



**IRISH RETURN MIGRATION FROM AMERICA
AT THE TURN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1890-1920**

by

DIANE ROSE DUNNIGAN

**THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF PHD
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND
MAYNOOTH**

**Supervisors of Research:
Professor Raymond Gillespie
Dr Patrick Fitzgerald**

October 2011

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
List of Figures and Tables	iii
Abbreviations	vi
Introduction	1
1 Why Leave?	39
2 Who Returned?	82
3 Why did they return?	115
4 Those who returned for a temporary visit	146
5 Those who returned to stay permanently	192
6 Profiles of Return	239
Conclusion	344
Appendix	348
Bibliography	368

Acknowledgments

My deepest appreciation is given to my supervisors for their unwavering support and expert assistance during the preparation of this thesis: Professor Raymond Gillespie, Department of History, National University of Ireland, Maynooth and Dr. Patrick Fitzgerald at the Centre for Migration Studies in Omagh, County Tyrone.

I would like to thank all the Irish and American historians, institutions, libraries and heritage groups who provided the detailed historical information which enhanced the thesis, especially the excellent staff of the County Roscommon Library and Aoife Dowling at the National Institute of Regional Spatial Analysis, NUI Maynooth. My warm appreciation is extended to the migrants' descendent families who contributed to the life stories of their own returned Irish-Americans. I wish especially to thank my cousin Joan Kearney and friends Marian and Michael Gavagan, Michael Connaughton, Regina Donlon, Elisabeth and Richard Collins and Phillip J. Thorpe, BG, US Army (ret.), for their friendship sustaining me as I worked to complete my research.

This thesis would not have been possible without the encouragement of my family. I give heart-felt thanks to my daughter Leila, son-in-law Emad, grandchildren Zaina and Joey, son Jamie and daughter-in-law Heather for their support of my academic endeavours so far away from home.

Figures and Tables

Figures

Chapter 1.

1.1	Ireland - Population 1901 and 1991 and percent of change	42
1.2	Ireland - Emigration 1901 and 1991 and percent of change	42
1.3	Ireland and Connacht – Decade numbers - Male and Female Cohort Emigration 1901 and 1911	44
1.4	Emigration numbers from Connacht counties, 1890-1910	44
1.5	Economic cycles in the United States, 1880-1920	46
1.6	Emigration numbers from Connacht counties, 1890-1910	46
1.7	Congested Districts counties in Connacht, 1891, areas and population	50
1.8	Congested Districts in Connacht counties, 1909 and showing home location of Denis McGuire, Roosky, Co. Roscommon. Denis McGuire, Co. Roscommon, passport photo, 1919	53 56
1.9		
1.10	Country of birth of selected foreign-born population for the United States, 1890-1920	59
1.11	Selected groups of foreign-born immigrants to the U.S. and the proportion of immigrants per 1000 population, 1900-1920	60
1.12	Ancient Order of Hibernians national conference, San Francisco, California, July 1919	75
1.13	Mulligan Family, Newark, New Jersey, circa 1900	77

Chapter 2.

2.1	Number of passport applications by county of birth in Ireland, 1890-1920	84
2.2	Irish homeplaces of passport applicants - towns, villages and townlands, 1890-1920	88
2.3	Returned migrants - gender and county of origin, 1890-1920	89
2.4	Male vs. female numbers and percentages for returning migrants in Connacht , 1890-1920	90
2.5	Age of migrants at time of return to Ireland, 1890-1920	92
2.6	1889 Passport Application of Martin J. Burke of San Francisco, Calif.	94
2.7	Martial Status of Returning Migrants, all-Connaught, 1890-1920	98
2.8	Number of Passport Applicants by U.S. state of residence, 1890-1920	100
2.9	Top 8 U.S. states of residence per Connacht county listed in descending number of resident passport applicants.	101
2.10	Migrant occupations upon arrival in the United States for immigrants reporting an occupation, 1861–1910	102
2.11	Comparison of Census Occupation Classifications U.S. Federal Census 1910 and Census of Ireland 1911	104
2.12	Applicant occupation categories in U.S. at time of return, 1890-1920	106
2.13	Returning Migrants - number of migrants versus of years living in the U.S. before current return visit	108
2.14	Returning migrants' length of stay to stay in Ireland	110

Figures and Tables

Chapter 3.

3.1	Motivations in order of number of applicants & percentage of representative returned migrants	116
3.2	Passport Database photographs of representative returned migrants	120
3.3	U.S. Department of State letter, 1924, releasing John Devoy to travel to Ireland.	143

Chapter 4.

4.1	Returned migrants – towns, villages and townlands and locations of IFC respondents, 1890-1920	153
4.2	IFC Emigration Questionnaire – Question 10	154
4.3	Advertisement for J.W. Elvery and Co., illustrating <i>ladies caped ulsters</i> , July 1893.	171
4.4	Manifest of S.S. Mayflower, 26 September 1903, Queenstown to Boston, showing names of Mary Abbott and party	190

Chapter 5.

5.1	Average savings account amounts and proportion of accounts to population for countries of United Kingdom	201
5.2	Returned migrant Malachi Finneran of Derryglad, Co. Roscommon and Brooklyn, New York with his ‘American trunk’.	207
5.3	Patrick Murphy and his American pocket watch	207
5.4	Silver Christening cup and spoon Margaret Mary Conlon, nee Diffley of St. John’s County Roscommon and Boston, Mass.	207
5.5	McGivern’s Ballroom of Romance in Co. Leitrim	230
5.6	McGowan Dance Hall in Kiltyclogher, Co. Leitrim	230

Chapter 6.

6.1	Irish homeplaces of passport applicants, towns, village and townlands, IFC respondents and profiled returnees	243
6.2	Working Boys Home, Newton, Massachusetts where Fr James J. Farrelly worked as assistant superintendent, 1899-1915	256
6.3	<i>Boston Globe</i> report on activities at Working Boys Home, 1899	257
6.4	Fr James J. Farrelly, passport photo, 1920	261
6.5	Headstone of Fr John J. Farrelly, St Cecilia’s Cemetery, Sanborn, Iowa.	264
6.6	Henihan brothers, Bartley, Hugh and Denis, New York City, between 1911-1920.	268
6.7	U.S. Navy transport ship <i>U.S. Kroonland</i> – 6 th Division of yeomen, cooks and bakers, March 1919	270
6.8	Irish-American Legion veterans in Galway City with U.S. President John F. Kennedy, July 1963	276
6.9	Elisabeth McDonnell on beach at Oyster Bay, N.Y., with children and young women, c.1902.	284

Figures and Tables

6.10	Elisabeth Dwyer, nee McDonnell, at home in Roscommon, c. 1960.	286
6.11	Mote Park House, County Roscommon, c. 1910	293
6.12	Canton Bleachery, Canton, Massachusetts, postcard, 1912, where James Finnerty worked as a 'bleacher' in 1896	296
6.13	Union Army makeshift field hospital, battle of Antietam, 1862	308
6.14	Home of Dr. Dominic G. Bodkin in Brooklyn, New York from 1870s to 1902.	309
6.15	Obituary of Dominic G. Bodkin, <i>New York Times</i> , 26 Jan 1902	312
6.16	New York Hotel, owned by Leo McGovern, Bundoran, County Donegal, c. 1932.	317
6.17	Leo and Lena McGovern, proprietors of the New York Hotel in Bundoran, County Donegal, c. 1935.	318
6.18	Obituary of Philip Leo McGovern on the front page of the <i>Donegal Democrat</i> , 10 October 1975.	320
6.19	Margaret Brennan in Boston, Mass, circa 1905	326
6.20	News article, <i>Fort Wayne Journal</i> , relating Peter John Fallon visit to Ireland, 1919.	340
6.21	Peter John Fallon, passport photo, 1920	341

Appendix

Tables

A.1	Specific Irish homeplaces by Passport Applicants, Connacht, 1890-1920	348
A.2	Specific U.S. state/city of residence of returning migrants at the time of return, 1890-1920	352
A.3	List of U.S. occupation classes and related occupations of returning migrants, 1890-1920	358
A.4	Questions in Emigration Questionnaire	361
A.5	Respondent contributors to Emigration Questionnaire	362

Maps

A.1	Galway passport applicants – residences in U.S., 1890-1920	363
A.2	Leitrim passport applicants – residences in U.S., 1890-1920	364
A.3	Mayo passport applicants – residences in U.S., 1890-1920	365
A.4	Roscommon passport applicants – residences in U.S., 1890-1920	366
A.5	Sligo passport applicants – residences in U.S., 1890-1920	367

Draft

Abbreviations

AAB	Archives of the Archdiocese of Boston
AOH	Ancient Order of Hibernians
CDB	Congested District Boards
GRO	General Register Office, Dublin
IFC	Irish Folklore Collection
<i>IHS</i>	<i>Irish Historical Studies</i>
MCOF	Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NYU	New York University
RIC	Royal Irish Constabulary
TIARA	The Irish American Research Association
UCD	Universtity College Dublin

Introduction

‘I am glad to be here, it took me 115 years to make this trip, and 6,000 miles, and 3 generations, but I’m proud to be here’.¹ With these words, Irish-American John Fitzgerald Kennedy made a return visit to his great-grandfather’s home in Dunganstown, New Ross, County Wexford in July 1963. As an Irish-American experiencing my own return in 2000, I was asked ‘How long have ye been gone?’, 120 years since great-grandfather Tommy Dunnigan left Ballynure, County Roscommon for San Francisco was my reply. The initial trip to Ireland became the progenitor of an idea for this thesis which investigates the experiences of returning Irish-Americans, examining their motivations and characteristics as well as their adaptation upon return. This study continues an examination of return migration to the west of Ireland originated with my M.A. thesis research and resulting pamphlet.²

The study will also look at individual case studies of selected returnees. Their stories will be reconstructed, at least to the extent possible, by means of information obtained from ships’ manifests, census, birth, marriage and death documents, records of pre-emigration activities, their life in the United States and their life back in Ireland. The concepts and research presented in this work is represented in their various life paths.

¹ LiveLeak.com media website (http://www.liveleak.com/view?i=865_1298305916&c=1) [accessed 24May2001].

² Diane Dunnigan, *A south Roscommon emigrant: emigration and return, 1890-1920* (Dublin, 2007).

Introduction

The migration cycle

Only scant attention has been paid by a handful of scholars to the phenomenon of return migration to Ireland though return was an option open to the vast majority of most Irish emigrants. The nature and character of Irish return emigration has been obscured by the shadow of mass migration, the one-way transatlantic travel that typifies primary Irish migration and which, for the most part, resulted in little return traffic. Traditionally, the primary focus has been on studying one-way travel to North America, Australia, and New Zealand and Britain. This singular outlook had focused almost exclusively on the emigration process and how the Irish interacted with the host society in the receiving country. In recent decades, scholars have moved migration studies to focus on the circular and ongoing nature of migration. Takeyuki Tsuda contends that migration is not a process that eventually comes to an end. It may be viewed rather as an unpredictable, on-going progression, not only for first-generation migrants, but also for second and later generations.³

Historian Kevin Kenny suggests those studying return migration should take a perspective on global migration which examines movement and interaction between migrants in their places of overseas settlement and also between those immigrants in their overseas communities and their home country.⁴ Would this transnational approach consider migration as a cyclical process?

³ Takeyuki Tsuda, 'Introduction' in Takeyuki Tsuda, (ed.), *Diasporic homecomings: ethnic return migration in comparative perspective* (Stanford, 2009), pp 1-18. In 2004, Tsuda was the associate director of the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies at the University of California at San Diego. Tsuda is currently an anthropology professor at the University of Chicago.

⁴ Kevin Kenny, 'Diaspora and Comparison: The Global Irish as a Case Study' in *Journal of American History*, (2003), pp 134-62.

Introduction

Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin have put forth a comprehensive model of migration, an approach which encompasses the three different directions of migration – immigration, internal migration and emigration. Return migrants make the link between emigration and immigration because they are part of the overall immigration flow. In the Fitzgerald and Lambkin model, the returnees live in the ‘three different worlds of the immigrant: ‘that of the immigrants, that of the receiving country and that of the old country ...each can only be understood fully in relation to the other two, and ... each is part of a common migration process, however long or short the move...’.⁵

In the case of Irish emigration and return, the cycle appears to be a self-perpetuating dynamic. Kerby Miller suggests the immigrant Irish, in sending home letters, remittances and passage money, were directly encouraging departures and:

... furthering the circular process ...facilitating structural changes in Irish society which in turn mandated additional departures.’ In short, these processes were circular and interdependent: Commercialization produced social and cultural changes which mandated and encouraged an emigration which facilitated more commercialization and changes which in turn promoted more emigration, *et cetera*.⁶

Issues of settlement, integration and assimilation are not only important in the host country, but also need to be addressed once an immigrant returns to his or her country of origin. Marjory Harper suggests that the return element of the migration cycle could be attributed to one of five key reasons: success in the new

⁵ Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish history, 1607-2007* (London, 2008), p 49.

⁶ Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and exiles; Ireland and the Irish exodus to North America* (New York, 1985), pp 424 -26.

Introduction

home, failure, homesickness, a call to return to take over family farm or other property, or a rejection of life overseas.⁷

Terminology

The following terminology was identified from George Gmelch's exhaustive bibliography of 106 sources on return migration, and as defined and used in his 1980 study of Irish return migration,⁸ and will be used in this study: *return migration* – the movement of emigrants back to their homelands to resettle; *short visit migration* – migrants returning for a vacation or on an extended visit without the intention of remaining at home and *re-emigrate* – the movement of people who move back to their homelands and then emigrate a second time. *Return migrant* will refer to the individual who resettles in Ireland while *return visitor* will refer to the individual who returns home for a visit or extended stay though it is noted that it is difficult to distinguish analytically between return migrants on short or seasonal visits from those who have returned permanently. The generic term *returnee* refers to individuals in both categories. These emigration descriptors will be used deliberately in preference to such terms as *return emigrant*, *international return migration*, and *circular migration*.

The designation '*Irish-American*' is used in this study to identify individual immigrant Irish and their American descendents. Appropriately, the term came into use towards the end of the nineteenth century during the era of this study. In a

⁷ Marjory Harper (ed.), *Emigrant homecomings: the return movement of emigrants, 1600-2000* (2005), p. 21.

⁸ George Gmelch, 'Return Migration' in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol 9 (New York, 1980), pp 135-159; George Gmelch, and R. Rhoades. 'Bibliography on Return Migration' in *Papers in Anthropology*, xx (Oklahoma, 1979), pp 187-196.

Introduction

broader context, the term signifies the ‘cumulative social experience as carried by the Irish through American life’, including the ‘legacy of historical roles played by major Irish immigrant figures and the group as a whole in the military, political, religious, economic and cultural life of the country’.⁹ Dennis Clark maintained that these roles and other social factors, such as distinctive names beginning on Mac Mc or O, became part of America’s popular perception of Irish and Irish-American identity. In Ireland at that time, the emigrant having spent any time in America designated him Irish American.

The problem with numbers

The elusive and highly problematic status of any statistical data on return migration, as with most aspects of all migrations, presents difficulties with studying this subject.¹⁰ Perhaps the most discouraging factor is the lack of documentation. Returning men and women seldom are documented in historical sources or with the same level of attention in newspapers which was accorded to outward Irish emigrants. There are ‘... no illustrations of an eager, or apprehensive family, looking out at home from an arriving ship, preparing for a new life.’¹¹

The ebb and flow of European emigration, until the nineteenth century, may appear to be a fairly straightforward response to war, peace, harvests, and domestic economic growth. The earliest waves of emigrants were from northern and western Europe including England, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Germany, Sweden, Norway,

⁹ Dennis Clark, *Hibernia America: the Irish and regional cultures* (New York, 1986), p. xvi.

¹⁰ Fiona McGrath, ‘The economic, social and cultural impact of returned migration to Achilles Island’ in Russell King, (ed.) *Contemporary Irish migration*, (Dublin, 1991) p. 55.

