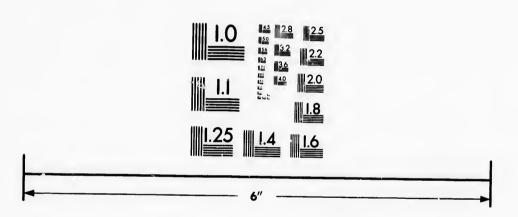


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# EMIGRATION FROM IRELAND;

BEING THE

### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

"MR. TUKE'S FUND."

TOGETHER WITH

STATEMENTS BY MR. TUKE AND MAJOR GASKELL.

JUNE, 1882.

THE NATIONAL PRESS AGENCY, LIMITED,

13, WHITEFRIARS STREET, E.C.

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#### INDEX.

- I. REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
- II. MR. TUKE'S STATEMENT.
- III. MAJOR GASKELL'S STATEMENT.
- IV. LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

## 'MR. TUKE'S FUND."

THE Executive Committee of the above Fund, believing that an account of their action up to this time may be of interest, have requested Mr. Tuke to draw up a statement of his work and experiences during the seven weeks he was engaged in Ireland in selecting emigrants and arranging for their shipment.

To this personal narrative it has been thought well to add, by way of preface, a few lines with reference to the inauguration of the Fund, and the subsequent proceedings of the Executive Committee.

About the middle of March last, two or three gentlemen, impressed by statements received from the West of Ireland, strongly urging the immediate need for emigration from the counties of Mayo and Galway, requested a number of Members of Parliament and others, who, it was thought, would take an interest in the question, to attend a private meeting, which, at the invitation of the Duke of Bedford, was held at 81 Eaton Square, on March 31st.

At that meeting Mr. Tuke gave a short account of a recent visit to the West of Ireland (described in his article in the Contemporary Review for April), detailing the condition of the Western Unions, the evictions, and the urgent need for emigration. A letter from Mr. Forster was also read, in which he expressed great sympathy with the objects of the meeting, believing that there could hardly be any possible movement which would do more good, and prevent more misery, than the endeavour to assist Irish emigration; there being many districts in the West of Ireland in which the small cottier farmers are so crowded together that it is impossible for them to get from the produce of the soil, under any Land Law, so much as would secure them from constantly recurring periods of either starvation or pauperism. Mr. Forster added a request that his name might be put down as a subscriber to the amount of £250, to be increased to £500 if needful.

After further conversation and consideration, certain resolutions were adopted, and the outcome of the meeting was the appointment

of a Committee to assist the emigration of the small holders of land in the West of Ireland, especially from Galway and Mayo.

The Duke of Bedford was elected President of the Committee, with the following gentlemen as members:—

G. Armitstead, Esq., M.P. H. O. ARNOLD FORSTER, Esq. J. BARRAN, Esq., M.P. A. H. Brown, Esq., M.P. SIR T. FOWELL BUXTON, BART. F. W. Buxton, Esq., M.P. SYDNEY BUXTON, Esq. HON. H. COWPER, M.P. JAMES CROPPER, ESQ., M.P. W. Fowler, Esq., M.P. LEWIS FRY, Esq., M.P. SIR A. GALT. HOWARD HODGKIN, Esq. A. Illingworth, Esq., M.P. R. JARDINE, Esq., M.P. LORD MONTEAGLE. SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq., M.P. Arnold Morley, Esq., M.P.

John Mulholland, Esq., M.P. H. S. NORTHCOTE, Esq., M.P. SIR J. W. PEASE, BART, M.P. ARTHUR PEASE, ESQ., M.P. FREDK. PENNINGTON, Esq., M.P. RIGHT HON. D. PLUNKET, M.P. W. RATHBONE, Esq., M. P. B. Samuelson, Esq., M.P. F. Seebohm, Esq. RIGHT HON, W. H. SMITH, M.P. MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK, M.P. J. Thomasson, Esq., M.P. J. H. TUKE, Esq. SIR H. HUSSEY VIVIAN, BART., M. P. J. WATNEY, JUNE., Esq., M.P. SAMUEL WHITBREAD, ESQ., M.P. S. WILLIAMSON, Esq., M.P.

Of whom the following consented to form an Executivo Committee :-

The Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P. (Chairman).

Samuel Whitbread, Esq., M.P. (Deputy Chairman).

SirThomas Fowell Buxton, Bart.

Hon. Henry Cowper, M.P.

H. S. Northcote, Esq., M.P.

ARTHUR PEASE, ESQ., M. P.
WILLIAM RATHBONE, ESQ., M. P.
THE MARQUES OF TAVISTOCK, M. P.
J. H. TUKE, ESQ.

And subsequently, RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER, M.P.

With Hon. Treasurers:

J. GURNEY BARCLAY, Esq.

ARNOLD MORLEY, Esq., M.P.

And Hon. Sees. :-

Sydney C. Buxton, Esq., 15, Eaton Place, S.W. Howard Hoddkin, Esq., 12, Hereford Gardens, W.

The objects aimed at may be briefly summed up in the terms of a resolution adopted at the meeting:—"1st. To aid impoverished families, or persons, desiring to emigrate from rural districts of Ireland, especially those in the Western Unions, by the loan or gift of sums of money towards the cost of transit and outfit. It is hoped that if one-half of the cost be found by the Association, the remainder will be forthcoming from local or individual sources. 2nd. To make arrangements for the embarkation of emigrants and for reasonable outfit, and to provide that on landing, either in the Colonies or the United States, facilities shall be afforded them for reaching the fields of labour to which they desire to go."

The following considerations have governed the action of the Executive Committee:—1st. That those persons only who were anxious to emigrate were to be assisted. 2nd. That strong and healthy adults alone were not to be selected, but that, as a rule, whole families—or as many members as desired to go—were to be assisted.

Immediately after the meeting, Mr. Tuke—who had been requested at the meeting again to visit Ireland to undertake the selection of emigrants and to carry on other necessary local work—was kind enough to start for Clifden; and the Committee are under great obligations to that gentleman for the zeal, energy, and efficiency with which he has carried on the work in Ireland. Mr. Tuke was absent seven weeks, and during that time he found that thousands of persons were most anxious to emigrate, and that the poverty and distress of the districts in question—Galway, Oughterard, Clifden, Newport, and Belmullet—had in no way been exaggerated.

