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Article Summary: Europeans considering emigration usually lacked information about American destinations. Three people who had visited Nebraska published contradictory letters about pioneer life in the *Times* of London in 1872. Their letters are reproduced at the end of the article.

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Photographs / Images: Burlington and Missouri Railroad officials, 1871, Burlington, Iowa; advertisement from the pamphlet "Views and Descriptions of the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Lands," 1872

Appendix I: Correspondence

Letter of March 9, 1872, from W Frank Lynn
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Letter of August 13, 1872, from W Frank Lynn
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Memorandum made by Burlington Vice-President W W Baldwin, March, 1924

MIGRATION AND THE IMAGE OF NEBRASKA IN ENGLAND

By RONALD A. WELLS

Throughout the history of the United States, news from the new world has fascinated Europeans, and migration to America was implicit in that fascination. For many reasons migrants from Europe went to the United States in such large numbers that Oscar Handlin has correctly remarked that "immigrants were American history."¹ In the years between 1820 and 1910, more than twenty-five million of the nearly twenty-eight million migrants to America came from Europe; England gave some two and one-half million of them.² The questions about that migration which need asking are: what did those two and one-half million Englishmen know about America before leaving their homeland? What mental image of America did they have which caused or allowed them to leave their homes, and in many cases their friends and families to come to America? More specifically from the perspective of Nebraska history: what did migrants to Nebraska know about the state before coming? This paper assumes the modest task of examining these questions by discussing some documents which may shed light on the image of Nebraska in England in the 19th century.

Before the age of instant communication, the European demand for information about America was complicated by its questionable reliability, a factor which has occupied the interest of historians.³ There were many avenues by which American news could reach Europe: projects and colonies were advertised by promoters of the schemes;⁴ emigrant guide books containing a great deal of information had wide circulation;⁵ visitors from Europe traveled widely and frequently published books purporting to give an accurate account of life in America;⁶ but the most important source of information upon which the in-

tending migrant relied for his image of America was the "America letter"—a letter, either private or public, written to the homeland by one who had migrated to the United States or by one who had knowledge of migration.

As sources of information for the historian both types of letters have strengths and weaknesses. The private letter communicated between relatives or friends was personal and specific, and the reader could credit the information communicated on the basis of his knowledge of the writer; however, the private letter saw only limited circulation. The public letter, on the other hand, usually printed in a newspaper, trade union journal, or religious magazine had much wider circulation—hence greater potential impact—than the private letter; however, since the writer, even if named, was unknown to most readers, it was more difficult to know how to credit the information given. This is not to say that the private letter was always more trustworthy than the public one, for sometimes the contrary was so. For example, one can easily envision an adventurous son leaving home without his parents' blessing, so that the private letter sent back to his parents became an attempt to justify migration by painting a picture of success in America in glowing colors. Similarly, as we shall see below, public letters were not always trustworthy because the writer may have been trying to promote a venture in which he had a financial interest. These difficulties notwithstanding, the public and private letters taken together provide the historian with the most important source of information transmitted from America to persons who eventually migrated. But of equal importance for the present argument, the published letters gave a great deal of information which created an image of America in the minds of the vast majority of Englishmen who did not emigrate and who may not have received private letters from those who did.⁷

The statistics of the U.S. Immigration Commission, indispensable but feckless, list persons either foreign-born themselves or of foreign parentage in Nebraska in 1890 at nearly 450,000, of which nearly forty thousand were English.⁸ But as Theodore Blegen has warned, we must not regard persons statistically except in the most superficial way. These persons were human beings and the process of migration and adaptation was a threatening transition in a human life.⁹ Thus, a humanistic

inquiry into migration requires that we ask what image these persons from England had of Nebraska; and, what image of Nebraska those had who remained in England. These questions, of course, can never be answered with precision, and any advance of historical knowledge must be tentative. Nevertheless an examination of a controversy about Nebraska in the *Times* of London in 1872 may reveal something of that image and the reliability of the information which people possessed in creating that image.

