

Tuke's Emigrants 1882

James Hack Tuke : a memoir

Compiled by

The Right Hon. Sir Edward Fry

1899

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1882—1883

Preparations for emigration—Plan of the work—Sailing of emigrant ships—Second marriage—Renewed labours in 1883—Clothing of emigrants—Difficulties—Incidents of the work—Arrival of emigrants in America.

At the end of the last chapter we left Tuke placed, by the liberality and co-operation of friends, in a position to try the experiment of assisted family emigration on which he had so long set his heart ; he was on the threshold of the work, with a view to which he had made such prolonged and careful studies of the condition of things both in Ireland and in America.

Immediately after the meeting at the Duke of Bedford's house, Tuke was in Liverpool making enquiries for emigrant ships, and thence he went to Ireland and spent seven weeks in the business. The operations were confined to the three poorest Unions of the west : Clifden in County Galway, and Newport and Bellmullet in County Mayo. He placed himself at once in communication with the relieving officers and other Poor Law authorities, and drove over the country making enquiries as to who was desirous to emigrate, and visiting the people who had been evicted in the early part of the year. One day arriving at Rosturk Castle, he found a great number of applicants, chiefly from Achil Island, already awaiting him. In one week 1276 persons had got enrolled as candidates for emigration.

It is evident that to carry through the scheme of emigration which had thus started into existence required an extensive organisation. There was the selection of the proper people ; the bringing them at the right moment, neither too early nor too late, to the place of embarkation ; the provision of proper clothing ; the procuring of proper transit across the Atlantic ; and at the port of arrival, of proper care and means of transport to the actual places of abode. All these things Tuke did, and did with success : in no instance was any family too late, though some only arrived in the morning of the day on which the steamer left. He had lists of candidates prepared from the different districts of the Union, and these he went through with the Clerk of the Union, and finally settled who should go ; he gave to the selected ones notice of the time of their departure ; he got the emigrants into Galway just in time to start transporting men, women, and abundance of little children, over a country without a railway in it, and for distances usually from fifty to sixty miles ; he provided for their clothing ; he procured the calling of special steamers in Galway Bay ; he entered into arrangements with the Government of Canada which, through its agents, met and provided labour for the comparatively few emigrants who went to Canada ; and through a personal friend he made provision that the emigrants arriving at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia should be looked after. On 4th May his first consignment sailed from Galway.

This sailing of the first emigrant ship from the west with Tuke's emigrants may be almost considered as an epoch in the work. Of it he thus wrote :—

“ 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, etc., 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 ordered. 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.” [1]

A fortnight later he writes :—

“ 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, [2] 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 the tug to the steamer, and the final shake-down 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 strenuous 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.” [3]

The continued demand for emigration, and the success of the first shipments, induced the Committee of the Tuke Fund, in June 1882, to memorialise the Government to lend some assistance towards their work. It was in consequence of this representation that in the Arrears Act of 1882 a clause was inserted whereby a part of £100,000 was made over to the Irish executors for emigration purposes.

The work of emigration not only brought to Tuke abundant labour and pressing cares ; it also brought him a great blessing and happiness in the person of his second wife.

Miss Georgina Mary Kennedy, a daughter of Evory Kennedy, M.D., and Deputy-Lieutenant of County Dublin, had for some time taken a warm and practical interest in emigration ; the possession of common friends and a common interest made them acquainted.

A great moralist of antiquity has said that every friendship is formed about something : the something in the present case was emigration.

On 9th November 1882, Mr. Tuke and Miss Kennedy were married in London in her father's drawing-room, as neutral ground between a Church and a Quakers' meeting. They spent some time in the south of France, from whence they were recalled by the serious illness of Tuke's daughter, Mrs. Lindsell.

Of the £100,000 voted by Parliament for emigration purposes, more than a quarter was by the Lord-Lieutenant placed at the disposal of the Committee of Mr. Tuke's Fund, and in addition he requested them to undertake the charge of the Union of Bellmullet, and parts of the Unions of Newport, Clifden, and Oughterard. Tuke, now accompanied by his wife, thenceforward his assiduous fellow-worker, was again in the field of labour, and after conferences in London and Dublin with various authorities, he was found on 13th February 1883 at Westport, County Mayo, where he met his old fellow-labourer, Major Gaskell, and two new labourers in the persons of Mr. Sydney Buxton and Captain Rutledge Fair. The district placed by Government under the care of the Committee was divided into three parts, and the care of these was assigned as follows : Oughterard to Major Gaskell, Bellmullet to Mr. Sydney Buxton and Captain Rutledge Fair, and after the first season to the Captain alone ; the Union of Clifden was the district which Tuke undertook. In this work he spent more than three months, assisted by Messrs. Hodgkin and Higgins during portions of the time. " The amount of detail in connection with the emigration work can," wrote Tuke in his report, " hardly be estimated, and caused a strain and perpetual tension of mind and body, only made possible by the sense of the benefit which was conferred on these poor people, and which they so evidently felt and constantly acknowledged." [4]