¹¹ Harper (ed.), *Emigrant homecomings*, p. xi.

Introduction

Finland, and Wales, collectively named the 'Old Migration'.¹² With the onset of the nineteenth century, through the era of the Great Famine in Ireland, over 50 million Europeans emigrated, primarily from Britain and Ireland.¹³ This mass movement was aided by the rapid development of railway and steamship lines making inexpensive transportation available to people of modest means.¹⁴ In the mid-nineteenth century, thousands of emigrants designated as part of the 'New Migration', departed from parts of Scandinavia and several German states, followed in the decades before World War I by those from the south and east of Europe, Turkey, Greece, Portugal, Austria, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria/Serbia/Montenegro.¹⁵

What of the numbers for European, and particularly Irish return migration? Various sources have estimated that during this era of mass movement, from one-quarter to one-third of all European immigrants to the United States permanently returned home, even suggesting the total may have reached four million during the period up until 1930 when restrictive laws and the Great Depression in America greatly reduced the emigrant flow.¹⁶ Ascertaining the size of the reverse migration with any precision is problematic due to the inconsistent counting and inaccuracies in record-keeping by shipping lines and government port authorities and because in the records they did keep, they included tourists and business travelers together with departing migrants.

¹² J.D. Gould, 'European inter-continental emigration - the road home: return migration from the U.S.A.' in *Journal of European Economic History*, ix (1) (1980), pp 58-59.

¹³ Mark Wyman, *Round-trip America: The immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), pp 100; Gould, 'European inter-continental emigration', pp 58-9.

¹⁴ Olavi Kovivukangas, 'Connecting contemporary migration with the past' in *Journal of the Association of European Migration Institutions*, iii (2005), p. 62.

¹⁵ Wyman, *Round-trip America*, p. 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Introduction

In 1907, a dedicated U.S. Immigration Commission toured Europe encountering returned American migrants and they collected information from this homeward flow of immigrants. This was followed from 1908 to 1923 by U.S. immigration officials collecting statistics on these migrant ethnic groups, counting both the flow of immigration and emigration at American ports of entry. Grand totals derived from this endeavor indicated 9,949,740 immigrants from all countries had entered the United States during those years, and while 3,498,185 had departed. Of those who departed, 88 per cent (3,078,403) were Europeans, though many of those individuals were undoubtedly repeat returnees.¹⁷ The European return rate, as one might expect, appeared to be greater in recession years such as the 1850s and mid-1870s, but it was reported that this was generally less common among the Irish than among almost any other European ethnic group;¹⁸ Irish post-famine return migrant numbers were estimated to be between 10 per cent¹⁹ and 11 per cent.²⁰

To date, explanatory theories are limited regarding why some Irish emigrants chose to pay a return visit home or return to permanently reside at their places of origin. A literature search has identified sources which studied return migration mainly at the macro-level, however, within the source material, only a few scholars have studied Irish return. For the most part, those have limited their work to interpretation of survey results and oral narrative sources. It is hoped that the information and analysis derived from this study's new document and oral

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁸ David Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration, 1801-1921* (Dundalk, 1984), p. 50.

¹⁹ Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and exiles; Ireland and the Irish exodus to North America* (New York, 1985), p. 428; U.S. Secretary of Labor, *Eleventh Annual Report, 1923* (Washington, D.C. 1923), p. 133.

²⁰ Wyman, *Round-trip America*, p. 10.

Introduction

history sources will be an original contribution to the knowledge base of Irish return migration and re-emigration.

Central research question

The dream of Irish-American immigrants to make a return visit to Ireland sets up the central research questions raised by this study: Among the Irish who emigrated from the five counties of Connacht at the turn-of-the-twentieth century, who were the migrants that decided to return to visit or make permanent residence at their place of origin; what were their motivations to return and how did they adapt to and interact with their families, and within their communities and society?

The study, and especially the data-gathering process, is further guided by specific questions regarding how they adapted to and interacted within their families, communities and society.

Research aim

This study seeks to examine return migration to Ireland, specifically to the five relatively impoverished counties of the province of Connacht (Galway, Mayo, Leitrim, Sligo and Roscommon) between 1890 and 1920, the years which embrace the turn of the century era. Through ‘testing-out’ (collecting, examining and analyzing) recently accessible Irish return migration data (*U.S. Passport Applications*), and little utilized oral history data sources (*IFC Emigrant Questionnaire data*), this study will try to advance on earlier accumulated knowledge as presented by scholars of Irish return migration.

Introduction

Review of relevant literature

The study of return migration appears to attract and appeal to social scientists from across multiple disciplines. Early recognition of the topic of return migration was made by geographer Ravenstein in 1885 when he identified counter-current migrant flows, and the scarcity of data about such moves. His writing on laws of migration was very influential in later studies dealing with the structure and process of migration and he had a major impact on migration studies across many disciplines.²¹ The first known work on Irish return migration was produced in the 1950s with historian Arnold Schrier's collaboration with Séan O Súilleabháin, head of the Irish Folklore Commission (IFC). They compiled the Irish Folklore Commission (IFC)'s *Emigration Questionnaire* which asked about Irish individuals who had emigrated before 1900. The Questionnaire consisted of a series of twelve complex questions on the subject of turn-of-the-century emigration from Ireland. Two of the questions dealt specifically with queries on return visits and permanent migrant return. The Questionnaire was administered by the IFC throughout Ireland through oral interviews conducted with hundreds of selected individuals.

This study utilises data from the responses to the Questionnaire from Connacht, with the exception of County Sligo where the Questionnaire was not administered. Some responses from County Donegal and Counties Kerry and Tipperary were used for contrast in order to evaluate the adaptation to and interaction of return migrants within society. Both O Súilleabháin and Schrier served as research team leaders during the collection and transcription of field data.

²¹ Ernest George Ravenstein, 'The laws of migration' in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, xlviii (2) (1885), pp 167-235; Migration studies - the use of migration as an explanatory concept in archaeology website (<http://www.seiselt.com/smutheory/David%20Willers/Ravenstein.html>) [accessed 4 Jul 2011].

Introduction

Schrier's eventual book, *Ireland and the American emigration*, utilised data from these questionnaire responses.²² In his last chapter, he depicts the motivations, circumstances and effect on the community of the returned emigrant, concluding 'the 'returned Yank' was at best an adapter, whose roots were essentially in Irish soil, and yet one who was not respected as a true bearer of new gifts ... [he] was more still an Irishman than an American even with his American experiences'.²³

In the 1970s, several separate, but related investigations of Irish return migration were conducted. The first study to merge return migration with quantitative analysis was conducted by anthropologist George Gmelch. Using field teams of university students, 600 west-of-Ireland return migrants were questioned. The subjects lived in eight comparatively impoverished counties (Cork, Kerry, Clare, Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim and Donegal). Based on data obtained from this sampling, Gmelch posed several questions in several studies on Irish return migration: who returned and why,²⁴ the behaviour of return migrants,²⁵ the readjustment of return migrants to the west of Ireland,²⁶ and the socio-demographic characteristics of the return emigrants.²⁷ The studies specifically questioned the returned migrant's circumstances before emigration, their emigration experience, reasons for return, and post-return readjustment. As part of his research work at the State University of New York, Albany, Gmelch created a lengthy and useful cross-

²² Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American emigration, 1850-1900* (Chester Springs, PA, 1997), p. 210.

²³ Ibid., p. 142.

²⁴ George Gmelch, 'Return migration' in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, ix (1) (1980), pp 135-159.

²⁵ George Gmelch, 'Who returns and why: return migration behaviour in two North Atlantic societies' in *Human Organization*, xlii (1) (1983), pp 46-54.

²⁶ George Gmelch, 'The readjustment of return migrants in western Ireland' in Russell King, (ed.), *Return migration and regional economic problems* (London, 1986), pp 153-171).

²⁷ George Gmelch and Lawrence Delaney, 'Irish return migration: the socio-demographic characteristics of return emigrants' in *Papers in Anthropology*, xx (1) (1979), pp. 155-166.

Introduction

cultural bibliography on return migration which presents cases for contrast and comparison to the Irish case.²⁸

Examining in particular Gmelch's findings on the readjustment of return migrants, it appeared that the majority of returnees experienced problems with readjustment to Ireland, though only 20 per cent still regretted their decision to return at the end of the second year. Their adjustment problems, specifically in the first year of return, were attributed to false or unrealistic expectations about life in Ireland. Gmelch's respondents reported that the slow pace of life and widespread inefficiencies found at home were their biggest problems upon return. Their perceived backwardness of the local population and their difficulty with establishing relationships also challenged successful readjustment. A great majority (85 per cent) felt they had been changed by the experience of emigration and two-thirds felt they had a broader view of life than those who had never left Ireland.

In 1970, a little known study by sociologist G.F. Streib, presented an analysis of two situational questions on migration. The study, using responses from fifty Cork farmers and fifty Dublin men, attempted to show how economic and familial factors were interwoven in the decision to leave the parental home and seek a job in the city. Streib explored personal factors in the migration process reporting some of the features of Irish society, related to emigration and return, included late age at marriage and the manner in which rural property was transferred. Non-economic factors such as the close Irish mother-son relationship

²⁸ Gmelch, 'Bibliography on return migration', pp 187-96.

Introduction

and kinship ties were in general found to be extremely important dimensions of the decision to migrate and return.²⁹

Geographer Russell King was the author and editor of many works on return migration. He considered return as a neglected aspect of migration study and highlighted the chronic lack of study and information about emigrants who have returned home. His work looks at return migration on an international-scale, specifically the scenario of return of migrants from more developed countries, both in terms of sheer numbers and geography of development. He suggests the need for studying their motivations for returning, their precise geographical location destinations, their income and employment characteristics, their social status, mobility, aspirations, levels of satisfaction and re-integration. Of special note is his recognition of return migration as a vital link in the well-known chain migration process and typologies of return (tracing paths of migrants, temporal criteria, forced, planned and spontaneous movements).³⁰

In 1980, geographer Dick Foeken studied return migration to Carrick-on-Shannon, County Leitrim, looking at a small group of individuals in some detail. In interviewing them, he found the principal motivations for return entailed those migrants who could inherit farm/shop (largest category - 42 per cent); migrants who would assist family (largest category - (42 per cent); migrants who returned to marry; migrants who thought they could get a job [in Ireland]; migrants who had

²⁹ G.F.Streib, 'Migration and filial bonds; attitudes of Cork farmers and Dublin men' in *Irish Journal of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology*, iii (1) (1970), p. 61-2.

³⁰ Russell King, 'Return migration: a neglected aspect of population geography', in *Kings Royal Rifle Corps Chronicle*, x (1978), pp 175-182; Russell King, 'Return migration: A review of some case studies from southern Europe', in *Mediterranean Studies*, i (2) (1979) pp 4-30; Russell King, 'Return migration and regional economic development: an overview', in *Return Migration and Regional Economic Problems*, Russell King (ed.) (London, 1986), pp 1-37. Russell King is Co-Director of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research and Professor of the Geography Department at the University of Sussex.

Introduction

bought farm/land; migrants who could not grow accustomed [to being abroad]; and other miscellaneous reasons. In assessing the return data, Foeken's main conclusion was that, while people acted in certain ways for a variety of reasons, the return migrants were hard pressed to give one principle reason and it was still very difficult to understand why in fact one migrant does return home while another does not.³¹

In 1985, historian Marjolein t'Hart used responses from the IFC Emigration Questionnaire and material from the IFC Main Folklore Collection to explore the causes of Irish return migration across Ireland. After studying the evidence, she found the majority of returnees fell into four main categories: migrants who intended to emigrate only temporarily returning after a certain target of savings had been acquired; migrants who returned because of inheriting a farm, or because their family needed assistance at home (whether intended or not, they felt more or less obligated to return); migrants who returned because they could not cope with life in America, or who fell ill; or migrants who were confronted with the death of a wife or husband. She suggested that these individuals may have intended to emigrate permanently, yet after returning, they may have decided they were better off at home.

In addition to identifying the main motivations, t'Hart noted an array of less frequently mentioned reasons given by migrants for returning from America. Here she included those individuals who returned because they were retired from their occupation in America. Others returned to avoid conscription in the American Civil War. Still others returned when they became unemployed or suffered due to various

³¹ Dick Foeken, 'Return migration to a marginal area in north-western Ireland' in *Tijdschrift voor Economische En Sociale Geografie*, vii (2) (1980), pp 114-120;

Introduction

economic depressions in the U.S. t'Hart does note that a few individuals appeared to have returned because they were motivated by political motives.³²

In Kerby Miller's massive and groundbreaking work on Irish emigration, *Emigrants and Exiles* (1985), he concisely addresses the issues of return migration. He suggests that Irish emigrants from the west of Ireland appeared much more likely than their eastern peers to return to Ireland. These migrants would return to purchase farms and marry. In many western communities, he suggests, the eventual return of emigrants appears to have been commonly expected. Miller estimates that only 10 per cent of post-Famine emigrants returned to Ireland and if they returned impoverished or chastened by their American experience, they were a poor advertisement for emigration. He suggests that if migrants came home defeated by their experience, they would most likely refuse to encourage others to leave, whereas if they returned successful, they often did not want to talk about it as they did not want to appear boastful.³³

In the 1990s, historian Fiona McGrath studied return migration to Achill Island, a study which provided the most disparate reasons identified for return. She divided the motivations into eleven categories ranking them from the most to least important. The first five motivation factors, in terms of importance, all related to personal and family circumstances: desire to live near family/friends; fulfillment of original intention [to return]; needs of elderly/ill parents or relatives; education of children in Ireland and homesickness or dislike of city life. The other lesser occurring return motivations consisted of: having job opportunities at home;

³² Marjolein 't Hart, 'Irish return migration in the nineteenth century' in *Tijdschrift voor Econ.en Social Geografie*, lxxvi (3) (1985), p. 224-226.

³³ Miller, *Emigrants and exiles*, pp 426, 428, 476, 486.

Introduction

retirement; inherited land/shop/business; finding a spouse/marry; investment in land/shop/business; and dissatisfaction with their job abroad.³⁴

In McGrath's study, the migrant's great attachment to their island home is a very dominant factor in the return migration process. The importance of familial bonds was expressed by the 82.4 per cent of interviewees who had returned to their own home townlands. Of that number, 73.9 per cent had gone back to their parents' home though this was in many cases a temporary move pending restoration of another house or building of a new bungalow on family land. Less than one third of the returnees thought job opportunities at home were important. Factors such as returning to retire and/or inherit were cited by more male migrants whilst significantly more females indicated their need to look after elderly parents or marriage as most important.³⁵

In 1993, Mark Wyman's wide-ranging study of return to Europe between 1880 and 1930 covered approximately 4 million American immigrants. It is one of the only books devoted completely to the phenomenon of return migration.³⁶ Wyman delved into European return migration studying return migrant populations from thirty-three countries and within broad ethnic groups. Wyman's narrative on the Irish experience is naturally scantier than Schrier's, however, his return information suggests a rough estimate of 11 per cent estimated for Irish returnees. His several observations regarding this ethnic group include: for the returning Irish emigrants, success was felt when monetary objectives were met; once back in Ireland, a sort of reverse American wake was held for the person returning; many

³⁴ Fiona McGrath, 'The economic, social and cultural impact of returned migration to Achilles Island' in Russell King (ed.), *Contemporary Irish migration*, (Dublin, 1991), pp 55-69.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Wyman, *Roundtrip America*, pp 105-106.

