

**NORTH ATLANTIC STEERAGE FARES,
MORTALITY, AND TRAVEL CONDITIONS:**

**EVIDENCE FROM THE COPE LINE
PASSENGER SERVICE, 1820-1870**

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North Atlantic Steerage Fares, Mortality and Travel Conditions: Evidence from the Cope Line Passenger Service, 1820-1870

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ABSTRACT:

NORTH ATLANTIC STEERAGE FARES, MORTALITY, AND TRAVEL CONDITIONS, 1820-1870: EVIDENCE FROM THE COPE LINE PASSENGER SERVICE,

The Irish Potato Famine was one of the great tragedies of the Victorian world. Whatever exacerbated the domestic crisis, contemporary liberal writers and modern historians blamed the emigrant trade for degrading the escape. The unique Cope Line shipping records in the Pennsylvania Historical Society suggest the operators could be effective and conscientious within the standards of the time. Copes carried about 60000 passengers westwards from Liverpool to Philadelphia, and 25000 eastwards between 1820 and 1870.

The Copes were wealthy Philadelphia Quakers and operated high class ships, but in the 1840s steerage travel on even the best ships was rough. Their records show fares fell significantly between 1830 and 1845, but some provisions improved. Fares did not rise sharply in the late 1840s, thus accommodating the huge increase in migration. The increasing shipping tonnage built to cater for the rapidly expanding cotton and grain trades as well as migration about matched demand over 1845-1855. Comments by the emigrants themselves do not suggest the voyage was horrific, and the death and disease rate on the Cope ships was far lower than implied by the contemporary and recent literature.

NORTH ATLANTIC STEERAGE FARES, MORTALITY, AND TRAVEL CONDITIONS.

1820-1870: EVIDENCE FROM THE COPE LINE PASSENGER SERVICE.

INTRODUCTION: The Irish Famine, and the consequent huge emigration to America, was one of the tragedies of the Victorian world. Whatever caused the domestic crisis, contemporary liberal writers and modern historians have blamed travel brokers and ship-owners for degrading the escape. The Cope Line shipping records in the Pennsylvania Historical Society offer several new approaches to this question. Copes operated the leading Liverpool to Philadelphia packet line, and carried about 60000 passengers westwards and 25000 eastwards between 1820 and 1870. These are probably the only full scale records of a contemporary packet line in existence. (1)

IMAGE 1a: THOMAS P. COPE - PORTRAIT AT MERCANTILE LIBRARY.

IMAGE 1b: THOMAS P. COPE - PHOTOGRAPH.

Note: Only critical charts are presented in this draft because of file space and copyright. Some extra images will be shown in the lecture.

The Copes were wealthy Philadelphia Quaker reformers and operated high class ships. However they were also keen businessmen, and mid 19th century steerage travel on even the best ships was inevitably rough. The question is how hard were these passages in terms of contemporary conditions and expectations? Fares are one parameter of the equation. The Cope records are sufficiently complete to present for the first time reasonably continuous series of westward and eastward fares from 1820 to 1870. They are not perfect here, but they can be improved. It is obvious that, at least, fares were sufficiently low in the 1840s and 1850s not to block the huge transatlantic migration. (2)

The Cope records also enable some new assessments of travel conditions. Recent research using the US Passenger Lists has suggested mortality on the passage was much lower than traditionally accepted. The Copes did not keep explicit records of illness or mortality, but their records generally support this new view. Secondly successful migrants in Pennsylvania often purchased prepaid passage tickets in Philadelphia to send to relatives in England and Ireland. Several hundred of these

surviving tickets have short messages on the back often revealing how contemporaries viewed the passage. (3)

The 1840s-1850s migration has usually been presented as a mass contagion in which push factors predominated. This paper suggests transportation factors were also important. Fares fell prior to the migration and remained relatively low. Sickness en route were not as horrific as often suggested. The shipping lines and government regulation were better organised than expected. Incidents were sporadic rather than general. Many passages were prepaid by relatives already in America. Taken together these factors probably increased numbers choosing North America rather than remaining in England or Ireland. This paper presents preliminary observations solely on the fares and health aspects of the case. (4)

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2. OUTLINE OF COPES BUSINESS...

The Cope Packet ship Line was founded in 1822 as Philadelphia's answer to New York's Black Ball Line, the first transatlantic packet line. However whereas New York's rapidly growing trade soon generated many other lines, the Cope Line remained Philadelphia's only long lived packet service to Liverpool until it ended in 1868. Packet lines captured the cream of the freight and passenger trade by departing on schedule and making fast reliable passages, but they also carried steerage passengers. At any one time the Copes had at least four ships sailing at monthly intervals from Philadelphia and Liverpool, each ship making three round voyages a year. Table 2a lists the ships in the Line, and their service. Images 2b and 2c reproduce paintings of particular ships. (1)

Most passages were between Philadelphia and Liverpool, but the line occasionally sent ships to the southern cottonports. In the 1820s and 1830s Copes' associates, Alexander Brown and Son of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Liverpool acted as Liverpool agents, and provided some of the ships. In the 1830s and 1840s the line used some of its older ships in the cotton trade, and as substitutes when the new larger packet ships had problems. From 1844 the Copes provided all the ships in the line, and their last ships - which operated into the late 1870s - were built

between 1844 and 1850. (2)

TABLE 2a: LIST OF COPE SHIPS, AND VOYAGES 1822-1880

Ship	Date Built	Tons	Service Overall	Voyages In Line Overall
<i>Tobacco Plant</i>	-	278	1822-24	2
Lancaster	1807	383	1822-24	14
Tuscarora 1	1810	379	1822-29	26
<i>Unicorn</i>	-	389	1822-23	2
Montezuma	1823	420	1823-35	46
<i>Alexander</i>	1822	462	1822-33	30
Algonquin	1824	479	1824-39	49
Monongahela	1828	516	1828-47	58
<i>Pocohontas</i>	1832	534	1832-39	21
Susquehannah	1833	583	1833-50	50
<i>Shenandoah</i>	1839	740	1839-44	14
T.P.Cope	1839	730	1839-46	22
Saranak	1844	854	1844-78	78
Wvoming	1845	911	1845-78	67
Tuscarora 11	1848	1240	1848-72	56
Tonawanda	1850	1503	1850-82	69
Total. Circa				604

Source: Cope Records: The Brown ships are in italics.

IMAGE 2b: COPE SHIP. SARANAK ON TOW.

IMAGE 2c: COPE SHIP. TUSCARORA AT ANCHOR.

IMAGE 1c - WILLIAM BROWN - PORTRAIT.

