

Voting with their Feet: Differential Migration of the Free in the Antebellum United States.

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Abstract: During their grand tour of the United States in 1831-32, Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont struggled to make sense of the regional differences, until they traveled down the Ohio River. There, they observed differences on opposite riverbanks, where the environment is similar but the institutions differ. They reported that the northern side attracted more free migrants than the southern side; and that this difference bolstered the regional disparities in population growth (with important consequences for the antebellum political economy). Following their analysis, we examine the emigrant guidebooks and travelers' accounts of the environmental and institutional attributes of the free and slave regions. We then use census data to analyze the behavior of migrants to the border region. We find that the revealed institutional preferences of free people are key to understanding the comparative development of the regions.

During their grand tour of the United States in 1831-32, Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont struggled to make sense of the regional differences. The travelers sought to understand the economic, social, and political effects of slavery. While on the East Coast, they heard much about southern distinctiveness, but they were unable to sort out the impacts of the institution of slavery from the effects of climate and geography. But when they traveled from Pittsburgh, PA to Cincinnati, OH and onto Louisville, KY, they discovered in the Ohio River valley a setting with a similar environment but distinct institutions. The soils and climate were the same on both sides of the river; but slavery was legal in the south and illegal on the north.

Observers on both sides of the river agreed that the state of Ohio was more dynamic, more industrious, and more attractive to immigrants, as compared to Kentucky. The Frenchmen painted a picture that both sides of the river were equally fertile but that slavery caused the area south of the river to be held back. Work was held in disrepute due to the operation of slavery. When they arrived in Louisville, on the slave side, a merchant told them something similar: slavery deprived the local whites of energy and enterprise. The Frenchmen took a side trip to Memphis, where they met ‘Virginians,’ a people apart. They reportedly want to hunt and fish all day; as well, they want to be little aristocrats. Slavery lets them do that. In contrast, those to the North had to make their money through enterprise and work. According to de Tocqueville and de Beaumont, north of the river was characterized by industry and immigration, while south of the river is lost in stagnation.

Following the footsteps of the visiting observers from France, we examine other travelers’ accounts and emigrant guidebooks of the environmental and institutional attributes of the free and slave regions in antebellum America. We then use census data to analyze the behavior of immigrants to the border region. We find that the revealed institutional preferences of free people are key to understanding the comparative development of the regions.

This paper builds conceptually on our previous work. In our border paper, we sought to compare slavery and free labor in neighboring places with similar environments and to distinguish between the effects on mobile and immobile factors. We found that land on the slavery-legal side was underutilized (lower population density and farm value). In the borderlands, half of the land was half underused on the slavery-legal side. Furthermore, wages

were higher there. Combined, these results demonstrate a disamenity: free labor did not want to work in an area with slavery.

In follow-up research, we ask whether free soil was a kind of institutional “magic dirt,” or could free farms compete in the slavery-legal region? Here, we considered two classes of tests. First, we constructed, separately for the two regions, suitability indices using soil and climate endowments. The indices suggest free-soil techniques would have done even better in the Upper South than in the North. Second, we randomly sampled Kentucky farmers from the 1860 agricultural census, which we compared with earlier samples from neighboring states across the Ohio River. Kentucky farmers that did not use slave labor apparently occupied land of lower value per acre, but produced more output per farm value than either their slave-owning neighbors or farmers in the neighboring free states. This result is consistent with the hypothesis that the yeoman farmers required higher returns per dollar invested, as a compensating differential for operating in a disadvantageous institutional regime. In a related paper, we show there were major political differences at the border and that voter turnout was significantly lower on the slavery-legal side.

Here we extend the analysis to consider how western settlers voted with their feet across the free-slave boundary. We investigate visitor travelogues and emigrants’ guides. We show the traveler’s accounts cover the North and South, quantitatively, in rough equality whereas the emigrant guides favor the North. We show, qualitatively, both typically describe the unsuitability of the slave region for settlement by free people. We then turn from discourse to investigate the behavior of free migrants. In their location choices, they disproportionately favor the North as well. We see this even in narrow slices of the behavior, e.g., migrants moving thousands of miles that settle within a short distance of the free-slave border as more likely to settle on the free-soil side.

Creating the Free-Slave Boundary

Establishing boundary lines is often somewhat arbitrary. The free-slave boundary on the Ohio River was originally set in Article VI of the 1787 Northwest Ordinance. This Article read: “There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided, always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any

one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.”

This language was more limited than Thomas Jefferson’s 1784 draft ordinance which forbade slavery on both sides of the Ohio River and did not include a fugitive slave provision, which Article VI included. On a close vote, Jefferson’s draft language was struck from the 1784 legislation. The vote on prohibition, while favorable, fell short of the threshold for passage by one vote; Jefferson wrote to Madison that the slavery restriction failed because one member lay “sick in bed.” The New England states, New York, and Pennsylvania were in favor; Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina opposed.¹

Article VI was added to the 1787 Northwest Ordinance just before consideration, at the behest of lobbyists for the Ohio Company of Associates-- a land company seeking to promote settlement around Marietta, Ohio. The Company offered to buy 1.5m acres for one million dollars at a time when the Continental Congress was desperate for funds. The Massachusetts-based investors felt that New Englanders would not move to the land development project if slavery were allowed locally. Attracting specific migrants was a reason for the amendment.

The southerners participating in the relevant committee of the Continental Congress all voted in favor of the restriction on slavery north of the Ohio River. Scholars have speculated on the reason for their approval, especially in light of sectional division over Jefferson’s 1784 language. It is generally concluded that the southerners did not believe slavery would thrive in the region even without the law and that the Article implicitly allowed for slavery south of the Ohio River where the institution had better prospects of succeeding. They also wanted to relieve the funding pressure facing Congress; and the Ohio Company’s purchase promised to do this. It is thought, finally, that they were operating in the spirit of compromise extending to concurrently-meeting Constitutional convention, where slavery was being protected in its existing domain. The only southerner who explicitly explained the vote was William Grayson, the committee chair and a Virginian. He wrote to James Monroe to the effect that the amendment prevented tobacco and indigo production north of the Ohio River.²

In any case, the scheme of the Ohio Company of Associates failed. Some New Englanders moved -- and hence Marietta appeared on the maps as a pocket of greater New

¹ Jefferson to Madison Letter, 25 April 1784.

² See William Grayson to James Monroe Letter of 8 Aug. 1787. <http://monroepapers.com/items/show/381>

England presence than in the surrounding regions of southern Ohio and western Virginia. But not enough to make the Company a going concern. The Company divided its shares and ceased to operate in 1796.

The creation of the specific free-slave boundary line, thus, involved various accidents of history—the chance illnesses of legislators and the demands of speculative local real estate projects in a period of financial desperation of the governing authority.

In the settlement period, there were various attempts by some locals to abolish slavery in Kentucky and western Virginia and alternatively by other locales to remove restrictions of the peculiar institution north of the Ohio River. The efforts in Indiana in the 1800s and Illinois in the early 1820s are the most notable. North of the river, the pro-slavery movements were driven back.³ To the South, these forces prevailed. The Virginia legislature met in the aftermath of Nat Turner's 1831 Rebellion. Abolition, even if uncompensated, was put on the table as an issue of public safety, sidestepping the usual argument of the inviolability of property rights. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, a delegate from Albemarle County and grandson of Thomas Jefferson himself, reported that his wife urged him to sell their plantation and emigrate to the free-soil city of Cincinnati. Many delegates, especially those from west of the Blue Ridge, further argued against slavery as (a) devaluing work in the eyes of poor whites, (b) causing ambitious Virginians to leave the state, and (c) diverting public efforts from internal improvements (infrastructure) to public safety.⁴ The invidious effect of slavery on the state was well understood by various delegates, and indeed, the comparison across banks of the Ohio River appears multiple times in the debate.⁵ It was common in this debate to refer to slavery as evil, even by

³ During its period as a territory in the 1800s, Indiana Governor William Harrison and his followers petitioned the federal government several times to allow slavery. The 1803 petition complained that Article VI inhibited desirable migrants from the slave-holding territories of Spanish North America from moving to the territory. Congress, then considering statehood for Indiana, ignored these requests. The 1818 Illinois Constitution held that "slavery and involuntary servitude shall not be hereafter introduced" in Illinois but allowed other forms of labor bondage. A political movement, led largely by in-migrants from the South, pushed for a new constitutional convention in 1823-24 with the goal of permitting slavery. Illinois voters rejected this proposal at the polls in 1824. The next Illinois Constitutional Convention, in 1848, went in the other direction and made slavery illegal. Norman Dwight Harris, *History of Negro Servitude in Illinois and of Slavery Agitation in that State, 1719-1864*; James Simeone, *Democracy and Slavery in Frontier Illinois: The Bottomland Republic* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000).

⁴Freehling, Alison Goodyear, 1974, "Drift toward Dissolution: the Virginia slavery debate of 1831-1832," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan.

⁵Ibid., page 107, Charles Faulkner of Berkeley (now in W.Va.) contrasts Kentucky and Ohio. "No difference of soil—no diversity of climate—no diversity in the original settlement of those two states can account for the remarkable disproportion in their national advancement. Separated by a river alone, they seem to have been purposely and providentially designed to exhibit in their future histories the difference which necessarily results

those representing the interest of slaveholders. Randolph introduced a proposal, similar to one advanced by his grandfather, for gradual emancipation and colonization. This proposal was defeated, although the result may have been different, had the apportionment not favored the Tidewater region of the state. Various proposals for gradual emancipation came up in the Kentucky Constitutional Convention of 1849, but none passed, in spite of adopting nearly unanimously a resolution condemning slavery and calling it “injurious to the prosperity of the Commonwealth.”⁶

On his speaking tour through Ohio and Indiana in September 1859, Abraham Lincoln repeatedly attributed that the absence of chattel slavery in the states formed from the Northwest territory to the 1787 Ordinance and to the refusal of Congress to allow early legislatures to backtrack the provisions of Article VI. “There is no difference in soil nor in climate” along the border, Lincoln noted, but the different institutional choices at founding led to different outcomes.⁷ In Lincoln’s Peoria Speech, he opposed popular sovereignty by invoking what we’d today call path dependence: “The first few may get slavery in, and the subsequent many cannot easily get it out. How common is the remark now in the slave States---‘If we were only clear of our slaves, how much better it would be for us.’ They are actually deprived of the privilege of governing themselves as they would, by the action of a very few, in the beginning.”⁸ He also argued that free soil gave the best opportunity for settlers: “The whole nation is interested that the best use shall be made of these territories. We want them for the homes of free white people. This they cannot be, to any considerable extent, if slavery shall be planted within them. Slave States are places for poor white people to remove from; not to remove to. New free States are the places for poor people to go to and better their condition. For this use, the nation needs these territories.”⁹ Thus, de Tocqueville and de Beaumont were contributing to an existing debate.

from a country free from, and a country afflicted with, the curse of slavery. The same may be said of the two states of Missouri and Illinois.” (emphasis added)

⁶ Martin, Asa Earl, 1918, *The anti-slavery movement in Kentucky prior to 1850*, Louisville, Ky.: The Filson Club. The full quote is as follows: “Believing that involuntary, hereditary slavery as it exists by law in this state is injurious to the prosperity of the Commonwealth, inconsistent with the fundamental principles of free government, contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and adverse to a pure state of morals; we are of the opinion that it ought not to be increased, and that it ought not to be perpetuated in the Commonwealth. (p. 131)”

⁷ Roy F. Basker, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. New Brunswick, 1953, Vol. III, pp. 456-57, 467.