Introduction

of the 'returned Yanks' rejected America because they had encountered neither conscience among employers nor unity among workers and any innovative American ways were not easily introduced by returned Yanks because of the feeling 'it couldn't be done at home,' or that it was too different from those at home.³⁷

Historian Kevin Kenny, at the turn of the twentieth century, in responding to a 'compelling need' for a new general history of the Irish in America, also addressed Irish return migration. Acknowledging an intellectual debt to Kerby Miller's work, Kenny addressed two streams of history, Irish and American, in order to 'reach ... wider and less specialised' general readers of the subject. His work presents the intermingled history of the Irish in America including references to return migration. Referring to the approximate 10 per cent of Irish who returned home, Kenny suggested it was not their lack of funds, but rather that they had little or nothing waiting for them back to in Ireland which encouraged them leaving. '[T]he emigrants might never return, ... but they had high hopes of bringing their friends or siblings out to the United States after them.'³⁸

In 1996, historian David Fitzpatrick, as part of his writings on *Irish emigration, 1871-1921*, presents a broad overview of most of the component issues regarding Irish return migration, such as relative numbers returning, behaviour and adaptation, occupations and material wealth. He indicates that during the half-century after 1871, the 'return movement ... , once rare and spasmodic, became

³⁷ Ibid., p. 77.

³⁸ Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: a history* (New York, 2000), p. 141.

Introduction

commonplace'.³⁹ Using Board of Trade information, Fitzpatrick found that Ireland appeared to have the lowest repatriate ratio for any major country of origin; about forty-four Irish passengers returned for every 100 passengers who left between 1895 and 1913 (though many travellers in both directions were businessmen or temporary visitors).⁴⁰ His research found that by 1890s, the 'returned Yank' and Irish-born tourist were familiar figures in rural Ireland as well as older returnees who intended permanent settlement. He states that 'in terms of occupation and material success, the 'homecomers' were not easily reducible to any simple stereotype' and that the local reaction to their return was 'ambivalent, ranging from admiration through envy to contempt'. A particularly perceptive note is his observation that the *possibility of return* encouraged emigrants to depart with less consternation and upheaval than before.⁴¹

A number of other sources provide particular awareness of Irish return migration. In 2005, Patrick Fitzgerald explored historical Irish return migration during the almost 300 years preceding the Great Famine.⁴² His work is based chiefly on qualitative evidence because any statistical estimation of the rate of return was 'proscribed by the imprecision of estimated Irish immigration numbers' in that time period. Fitzgerald found indications that reverse emigration was an early established feature of Irish migrant mentality and behaviour. He called for further research and continued studies of return migration to be more fully incorporated into future work on the history of Irish migration.

³⁹ David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration, 1871-1921' in W.E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, VI, Ireland under the Union, II, 1870-1921* (reprint, Oxford, 1996), p. 636.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Patrick Fitzgerald, 'Come back, Paddy Reilly; aspects of Irish return migration, 1600-1845,' in Marjory Harper (ed.), *Emigrant homecomings: the return movement of emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester, 2005) p. 276.

Introduction

In the same volume containing Fitzgerald's work, the editor Marjorie Harper offers a discussion and overview of the process of return migration; reasons for return, multiple identities adopted by migrants, complexities of returnees motives and experience, perceptions of home and the changes experienced upon their return. Harper affirms that there exists a 'solid but narrow foundation of scholarly research on which to build [studies of return], not least in a continental European context.' She further suggests there is a need for 'further investigation of a complex and multifaceted subject which was – and is – of global relevance.'⁴³

In 2008, Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin's comprehensive and important work, *Migration in Irish History, 1607-2007*, was a much needed resource in migration literature. The work presents the whole migration process: 'who comes, who goes, who comes back and what are the effects on them, on those left behind, on new regions of settlement and on succeeding generations'.⁴⁴ The several levels of their three way migration model (immigration, internal migration and emigration) are explored in detail. The work provides an extensive discussion on the return migrant including the enduring figure of the 'returned Yank' in Irish society at home. The authors suggest 'further research is needed to assess the implications of low return for Irish society.'⁴⁵

Several important scholars have brought the spotlight on return migration through their study of Irish migration to other than locations in the United States. In 1994, David Fitzpatrick's substantial work on Irish-Australian immigration was based on the personal accounts of Irish migrant experiences to and in Australia.

⁴³ Ibid., pp 1-2.

⁴⁴ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish history*, pp xi, 51.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p 51.

Introduction

Using letters sent to and from Australia, Fitzpatrick builds detailed migrant biographical narratives describing their Irish backgrounds and Australian lives. Quite correctly, he points out that analysis of these letters brings the researcher closer to the ‘experience of migration than any aggregate statistics could do.’⁴⁶ But his references to return migration are incorporated into the text in such a way that they are difficult for the reader to locate. Unfortunately, the lack of coherent organisation in the narratives and supporting material distracts the reader and means the book’s message is perceived with difficulty.

Following Fitzpatrick’s work on Australia, historian Angela McCarthy studied Irish immigration to New Zealand in 2005. This study is also based on emigrant correspondence, however in a more coherent manner. Her premise that men and women settled in New Zealand based on ‘pioneering guidance’ extended that connection to the process of immigrant adjustment. As mentioned before, she stresses how the reader should place the letters in context ‘taking into account background and foreground circumstances’.⁴⁷ McCarthy devotes a chapter to the themes of return migration, home and the embodiment of home in social relationships while integrating return into the holistic migration profile she presents. She noted that the return decision is very complex and the reasons for return are linked to the attitude of the returning migrant once at home and affect the likelihood of any re-emigration. She stresses that the migrant, despite being requested to return, and/or the migrants’ own desire for return, their satisfaction with their experiences in New Zealand often ‘dampened migrant enthusiasm to

⁴⁶ David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of consolation: personal accounts of Irish migration to Australia* (Ithica, NY, 1994), pp vii-iii.

⁴⁷ Angela McCarthy, *Irish migrants in New Zealand, 1840-1937: ‘the desired haven’* (Suffolk, 2005), pp 190-91.

Introduction

return.’⁴⁸ In the main, McCarthy addresses similar return migration themes as Fitzpatrick presented in his study.

Two of the several journal articles dealing with return migration and other national groups introduce themes which may bear more investigation in an Irish context. In the 1950s, Boston historian Oscar Handlin travelled throughout Greece to observe the adaptation of returned Greek-Americans once at home. He was one of the first scholars to ask ‘if the returning immigrants were as disruptive [to their society] in their return as in their departure?’⁴⁹ Examining this question in the light of returned Irish migrants, one might investigate their participation in local politics and whatever notice may have been paid to their status by the British governments.

David Timothy Duval’s 2004 work with eastern Caribbean migrants in Toronto explored theoretical links between return visits and return migration. From Duval’s field data, three themes were developed which linked return visits and return migration: the need to facilitate ties such that relationships are meaningful upon permanent return; the functional nature of the return visit, in that changes are measured and benchmarked against what is remembered and internalised after the migration episode; and the knowledge that return visits aid reintegration. These themes will be explored in the Irish context by this study using the qualitative data from IFC interviews (see chapters on return visits and permanent stay).⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Oscar Handlin, ‘Emigrants who go back,’ in *Atlantic*, cxcviii (1956), pp 70-4.

⁵⁰ D.T. Duval, ‘Linking return visits and return migration among Commonwealth Eastern Caribbean migrants in Toronto’ in *Global Networks*, iv (1) (2004) pp 51-67.

Introduction

After reviewing the general literature on Irish emigration, and particularly Irish-America, it appears there has not been a sufficient account of return migration or the possibility of return. It is hoped this study will be a helpful contribution to what is known.

Research methodology

The concrete techniques or procedures used to gather and analyse research data for this study utilized two main research methods; qualitative (document analysis, interviews and case study) and quantitative (statistical analysis).

Qualitative methodology – document analysis

Passport Database

One of the two main sets of research documents used in this study was located in the *U.S. Passport Collection* initiated in December 2007 on the history and genealogy website, *Ancestry.com*.⁵¹ Passport applications in the collection for Irish-Americans travelling during this period numbered 14, 356. However, material from this immense source used for this study was limited to a data group composed of 1,215 Connacht-born returning migrants,⁵² who had spent at least one year at their country of destination (United States), and had applied for a U.S. passport to travel to Ireland between 1890 and 1920.⁵³ By identifying individuals who met this criterion, a study database (hereafter called the passport database) was

⁵¹ *U.S. Passport Collection Database, 1795-1925* [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed continuously from 4 December 2007 to date].

⁵² Numbers of Connacht-born U.S. passport applicants, 1880-1920, by county: Galway (505), Leitrim (109), Mayo (237), Roscommon (151) and Sligo (213).

⁵³ *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed continuously from 4 December 2007 to date].

Introduction

developed. These records became candidates for statistical and document analysis in this study. Sixty demographic and comment data points (including passport photographs) were established and populated by 1,215 Connacht-born individuals.⁵⁴

Issues and concerns with these passport documents include subjectivity of transcription material and the possibility that returning individuals may have been missed due to inaccuracies in naming their home counties. All historic U.S. passport application information, previous to 4 December 2007, was held at geographically-dispersed locations and only available to the public on an individually-named traveler basis. Though the U.S. government had issued passports to certain prominent American citizens as far back as 1789, for the most part, foreign travel passports had not been required of U.S. citizens until World War I. A government order in 1915, and a later Act of Congress in 1918, finally established the passport requirements for U.S. citizens traveling abroad.⁵⁵ With the formal termination of World War I and treaties with Germany, Austria, and Hungary in 1921, this American passport law remained in place but its enforcement lapsed. At the same time, an international passport system was being merged together as a system of controls over international movement that stressed ‘one country, one person’ and identified the use of passports internationally as proof of citizenship.⁵⁶ With America’s entry into World War II in 1941, the earlier 1918 Congressional act was reinstated and U.S. citizens have been required to carry a passport for foreign travel ever since.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Craig Robertson, *The passport in America: the history of a document* (Oxford, 2010), p. 256.

⁵⁶ Jane Caplan and John Torpey, *Documenting individual identity: the development of state practices in the modern period* (Princeton, 2001), p. 10.

Introduction

The new Ancestry database contains passport applications derived from several passport collections including emergency passport applications (passports issued abroad) from 1877-1907. The applications used a variety of formats which changed throughout the years. By 1888, there were separate application forms for native citizens, naturalized citizens, and derivative citizens. As a result, not all information fields are available for every applicant. Likewise, some of the application forms contain additional information.

The passport applications themselves provide a wealth of information including: name of applicant, birth date or age, birthplace, residence, date of application or issue of passport, fathers and/or husbands name, fathers and/or husbands birth date or age, fathers and/or husbands birthplace, fathers and/or husbands residence, wife's name, date and place of immigration to the U.S., number of years in which the migrant has resided in the U.S., naturalization date and place, occupation, and physical characteristics. Most passport applications also include a photo of the applicant.

Personal Letters

The nature of the personal ties between migrants and their families has been captured through analysis of personal letters between emigrants and the members of their families. These types of documents have been used fruitfully as research sources in major studies by Kerby Miller, David Fitzpatrick and Angela McCarthy to name but a few. Miller explored the patterns of Irish emigration to North America from 1607-1921. Using over 5,000 examples of migrant letters, memoirs, poems, songs and folklore, he provides insight into the character of Irish emigration

Introduction

and of Irish and Irish-American life.⁵⁷ Fitzpatrick, in his analysis of Irish-Australian correspondence (1843 to 1906), maintained that 'we need to be alert to awkward silences and evasions, and to seek clues as to their origins.'⁵⁸ Following Fitzpatrick's approach, McCarthy reminds us that while the manipulative function of the letters is acknowledged, letters are for the most part trustworthy sources. She suggests that '[w]e should place the commentary in context by establishing the relationship between writers and recipients, taking into account background and foreground circumstances.'⁵⁹ The letters used in this study were selected particularly with regard to the subject of return and they supply insight into the emotions and mechanics of emigration and return. They have come from several sources; some were identified as attachments to applications in the passport database (these are unique as they are from Ireland to the United States) while other letters came from the Irish Emigration Database developed by the Centre for Migration Studies in Omagh, Northern Ireland.

Oral history manuscripts

Material from an earlier set of oral history interviews conducted in Ireland under the auspices of the Irish Folklore Commission (IFC) make up the other main source of data for this study. The IFC Emigration Questionnaire was initiated in order to capture the rich tradition of cant, custom and lore associated with emigration which had been handed down over a hundred years to the mid-twentieth

⁵⁷ Miller, *Emigrants and exiles*, pp 4-5.

⁵⁸ Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of consolation*, pp vii-viii.

⁵⁹ Angela McCarthy, 'Personal letters and the organization of Irish migration to and from New Zealand, 1848-1925' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxiii (131) (May, 2003), p. 3.

Introduction

century.⁶⁰ In 1955, the IFC felt an urgency to capture memories which described the social and economic consequences which emigrants had left in their wake in the mid-twentieth century. The Commission hoped to capture these memories while there were still among the population individuals whose memories of the mass departure was strong and vivid.

The *Emigration Questionnaire* was designed to contain twelve broad questions on emigration, each of which then contained six or more specific sub-questions.⁶¹ Information taken from responses to Questions Ten and Eleven, which deal with migrants returning for a visit or returning to stay, was used for this study, though responses to all subject areas were also searched for off-hand comments about return migration. The IFC field informants' recorded information was transcribed and placed in manuscript format categorised by province and county. The Connacht-based data used in this study deals with responses from individuals who lived in Galway, Leitrim, Mayo, and Roscommon. Sligo did not participate in the questionnaire for reasons unknown. For the purposes of comparison and contrast, responses from the province of Munster informants were used.⁶²

Two particular weaknesses in the use of oral evidence should be noted here.

First, the author as interviewer has most likely carried his/her own social biases and

⁶⁰ The *IFC Emigration Questionnaire* held and administered by the UCD Delargy Centre for Irish Folklore and the National Folklore Collection, the successor organisation to the Irish Folklore Commission (1935-1971).

⁶¹ Other IFC emigration questions include general knowledge of emigration and emigrating individuals from the community before 1900, who, why, where to, and how (one and two); the America wake (three and four); songs, stories, and ballads which grew up about emigration to America (five); effects of emigrant letters from America (six, seven, eight and twelve); and remittances from America (nine).

⁶² IFC Emigration Questionnaire, Mss. 1402, 1407 - Connacht; IFC Emigration Questionnaire, Ms. 1409 - Munster; For those IFC informant responses originally in Irish, translation into English was provided by Mr. Michael Connaughton, Tuam, County Galway. Mr. Connaughton, a retired Garda and professional businessman, was a secondary school student when written Irish was still being taught using the Gaelic script of 'Old Irish' such as is found in the script used by the informants in the 1950s recorded data.

Introduction

expectations into the interview and body language may have inadvertently affected interview interaction; and secondly, a basic limitation of oral history is the time factor. Oral history is usually retrospective over a long period of time and there is always the possibility of interviewees experiencing unconscious distortion and changes of perception regarding their memory of an event.⁶³

Newspapers

The experience of the return migrant was essentially a local one.

Examination of Connacht regional newspapers active in the 1900-1920 time period has revealed a few but not many of the typical notices and articles which publicized the names and visits of 'returned Yanks' home to see their families. Occasionally, but seldom, news articles may occur which contain notices of the permanent return of locals who had perhaps come home to stay and buy a farm, marry into a local farm, attempt entrepreneurial enterprises or other activities as yet to be discovered. It must be noted that the particular ownership and political stance of these papers may have come to influence their reporting of the return migrant phenomenon. Among the newspapers examined are: *Mayo, Roscommon, Clare and Limerick Advertiser* (1853-1920); *Galway Observer* (1882-1927); *Leitrim Advertiser and Longford News* (1885-1924); *Leitrim Observer-Carrick-on-Shannon* (1904-20); *Mayo News* (1893-1922); *Mayoman* (1919-21); *Roscommon Journal and Western Reporter* (1828-1925); *Roscommon Weekly Messenger* (1862-1935); *Roscommon Herald* (1882-1921); *Sligo Independent* (1855-1921); *Sligo Nationalist and Leitrim Leader* (1910-19); and *Sligo Times* (1909-14).⁶⁴

⁶³ Paul Thompson, *The voice of the past: oral history* (3rd ed., Oxford, 2000), pp 128-9.

