this movement is Andreas Brinck, *Die deutsche Auswanderungswelle in die britischen Kolonien Nordamerikas um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, in which the author examines German emigration to British North America, especially during the years 1749-1754. Brinck presents a wide spectrum of experience, beginning with a general overview of mid-century emigration, its significance, financing, dispersion, settlement, and legal status. He also examines the commercial context by looking at merchants and their agents, the organizational elements, promotional images, methods of recruitment, and state involvement. A third section deals with the reaction of German authorities, social and economic conditions of individual German states, civil authority and taxation, and the reaction of ruling bodies to emigration. One entire chapter is devoted to the voyage to America, both the internal migration within the German states and the subsequent ocean voyage. A final chapter examines their arrival and subsequent settlement, the problem of disease and hardship, the reaction to their arrival, and the destinations of these German emigrants.

As have historians of the British emigration experience, Brinck contends that mid-eighteenth-century German emigration to British North America cannot be understood outside the international context bounded by King George's and the Seven Years' Wars. He finds, for example, that between 1748 and 1754 some 36,000 Germans arrived in a colony (Pennsylvania) which then numbered only 119,000. In 1752, forty-one ships carrying mostly Protestant German emigrants arrived in Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, Nova Scotia, South Carolina and Georgia. The renewal of hostilities between France and England in 1754 brought this episode to a close.

In discussing how Great Britain sought Protestants to consolidate control over the region, Brinck notes that they were offered free land, a tax holiday, and other assistance. Prospective settlers were brought not only from the traditional southwestern areas but also from northern Germany. Almost all came through Hamburg or Bremen, and then often went to Rotterdam or London before embarking for Philadelphia. Most came in groups.

Their encounter with overloaded ships, sickness, lack of hygiene and fetid air in an era with no effective laws to regulate the passenger trade often made the journey risky and uncomfortable. Brinck describes in detail the trip to the port, its costs, common routes and duration (sometimes reaching twenty-five days from the initial point of leaving). He also describes how the emigrants were often subject to the whims of agents, unscrupulous shipowners, unanticipated delays and lack of funds. Some sleeping quarters on board provided only six square feet per passenger. From Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Hamburg, they went to England before continuing to America, dragging out the passage by ten to twelve weeks. The entire process could take five months. The ships, most of which were between 150 and 300 tons, often carried hundreds of passengers. Little wonder that disease and misery were commonly recorded! Nevertheless, ports like Halifax attempted to regulate and, if necessary, quarantine vessels.

In documenting this migration, Brinck provides an extensive table for 1748-1754 listing the name of each emigrant ship, its size, captain's name, port of origin, shipping firm, intermediate stops, destination, number of passengers, agent, subsequent ports, and final destination. His study also includes a list of the number of ships carrying German emigrants arriving at Philadelphia between 1727 and 1775 — as few as one per year and a maximum in 1749 of twenty-five. He discovered that Charleston, Halifax, New York, Annapolis and Boston were most often stated by emigrants as their intended destination. In addition to such useful information, the volume contains a substantial bibliography on German emigration. Although its price will be high for many individuals, the book deserves a place in university libraries.

In contrast to the United States, that part of British North America that later became Canada received its largest share of emigrants from Ireland. In the last fifteen years, they have been the focus of a number of important studies emphasizing how their backgrounds and experiences differed from their counterparts south of the border. The historical geographers Cecil Houston and William Smyth in *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters* expand upon these scholarly thrusts. In the process they also repudiate the notion that Canada's Irish were predominately Catholic, the involuntary product of the famine migration of 1847 who arrived diseased and destitute to become the urban poor. The facts of their experience were quite different.

A slim majority of the roughly half-million Irish who left between 1815 and 1845 were Protestants who came voluntarily and eventually prospered in rural areas. In overturning old myths and building upon the work of John Mannion, Donald Akenson, Bruce Elliott and Terrence Punch, Houston and Smyth offer the first geography of Irish emigration to Canada.<sup>3</sup> Decrying earlier stereotypes, they provide an overview of a rich, complex and highly diverse history. Their study is based on a synthesis of secondary sources and archival materials in Canada and Ireland.