One of the difficulties which showed itself in a pronounced form this year was that of procuring suitable clothing for the emigrants. This was met by the establishment, at each of the local centres of the work, of a clothing store, from which the emigrants were supplied with suitable clothing.

" The work of clothing the emigrants," writes Mrs. Tuke, " was perfectly organised and carried out by Mr. C. Taylor Kelly of Messrs. Pim's of Dublin. The garments, etc., were supplied by Tuke's old and valued friends the Pims, and were admirable both in make and quality. The difficulty of organising this branch of the work was extreme, and frequently obliged Mr. Kelly to travel all night on cars, in order to be up to time at some remote centre. Once in later times, when the work was ' boycotted' in one district, Mr. Kelly had to travel with his goods stored round him on one of the rough country carts a distance of thirty or forty miles."

Of the method of carrying on the emigration work in 1883, Mrs. Tuke writes as follows :—

" A large blue list of candidates was prepared by the Relieving Officer and sanctioned by the Clerk of the Union. Mr. Tuke, with his secretary, Mr. Hodgkin, and I went carefully through this, with the help of the Relieving Officer and any other reliable local authority, priest or doctor, etc. The emigrants were then interviewed when possible at their homes, but as this often involved too much time, generally in some local centre, the ' Board-room' at Clifden, Dispensary at Letterfrack, or our inn at Carna, etc. Mr. Tuke sat at the head of the table and enquired of each emigrant about his means, holding, family, clothing, in fact asked all possible questions ; his secretary sat at one side taking notes of the replies, and I at the other noting certain particulars—Mr. Tuke himself making notes also. The lists were then

carefully compared, and discrepancies marked, enquiries made, etc., and then the pink shipping lists were made out. Necessary clothing and its cost was also listed, and every particular recorded. And from these pink lists the money orders and amounts, passage tickets, etc., were taken. One of my duties was to try and detect what were called by the people themselves *substitutes*, as I was supposed to have the faculty of seeing family traits, etc. According to the rule laid down by Mr. Tuke and the Committee of the Fund, the families of the emigrants had to be chosen for their fitness, not only in health, but there had to be a certain proportion of bread-winners to helpless members, and this rule was very strictly kept. Sometimes the people, knowing this, would substitute one or even two strong young people—a neighbour's boy or girl—to make up the proportion, and these were what were called the *substitutes*, and of course had to be eliminated, as, on landing on the other side, they would have been off to work on their own account. By means of the above plans of work, three lists were kept, and at any moment we could refer to them for every particular size of holding, amount of stock, crop, or cattle, were all entered and verified. The system was complete, and we frequently had to prove it, as questions were continually being asked in the House of Commons. Often on our busiest days, telegrams from Sir George Trevelyan, or whoever was the Chief Secretary, would come asking those questions, the answers to which had to be hunted up and wired at once. The kindness and consideration of Mr. Tuke's manner to the people was wonderful, considering the amount of work that had to be got through, and the frequent difficulty of the conversations, having often to be carried on through an interpreter ; he was always so firm and gentle with them, and won their confidence at once. I never saw him impatient, though he was often tried.

“ Sometimes, owing to the long distances that the emigrants had to be brought to Galway for the sailings, it was very late at night, or early in the morning when they arrived. When the sound of the wheels or creaking of the carts announced the arrival of one of these belated parties, Mr. Tuke seemed to realise their advent even in his dreams ; and how often I have seen him by the early morning light peering through the windows, and calling out to the drivers where to go with their people. One night I remember so well—when Mr. Hodgkin (his faithful and most untiring helper) had had the care of the arrangements, and one of these late parties arrived in Galway—Mr. Tuke was up in a moment and going to call Howard Hodgkin, when it suddenly occurred to him that he did not know which room he was in. ‘ Never mind,’ he said, ‘ I’ll find him out’ ; so he proceeded, in the most inhuman manner, to knock at every door down the passage, to the great wrath and loudly expressed indignation of their occupants. I never heard anything so comical, door after door was knocked loudly at, and sleepy swears came in response ; but in the end Howard was found, and Mr. Tuke returned triumphant.”