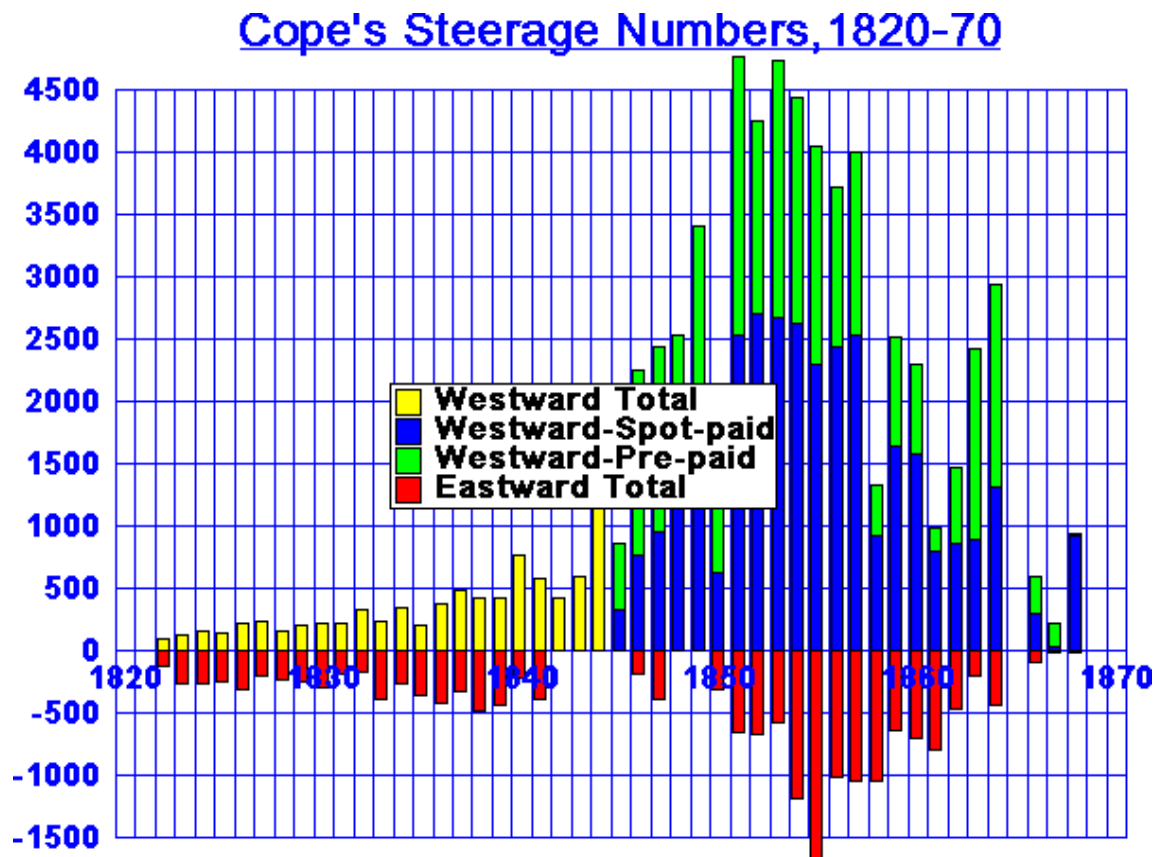
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3. ESTIMATES OF COPE FARES:

The simplest way to estimate Copes' fares is to divide the passenger revenue by the number of passengers carried - see Charts 3a and 3b. Copes' westward passenger business rose rapidly in the late 1840s and early 1850s during the Irish famine. Chart 3b records steorage revenue both ways. They also carried substantial

numbers eastwards in the 1840s and 1850s. (1)

CHART 3a: ESTIMATED PASSENGER NUMBERS, 1820-1870

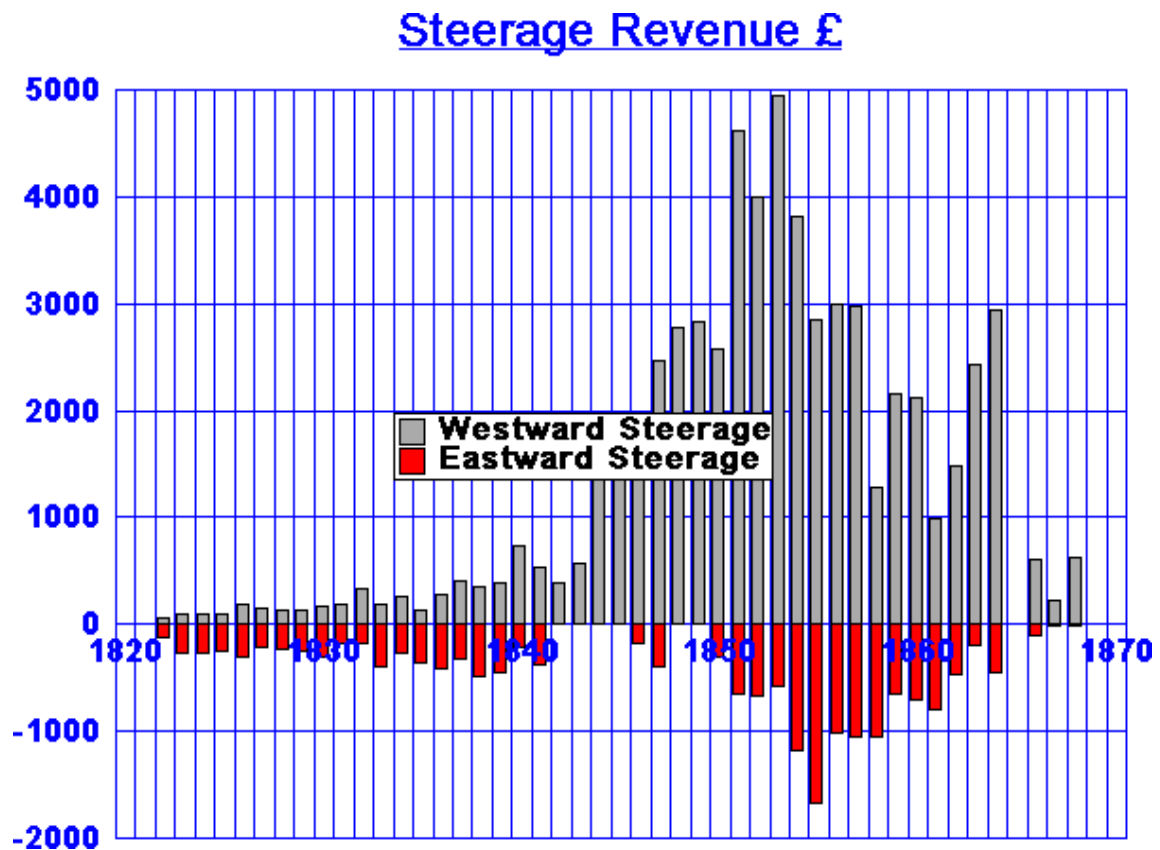


Source: US Passenger Lists, Cope Records.

During the 1830s Copes introduced prepaid - in Philadelphia - passenger tickets enabling Pennsylvanian residents to send for relatives in Ireland and England. Spot westward tickets were initially purchased from the Browns and the captains, and

then from regular Liverpool travel brokers like Harndens and Taspotts.

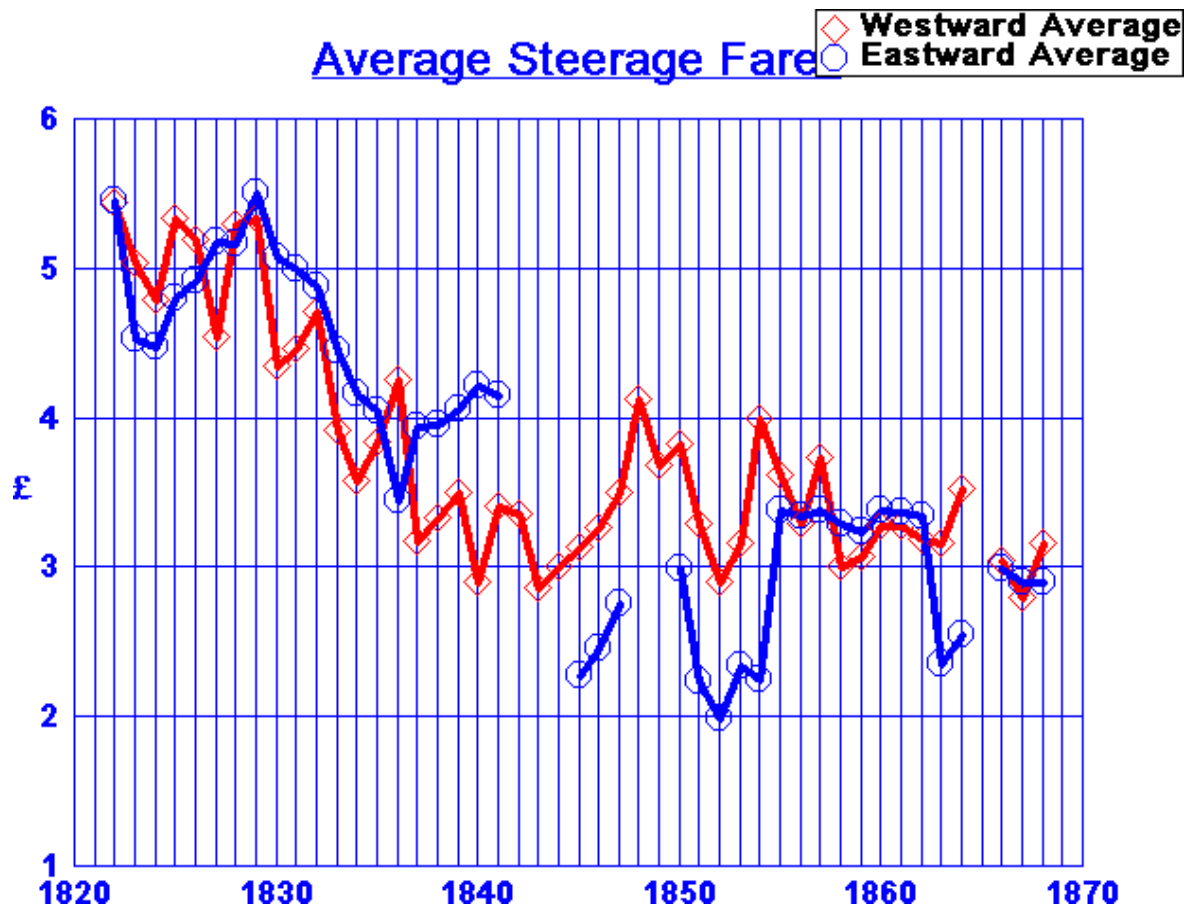
CHART 3b: ESTIMATED STEERAGE REVENUE, 1820-1870 (in £)