The book is divided into three parts: links in emigration, patterns of settlement, and lives and letters. Of primary interest to maritime historians is the first, which looks at geographic origins, the emigrants, and the process of migration. Integrating qualitative and quantitative evidence, the authors show from where in Ireland ships departed for

North America; levels of Irish immigration to BNA and the US; emigrant origins; and various tables relating to religion. Among the tables and figures is a list of ships calling at Saint John in 1818; a time chart of the brig *President*, 1828-1832, showing the proportionate volume of goods carried; and another showing the origins of passengers and locations of agents for a leading Ulster shipping company, J. and J. Cooke.

Houston and Smyth's discussion of the emigration process reinforces the importance of Great Britain's search for secure timber supplies. The two were "inseparable commodities," according to the authors, and they direct the reader's attention to links between Deny and Saint John, and the shipping company of Buchanan and Robinson, to illustrate their claims. In so doing, they provide an overview of the passenger trade, the ships involved and costs, as well as a description of the Deny brig *President*, recruitment of prospective settlers by agents on both sides of the ocean, and the important connections of the Buchanan family, including the role some members played as British consuls in New York and as official emigrant agents at Québec and Montréal.

On the basis of the analysis, Houston and Smyth show that different parts of British North America were settled not only at different times but also by emigrants from distinct parts of Ireland. Moreover, in their section on emigrant letters and remittances, they show clearly the importance of kinship, family, and an existing support system in promoting and facilitating emigration. They also look at the promotional literature produced by companies and their agents, concluding that such efforts probably did not initiate emigration but did contribute to the knowledge and folklore of the New World.

A separate section considers the journey, the ships and conditions on board, types of provisions and costs, hazards and fears, the shift of the Irish migration stream to the US after mid-century, and the impact of the collapse of the timber trade on passenger traffic. The remaining two-thirds of the book, of similar high quality, examines the social, cultural and geographic aspects of Irish settlement in Canada, with the reflections of four emigrants on their experiences. In their conclusion, the authors further debunk the older myth that these peoples participated in "a lemming-like abandonment of their native country." (p. 337) Distinct from their American counterparts, the Irish who came to Canada did not represent a "single ideal type." Rather they married what they brought with what they found to forge a diverse and discrete Irish-Canadian identity.

The complexity of the nineteenth-century Irish emigrant experience is reinforced in Catharine Anne Wilson, *A New Lease on Life: Landlords, Tenants, and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada*. This well-written and fascinating book is in many ways a counterpart to McLean's work on the Glengarry Scots and adds a further dimension to our understanding of why emigrants left the Old World for particular destinations. In this instance, Amherst Island near Kingston in Upper Canada is used to examine such issues. Wilson looks at the role of the two Irish landlords who owned this island and their impact on the one hundred families from Ards Peninsula in County Down who migrated between 1820 and 1860 and became their tenants. She convincingly argues that migration was a dynamic process which cannot be understood without looking at both sides of the ocean. She also advances the idea that these Protestants eventually made the transition because



of existing kin and community networks. They did not comprise an oppressed class, nor were the landlords avaricious and exploitative. In most instances, both landlords and tenants tried to secure what they perceived to be their long-term interests. While there is little fodder here for the maritime historian, Wilson's study provides an insightful analysis of an important theme in transatlantic emigration history.

Of the several ambitious works reviewed here, perhaps none is more daring than Walter Nugent's *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914*. Though his claims are modest, Nugent's attempt at a comprehensive synthesis of North Atlantic migration, inspired by Fernand Braudel's Mediterranean excursions, occasionally leaves one breathless. Nugent seeks to encompass Europe, North America, South America and Africa as "a regional unity." His main subject is the contours of population change between 1870 and 1914, when European emigrants plied the ocean *en masse* to Argentina, Brazil, Canada and the US. In looking at this movement, Nugent asks the important question of whether the US was the exception in this context, and whether this phenomenon can be understood within the framework of modernization theory: was this a movement from traditional to modern societies?