Of a shipment of emigrants in 1883, and of the needful preliminary labours, Mrs. Tuke's notes give us the following picture :—

“ *Glendalough, Monday, 19th March 1883.*—Carriage at the door at 10, and off we start on a bright undecided morning to Letterfrack by Lough Inagh and through the pass by the Lakes. Snow on the summits of all the high mountains and the whole scene lovely. Only passed two men in the twelve miles' drive ! and this is a ‘ congested district.’ Letterfrack soon after 12. Met Father M'Andrew (very civil and advising) on the road. S. Joyce, relieving officer, and Peter King ready, and Mr. Kelly, our clothing inspector, waiting at the inn. Mr. Tuke and I and the others set to work hard at lists till 4, when we allowed ourselves a break for lunch (tea and bread and jam most refreshing). Mr. Kelly had meanwhile arranged the clothing in the ‘ Court House,’ where he and I received the accepted emigrants, and gave them their sailing tickets, etc. Hard, anxious work this selecting is, and we had so many more applications than could be granted for the steamer of the 23rd. Those that are *elect* are so

happy and thankful. They are to come in to-morrow for clothing ! Worked till 7.30, then a hurried dinner. Soon after 8 the police sergeant and a constable came by appointment to see Mr. Tuke, and we had a curious interview ! The sergeant, very tall and thin, with a striking face and quiet manner, walked to the door, ran his thumb along to see that it was close shut, then the conversation began, carried on in whispers. The sergeant took from his breast pocket a list of names of persons who were suspected by the police of complicity in some of the recent murders committed in this district. This list he handed to Mr. Tuke, who immediately compared it with his list, and noted any names that were on both. None of the names on the police list were to be sent abroad. No name was spoken, as few words as possible were uttered, and with the same silence and mystery the sergeant and his constable left ; and indeed these precautions were not unnecessary, as everybody in the place seemed to be more or less in the ring. Mystery and anxiety were on every face, and men looked over their shoulders to see who was within earshot before they would answer a question ! Let me give some instances of the condition. The bright-eyed, ragged little girl who was employed by the Post Office as telegraph messenger, was sister of the two young Walshes of Letterfrack, one of whom was hanged for the murder, under peculiarly painful circumstances, of a shepherd on the hill above, named Lydon, and the other was imprisoned for complicity in the death of Kavanagh, the constable who had been engaged to investigate the Lydon business. The nice, gentle-looking maid who waited on us at our inn, and the man who drove the hotel car, were brother and sister of a very pleasant-spoken lad, who, now under suspicion of the murder of Kavanagh, was subsequently arrested and imprisoned, but full proof was wanting. This lad applied to Mr. Tuke for help to emigrate, but of course it could not be given at present, though he was sent out later on. A number of young men who had asked most urgently for emigration help when we were here last month were not forthcoming this time, and it transpired that on its becoming known, in the mean-time, that James Carey had turned informer about the Phoenix Park murders, many of them who had belonged to the Patriotic Brotherhood, of which there had been a strong branch here, had scraped together some money and fled to America for fear of unpleasant revelations. It was proved at the trial of the Phoenix Park people that the connection was very close between the ‘ Invincibles’ and Letterfrack. Two shopkeepers of this place came to Mr. Tuke with a long list of their debts and debtors, fearful that some of the latter might be emigrated. Mr. Tuke went through the list, and happily did not find any of his people on them.

“ *Tuesday, 20th March.*—Immediately after breakfast Mr. Tuke and the relieving officer worked again at lists and interviewing, while Mr. Kelly, Peter King, and I distributed clothing to the 120 people who are to start in the *Phoenician* on the 23rd. It was hard work. Mr. Kelly checked lists and ‘ clerked.’ Peter King talked and marshalled, while I distributed, sometimes knee-deep in shifts and petticoats. We were in the Court House. The people entered at one door and passed out at the other. Some families had to be clothed from head to foot, having nothing fit for use of their own. Others only wanted part clothing. They showed wonderful honesty generally in saying what they had and what they required, and were in most cases very grateful, only one very ugly girl declined one of the hats as ‘ too dowdy.’ Frequently, when leaving, the heads of the families turned back from the door, shook hands warmly, and thanked Mr. Kelly and me for all our trouble. Mr. Tuke meanwhile was hard at work settling accounts and arranging landing money. By 5.30 the last family was clothed, and we all helped to pack up what was left for transportation to Clifden for next week’s start.