The *Times*, founded by John Walter in 1785 as the *Daily Universal Register*, assumed its more familiar name in 1788. During the first third of the 19th century the *Times* became one of the world's leading newspapers through the brilliant leadership combination of owner John Walter, II, and editor Thomas Barnes. By mid-century the *Times* ruled the communications media in England much the same as Britain ruled the seas. The most famous of its editors was John Thadeus Delane, under whose leadership (1841-1877) the *Times* became universally recognized as the world's most influential newspaper. The *Times* was described as "the monarch of the press," and Delane was alleged to rule over "an empire which is coextensive with the area of civilization."¹⁰ Abraham Lincoln may not have known much of empires, but he recognized an important institution when he saw one; and he knew that it hurt the Union cause in the Civil War to have the *Times* sympathetic to the South. Lincoln remarked in his Illinois homespun that the *Times* was "the most important thing in the world, except perhaps the Mississippi."¹¹ Thus, when a controversy appeared in the "Letters to the Editor" column of the *Times*, it was likely to be a major source of information on that subject for the reading public in England.

In the spring and summer of 1872, there was a lively controversy in the *Times* on the subject of Nebraska and the advisability of migration to the state from England. The *Times* itself took no part editorially but allowed the controversy to continue in its "Letters to the Editor" column until something of a resolution of the issues had been achieved. Alan Nevins has written of British travelers in 19th century America whose attitudes changed from "tory condescension" to "unbiased portraiture" and "analysis" in the last two-thirds of the century.¹² Similarly the *Times* had early in the century been



Burlington and Missouri River Railroad officials were photographed in 1871 at Burlington, Iowa: (seated) E. E. Fayerweather, W. B. Strong, C. E. Perkins, Judge David Rorer, A. E. Touzalin, George S. Harris, Captain Warren Beckwith; (standing) D. Dowman, William Irving, Richard S. Skinner, George Challender, J. E. Vaugh[a?], George Manchester, J. W. Ames, Thomas J. Potter, E. C. Brown, C. H. Smith, S. H. Mallory, in doorway—unidentified, Charles E. Yates. See Appendix II (page 489) for railroad duties of men.

critical of migration to America, but by mid-century under Delane's editorship it had become relatively fair in its portrayal of America, and in the instance of the Nebraska controversy, it allowed both sides equal access to its pages.

A total of six letters were written, three in March and three in August. They vividly portray the problem noted above of the availability of information about America and its reliability. The main antagonists were W. Frank Lynn and William H. Hayward. We know little about Lynn other than the internal evidence of his three letters. He had an interest in a settlement along the Red River in Manitoba. He apparently realized that Nebraska, which was being actively promoted by agents of both the state government and the Burlington Railroad, was an attractive field for migration for English farmers and agricultural laborers.¹³ He did not identify himself as having financial interests in diverting migration from Nebraska to Manitoba but that apparently was his intention, although his stated intention was merely to warn his fellow countrymen who might be "deluded" into going to Nebraska. William H. Hayward was a Nebraska native based in London as the state's emigration commissioner. In replying to Lynn, Hayward acknowledged that he was emigration commissioner but did not say that he was also the resident agent in London for the Burlington Railroad.¹⁴ Hayward signed one letter and internal evidence suggests that he wrote a second one under the signature "Nebraskian." Little is known of the third writer, R. S. Skinner, who ended the controversy. His letter is important because he appears to have no financial interest in whether or not Englishmen migrate to Nebraska, and Lynn apparently never replied to his challenge.

Oscar O. Winther, writing in this journal on the English in Nebraska, has noted that "the roseate prospect in Nebraska as presented by transportation agencies and by the Nebraska Information Bureau did not go entirely unchallenged in England."¹⁵ Winther correctly observes that many letters critical of migration to America appeared in English newspapers. He cites one of Lynn's letters to the *Times* as a "summary statement" typical of critical letters in the newspapers.¹⁶ In this regard Winther may be correct, but he conveys a mistaken impression in this instance by taking Lynn's letter out of the context of the public controversy in which it was

written and read. Lynn's letter may have been typical, in a general way, of adverse letters about Nebraska, but the point to be stressed is that the letter cited by Winther was the last we hear from Lynn and that two letters were printed in the *Times* in response to this one by Lynn. The result was that an adverse analysis of Nebraska was not the last word in the *Times*; to the contrary, the result was a positive analysis of Nebraska, at least in comparison to the Canadian alternative suggested by Lynn.