⁸ Lincoln, Abraham, John Hay, and John G. Nicolay, 1902, *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works*. New York: The Century co., p. 197.

⁹ Basker, 1953., p 197.

Details on de Tocqueville and de Beaumont trip

After arriving in the United States on 9 May 1831, the pair traveled to Boston. There they met Mr. Clay, a Georgia planter, and John Quincy Adams, the former president. Both spoke about the peculiar institution in America. The Georgia planter said: “There are in our southern provinces a great number of districts where the whites are unable to acclimate themselves, and where the blacks live and prosper. I imagine that in time the black population of the south, in measure as it becomes free, will concentrate in this part of the American territory...” to create its own nation.¹⁰

The 1 Oct. 1831 notes for de Tocqueville’s interview with JQ Adams relate: “Slavery has modified the whole state of society in the south... Every white man in the south is a being equally privileged, whose destiny is to make the negroes work without working himself. We can’t conceive how far the idea that work is dishonorable has entered the spirit of the Americans of the south. No enterprise in which negroes cannot serve as the inferior agents can succeed in the part of the Union. ... From this laziness, in which the southern whites live great differences in character result. They devote themselves to bodily exercise, to hunting, to racing; they are vigorously constituted, brave, full of honor...”¹¹

The de Tocqueville’s famous contrast between Kentucky and Ohio was drawn largely on conversations with Timothy Walker, a Cincinnati lawyer, on 2 and 3 Dec. 1831. Walker was from Massachusetts, “a newly arrived young Harvard graduate.” De Tocqueville asked Walker: “Is it true that a great difference exists between the aspect of Ohio and that of Kentucky?”

‘Prodigious. And yet Kentucky was settled twenty years before Ohio, its lands are as good, the climate more temperate, the country admirable. Nevertheless, Ohio has three times as many inhabitants as Kentucky; its business is ten times as great. The population of Kentucky is growing, but its prosperity is stationary. The only explanation that can be given is that slavery reigns in Kentucky but not in Ohio. There work is dishonorable, here held in esteem. There there is laziness, here activity without limit. Ohio attracts industrious inhabitants from all parts of the union. The South, which receives none, sends its inhabitants. The poor class

¹⁰ 18 Sept. 1831. George Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1938, pp. 368-69. See also Olivier Zunz, (Trans. Arthur Goldhammer), *Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont in America: Their Friendship and Their Travels*. Charlottesville, Univ. of Virginia Press, 2010, pp. 234-35.

¹¹ Pierson, 1938, p. 419; Zunz, 2010, pp. 242-44.

of the South arrive in Ohio because they can work without shame. I see no reason why slavery should cease in Kentucky. The present population, while recognizing the evils it causes, can't learn to get on without it; and there is no emigration."¹²

In his personal diary, De Tocqueville noted his discovery about slavery: "One other remarkable thing in Ohio is this: Ohio is perhaps the State in the Union where it is easiest to see in striking and parallel fashion the effects of slavery and freedom on the social state of a people. The State of Ohio is separated from that of Kentucky by one single river. On the two sides the soil is equally fertile, the position as favorable, yet everything is different." It is "impossible to attribute those difference to any other cause than slavery. It brutalizes the black population and debilitates the white." "Man is not made for servitude."¹³

In a letter to his sister Eugenie on 1 Dec, 1831, De Beaumont wrote: "Cincinnati, where I arrived yesterday, is a city of thirty thousand souls. Where it stands now was a wilderness twenty-five years ago. Its growth is phenomenal. Furthermore, Ohio and Kentucky are the two states of the Union in which growth is most rampant."¹⁴

In a 4 Dec. 1831 letter to his brother, Jules, commenting on the very rapid growth of Cincinnati, De Beaumont added: "The entire State of Ohio presents a spectacle no less extraordinary. It possesses a million inhabitants; the whole lot arrived in this area within 30 years. Everywhere there reigns an appearance of well-being and of universal prosperity. The soil is extremely fertile and there is no region more happily situated for commercial enterprises." "The population of Ohio is made up of very dissimilar elements" from New England, then Virginia, then Germany and Ireland. He added "the character of this society is that of having none."¹⁵

De Beaumont then offered the following key insights: "One of the most important reasons for its [Ohio's] rapid progress can be found in its political constitution, which prohibits slavery. Two of the states the share borders with Ohio—Virginia and Kentucky—are home to

¹² Pierson, 1938, p. 552; Zunz, 2010, pp. 266-73.

¹³ Pierson, 1938, p. 569; Zunz, 2010, pp. 180-81. See Tocqueville Manuscripts. American Trip, Diary and Notes, Cashier E. DeTocqueville's words read: "Il est impossible d'attribuer ces differences a una autre cause que a il esclavage. Il abrusit la population noire et inerve [sic] la population Blanche....l'homme n'est pas fait pour la servitude." Yale Tocqueville Manuscripts. General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

¹⁴ Frederick Brown, *Alexis de Tocqueville: Letters from America*, Yale Univ. Press, 2010, p.237.

¹⁵ Pierson, 1938, pp. 552-53; Zunz, 2010, pp. 178-83.

large numbers of slaves, and there can be no doubt that the existence of slavery in a state is harmful. Without this constitutional ban, slavery would have insinuated itself into Ohio, and that would have been a great evil. During my stay in Cincinnati I saw an example of the influence of slavery and freedom on the prosperity of states. Cincinnati, which is part of the free state of Ohio, is just across the river from Kentucky, where there are slaves. The soil of Kentucky is as fertile as that of Ohio. The two states enjoy absolutely identical material advantages. Yet Ohio enjoys a prosperity to which Kentucky does not even come close. The latter state was founded twenty years earlier than the former, yet its population is only 500,000 whereas Ohio's is a million. The reason for this difference is that immigration flows by and large to the free state and flees the slave states. Second—this is the main reason—wherever there are slaves, labor, which is their exclusive attribute, is considered to be dishonorable and unworthy of free men. So in every slave state a part of the population does not work. Another point to consider is that in free states everyone works for himself, where in slave states the slaves *do not work for themselves*. It is easy to see why their labor is therefore less productive than free labor." (Italics in original; underlining added.)¹⁶

The pair then travelled to Louisville, Kentucky. They heard very similar ideas from Mr. Mr. McIlvain, a great local merchant. The 9 Dec. 1831 notes from the interview reads: Q "I am told that the prosperity of Louisville has shown great progress in the last few years?" "Immense. When I came to settle here seven years ago, Louisville had only 3,000 souls; there are 13,000 today... Louisville is become the emporium of almost all the merchandise coming up the Mississip[p]i to provision the emigrants." When comparing the prosperity of Kentucky and Ohio, "the difference is striking." It is due to "Slavery, I regard slavery as more prejudicial still to the masters than to the slaves. The slaves of Kentucky are treated very gently... But slavery prevent the emigrants coming to us. They deprive us of the energy and enterprising spirit which characterize the states where there are no slaves."

"Many people think that negroes cannot become good workers in factories. I believe the contrary. When the blacks are placed young in a factory, they are as apt as the whites to become good workmen. We have examples of this in Kentucky; several plants run by slaves are prospering. If the South is not as industrial as the North it's not because the slaves are not able to

¹⁶ Zunz, 2010, pp. 182-83.

serve in the factories, it's because slavery deprives the masters of the industry necessary to establish and direct them.”

Regarding Missouri, the merchant states: “it is so convenient for new settlers to have slaves to help them cut the trees and clear the land in a region where it is hardly possible to find free workmen, that it is understandable that the less immediate benefit of the abolition of slavery has not yet been appreciated at its true value in Missouri.”¹⁷

The travels of de Tocqueville and de Beaumont overland from Louisville through the forests to Nashville, Tennessee and then to Memphis confirmed their impressions. On 15 Dec. 1831, de Beaumont wrote to his mother from Sandy Bridge, Kentucky: "My hosts are very good people, very proud, innkeepers though they are, and lazy, though poor. They are proud because they live among slaves. There isn't a landowner, however down-at heel, who doesn't own two or three negroes. The latter are obligatory fixtures in the house of white men, like tables and armchairs. What comes of this is that men who are not black, and who are consequently free, all regard themselves as privileged beings. Here, color is a true mark of nobility. The convenience of being served by slaves renders whites indolent, and the fertility of the land, from which one reaps abundant harvests with little effort, favors their disposition. So does the weather, which turns excessively warm when spring arrives. But I believe less in the influence of climate than in that of slavery.... My host, a small landowner who finds work ignominious, is convinced that it should, by rights, be the exclusive domain of slaves. He has feudal mores: he sends his time hunting, horseback riding, or doing nothing."¹⁸

On 20 Dec. 1831, de Tocqueville wrote to his father from Memphis, on the difference between the north and south. "We acquainted ourselves there with a breed of humanity and a way of life completely unknown to us. The only inhabitants of that regions are men called Virginians. They have preserved a moral and physical identity all their own; they are a people apart, with national prejudices and a distinctive character. There, for the first time, we had the opportunity to observe the social consequences of slavery. The right [north] bank of the Ohio is a scene of animation and industry; work is honored, no one owns slaves. But cross the river and you suddenly find yourself in another universe. Gone is the spirit of enterprise. Work is considered not only onerous but shameful; whoever engages in it degrades himself. The white

¹⁷ Pierson, 1938, pp. 584; Zunz, 2010, pp 187-89.

¹⁸ Pierson, 1938, p. 584; Brown, 2010, p. 254.

man is meant to rise horseback, to hunt, to smoke all day long, using one's hands is what a slave does. South of the Ohio, whites form a veritable aristocracy that, like every other, marries low prejudices to lofty instincts. It is said -- and I am much inclined to believe it-- that these men are incomparably more sensitive to issues of honor than their counterparts up North. They are straightforward, hospitable, and value many things higher than money. They will end up being dominated by the North, however. The latter grows richer and more populous by the day, while the South, if it grows at all, grows poorer. Inhabitants of Kentucky and Tennessee live scattered in vast forests and deep valleys."¹⁹

Conversations with Mr. John Poinsett another on their return from the west filled out their comparison the free and slave states. The pair met the prominent southerner (by accident) in Columbia, SC and travelled with him back north. Poinsett relayed that “enterprise (industrie) is wanting in the South.”²⁰

Other Travelers’ Accounts and Emigrant’s Guides

De Tocqueville and de Beaumont were obviously not the only visitors to the free-slave border region and hardly the only outside observers to offer their insights and comparisons. Reviewing a part of the vast literature on travelers’ accounts and emigrant’s guides allows us to survey observers’ opinions about settling in the slave versus free states.