“ *Wednesday, 21st March.*—Mr. Tuke and I finished up lists and estimates, and he gave final exact instructions to P. King and S. Joyce, who are to be in charge of the emigrants’ cars on the long march to Galway on Thursday—over fifty Irish miles ! Mr. Kelly takes the clothing to Clifden to-day, and goes on himself to help Major Gaskell, who will, Mr. Tuke fears, be sore pressed at Galway.

“ At Clifden, Mr. Tuke had long talk with John Burke at the Union, and received there a deputation of ten shoemakers to present an address of thanks for employment given. They had contracted to make 160 pairs of boots for emigrants, but alas ! Mr. Kelly, who was not to be deceived, discovered that a considerable number of the Clifden hand-made boots were ‘ pegged’ boots from Northampton ! We had to take Mr. Kelly, and a lot of emigrants’ blankets, on our carriage to Glendalough, as his car had failed him.

“ *Thursday, 22nd March.*—Left Glendalough, 11. Looking out on the road for emigrants. Found the Galway cars waiting at Recess for the ‘ Letterfracks.’ A gray, bitter March day, so different from the blue lakes, red-brown bogs, purple near mountains, and distant snows of last evening.

“ Mr. Tuke ordered tea for the perished car-drivers. About 12, two cars appeared with families on them, so we started for Oughterard, leaving the rest to follow. Miss Murphy, the innkeeper at Oughterard, gave us her usual welcome, and her inn was as pleasant as ever. Two kind fishing gentlemen from Glendalough were so keenly interested in our proceedings they vanished out of two doors, and reappeared each presenting a handsome cheque ‘ to help the good work.’ Got on to Galway at 5, and found Major Gaskell and Mr. Howard Hodgkin already at work. I was set down to write landing money-orders. Mr. Tuke flew about in every direction seeing to everything. Peter King and the Letterfracks turned up at 9, and were seen safely to their lodgings in Galway.

“ *Good Friday, 23rd March.*—Came at last ; our first sailing. All hard at work completing lists at 1. Father Kane of Rossmuick appeared with Mrs. Nee and seven children in tow ; had £15 in hand from husband to fetch her to Boston. Sudden consultation. Could it be done by 2 ? Yes. Off goes Major Gaskell with the ladies to a shop. Mr. Kelly takes the boys to the store. 10 A.M. word came, *Phœnician* passed Slyne Head ; arrive Galway 1.30. Rushed down to the quay with Mr. Tuke, calling at the store to see Mr. Kelly ‘ fitting on.’ A large crowd assembled on the quay, and the tender, ‘ Citie of the Tribes,’ waiting for Mr. Tuke’s people. Got on bridge of tender, where were Captain Browne of the *Phœnician* (the well-known Atlantic Browne of the Allan line) and others. A long wait while the people hustled and hugged each other, and the police shoved about. At last, half our people got on board, and off we go. Bumped against the pier, knocked off a beam, and steamed away in the sunshine over a glassy sea towards *Phœnician*, which stood up grandly out of the water.

“ Half an hour brought us to the big ship, and we were on board in a moment. Then Peter King marshalled our people on board the ‘ Citie,’ and we stood by the gangway, and as ours came on board we handed each head of family his note for ‘ landing’ money. Then the tender went back to shore for the rest of the emigrants. The luggage meanwhile came off in hookers, and was hauled on board.

“ Mr. Tuke inspected the ship with Allan’s agent, Mr. Grant. Mr. Hodgkin and I visited, with the head steward, the emigrants’ quarters. Then all on deck, and talked with our people, all arrayed in order. A rope was drawn across the deck. The purser stood on one side with Mr. Grant and Mr. Tuke, while on the other stood the ship and shore doctors, and each head of family was given his ticket-paper, and each emigrant was examined by the doctors as he or she passed. Then the people were cleared to one end, and the sea kits, blankets, and mattresses, piled on deck, were distributed. Then the ‘ tender’ came up with the second party, and in about an hour the *Phœnician* got up steam, and we cleared off amid cheers and farewells, and great waving of hats, hands, and handkerchiefs. ‘ You and Mr. Tuke are like a father and mother to us all,’ said one poor woman as she wrung my hand at the last.”