In this short book (167 pages excluding notes, bibliography and index), sixteen chapters are divided into three main sections: the Atlantic region and its population, European donors, and American recipients. Significantly, the author relates this population flow to the use of steam on the Atlantic and the construction of railways both in Europe and the Americas. European countries in the late nineteenth century generally had a surplus of non-industrial workers while the US and Canada were able to absorb numbers like never before. Nugent makes clear that this surplus was not the product of a rising birth rate; indeed, countries like France and Italy had declining rates. Rather, more people were surviving infancy and living longer, thanks to measures of public hygiene which effectively combatted the traditional mortality of contagious diseases.

At every juncture, Nugent uses quantitative data and maps to support his contentions. While the US, due to its absorptive capacity, attracted more than twice as many immigrants as other countries in the Americas combined, the reasons and patterns for immigration were everywhere quite similar. Expectations of better wages and land were the driving forces. Nugent discusses each of the main European donor regions — Scandinavia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Poland, Italy and Iberia — separately in sketching the overall pattern. One gains a good sense of who the migrants were, from where they came, why they left, and where they went. The final third of this volume examines the primary American destinations and their ethnic profiles. One discovers that while both the US and Argentina underwent "a remarkable expansion" due to immigration in this period, fewer immigrant Argentines became naturalized citizens or landholders. Many did play a prominent role in urban commerce, however, and eventually assimilated. The pattern of landowning contrasted markedly with the American and Canadian models. Another interesting finding is that Brazil's growth was far more attributable to natural increase than to immigration, although there were sizeable Italian and German enclaves, in addition to a Portuguese and Spanish presence. Nugent outlines Canada's immigration

experience less successfully, perhaps because his use of Canadian secondary sources is limited. Relevant work by Canadians such as Howard Palmer, Donald Avery, and John Zucchi are ignored. As well, there is little heed paid to the political influences on immigration. These caveats aside, Nugent's emphasis on the importance of North Atlantic migrations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is provocative and essential reading. To avoid unsustainable conclusions based on the immigration history of a single country, he forces the reader to consider the broad context.

Though writers have explored the worlds of the emigrant and immigrant, they have largely ignored the "remigrant." Yet statistics bear out the importance of those who returned home, though estimates of how many Europeans did so vary greatly. Still, anywhere from one-fifth to one-half of European immigrants to the US during the early twentieth century returned to their homeland. In *Round-Trip To America: The Immigrants Return To Europe, 1880-1930*, Mark Wyman presents a penetrating account of this important but neglected group whose stories often lacked happy endings. The "America fever," Wyman argues, needs to be understood within the context of late nineteenth-century change marked by mass migrations within Europe of peasants and workers and then transatlantic emigration.

In the first part of his book, Wyman deftly shows how emigration was facilitated by the growth of steamship companies and American industrialization and expansion. Company agents motivated by potential commissions also lured prospective emigrants. Wyman describes the activities of these agents and the public outcry which frequently accompanied their work. Promotion was overshadowed, however, by news from overseas describing the high wages in the US. Coupled with land pressures in various European countries, this led many young males to seek their fortunes abroad, a number of whom expressed their intent to return home. The "American realities" of the day are described in the second part of Wyman's study — the role of immigrant labourers and the often dismal working conditions. Often unskilled, the immigrants willingly performed menial and miserable tasks (which can best be understood in the context of their efforts to save money) in mines and factories and on railroads. This constant goal also contributed to a tolerance of congested housing. Moreover, their intention to return home undermined their motivation to assimilate. These features made late nineteenth-century foreign workers enemies of organized labour. Only when large numbers decided to remain in the US did they become a force in American labour politics.