Difficulties have from time to time arisen in the work carried on by the Committee, but for the most part they have been met and overcome. The Committee, however, suffered one considerable disappointment. At the outset they determined, both as a sound principle, and in order to make the funds at their disposal as widely useful as possible, primarily to assist those for whom a reasonable portion of the cost of emigration should be forthcoming from local or private sources. Acting upon this principle, and after full communications with the Clifden Board of Guardians, the Committee determined to apply £5,000 towards assisting emigration from that Union, with the understanding that the Guardians would borrow and hand over to the Committee a further sum of £2,000, to be applied for the same purpose. In pursuance of this agreement the Guardians passed a resolution, and took the first steps towards applying for a loan of £2,000 from the Board of Works (unfortunately the Emigration Clause of the Land Act of 1881 is not applicable to Boards of Guardians). Trusting to the good faith of the Board of Guardians, the Committee made arrangements for the emigration of a large number of families and individualssome had actually been shipped off-when the Guardians rescinded their previous resolution, and declined to borrow the money. As the emigrants themselves were in a state of great destitution, and not in a condition to provide any portion of the cost, the action of the Board threw on the Committee the whole expense of sending the emigrants from the Clifden Union, necessitating an increased expenditure on their part, and a consequent inability to assist

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other persons to the extent they had anticipated; and at the same time somewhat discouraging their efforts.

A small number of persons, able to find a considerable portion of the whole cost, have been assisted from Newport and Belmullet.

The general results of the work of the Committee have, however, been successful. They have done the work cheaply and thoroughly, having emigrated some 1,200 persons, chiefly in families, at a cost of a little over £6 per head. Careful arrangements were, moreover, made for the reception of the emigrants on the other side, and care taken that they should be placed in a position to obtain work—for though mostly destitute, the adult emigrants were able-bodied, capable, and willing to work. Those who want to Canada were met and taken charge of by the agents of the Canadian Government; the others were looked after on arrival by gentlemen in Boston and Philadelphia—to whom the warm thanks of the Committee are due—and either sent on to join their friends, or placed where they would obtain work.

Very satisfactory accounts have been received of the welfare of the first two batches of emigrants, and the Committee have every reason to hope that the emigrants will prosper.

Taking into account the distressing poverty of the people in the special districts above named, and their proved desire to emigrate, the Committee are convinced that a vast amount of work in the way of emigration still remains to be done. The necessary outlay would, however, be beyond the means of any private society. But the Committee trust that the Government may be induced to take action in the matter, and make a grant of money this summer to enable some now in distress to escape before the winter; and in particular, that assistance may be given to the large number of families recently evicted in the districts referred to—tenants who, for the most part, were not unwilling, but were unable to pay their rents—so that they may have offered them the only present alternative to the workhouse or starvation—emigration.

This, in the entire absence of any local employment, appears to the Committee to be an immediate necessity; but more remains to be done. The population of these districts is so much congested, the holdings are so small, and the soil generally so poor, that even if the tenants had no rents to pay, they would for the most part be unable to maintain themselves even in good seasons. Systematic emigration, judiciously assisted, seems to be the only hope for the population the best chance alike for those who go and for those who remain.

The fact that the districts in which such abject poverty prevails are limited in extent, encourages the Committee to insist on the necessity and practicability of affording adequate assistance to those Unions. Elsewhere, throughout Ireland, emigration is steadily proceeding anaided; but in these congested Unions, so great is the overpopulation and poverty, that unless outside help be forthcoming, the first steps towards emigration cannot be taken. A movement in the direction of emigration once started, it may be hoped that here, as elsewhere, it will gather strength as it proceeds; those who have gone will attract to them many of those who remain, and emigration will commence its natural flow.

The Committee believe that the emigration of families would not meet with the opposition which that of individuals so often encounters; they are certainly convinced that thousands of persons are ready to emigrate from the Unions above-named.

In addition to their gratitude to Mr. Tuke, the Committee desire to express their warm thanks to (amongst others) Mr. George Melly, of Liverpool, for his valuable assistance in the matter of shipment, and to Major Gaskell, who has succeeded Mr. Tuke in Ireland, for his kindness in continuing the work, and giving his services to the Committee.

SYDNEY C. BUXTON, HOWARD HODGKIN, Hox. Secs.

June, 1882.

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# MR. TUKE'S REPORT.

It becomes my duty to lay before the Committee the chief results of the commission with which I was entrusted at the meeting held at the Duke of Bedford's, on the 31st of March last. The general principles suggested by the Committee for my guidance are stated in the Preface.

The spring being the time best suited for emigration, it was needful, at the earliest possible moment after the meeting, to proceed to the West of Ireland, to earry out arrangements whereby the emigrants might reach their destinations before the hot weather set in. Leaving home on the 4th of April, and spending a day in Liverpool and another in Dublin, for the purpose of making various necessary enquiries and arrangements, I arrived at Glendalough, Galway, the centre of the Clifden Union, on the 7th. Before leaving home it had been determined, as far as possible, to confine the operations of the Fund to a limited area in the West, comprising the poorest Unions. Clifden, Co. Galway, with Newport and Belmullet, Co. Mayo, shared this unenviable position. The additional reason for selecting Clifden was that the Guardians had, by minute (in February last), unanimously come to the conclusion that emigration was a necessity, and had applied to the Government for assistance. The ten following days were chiefly spent in going through the district, making enquiries, investigating the real demand for emigration and the condition of the people, and to some extent in conferring with the Union authorities as to future arrangements.

At Glendalough, Mr. H. A. Robinson, Poor Law Inspector, met me, and reported that on the 4th of April the Clifden Beard of Guardians—who were aware that the Committee were willing to eo-operate with them in assisting emigration—had unanimously passed the following resolution:—"That the Guardians now desire to intimate that, as they have ascertained that a fund is forthcoming out of which assistance will be given to persons desirous of emigrating, the Board will now be prepared to receive and consider

applications from all such persons, and will take steps to procure whatever money may be required for this purpose."