Quantitative Evidence

Many visitors toured the young country and published traveler’s accounts. Scholars have long studied these documents, including investigating their geographic coverage. For example, an existing digital humanities project has systematically cataloged the locations covered by over 3,000 travel writing titles published in Britain over the nineteenth century. Keith Handley summarizes the data in a useful map.²¹ This source has both advantages and disadvantages.²²

¹⁹ Brown, 2010. p. 247; Pierson, 1938, p. 573; Zunz, 2020, pp. 190-92. Zunz dates the letter 20 Dec. 1831.

²⁰ Pierson, 1938, p. 651.

²¹ Kristen Belgum, Keith Handley, and Rachel Bott, “Mapping travel writing: a digital humanities project to visualise change in nineteenth-century published travel texts,” *Studies in Travel Writing* 22: 3 (2018), pp. 306-24. For maps, see <http://www.keithhandley.com/mappingtravelwriting/clusters/>

²² The main drawback of this source for us is that it does not include the entire itinerary traveled but rather assigns sets of coordinates based on locations mentioned specified in the title of the volume. For very general accounts, the map ends up with heavy masses at the specified points. A single document can receive multiple points. An example comes from George Hallam, *Narrative of a Voyage from Montego Bay, in the Island of Jamaica, to England ...*

To dig deeper, we also examine text mentions of locations in Reuben Gold Thwaites' collection of the most prominent accounts of western travel.²³

Emigrant guidebooks offer an alternative perspective. While there was some overlap with traveler's accounts, the guidebook genre was aimed at an audience of free literate people with sufficient resources to establish a new home. We base our quantitative investigation with a list of guidebooks compiled by Julie Miller, a genealogist. The list includes the dates of publication and regions covered.²⁴ Miller categorizes the guidebooks by the specific states covered and by their coverage of the United States in general. The list is not comprehensive but it need not be for our purposes.²⁵ It has wide coverage and includes the standard sources. We located and downloaded the text for these guides in Internet Archives, Hathitrust, and various commercial sources.

We then mechanically searched the text for the state names as terms and record the number of hits. Before proceeding, we must refine the hit count to deal with naming ambiguities. In a several cases, the state names are also the names of rivers. Often, the river flows through only one region of the country. For example, the Connecticut River drains only free soil, while slavery was legal throughout the watershed of the Kentucky River. We pay special attention to four significant rivers (the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Delaware) whose watersheds span both sections of the country. If we see "the Ohio" in the text, we cannot know which section of the country is described. So, we search for strings in which the state name is preceded by "the", "Upper", or "Lower" and/or followed by "River" or "Valley". We then adjust downward the state totals for any references to these rivers.

Across the Island of Cuba to Havanna: From Thence to Charles Town, South Carolina, Newcastle on the Delaware, and Baltimore, Maryland; and by Land to Washington and Back; Thence to Philadelphia, and through the Jerseys, to New York: Where He Embarked ... And Made the Voyage to Havre-De-Grace, in France ... Performed in the Autumn, 1809. Also of a Voyage from England to Barbadoes by Cadiz, Teneriffe, and Guadaloupe, in 1810. London, 1831. For the US part of the journey, points are assigned near Charleston, SC; Washington, DC; Baltimore, MD; New Castle, DE; Central New Jersey; and Mohawk, NY. The year is categorized as 1831, the year of publication, rather than 1809-10, the period of the journey.

²³ Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western travels, 1748-1846: a series of annotated reprints of some of the best and rarest contemporary volumes of travel, descriptive of the Aborigines, and social and economic conditions in the middle and far West, during the period of early American settlement.* (Cleveland, OH: A.H. Clark, 1904).

²⁴ Julie Miller. "Inside emigrant guides." *NGS Magazine*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (October-December 2014), pages 20-25. <https://bcgcertification.org/emigrant-guides-miller/>

²⁵ The list was close to what appeared in Sabine Americana, an online source based on the library holdings at the American Antiquarian Society. In the mid/late 1840s, *DeBow's Review* captured attention as a journal for the South and West together. This unified perspective was taken as novel at that time.

Figure 1 allows us to contrast the geographic coverage of the travelers' accounts and the emigrant guides. The states in the free region as in blue; those in the slave region are in gray. Panel A charts the location counts in the traveler's accounts. The count of titles is based on the Handley list; the counts of page numbers and lines are derived from Thwaites. The data from the traveler's account indicate the coverage of the South and North in antebellum traveler's accounts was roughly balanced. Panel B charts the geographic coverage in Miller's emigrant guidebooks. We again tabulate both titles and mentions. Here, the free states dominate with an average of 4 citations compared with 2.6 for the gray states. While the coverage of the traveler's accounts indicates widespread exploration, that of the emigrant guides was much more targeted.

The coverage and commentary in these publications reflected the combined interests of the authors and the audience. The travel accounts captured the authors' own attitudes as filtered through the demands of polite society. The emigrant guides published in Britain were often directed specially towards British emigrants but also sought to advance British colonial ambitions. (Many British guidebooks, especially in the 1820s and 1830s, promoted settlement in Canada; we are not considering those books exclusively devoted to parts of the British empire.) The guides published in Germany were focused on potential settlers from those lands. The emigrant guides published on US east coast were primarily directed to eastern as well as European immigrants. The guides published in US west often reflected the interest of local boosters.

The regional focus of guidebooks and the revealed preference of migrants are best conceived as the outcome of a process of simultaneous determination. The authors of guidebooks might be catering to the tastes of potential migrants, which could be preferences for soil and climate or for institutions. The guidebook authors had an incentive to seek a larger market describing more desired destinations. There was also an incentive on the cost side: it might be easier to acquire information about specific locations.²⁶ Causality ran the other direction, too; authors might want to promote one area over another. Our argument is that this circular causation ended up with a much larger impact on the free side of the free-slave border. Regional differences could arise because there is more catering to tastes or more boosterism. But if the authors attempted to manipulate the information provided to migrants, this could only last

²⁶ The motivations for traveler's accounts could be different because the adventure of reaching exotic, hard-to-visit places was part of the appeal.

for so long. We find differences in settlement patterns along the border, even when considering short distances away. Suppose a migrant settles on the north side of the Ohio River because of better information about the free states. How long would it take him to find out something about the Kentucky or Virginia sides? Even with any location-specific fixed costs keeping him on the free side of the river, he could easily encourage his cousin newly arrived from the Old Country to settle on the other side, should the prices and amenities favor it.

Qualitative Evidence

We now turn to a closer reading to the text of the sources, investigating how they differentiate between North and South and how they treat the peculiar institution. If, as turns out, the visitors, the authors of guides, and the emigrants themselves display an aversion of the South, do the documents hint at the reasons? Is it due to the climate and soil? To planter society? To planter control, over taxation, education spending, and other policies? To planter competition, for example for the best lands? Is it due to dislike of competing with the enslaved? To the degradation of work? To a dislike for being near blacks, that is to racism? Or to fears of insurrection and the violence associated with the slave system? Or to a simple aversion to slavery? The documents can be read for clues, if not definitive answers. We will conduct the inquiry chronically and seek to distinguish, where feasible, between traveler's accounts and emigrant guides.

In 1817, Shamrock Society of New York issued in London, its *Emigration to America*.²⁷ The author (p. 15) came quickly to the point. "We are of opinion, that those parts of the United States between the 35th and 43d. or 37th and 420 degrees of N. latitude, will be found most congenial to the constitutions of Europeans, New York (principally), Pennsylvania, Maryland. Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, the Illinois and Missouri Territories, are spread within these parallels. As the European is more patient of cold than of heat, he will be apt to prefer the middle and western, or north-western states, to the southern. There he will form connexions with inhabitants whose manners most resemble his own. In some one of them we would advise him after a proper examination, to pitch his tent, and fix his residence. Farther to the south, where

²⁷ Shamrock Society of New York. *Emigration to America. Hints to Emigrants from Europe, who intend to make a permanent residence in the United States, on subjects economical and political, affecting their welfare*. London: William Hone, 1817. The same house published Robert Holditch, *The Emigrant's Guide to the United States of America...* London: William Hone, 1818, which contains some of the same language.

negro slaves are the only, or principal labourers, some white men think it disreputable to follow the plough. Far be it from us to cast censure on our southern neighbours; yet : in choosing a settle, we would have emigrants take slavery, with all other circumstances, into their consideration.”

In the same year (1817), Samuel Brown published the *Western Gazette*.²⁸ Brown (p. 112) considered land speculation was common in the border South: “after passing an extensive and fertile tract of beautiful land, of many thousand acres, and surrounded by rich and flourishing settlements, I enquired the cause why it was not settled, and received for answer, that it belonged to a rich gentleman in Virginia, or to some other opulent, non-resident land-jobber, who would not sell it for less than 30 dollars an acre. One often meets with these waste tracts in Kentucky, and the western counties of Virginia...” This was not solely a problem in the border South: “the evil is felt in Ohio, Pennsylvania; and New York, to the disgrace of our legislation, which grants every facility to the rich, without consulting the interests of the poor.” Social life in the South did suffer further distortion (pp. 113-14): “the rich hold labor in contempt, and frequently make the possession of slaves a criterion of merit; that is, most farmers, would make a marked distinction between two young gentlemen, one possessing slaves, the other not, but equal in point of property, personal accomplishments, and moral endowment, who should pay their addresses to his daughter; the suit of the slaveholder would be favorably received, while that of his rival would be disdainfully rejected.”

In 1818, William Darby offered, in New York, *Emigrant's Guide to the Western and Southwestern States and Territories*.²⁹ The volume had broad geographic coverage and engaged in a wide-ranging discussion of the effects of slavery versus other forces. Darby was born in Pennsylvania but moved to Mississippi/Louisiana to become a cotton planter. Darby asserted (p.

²⁸ Samuel R. Brown, *The Western Gazetteer; or, Emigrant's Directory, containing a geographical description of the western states and territories, viz. the states of Kentucky, Indiana, Louisiana, Ohio, Tennessee and Mississippi: and the territories of Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Michigan, and North-Western* Auburn, NY: HC Southwick, 1817. The author does discuss the profitability of slave labor in different crops.

²⁹ William Darby, *The emigrant's guide to the western and southwestern states and territories : comprising a geographical and statistical description of the states ; Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio ; the territories of Alabama, Missouri, and Michigan ; and the western parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New-York ; with a complete list of the road and river routes, west of the Allegheny Mountains, and the connecting roads from New-York, Philadelphia, and Washington City, to New-Orleans, St. Louis, and Pittsburg ; The whole comprising a more comprehensive account of the soil, productions, climate, and present state of improvement of the regions described, than any work hitherto published; accompanied by a map of the United States, including Louisiana, projected and engraved expressly for this work*, New York : Kirk and Mercein, 1818

74): “With the ideas formed in Europe or in the northern and middle states of the United States, men can hardly conceive of a country being in a rapid state of improvement without the accumulation of towns.... Whether the slavery of the negroes produces the effect or not, it is a fact , that in all the slave states, towns are comparatively few and small (emphasis added).” On p. 296, Darby argued sharply against the conventional wisdom that slavery degraded labor. He noted “Some of the most wealthy planters in the two states of Louisiana and Mississippi have made their outset as mechanics. They are now respected, in exact proportion as their conduct merits.... One circumstance alone can degrade the white man in any part of the United States, to a level with the slave; that is his own moral dereliction.” Darby had greater concerns about the effects of climate on health. He noted (p. 297): “In all places in the United States south of Tennessee, and in summer, in many places north of that state, night air is extremely deleterious.”