The controversy began on March 9, 1872, with a letter from Lynn who stated that his only object in writing was to inform Englishmen who would probably leave for Nebraska during the springtime that Nebraska winters were far more severe than was generally portrayed in England. Based on his own observation and travels in Nebraska, he reported that the winter winds come from the northwest "with all the power of a hurricane, and at a temperature which speedily changes every liquid into solid ice." He warned that the settler should avoid the trap of thinking that since the summer was lovely the winter will be tolerable; not at all, he said, "polar" would be a better description, and he reported many new settlers having frozen to death on the plains because of not having taken proper precautions. Lynn gave the reader an indication that his reasons for writing were not altogether altruistic by noting in conclusion that in Canada the winters were rarely as severe as they usually were in Nebraska.¹⁷

William Hayward, Nebraska's and Burlington's man in London, joined the issue several weeks later (March 25) in the *Times*. Hayward stated that his reason for writing was that Lynn's experiences in Nebraska were in "direct antagonism" to his own; Hayward did not have to state the obvious—that if Lynn went unchallenged in March, many persons who had already decided to migrate from England to Nebraska during that spring might well be diverted to other destinations. He admitted that the past winter had been unusually severe throughout the entire American continent, but that it was unfair of Lynn to ascribe as normal what in fact was abnormal about the Nebraska climate. He noted that Nebraska lies between the fortieth and forty-third parallels, "a position indicative to general mildness and salubrity." Hayward's defense of Nebraska went even further, however, and he suggested that

the best evidence of the salubrity of the state's climate was that Nebraska had been awarded the first prize at a recent national fair by the American Pomological Society. He went still further in describing the ideal conditions of Nebraska by observing that wild grapes grew in abundance and that "labourers, as a rule, work in their shirt sleeves throughout the winter."¹⁸

Lynn replied two days later in the *Times* (March 27). He countered each of Hayward's examples by noting that the rapid-flowing Missouri River was frozen every winter to a depth of one or two feet as far as its junction with the Mississippi. As to the unusually harsh winter as alleged by Hayward, Lynn noted that the inhabitants of the country, presumably those who had not yet frozen to death, "did not appear in any way astonished at the season." As to Hayward's pomological splendors and wild grapes, Lynn replied that that proved nothing except that the summers were very hot indeed, and, once again showing his hand in favor of Canada, added that such grapes grow as commonly in Canada as in Nebraska.¹⁹

Hayward did not respond to Lynn's second letter, and the controversy in the *Times* lapsed for nearly five months and was picked up again on August 13 by Lynn who wrote again after having spent part of the summer traveling from Missouri to Minnesota. He said that many of the recent settlers in Nebraska were in a miserable condition after the trials of the winter. Families were reported to have sold nearly all of their possessions to buy fuel; by the summer they were willing to sell their farms for less than the initial building cost of the houses. Thus, Lynn concluded, while the land in Nebraska was fertile, the climate of hot summers and arctic winters, combined with high taxes and low corn prices, made Nebraska a highly questionable place for prospective English emigrants. Where did better possibilities lie? In Canada, of course; and by coincidence, Lynn was planning to make his headquarters at the Red River Settlement, Fort Garry, Manitoba.²⁰

The reply to Lynn was swift and the *Times* of August 15 carried a letter from "Nebraskian." He enclosed his calling card in his letter so that at least the editor of the *Times* knew him to be worthy of continuing the Nebraska controversy. Internal evidence suggests Nebraskian to have been Hayward, who probably preferred this anonymous pose so as not to appear to

be especially pleading on behalf of his own enterprises. The letter was written within a day of Lynn's, so the author must have lived in London. Further, there is some considerable detail as to temperatures, rainfall, taxation, land values; it is probable that no one else but the Nebraska emigration commissioner in London would have had such detailed information readily at hand. Nebraskian gives himself away as Hayward most clearly, moreover, by returning to pomology, and he dutifully reports that Nebraska's fruit-growing capabilities won an award at the United States Fair held in Virginia. Surely no one but an emigration agent would report the pomological delights of a state twice. The most telling part of Nebraskian's reply to Lynn, however, was his suggestion that on his last trip to North America Lynn had entered into arrangements to act as emigration agent for the Red River Settlement at Fort Garry.²¹