This resolution recorded with the views of the Committee, and it seemed evident that the right course was to act in conjunction with the Union authorities in all matters concerning emigration from that district. When, therefore, I arrived in Clifden, on the morning of the 10th, I called upon Mr. Burke, the Clerk of the Union, and made arrangements with him for carrying on the work, he giving instructions to the relieving officers, of whom there are three in the Union, to make enquiries throughout their respective districts and to take down the names of any who really wished to emigrate. In the afternoon I drove with Mr. Burke for twenty miles along the wild stony districts in the south-west of the Union, for the purpose of ascertaining the feeling of the people as regards emigration. The general result of this enquiry convinced me that there existed a very widespread desire for emigration. Many applications were made to me during this drive, as well as in Cliden. In one place on the coast we met a number of men engaged in making a rough stone pier, working for 1s. to 1s. 4d. a day, and on being asked whether any of them wished to emigrate, the reply was "that they all did."

Two following days were similarly spent in making enquiries, and with a like result. At Roundstone, at Cashel, and at Carna, I was told, and I found it was a fact, that many would gladly emigrate. At Carna and at Glynsk Bridge I spent part of a day amongst the people who had been evicted in the early part of the year. Several of those I had seen on my visit a month previously had since emigrated, many others were still lying in the same damp trenches, some evidently suffering from long exposure and want of food; all of them begged to be assisted to emigrate. It was a satisfaction to be able to hold out some hope that their wishes would be granted, though I could not make any definite promises to them at the moment; but as a matter of fact a very large number of these people were ultimately sent out.

Another day or two were spent in the northern portions of the Union, Letterfrack, Renvyle, &c., where some applications were made both then and afterwards. During the days thus occupied I occasionally met the relieving officers, and found on all sides the opinion expressed that numbers of families, whether evicted or no, were anxious to emigrate, and would do so if enabled. One of the instructions given to the relieving officers was that the amount which individuals could provide towards the cost of

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emigration should be taken down, but at each step it became more and more evident that the poverty of the people, except in a very few eases, would not allow of their finding any portion of the eost, and that unless the proportion (one-half) demanded by the Committee were found by the Guardians, very few of the people would be able to avail themselves of the assistance offered by the Fund. In order to place before the Committee the class of eases for which the assistance of the Fund was required, it may be well, in a note, to give one or two instances.\*

After a week spent in preliminary enquiries in the Clifden Union, I reported to the Committee in the following terms the general results of these enquiries:—(1) The great demand on the part of the people for emigration. (2) The extreme poverty of large masses of small entivators of land. (3) As resulting from this, the necessity which exists to give them assistance to an extent varying from the whole to one-half the cost, and which must in my belief be left to the discretion of those on the spot.

On the 13th of April I drove to Westport, and subsequently to

<sup>\*(1)</sup> H. B., aged thirty-five; wife thirty; five children. Evicted tenants. Rent, £15 a-year, jointly with another. Twelve years ago had several head of cattle and sheep; was then worth £200 or more. Had sold his last cow for £6 10s., and had now no milk to give his children, no meal whatever. Grazing land much reduced, said to be cause. Saw children all in rags. He could find nothing towards cost of emigration.

<sup>(2)</sup> C. D. Wife and five children (thirteen, eleven, nine, six, one and a-half years old). Evicted tenant, living in aniserable hut, in abject poverty; hardly any clothing; stated to be a very good workman when could find employment. "Could not find one halfpenny." Had some out-door relief for a time.

<sup>(3)</sup> E. F., forty-five. Evicted. Wife and children. Had held a farm at £13 a-year; could not pay the arrears; evicted in January. Had offered, with others who were evicted, to go into Court and pay a year's rent and take the benefit of the Arrears Clause, and to have his rent settled by Court. This was refused.

<sup>(4)</sup> G. H., forty; wife and four in family, full grown. A small holder of land; could pay some part; could work at anything, build walls, bridges, or dig; had some of the family in States; very anxious to join them; two daughters working in Scotland; could not live on the land.

<sup>(5)</sup> J. K.; wife and three children. Husband had gone to America three years ago; had at last sent them the tickets to join him; had lived in desperate poverty since her husband had been away, but had never and would never apply to the Guardians for relief; neighbours as poor as herself almost had helped her a bit. But now, though she had the tickets, she had no clothing and no means of getting to Galway. Bore most excellent character.

<sup>(6)</sup> G. M.; wife and two children. Evicted tenant. Husband gone a short time ago, with one daughter, intending to send for the rest of the family. Dwelling until for human or other habitation.

Newport (about fifty miles from Clifden), for the purpose of making enquiries in a portion of the Newport Union which Mr. Robinson had told me was very poor and in great need of help. Although no notice had been given of my coming, yet, when I arrived at Rosturk Castle, Mr. R. V. Stoney's house on the north shore of Clew Bay, a great number of applicants, principally from the districts of Achill and Mulranny, had already assembled. whole day was spent in taking down the names of applicants. In some instances the people promised to provide half of the cost, in others a third or a part, but a very considerable number were too poor to pay anything. Mr. Stoney, to whom I was much indebted for the assistance given, was with me during the time these names were being taken down, and confirmed the statements of absolute poverty evident in many eases; and as he constantly resides among the people his knowledge of their circumstances is undoubted. Indeed, the simple fact that, in spito of the very short notice given in the Union that the possibility of help for emigration existed, I had from one small district applications for assistance on behalf of about 300 persons, is most significant, not only of the poverty of the people, but of their determination to escape from it at all hazards. On previous visits to Ireland I spent some time in going through this district, and had been much struck with the minuteness and poverty of the holdings—little bits of rocky land running all along the sea coast, the holding often cut up into many portions by the great boulders. No wonder that, placed in such circumstances, many of the population are longing to emigrate.

On the 18th of April I returned to Clifden, ready to commence the actual work of emigration. The lists which the relieving officers had been preparing, according to Mr. Burke's instructions, were brought in; and it appeared that the result of less than a week's enquiry in the Union of Clifden, had sufficed to enrol on the lists the names of 222 families, or 1,276 persons; and the relieving officers stated that further enquiry would at least double the number. It was needful, therefore, to give notice that no more names could be taken for the present. Some names have been added and others omitted, but as a whole these lists have formed the basis from which the plan of emigration has been carried out from that time to this.