⁶⁴ James O Toole, *Newsplan: report of the newsplan project in Ireland*, revised edition (Dublin, 1998), p. 324.

Introduction

Popular Media

By the turn of the century, the ‘return of the Yank’ began to be reflected in the family life, songs, folktales, and jokes of popular Irish culture. It became a frequent enough occurrence in Ireland by 1899, to cause Donegal-writer, and emigrant himself, Seamus MacManus, facetiously to suggest ‘it was fair to calculate that, to each townland throughout Ireland, at least six Irish-Americans return yearly – six who have spent long enough in the New World to have placed them in a position to journey home on a holiday, or return with money enough in their pockets to encourage them to start life in Ireland again...’⁶⁵ In the early twentieth-century, a semi-autobiographical short story was written by the Listowel, County Kerry writer Maurice Walsh. Walsh’s narrative was later incorporated into the 1952 film *The Quiet Man*.⁶⁶ Despite ‘learned and critical disparagement’, the film sustained great popularity with audiences in America and Ireland as it embraced the powerful message of ‘pilgrimage to the ancestral home’.⁶⁷

Transcription of the film’s script sets out the story’s premise. The story was set in the world of rural Galway. It was from here the emigrant parents of the film producer John Ford had departed for the United States. Ford’s film is set in a netherworld of 1910-20 in which the film’s main character, Sean Thornton, an Irish-American, returns to live in his family’s small holding in the mythical, yet evocative community of Innisfree. From the Thornton homeplace the patriotic grandfather ‘old Sean Thornton’ had been transported to Australia and young

⁶⁵ Seamus MacManus, ‘A revolution in Ireland’, in *Catholic World*, lxi (412) (1899), pp 522-532.

⁶⁶ Maurice Walsh, *The quiet man* (London, 1947), p. 34; James MacKillop, *Contemporary Irish film; from the quiet man to dancing at Lughnasa (Irish Studies)* (Syracuse, 1999), p. 34.

⁶⁷ MacKillop, *Contemporary Irish film*, p. 35.

Introduction

Sean's mother had emigrated to America while young Sean was still a *goosen*.⁶⁸

The words uttered by the main character Sean Thornton at the beginning of the film endorse the unrealised longings of many Irish-Americans of the era: 'I'm home, and it's home I plan to stay'.⁶⁹

Irish film critic James MacKillop felt the film's litany of attributed sins includes 'falsity, sentimentalism, condescension, cliché and gimcrackery'.⁷⁰ Any educated anxiety we the viewers experience regarding the stage-Irishness of the *The Quiet Man* belies the fact that the theme of return migration was indeed authentic and personal. Irish at home and Irish abroad took the sentiment of the film to heart, and gazed at the film enough times to memorize and utter words of the script before scenes took place. Amazingly following generations of Irish-Americans continued to take the film to heart.

Qualitative methodology – interview analysis

Interviews with descendants of returning migrants have helped create a sense of their ancestors as real people. A local view of return emigration is provided through their memories and memorabilia which provides data on the content and language of their day-to-day work and family life. This amplified information on specific events helps portray the personal lives of people who were part of the unknown, silent majority of the population. Interview material, from individuals related to various stages of a migrant's life passages has been used to

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 161; *goosen* - Irish for young boy.

⁶⁹ *The Quiet Man*, Dir. John Ford, 129 minutes, colour, prod. Dist. Argosy Pictures (1952).

⁷⁰ MacKillop, *Contemporary Irish film*, p. 162.

Introduction

supplement other existing primary and secondary documentary sources and to help place a broader analytical context on the subject.

Issues and concerns with the interview method include completeness, accuracy, bias, and confidentiality. The interview method used in this research has typically involved either face-to-face meetings in which the researcher is the interviewer and asks an individual a series of questions or conducts a telephone interview with them using the same procedure.

The informed consent of other individuals, such as Connacht and U.S. families related to returned migrants identified in case studies, was sought at the time they were approached to participate in the study. Informants provided their agreement with the use of the information for this study and were informed as to their mutual rights and responsibilities involved such as editing, confidentiality, disposition, and dissemination of all forms of the record. The interviews were conducted with respect for guarding against social injury and in deference to human dignity.⁷¹ All data was treated in a way that protects the anonymity of the individuals involved in this study and coding was used during the gathering and processing of interview notes, tapes, and transcripts without distortion of the data itself. The informed consent of appropriate officials of Irish and U.S. government agencies, academic departments and other organizations as identified was obtained prior to the commencement of the study.

⁷¹ Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing oral history* (New York, 1995), p. 85: Recommendations issued in 1989 by the American Historical Association for interviewing for historical records.

Introduction

Qualitative methodology - case study analysis

The use of case study method in this research has focused on understanding the dynamics present for a single individual, however, some case studies have involved both single and multiple individuals and numerous levels of analysis. By following a set of pre-specified procedures, it is argued that using case studies is logically the best form for reporting on non-technical research work. These cases provide an appropriate vehicle for the ‘thick description’ which is so essential to an understanding of context and situation.⁷²

In this thesis, the *case study inquiry method* was used to capture the lives of individuals drawn both in minor pen portraits in some cases and larger life histories in others. The method used covers the contextual conditions which are believed to be highly pertinent to the subject being studied, in other words, the phenomena of the return migration.⁷³ While case studies may be conducted and reported in many different ways, the approach in this study is the simple presentation of individual cases in the form of a migrant life history. This is followed by an analysis of data to arrive at broad generalizations and report findings based on the case study evidence.

The life histories or profiles conducted for this study have been carefully planned, intensely researched and are lengthy in narrative. The effort exhibits a pattern of historical investigation which is possible for others to duplicate, perhaps for the advancement of Irish return migration studies.

⁷² A. Michael Huberman and Matthew B. Miles, *The qualitative researcher's companion*, (London, 2002) p. 206.

⁷³ Robert K Yin, *Case study research: design and methods*, 3rd edition (London, 2003), p. 13.

Introduction

Data gathered from the passport database on selected individuals was used as the basis for minor pen portraits and the individuals are representative of a variety of migrant life passages. The larger case histories, profiled in Chapter Six, present eight individual migrants were selected from several different sources based on availability of data and document-based criterion. An individual's life events needed to be documented in the source material at a sufficiently detailed level (i.e. a passport application, passenger lists) to permit a study of their life in Ireland and the United States. The next criterion was that the individual could be identified in a search in the records of local, national, commercial and government documentation in both Ireland and the United States. The third criterion was geographic - individuals were selected to allow examination of return migration across the five counties of Connacht (Galway, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon and Sligo).

The fourth criterion was to select individuals whose profile would vary across return migration motivations allowing an evaluation and illustration of motivations in a descriptive mode.⁷⁴ Each of the eight migrants characterize a different return motivation category and is represented in a life history. The identity of three of the individuals emerged from the passport database. Three individuals were identified through 'opportunity' when Irish citizens presented stories of their returning grandparents to the author. One individual was identified from informant responses in the IFC Emigration Questionnaire and one individual was identified through the records of The Irish Ancestral Research Association (T.I.A.R.A.) in Boston, Massachusetts.

⁷⁴ Huberman, *The qualitative researcher*, p. 19.

Introduction

The life history information is presented in five clusters of information selected to follow the chronological components of a migrant's life. Within each component, subsets of data were determined:

Life at home: migrant birth information, parent information, sibling information, family historical records; homeplace location, description, some history, map, photograph of homeplace, primary education location.

Emigration: family and/or local conditions at home leading to emigration, individual emigration information, chain migration - relations already in States, other emigration among siblings/cousins.

Life in the United States: where did emigrant go in States, what residence, what employment, where, any internal migration from location to location, what wages, remittances, marital status, naturalisation.

Return to Ireland: circumstances causing return to Ireland, stated motivation for returning, when came home, alone or with family, for how long, death of parents, marriage.

Outcome: stayed in Ireland, return to the United States or onward migration and the related circumstances of their lives.

Collection of evidence was initiated with a widespread bi-national search of all available documentation pertaining to each life history: birth, marriage, and death records, census and census substitutes, church records, local histories, passenger ship manifests, city directories, academic journal articles, subject-specific books, and photograph collections. Background material was obtained from interviews with descendants of return migrants. A range of subject-matter research filled out the context of individual stories. It must be noted that not all pieces of data were able to be obtained for all migrants. The investigations have

Introduction

incorporated aspects of family history methodology laid out by Finnegan and Drake in the ‘Studying family and community history’ series.⁷⁵

Qualitative methodology - field visits

Whenever possible, in both Ireland and the United States, field visits were made to the homeplaces and other locations of significance in the life histories of selected individuals. These visits usually resulted in spontaneous conversations with local inhabitants of the various communities. These locals would relate oral history and/or identify locations associated with the subject individuals. The study time frame, generally between 1890 and 1920, helped to define the beginning and end of each life history.⁷⁶ The exception to this constraint is the case of Phillip Leo McGovern of County Donegal, one of the only businessmen identified in the passport database or IFC material. Though he emigrated to the United States in 1912, his return to Ireland was in 1930, slightly beyond the study timeframe.

Quantitative research methods - statistical analysis

Statistical analysis methods used in this study include descriptive statistics (simple graphic analysis using graphs and tables) and inferential statistics (to make inferences concerning the study’s population). Numbers from the passport database were the source for most of the quantitative analysis displayed in tables and charts throughout the study, but specifically in those charts and graphs describing who returned in chapter two. Irish economic historian Cormac Ó Grada’s work with

⁷⁵ Ruth Finnegan and Michael Drake (eds.), *From family tree to family history* (Cambridge, 1994), pp 208.

⁷⁶ Huberman, *The qualitative researcher’s companion*, p. 19.

Introduction

nineteenth-century Irish emigration statistics has provided the basis for emigration numbers from each Connacht county.⁷⁷ Other population and emigration numbers used in the study were sourced from the Census of Ireland, the Census of the United States and Irish Historical Statistics. It should be noted however that Ó Grada has expressed concerns with using the emigration numbers from these sources. He felt that choice of emigration numbers, whether taken from U.S. immigration authorities, the British Emigration Commissioners or the annual returns of the Registrar General of Ireland, depended on the point of view being argued. He suggests that the Registrar General's estimates for emigration to the U.S. seem the most reasonable and 'the discrepancies are small, if always in the same direction.'⁷⁸ This is 'positive news' as estimates of county emigration numbers are especially pertinent to our study and are only available from the Registrar General's statistical material. The needs of this study are those of relativity not exactitude. For example, were the numbers of emigrants from Connacht greater or lesser than the other provinces? How were the emigration numbers for each of the five Connacht counties relative to each other? The general advice of Ó Gráda's approach is that emigration data must be handled with caution.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Cormac Ó Grada, *Ireland: A new economic history 1780-1939* (Oxford, 1994), p. 149; Cormac Ó Grada, 'A note on nineteenth-century Irish emigration statistics' in *Population Studies*, xxix (1) (1975), pp 143-149.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 143, 147-48.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

Introduction

Chapters overview

Within this framework of analysis, the thesis is laid out as follows. Chapter One sets the scene for discussion by identifying relevant events taking place in Ireland, with the focus on the economic conditions, emigration, declining population numbers, and the work of the Congested Districts Boards in the West. Local conditions for each of the five counties of Connacht, Galway, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon and Sligo, as observed in the field in 1891, are represented by the lives of five specific emigrants. Crossing the ocean, next we examine the conditions for Irish-Americans in the United States at the turn of the nineteenth century. Issues of Irish-American culture and identity, marriage, kinship networks, occupational status, and the emerging Irish-American middle class are considered in light of the continuous stream of newly arriving Irish. The discussion seeks balance through a view of the ‘down side’ of Irish immigrant assimilation in America and concludes by addressing how Irish-Americans related to the ongoing social and political troubles in Ireland.

Chapter Two explores in aggregate the identities and experiences of over twelve hundred passport applicant individuals who formed a cohort of returned Irish-Americans. The demographic profile of this group, these ‘outsiders’, is scrutinized in some detail, and covers multiple aspects of the returning migrant’s life. Data cover their lives from Irish county of origin through emigration from Ireland to features of their life in the United States, and then their return migration to Ireland. Further analysis considers the demographics of Irish return migration in relation to those of departing Irish emigrants, and those from the wider European context, during the same time period.

Introduction

In Chapter Three, the motivations, family dynamics, and life passages of returning Irish-American migrants are studied through the examination of documents and narratives. The single most prevalent motivation, the Irish connection to family, is explored in detail to include conducting personal business, travel accompanying family members and military veterans returning to family. Multiple other motivations are investigated highlighting the group with the fewest number of returnees, those who return to Ireland to live permanently or retire.

Views regarding the returned migrants by those at home, the 'insiders', are revealed in Chapter Four. Through observations taken from oral history accounts, perceptions of the returnees and the local community are described. The kinship aspects of the returnee interchange is explored through information sought by local residents in Ireland regarding their relatives and greetings brought from America by returnees. Details such as positive and negative impressions created, use of language, and wealth of the returned migrants flesh out the overall of returnee characterization. The suggested role of returnees encouraging further emigration is confirmed.

Chapter Five draws on the findings of the previous chapter to further explore the Irish-American returnees who intended permanently staying in Ireland. The aspects of their existence at home are considered in light of both their own actions and the views of their community. A particular awareness of those individuals who, once back in their home community, experienced regret at returning, balances a more in-depth discussion of the adjustments and adaptation experienced by returnees living at home and within their community. The chapter embraces an investigation of financial status, occupation and entrepreneurship. An

Introduction

endeavor is made to uncover any provisions or assistance which may have been made by the government in Ireland for the returning Irish-Americans.

Personification of the return migrant experience is offered in Chapter Six. Eight individual profiles have been developed into life histories of the returning Irish. The profiles describe the migrants' life at home in Ireland from emigration to the United States, life in that host country, and then reasons behind and experience of return. Individuals range from a son of a priestly family to a son who dies of tuberculosis to a woman whose match was made once she was home; from a military veteran to a civil servant retiree; and from a returning domestic servant to a business entrepreneur. While these narratives present a view of the migrants' bi-national experiences, they also reveal the challenges and differences encountered by those Irish following well-worn paths of immigration and those Irish who became self-motivated and acted on it in both worlds.

Return was an enduring idea based on family obligations, memories and nostalgia. The idea of Irish-Americans making a return visit to Ireland carried forward through time, though with each generation a degree of remoteness would creep in:

My Irish passport seemed less like a legacy than a windfall, a key not to my own house but to an unfamiliar building, a return ticket not for my own journey but for that of my four Irish immigrant great-grandparents about whom I know almost nothing. According to the way people tend to talk about blood and roots and other charged images now, this unknown country is what's mine. ... [however] It's hard to say how much of this sentimentality is an Irish-American view of the motherland from a pleasantly misty distance, but it's what made going to Ireland ... a dubious venture for me.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Rebecca Solnit, *A book of migrations: some passages in Ireland* (New York, 1997), pp. 6, 15.

Introduction

It is clear that there are possibilities and even a need to do more research exploring Irish return migration along with themes as put forth by earlier studies. This would include more quantitative research where records permit, as well as further investigation of the timing of return migration (such as returns visits prefacing permanent return), the motives (stated and actual) of the returnees as far as they are recoverable, their impact on the societies to which they returned (clothing, work ethic, entrepreneurial spirit) and the extent and nature of their reintegration into those communities (Irish family ties, emphasis on continuity of family, conservatism of Irish rural society). This study seeks to explore the world of the returning Irish migrant, ‘at once uniquely Irish and distinctively American’,⁸¹ and aspires to further the historical examination of return migration to Ireland.

⁸¹ Kenny, Kevin, *The American Irish: a history* (New York, 2000), p. 5.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

During the decades at the end of the nineteenth century, Irish-Americans were attached to two worlds. Physically they inhabited a new world and struggled with establishing their immigrant lives and spaces in an evolving United States. Emotionally they were attached to their family at home and the social, economic and political movements bringing change to Ireland. The motivations of those migrants who choose to return home to Ireland were closely linked with the transitions occurring in both worlds. Many of the homecoming migrants could be identified as siblings who had emigrated and were returning to the homeplace as visiting ‘Yanks’.