Another vivid picture out of the west of Ireland during this emigration work is thus drawn by Mrs. Tuke in her notes :—

“ During the emigration work, one day we had been at an outlying village in the district interviewing emigrants from 12 till 6 P.M., during which time hundreds of people had been imploring to be ‘ sent out of their misery.’ A finer set of people I have never seen. Whole groups of men, standing six feet and over, with dark eager eyes, and keen well-cut features, with women and children to match, all clothed in the home-made white flannel of the district—such men as, had they been Prussian instead of British, would, in the days of old Frederick Wilhelm, have been kidnapped for the King’s Guard, and all having hardly any ‘ English,’ with whom we had to converse through an interpreter. At last, after 6, we started on our way home, and had gone a mile or two when we met the priest on his car, who stopped us, and the following conversation between him and Mr. Tuke took place :—

“ *Priest.* Well, Mr. ‘ Tchuke,’ I’m glad to see ye well, but you’re doing a lot of mischief in this place !

“ *Mr. Tuke.* How is that, Father X—— ? pray tell me.

“ *Priest.* Well, in consequence of the emigration of all the young and strong, the bone and sinew of the place, about *one hundred* families have had to go into the Clifden Workhouse quite lately.

“ *Mr. Tuke.* A hundred families, Father—500 persons ! that is a serious charge, especially as we do not send *singles* ! With very few exceptions, all our people go in families.

“ *Priest.* Well, I’m quite sure *fifty* families have gone into the Union, ‘ anny way !’

“ *Mr. Tuke.* Fifty families, Father—250 persons !

“ *Priest.* Well, I’m sure of that number ; it’s Gospel truth.

“ *Mr. Tuke.* Well, Father, I shall be in Clifden to-morrow, and shall make it my business to find out the exact number in the Union from A——.

“ So, with nods and wreathed smiles, we parted. The following day we went to Clifden and saw John Burke, the Clerk of the Union, a wonderful person in every way,—a tall man, weighing about seventeen to twenty stone, always to be found standing at his desk, hard at work. He had a strength of character and a courage rarely to be met with anywhere, but most unusual in the west of Ireland.

“ *Mr. Tuke.* Well, Mr. Burke, I am sorry to hear of the great and sudden increase of persons who have come into the Union lately from A——.

“ *John Burke.* What do ye mean, Mr. Tuke ? We have no sudden increase of people from A——.

“ *Mr. Tuke.* But Father X—— assured me only yesterday that 250 persons have come in quite lately.

“ Mr. Burke turned over the A—— list with his finger, and remarked : ‘ If you want to know the exact number, we have just the usual 25 old chronic cases from A——, and not a soul more.’ ”

“ So much for ‘ Gospel truth.’ ”

Another glimpse of the work may be gathered from the following extracts of a letter from Tuke to Mr. Buxton :

“ BELLMULLET, *Friday* [May 1883].

“ You may like to have a line from this place to-day, as Captain Fair will not be able to write before the post leaves. Yesterday was passed, as all days before the sailing of the ship are spent, in an infinite variety of interviews, ‘ doings and undoings,’—emigrants who wished not to, others who at the last moment wished ‘ to lave by the next ship’ ; husbands who wished to leave the ‘ wake’ family ‘ behint’ ; wives who wanted to go without the husband, who declared he would not go : ‘ couldn’t make up his mind, and why, because he was entirely wake and wanted to be abed for a fortnight,’ had vowed to ‘ perform a station’ before he left home, ‘ had some earnings owing to him which he would lose,’ and many other possible or impossible reasons for not going as the wife and family wished him to do. Then a long scene between a virago country shopkeeper and dolt of a husband, who sat dumb whilst his wife harangued and abused Fair because he would not stop Mrs. Somebody who owed her £6, and had sold any amount of stock. The defendant, an old Irish-speaking woman, voluble, and denying all charges, while her daughter-in-law, with pale, rather nice face, stood between them—final dismissal of parties—neither satisfied, and shopkeeper and company not triumphant but abusive.

“ ... And now for this morning. All yesterday our anxieties were quickened by a high wind and rain all night ; at three, however, Captain Fair—what a splendid fellow he is—was at work routing out the people, and soon after six was himself off to Elly Bay, where the embarkation took place. Here I followed with the learned Professor. How picturesque the grouping of the people on the beach amidst the huge red and brown chests, the final hugs and embraces, and the trim man-of-war and coastguard boat coming backwards and forwards from the gunboat—no sign of steamer then. Captain Fair arranging all, with Nolan and Richards to assist, and the four men appointed to the work. It was raining all the time, but it did not damp the good temper and liveliness of the people, who showed no signs of grief. Then, when all were safely put in the boats, Fair and others left for the gunboat ; for myself, only to shake hands with Captain Sutton and thank him for his kind attention to the people. As the day was so wet and dull, no object seemed gained by going farther.”