It will probably be best, without entering minutely into a detailed chronological account of the work, to give some idea of the general line of action which was adopted.

I. Firstly, then, as to the arrangement with the Clifden Union.

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At a meeting of the Board held on the 19th of April, the Guardians followed up their resolution of the 4th, already referred to, by agreeing by a majority to apply to the Local Government Board for a loan of £2,000. So far this was satisfactory, but when the views of the Guardians came to be considered more closely, it appeared that they were not likely to expend the amount per head for emigration which the Committee deemed needful to ensure its success. To the Union the object was, not unnaturally, to expend the smallest sum which could emigrate the largest number, and to them the sum of £2,000 appeared sufficient, with another £2,000 added, to emigrate above 1,000 individuals. But it was at once clear to me that £4,000 was a sum not nearly sufficient properly to emigrate this number in the way desired by the Committee, and sketched out in the resolutions adopted at the inangural meeting. In the first place, the scheme would utterly break down if the emigrants were merely landed on the American seaboard, and not forwarded from thence either to places to which they specially wished to go, or at any rate to suitable fields of labour. Again, it was evident that, as a rule, the emigrants would need a large contribution towards clothing, their conveyance to Galway, and other minor items.

Under these circumstances, as all enquiries proved most clearly that the people could advance little or nothing towards the cost of emigration, it was necessary to consider whether the rule adopted by the Committee, requiring one-half of the cost to be paid, should be enforced. I therefore felt it needful to apply to the Committee for their sanction to an expenditure, if required, of a sum of £5,000, in place of £2,000, in addition to the £2,000 which was to be received from the Guardians. The principle of obtaining half the cost from local sources, would in that case have to be abandoned; not to have abandoned the principle would, however, have led to the complete collapse of the scheme. Acting upon these considerations, the Committee assented to this expenditure, and also consented temporarily to advance another £2,000 until the Guardians should have effected Further, with regard to the question of cost, the their loan.\* Committee decided that in future, instead of one-half of the cost, £3 a-head only should be required from the emigrants, or other local sources.

11. The difficult question of occan transport was chiefly undertaken

<sup>\*</sup> This was not done.

by Mr. George Melly, of Liverpool, to whose hearty co-operation we are much indebted. The first company of 200 emigrants left by the Allan Line steamer on the 28th of April, this Company calling regularly every fortnight at Galway. It was, however, essential that other steamers should call at Galway in order to avoid the great expense and trouble which must otherwise be incurred in sending the emigrants to Queenstown or Liverpool Mr. Melly, after considerable trouble, arranged that a steamer of the Beaver Line should call at Galway on the 6th and 19th of May, we undertaking in each case to provide a certain number of passengers. It was also arranged that the emigrants going by this line should be forwarded by train to their various destinations in the United States at low rates.

III. The selection of the emigrants for each shipment, the arrangements which were necessary for bringing them from their scattered and distant homes at the right time to the ship's side, and for providing them with suitable clothing and outfit, involved an immense amount of detail and work.

The lists of those anxious to emigrate, already referred to, were four in number, one for each Dispensary district of the Union. These were carefully enquired into, and about a week or ten days before the arrival of the steamers, the relieving officers again went through their districts, and marked off on these lists a certain number of families who would be able and ready to leave on the appointed day.

The lists of these selected cases were again brought before me, and I went over them with the Clerk of the Union and relieving officers, discussing the size and general condition of each family, and their fitness to go, and rejecting those who did not seem to be suitable. Most of the families, as before remarked, were very destitute of clothing, particularly in the districts where evictions had taken place, so that it was necessary in going through the lists to allot to nearly every family a certain sum of money, usually about £3 or £6 for the purchase of clothing.

The mode adopted for the distribution of clothing was as follows:—Mr. Burke drew an order for each family for the sum which we had fixed upon, and these orders were made available for clothing at any shop in Clifden, &c. The emigrants could therefore choose their own shop or shops. Even in this way there was some danger that the orders might be abused; but it seemed the only satisfactory mode of distributing the clothing, and the relieving officers and others were constantly in and out of the shops to look

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after their people. In fact, the contingent from each district came into Clifden under the charge of their respective relieving officers.

In addition to this revision and examination of the lists, in almost every ease I saw the head or some other member of the family, either in their own homes, or more usually at the Werkhouse. This, of course, enabled me to judge better of the condition of the people and of their suitability for emigration. All I saw confirmed my belief as to the reality of their poverty. Some of those thus coming to the Workhouse had borrowed the jacket or other clothing they were, to be "a bit dacent." I must mention that as the Guardians had at that time presumably some share in the emigration, many of them, the shopkeepers in particular, used to come to the Workhouse, and, claiming to have the right to determine who were and who were not suitable to be assisted, took a very active part in scrutinising the lists. This right I always admitted, but its exercise often caused me considerable annoyance, and loss of time.

Another matter requiring much thought and arrangement was the conveyance of the people from these remote districts to Galwayusually fifty to sixty miles-so that, without being too long upon the road, they should all be at Galway the evening before the sailing of the steamer. The difficulty will be more fully understood when it is remembered that among the emigrants were a considerable number of small children, that the districts from which the emigrants came are extremely scattered, and that many of the people live in places very difficult of access, to which even a ear cannot approach within two or three miles. In no case was there any railway communication. It was, moreover, no easy matter to obtain a sufficient number of ears or other conveyances. Many of those engaged drove the fifty miles from Galway the previous day, and back the next with the emigrants. Some families travelled on the common earts of the country—a slow process for sixty miles-and some of the men walked a considerable part of the way. The arrangements for conveyance were, however, successfully earried out by local assistants, whom I employed, and by the relieving officers, so that no family was in any instance too late, though many of them were not in Galway till two or three o'clock in the morning of the day on which the steamer left. The cost of this conveyance necessarily formed a considerable item in the total cost of emigration.