The final letter (August 17) in the controversy was from R. S. Skinner, who had migrated from England to Nebraska twenty years earlier. His letter is important because it effectively ended Lynn's campaign to divert migrants from Nebraska to Manitoba by issuing a challenge to Lynn which the latter did not take up. Lynn's *bona fides* hitherto had been as a disinterested observer who only wished the best for his fellow Englishmen who might be "deluded" into migrating to Nebraska by the pretensions of Hayward. To the contrary, alleged Skinner, Lynn may well have written "with the intention of drawing emigration from Nebraska to some other part." The fact that Lynn did not reply to Nebraskian or Skinner on this point makes the allegation probably correct. Stating that he had no financial interest in promoting migration to Nebraska, Skinner appeared to be a man who could be believed when he wrote: "Mr. Lynn's letter is a tissue of nonsense. . . . If he is going so far north as he says to find a better climate, warmer weather and a nearer market, I only hope he may be successful." Here we do not have Hayward's over-blown advertisements which made Nebraska sound like a fruit-laden paradise which doubtlessly caused readers to distrust his information. Here we have the simple and factual assertion that climate, weather, and economic prospects were not as good in Manitoba as they were in Nebraska. Skinner concluded that Nebraska was growing fast by way of migrants received from all over the United States, Europe, and even Canada, and that "they usually remain and do well." Surely the

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implication could not have been lost on the readers of the *Times* that this was the ultimate proof—all of those migrants could not have been “deluded” into going to Nebraska, much less remaining and doing well there.²²

We do not know if any of the correspondents wrote to the *Times* again other than to observe that John T. Delane, apparently believing the matter settled, did not print any more letters in the *Times*. The long-run importance of the Nebraska controversy in the *Times* is difficult to assess. It would be difficult to demonstrate statistically how many persons did or did not migrate to Nebraska because of these letters. It would be even more difficult to demonstrate that the image of Nebraska in the minds of Englishmen was shaped indelibly by this exchange of letters. Several things, however, can be asserted with relative confidence. The *Times* was a potent force in shaping public opinion in 19th century England, and Nebraska received a fair hearing in its pages. We may conclude that since persons did migrate from England to Nebraska, these letters may well have helped create a “climate of opinion” based on accurate information which resulted in migration.²³

To be sure, it would be difficult to imagine an individual English family deciding to migrate to Nebraska on the basis of these letters in the *Times*. Rather, people usually migrated to places where they could be with their families or their countrymen, and usually went to a town or region upon specific information provided by friends or relatives. Still, the publicly argued Nebraska controversy in the *Times* doubtlessly contributed to that climate of opinion which resulted in migration—to Nebraska in this case, rather than some other possible place. Of equal importance—the Nebraska controversy in the *Times* was also an important ingredient in shaping the image of Nebraska and America in the minds of the vast majority of English people, who neither migrated nor received letters from friends or relatives who had migrated. Both for intending emigrants and for those who remained, the fascination with America continued and the image which Europeans had of America was more accurate because of public controversies such as this one.

APPENDIX I: CORRESPONDENCE

I. Letter of March 9, 1872, from W. Frank Lynn.

I have just returned from an excursion through a large section of Western America, comprised in the States of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, etc., and, as hundreds of people will probably leave England in the spring with a view to settling in those regions, it may be of some value to them to know beforehand that the winter there is not of the mild and temperate character generally, but not veraciously, described here, but of a severity which is rarely equalled even in Canada. The winds come down here from the North-Western Mountains with all the power of a hurricane and at a temperature which speedily changes every liquid into solid ice. A settler in those parts should go provided with a plentiful supply of the warmest clothing, thick flannels, etc., as many families have been frozen to death there during the past winter for the want of this necessary precaution. Nor should any family settling on the plains during the summer be deluded by the fineness of that season into not preparing against the possibility of an almost polar winter, as the change from heat to cold comes with a suddenness which is peculiarly dangerous if not prepared for beforehand.

II. Letter of March 25, 1872, from William H. Hayward

A letter appeared in your issue of the 9th inst., signed by Mr. Frank Lynn, purporting to give his experiences of certain States in America—viz., Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado,—and as Commissioner here for Nebraska I beg to call your attention thereto.

Mr Lynn states that as many hundreds of people will probably leave England in the Spring with a view to settling in them, it may be of some value to them to know beforehand that the winter there is not of the mild and temperate character generally described here, but of a severity which is rarely equalled even in Canada.