Average steerage fares - see Chart 3c - are not standard adult steerage fares, because the average also includes second or forward cabin fares, a marginally superior steerage fare, children under 12, who usually paid half price, and infants who paid none. However these additions do not make too much difference. Single adult fares were say 50 pence - 10/- higher than the average of say £3.50 to £4 in the late 1840s or early 1850s. These rates may seem low in modern terms - but

several months savings would have been required to bring over a family. (2)

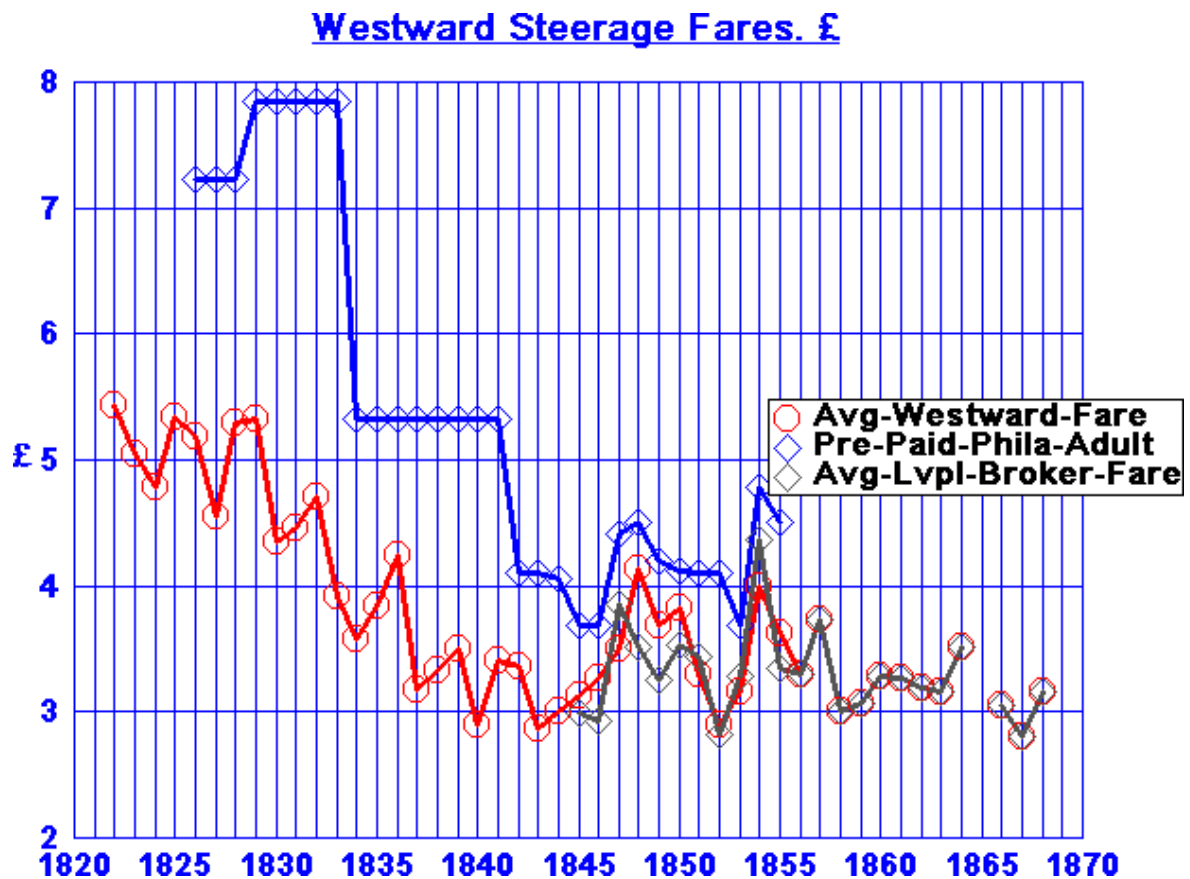
CHART 3c: AVERAGE STEERAGE FARES, 1820-1870.



Source: Cope Records

Average steerage fares fell from about £5.50 per head in 1822 to £3.00 per head in 1845. Average westward fares rose again in the late 1840s to £4.00, mainly because of the Irish crisis, but not perhaps as much as expected. There is a surprising temporary fall both ways in 1851 despite very high migration from Ireland and western Europe generally. Fares recovered both ways in 1853-4 and remained between £3.00 and £3.50 until the line temporarily stopped in 1864 (3)

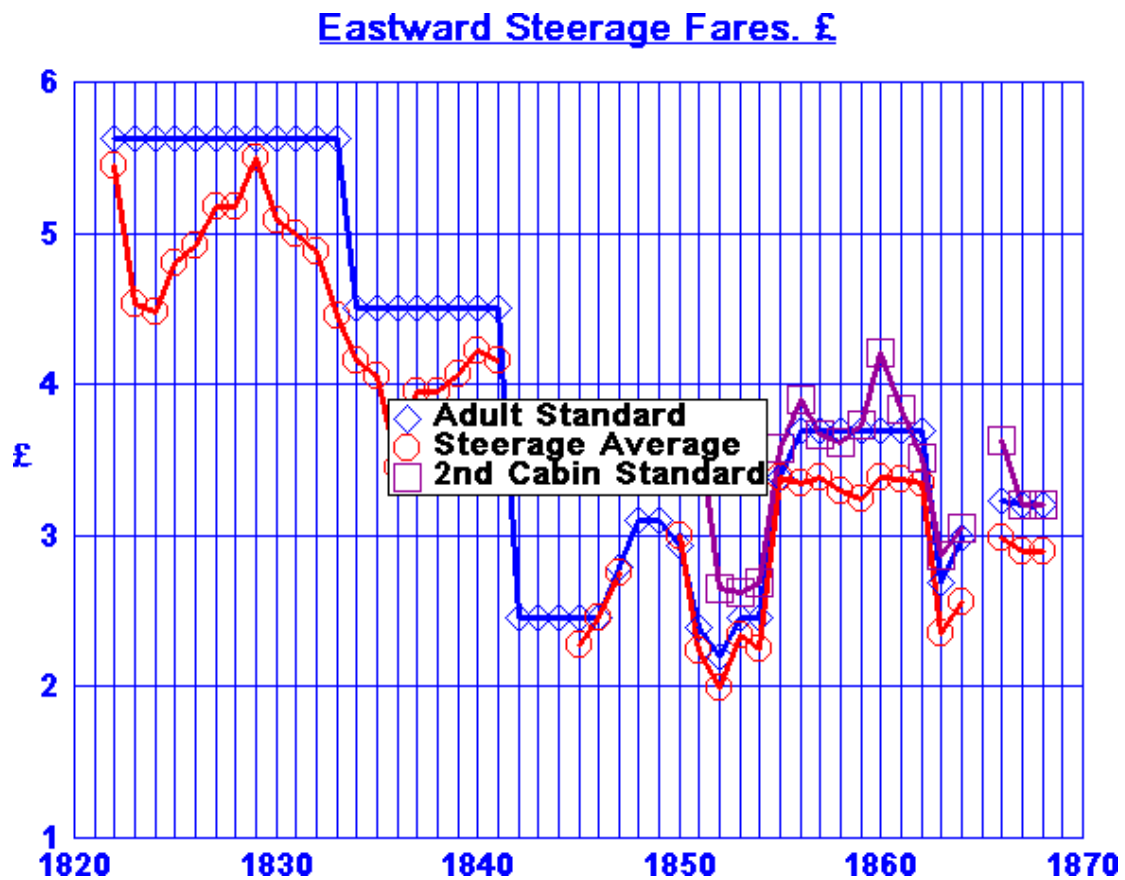
CHART 3d: WESTWARD STEERAGE FARES, 1820-1870. (In £)