Arrangements had also to be made in Galway for lodging the two, three or four hundred emigrants the night before the vessel sailed, and for supplying them with food there and on the road. After the people had arrived at Galway our agents and others went round to the lodgings and gave the emigrants their tickets, in exchange for the written orders which they had previously received, and which were a guarantee of their identity.

The following accounts of the embarkation of the people, written at the time, may be of interest:—

GALWAY, May 4th, 1882.

You will, I know, have been much interested to hear by telegram of the successful departure of the 350 emigrants in the "Nepigon." She arrived here about seven, and lay in the Bay nearly a mile from the quay. The tug, with its first freight of 200 poor Connemara people, was soon alongside. The confusion and searches for missing children, bundles of clothing, &c., were considerable, though perhaps not greater than might have been expected. The wish to change the place of destination on the tickets, the anxiety to know that the ticket was all right on the part of those who could not read, the sense that they were committing their all and their future to an unknown and distant world, doubtless troubled and disturbed many, and led to an endless amount of questioning and little difficulties. Then, again, some families who had been expected to come did not arrive, and others had been substituted; two or three brought other members of the family (or near relations), who had not been put down, earnestly begging for them to be accepted at the last moment. One girl went into a paroxysm of grief because a sister was not allowed to go with her, and when she was admitted went into another because a brother was not allowed. This was too much; and she became so excited that she and her bundles were at length replaced on the tender. But, on the whole, the affair was very well and quietly conducted. The greatest trouble really was, that after all we had done to clothe the people, many came up utterly unfit to travel. The £3, £5, or £6 allowed had not been sufficient; and had it not been that Father Stephen went back in the tug, and then returned in a sailing boat with two or three bundles for the captain to distribute towards the end of the voyage, many would have left very poorly provided for.

A local newspaper gives the following account :-

"Family Emigration from Connemara.—Mr. Tuke . . . shipped fifty-five families, numbering over 300 souls, in the 'Lake Nepigon' this morning in Galway Harbour. The families are all from Connemara, and had nearly all been recently evicted. The 'Nepigon,' which belongs to the Beaver Line, is well-fitted up; the berths are bottomed with canvas instead of the ordinary boards. The captain has the reputation of being most kind and attentive to his passengers. The 'Citic of the Tribes' steam tug made two trips to the steamer, and Mr. Keogh, of the Customs, and Dr. Rice cleared and examined the passengers. Mr. Tuke was present, and they all assembled on deck and cheered lustily, men, women and children being in the best spirits."

#### A fortuight later,

"The third and largest batch of Connemara emigrants, numbering in all 430 persons, had, with the invaluable aid of Major Gaskell, been gathered together, and by car or omnibus or hooker, were, with no little difficulty, collected in readiness for the 'Winnipeg,' appointed to sail the following morning. Punctual to her time, at five the following morning her steam whistle told us that she was in the bay—that all hands were needed. It is not needful to describe that which is involved in the collection from the lodging-houses the exchange of tickets, the transfer of so many men, women, and children from

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ing the ad. the tug to the steamer, and the final shakedown on board. Suffice it to say, that with the aid of Major Gaskell, two Dublin gentlemen who became interested in the work, and gave us much valuable help, the officers of the ship, and our own hard-working assistants, it was done after six hours strennous toil, and with cheers the emigrants left—left on their voyage of discovery to the New World. Through the kindness of Father Nugent, of Liverpool, the Rev. J. O'Donnell, R.C. Chaplain of the Liverpool Workhouse, had been induced to take charge of them."

I may perhaps be allowed here to say, that in any future work which may be carried on I would most strongly advise, on all accounts, the shipment of smaller numbers. Batches of not more than ten or fifteen families at the utmost should be sent out. The doing so would lessen the great strain on this side, and at the same time reduce the chances of any difficulty in finding employment in America, which the larger numbers may cause.

Having said thus much of the arrangements on this side of the Atlantic, it may be well to give some account of the organization on the other side for receiving and looking after the emigrantsarrangements which were essential if the scheme were to be a success. As regards the emigrants going to Canada, no difficulty was encountered, the Canadian Government undertaking through their agents not only to meet the emigrants on their arrival, but also to find employment for them, chiefly in Western Ontario, where there is now a great demand for agricultural labour. The authorities at the Canadian office in London took a warm interest in the matter, and advised their Agents as to the number of our emigrants going out, requesting that especial attention should be shown them. Besides these advantages gained by sending emigrants to Canada, the Canadian Government offers £1 a-head towards the passage of agricultural labourers and their families. however, found that very few of the emigrants wished to go to Canada. Most of them had relations in the United States, or knew of friends who had done well there, and consequently preferred going to the country of which they had heard such good reports. One family only went to Canada by the first vessel, and by the second ten families, or fifty-six persons. When it came to the third vessel, however, and the chances of emigrating at all, became less, the people's desire to get away anywhere, led them to accept willingly almost any offer by which this could be effected, and consequently 170 persons went to Canada by the "Lake Winnipeg." The Canadian emigrants were chiefly booked through to Toronto, where the Canadian Government undertook to find them work.

A considerable proportion of those going to the United States went to join their friends; but nevertheless it was obviously needful

that some arrangements should be made for having all the emigrants met on the other side, especially on account of the children. Before leaving home I had written to a personal friend in Philadelphia, and he, together with some other gentlemen, have rendered most kind and efficient services in looking after the emigrants arriving at Boston by steamer, or at New York and Philadelphia by rail, from Quebee. I have had accounts from him of the arrival of the three first ships. Some of the people at their own wish were sent on to Pittsburg, Cleveland, and other places, while my friends found employment for many of them in the Eastern States, some in village manufactories, the masters being so anxious to engage them that they not only paid the railway fares, but also provided houses for the emigrants and their families, in which I hear that many of them are already comfortably settled, and earning good wages.

Already some private accounts have reached Clifden of the happiness and success of individual families who have gone to the States. Information has also been received that suitable agricultural work has been found by the Canadian Government for the families sent to Toronto.

On the 20th of May, the day after the sailing of the "Winnipeg," I returned to England, leaving Major Gaskell, who had joined me nearly a fortnight previously, in Galway, to continue the work. He is still in the West of Ireland, and some account of what he has done up to this time has been appended.

Before concluding this Report, there are one or two other points to which it may be well to refer.