Now, I have no wish to impugn the correctness of Mr Lynn's experience further than by assuring you it is in direct antagonism to my own and that of others. There can be no doubt, however, that the past has been an exceptionally severe winter throughout all the American Continent, and it is equally true that the reverse has been the case throughout the rest of the world, hence it is unjust to ascribe to Nebraska as normal what is abnormal in respect to climate.

Nebraska is situated between lat. 40 and 43, a position indicative to general mildness and salubrity, and the fact that at the last National Fair she obtained the first prize from the American Pomological Society is the best evidence thereof. How can the climate be generally severe in a country where wild grapes grow in abundance, and where, as I can from long residence there testify, labourers, as a rule, work in their shirt sleeves throughout the winter?

During the last two years I have sent over 1,500 persons to Nebraska, and I assure you that, while from many I have received the most grateful expressions of their contentment and happiness, I have never received the slightest hint of regret that Nebraska had been selected as the home of their adoption.

As it is unjust to allow Mr Lynn's limited and exceptional experience to weigh against the knowledge of others, I venture to request your kind insertion of this letter.

III. Letter of March 27, 1872, from W. Frank Lynn

By his letter in *The Times* of today, Mr Hayward would seem to infer that my experience of the climate in Western America was purely of an exceptional character.

He will pardon me for saying that it is hardly fair to describe the average winter of the country as mild and temperate when, putting my own personal experience aside it is a well-known fact, ascertainable from any inhabitant on its borders that the Missouri—one of the most rapid rivers in America, flowing through the whole of that western region—is annually frozen over to the depth of one and sometimes two feet as far as its junction with the Mississippi.

The winter this year may have been more severe than usual; but those farmers who had been for some years inhabitants of the country did not appear in any way astonished at the season, but, on the contrary, most of them appeared provided beforehand with well-used sledges and the other usual appliances for severe weather. The only people who were taken by surprise and without preparation were the newly-arrived immigrants, who had expected to find the mildness of the Australian climate on the elevated plateau of Western America. The growth of wild vines, quoted by Mr Hayward proves nothing but that the summer is hot (which it is, very hot), and they grow just as commonly in the woods of Canada as in Nebraska.

I can assure Mr Hayward that I have not the least wish to prevent another 1,500 emigrants from going out under his auspices; but it is not fair to the people to induce them to start with a tropical outfit, when one of rather an arctic character is a necessity—not of comfort only, but of life itself—especially when the thick woollens and other articles can be bought here for just about one-third the price they could be obtained for in Nebraska.

IV. Letter of August 13, 1872, from W. Frank Lynn

You did me the honour to insert several letters of mine in *The Times* last March regarding the climate of Kansas and Nebraska, and facilities for settlement in Western America generally. I then spoke about the severity of the winter in those States being greater even than in Canada on account of the fierce and bitter winds which prevail from October until March, and which, at a temperature considerably below zero, were far harder to be borne than anything I had ever experienced before.

Since then I have again visited the same districts on my way from Missouri hither, and have had an opportunity of noting the results of the winter upon settlers, most of whom were immigrants of but short experience of the country, who had been induced to come out there by the glowing accounts of the climate and soil spread abroad everywhere by speculators and railway companies, naturally anxious to dispose of their land grants to the best advantage.

These results were what might have been easily predicted by any one acquainted with the country. The necessities of the winter had exhausted the slender means of the great majority of the settlers, many of whom, after enduring the severest privations and hardships throughout that season, found themselves in the Spring bereft of all means to carry on their farms; tools, furniture, cattle—everything they were possessed of having been parted with, at a great disadvantage, in order to provide means to keep up the supply of the necessary but expensive requisite of prairie life, fuel.

At the time I was passing through I could have purchased half the farms of the country at considerably less than the houses and improvements set upon them must have cost in the first instance. Yet even at these prices the unlucky settler found it extremely difficult to dispose of his property, the number anxious to sell being considerably greater than that of those who were willing to buy.