In the United States, themes of progress, technological invention and economic boom and bust surrounded and shaped lives of Irish immigrants, often set the stage for more Irish immigrants to follow Yanks back to the U.S.¹ In Ireland, the interaction of such forces as the reform of the land system (enabling tenant-farmers to become owners of the land they worked) and the ‘Gaelic league, the G.A.A., Irish Ireland, Sinn Féin, the I.R.B. and the labour movement’ were effecting changes on each interest group and on the ‘mental climate of Ireland between 1891 and 1921.’² Breathnach sums it up in that Irish society, at the turn of the century, was consumed with nationalism in all its manifestation, culturally, physically and politically, but less so in the west than in the east.³ Many Irish-

¹ Robert V. Remini, *A short history of the United States* (New York, 2008), pp 183-210: Remini is professor emeritus of History and research professor emeritus of Humanities at University of Illinois, Chicago and is historian of the United States House of Representative.

² Donal McCartney, ‘From Parnell to Pearse (1891-1921)’ in T.W. Moody and F.X. Moody (eds.), *The course of Irish history* (New York, 1967), pp 294, 303.

³ Ciara Breathnach, *The Congested District Board of Ireland, 1891-1923: Poverty and development in the west of Ireland* (Dublin, 2005), p. 171.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

Americans kept current with these developments and encountered the changes in their home communities during their return to Ireland.

Emigration had become an established part of Irish life by the end of the nineteenth century. A closer look at this period of emigration will help understand the motivations of those who emigrated and returned. To initiate this study, we will look at these two cultures, the Irish and the Irish-American, examining the specific social and economic episodes which influenced, shaped or prevented migrants from including a trip home to Ireland into their lives.

Ireland – the family and emigration

...anyone witnessing ‘the sad scenes at Roscommon Railway Station on yesterday cannot but be struck by the fact that there is something yet wanting in order to encourage our youth and maidens to remain in their native soil.’⁴

After the Famine, important social changes had occurred within the Irish family structure with the increasing adoption of impartible inheritance where one son inherited the farm and the other siblings were faced with emigration. This practice was increasingly accepted throughout Ireland, and by the early twentieth century was almost universal. At the same time, if the family could gather the money, only one daughter in the home was given a dowry to marry into another farm. These family inheritance patterns and marriage arrangements resulted in increased emigration of the remaining siblings. Comerford states that while ‘...the emigration of a large proportion of every age cohort [occurred] in order that those

⁴ *Roscommon Journal and Western Reporter*, 10 June 1911, p. 4.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

remaining behind might sustain or improve their standard of living,'⁵ it was the young people of the West who were noticeably leaving in greatest numbers. As Kerby Miller explains: '[t]he rationalization of Irish family relationships particularly stimulated emigration...'⁶ Unless siblings were willing to remain in Ireland as unwed, unpaid servants on their brother's or neighbour's farm, their choices were few; the church or emigration. The *Roscommon Journal* brought this phenomenon to local attention in June 1911 by reporting:

Those who left Roscommon yesterday were all young men and women possessing vigorous health, the great majority of them had not reached 24 years.⁷

The changes within family relationships also brought about a higher percentage of the emigrants being women. The *Roscommon Journal* reported, '[n]o other country's emigrants included so many women'.⁸ As suggested, emigration statistics from Roscommon and the other Connacht counties would persist, the numbers continuing to grow, if not exceed, the statistics for departure to North America occurring in earlier years of the decade. Migration within Ireland was relatively less likely due to the slow growth of urban centres and lack of opportunities for industrialized employment in the south of Ireland. Guinnane argues that for young people born in the west of Ireland, a reluctant choice for those seeking employment was rural-urban migration, some to Belfast and Dublin which drew the largest number of internal migrants.⁹

⁵ R.V.Comerford, 'Introduction' in W.E. Vaughan(ed.), *A new history of Ireland, vi, Ireland under the Union, II, 1879-1921* (Oxford, 1975), p. xli.

⁶ Miller, *Emigrants and exiles*, p. 363.

⁷ *Roscommon Journal and Western Reporter*, 10 June 1911, p. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁹ Timothy W. Guinnane, *The vanishing Irish: households, migration, and the rural economy in Ireland, 1850-1914* (Princeton, 1997), p. 122.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

Population and Emigration numbers

Between 1901 and 1911, all provinces lost population with Connacht reducing by the largest number of people followed by a significant reduction of number from Munster, and lesser amounts from Leinster and Ulster (Figure 1.1).

Province	1901	1911	Per cent change in population
Ulster	1,582,826	1,581,696	- 0.07
Munster	1,076,188	1,035,495	- 3.78
Leinster	1,052,829	1,162,044	- 0.80
Connacht	646,932	610,984	- 5.56

Fig. 1.1 Ireland - Population 1901 and 1911 and per cent of change
source: *Census of Population of Ireland, 1911*, Ireland summary tables.

Emigration numbers for all provinces indicate that Munster had the most individuals departing Ireland in both the 1901 and 1911 census, followed by similar numbers from Ulster and Connacht, and then Leinster with the least number leaving (Figure 1.2).

Province	1901	Per cent of Population	1911	Per cent of Population	Per cent change in Emigration numbers
Ulster	85,455	.05	106,587	.06	+ 0.24
Munster	110,903	.10	177,236	.17	+ 0.59
Leinster	42,633	.04	49,552	.04	+ 0.16
Connacht	84,960	.13	117,750	.19	+ 0.38

Fig. 1.2 Ireland – Emigration 1901 and 1911 and per cent of change
source: *Census of Population of Ireland, 1911*, Ireland summary tables

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

Evidence of the age at which these redundant Irish siblings emigrated from the homeplace was collected by the Congested Districts Board in 1891 and 1909. 'A large proportion of the young people (male and female) reared in these districts emigrate to America before they reach twenty-five years of age.'¹⁰ These circumstances are taken farther with Guinnane's suggestion that patterns of age at departure tells us much about limited local employment opportunities for young people and the adult opportunities they expect to find at home.¹¹ As noted above, the number of males and females who emigrated from Ireland between 1901 and 1911, for the country as a whole and for the province of Connacht, indicates females represented higher numbers as compared to the male migrants due to the changes within family relationships. This led to a higher percentage of the emigrants of this era being women and the gender ratio between Irish males and females departing rose until by the 1890s, women actually outnumbered men at 1,500 females per 1000 male emigrants. Guinnane's work found '[n]o other [European] country's emigrants included so many women'.¹²

The numbers also indicate the country as a whole more than doubled the numbers of departing individuals between the two decades. In contrast, it appears Connacht departures decreased slightly between the decades (Figure 1.3).

Comparing census numbers for emigration from the five counties for the thirty years between 1890 and 1910, it appears that County Sligo had the largest

¹⁰ James Morrissey (ed.), *On the verge of want: a unique insight into living conditions along Ireland's western seaboard in the late 19th century* (Dublin, 2001), p. 69.

¹¹ Timothy W. Guinnane, 'Age at leaving home in Rural Ireland' in *Journal of Economic History*, lii, (3) (Sept., 1992), p. 653.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

	1891- 1901			1901-1911			1911-1920		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Ireland	87,216	126,073	213,289	241,058	299,991	541,049	75,859	7,877	150,736
Connacht	47,887	69,863	117,750	35936	49,024	84,960	14,304	19,301	33,605

Fig. 1.3 Ireland and Connacht – Decade numbers - Male and Female Cohort Emigration 1901 and 1911. sources: *Census of Population of Ireland, 1911*, Ireland summary and *Irish Historical Statistics, population, 1821-1971*.¹³

number of people leaving Connacht. Counties Roscommon and Mayo closely mirrored each others with slightly less than Sligo numbers while County Leitrim had the fewest emigrants (Figure 1.4). It is interesting to note that by these decades, numbers from Galway and Leitrim had already fallen off while Sligo, Roscommon and Mayo were still strong.

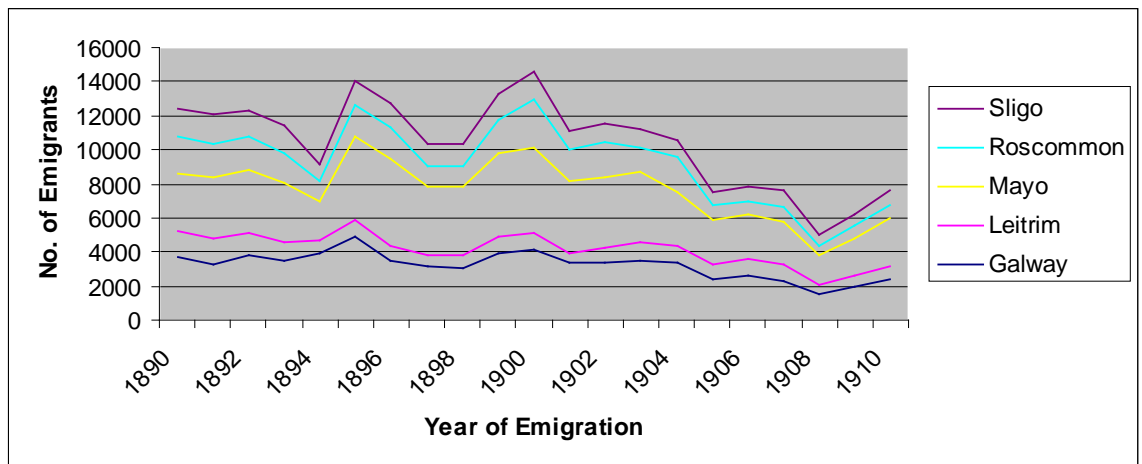


Fig 1.4 Emigration numbers from Connacht counties, 1890-1910 source: *Census of Ireland, counties of Galway, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon and Sligo, Emigration tables, 1910*

¹³ W.E. Vaughan and A.J. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Historical Statistics* (Dublin, 1978), pp 259-353.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

The economic cycle

The transatlantic flow of Irish migrants appears clearly influenced by and linked to the cyclical nature of the American economy. On Wall Street, the stock market experienced peaks of financial prosperity routinely followed by slumps of recession or depression causing excessive speculation and/or credit overextension. Fluctuations from year to year may be attributed to distinct economic cycles in Ireland or America. For example, years of financial prosperity in the U.S. appear linked to increased emigration numbers from Ireland.¹⁴

Conversely, when America experienced economic crises such as in 1895, 1897, 1905 and 1908, the volume of emigration from Ireland decreased accordingly, however, emigration was most likely postponed rather than redirected. The political unrest in Ireland may account for some of the rise in numbers leaving in 1901-10. A comparison of the ups and downs of the American economy during this period and closely related deviations of emigration numbers on Connacht are presented below in Figure 1.5 and Figure 1.6:

¹⁴ David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration, 1871-1921' in W.E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, vi, Ireland under the Union, II, 1879-1921* (Oxford, 1975), p. 606.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

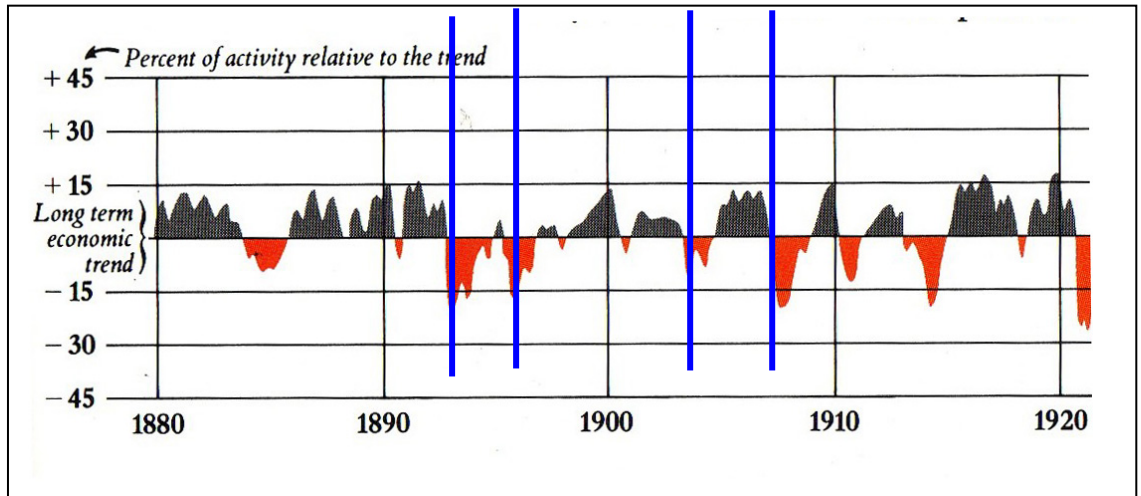


Fig. 1.5 Economic cycles in the United States, 1880-1920, with key years of economic crisis in blue
source: Carroll C. Calkins (ed.), *Reader's Digest the Story of America* (New York, 1975), p 285

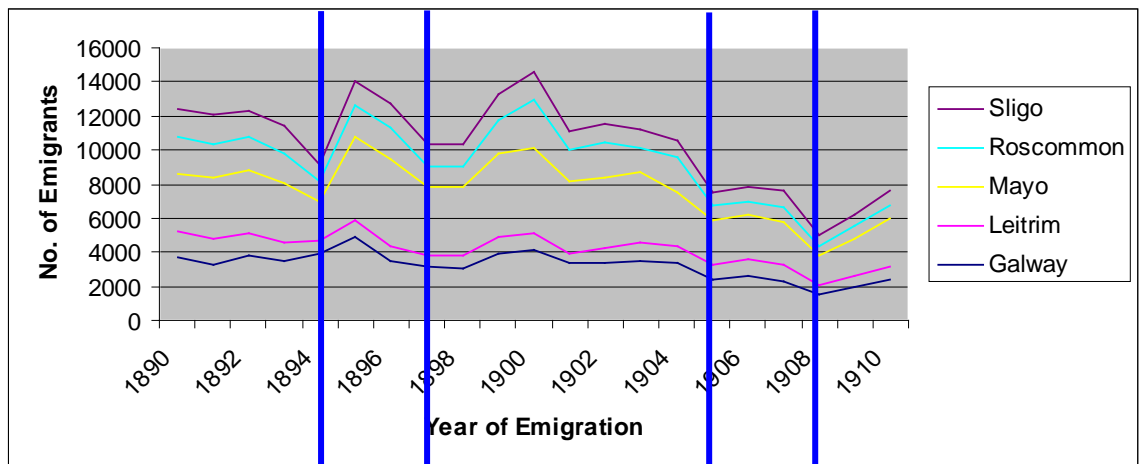


Fig 1.6 Emigration numbers from Connacht counties, 1890-1910, with key years of emigration decrease in blue
source: *Census of Ireland, counties of Galway, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon and Sligo, Emigration tables, 1910*

In some significant respects, those leaving were unlike the earlier 1845-51 Famine emigrants.¹⁵ The 'new' emigrants leaving Ireland at the turn of the century, were composed of greater numbers from the West of Ireland, especially the province of Connacht and counties like Kerry or Donegal. The shift was

¹⁵ S. H. Cousens., 'The Regional Pattern of Emigration during the Great Famine, 1846-1851' in *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British geographers)*, xxviii (1960), p. 123.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

evident in America at the other end of the journey where, for instance, of the Irish immigrants arriving in the port of New York in the early summer of 1882, nearly 40 per cent were from the five counties of Connacht and the western counties of Kerry and Donegal.¹⁶

Connacht - poverty and emigration

Between 1890 and 1920, the province of Connacht in the west of Ireland remained markedly remote from administrative and political control in the east of the country (Dublin). In the greater part of the rural province, the circumstances of poverty provoked several responses including increased emigration to the United States and other destinations and seasonal labour migration to Britain. One Irish-American response to the poverty was economic assistance in the form of remittances, sent home to help sustain life, by those who had left for the United States.