When the movement was commenced it was thought very possible that opposition to the work of the Committee might arise from certain quarters; but after two months' experience, I can state that no such opposition has shown itself, at any rate openly, though some has arisen from a quarter whence it had not been expected. Some priests have openly helped and encouraged the work, some have privately sympathised with it, while if others have been hostile to it, their opposition has had no apparent effect. Opposition, however, has come from the shopkeepers of the district. I have already alluded to this on the part of some who were Guardians, but it has not been confined to them. A deputation of ten shopkeepers waited upon me one day at Clifden, in the hotel, and represented to me that the assistance from the Fund should be given only to those tenants who

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had been evieted, or to labourers who could not find employment. Their chief complaint was, that many of the would-be emigrants were in their debt, or well off, and they proposed that I should submit the lists to their serutiny, so that "those deeply in our books, having the means of meeting their just liabilities, but now taking advantage of this emigration scheme in order to avoid them, may be struck off." I have had numbers of notes, more or less angry, to this effect, objecting to names on the lists, and asking me to pay their This opposition on the part of many of the shopkeepers had, indeed, a more serious effeet. Many of them are Guardians—perhaps it would not be beyond the mark to say that most of the elected Guardians are shopkeepers—and it is probably due to their influence that on the 3rd of May tho Board actually reseinded the resolution of the 19th of April, already referred to, by which the application for a loan of £2,000 was sanctioned. The application had, in due course, been made to the Local Government Board, and had been approved by them and by the Public Works Loan Commissioners—though several further forms would have been necessary before the money could be advanced;the Guardians had, subsequently to the 19th of April, fully accepted and understood their position, by alluding in one of their resolutions of the 26th to the emigrants who were being sent out "by the aid of the funds of this Union," and yet on the 3rd of May they abandoned the position they had taken up, and broke with the arrangement which only a fortnight before they had come to with the Committee, and upon the faith of which the Committee had commenced, and already partially earried out, an extensive scheme of emigration from the Union. The work had in consequence to be curtailed, and many persons who had their names on the lists, and were hoping to emigrate, were thereby prevented from leaving. The invaluable services rendered by Mr. John Burke, the Clerk to the Union, must not be passed over without acknowledgment; it is hardly too much to say that without his assistance the work could not have been accomplished.

In reference to other Unions where the Committee had hoped to have been able to assist, it may be needful to say that the Newport Board of Guardians had passed a resolution somewhat to the same effect as that passed by the Clifden Board on the 4th of April. But they never advanced beyond this, except to apply for a loan of £100 towards emigration, to be devoted to eases in the Workhouse only. It therefore seemed very doubtful whether assistance could be given to any number of the poor people of Achill and Mulranny

whom I had been to see, or to others in this Union. As the Union declined to borrow further, it remained that the only terms upon which I was able to offer assistance were those already mentioned, namely, that £3 per fare (i.e., per adult or two children) should be forthcoming from the emigrants or from other local sources. However, early in May, Mr. Hodgkin, who had been assisting me with the second shipment in Clifden, taking my former lists with him, went to that district to see to what extent the people were able to avail themselves of the assistance. But he found that upon the above terms it was almost impossible to help families, though there were a certain number of individuals who were able to find the necessary £3. To have helped individuals to emigrate extensively would, however, not have been in accordance with the objects of the Fund. As a matter of fact about twenty individuals were assisted, while as regards families only three were assisted, out of thirty who were unable to find the required amount. The demand for emigration was still very great, though owing to the knowledge of the £3 limitation, the applicants did not come forward as they would otherwise have done. But on all sides it was reported that almost every poor family in the district would be glad to emigrate if free emigration were found for them. It was evident in this district, as elsewhere, that the most suitable cases and those who most wish to go, are those who are least able to pay anything towards the eost.

The result of all I have seen and heard in the last two months, more and more convinces me of the extreme poverty of the people in these Western Unions, and of the impossibility of their contributing to any material extent towards the cost of emigration, at the present time. A gentleman who has property in this neighbourhood, in speaking of the extraordinary demand for emigration, said that to his mind it was the most complete proof that could be given of the abject poverty of the people, and he added that he was certain that if the tenants were called on to pay any portion of the passage money, it would at once stop the whole affair, and that if even "the bit of clothing" now given were not granted, the people would not go; and this statement is confirmed by the fact, that, in spite of the £3 or £5 that had been allowed to the emigrants, a number of those who came on board the "Nepigon" were most insufficiently clothed, and at the last moment a considerable amount had to be expended on them. No Irishman would leave home willingly in rags, or without show and stockings, and the fact that so many, after the allowance deemed needful by the officials, were still so ill-provided with clothing, is an added proof of the oft-repeated story

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of the abject poverty of these poor people, and of the uselessness of offering to send them out at half-fares.

Another proof of the poverty of the people was the numerous evictions that were taking place throughout the district, usually on account of the non-payment of rents so small, that even if they were three or four years in arrear, a tenant with £6 to £10 in his pocket could have paid them and remained on the land. To quote one instance, evictions were to take place on twenty-four holdings, the rents of which ranged from £1 to £5; the arrears of rent varied from five to seven years, but though the landlord offered to wipe off all these arrears on condition of one year's rent being paid, in no single instance had this as yet been done. A gentleman in the district told me that a few weeks ago he had not thought that the people were so poor, or that it was impossible for them to pay their rents, but now that he had seen the way in which such numbers of the people had allowed themselves to be evicted, he was constrained to believe it.

I was also much struck with a growing feeling among the people themselves that emigration is the only help for them. I hear that within the last year or two they have become more and more disheartened with their prospects, and have ceased to care, as they formerly did, for the land which they now find fails to support them, and leaves them in their present miserable condition.

Another fact, which very much complicates matters, is that, owing to many accountable causes, the demand for labour in these districts is very much less than it used to be, and is continually decreasing. This growing dearth of employment throughout the whole district, and the hundreds of strong men demanding work and unable to get it, is indeed most alarming.