In 1820, in London, William K. Kingdom published *America and the British colonies*, as a guide for British migrants.³⁰ He observed (p. 27) that Kentucky “is extremely fertile; but slavery being allowed, such white people as work are looked upon with contempt; any description, therefore, would be useless; being totally unfit for the English emigrant(emphasis added).” On p. 58, Kingdom criticizes whites in Ohio for perpetuating forms of bound labor “in violation of the spirit of the Ohio constitution.”

In the next year (1821), in the same city, Adlard Welby came out with *A visit to North America*.³¹ Welby (p. 41) expressed an abhorrence of slavery, “an institution hateful to English ears (p. 155).” Yet he (p. 58) added that in “the slave state of Virginia, the white people seemed far more respectable and civilized than in the free state we had just left”. He (p. 80) had more “favorable” impressions of Kentucky than of Ohio but noted its “advantages...will hardly compensate with most people” for being a slave state (p. 98). Welby observed: “the general sentiment of the best informed Americans [is] that they should be better off without slaves (p. 82).”

³⁰ William K. Kingdom, (1820). *America and the British colonies: an abstract of all the most useful information relative to the United States of America and the British colonies of Canada, the Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Island: exhibiting at one view the comparative advantages and disadvantages each country offers for emigration : collected from the most valuable and recent publications, to which are added a few notes and observations*. 2nd ed. London: Printed for G. and W. B. Whittaker.

³¹ Adlard Welby. *A visit to North America and the English settlements in Illinois: with a winter residence at Philadelphia*. London: J. Drury, 1821.

In 1822, Charles H. Wilson issued a traveler's account entitled *The wanderer in America*.³² Wilson (p. 96) agreed: "I am happy to find the experience and march of civilization and science extend their influence, as a revision in congress has recently taken place in favor of slave; emancipation and humanity and a repeal of those bloody laws--they did not certainly enact."

In same year (1822), John Howe published *The Emigrants' New Guide*.³³ This volume (on p. 56) includes a chapter on "Traffic in slaves; their treatment; the laws respecting them and other interesting particular. Manner in which slaves are imported; the general price ; description of the sales ; and the frauds exposed which the dealers practice upon the planters. Method of building houses, and cultivating plantations, whether for cotton, tobacco, sugar, rice, or maïse. The great advantage the planter derives from the labour of the African negro slave; Difference between the Northern and Southern States, as regards climate, soil, produce, laws, &c ., The Northern States described, as being productive of more comfort, but less advantage than the Southern States, as regards the acquirement of wealth - Description of the principal towns in the Northern States ; the excellent supply of every article of luxury and comfort in their markets. Places pointed out best suited to the poor emigrant whom necessity driven to exile, who will have to depend upon labour for his support."

In 1823, William Faux published *Memorable days in America*, which was closer to a traveler's account than an emigrant guide.³⁴ On p. 153, Faux recorded his visit with a wealthy Quaker in Philadelphia who opined: "As to slave states, if I were blind, I could tell when I was entering any of them. I can smell them; the moral air is putrid. Management and everything else tells it is a slave state."

³² Charles H. Wilson, *The wanderer in America; or, Truth at home; comprising a statement of observations and facts relative to the United States & Canada, North America; the result of an extensive personal tour, and from sources of information the most authentic; including soil, climate, manners & customs of its civilized inhabitants & Indians, anecdotes, &c. of distinguished characters*. Printed for the author by Henry Masterman, Thirsk [England] 1822.

³³ John Howe, *The emigrants' new guide shewing a description of the United States and the British possessions of Canada, as regards climate, soil, productions, laws & customs and the best places pointed out to those who emigrate*, Leeds, Engl.: John Howe, 1822.

³⁴ William Faux, *Memorable days in America: being a journal of a tour to the United States, principally undertaken to ascertain, by positive evidence, the condition and probable prospects of British emigrants; including accounts of Mr. Birkbeck's settlement in the Illinois*. London : W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1823,

In the same year (1823), Isaac Holmes, who had resided in the United States for four years, came forth with his *Account of the United States*.³⁵ Holmes (p. 142) averred: “there are very few English persons who would wish to fix their abode either in a slave-holding state, or in the more northern states, where they would have five months' winter(emphasis added). The Southern States, as a permanent residence, even if slavery were not admitted, are not without their evils; the heat and insalubrity of the climate being sufficient to deter any European from fixing there.” He continued on the same page: “The tide of emigration, at present, is to Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, and Florida, all of which, excepting Illinois and Indiana, admit of slavery; therefore, if an emigrant abandon the old states, either these or Ohio are likely to be selected(emphasis added).”

Holmes (p. 144) gave a concrete example of the effects of slavery on the valuation of work. “A gentleman of my acquaintance took with him, on his journey to the Western Country, a servant-man who had long attended upon him in England. Two days after he had left Philadelphia, his boots were not cleaned. The master asked the reason: the answer was, ‘It was negroes' work to clean boots.’” The aspirations were different (p. 376): “In the United States, every white man, by honest industry, may become independent; that is, he need not go to the rich, and cringe and fawn, placing himself nearly upon a level with the brute.”

All this noted, Holmes did (p. 179) attest to the profitability of employing slaves in cotton production. Returns in sugar production were also high (see also p. 320 on costs and returns). But in a discussion of Louisiana (p. 181), he observed: “There are, however, very few who would wish to leave England to become slave-holders, to reside in a sultry, sickly, and disagreeable climate, environed by negroes, let the hopes of gain be ever so flattering(emphasis added).”

Again the free whites in slave states were praised (and condemned.) Holmes (p. 277) said of Charleston, SC: “The inhabitants are considered as very hospitable in their manners, and in their dispositions as being frank, open, and accommodating; but from the effects of the climate, and the existence of slavery, most of the whites are extremely indolent.” Slavery was a

³⁵ Isaac Holmes, *An account of the United States of America: derived from actual observation, during residence of four years in that republic: including original communications*. London : Printed at the Caxton press, by H. Fisher, [1823].

“curse” (p. 324) and a “rotteness which has tainted the system” even where it has been removed (p. 332).

Holmes concluded up (p. 372): in the “Middle States” of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, “the manners, &c. of the inhabitants differ materially from those of the people (p 373) in the Eastern States. Here, as slavery exists, and manual labour is to be performed by slaves, many of the owners of plantations, and their families, saunter away their time in enervating indolence. That vigour of mind which characterises all the inhabitants of New England, is possessed by few in the states of which I am now treating; and these few are engaged in mercantile pursuits, who, although they see idleness and listlessness all around them, yet are free from this contaminating and contagious effects. Wherever there are slaves, or wherever some individuals are in such a miserable state of poverty that they become servile to their masters or employers, the latter will grow arrogant, idle, and ostentatious, and the former will be abject and base. In the Southern States, slavery exists in its fullest force; and it has a sensible effect on the manners of the white inhabitants. In Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, and all the Southern States, they differ very little in their moral character; and are far from being so strict in that respect as in the Eastern, and more especially in the New England States. In favour of the white ladies, an exception, however, must be made; they are equally as virtuous and accomplished as any in the Union. Yet in their manners there is a degree of idleness and listlessness, that is not captivating. This, in some respects, is the effect of the climate, and in others the consequence of having slaves to perform every thing requiring the least exertion(emphasis added). (p. 374) In the Western Country, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, are slave-holding states; but Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, will not allow of this abominable traffic. In the state of Ohio, the inhabitants differ very little in their manners, &c. from those of the Eastern States; and in Illinois and Indiana, there is no doubt they will be the same; but in the others, slavery will have the same injurious effect as in the slave-holding Atlantic, and Southern States (emphasis added).”

James Hall, an American-born lawyer, compiled *Letters for the West* published in London in 1828.³⁶ To the British reading public, Hall (pp. 243-44) praised the Upper South planter classes: “In Virginia we find different manners. The white population is less dense, and the

³⁶ James Hall, *Letters from the West; containing sketches of scenery, manners, and customs*. London: H. Colburn, 1828.

country less commercial. Most of the gentlemen are born gentlemen; they are wealthy, and receive liberal educations; from their cradles they despise money, because they are not in the habit of seeing those with whom they associate actively engaged in the pursuit of it. The slaves perform all the labour, leaving their masters at liberty to cultivate their minds and enjoy the society of their friends. The most numerous class is composed of the planters, and these are accomplished gentlemen, residing on their own estates, fond of pleasure, and princes in hospitality. Kentucky having been settled by Virginians, the manners of the people are nearly the same, except that the latter, living in a more fertile country, are perhaps, more profuse in their generosity.”

In 1829, S. H. Collins issued *Emigrant Guide to the United States of America* in Hull, England.³⁷ Collins (p. 55) asserted: “The use of slaves, in particular, has of itself produced a considerable effect upon the principles and habits of the free men of those parts of the empire in which they abound.” He (p. 58) elaborated: “In those states where slavery is tolerated, there appears to be a remarkable inferiority in the character of the people. But did not this practice still stand in the way, the Americans would not be surpassed in the reputation of generosity and humanity.” Collins (pp. 141-42) quoted a letter from Maryland: “This was a slave state, therefore is not so good for a labourer where there are no slaves—but it is not like West Indian slavery. The slaves here are well fed and clothed, work easy, and have plenty of opportunities of saving money... BUT SLAVERY IS SLAVERY STILL, AND I DETEST IT. (emphasis added)”

In 1832, Simon A. Ferrall published in London the travelogue, *A Ramble of Six Thousand Miles*.³⁸ Ferrall offered an array of observations. Regarding the growth of Missouri, he opined (p. 125) that there is “little inducement held out to farming people in a slave state, where no man can work himself without losing caste.” This attitude has helped “retard the increase of population and prosperity in the neighbourhood of St. Louis.” In Illinois, he observed (p. 167): “The mass of those persons were Georgians, Virginians, and Kentuckians, whose comparative poverty rendered their residence in slave states unpleasant.” But when Ferrall (p. 178) visited Louisville, he found “their manners less disagreeable” than in Cincinnati. Ferrall also ventured profitable estimates of slave-based production of cotton and sugar (pp. 205).

³⁷ S. H. Collins, *Emigrant Guide to the United States of America, including several authentic and highly important letters from English emigrants now in America, to their friends in England*. Hull, England: J. Noble, 1829.

³⁸ Simon A. Ferrall, *A Ramble of Six Thousand Miles through the United States of America*. London: Effingham Wilson, 1832.