Source: Cope Records

The Copes' westward prepaid fares are quotes for adult fares - and therefore higher than the average westward fares - also shown. In the 1820s and early 1830s, Copes kept them too high for too long, and admitted good transient ships were much cheaper. In the commercial crises of 1834 and 1842 when they needed passengers, they dropped fares sharply (4). The Liverpool spot fares, on the other hand, were set by the Browns, captains and brokers, and responded to immediate supply and demand. (5)

CHART 3e: EASTWARD STEERAGE FARES, 1820-1870. (In £)



Source: Cope Records

On the eastward passage Copes' accounts give fares charged for every individual passage from 1822 to 1868. The chart shows standard adult fare, the average fare as before, and the average second cabin fare. Initially inflexible eastward fares fell further than westward fares in 1842-43, recovered less, obviously, in the late 1840s, but did well in the middle and late 1850s when Copes carried substantial numbers of returning migrants eastwards. (6)

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4. QUALITY OF SERVICE: VALUE FOR MONEY....

The quality of the service offered was also important. The ships' tonnage increased from 250 to 1500 tons between 1820 to 1860 - see Chart 2a. Actual passage times reduced slightly, especially as tugs and towboats speeded arrivals and departures

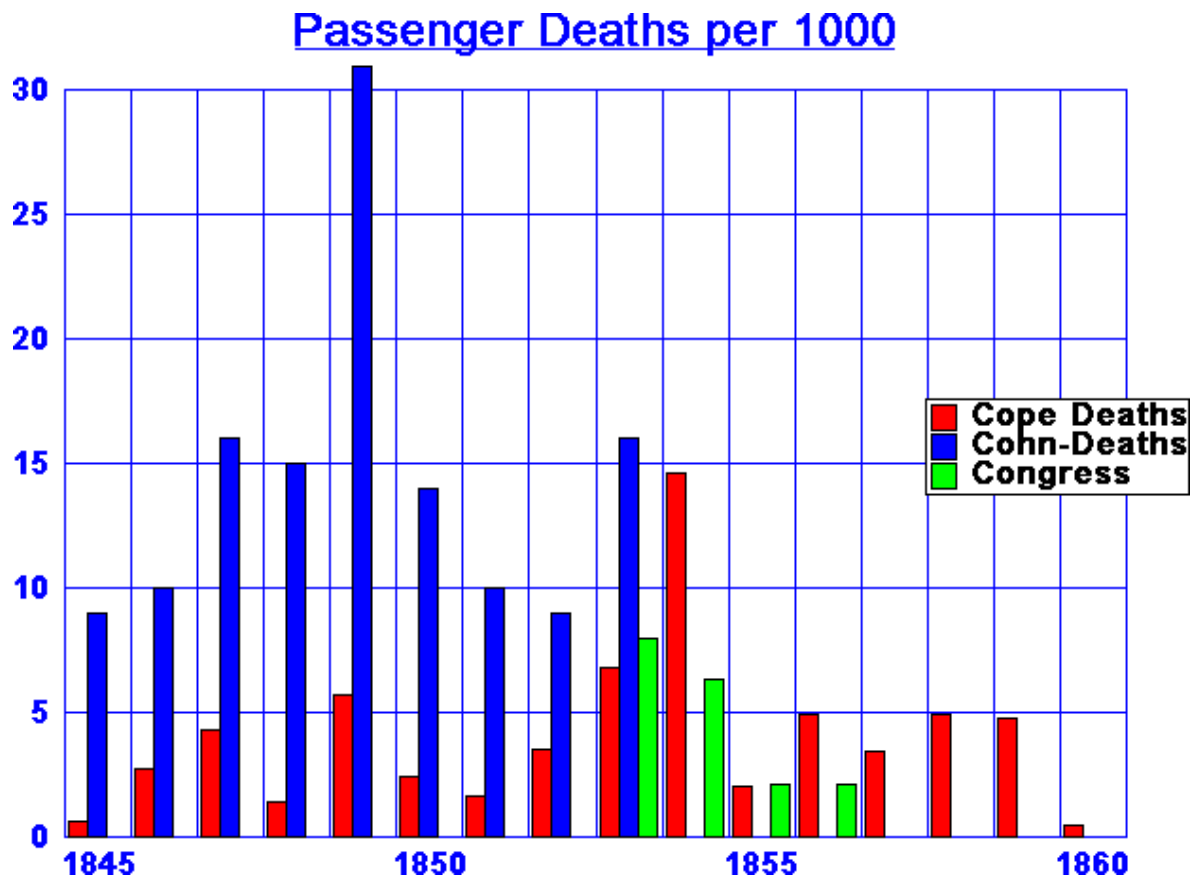
On the Delaware, the Copes helped introduce icebreakers from the late 1830s to prevent occasional excessive winter delays. On the other hand delays in Liverpool actually increased as the ships became larger, and the docks more congested. More generally the service as a whole provided passengers with a much greater frequency and choice of ships by the early 1850s. Finally the Copes and other ship-owners were forced by competition and by the British and American and Passenger Acts to improve safety, accommodation and food. (1)

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5. MORTALITY AND ILLNESS.