The statements circulated throughout England are eminently calculated to mislead people respecting the nature and opportunities of the country. While much is said in them about the richness and fertility of the soil — that it is rich enough in

itself for anything I am willing to allow, — nothing is added about the winter, cold, which nips, or the summer droughts, which destroy more than one-half of the farmer's hopes; nor even in a favourable year, when the crop is heavy and the yield good, is there a very large margin of profit to be reaped; for in a region so far away from all central markets the prices actually received by the farmer are very low, and barely pay him wages for the labour he has expended, in addition to the cost of working his farm. Thus, last autumn wheat fetched barely 90c, and corn, which is the staple produce of the country, only 20c per bushel.

It may be as well to mention here that the average rate of taxation throughout those States is from 5 to 6 per cent., levied not on the annual value of a man's house and income, but on the total upset value of his whole property. Thus, if the estimated value of his farm, cattle, chattels, money in the bank, etc., came to \$5,000, the taxes would amount to from \$250 to \$350 annually — a burden which, coming upon the struggling farmer at the close of the year, seldom fails, if the season has been a poor one, to complete his ruin.

I do not wish to discourage people from coming to America. It is a great country and affords many opportunities to the poor man, but to come out without experience or capital to take up the wild lands of the West is a folly which invariably ends in disappointment and disgust. An Englishman accustomed to his own country, in which the value of the land has been enhanced by improvements the result of centuries, and by the high price its produce fetches, is apt to imagine that value is intrinsic to the land itself, instead of to its improvements and condition, and that if he can only obtain a good stretch of territory of his own he will be on an equal footing with the English landowners he envies. It cannot be too strongly impressed upon him that this is not the case. The land itself is worth little or nothing in either country if you remove the population that creates a market, destroy the roads, level the fences, and overthrow the buildings. Reduce it to its original wild condition, and land in England might be obtained and be as worthless to a poor man there as it is now in Western America.

The real opportunities for the labourer or artisan consist in the high wages and plentiful employment he can obtain, not in the wild western districts, but further east, in the more populous States, where he can save, if he is sober and economical, enough in a few years to make him independent, and where he will not have to put up with one-tenth of the hardships incidental to the settler on the plains.

I am now on my way to a part of our own dominions which have lately excited some interest both in Canada and England—I mean the Red River Settlement—and intend to establish my head-quarters at Fort Garry for some time. Should anything strike me as worthy of communication I will venture to trouble you with another letter dated from that place.

V. Letter of August 15, 1872, from "Nebraskian"

I read Mr Frank Lynn's letter in *The Times* during the Spring, and again notice his reference to Nebraska in *The Times* of to-day. My first impressions on reading his last letter are that during his last trip to America he has entered into arrangements to act as Emigration Agent at Fort Garry. If such is the case, I do not think he will much benefit his cause by the adoption of such means as he has employed. I have resided in Nebraska for many years, and beg to give you some statistics of the State, compiled after a series of observations showing the mean temperatures: — Spring 49.3 deg.; summer 74.1 deg., autumn 51.4 deg.; winter 31.1 deg., giving an average mean for the year of 51.6 deg.

The mean annual rainfall is 27.98 inches, distributed as follows: — Spring 10.8; winter 1.31; the largest fall being in April, averaging 6.57; May 4.36 and June 4.07,

none of the other months reaching 3.00, only two of them 2.60, three of them 1.00, and the rest being less than 1.00. The latitude of Lincoln, the capital of the State of Nebraska, is 40 deg. 40 min, or 3 deg. below one of the most southerly cities in Canada.

These statistics tell their own tale, and require no comment from me to convince the readers of *The Times* that Nebraska neither suffers from extreme cold nor extreme heat.

As regards the value of land, this cannot be purchased near Omaha under \$33 per acre, or \$20 near Lincoln. The influx of emigration has been so great this year that all land in the State of Nebraska has nearly doubled itself in value. Over 80,000 settlers have entered the State this year. Railroads have opened up the country in all directions, so that there is no difficulty in disposing of the crops at remunerative prices. I can most truthfully contradict Mr Lynn in his statement as to the climate, and in other respects as regards Nebraska. The climate is healthful, the atmosphere pure and dry. There is an absence of humidity, and physicians recommend it for persons afflicted with lung diseases. There are no swamps or stagnant pools Nebraska is essentially an agricultural State, and fruits of all kinds can be raised. Nebraska carried the prize at the United States fair held in Virginia last year. I do not advise skilled mechanics to seek a home so far West at the present time, but I advise them to stop east of the Missouri river.