With a focus on immigrants from Ireland, Patrick O’Kelly issued *Advice and guide to emigrants* in 1834.³⁹ In America, O’Kelly (p. 15) wrote: “No man, however high in rank or respectability, will evince any pride or preeminence towards his domestics or his neighbours — all ostentation and vanity disappear in the mutual transactions of society in that land of freedom and equality, because every citizen seems to feel, and to be aware, that all men are alike. In the Slave States, however, there is a manifest distinction between the white people and the blacks. These poor beings are, as if they were of a different species, treated with severity by their owners.” He judged Virginia (p. 79) “is together with the Carolinas and Georgia, the least inviting for emigrants to reside in (emphasis added). Slavery prevails here in its fullest sense, being overspread with slave owners and their plantations.

Over the 1830s, one of the leading emigrant guidebook was authored by John Mason Peck. He was a Connecticut-born doctor who moved to Rock Springs, Illinois. He wrote a series of books covering the Mississippi and Ohio river valleys. The first appears to be his 1831 *Guide for Emigrants*.⁴⁰ There are follow-up volumes, such as his 1836 *New Guide*.⁴¹ His guide books were not restricted to Illinois or the old northwest; they cover Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Missouri as well. But Peck was an opponent of slavery, reflecting his New England background and Baptist faith.

Peck wrote on p. 15 of 1831 edition: "The Valley of the Mississippi" [which include the Ohio river valley too] ... is divided into two great portions, the Upper, and Lower Valley, according to its general features, climate, staple productions, and habits of its population. The parallel of latitude that cuts the mouth of the Ohio river, will designate these portions with sufficient accuracy.... North of this line the seasons are regularly divided into spring, summer, autumn, and winter. In the winter there is usually more or less snow, ice forms and frequently blocks up the rivers, navigation is obstructed, and cotton is not produced in sufficient quantity or quality to make it a staple for exportation. It is the region of furs, minerals, tobacco, hemp, live stock, and every description of grain and fruit that grows in New England. Its white population

³⁹ Patrick O’Kelly, *Advice and guide to emigrants going to the United States of America*. Dublin: William Folds, 1834.

⁴⁰ John Mason Peck, *A Guide for Emigrants: containing sketches of Illinois, Missouri, and the adjacent parts*. Boston: Lincoln and Edmands, 1831.

⁴¹ John Mason Peck, *A New Guide to the west: containing sketches of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, with the territories of Wisconsin and Arkansas, and the adjacent parts*, Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1836.

are mostly accustomed to labor. South of this line, cotton, tobacco, indigo, and sugar are staples. It has little winter, snow seldom covers the earth, ice never obstructs the rivers, and most of the labor is done by slaves."

In 1831, when de Tocqueville and de Beaumont were travelling, Peck already was in print, saying that northern whites worked, and southern whites had black slaves do their work for them. The dividing line was the Ohio River, or the latitude where it entered the Mississippi River (36.5 degrees North). The same statement appears on p. 17 of the 1836 *New Guide*. Peck disliked slavery, writing (1831, p. 76; 1836, p. 108): "The southern planter hourly lives under the most terrific apprehensions. It is in vain to disguise the fact. As Mr. Randolph once significantly said in Congress, "when the night bell rings, the mother hugs her infant closer to her breast." Slavery, under any circumstances, is a bitter draught—equally bitter to him who tenders the cup, and to him who drinks it. But in all the northern slaveholding states, it is comparatively mild."

Anticipating Richard Steckel's work, Peck wrote in the 1836 edition of his guidebook (p. 103): "The march of emigration from the Atlantic border has been nearly in a line due west. Tennessee was settled by Carolinians, and Kentucky by Virginians. Ohio received the basis of its population from the states in the same parallel, and hence partakes of all the varieties from Maryland to New England. Michigan is substantially a child of New York. The planters of the south have gone to Mississippi, Louisiana, and the southern part of Arkansas. Kentucky and Tennessee have spread their sons and daughters over Indiana, Illinois and Missouri; but the two former states are now receiving great numbers of emigrants from all the northern states, including Ohio, and multitudes from the south, who desire to remove beyond the boundaries and influence of a slave population."⁴²

In the 1836 edition of this guidebook, Peck had separate chapters on Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri. But he had none on Kentucky or Tennessee. He has a concluding chapter on suggestions for emigrants, which really is a set of travel recommendations. Almost all deal with getting to the northern destinations of choice; the ways south are few and buried away. He (p. 174) inserted a description of western Virginia after a description of western Pennsylvania. Peck (p. 326) wrote about settling in Arkansas, reproducing a letter from an Arkansas clergy-man. The local says the state wants for settlers.

⁴² Peck (1836, p. 105) note the cotton and sugar planters of Mississippi, Louisiana, and the southern part of Arkansas aspired to lives of leisure.

They did not come for fear of Indians, disease, and bad roads. Slavery is not mentioned in the letter. Peck himself considered slavery an evil, but one that would end eventually. In the meantime, Peck regarded the peculiar institution as dangerous and a deterrent to free settlement.

Another leading guidebook of the 1830s was Richard Baird's (1832, 1834): *View of the valley of the Mississippi*.⁴³ Baird (1834, p. 102) wrote: "For if one knows what are the peculiarities of the several states east of the Allegheny Mountains, he may expect to find them, with some shades of difference, occasioned by local circumstances, in the corresponding parallels in the West. Slavery; keeps nearly within the same parallels. And so does every other peculiarity. The New England column is intelligent, industrious, economical, enterprising, moral, and fond of institutions for the promotion of knowledge and religion."

Baird (1834, pp. 106-07) added: "In the lower half of the valley, cotton, corn, tobacco, hemp, sugar, rice, & c are staples within the respective parallels of their growth, and are products chiefly of slave, labour. Western Pennsylvania and Virginia, Kentucky, the south part of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, send vast quantities of flour, corn, and corn-meal, pork, bacon, salted beef, apples, cider, dried apples and peaches, &c. to New Orleans and intermediate places.... It is found difficult to introduce those manufacturing processes which demand great skill into states where the labour is done almost wholly by slaves. For the present ignorance of the slave; population is utterly incompatible with great skilfulness in the manufacturing arts and processes. And free labour, (that is, of the whites) is difficult to obtain, except at enormous prices, in slave holding states...."

Baird (1834, p. 267) asserted: "Those who resolve to remove from the southern states, will probably prefer this state [Missouri] to any other of the western states; inasmuch as the climate is similar in many respects to that to which they have been accustomed. And as slavery; is at present tolerated here, many will be induced to remove from the South to this state, because they can carry their slaves with them. There are in this state 34,547,152 acres of public land, to which the Indian claim has been extinguished; and 3,744,000 acres to which that title is not yet extinguished, but which will probably be so, at no distant day. From this statement the reader will perceive what a vast amount of land in this state is for sale at the low price of one dollar and a quarter per acre,—the rate at which public land may now be obtained. Since the above was

⁴³ Richard Baird, *View of the valley of the Mississippi, or, The emigrant's and traveller's guide to the West*. Tanner Publishing, Philadelphia (1832, 1834).

written, Congress has passed an act to make further purchases of the Indian claims in Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Ohio.” And the (p. 269), he added “And it [Missouri] is destined to become exceedingly populous, rich, and powerful. I cannot forbear to add, that strong hopes are entertained, that at no very distant day, and in a way perfectly consistent with the rights which are secured to individuals by the Constitution under which we live, slavery; will come to an end in this state, and also in Kentucky and Tennessee.”

In 1837, I. Daniel Rupp published *The geographical catechism of Pennsylvania, and the western states*.⁴⁴ Therein, Indiana was called (p. 269): “The great extent of fertile land, the happy distribution of rivers and springs, may be one cause of the unexampled rapidity, with which this state has peopled. Another reason may be, that it being a non- slave; holding state, and next in position beyond Ohio, it was happily situated to arrest the tide of emigration, and cause to settle beyond Ohio, after that state was filled. ...”

In 1839, John Plumbe Jr. saw into print *Sketches of Iowa and Wisconsin*.⁴⁵ He (p. 12) offered a powerfully concise assessment of Iowa’s prospects: “This District, being north of the State of Missouri is forever free from the institution of slavery, according to the compact made on the admission of that State into the Union. So far as the political wealth and strength of the country is considered, this is a very great advantage, for the region is too far north for negroes to be profitable. Besides, all experience teaches us that, caeteris paribus, free States grow far more rapidly than slave States (emphasis added). Compare, for example, the States of Ohio and Kentucky-and what would not Missouri have now been, had she never admitted slavery within her borders?” Plumbe contributed by quoting a St. Louis newspaper: “The tide of immigration now, and which for months past, has been pouring into Wisconsin and Iowa, is beyond the estimation of any one who has not witnessed it.... Being free from slavery, swarms, like bees from a hive, of Northerners and New Englanders are daily wending their way in that direction.”

In the late 1830s, David Henshaw toured the west on behalf of Boston-based railroad investors. This source might be considered a guidebook for capital. He wrote in 1839 (p. 11): “The shores of the Ohio give ample proof of the wonderful industry of its inhabitants. It is but

⁴⁴ I. Daniel Rupp, *The geographical catechism of Pennsylvania, and the western states; designed as a guide and pocket companion, for travellers and emigrants, to Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Missouri*. Harrisburg, Pa., J. Winebrenner, 1837.

⁴⁵ John Plumbe, Jr., *Sketches of Iowa and Wisconsin: embodying the experience of a residence of three years in those territories....; with a map of Iowa territory*, St. Louis: Chambers, Harris & Knapp, 1839.

about sixty years since the first attempts were made to settle its banks, it now smiles with farms, habitations, villages, and cities. There is a marked difference, however, in the improvement of the two shores... the scenes bear testimony to the value of free institutions in elevating and improving the moral and physical condition of man.”⁴⁶

Charles Dickens traveled over the same region in 1842. In *American Notes*, Dickens notes the low population density on both sides of the Ohio River. He has greater praise for Cincinnati than for Louisville, but saves his harshest remarks for Cairo, Illinois. Dickens went to Richmond Virginia but did not go to the Deep South, because apparently his travelers’ insurance did not cover excursions there.⁴⁷

In 1848, J. H. Colton published the *Emigrant's Hand-book*, which covered Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa and Missouri, but not Kentucky, Tennessee, or Arkansas.⁴⁸ The Colton guidebook (p. 5) noted: “Usually the country is divided into what are termed northern and southern, or free and slave states, in which the climate and habits of the people differ materially. It is chiefly, if not entirely, to the non-slave-holding states that the immigrants, those from Great Britain especially, direct their attention, because there they can enjoy a strictly healthy climate, and associate with neighbors of kindred opinions and habits of life (emphasis added).” On p. 6, the volume continued: “Greater scope is likewise afforded in these regions for their industry in agricultural and mechanical employments. The slave states, especially those in the extreme south, or below the line of 36° 30' north latitude, offer inducements only to the capitalist, who has sufficient to purchase both lands and slaves. There the climate is unsuited to the European constitution. Neither are the soil or staples of agriculture there grown, such as the European has been accustomed to. To raise cotton, tobacco, sugar and other tropical products, is the peculiar employment of the African, and could not be attempted by those indigenous to temperate regions.”⁴⁹

⁴⁶ David Henshaw, *Letters on the internal improvements and commerce of the West*. Boston, Dutton and Wentworth, 1839.