The most important aspect of quality of the 1840s, according to received versions, was survival. However in 1984, Raymond Cohn, using the New York Passenger Lists suggested death rates were surprisingly low even in the late 1840s. The main Cope sources collectively support Cohn's view, but suggest even lower rates. Cohn records an average rate of 14 deaths per thousand on ships entering New York from Europe between 1836 and 1853. The equivalent Cope rate was about 4.2 per thousand. See Chart 5a. The eastward rate on Copes ships - assembled from the captains' letters - was about 3.9 per thousand. The worst periods were between 1847 and 1850 and 1853-54. Congress began reporting westward rates from 1853, but everyone agrees that mortality fell rapidly after 1854 as migration declined, and improvements took hold. (1)

CHART 5a: PASSENGER DEATHS: RATE PER THOUSAND



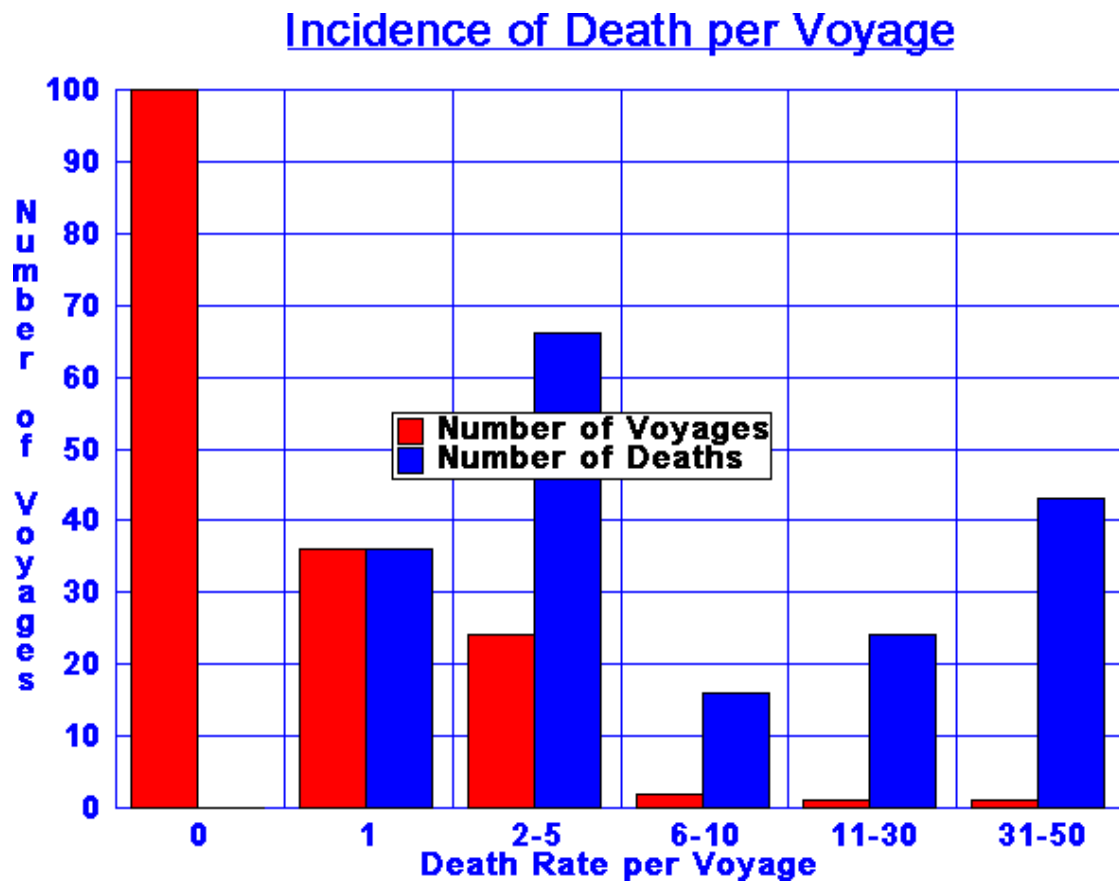
Source: Cohn, 1984; US Passenger Lists

The 1819 US Passenger legislation required captains entering US ports to list the passengers, and to report deaths at sea. The main problem is that a large proportion of the lists leave the column assigned for deaths blank, or even use it to count passengers' baggage. It was not clear if this was because there really were no deaths, or because the captains were careless. Cohn therefore only counted ships with at least one death to control compliance, and also excluded ships with less than 25 passengers to omit casual carriers. (2)

The Philadelphia Passenger Lists recorded the arrival of nearly every Cope ship after 1821, but between 1845 and 1860, recorded no deaths in 100 out of 164 entries. See Chart 5b below. A substantial proportion of the deaths were in a few major incidents. All the entries were counted - obviously biasing the rate down compared to Cohn. More seriously, the one death Cohn requires may have been contagious, therefore biasing his returns upwards. Finally the Cope ships were

high class packets while Cohn was sampling all ships.

CHART 5b: ANALYSIS OF PASSENGER LISTS, 1840-1860



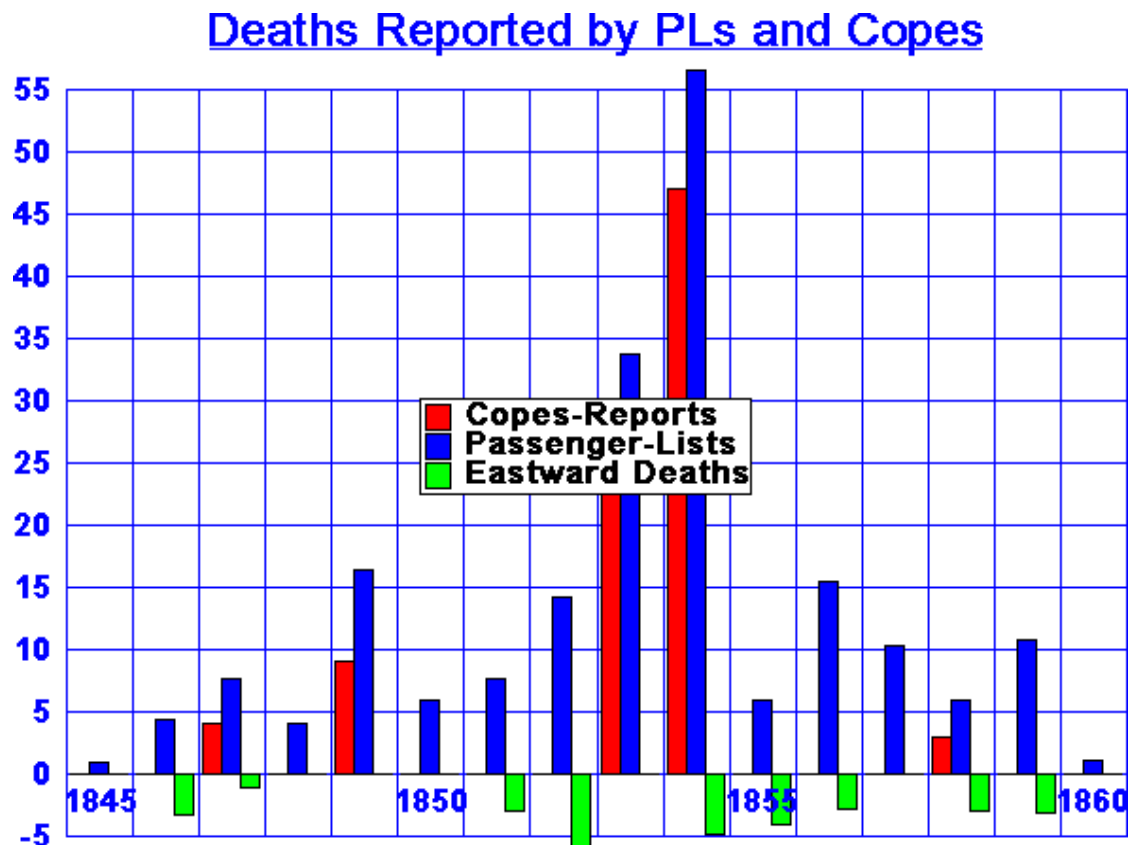
Source; Passenger Lists, NARA

The real question is whether these very low Cohn and Cope returns are believable. The Cope figures are not too much higher than the normal full population death rate on land of between 1.5 and 2.5 per thousand per month but the emigrants of course were mostly young. However the traditional literature often suggests the famine ships were not much better than slavers with death rates of between 30 and 60 per thousand, and both the Cohn and Cope figures are vastly different from this. (3)

Chart 5 compares actual deaths on the westward run reported by the Philadelphia Passenger Lists, and in the Cope correspondence. The main Cope source were the captains' letters when they stopped at the mouth of the Delaware because of ice or quarantine. Each year has its own interest. The large mortality in 1853 and 1854 was due to cholera - one packet in each year. Typhus and smallpox were also problems.