The agricultural resources of Nebraska are being rapidly developed, and, with the great influx of emigration, skilled labourers may often be disappointed; but, as regards the inducements held out to farmers with a little capital, I must distinctly state that Nebraska offers in every respect far greater advantages than the Red River Settlement or any other field of emigration with which I am thoroughly acquainted. I am about to return to Nebraska and shall again visit the Red River Settlement, to which Mr. Lynn refers.

I enclose my card, and shall feel obliged by the publication of this letter.

VI. Letter of August 17, 1872, from R.S. Skinner

I am an Englishman, and for the last 20 years have been out in the western country, I therefore feel entitled to contradict the statement of Mr Lynn, appearing in *The Times*, of the 13th inst. The winters of Nebraska are very short and usually not severe, the country is rapidly filling up, and in consequence the price of land is on the increase.

Mr Lynn's letter is a tissue of nonsense, and it appears to me to have been written with the intention of drawing emigration from Nebraska to some other part. If he is going so far north as he says to find a better climate, warmer weather, and a nearer market, I only hope he may be successful. I have no interest in Nebraska whatever, but do not like to see my fellow-countrymen so deceived.

Taxation is about 3½ per cent., one half of which is for school rate; money in the bank bears a heavier tax, so that the emigrant has that to fall back upon, which does not necessitate him to sell his farm, tools, etc. Cattle and corn being the staple product of the state he has to sell in the usual course of business.

We have settlers from Eastern and middle States—Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and last, but not least, Canada, who have within the last ten years removed to Nebraska, bringing with them their household goods and implements of agriculture, and they usually remain and do well.

I do not intend to enter into any controversy in this matter, but could not let Mr Lynn's letter pass with a reply, as I return in a few days.

APPENDIX II: BURLINGTON OFFICIALS

Memorandum made by Burlington Vice-President W. W. Baldwin, March, 1924

This picture [see page 478] was taken in front of the office building, at 6th and Valley, at old shops in Burlington, Iowa, some time before the year 1872, and before the consolidation of the Burlington and Missouri River Road in Iowa with the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy. The central figure is Judge David Rorer, at that time the General Counsel for the B. & M., who had been connected with the Company from the time it was organized in 1852. Seated at his right in the picture is Mr. C. E. Perkins, who came out from Cincinnati to become a clerk in the freight house at the age of nineteen, in 1859, and was, at the time this picture was taken, the General Superintendent of the Road, and afterward President for years of the Burlington System.

At Judge Rorer's left in the picture is Mr. A. E. Touzalin, who was at this time General Passenger and Ticket Agent. He afterward became Land Commissioner, a position he resigned to accept a place with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. He was President of that Company a short time and subsequently organized the Chicago, Burlington & Northern, which built the line to St. Paul, which is now a part of the C. B. & Q. Adjoining Mr. Touzalin is Mr. George S. Harris, who at this time was Land Commissioner of the B. & M. He was the father of George B. Harris, who later became President of the C. B. & Q. Next to the right of Mr. Perkins is Mr. Wm. B. Strong, who was at that time the General Manager of the B. & M., and afterward went to the Santa Fe and became its President. He was President of the Santa Fe when it was extended from Kansas City to Chicago.

Adjoining Mr. Strong is Mr. E. E. Fayerweather, who was the Auditor of the Company, and adjoining Mr. George S. Harris, and sitting at the other end, is Capt. Warren Beckwith, who was at that time Road Master, and afterward became one of the founders of the Western Wheeled Scraper Co., now located at Aurora, and one of the most important industries on the C. B. & Q.

Standing in the row behind, beginning at the left of the picture, is Mr. D. Dorman, who was the Tie and Fuel Agent of the Company, and next to him is Mr. Wm. Irving, who was the Purchasing Agent, and afterward became Purchasing Agent of the B. & M. in Nebraska. Next to Mr. Irving is Mr. Dick Skinner, for many years the Station Agent of the B. & M., and the large man next to him is Mr. George Challenger, who was then Master Mechanic. Immediately behind Judge Rorer is Mr. George Manchester, and between him and Mr. Challenger is Mr. Vaughn, a clerk.

Standing between Judge Rorer and Mr. Touzalin is Mr. J. W. Ames, who distinguished himself in the Civil War, and next to him is Thos. J. Potter, who was then Division Superintendent and afterward rose to be Vice-President and General Manager of the C. B. & Q. System, a position which he resigned to become Vice-President of the Union Pacific, and was such at the time of his death.