It has already appeared that in the course of the work occurred many incidents, some calculated to wake laughter and some tears. I will give two or three more. The first application for emigration Tuke thus describes in his paper “ With the Emigrants” :—

“ Taking a stroll on my return, to be rid of the stiffness caused by a long car journey, I met the Relieving Officer of the district, who was seeking me. A woman (always the first here) had come beseeching and imploring help from him. She had sold her little heifer and all her belongings, and just raised enough wherewith to buy the tickets, costing £16, which she produced, for her husband, herself, and her child, for the steamer on Friday, and hadn’t a “ penny’ to take them fifty miles to Galway, or pay for the ‘ kit,’ or ‘ lave a halfpenny’ when they landed. Would I give her help ? They were most industrious people, he said ; the hus-

band a 'splendid' workman ; and the woman was here. Would I see her ? Yes ; and a very tidy, pleasant-looking young woman was introduced. Relieving Officer : ' Now, tell the gentleman the story ; every word must be truth. Whist ! what's the use of crying ? Don't you see the kind gentleman means to help you ? he's taking down the notes ' ; and so I had the story over again. ' Well, how much would it be ? ' ' Well, indeed, if a sovereign could be had it would be great help. There was the car to Galway, a pound ; and they were very short of clothing, and they had nothing for the journey nor on landing, and they had friends in Ameriky (burst of tears, stopped by Relieving Officer) somewhere Alleghany County, Pennsylvania.' ' Well, how would they get there ? ' ' She didn't know; but if the good God helped them to Boston, she must lave that.' Then I summed up the very lowest that all these would cost, and hearing from the landlady of the hotel that her story was quite true, and that she had been a servant with her, I told her I could give £6 for the whole, so that they might not be stranded in the streets of Boston. She hardly took it seriously at first, it seemed so unreal. She had asked for a sovereign, and had £6 promised. ' Well, then,' at length she burst out, ' then it's the Lord Himself as has sent you to me this day, praised be His holy name ! ' "

The following are from Mrs. Tuke's notes :—

" On one occasion in 1883, when we were busily engaged in the emigration work, and were sitting solemnly in the Board-room at Clifden interviewing emigrants,—Mr. Tuke in the middle taking notes, and I at one side doing likewise,—a poor man came up, very anxious to go—and to go to Boston. Mr. Tuke greatly objected to sending people to the cities, requiring evidence that they would be sure of a reception there first. The poor fellow got more and more alarmed as to his destination, and pressing forward with clasped hands called out, ' Och yer honour, sind me to Boshton. Sind me to Boshton. Shure I've got *fourteen* furst couchins in Boshton.' "

" One day in 1883 we had been engaged all day interviewing emigrants, when a tall, dark-eyed girl from one of the neighbouring islands presented herself. She stood about 5 feet 10 in height, and was a splendid creature,—quite an ideal emigrant,—and seemed very anxious to go. Next time we came round Mary C—— did not turn up for the tickets and clothing distribution when her name was called. The local people giggled, and then it transpired that in the interval Mary (who had long been enamoured of a local swain, who had not come to the point as he should) had brought him to book and run away with him, *not he with her*—as the manner is and they were now married and, let us hope, happy ever after.

" *Saturday, 28th April 1883.*—We went on board the *Phœnician* and *Buenos Ayrean*, seeing our people off. After a long visit to the latter, we got off, and were standing on the bridge of the tender exchanging last words with the people, when suddenly John Connolly rushed across the gangway from the ship, and thrust into Mr. Hodgkin's hands and mine a bunch of sea-weed (such as the Connemara people eat with much relish) ; he had taken it from his own pockets, which were literally bulging out with it. He did it most gracefully—the sea-weed was all he had to give in recognition of what he thought our kindness to him. He was back again like a flash, the gangway was drawn in, and with a hearty cheer for us from the emigrants on deck, the *Buenos Ayrean* went on her way."