However many deaths were caused by chronic diseases like consumption. (4)

CHART 5c: DEATHS REPORTED BY PASSENGER LISTS AND COPES



Source: Cope Records; Passenger Lists

How likely were the Copes and their captains to report deaths in their own correspondence, and in the Passenger Lists? The Cope and Brown partners were mainly concerned with operational details, not mortality. They ignored single deaths, but did report major calamities. The Copes' captains however on the eastward run always reported when they reached Liverpool, and apparently did report all fatalities. A high proportion of the Cope captain letters from have survived - but the Browns' captains of course - see List 2a - reported to Browns - not Copes.

Unfortunately on the westward run, the Cope captains only reported from the coast, when they were prevented by ice, or quarantine from coming straight up to Philadelphia - hence missing many deaths. This explains the difference between the Passenger Lists and the Cope reports in Chart 5c. However it is likely they were

stopped at the Quarantine station at the mouth of the Delaware every time there were multiple deaths or serious disease. Since the ships apparently rarely stopped at quarantine - there were probably few major incidents. (5)

An example passenger list selected at random suggests that at least some of the captains were reasonably careful. In this case Captain Richard Dunlevy of the Wyoming was stopped at Quarantine at 5.30 am, on June 19th, 1854, because the ship was in 'a very dirty condition', before, Dunlevy claimed, 'the usual morning cleaning had been done'. He reported to Copes that all the passengers were 'in excellent health', but that there had been four deaths on the passage - one cabin passenger with consumption, plus three infants. This tallied exactly with the passenger list. He recorded one infant death from 'dentition', one from 'a bowell complaint', one from 'catarrh on the chest', and more happily, one infant birth - William Wyoming Barnes, born at sea, May 19th, five days out of Liverpool.

There were 420 passengers on this passage - so the death rate was one per cent - but the recorded causes of the deaths were not all obviously maritime. Dunlevy worked for Copes many years. His paper work on this voyage suggests he was sensitive to criticism, and would have normally completed the passenger lists correctly. He may however have been more careful than usual on this occasion because of the quarantine, and he reported the delay very fully to Copes. He was concerned the good health of the passengers would not continue as they had now burned all their bedding, and were 'unaccustomed to the heat' - in June, becalmed in the Delaware. (6)

IMAGE 5d: SAMPLE PASSENGER LIST. WYOMING 25th VOYAGE, 1854

IMAGE 5e: CAPTAIN DUNLEVY'S REPORT TO COPES, JUNE 1854.

The captains' letters also report a wide range of contagious and chronic diseases, and several major incidents. For instance in 1846, the Thomas P. Cope caught fire in mid Atlantic. Fortunately the passengers were rescued before the ship actually exploded, and only one infant died - from smoke. In 1849 the Tuscarora went aground off New Jersey, but all the passengers were saved. In each case Copes debated with Browns the appropriate - fairly minimal - assistance for the wrecked

passengers. (7)

IMAGE 5f: PACKET THOMAS P. COPE ON FIRE, 1846

There were some improvements over time. In 1832 one captain wrote that although he was not concerned (by the Cholera) himself, he 'did not feel so safe as regards my crew and the passengers.... all of whom, if I have no physician, I must attend to myself....', and he asked William Brown for a doctor - which he received. From 1848 the Passenger Acts required all large passenger ships to carry a surgeon, or to allow extra space. Similarly in 1830, passengers were expected to bring and prepare their own food, but from 1852 ships had to provide cooked food. There were many other regulations, and the captains' letters make clear the Passenger Acts were enforced. (8)

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6: COPE PRE-PAID TICKET STUBS.

Finally the Cope ticket stubs provide an interesting opportunity to see how contemporary migrants viewed the passage. The writers mostly advised relatives what supplies to bring, and warned them about the various dangers en route, but they also made general comments about the passage. See Images 6a and 6b. (1)

IMAGE 6a: TICKET STUB - FACE - PASSAGE DETAILS.

IMAGE 6b: TICKET STUB - BACK - WITH MESSAGE...

The common view is endorsed by this 1850 letter. "Dear Sister and Catherine, I am going to let you know when you come to the ship for to be wise, and to take care of yourselves for board of ship is an awful place. Make no freedom with any person and no one will interfere with you. Keep yourselves.... ', (2)

A more optimistic view is:- ".... Now the very latest for you to start from Liverpool will be the 12th February... The ship you will come in is called the Susquehannah. She is a splendid sailing vessel. I have been in company with both the steward and cook and they assured me they would do everything to make you...." (3)

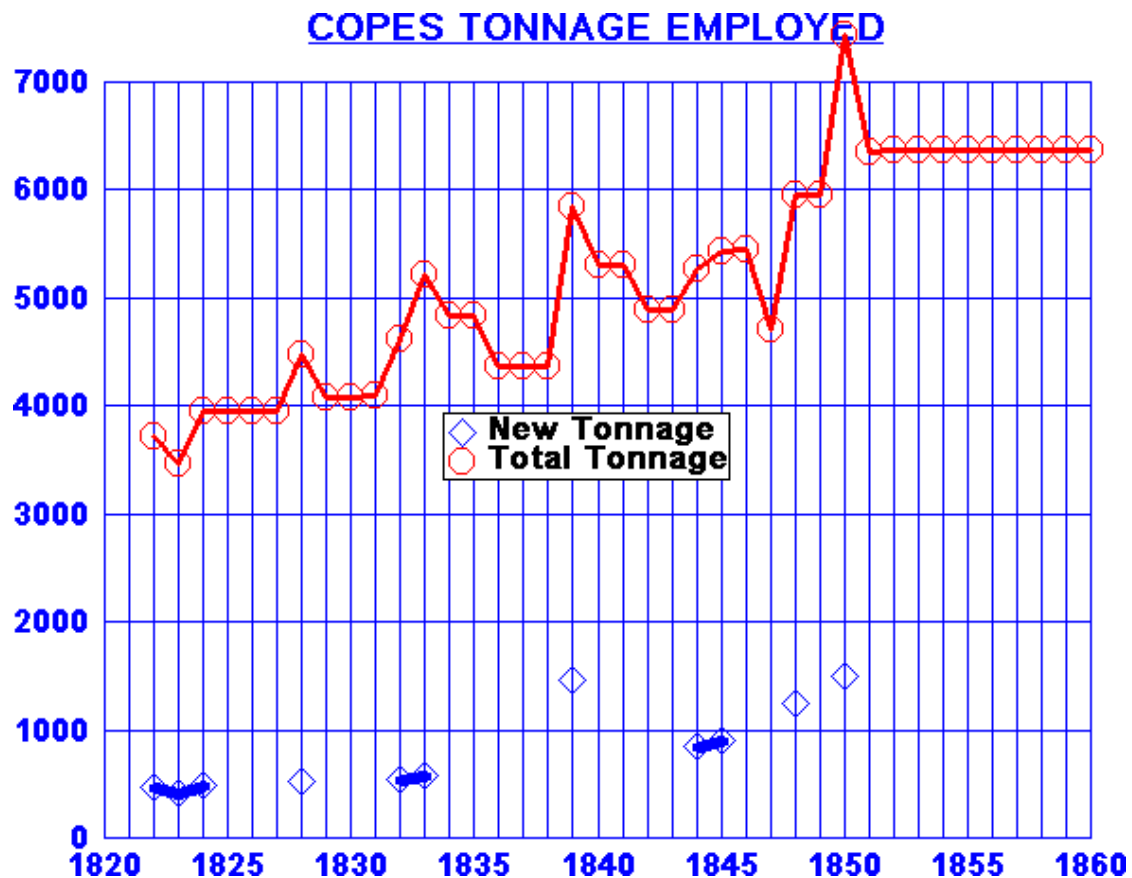
Overall these emigrant letters try to encourage rather than frighten the recipients, and present the voyage as challenging rather than horrific.