⁴⁷ <https://www.notions-nineteenth.com/post/2020/06/18/not-your-negro-navigating-race-in-dickens-american-notes-and-conrads-heart-of-darkness>

William J Carlton (whose archives are held at the Charles Dickens Museum) entitled DICKENS'S INSURANCE POLICIES, Carlton, W J., *Dickensian*; London Vol. 51, (Jan 1, 1955): 133.

⁴⁸ J. H. Colton, *Emigrant's hand-book; Directory and guide for persons emigrating to the United States of America ; containing advice and directions to emigrants, but especially to those designing to settle in the great western valley*. New York, 1848.

⁴⁹ The Colton volume then (p. 47) referred back to the author of the guidebook mentioned above: “Mr. Peck observes—“The same causes for disease exist in Ohio as in Missouri; in Michigan as in Illinois; in Kentucky and

With a special focus on German migrants, Carl de Haas issued *North America, Wisconsin, hints for emigrants* in the same year (1848).⁵⁰ De Haas discussed the Midwest, including Missouri (pp. 49-50): “The western states which can be recommended as goals for the immigrant who does not prefer to stay in the coast states as a tradesman or merchant, are especially: Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin and the new territory Minnesota. In the four states first named, there is little Congress land still for sale, but there is still a good deal of speculator's land and there are finished farms. Missouri forms a transition from the tropical to the moderate climate. According to all I have heard, it is too warm there for the German immigrant; furthermore negro slavery, which is outlawed here forever by the constitution, still prevails there (emphasis added). Iowa and Minnesota are too far from the water-route over the Great Lakes. Minnesota, west of Wisconsin, offers a welcome refuge for the bold land-speculators and the future Europe-weary immigrants. For the present there is still enough space for the German immigrant in Wisconsin, which is nearer, and already culturally and politically advanced. The settlement in the states named has gone forward in the last decades with incredible speed, and this advance of culture is increasing rather than decreasing.”

The next year (1849) Sidney Smith published in London, *The Settlers' New Home*.⁵¹ Smith (p. 83) admitted: “In the southern, or slave states, our information is comparatively scanty; and it is a circumstance significant of their inferior attractions, that few Europeans settle there (emphasis added). Nevertheless, the institution of slavery may have decided many without reference to other considerations, and the superior commercial advantages of the east, and the agricultural facilities of the west, may have much to do with the avoidance of the South. It is said the highlands of Virginia open a beautiful country, and enjoy a very fine climate; cleared land is cheap; living moderate, and far the small capitalist who can live on the interest of his money, we incline to think that these regions present a desirable location. Some of the islands to the north of New Orleans are described as being beautiful, fertile, and healthy — most desirable places of retirement from the world for persons of limited means.” The length of winter was an important consideration (p. 83):” “The “Western Country,” as it is called, embraces the States of Ohio,

Tennessee as in Indiana. All those states are more infested with maladies which depend on variations of temperature, than the states farther south. All have localities where intermittents and agues are found, and all possess extensive districts of country where health is enjoyed, by a large proportion of emigrants.”

⁵⁰ Carl de Haas, *North America, Wisconsin, hints for emigrants*, Elberfeld: J. Bädecker Verlag, 1848.

⁵¹ Sidney Smith, *The Settler's New Home: or The Emigrant's Location, being a guide to emigrants*. London: John Kendrick, 1849.

Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Indiana. Of these Ohio is furthest to the east and north, having a rigorous winter of upwards of five months; while that of Southern Illinois, to the west, does not exceed six weeks.”

In 1852, Daniel S. Curtiss came out with the guidebook *Western Portraiture*.⁵² This was published by the J. H. Colton house. Curtiss (p. 188) quoted Mr. Sargent singing Iowa’s praises: “watered by innumerable smaller streams; possessing a fertile soil, inexhaustible mineral resources, a healthful climate, a free constitution, and a hardy and industrious population; uncursed by slavery, and untrammelled by debt (emphasis added).” Curtiss later (p. 333) cited “Thompson’s letters” regarding Iowa’s prospects: “Emigration is setting largely toward this State the present season, and the emigrants are generally of the better class. I asked several why they did not go into Missouri, where the land and climate are equally good. The uniform reply was, that they would not live in a slave State. An intelligent man from the interior of Iowa, on the Missouri line, told me that he could buy cleared farms in Missouri for a very slight advance on government prices [of \$1.25 per acre] while farms in no better condition, on the Iowa side of the line, would command from ten to fifteen dollars an acre! There is the economy of slavery. I found some emigrating from Missouri into Iowa for that very cause. (emphasis added)”⁵³

In the same year (1852) in Edinburgh, John Regan published *Emigrants’s Guide to the Western States of American; or, Backwoods and Prairies*.⁵⁴ Regan states (p. 27): “Slavery, and any or every thing which looks like slavery, as a freeborn Briton, I must ever detest, as the most loathsome of all traffic.” This statement captures the drift in the emigrant’s guides against recommending settlement in the slavery-legal region.

The authors of travel accounts and guidebooks almost always expressed an aversion to slavery in principle. Some offered apologies and praised the manners of the planter class. (A few, early on, provided information about investment returns on slaves, but this practice faded out.) Others highlighted the cruelty that they witnessed or heard about. Many authors noted the

⁵² Daniel S. Curtiss, *Western portraiture, and emigrants' guide a description of Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa; with remarks on Minnesota, and other territories*, New York: J. H. Colton, 1852.

⁵³ In our Border paper, we develop a variant of the Rosen-Roback model to explain the lower price of land in the slavery-legal region. The model incorporates the effects of lower productivity and of any disamenity that free households experience living in a slave region. The evidence of land values and wages highlights the importance of the disamenity effect.

⁵⁴ John Regan, *Emigrants’s Guide to the Western States of American; or, Backwoods and Prairies: containing a complete statement of the advantages and capacities of the prairie lands...* Second edition. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1852.

deep South was too hot for emigrants from northwest Europe. Many commented on the attractiveness of the border South, and some complained of the long cold winters to the far North. But, generally speaking, anywhere slavery was legal was judged unfit for settlement.⁵⁵

Population Movements

Population growth in the border North was more rapid than in the border South. This was principally due to higher rates of in-migration. This included strong flows of free heads of household born in Border South to free states. The early movement of Virginians to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois is a common theme of the literature on the settlement of the Midwest. But channels persisted beyond the first decades of the nineteenth century. In 1850, when the federal census first reports data by place of birth, 29 percent of free heads of household born in Border South resided in free states; less than 5 percent resided in the Deep South. By way of contrast, heads of households born in the Yankee areas of the North (New England and New York) were very unlikely to move to the Border South. They show even greater aversion to locate in slave areas than foreign immigrants do. As George Tucker (1843, p. 116) put it, "The swarms from the New England hive prefer, at present, migrating to States where there are no slaves."⁵⁶ Moves often occurred along an east-west axis. But among those who changed longitude significantly to move to the counties in the border sample, the northern side was favored. And this pattern of revealed preferences is displayed even by whites born in the Deep South.

⁵⁵ The secondary literature reflects these sentiments. For the earlier period, see Jane Louise Mesick, *The English traveller in America, 1785-1835*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1922, pp. 122-48. On p. 148, Mesick concludes that "slavery in America was to the Englishman an evil which could not long endure without danger to the country." For the later years, see Max Berger, *The British traveller in America, 1836-1860*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. 108-28. Berger noted conflicting impulses: "The principle of human bondage was repugnant to most Englishmen (p. 108)"; "Yet despite their condemnation of negro slavery on almost every conceivable basis, English travellers were overwhelmingly opposed to abolitionism... (p. 118)." The visitors did not confuse the North and South--"Nor was the difference between the two sections due to soil or climate alone (p. 110)." "The visitor had no need to be told when he entered slave territory. The transition was painfully obvious. In the North, all was energy, activity, and enterprise. In the South, ill-built houses going to ruin, fences out of repair, dilapidated railroads, impassable roads, and dirty inns provided a sharp contrast. As compared to the bustling cities of the free states, even Charleston seemed no better than a third-rate town on the banks of the Ohio (p. 109)." See also Martin Crawford, "British Travellers and the Anglo-American Relationship in the 1850s," *Journal of American Studies* 12: 2 (Aug., 1978), pp. 203-219 and Laurie Langbauer, "Early British Travelers to the U.S. South," *Southern Literary Journal* 40: 1 (Fall, 2007), pp. 1-18.

⁵⁶ George Tucker, *Progress of the United States in Population and Wealth in Fifty Years*, Boston: Little and Brown, 1843 p. 116

We can document several pertinent patterns related to migration to the border states. Population flows went primarily in an east-to-west direction including significant flows from Virginia and other parts of the Chesapeake into southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The panels of Figure 2 map the shares of eastern-born household heads, age 45 to 64, in the 1850 census coming from 6 major regions (New England, New York, Pennsylvania-New Jersey, Maryland-DC-Delaware, Virginia, and North Carolina-South Carolina-Georgia-Florida). The idea of looking at this older age group is that the location likely captures moves occurring several decades before 1850.⁵⁷

Among the eastern born, the Virginians are very common in Kentucky and Missouri, other states of the Border South. But what is notable is their prevalence in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the Border North. The shares in these Free states are higher than the Virginians' share in the Deep South. And in the Midwest, New Yorkers and New Englanders appear to dominate only in the areas near the Great Lakes.

The flows from Virginia to the Free States was substantial. In 1850, among heads-of-households born in Virginia, age 34 years and over, 27.9 percent resided in the Free States. In the 1860, the fraction was 25.4 percent. This population may not have been philosophically against slavery, but they did vote with their feet not to live in the region where slavery was legal.

The extent of south-north migration appears larger than commonly thought. The share of heads-of-household moving was much higher than the more conventionally-measured share of total free population moving. Children were much more likely to be recorded residing in their state of birth than were adults. Adults were making the location decisions and are the more relevant reference group.

Retention Rates

Table 1 compares the retention rates of heads-of-household and total free adult population between the free and slave states in 1850 and 1860. The retention rate is the percent remaining in the region of birth; those not retained obviously shifted between regions. The measured shifts are much higher for heads-of-households (about 1 in 8) than for the total free population (1 in

⁵⁷ The source for the 1850 and 1860 Full Count Census data used in Figure 2 and Tables 1-3 is Steven Ruggles, Sarah Flood, Sophia Foster, Ronald Goeken, Jose Pacas, Megan Schouweiler and Matthew Sobek. IPUMS USA: Version 11.0 [dataset]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.18128/D010.V11.0>

20). The fraction of household heads born in a slave state who moved to reside in a free state – coming close to 1 in 4 – is especially notable. The fraction is substantially higher than that for moves in the opposite direction, born in a free state and residing in a slave state. The difference in retention rates is sufficiently large to create a net movement of household heads from slave states to free states despite the larger fraction of household heads born in free states.

Long Distance Moves

The preference of movers for the Free states is evident if one examines longer distance moves, from non-border states and foreign counties to the counties on the free-slave border. Figure 3 maps the location of the counties on this boundary in 1860. The destination choices for such moves were not constrained from the desire to move along given latitude.