As will have been seen, the work was not accomplished without much valuable assistance rendered to Tuke—especially by Major Gaskell and Mr. Howard Hodgkin in the actual shipment of the emigrants, and by Mr. George Melly of Liverpool in the providing shipping for their accommodation. Nor was the work done without its drawbacks and vexations. At first the Clifden Union had agreed to join in the good work and hand over £2000 to aid in the emigration of the poor from their Union ; but after Tuke had made arrangements on the faith

of this agreement, specially benefiting this Union, the Board of Guardians rescinded their previous resolutions and contributed nothing to the work. Again, the Committee of the Fund had proposed to assist only those who could obtain a substantial part of the cost of emigration either from Boards of Guardians or local or private sources ; but the poverty was so great that Tuke was compelled to ask for and obtain the waiver of this condition. Again, though the Clifden Board of Guardians ultimately refused to aid the work, the shop-keepers, the so-called “ grocery men,” fearful of the loss of customers, or of the escape to a happier country of their debtors, opposed the scheme, and used their position as guardians to determine who were and were not to be assisted, and often caused Tuke considerable annoyance and loss of time. But, as we have seen, neither one nor all of these obstacles really checked the carrying on of the good work. [4]

The *modus operandi* for this second year (1883) was not very dissimilar from that of the previous year ; but on this occasion all emigrants were sent to Canada, unless they could prove that they had friends in the States whom they could join ; and this year steam-vessels visited not only Galway Bay but Blacksod Bay, whence the emigrants from the northern part of the district could be more conveniently sent. In April the Lord-Lieutenant, Earl Spencer, came from Dublin to see the embarkation of emigrants on board the SS. *Phœnician*.

The watchful care with which the United States regard the entrance of all persons who are likely to become a burden to the State is well known, and had to be considered by Tuke and his friends ; but so carefully did they make provision against this difficulty that in no case was a “ Tuke emigrant” turned back. The following passage from the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of 11th May 1883 relates to the batch of emigrants which, under the superintendence of Captain Rutledge Fair, were embarked on board the SS. *Phœnician* bound for Boston, and gives an interesting picture of what happened on each occasion as a ship-load of emigrants reached one of the ports in the United States. Those who have felt any interest in the sending forth of these poor emigrants will want to know something of their experiences on the other shore of the ocean :—

“ The ticket which is given in Ireland to an assisted passenger conveys him to his ultimate destination. The Montana-bound party, for example, did not have to get anything more in the shape of a ticket or the like when they reached this port. These points of destination are not invariably a matter of option on the part of the assisted passenger. He has the option of remaining at home, but if he takes passage he must go to a point where the agent of the assisting parties has information that employment can be found on arrival. In general, the desires of the emigrant can be met ; but now and then one of the voyagers, on arriving here, is heard to express preference for some other destination than that of his through ticket. In general, they are assisted beyond the price of the passage by a gift outright of money, in varying sums of from ten shillings to £12. This is given them when on shipboard by the purser or other proper officer of the vessel. The ground of discrimination does not clearly appear in its full extent, but usually the sum bestowed has proportion to the distance to be travelled after reaching port on this side, and to the size of the family. It is probable that the Transatlantic agents have information in some cases that the emigrating person or family has some pecuniary means, and for that reason reduce the gift, or, as happens in a few instances, withhold it altogether. As the immigrants pass through the gangway of the vessel here to the wharf, each person, or each head of a family, is detained by the superintendent of alien passengers or his officer long enough to ascertain and make memoranda of the name, destination, and other particulars, including the amount of money in possession. He also exercises a personal judgment in the matter, so that in case of anything appearing to raise a doubt in his mind the party is detained till the general mass has been catechised and passed

along, when these peculiar cases are further investigated until the officer is quite satisfied that all is right.

“ More often than anything else, the circumstance that attracts the officer’s attention is the youthfulness, and so the dependency, of the children of the family. The subsequent scrutiny is directed both to the present and prospective resources of the head of the family. So far, it has turned out in nearly all, if not every case, that the party has a reasonable sum to provide for the ordinary contingencies of the journey, and on arrival at the ultimate point will be met, and if necessary assisted, by relatives or friends there. For example, during the gangway inspection of yesterday, the officer’s attention was arrested by the general appearance of the family of John Tougher and wife, each of whom is 37 years old. Their children ranged in years thus 15, 13, 11, 9, 7, 5, and 1, and they had besides two other small children of another family ticketed with them. While they had not the appearance of ‘ forlorn creatures,’ there was that in the youthfulness of most of the children to suggest that here might be a case where, in the language of the chief magistrate, they might ‘ immediately become a charge upon the Commonwealth for support as to themselves and their family.’ They were waived aside, accordingly, and later subjected to more particular enquiry, whereupon it appeared that their destination was Grosvenordale in Connecticut ; that they had not only the proper ticket but a liberal sum of money for possible incidentals of the journey, and that they were going by contract or agreement made in Ireland to Mr. Briggs, who is superintendent of the Grosvenordale Mill Corporation, and who will provide employment for those old enough to serve as mill-hands on arrival there. They were accordingly passed along.