The effect of the Great Famine in the 1840s and the subsequent departing waves of emigration resulted in a severe drop in population. The 1841 population of Connacht was over 700,000 and by 1901 it had dropped by 53 per cent to 323,265. There was a direct link between the emigrating Irish and the railway network, most of which was in place throughout Ireland by 1860. '[I]n the aftermath of the Famine, a first trip on a train was for many their last in Ireland, as the railways carried thousands of emigrants to the transatlantic ports of Queenstown (Cobh), Galway, Derry (for Moville) and others.¹⁷ Of the five

¹⁶ Timothy J. Meagher, *The Columbia guide to Irish-Americans history* (New York, 2005), p. 144.

¹⁷ Bernard Share, 'Railways' in Brian Lalor (ed.), *The encyclopedia of Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp 229-230.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

counties in Connacht (Galway, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon and Sligo), only Roscommon was landlocked with no sea coast, however it did have navigation on the Shannon with connections to the Canals.¹⁸ In 1891, the areas along the west coast of Connacht were for the most part regarded as exceptionally poor and undeveloped.

Congested Districts Board Reports

The state's response to this prevalent poverty was a newly formed Congested Districts Board (CDB) which sent inspectors into these areas under the auspices of the Land Act of 1891.¹⁹ In 1890, after visiting the areas of Connacht to be covered by the Congested Districts scheme, Arthur Balfour, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, summed up his impressions:

The general impression left upon the casual traveler is that you are dealing with a population not congested in the sense of being crowded, but congested by not being able to draw from their holdings a safe and sufficient livelihood for themselves and their children, whose condition trembles constantly on the verge of want, and when the potato crop fails, goes over that margin and becomes one of extreme and even dangerous destitution.²⁰

The main aim of the board was to 'create a certain degree of self-sufficiency and to protect the congested districts from the threat of famine'.²¹ The Board meant to carry out this goal by assisting local agriculture through 'improving the breeds of livestock and poultry, to plant forests, and to encourage home and small factory

¹⁸ Joseph Brady, 'Connacht' in Lalor (ed.), *The encyclopedia of Ireland*, pp 229-230.

¹⁹ Morrissey, *On the verge of want*, p. 1: The term 'congested' was used to mean in the operation of the land system the people had been crowded into barren patches while the best soil grows only grass for pasturing cattle. An area was designated as congested if in 1891 the rateable value was less than 30 shillings a person.

²⁰ Morrissey, *On the verge of want*, p. 1.

²¹ Breathnach, *The Congested District Board of Ireland, 1891-1923*, p. 170.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

industries.’²² CDB Base Line Reports produced described locations and conditions of enduring poverty which might be viewed as life-threatening scenarios for the individuals who lived there. At the same time, these reports were describing the homeplaces from which many Irish men and women in this study had emigrated to the United States. It was to these locations that a number of the same Irish migrants eventually returned.

The various CBD districts are described at a greater level of detail regarding living and working conditions than is otherwise available in the literature of the time. Though it was a state agency, the reports of the CDB should be considered as the perspective of the government in viewing and evaluating the problems of congestion and poverty from the outside. Did the government understand why the described conditions were instrumental in the rate of emigration from these districts? Should the CDB inspector reports be taken at face value? There is little evidence which would enable us to contradict the CDB findings. Indeed, photographs taken throughout the Congested Districts could be said to endorse the reliability of their findings.²³ Finally, analytical comments made by the inspectors in various locations appear to indicate the inspectors understood the real problems facing the local populations and their reports were an accurate reflection of the circumstances.

The descriptions and observations collected for the Congested District Board in 1891, and its expanded area in 1909, provide ‘a striking picture’ of the poorest parts of the west of Ireland. The Board’s reports describe the economic circumstances affecting a significant portion of the tenantry in part of the counties of Connacht at the turn of the century.²⁴

²² T.W. Freeman, ‘The congested districts of western Ireland’ in *The Geographical Review*, xxxiii (1) (1943), p. 2.

²³ Congested District Board photographs held in Welch Collection, Ulster Museum.

²⁴ Freeman, ‘The congested districts’, pp 1-4.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

The following table specifies CBD acreage and population in each county in Connacht as covered by the CBD descriptions (Figure 1.7). A synopsis of the Congested Districts Board work presents the wider picture across all districts covering land and life style, occupation, sources of income, and income itself. It was thought by CDB inspectors that inhabitants of coastal areas were less poverty-stricken than those of the inland areas,²⁵ however, almost all inhabitants were reported to possess a small plot of land in order to make a meager living.

County	No. of Cong. Districts	Area in Statute Acres	Population in 1891	Poor Law Valuation per head of Pop.
Galway	14 $\frac{1}{4}$	564,958	75,248	£0 17s. 10d.
Leitrim	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	174,004	35,250	£1 6s. 8d.
Mayo	18 $\frac{5}{8}$	893,480	143,201	£0 18s. 3d.
Roscommon	5 $\frac{1}{3}$	104,862	26, 185	1£ 2s. 9d.
Sligo	2 $\frac{1}{3}$	148,099	32,565	£1 5s. 5d.

Fig. 1.7 Congested Districts Counties in Connacht, 1891, areas and population. source: Congested Districts Board First Annual Report, 1892.

Supplementary sources of income were derived from sea fishing, sale of seaweed, weaving, knitting, sewing, sale of turf and illicit whiskey, temporary wage-earning in England and Scotland, and remittances from relatives in America. People who lived inland either depended almost totally on their farms or they regularly migrated for many months of the year to England and Scotland in search

²⁵ Freeman, 'The congested districts', p. 2.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

of employment.²⁶ Ó Gráda's research indicates that around the turn of the century seasonal migration from the extreme west grew and from one viewpoint, seasonal migration continued to reinforce the socio-economic status quo of the small farm families because 'the income and part-time labour kept the farms viable'.²⁷ From another view, seasonal migration also appeared to prepare people in the west for eventual permanent settlement emigration farther away in America or Australia.²⁸ In time, many locations in Connacht had only the old people remaining resident on some farms. As one older Irish peasant woman said, 'the families are worn out'.²⁹

Many years ago, Freeman suggested that despite the planned and ongoing CDB programme, the general standard of living was greatly raised as a result of emigration and also from the remittances from those who emigrated. In 1909, the area under the remit of the CDB as a whole showed a decrease in population of 26.1 per cent as against a decrease across the twenty-six counties of 13.9 per cent.³⁰

Detailed accounts reveal the appalling poverty of the congested areas throughout Connacht. While in the more successful districts the standard of living was low, the diet however was altogether vegetarian with the exception of an occasional salt fish. The people's weekday clothing was observed as frequently ragged and scanty while their houses, furniture and bedding were often seen as very unhealthy, mean and comfortless. Their land holdings were found to be small in extent, from 2 to 4 statute acres, with rents generally varying from a few shillings to £6 a year. The methods of land cultivation were seen as primitive and the breeds

²⁶ Anne O'Dowd, *Spalpeens and tattie hookers: history and folklore of the Irish migratory agricultural worker in Ireland and Britain* (Dublin, 1991), pp 249-251.

²⁷ Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland, a new economic history, 1780-1939* (Oxford, 1994), pp 79-80, 233-34.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

²⁹ Freeman, 'The congested districts', p. 3.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp 3, 6.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

of livestock were viewed as 'worn out' and of little value. Of most distress were some of the inland mountain glens where the inhabitants had very small holdings tilled by primitive and unskilled methods and the cattle and sheep had deteriorated and diminished in numbers³¹:

... in such mountain glens are to be found those people who endure the most comfortless and cheerless lives of all the inhabitants of the congested districts of Ireland. In a 'good year' they are little more than free from the dread of hunger...³²

The details of the proposed CDB programme in the west are not topics covered here, however, the conditions existing at the time are pertinent to the returning migrants identified from the passport database created for this study. Many of the migrants originated from a Congested District in a Connacht county and returned, albeit for various motivations, to visit or stay at some point in time between 1890 and 1920 (Figure 1.8).

Example of local conditions, 1891

Returning Irish-American, Denis McGuire (born 1864) had emigrated in 1884 from the district of Roosky in north Roscommon. One of the 1,788 people from Roscommon who emigrated in 1884, he went to live in Paterson, New Jersey where he worked as a saloon keeper. He made a visit home in 1911 and then shows up in this study when he returned in 1919, this time as a U.S. citizen, from his job as a bartender in Passaic, New Jersey.³³

³¹ Morrissey, *On the verge of want*, p. vi.

³² *Ibid.*, p. vii.

³³ *S.S. Lusitania*, 12 March 1911, from Queenstown to New York City, Denis McGuire, New York Passenger and crew lists, 1820-1943 [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 1 Aug2011].

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

In 1891, about one-third of the families living in Roosky were on holdings rated at and below £2. On low-lying land subject to flooding along the River Shannon, tenants had already been evicted as the land was determined not suitable for agricultural holdings. According to the Base Line reports '[m]ore than half the entire district is bog in the hands of the representative of the landlord.'³⁴ The nearby farm of Ballykilcline, with its own earlier record of evictions,³⁵ was at that



Fig. 1.8 Congested Districts in Connacht counties, 1909 and showing home location of Denis McGuire, Roosky, Co. Roscommon. source: Morrissey, *On the verge of want*.

³⁴ Morrissey, *On the verge of want*, p. 112.

³⁵ Robert Scally, *The end of hidden Ireland: rebellion, famine, and emigration* (Oxford, 1995), pp 105-129; Charles E. Orser, *Unearthing hidden Ireland. historical archaeology at Ballykilcline, County Roscommon* (Dublin, 2006) pp 18-36; Mary Lee Dunn, *Ballykilcline Rising: From Famine Ireland to Immigrant America* (Massachusetts, 2008), pp 68-70.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

time offered for sale for £2,400. A great many of the small occupiers succeeded, using manual labour, in raising some crops of potatoes, oats or rye, turnips, and time offered for sale for £2,400. A great many of the small occupiers succeeded, using manual labour, in raising some crops of potatoes, oats or rye, turnips, and cabbage by burning bog soil and adding cess pool manure. The people kept a good many donkeys and a number of pigs which were the principal resource of small occupiers who had no cattle.³⁶

People went to a weekly market in Roosky, but the main market for the district was Longford town. The peoples' food supply was generally obtained on credit paid off twice a year after the sale of livestock or farm produce or from remittances. Eggs were exchanged for groceries and flour. The diet of the locals was very similar to those in County Leitrim, but in this locality, a great many of the small landholders did not have a milch cow and their diet as a result was very poor in dairy products. In some cases, wheaten bread, oaten and Indian meal was substituted for the exclusive diet of potato in past years.³⁷

Houses in the area were comparatively well-kept, built of stone and mortar and thatched. But here in this district, livestock were rarely kept in the house. As with Foxfield in County Leitrim, locals used the Dromond railway station four miles away. A steamer passed twice weekly on the Shannon from Limerick to Carrick-on-Shannon. Because of emigration, the population of the area was disproportionately made up of dependent elderly people and young people under

³⁶ Morrissey, *On the verge of want*, p. 112.

³⁷ L.A. Clarkson and E. Margaret Crawford, *Feast and famine: food and nutrition in Ireland, 1500-1920* (Oxford, 2001), p. 90.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

eighteen not in employment. Most agricultural labourers were males and those who could not get employment in the district were reported by the CBD as going to nearby County Longford to get employment as farm servants and day-labourers. They worked wherever work was available whether in fields, bogs and farmyards and were cheaper because they came from outside the locality, 'they came and went'.³⁸ Others hired out for seasonal employment during spring and harvest in the adjacent non-congested districts and used seasonal migration as a stage towards emigration.³⁹ Many without money for the passage engaged in 'stepwise migration' in that they went to England for a period to work until they had saved the price of a ticket to North America. In general, the people were observed to be industrious, and 'the majority of them make the most of the limited resources at their command.' However, 'the best of the young people go to America.'⁴⁰ The CDB inspector was not optimistic that any possible improvements could be made in this district by the CDB scheme. No substantial improvement in the condition of small landholders was envisioned. Denis McGuire stated on his application that he was returning to settle an estate and planned to return to New Jersey within one year (Figure 1.9).⁴¹ During his visit, Denis may have experienced feelings and made similar observations regarding new movements and changes as those made by Michael MacGowan when he returned to County Donegal:

Many's a change that came over the village between the time I left and the time I returned. A lot of old people of the neighbourhood had gone to their eternal rest and a new generation had grown up. The district was settling

³⁸ Caitriona Clear, *Social change and everyday life in Ireland, 1850-1922* (Manchester, 2007) pp 13-15.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Morrissey, *On the verge of want*, p. 113.

⁴¹ Denis McGuire, 1919, Co. Roscommon, *U.S. Passports Applicants Collection, 1795-1925*, [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed Jan 2008].

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

down again after the end of the Land War; and the clouds of oppression and suffering were lightening somewhat. Movements had been founded that were giving the people heart again. ... The Gaelic League had been established and political movements that were inspiring people and giving them new courage was operating.⁴²

How long Denis stayed on in County Roscommon is not known with any certainty. However, even with changes to the culture, economics and Irish independence occurring only two years later, Denis is located back in New York by the 1930 census where he is listed as a 67 years old, widowed, retired, and living with his nephew Patrick Tuohey and his young family in the Bronx district of New York.⁴³



Fig 1.9 Denis McGuire, Co. Roscommon, passport photo, 1919

⁴² Michael MacGowan, *The hard road to Klondike* (Boston, 1977), p. 144.

⁴³ 1930 Federal Census, New York State, Bronx county, E.D. 424, sheet 94, lines 41-6.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

Irish-Americans at the turn of the nineteenth century

*There were sixty or seventy years at the turn of the century
when the Irish were everywhere.*

Daniel Patrick Moynihan⁴⁴

The turn-of-the century era was a decisive period for America in terms of the social issues, progress in business, and westward expansion which increased the size of the country. These themes were soon accompanied by war in Europe. But it was the great business boom resulting from the American Civil War which revolutionized the size, methods and marketing of industrial empires leading to business monopolies. At the same time, there was growing economic anguish among the labouring poor which sometimes resorted in violence. A wide spectrum of people in all sections of the country demanded better working conditions involving hours and wages, women and child labour laws, and strict codes to protect the health and safety of workers in factories. The 'manifest destiny' of the United States enveloped the whole land area between oceans and led to the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands.

Irish-Americans played an integral role in these movements. They joined reform campaigns against institutions and railroads, establishing labour unions and providing the labour for new national programmes to build dams, irrigation and other reclamation projects. As members of the American military, the Irish helped build the Panama Canal and fought in World War I with the American Expeditionary Force in Europe (see chapter 3). By the time some of these Irish-Americans returned to visit their families and homeplaces in Ireland, many of them had become altered by their experiences and most likely, greatly felt the difference.

⁴⁴ Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Land of Immigrants* (Boston, 1997), p. 23.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

Population and immigration

Large numbers of Famine migrants and their immediate predecessors were already established in America largely in the northeastern United States, many having entered through New York and Boston, and a substantial minority entering through Canada. 'Almost all Irish settled in cities as far south as Baltimore and as far west as Cincinnati.'⁴⁵ Large numbers of Irish immigrants were moving into new urban occupations such as policemen, firemen, and horse-car drivers. After declining in the 1870s, new waves of Irish immigrants came to America in the last decades of the century.

By the turn-of-the-century, greenhorn Irish immigrants, for the most part, were being brought out to the U.S. by family and friends. Moynihan's statement about the pervasiveness of the New York Irish could apply to the Irish throughout the urban areas of the country. However, those arriving during the three decades studied in this thesis would be some of the last Irish to come to America until later in the century.⁴⁶ The number of foreign-born Irish in America would soon stop growing⁴⁷ due to the setting of immigration quotas in the 1920s and crucially, the Great Economic Crash of 1929, which re-orientated the Irish diaspora to Britain.⁴⁸ The remainder of this chapter surveys the social and economic context and conditions for Irish-Americans in the United States and those that returned at this time.