Wyman provides several excellent chapters on the experiences that led so many to reject America. This migrant flow also heightened a pernicious form of nativism that shaped American prejudices, immigration policies, and social attitudes. Ironically, many European governments and churches believed that remigrants were a threat to their own societies because they imported American values and practices. This on-going tension, evident on both sides of the Atlantic, provides the focus for the third part of Wyman's book: the remigrant at home. Wyman believes that the New and Old Worlds "never enjoyed a relationship that was all mutual admiration or dislike but instead dealt with each other along both sides of the avenues of attraction and distrust, with clouds of envy and

enmity frequently hindering the view." (p. 186) In a succinct conclusion, the author reminds us that the remigrant's experiences require the historian to consider directly "the importance of human feelings, human emotions, in world events." (p. 208) It is also "a record of the endurance of home and family ties." (p. 209)

Several of the authors of these new works on transatlantic migration have explicitly recognized the importance of giving a voice to the emigrants. While memoirs, travel accounts and letters serve this purpose to a degree, so does oral history and anecdotal evidence. *From The Old Country: An Oral History of European Migration to America* by Bruce M. Stave and John F. Sutherland (with Aldo Salerno) is based on such accounts. With a focus entirely on the US, the authors have integrated interviews conducted by the Works Progress Administration and its Ethnic Group Survey during the 1930s with some recent oral history of their own. Their intention is to let people speak for themselves. While the authors do provide some (albeit insufficient) context to understand the importance of what the interviewees recount, the volume's strength is that it personalizes the immigration process and addresses several topical themes, such as family, community, gender and race relations.

A concluding section consists of a conversation among the authors about the purpose of the book and the significance of their findings. Much of this terrain is covered more comprehensively elsewhere, but they do reinforce a number of relevant points. People chose to emigrate; they often found themselves caught up "in history and broad social and economic forces." They were not faceless, uprooted, helpless, or generally alone. Neither Oscar Handlin's belief in the immigrant's inevitable alienation nor John Bodnar's view that cultures were successfully transplanted from the Old World to the New are entirely sustainable in light of a recognition of the central roles of family and community. According to the authors of *From The Old Country*, historical reality, if judged through oral history, suggests that the truth was somewhere in the middle.

This book offers a chapter of interest to maritime historians on the crossing and arrival, although the emphasis is on the latter. One learns, for instance, that steerage included dormitory-style, third-class conditions on the Cunard and White Star lines, poor accommodation and food, lack of privacy, and at the end of the trip, Ellis Island. There are stories of family farewells, long journeys to the port of departure, chain migration, culture shock, and hopes and dreams. The authors handle such themes impressionistically rather than systematically. Intended for students and the general public, this book is on the whole interesting and its stories help flesh out more scholarly and analytic works on emigration and the transatlantic passage.

One cannot do justice to the research and substance embodied in the works reviewed here in such a short space. Although they often differ in orientation and approach, there are many common aspects. They affirm the relevance of studying the North Atlantic in all its historical contexts. By borrowing from several disciplines, such as geography and history; by using not only British and European but also American and Canadian archival sources; by demonstrating that a complex and comprehensive analysis of links between the Old and New Worlds is possible; and by relating local histories to

global social and economic developments, these books set both the standard and the stage for future research and writing in the field.

### Notes

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1. Peter Wilson Coldham (ed.), *The Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage, 1614-1775* (Baltimore, 1988); Henry Z. Jones, Jr., *The Palatine Families of New York 1710* (2 vols., Universal City, CA, 1985); Walter A. Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* (1937; reprint Baltimore, 1965); David Dobson (ed.), *The Original Scots Colonists of Early America 1612-1783* (Baltimore, 1989); Donald Whyte (éd.), *A Dictionary of Scottish Emigrants to the U.S.A.* (Baltimore, 1972).

2. Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1986).

3. For example, see John J. Mannion, *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation* (Toronto, 1974); Donald H. Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History* (Kingston and Montréal, 1984); Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach* (Kingston and Montréal, 1988); Terrence Punch, *Irish Halifax: The Immigrant Generation* (Halifax, 1981).