Tables 2 and 3 present data of the free-side/slave-side choices for male heads of households, ages 25 years or more, residing in the border counties in 1860. The border states are indicated in italics and the slave states are indicated in bold type. Table 2 relates to the native-born population, and right columns reports results separately for free persons of color. Table 3 relates to the foreign-born population.

The ratios report the prevalence of residence on the free side relative to the slave side. Four findings stand out: (1) it is uncommon for persons born in free states to reside on the slave side. For those born in free states, the ratio of own to other was 6 to 1; for those born in slave states, the ratio of own to other was 2 to 1. Thus, switching was more common for those born on the slave side than those born on the free side; (2) for longer distance moves (from states not on the border), both southerners and northerners tended to live the free side; (3) free persons of color from non-border states rarely resided on the slave side; (4) the foreign-born also tended to the free side. The revealed preference of those free to choose was for the free side.

These patterns were not new to 1860, and indeed predate the sharp regional conflicts of the 1850s. Table 4 present data of the free-side/slave-side choices for US born male heads of households, ages 25 years or more, residing in the border counties in 1850. The Census of 1850 is the first to include information on state of birth. At this date, it is already uncommon for those born in free states to reside on the border counties on the slave side.

Missouri Compromise

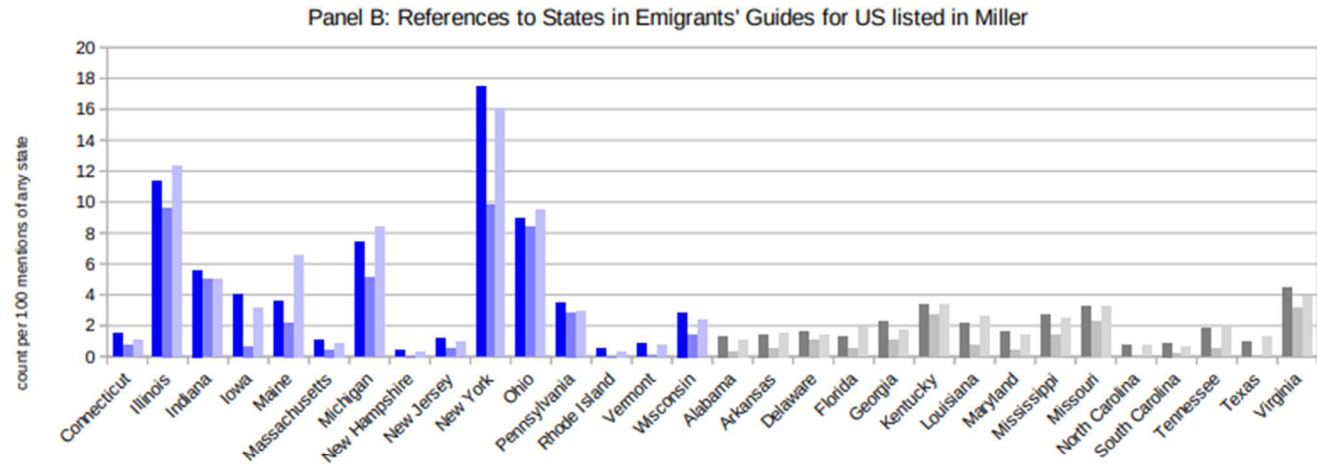
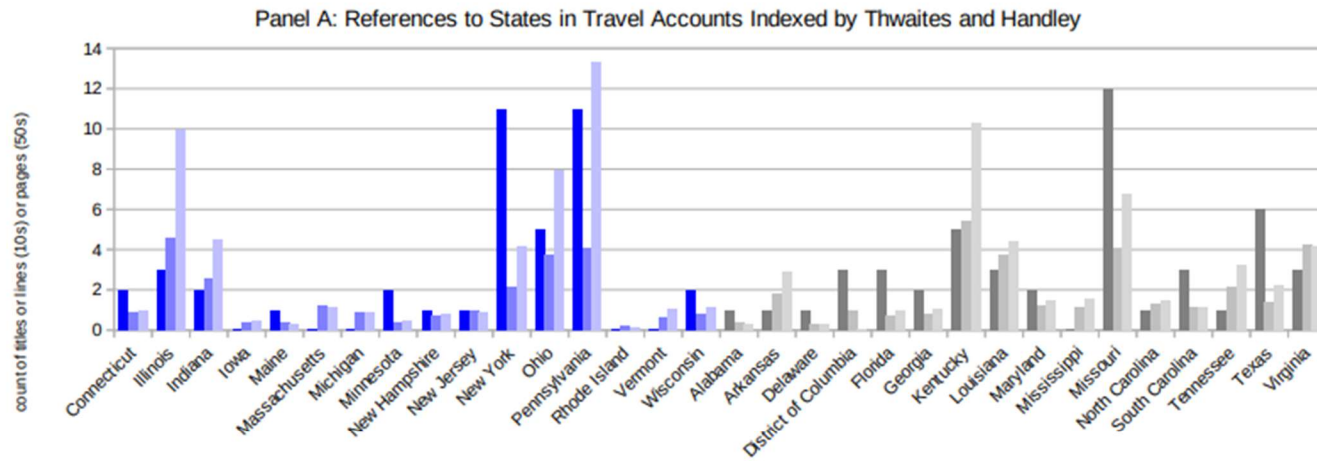
The migration patterns in the 1850s were clearly affected by the growing section strife of that decade. It is worth asking whether gaps opened earlier, for example, during the controversy in 1819-20 about whether slavery would be permitted in Missouri. Did this conflict create divergences, such that the northern born stayed in the North and the southern born stayed in the South? We can use the 1850 full count census and the border counties to examine this issue. We will focus on the border counties in Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri and tabulate the native free male population at each reported age subdivided by free versus slave region of birth and by free versus slave county of residence. Figure 4 graphs the fraction of the population born in the slave region as a share of the total native free male population in each birth year. One might conjecture that around age 25 (and younger) in 1820 would be most affected by the Missouri question. So one might expect to see differences emerging in those with a birth year after 1795. But instead of a gap emerging in the series, one observes they move in parallel with a decreasing fraction of the total born in the South on both sides of the border.

Conclusion

In this paper, we establish several inter-related facts. These included that: 1. the traveler accounts for antebellum America covered both the north and the south extensively; 2. The emigrant guides were far more focused on settlement of the north; 3. Both sources, at least those published in Europe, were averse to slavery; further, 4. migration flows, both of Northerners and Europeans, were directed to the north; 5. many from the border South moved to the free states too (although most moved elsewhere in the border South in line with general latitude-preserving movements); 6. but southerners who made long-distance moves to the border region favored the north. Free soil was revealed as the institutional preference of those free to choose.

The analysis of this paper moves the discussion of the role of institutions in economic development beyond the common framework of focusing on elite conflict and elite discourse. We examine the development of institutions that masses of people, when free to choose, find attractive. This example presages the following two centuries of mass migration for economic improvement. The revealed institutional preferences of the many-- not just of the few-- play a central role in global institutional competition in the modern world. Migrants adopt preferred institutions by voting... with their feet.

Figure 1: Counts of References to States, by Region



Legend and summary

Color
Free soil: blue
Slavery-legal: gray
Shade:

Panel A (counts)

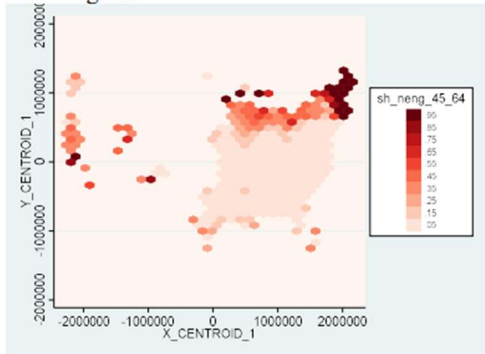
	titles	lines	pages
Free soil:	2.6	15.4	149.8
Slavery-legal:	2.9	19.1	140.6
Shade:	dark	medium	light

Panel B (percentage)

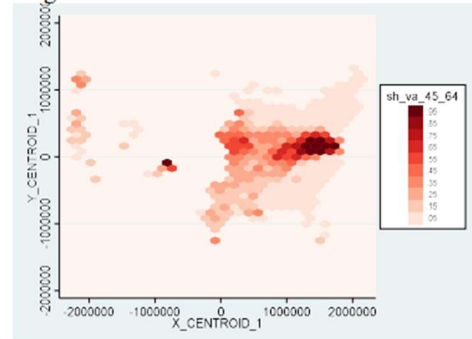
	Mean	Median	Weighted
Free soil:	70.0	46.8	70.6
Slavery-legal:	30.0	15.0	29.4
Shade:	dark	medium	light

Figure 2: Share of Six Regions in 1850 Heads of Household, aged 45-64 year, Born on East Coast