⁴⁵ Roger Daniels, *Guarding the golden door: American immigration policy and immigrants since 1882* (New York, 2004), p. 9.

⁴⁶ Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the melting pot: the negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge, MA, 1974), p. 217.

⁴⁷ William Shannon, *The American Irish: A political and social portrait* (New York, 1974), p. 132.

⁴⁸ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish history*, p. 202.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

A view of Irish immigrant numbers in relation to those of other countries in northwestern Europe, the ‘old immigrant’ countries and select ‘new immigrant’ countries, help keep the numbers of Irish immigration in perspective (Figure 1.10)⁴⁹

Country of Birth	Number of Immigrants			
	1920	1910	1900	1890
Total foreign born	13,920,692	13,515,886	10,341,276	9,249,560
England	813,853	877,719	840,513	909,092
Scotland	254,570	261,076	233,524	242,281
Wales	67,086	93,536	93,5869	100,079
Ireland	1,037,234	1,352,251	1615459	1,871,509
Norway	363,863	403,877	336,388	322,665
Sweden	625,585	665,207	582,014	478,041
Denmark	189,154	181,649	153,690	132,543
Netherlands	131,766	120,063	94,931	81,828
Belgium	62,687	49,400	29,757	22,639
France	153,072	117,418	104,197	113,174
Germany	1,086,108	2,311,237	2,063,418	2,784,894
Poland	1,139,979	937,884	383,407	147,440
Italy	1,610,118	1,343,125	484,027	182,580
Greece	175,976	101,282	8,515	1,887

Fig. 1.10 Country of Birth of Selected Foreign-born population for the United States, 1890-1920. source: U.S. census, population tables, 1920

Seeing all these countries together also helps us understand some of the multiple cultures that existed in their communities and affected their integration and hence their propensity to return. Viewing the relative numbers of who emigrated at the end of the century per 1000 of settled population indicates that Ireland was second only to Germany in having the highest number of immigrants per 1000 people in the U.S. population (Figure 1.11)

⁴⁹ U.S. Census, Population Tables, 1920 (<http://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html>) (accessed 1 May 2011).

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

Country of Birth	1920		1910		1900	
	Nbr of Immig.	Proportion per 1000 U.S. pop.	Nbr of Immig.	Proportion per 1000 U.S. pop.		Proportion per 1000 U.S. pop.
England	813,853	8	877,719	10	840,513	11
Scotland	254,570	2	261,076	3	233,524	3
Wales	67,086	1	93,536	1	93,589	1
Ireland	1,037,234	10	1,352,251	14	1,615,459	21
Sweden	625,585	6	665,207	7	582,014	8
Germany	1,086,108	10	2,311,237	25	2,063,418	27
Italy	1,610,118	15	1,343,125	15	484,027	6

Fig. 1.11 Selected groups of foreign-born immigrants to the U.S. and the proportion of immigrants per 1000 population, 1900-1920. source: U.S. census, Population tables, 1920. U.S. population 1900 – 76,212,168; 1910 – 92,228,496; 1920 – 106,021,537, source: Max Rosenberg, *U.S. Population Through History* (www.geography.about.com/od/obatinpopulationdata/a/uspop.htm) [accessed 20Jul2011].

Daniel Murphy suggests that the massive flow of Irish immigrants profoundly shaped the whole structure and character of American society. ‘They constituted a large, distinct and highly identifiable ethnic grouping within an already highly diversified and largely immigrant population’.⁵⁰ Within these Irish-American post-Famine families, there was a maturing of a whole new generation of American-born Irish.

Irish-Americans identity

The American-born Irish would exceed their elders in numbers, first in the Irish-American general population by the 1870s and 1880s, and then among Irish-American adults by the 1890s and the 1900s.⁵¹ These Irish-Americans dealt with multiple identities: they were proud of their Irish birth and their homeland, but they

⁵⁰ Daniel Murphy, *A history of Irish emigrant and missionary education* (Dublin, 2000), p 226.

⁵¹ Meagher, *The Columbia guide*, p. 95.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

were equally proud of their American status. They adopted and took pride in their involvement in politics, religion, business, organized labor, athletics and popular American culture, while they encouraged participation and loyalty to their Irish-American county societies⁵² and other groups such as the American Irish Historical Society established in 1897 to celebrate and proclaim the achievements of the Irish in America.⁵³ They moved up and out of their parents' occupations and neighbourhoods while remaining stalwart to their Irish Catholic religion.

The Irish men and women who undertook the serious business of creating a new home across the Atlantic employed badges of nationality to bridge two versions of their identity. Inspired variously by history, heritage, politics, and religion, the gamut of cultural association housed in the words, buildings, lapel pins, insignia[d] letterhead and banner headlines nurtured the hopes and dreams of generations as they emblazoned their transatlantic identity.⁵⁴

However, a word of caution is suggested when discussing Irish-American identity. Meagher and other historians have pointed out that there is no precise singular definition for Irish-Americans. Use of only a one-name label would not be adequate to describe the 'multifaceted' Irish-American profile. While Irish-Americans throughout the country had much in common, the specific economics and environment of the various Irish-American communities resulted in varying experiences for the Irish immigrants living there.

⁵² John T. Ridge, 'Irish county societies in New York, 1880-1914' in Ronald Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (eds.), *The New York Irish* (Baltimore, 1996), pp 275-300.

⁵³ The Irish-Americans Historical Society website (<http://www.aihs.org/>) [accessed 26May2011].

⁵⁴ Mary C. Kelly, *The shamrock and the lily: the New York Irish and the creation of a transatlantic identity, 1845-1921* (New York, 2005), p. xi.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

The contrast between the Butte and Worcester Irish points up, once again that there was no typical Irish-Americans experience – as the experiences of the Irish in all the ‘other’ untypical cities like New York, Chicago, Lowell, or Denver also make clear.⁵⁵

‘Community’ studies in Irish-American research have increased over the past several decades resulting in excellent ‘community’ studies such as Margaret M. Mulrooney’s study of the Dupont Irish in Delaware, Timothy Meagher’s study of Worcester, Massachusetts, and David Emmons’ study of the Butte Irish in Montana.⁵⁶ The narratives of Irish-Americans communities collected in these and other research present a picture of a group of people with a common characteristics, who are linked by having a common history and common social, economic, and political interests living together within the larger American society. These studies help enrich our understanding of the overall Irish-Americans experience, the interaction with other ethnic groups living side-by-side and sharing schools and churches with the Irish, and hopefully to prevent excessive generalization about the Irish in the United States.

In general, most Irish-Americans first encountered U.S. officialdom through their actions to become American citizens. During this period, little official notice would have been taken of the Irish immigrants as they stepped off their ships. The ship’s arrival manifest listed their name, occupation, where they came from (in general terms) and to whom they were going in the United States was soon archived away by the Department of Customs. Word within the Irish-American

⁵⁵ Timothy J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish-America: generation, class and ethnic identity in a New England City, 1880-1928* (Notre Dame, 2001), pp, 14, 16.

⁵⁶ Margaret M. Mulrooney, *Black Powder, White Lace: The Dupont Irish and Cultural Identity in Nineteenth Century America* (New Hampshire, 2002), p. 336; Meagher, *Inventing Irish America*, p. 544; David M. Emmons, *The Butte Irish: class and ethnicity in an American mining town, 1875-1925* (Chicago, 1990), p. 443.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

kinship networks and communities would soon inform new immigrants of the economic and occupational benefits of having American citizenship. Someone's relative or neighbour would most likely know how to take the first step towards citizenship. An immigrant usually filed Declaration of Intention papers, the '*First Papers*', first forms completed in the naturalization process quite soon after arrival.⁵⁷ These papers were the means by which 'an applicant for U.S. citizenship declared their intent to become a citizen and renounced their allegiance to a foreign government'. Exception to this process was extended to those who entered the country while a minor, had an honourable military discharge, or was married to an American citizen.⁵⁸

Following the Declaration of Intention filing, the immigrant would meet a residency requirement by living somewhere within the various United States for five years. Then their '*Second Papers*' were filed, the petition for formal application for U.S. citizenship.⁵⁹ The final document, the Certificate of Naturalization, would be issued by their local County Court granting U.S. citizenship. Until 1922, immigrant women derived their U.S. citizenship from their newly naturalized spouses or automatically if they married an American citizen. Generally, minor immigrant children became citizens when their father was naturalized.⁶⁰

Most Irish-Americans received their Certificate of Naturalization within 5 years of their date of immigration to the U.S and they needed their naturalization

⁵⁷ *Citizenship and Naturalization Records* (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 26May2011].

⁵⁸ John J. Newman and Brad Steuart (eds.), *American Naturalization Records, 1790-1990: what they are and how to use them* (Salt Lake City, 1998), p. 15.

⁵⁹ *Citizenship and Naturalization Records* (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 26May2011]; This pattern was followed by Peter John Fallon of Co. Roscommon. See Chapter 6 – Profile 8.

⁶⁰ Anne Bruner Eales and Robert M. Kvasnicka (eds.), *Guide to genealogical research in the National Archives of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 2000), pp. 87, 97.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

papers before they made their return trip to Ireland because, once passports became required in 1916, the returning migrants would have needed their passport to prove their U.S. citizenship to reenter the States at the end of their trip. For those planning on permanently residing in Ireland, the passport proved their American citizenship if ever needed for various reasons such as access to pension benefits.

Kinship networks and moving outward

Kinship networks linking the Irish in America and the Irish at home were important in several ways and kept alive the dream of returning home to see family at some point in the future. Most Irish-Americans kept these emotional ties intact and their attachment to their heritage to heart. Chain migration, financed by remittances and prepaid passage money, brought kin to America in a well established pattern by the end of the century. Research findings from sociologist Harvey Choldin indicates the extended family, in the case of the Irish, coming mainly from agricultural backgrounds, lived in the industrial settings of U.S. cities but maintained continual interaction among kinfolk of different generations [and locations] including performing various services for each other.⁶¹ In the last half of the nineteenth century, Irish immigrants in North America sent an estimated \$260 million in remittances and tickets home to Ireland; 90 per cent of that sum was from the United States as was personified in this report from Worcester, Massachusetts:⁶²

⁶¹ Harvey M. Choldin, *Kinship networks in the migration process in International Migration Review*, vii (2) (1973), pp 163-75.

⁶² Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: a history* (New York, 2000), p. 139.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

... a local agent of the shipping lines sold sixty tickets on The White Star Lines and sent them overseas between December 4 and December 31, 1884; forty-three of the tickets were sold to people with the same last name as the prospective passenger.⁶³

Once the Irish arrived, the network continued its work. Homes and churches were founded, work was arranged, and social occasions celebrated. In terms of residential locations, immigrants often clustered by specific counties or parts of counties in certain neighbourhoods or even cities. In New York City for instance, though most immigrants were settled somewhere between Manhattan and Brooklyn, those from Donegal and Cavan were said to prefer Brooklyn while those from Galway and Kerry preferred the borough of Manhattan. Galway men and women in Boston preferred the community of Newton on the Boston border while Roscommon immigrants clustered on Mission Hill in the city itself. Examples of groupings outside the East Coast were the Kerry migrants in Chicago who located on the South side, Achill Islanders from Co. Mayo who were concentrated in several adjacent parishes in Cleveland, Irish labourers living on Potrero Hill in San Francisco while the immigrants from Cork made up the core of the Irish population in the new city of Butte, Montana.⁶⁴

The new immigrant Irish had limited resources to spend on housing and only a small proportion of them would remain in the old Irish neighbourhoods in urban downtown areas. They watched as the newly arriving ethnic groups overran the old Irish settlements. Immigrant Italian, Chinese and European Jews were moving into those areas, for example the Italians penetrated into Boston's North

⁶³ Meagher, *The Columbia Guide*, p. 102.

⁶⁴ Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, p. 15; Peter Linenthal and Abigail Johnston, *San Francisco's Potrero Hill* (San Francisco, 2005), p 35.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

End. At the same time, streetcars and light railways were expanding city boundaries out into their suburbs, incorporating nearby towns and opening up new neighbourhoods for the immigrants to inherit but still be able to travel to their work downtown. McCaffrey noted this movement: 'upper working- and middle-class families were moving from their original neighbourhoods, most to better locations in the city, some to the suburbs'.⁶⁵ For example, in New York City, by the second or third decade of the twentieth century, transportation improvements and building booms, opened up new residential opportunities in the city's outer boroughs, the Bronx and Queens.⁶⁶

Irish-American occupational status

In 1900, the occupational status of many Irish-Americans experienced some upward movement in terms of categories: 65 per cent of Irish-Americans males worked in industry and transportation, only 15 per cent unskilled manual laborers, (most of them newly arrived), and 15 per cent worked in agriculture.⁶⁷ At the same time, 23 per cent were indeed skilled labourers, second only to the 29.9 per cent of Germans immigrant workers.⁶⁸ A noticeable generational difference gradually arose between unskilled or older Irish and skilled labourers (younger Irish-Americans), the difference marking the occupations between immigrant 'greenhorns', and their 'narrowback' sons.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Lawrence J. McCaffrey, *Textures of Irish America* (Syracuse, 1992), p. 36.

⁶⁶ Bayor and Meagher (eds.), *The New York Irish*, pp 229-230; McCaffrey, *Textures of Irish America*, p. 160.

⁶⁷ Kenny, *The American Irish: a history*, p. 185.

⁶⁸ Bayor and Meagher, *The New York Irish*, p. 229.

⁶⁹ *greenhorn*: an immigrant who was unfamiliar with their surroundings; *narrowback*: a child of Irish immigrants who was considered too soft to do hard physical labour.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

In the various occupational categories, immigrants and second-generation Irish alike were striving to rise up the occupational ladder, breaking into and succeeding in new types of skilled employment. Kenny argues that, at the turn of the century, most Irish-American workers were skilled rather than unskilled, and they were disproportionately concentrated in the best-paid and most highly unionized trades:

While Irish-Americans in 1900 accounted for only 7.5 per cent (one-thirteenth) of the total male workforce in the United states, they provided one-sixth of all teamsters, metal workers and masons; one-fifth of stone cutters, leather tanners, wire-workers, brass-workers, skilled textile workers, paper mill workers, roofers and street rail workers; and almost one third of all plumbers, steam fitters and boilermakers ... [and] about 10 per cent of all electricians, miners, glass-blowers, and blacksmiths, and one-eighth of machinists, railroad-men and printers.⁷⁰

Irish-American women were also experiencing changes in occupation. American-born Irish females throughout the country sought work as secretaries, stenographers, nurses and school teachers rather than in domestic service. This resulted in 1908 for example with over twenty percent of all New York's public school teachers having fathers born in Ireland.⁷¹

A closer look at the range of positions within the immigrant's work world reveals some of the changes that were emerging. As Lawrence McCaffrey stated, 'many Irish, immigrant and second-generation alike, strove to rise in their professions.'⁷² It is interesting to hear stories of those who were successful and perhaps lucky. The stories of some individual return migrants, selected from the passport database, will help personify some of these occupational changes. For

⁷⁰ Kenny, *The American Irish*, pp 185-86.

⁷¹ Lawrence J. McCaffrey, 'Forging forward and looking back' in Ronald Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (eds.), *The New York Irish* (Baltimore, 1996), pp 230-32.

⁷² *Ibid*, p. 229.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

instance, 'on the waterfront, [as well as] in packing houses, in factories, and on construction sites, [the Irish] were foreman as well as labourers.'⁷³ Michael Hanley from County Sligo is a exemplar here. As a twelve year old, he emigrated to New York with his family in 1886. After arriving, the family travelled to Lackawanna near Buffalo, New York. Michael himself eventually became a steel worker in the Lackawanna Steel Company, an American steel manufacturing enterprise which existed as an independent company from 1840 to 1922, and as a subsidiary of the Bethlehem Steel company from 1922 to 1983.⁷⁴ By 1920, when Michael, his wife Margaret and five year old daughter Rita returned to Ireland to see their parents, Michael was working as a shift captain in the steel mill.⁷⁵

In a related job category, '[s]treetcar, elevated railway, and subway riders noticed that quite a few conductors and motormen spoke with a brogue.'⁷⁶ The speaker here could have been Thomas O'Donnell from County Galway who emigrated as a labourer in 1909 to Winchester, Massachusetts. When departing for his visit to Ireland in 1919, his occupation was listed on his passport as a motorway fireman.⁷⁷ After emigrating, he had married and had a daughter, but when his wife died, he decided to return to Ireland to take his infant child to be raised by his parents.