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7. CONCLUSION:

Atlantic travel in the 1840s and 1850s was therefore hard for immigrants, but not impossible. Fortuitously the Copes' and general package tonnage available increased moderately in the early 1840s, and then rose sharply between 1846 and 1850 - see Charts 7a and 7b. The Copes added two ships in 1844 and 1845 - just before the increase in migration - and two more in 1848 and 1850, although these were partly offset by losses and retirements. The general increase in US tonnage in foreign trade was apparently caused by increasing cotton (and grain) exports, and like Copes, started before 1845. These expansions probably stifled any sharp sustained increase in steerage fares in the late 1840s - see Chart 3c - while cotton freight rates actually fell.

CHART 7a: COPE TONNAGE IN OPERATION, 1822-60

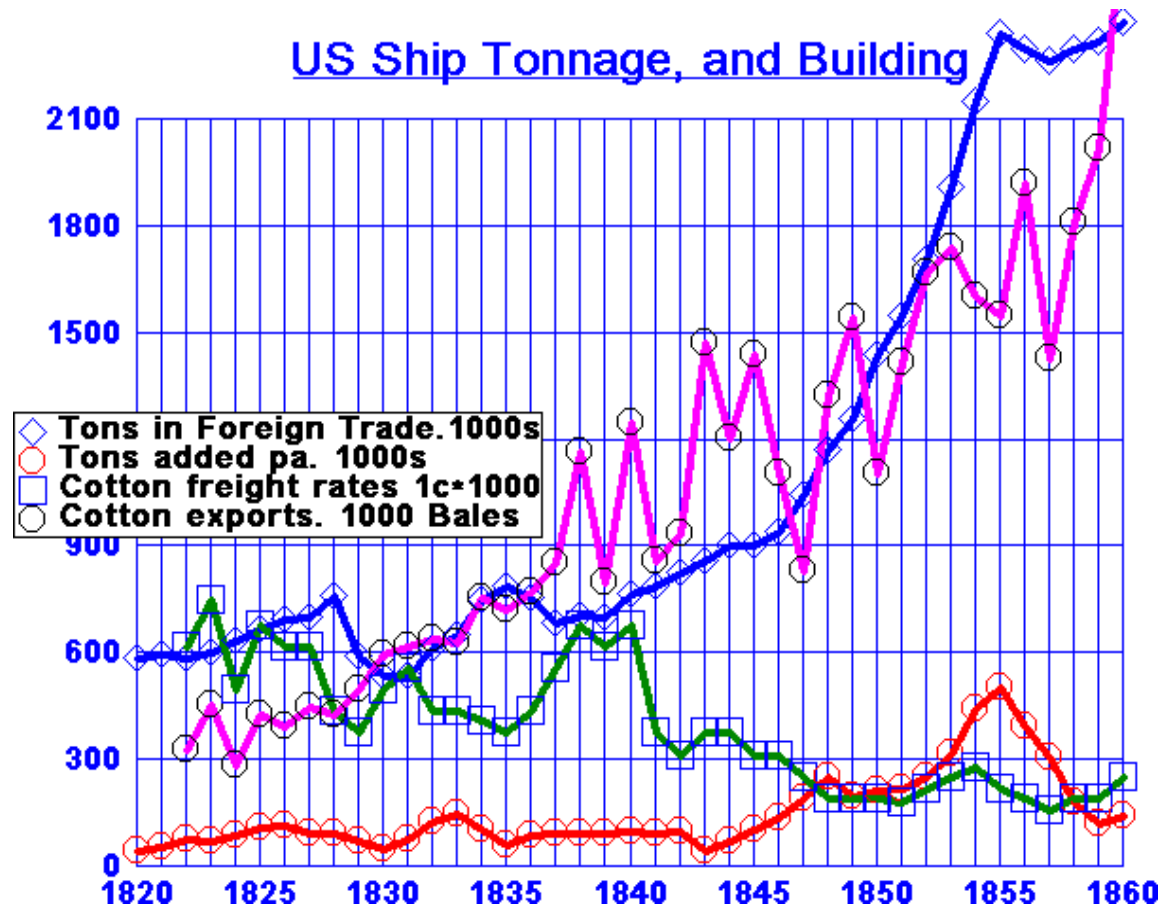


Source: Cope Records

It is likely fares made a difference. American workers earned between 50c and a dollar a day in the 1840s - considerably more than Europeans - but this was before essential costs. Net farm workers' wages in the US after board rose from nine to eleven dollars a month between 1830 and 1850. The reductions in prepaid fares from say \$25 to \$15 between 1830 and 1850 were therefore significant. There was also a substantial reduction in the cost of provisions for the passage between 1830 and 1850 because of the Passenger Acts and competition. The explosion in demand for emigration which peaked at 220000 from Ireland in 1851, was obviously caused by the famine, and the prospects of America, but the somewhat fortuitous increase in shipping services and relatively falling prices just at the right time must also have

helped. (1)

CHART 7b: US TONNAGE IN FOREIGN TRADE, 18

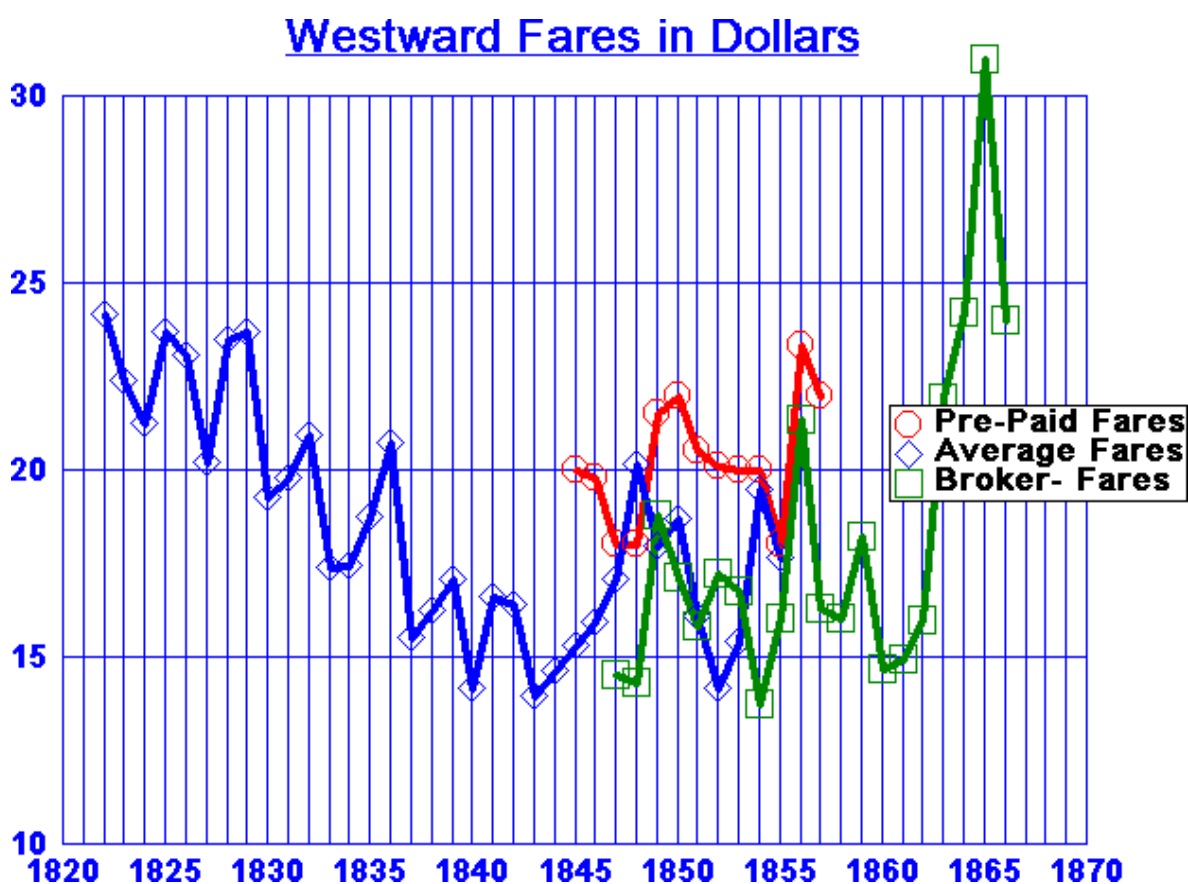


The direction of travel was obviously affected by costs as well as prospects - so many went to North America rather than remained in Europe, or travelled further. Costs also affected the means of escape. In the 1840s and early 1850s, the packet lines like Copes enjoyed a golden age despite the rise of steam. One correspondent commented in 1864 - "The steamer is dear for poor people. The sailing ships is every bit as safe but not so quick. So you can come out as soon as you can....' Hence the Philadelphia Inman steamship Line that began in 1850, and offered a superior service mostly carried middle and artisan class English passengers in second class or steerage, but not poorer Irish migrants (2)