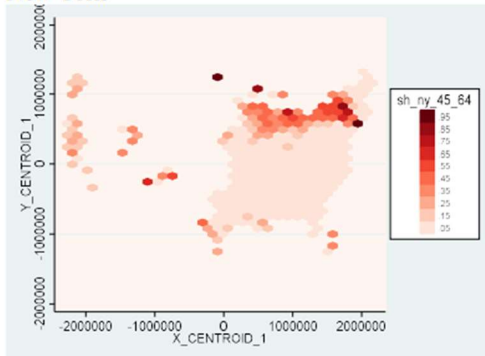
New England



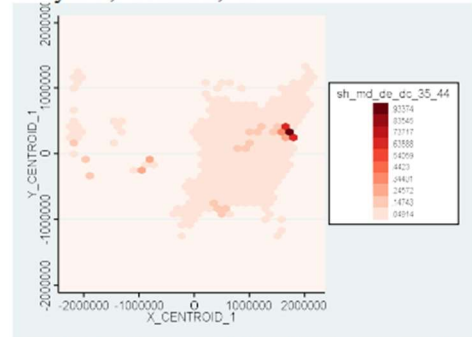
Virginia



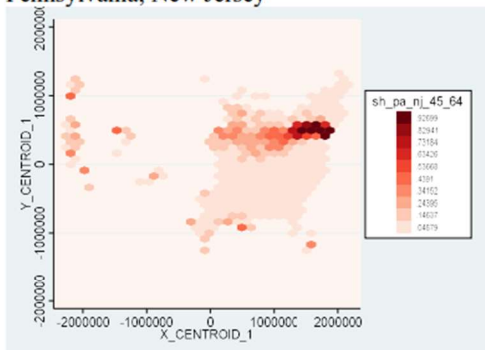
New York



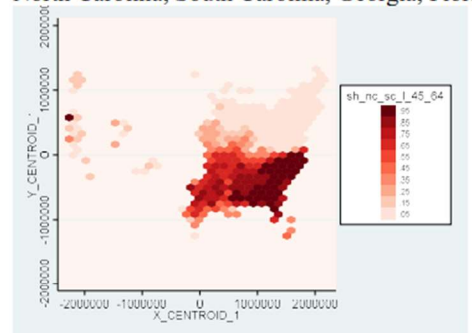
Maryland, Delaware, DC



Pennsylvania, New Jersey

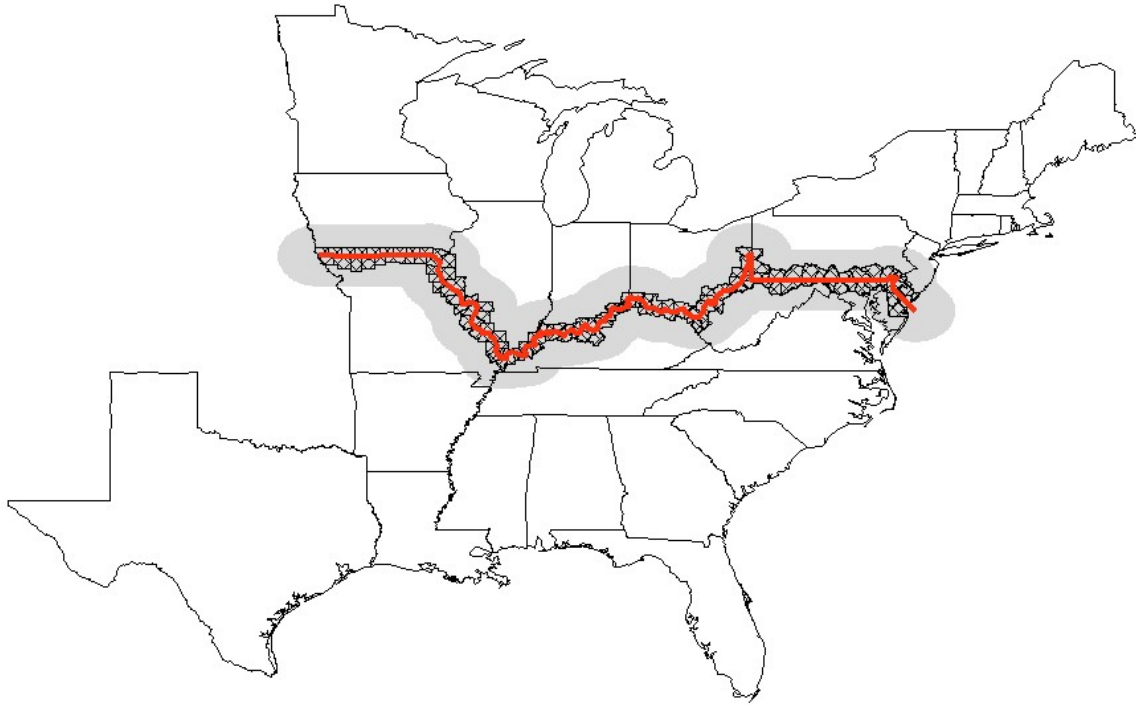


North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida



Source: Compiled from 1850 IPUMS Full Count Census

Figure 3: The 1860 Free/Slave Boundary



Notes: this map displays 1860 the free/slave boundary (thick red line), boundaries (thin black lines) of the counties that directly touch the boundary, and the area (gray shade) lying within a buffer of 75 miles from the boundary.

Figure 4: Southern-born Fractions of Native Free Males Populations in IL/IA/MO Border Counties in 1850

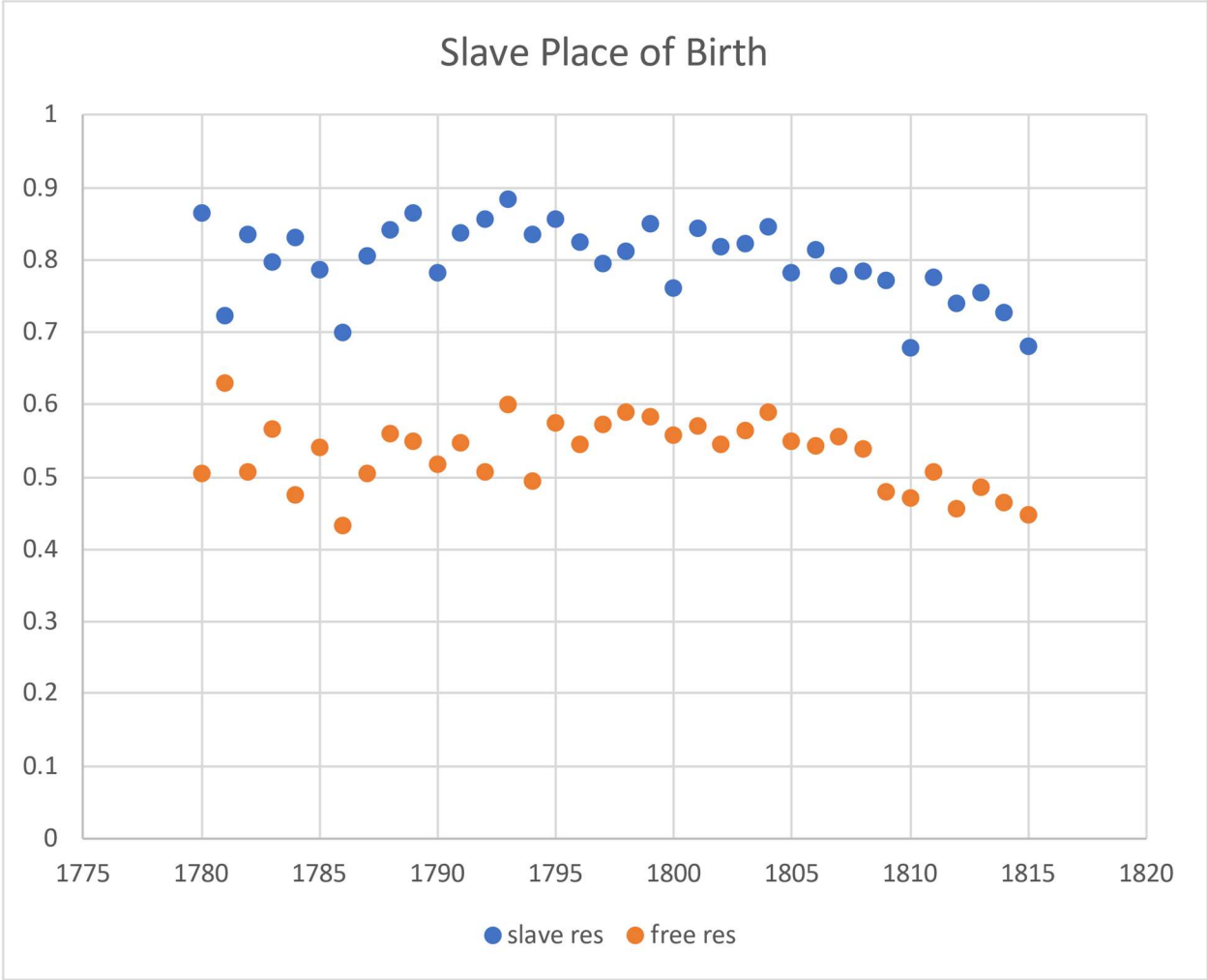


Table 1: Comparison of Retention Rates for Heads of Households and Free Population

Birth\Resident	Slave State	Free State	Total	% Retained
Heads of Household				
1850				
Slave State	896,944	264,469	1,161,413	77.2
Free State	85,638	1,849,185	1,934,823	95.6
Total	982,582	2,113,654	3,096,236	88.7
1860				
Slave State	1,114,557	304,173	1,418,730	78.6
Free State	143,615	2,428,648	2,572,263	94.4
Total	1,258,172	2,732,821	3,990,993	88.8
Free Population				
1850				
Slave State	5,966,230	648,168	6,614,398	90.2
Free State	227,239	10,505,338	10,732,577	97.9
Total	6,193,469	11,153,506	17,346,975	95.0
1860				
Slave State	7,481,837	760,965	8,242,802	90.8
Free State	390,151	14,703,287	15,093,438	97.4
Total	7,871,988	15,464,252	23,336,240	95.1

Compiled from Census Full Count for 1850 and 1860.

Table 2: 1860 Residents in Border Countries by State of Birth

Birth\Reside	Male HH Age 25 and over			Free People of Color		
	Free	Slave	Ratio	Free	Slave	Ratio
Alabama	198	135	1.47	20	1	20.00
Arkansas	37	36	1.03	3	0	
Florida	5	10	0.50	0	0	
Georgia	238	175	1.36	35	6	5.83
Louisiana	116	132	0.88	24	12	2.00
Mississippi	102	72	1.42	36	4	9.00
North Carolina	2,792	2,014	1.39	140	17	8.24
South Carolina	697	442	1.58	42	6	7.00
Tennessee	3,955	3,310	1.19	159	13	12.23
Texas	12	8	1.50	3	0	
Connecticut	1,214	477	2.55	1	1	1.00
Maine	762	333	2.29	0	0	
Massachusetts	1,948	989	1.97	5	24	0.21
Michigan	66	49	1.35	1	0	
Minnesota	2	4	0.50	0	0	
Nebraska	2	0		0	0	
New Hampshire	737	241	3.06	0	0	
New York	6,169	2,958	2.09	29	4	7.25
Rhode Island	265	99	2.68	2	0	
Vermont	1962	400	4.91	0	0	
Wisconsin	38	7	5.43	1	0	

Table 3: 1860 Foreign-Born Residents in Border Counties by Country of Birth
Male HH Age 25 and over

Birth\Reside	Free	Slave	Ratio
Total	79,745	57,666	1.38
Britain (incl. Ireland)	28,193	24,233	1.16
German-Austrian-Swiss	45,473	28,832	1.58
Other	6,079	4,601	1.32
Canada	636	508	1.25
West Indies	641	411	1.56
Denmark	84	102	0.82
Norway	33	12	2.75
Sweden	94	71	1.32
England	7,197	4,740	1.52
Scotland	1,812	1,101	1.65
Wales	1,088	473	2.30
Ireland	18,096	17,919	1.01
Belgium	135	88	1.53
France	3,452	2,137	1.62
Netherlands	500	255	1.96
Switzerland	2,029	1,104	1.84
Italy	183	221	0.83
Austria	263	232	1.13
Czechoslovakia	126	625	0.20
Germany	43,181	27,496	1.57
Hungary	46	35	1.31
Poland	149	136	1.10

Source for Tables 2 and 3: Compiled from IPUMS 1860 Full Count Census

Table 4: 1850 Residents in Border Countries by State of Birth

Male HH Age 25 and over	Free	Slave	Ratio
Alabama	135	79	1.71
Arkansas	15	12	1.25
Florida	4	12	0.33
Georgia	312	238	1.31
Louisiana	100	163	0.61
Mississippi	76	81	0.94
North Carolina	2,864	2,242	1.28
South Carolina	1,120	576	1.94
Tennessee	3,105	2,010	1.54
Texas	4	8	0.50
Connecticut	1,339	423	3.17
Maine	722	334	2.16
Massachusetts	1,940	1,076	1.80
Michigan	27	24	1.13
Minnesota	-	8	0.00
Nebraska	2	1	2.00
New Hampshire	709	264	2.69
New York	5,412	2,448	2.21
Rhode Island	259	155	1.67
Vermont	1,039	327	3.18
Wisconsin	3	5	0.60

Source: Compiled from IPUMS 1850 Full Count Census