The work of the Fund has, I am convinced, been of the greatest use and benefit in lessening to some extent this tension, and in alleviating the unfortunate condition of this one Union. But to apply an effectual remedy to this and to other districts lies beyond the scope of any private society, and I am, therefore, more than ever assured that it is the immediate and imperative duty of the Government to take up and investigate the condition of these Western Unions, and adequately and promptly to deal with their special circumstances and special poverty in a special and liberal manner.

The following statement will show the numbers and dates of sailing of the three parties:—

April 28th, per "Austrian," 152 fares, families or parts of families; total 201 persons.

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May 5th, per "Nepigon," 260 fares, families or parts of families; total 345 persons.

May 19th, per "Winnipeg," 356 fares, families or parts of families; total 432 persons.

In addition, 289 persons were sent out by various other shipments, making a total of 1,267 persons.

In bringing this report to a conclusion, I hope it may not be deemed presumptuous to offer one or two suggestions in reference to any possible future working or objects of the Fund.

The "experiment," as it was called at the beginning, has been made, with what sneeess as to the individuals we must leave time to say, but this much we can, we think, distinctly say has been proved.

- 1. The intense desire of large numbers to emigrate from the impoverished Unions in the West of Ireland, and that this desire has not been stopped by any adverse influences at present at work.
- 2. That the poverty of the people in the districts under consideration is so great that very little, if any, of the cost of emigration can be obtained from the emigrants themselves.
- 3. That it is not probable that the Union in these districts, unless legally compelled, will tax themselves for this object, or the funds be supplied by other local sources.
- 4. That the numbers requiring to be assisted to emigrate from certain well defined Western Unions is so large, that whether fifty, or a hundred thousand, or more, it would be beyond the power of any private association to supply the funds.
- 5. That, especially in certain of these Unions, in which a large number of impoverished families have been evicted, it is essential that this assistance should be immediately commenced.
- 6. That no emigration of families should be encouraged without corresponding and satisfactory arrangements having been made in Canada, or the United States, or elsewhere, for the reception of the emigrants.

Presuming these conclusions to be established, and with the hope that the Government may take up the question of granting assistance for emigration to impoverished Unions, it might seem that the especial work of this Committee would shortly eease.

But, I would venture to urge, inasmuch as the function of the Government could hardly include much more than the providing of free passages, whether wholly or in part, there will still remain a most important field of work for an association such as has been formed, which, utilising the experience already gained, might be charged with the general oversight of the embarkation, outfit, and other minor details

on this side; and as regards the placing of the emigrants, whether in Canada or the United States, might advise and direct them to the fields of labour most suited to their circumstances. An offer on the part of such voluntary association to bear part of the cost, and take charge of some absolutely needed arrangements, might, it is suggested, materially influence the Government to deal promptly with the question.

It only remains for me to express my deep sense of obligation for the kindness and confidence which has been shown me by the Committee in carrying out this important task. No one is more conscious than myself of how much better this work might have been done by others, or how much more efficiently with the experience now gained, any future work may be carried out.

I beg to remain, &e.,

J. H. TUKE.

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#### MAJOR GASKELL'S REPORT.

RECESS, GALWAY,

21st May, 1882.

SIR,

As Mr. Take has gone—to attend the meeting of the Committee, on the 23rd inst., and to make a report—I think it possible that you may look for an independent account of the impressions made upon my mind by the work which he has conducted, and in the last section of which I have taken the part of a disciple.

The area covered by his exertions is mainly that of the Clifden Union, which must be worked from a base line about thirty English miles long, through branches extending from fifteen to thirty miles laterally. In consequence of the decision of the Clifden Board of Guardians to cancel a previous resolution to provide funds, the work, since I joined Mr. Tuke, has consisted in cutting down the lists of persons previously selected for emigration. This has been no easy task, in view of the uniform level of poverty apparent in the district, and of the pressing nature of the cases put forward by local officials and others from whom information has been sought. Throughout this district, containing from four to five thousand families, there is a dearth of paid employment. A few are engaged in trading turf for fuel to County Clare and Arran Islands, and sea-weed for manure to Galway; but the bulk of the population, now that the seed is in the ground, have nothing better to do than to watch the growth of their potatoes. Without money to take them to England or Scotland, with no store of provisions at home, unable (happily) to obtain credit at the shops, these people seem to have realised the impossibility of living on their holdings, and the precariousness and hopelessness of their condition generally. For the past two years they have been buoyed up with the expectation of better times-I don't say reasonable expectation, for they appear not to reason but to look for blessings from the clouds—but expectations have been held out to them which are proving unreal; and they seem now to be sinking into despair. That is the tone—to speak generally—of all classes alike-elergy, owners of property, shopkeepers, artisans (though this is a very small class), labourers. No payments, no spending of money, want of employment, want of industry, want of confidence between classes; evictions in many directions, a general deadness and listlessness prevailing everywhere. Employment, the opportunity of earning money on the spot, seems a necessary remedy, or failing that, emigration to other fields of labour; and there exists an epidemic desire to emigrate; an eager, uncalculating desire on the part of thousands, as I believe, to be helped to leave their country. If this be true it is as significant as sad, in reference to a people, perhaps impulsive and improvident, but certainly home-loving. They are a fine population, teeming in numbers, crowded on a narrow fringe of coast, with miles of moor and mountain behind them, in holdings which, if the rent were nil, and the "farming"

many times better than it is, could not support them. The manufacture of kelp used to bring them in money, but the demand now is small and only for a quality difficult to make. Lobster fishing is profitable to a few during two or three months, and other fish there must be in the sea. But there is no market, the people are not fishermen, and the sea is the open Atlantic. Emigration, and on a large scale, seems a necessity of the moment. Whom to take; where to take them; and how to take them, are the questions which Mr. Tuke has been engaged in solving with a degree of success which I am sure he himself has not had time to realise, but which others must very gratefully acknowledge.

In a short month he has organised a double system of selection on this side and of supervision on the other side of the water; and sent 1,000 persons rejoicing on the way which, subject to their own exertions, leads, by all

accounts, to competence.