“ Another case was specially enquired into which had its peculiarity of another kind. A man and wife, each of 23 years, were of the passengers ticketed for Pittsburg, Pa. On the voyage, of date April 29, a son and heir made his appearance. The mother had made the most of the intervening ten days, and was now walking about the deck carrying her babe in arms. The husband was able-bodied, wherein, certainly, he did not differ from the wife, and although the three dollars which had been given them by the purser was what might be called a pretty close calculation, it was deemed sufficient, with the Pittsburg passage ticket, to make the venture not extra hazardous for the Commonwealth, and this party was also passed along. The case of Mary Cloney was subjected to some investigation. She appeared on deck with five children, and stated that her husband died in Ireland, and that she had been given by the purser £3. Mary is herself 50 years old, and the babes range as follows : Joseph, 22 years ; Ann, 20 ; Mary, 18 ; Bridget, 17 ; Festy, 16. Upon further enquiry it appeared that another son is a resident of the Charlestown district, and had written to his mother, telling her to come over the seas and bring the whole family to him. The sum of £3 was ample to enable the party to reach Charlestown by the Metropolitan horse-cars, and it is believed that the republic of Massachusetts will suffer no detriment by this arrival, as all appeared well and strong. Michael Murray and wife, with six children, ranging from nine years to a babe in arms, and ticketed for Montana, were subjected to some scrutiny, but as they all appeared to be in good health, had a through ticket, and the purser had given them sixty dollars in money, they were not sent back to Ireland, but are now far on the way towards sundown. In fact, nobody was finally rejected.”

Tuke rejoiced to think that the practice of sending families instead of individuals robbed exile of many of its sad features. In a letter to the *Times* (nth June 1883) he wrote :—

“ This may undoubtedly be said, that no emigrants have left their homes in Ireland under happier auspices, with less risk of failure, or with better chances of success. Well clothed, and conveyed from their door to the port of embarkation, where they are met and have lodgings and food provided by the agents of the Government and the Committee, until the

ocean steamers are ready to convey them to their destinations ; provided with free passages and railway tickets to any part of Canada or the United States that they may select and are approved by the Committee ; and, on landing, met by agents appointed by the English or Canadian Governments, the emigrant feels that he is cared for, and that friendly hands have been stretched out to aid and succour him : above all, among a people with whom the family tie is so paramount, the fact that the family is not divided, that husband and wife, and the long procession of older or younger ‘ Pats and Peters, Marys and Barbaras, with Festy and “ the couple,” ’ are allowed to go together, gives to the ‘ fremigration’ (as it is called) a wholly different character.

“ This deprives the embarkation of its sadness, and in the ten or twelve shipments at which I have assisted there has rarely been the painful wailing so familiar at the railway stations when one member of a family leaves alone. As I heard it remarked one day, ‘ One would suppose the people were going for a picnic, they are so cheerful and happy.’ And as, at parting, they crowd with prayers and blessings round those who have had the happiness of being allowed to assist them, their gratitude is evinced in many little acts, very touching to witness.”

At the end of the season’s work in 1883, an important step was taken by the Committee of the Fund in deputing Captain Rutledge Fair and Mr. Hodgkin to go to America (both the States and Canada), and to enquire into the condition of the families already sent out.

In the report which Tuke made to his Committee in March 1883, he reverted to a subject to which he had referred in his essay in the *Contemporary* of the previous year—the importance of piercing the districts of the extreme west with light narrow-gauge railways or steam tramways. He pointed out not only the advantage which would result from the employment of labour on their construction, but the permanent gain by rendering the markets of the east accessible from the regions of the west, where, as he says, he had known poultry eaten as the cheapest animal food, turbot as the cheapest fish, whilst eggs were selling at the rate of 8d. or rod. per score in the depth of winter.

[1] *Contemporary Review*, April 1882, p. 15.

[2] A boat used on the coast of Connaught.—E. F.

[3] *Contemporary Review*, 1882, pp. 15-16.

[4] In his paper in the *Nineteenth Century* for July 1882, entitled “ With the Emigrants,” further particulars of this visit to Ireland are given by Tuke.

James Hack Tuke : a memoir (1899)

Author : Tuke, James H. (James Hack), 1819-1896 ; Fry, Edward, Sir, 1827-1918

Publisher : London ; New York : Macmillan

Language : English

Digitizing sponsor : MSN

Book contributor : University of California Libraries

Collection : cdl ; americana

Source : Internet Archive

<https://archive.org/details/jameshacktukemem00tukeiala>

Edited and uploaded to www.aughty.org

December 13 2013