Standing behind Mr. Harris is Mr. E. C. Brown, and adjoining him is Mr. C. H. Smith, and next to him Mr. S. H. Mallory, who was Chief Engineer, and the last man in the row standing is Chas. E. Yates, Superintendent of Telegraph, who died in 1922 and was, I think, the last living survivor of this group.

— W. W. Baldwin

NOTES

1. *The Uprooted* (London, 1953), 3.
2. "A Statistical Review of Immigration," *Reports of the Immigration Commission* (Washington, 1911), 13. The number of migrants from Europe is probably much higher because immigration commissioners listed "British North America" as country of origin for persons who were merely passing through Canada to the United States. The best discussion of the statistical problems is, Brinley Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953), esp. 45-46.
3. Merle Curti and Kendall Birr, "The Immigrant and the Image of America in Europe, 1860-1914," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 37 (September, 1950), 203-230; Ingrid Semmingsen, "Emigration and the Image of America in Europe," in Henry Steele Commager (ed.), *Immigration and American History, Essays in Honor of Theodore C. Blegen* (Minneapolis, 1961), 26-54.
4. Wilbur S. Shepperson, *British Emigration to North America: Projects and Opinions in the Early Victorian Period* (Minneapolis, 1957); Richard C. Overton, *Burlington West, A Colonization History of the Burlington Railroad* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1941), esp. 359-69; Oscar O. Winther, "Promoting the American West in England, 1865-1890," *Journal of Economic History*, 16 (December, 1956), 506-513; Ian MacPherson, "Better Britons for Burlington: A Study of the Selective Approach of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy in Great Britain, 1871-1875," *Nebraska History*, 50 (Winter, 1969), 373-407.
5. An especially popular one was, *Chambers Information for the People* (London, 1835), which Marcus L. Hansen believes to have been very influential in creating a "climate of opinion" which resulted in migration; Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (New York, [Torchbook edition]1961), 150. But for a contrary view on the efficacy of guidebooks in causing migration see Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants, The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth Century America* (London and Miami, Florida, 1972), 32-33, 491n.
6. British travelers have been more extensively studied than any other, and most scholars agree that, despite predispositions to see what they wanted to see, travelers' accounts did give a reasonably coherent picture of the United States. Alan Nevins, *America through British Eyes* (New York, 1948); Max Berger, *The British Traveller in America, 1836-1860* (New York, 1943); Richard L. Rapson, *Britons View America, Travel Commentary, 1860-1935* (Seattle, 1971). The standard work on American travellers in the United States is Warren S. Tryon, *My Native Land* (Chicago, 1952); For European, exclusive of English, travelers, Oscar Handlin, *This Was America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1949).
7. The ablest scholar in the field of the "American letter" was the late Theodore C. Blegen whose *Land of their Choice, The Immigrants Write Home* (Minneapolis, 1955) has become a classic. Also valuable are Henry S. Lucas, *Dutch Immigrant Memoirs and Related Writings* (Assen, Netherlands, 1955); Alan Conway, *The Welsh in America, Letters from the Immigrants* (Minneapolis, 1961); Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants*, noted above.
8. "Distribution of Immigrants, 1850-1900," *Reports of the Immigration Commission* (Washington, 1911), 523.
9. Blegen, *Land of Their Choice*, xii.

10. *A Newspaper History, 1785-1935* (London, 1935), 36.
11. Quoted in *Ibid.*, 38.
12. Nevins, *America Through British Eyes, passim*.
13. Overton, *Burlington West*; Winther, "Promoting the American West in England."
14. MacPherson, "Better Britons for Burlington," 382.
15. "The English in Nebraska, 1857-1880," *Nebraska History*, 48 (Autumn, 1967), 215.
16. *Ibid.*, 215-16.
17. *London Times*, March 9, 1872, 10.
18. *Ibid.*, March 25, 1872, 7.
19. *Ibid.*, March 27, 1872, 7.
20. *Ibid.*, August 13, 1872, 8.
21. *Ibid.*, August 15, 1872, 3.
22. *Ibid.*, August 17, 1872, 7.
23. Winther, "Promoting the American West in England," 513.