The decline of Irish migration after 1851 to between 25 and 50000 between 1855 and 1865 was obviously caused by the end of the famine, the trade cycle and the war -

however transport factors also played a part. The depreciation of the dollar during the Civil War raised emigrants' costs and hurt Copes' trade. They did well in the early Civil War because of huge US grain shipments to Liverpool, but from 1863 better European harvests ended grain exports. Simultaneously while Copes' tickets bought in Liverpool remained about £3.50 through the war, in 1864, they raised prepaid and eastward fares in Philadelphia. Chart 7c shows what westward fares would have been in dollar terms.

CHART 7c: WESTWARD FARES IN DOLLARS, 1820-1870.



Source: Cope Records

Relatives sending the vital remittances to migrants in Liverpool to fund passage costs of course had to cover the full depreciation. One complained in late 1864, 'I will be sending for you in a very short time and don't be fretting after Ellen. We would have sent for you too but the gold is so dear we have to pay double for it. Only for that I would have sent you some money before...'. (3). Hence in 1865 migration to

America fell to 29000 after recovering earlier in the war. The Cope ships were already suffering from general market conditions and increased steamer competition, but the decline in migration was a further blow. The y remained in port all through 1865. and the line never really recovered. (4)

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NOTES. NORTH ATLANTIC STEERAGE FARES. THE COPE LINE

1. INTRODUCTION:

(1) Albion, R.G., Square Riggers on Schedule: The New York Sailing Packets to England, France and the Cotton Ports (1938); Coleman, Terry, Passage to America: A History of Emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland to America in the mid-nineteenth century (1972); Keeling, Drew, 'The Transportation Revolution and Transatlantic Migration, 1850-1914', Research in Economic History (1999).

(2) Killick, John, 'An Early Nineteenth Century Shipping Line: The Cope Line of Philadelphia and Liverpool Packets, 1822-1872', International Journal of Maritime History, Vol X11, No.1 (June 2000), pp. 61-87.

(3) Cohn, Raymond, 'Mortality on immigrant voyages to New York, 1836-1853. Journal of Economic History, 1984; Killick, J.R., 'Missives from America: Travel Advice on the Cope Line Prepaid passenger Ticket Stubs, 1845-1870'. (Paper delivered to British Association of American Studies Conference, (Leicester, 2007).

(4) For instance Edwards, Robert D. and Williams, T.D. The Great Famine (1956)

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2. OUTLINE OF THE COPES' BUSINESS.

(1) Killick, 'The Cope Line.... '; Harrison, Eliza Cope, Philadelphia Merchant: The Diary of Thomas P. Cope, 1800-1851 (1978); Lindstrom, Diane, Economic

Development of the Philadelphia Region, 1810-1850 (New York, 1978)

(2) For outlines of the Brown firms, and extensive bibliographies see entries in American National Biography, and the New Dictionary of National Biography.

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3. ESTIMATES OF COPE FARES:

(1) Statistics for western voyages are taken from the US Passenger Lists made out by the captains and submitted to the Philadelphia customs at the end of each voyage. The source for the eastern voyages are the Copes' own records made out by the clerks and checked by the captain as he descended the Delaware en route for Liverpool. Unfortunately there are still some gaps in my information in 1842-45. The Cope ships remained in port in 1865.

(2) In 1830 daily wages in the Philadelphia region were between 50c and \$1.00 per day. Farm labourers' earnings with board in 1850 in the Middle Atlantic region were \$11.17 - or about £2.25 - per month - at £1: \$4.88 - but obviously reasonable savings would be much less than this. United States Historical Statistics (1975), p.168.

(3) Irish migration peaked in 1851, and then fell off sharply, but total western European migration peaked in 1854. The Cope line faced steamer competition for the first time - from the Inman line - between 1851 and 1854. The Crimean War tightened shipping markets in 1853-4.

(4) General US and British price levels also fell between 1830 and 1845, but by nothing like as much as fares. Of course food prices rose in Britain and Ireland between 1830 and 1845.

(5) Fares purchased in Liverpool varied both within and between ships each year. The Copes' letters contain plenty of quotes for individual adult and child fares on the Cope Line, and for New York and transient fares. However I do not yet have enough data to make connected series.

(6) Surprisingly large numbers returned eastwards in the mid and late 1850s. For eastwards migration see Maher, James, P., Returning Home: Transatlantic Migration

from North America to Britain and Ireland, 1858-1870 (Dublin, 2005).-

=====

4. QUALITY OF SERVICE: VALUE FOR MONEY.

(1) MacDonagh, Oliver, A Pattern of Government Growth, 1800-60: The Passenger Acts and their Enforcement (1961) is written from the government administration perspective. Copes' captains - on the receiving end of reform - give a quite different angle.

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5. MORTALITY AND ILLNESS.

(1) Cohn, Raymond, 'Mortality on immigrant voyages to New York, 1836-1853', Journal of Economic History (1984).

(2) Cohn, p. 292-94. With Copes, it should be possible to identify and exclude the less careful captains, but in this exercise all the lists have been counted.

(3) See references in Cohn, p.290

(4) The Passenger Lists and the Cope captains frequently gave the cause of death, and sometimes the course of the disease. Some Cope prepaid passengers who died on ships chartered to replace late Cope packets, have not been counted.

(5) United States Congressional Reports from 1853 cited in Cohn, 'Mortality...'. Nearly all the Passenger Lists have survived, and been reported in the tables. A substantial share of the captains' letters have survived - see text - but I have so far only read about two thirds of these. Hence the figures in the tables have been prorated upwards as appropriate.

(6) Captain Richard Dunlevy's son, also Richard, also became captain of the Tuscarora, after his father retired. He went down with the Tuscarora in the Bay of Biscay in 1873.

(7) See Cope-Brown correspondence.

(8) Captain Dixcy of the Monongahela, 11th Voyage, 1832. Coleman, Passage to America... summarises the United States and British Passenger Acts. pp. 287-294.

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6: COPE PREPAID TICKET STUBS:

(1) The surviving stubs were cut from the original ticket. So messages often break off half way through - but it is usually possible to guess the adjoining phrases.

(2) Susquehannah 43rd Voyage, 1848.

(3) Susquehannah 40th Voyage, 1847

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7. CONCLUSION:

(1) United States Historical Statistics, (1975), p. 168

(2) Tonawanda 40th Voyage, 1864. Inman Line Passenger Lists, United States National Archives, Regional Office, Philadelphia.

(3) Wyoming 43rd Voyage, 1864.

(4) Migration from Ireland to the US was 164000 in 1850, 50000 in 1855, 49000 in 1860. In 1861 - 24000. 1862 - 24000. 1863 - 56000; 1864 - 64000. 1865 - 30000. It seems as if some recovery after the early war time scare was aborted in 1865 - perhaps because of the high exchange rates and transport costs.