The season is late, and it may be expedient that this feverish desire for emigration should be allowed to cool, and some test applied as to the ability of the people to help themselves; but my own conviction is that any scheme of emigration, to be useful to this coast and island population, should be one providing for the whole cost of passage from the cottage door to the destination. The families are large; and the most they can scrape together -and they will sell every particle of property in order to emigrate--will basely suffice to clothe them decently, and leave a little eash in hand for use on landing.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

W. P. GASKELL.

Sydney C. Buxton, Esq.

12th June, 1882.

Since the above letter was written I have been engaged in completing work marked out by Mr. Tuke ; and in assisting whole families able to pay £3 per fare to emigrate from the remote parishes of Killeen and Rossmuck, including Carrowroe and the islands in Kilkieran Bay.

The result to this date is that 173 fares, with five infants, have embarked in two vessels of the Allan Line, the "Scandinavian" and "Waldensian;" booked for the most part to the American ports; but in a considerable number of eases to Pittsburgh; and a few to Minnesota. All will be met on their arrival at Boston, the port of disembarkation, by Mr. Smith or his representatives; to whom, at Mr. Tuke's request, lists have been sent, giving the names, numbers, and description of emigrants proceeding to each destination.

Embarkation at Galway involves a quarter of an hour's passage on the open deck of a tug steamer to a somewhat exposed anchorage; and this in wet and stormy weather is an uncomfortable introduction to the voyage. But the emigrants seem delighted to go; and their bright countenances, fine physique, and respectable appearance convey the impression that their transfer to a country where they may earn good wages cannot fail to assure to them a life materially better than they have been accustomed to lead at home.

The rule under which whole families only are assisted on contributing £3 per fare, would almost entirely exclude from the operation of the Fund the bulk of the population of the poorest districts in the West and elsewhere. In the Unions of Clifden and Oughterard, for instance, there are numbers of families -safely to be estimated at 10 per cent. at least, of the population-whose position is precarious, and who are most anxious to emigrate, but who, if they

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sold everything they possessed at any time between 1st January and 1st August, in any year, would not be able to realize £7 or £8 per family. There are many poorer still, who have no land at all, no cattle, nor poultry even, nor property of any description, so far as one can see, that would fetch a shilling; who live in the worst of cabins, miserably elad, and less than half fed on coarse Indian meal porridge, made with peat water, and tasting strongly of peat The adult members work for their neighbours, when they can get work, either on land or in boats. Such work is mere subsistence for the time. The children, almost naked and untaught, go "herding" cattle on the exposed hill-sides and moorland, where often there is not only an utter absence of such shelter as trees, or shrubs, or a bank would afford, but where even the boulders are not big enough to shelter a sheep. These families are "squatters," who, evicted elsewhere in years gone by, have taken refuge and root in the waste spots—the wildest and agriculturally the worst—of what is at best a wilderness; where no one else would think of settling; no one disturb them, nor grudge them the effort to scratch or dig out a living; who have here built themselves cabins of stone or turf, to exist no one can tell how. At least they have space around them, and the purest air to breathe, and seaweed, if they will fetch it, for mamure; while fish swim within reach if they had the means and energy to catch them. On the whole they may be better off than the poor in towns. But they must be classed as destitute; they are most of all in need of help; they are the least promising subjects for emigration because their condition altogether is so much below par; yet no scheme of emigration would be complete which left them out of account. And some, indeed, there are among them who, spite of their excessive poverty, maintain themselves in cleanliness and decency; and who deserve, as much as they need, assistance. Emigration them must be absolutely free; and there is not much hope that either landlords or Boards of Guardians will come forward to help them; for they are waifs and strays whom it is no one's interest to claim. Nor will this emigration tend to clear the "holdings," for they are outside the limits of these.

I regret not to be able to state—owing to pressure of work and want of time for enquiry—what impression the Fund has made on congested population in any given locality; how many "holdings" have been cleared, and into whose hands they have fallen. In no case, I believe, has formal surrender of a holding been made to the landlord; and the process of regaining possession of a vacated holding has been described to me as not altogether easy.

That emigration must be applied to the West of Ireland, alone or in combination with other remedies for widespread poverty, is a conclusion unavoidable, I think, by anyone who will live in the different districts for a time and study their resources. The land is worth little naturally, except within easy reach of the sea; and there it can only be worked by manual labour with crowbar and spade; while manured with seaweed collected in boats, landed at high tide on the rocks, and carried by men, women, and children, in baskets to the gardens. The search for minerals has, as yet, made no fortunes. The institution of manufactures, other than that of wool, in such remote districts, entirely without railway or transway, does not seem to commend itself to any commercial mind: and the manufacture of wool is only carried on in the cabins in rude though substantial fashion. Yet the people are namerous and praying for employment: intellectually and physically a superior race, infinitely capable, if they can be stimulated to industry, and taught method and order -virtues at present by no means universal. There is at least one harbour where ironclads and ocean steamers may enter, and swing at anchor, without going sixty miles out of their course to Galway; and there should be plenty of water power in the rivers. But there seems no demand for anything but potatoes and pigs-the latter so dear that few of the people can afford to buy them. The best eggs in the kingdom 6d. a dozen; chickens 6d. each; a fose 1s. to 1s. 3d.; a sheep, with her lamb by her side, 8s. to 9s.; single sheep sold by the people to each other at 3s. and 3s. 6d. each. Industrial schools would be of great value in fitting the people for work elsewhere: but until the number of resident employers is increased—by the opening up of the country, or other attractive means—it is to be feared that the instruction such schools would spread would find but a limited field for practice.

That the emigrants who have gone have been deceived, or coaxed, or forced into emigration; that they have gone reluctantly; is information truly surprising to those who have been anxiously but vainly striving to meet a small proportion of the demands made upon this Fund. As far as crowds of applicants, importunate, diligent and persistent in making their wants known, pressing their claims with uplifted hands and eager looks, and many signs of passionate entreaty—as far as such indications may be taken to prove the wish of the people to emigrate, that wish is assured just now. But the harvest is coming in sight, and with the work and truits of harvest the desire or emigration may abate. The exciting cause of that desire was probably not merely poverty—for the condition of poverty is not new in these parts any more than elsewhere. What is almost new is the absolute stoppage of credit: and this has not only brought the people face to face with their real position, but led them to compare their lot with that of others their kinsfolk across the Atlantic.

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June, 1882.