On the railroads, the 1900s saw 'fewer Irish labourers and more engineers, firemen, switchmen, levermen, clerks, and telegraphers'.⁷⁸ A young man from

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Lackawanna Steel Plant Museum (*steelplmuseum.org*)[accessed 23may2011].

⁷⁵ Michael Hanley, returned 1920, County Sligo, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (*www.ancestry.com*)[accessed 02 May 2011].

⁷⁶ McCaffrey, 'Forging forward', p. 229.

⁷⁷ Thomas O'Donnell, returned 1919, County Galway, *ancestry.com, U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line], accessed 02 May 2011.

⁷⁸ McCaffrey, 'Forging forward', p. 229.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

Sligo fits this scenario well. Martin J. Crean from County Sligo emigrated at twenty-one years of age to New York City. There he worked for one of the railroads and seemingly was successful. When he returned to Ireland in 1916, to transfer property, he had risen to the post of railroad manager.⁷⁹

For many decades, Irishmen had played an integral part in the construction industry and a few actually made their fortunes in the industry. McCaffrey found that by the turn of the century, Irish-born men were over represented in some skilled artisan positions like masons and other building trades. But the average immigrant worker ‘[o]n building sites, [as] Irish bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, painters, plumbers, steamfitters, and electricians began to match and then exceed the numbers of diggers and hod carriers.’⁸⁰ Labourer Thomas Joseph Daly from Killyon, County Galway fits this picture well. At twenty years of age, he had emigrated in 1908 to New York City. He worked in the building trades for nine years before he returned to Ireland in 1919 to bring his orphaned nieces back to America. His passport indicates he had established a construction specialty as a carpenter.⁸¹

Irish immigrants were strongly attracted to the security offered by civil service jobs at city, state and federal levels. ‘The Irish staffed the police and fire departments, the post office, and the government bureaucracy.’⁸² (see Chapter 6, Profile 8, Peter John Fallon). Firemen and policeman occur frequently the passport database, but one from County Mayo is represented here. Thomas Ansbrow from

⁷⁹ Michael J. Crean, returned 1916, County Sligo, ancestry.com, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line], accessed 02 May 2011.

⁸⁰ McCaffrey, ‘Forging forward’ p. 229.

⁸¹ Thomas Joseph Daly, returned 1919, County Galway, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 02 May 2011].

⁸² McCaffrey, ‘Forging forward’, p. 229.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

Balla, County Mayo emigrated in 1910, at twenty one years of age, to Jersey City, New Jersey. He married and had four children. In 1919, he is shown as a fireman on his passport when he traveled to Ireland to take care of family business and property.⁸³

McCaffrey states that '[c]uriosity, writing skills, the search for adventure, and a hearty drinking tradition drew Irish talent to journalism.'⁸⁴ This propensity may have been enhanced by the Irish immigrants having arrived in America already speaking English and the product of the Ireland's national system of education. George Upton Harvey is a good example of this career path. At the age of four, he accompanied his immigrant parents from Ireland to New York. As an adult, George moved to Flushing, New York where he married and had two children. By 1915, when he applied for a passport to travel to Ireland to bring back his wife and children, he was a publisher in New York.⁸⁵

Using New York as an example, the numbers of Irish in white-collar occupations grew in the decade from 1880 to 1900, from 4.3 to 10.3 per cent second only to the German's 18.8 per cent.⁸⁶ Roscommon emigrant Michael John Egan, at age six in 1886, came with his family to Chicago, Illinois and then on to Benson, Minnesota. By the time he returned to county Roscommon for a visit in 1913, he had become a dentist.⁸⁷

⁸³ Thomas Ansbrow, returned 1919, County Mayo, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 02 May 2011].

⁸⁴ McCaffrey, 'Forging forward' p. 229.

⁸⁵ George Upton Harvey, returned 1915, County Galway, *ancestry.com, U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line], accessed 02 May 2011.

⁸⁶ McCaffrey, 'Forging forward', p. 229.

⁸⁷ Michael John Egan, returned 1919, County Roscommon, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 02 May 2011].

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

Diner suggests that Irish immigrant women did as well. Using Massachusetts as an example, the Domestic Reform League of Boston in 1909 reported ‘an investigation of 398 cases [of immigrant women], divided approximately among nationalities ... showed that ...172... somewhat over two-fifths – entered domestic service. These were almost entirely Irish.’⁸⁸ In another major occupation category for immigrant women, Diner reports in 1900, of all seamstresses and dressmakers in the United States, 34 per cent of the cases were women of Irish birth. At the same time, some Irish women were experiencing a steady rise from domestic service into white-collar and semi-professional positions in government, nursing and teaching.⁸⁹ Mrs Mary Bolland, who emigrated from Leenanae, County Mayo met and married her American-born husband in St Paul, Minnesota and had two small children. An early working mother, she had achieved a position as a government clerk at the time she returned for a visit to Mayo in 1916.⁹⁰

The daughters of the Irish immigrant domestic servants often became teachers and nurses, and by 1900 American women with Irish-born parents exceeded the ‘combined total of all female teachers with English or German parents’⁹¹ Several nurses are included in the passport database, however one is particularly representative. In 1906, Miss Beatrice E. Madden left Breaffey near Ballina in County Mayo at 18 years of age. She emigrated to Cleveland, Ohio where she trained as a nurse. During World War I, Beatrice was attached to the

⁸⁸ Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's daughters in America: Irish immigrant women in the nineteenth century* (Baltimore, 1983) pp 77, 83.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p 94.

⁹⁰ Mrs. Mary Bolland, returned 1916, County Mayo, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com)[accessed 02 May 2011].

⁹¹ Patrick Blessing, ‘The Irish’ in Stephan Thernstorm (ed.), *The Harvard encyclopedia of American ethnic groups* (Cambridge, MA, 1980), p. 532.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

U.S. Navy doing war work as a nurse. She was living in New York City in 1920 when she made a return trip to visit her mother.⁹²

Second-generation Irish males were increasingly moving into the lower ranks of the middle class, gaining in skilled blue collar jobs as painters, printers, machinists, and other trades. Second-generation Irish women did as well, perhaps even better than the men. The number of American-born Irish women who became teachers was remarkable. In Boston, the number of Irish-Americans teaching in the city more than doubled in the quarter century after 1880.⁹³ 'In 1900, there were over 31,000 of them throughout the nation, consisting of about 8.1 per cent of all second-generation Irish women in the workforce and that percentage exceeded the proportions of both second-generation German and British women who were teachers.'⁹⁴ It is interesting however to note that in the passport database, while there are a number of nurses, there are no females that listed their occupation as a teacher.

Irish-American marriage and culture

The Irish in America appeared to have married late, and in comparison, married later than American women or other immigrant groups such as the Germans and Italians.⁹⁵ This pattern was ascribed by early studies to 'peculiarly' Irish family patterns at home in which individuals married only when they were well established as adults, if at all.⁹⁶ Research by Foley and Guinnane found that in

⁹² Beatrice E. Madden, returned 1920, County Mayo, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com)[accessed 02 May 2011].

⁹³ Janet Nolan, *Servants of the poor: teachers and mobility in Ireland and Irish America* (Indiana, 2004), p 58.

⁹⁴ Meagher, *The Columbia Guide*, pp 103-4.

⁹⁵ Diner, *Erin's daughters in America*, p. 47.

⁹⁶ Linda May Ballard, *Forgetting frolic: marriage traditions in Ireland* (Belfast, 1998), p. 2.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

earlier decades of Irish immigration to the U.S., both Irish and Irish-Americans were characterised by the western European marriage pattern in which there was a relatively advanced marriage age and relatively high proportions of the population never married and marriage was deferred until they can support themselves and any offspring.⁹⁷ While there was little similarity with the American practice of early marriage and low celibacy rates, their studies indicate the early nineteenth century Irish followed similar marriage patterns to those of other poor, perhaps immigrant, urban dwellers. It was only in the 1880-1910 time period that Irish-American marriage patterns grew to reflect the rarity of marriage that made Ireland so distinctive demographically. Foley and Guinnane conclude that 'Irish-American marriage patterns grew to most resemble those in Ireland after the height of migration from Ireland to the U.S.'⁹⁸

The tradition remained alive in America because it made good economic sense especially for the immigrant Irish female. As long as she was working, she could continue to send the much needed remittance money to her family. Once married, 'she no longer continued to underwrite the expense of her family back home.'⁹⁹ Even in regions where Irish women did not outnumber their fellow Irish men, as in San Francisco, Irish women still demonstrated a reluctance to marry.¹⁰⁰

When they married, did they marry other Irish immigrants or perhaps members of the second-generation? Hasia Diner states that Irish-born women married non-Irish men more frequently than Irish-born men married Irish migrant

⁹⁷ Mark C. Foley and Timothy W. Guinnane, 'Did Irish marriage patterns survive the emigrant's voyage? Irish-American nuptiality, 1880-1920 in *Irish Economic and Social History*, xxvi (1999), pp 15-34.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 52.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p 48.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

women.¹⁰¹ But with more men living in the west than the east, it followed that Irish women were more likely to marry outside the group in the east. But in western America, ‘women were a relative small percentage of the Irish’ and ‘[t]he Irish west, like every other one, was male dominated’.¹⁰² Irish-born immigrant men would more likely marry outside the group in the west though in most places, where Irish immigrant women could find Irish men, or vice versa, they chose each other above all others.¹⁰³ Moving up and moving out, the new generation revealed a new openness to the world around them even in the most personal of decisions, such as whom to marry. For returning Irish-Americans making a visit to Ireland, they were occasionally accompanied by an Irish spouse, but one native to another part of Ireland, disrupting the tradition of marrying someone from within a five mile circle of the homeplace.¹⁰⁴

In the 1890s, the second-generation American born sons and daughters of the Famine era immigrants began to reach maturity in large enough numbers to dominate America’s Irish population. The U.S. Census in 1900 reported that second-generation Irish males and females in the workforce outnumbered immigrant Irish males.¹⁰⁵ For the first time, ‘the American-born defined Irish-American identity, determined its boundaries, shaped its future, and defended or advanced its interests. It would be the second-generation Irish, ... who would take

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p 50.

¹⁰² David M. Emmons, *Beyond the American pale: The Irish in the west, 1845-1910* (Oklahoma, 2010), pp 216-218: Typical gender ratios in western states and territories, males per 100 females, in 1900 included 123.5 (California), 160.3 (Montana) and 169.4 (Wyoming), numbers from the U.S. Bureau of Census, *Thirteenth Census: 1910 Population*, pp 270-71.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p 102.

¹⁰⁴ Rosaleen Fallon, *A County Roscommon wedding, 1892* (Dublin, 2004), p. 28.

¹⁰⁵ U.S. census, Population & Immigration tables, 1920 (<http://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html>) (accessed 1 May 2011).

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

over Irish-American communities and begin to remake them according to their own values, customs and aspirations.’¹⁰⁶

The second generation Irish-Americans would also become enthusiastic members of various Irish ethnic societies in the late nineteenth century such as the Catholic Total Abstinence and the Knights of Columbus. Among the most prominent was the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), an Irish social and benevolent society with nationalistic views of an independent Ireland. The organization attracted thousands of Irish-Americans from both the immigrant and second generation to their meetings and functions in most towns and cities.¹⁰⁷ The photograph below, taken in July 1919, captures the AOH membership gathered at a national conference, along with the AOH ladies auxiliary, in San Francisco, California (Figure 1.12).¹⁰⁸



Fig. 1.12 Ancient Order of Hibernians national conference, San Francisco, California, July 1919. source: Patrick Dowling, *Irish Californians: Historic, Benevolent, Romantic*, 1998.

¹⁰⁶ Meagher, *The Columbia Guide*, p 102.

¹⁰⁷ Kenny, *The American Irish: a history*, p. 202.

¹⁰⁸ Patrick Dowling, *Irish Californians: historic, benevolent, romantic* (San Francisco, 1998), pp inside cover; Thomas J. Brophy, ‘Rivalry between Irish associations in San Francisco over second funeral of Terrence Bellew Mcmanus, 1861’ in R.V. Comerford and Jennifer Kelly, *Associational Culture in Ireland and the Wider World* (Dublin, 2010), pp 67-84.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

The emerging Irish-American middle class

The new second-generation Irish-Americans were very different from the arriving Irish immigrants as much as from their own parents. By the era of Ellis Island, Irish Catholic immigrants might be considered relatively advantaged in the context of other ethnic groups such as the southern Italians and the immigrant Chinese. In the 1890s, the term 'lace curtain' Irish came into currency to describe the new phenomenon of an emerging Irish middle class. As the Irish moved up into middle-class jobs and moved out along the streetcar lines to live in the suburbs, they also put lace curtains in their windows and steam heat in their homes causing comment and derision by some, though it must be noted that upward mobility for the Irish did not automatically equate to integration into society.¹⁰⁹ The extent and rate of integration varied from region to region and even from city to city. The New England region remained the most difficult place for Irish immigrants to make any upward progress while out west, California was the easiest.¹¹⁰ As early as 1890, for example, second-generation Irish outnumbered the Irish immigrants in mid-and uptown areas of New York City, while the Irish-born continued to outnumber them in the old neighbourhoods below Fourteenth Street.¹¹¹

An example of second-generation aspirational respectability of an Irish-American family is represented in the photograph below. The mother, Mary Owens Mulligan, was an Irish immigrant who as a girl served as a domestic servant for her uncle Father Patrick Leonard of Newark, New Jersey. After marrying Mr Mulligan, she had a family of seven children. From their clothing an implied prosperity was

¹⁰⁹ Jay P. Dolan, *The Irish-Americans* (New York, 2008), p. 104.

¹¹⁰ David Emmons, *Beyond the American pale: The Irish in the west, 1845-1910* (Oklahoma, 2010), p. 213-16.

¹¹¹ Lawrence J. McCaffrey, 'Forging Forward', p. 229.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

complimented by at least one of them eventually becoming a monsignor (Figure 1.12).

In the early years of the twentieth century, Irish-American collective self-identity revealed itself openly through social and benevolent societies and in the sponsoring of St Patrick's Day parades and picnics. But the Irish also used symbols of their ethnic heritage. 'With one foot firmly planted in American society, they proudly manifested a high degree of self-confidence as American Irish.'¹¹²

Kerby Miller acknowledges the central role of religion with his comments on Irish-American Catholic self-identity and the Church being 'the central institution of Irish life and the primary source and expression of Irish identity.'¹¹³



Fig. 1.12 Mulligan Family, Newark, New Jersey, circa 1900.
source: Dermot Quinn, *The Irish in New Jersey*, 2006

¹¹² Dolan, *The Irish-Americans*, p 105.

¹¹³ Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, p. 526.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

By the early 1900s, the economic progress of the second generation Irish, combined with the extension of residential patterns throughout the cities and towns, their increasing tendency to marry outside the group, and their avid participation in American popular culture (especially the popular stage, boxing and baseball), seemed to suggest their openness to the possibilities of their new country and foretold of their greater assimilation into American society and culture.

The newly arriving Irish immigrants would meet an Irish-American environment which had undergone changes from that experienced by earlier immigrant relatives. However, at the same time, turn of the century immigrants were themselves changed from earlier generations of 'greenhorns'. A national school system was established in Ireland in 1831 and by the end of the nineteenth century Ireland had one of the highest literacy rates in the world.¹¹⁴ Fitzpatrick cites indirect evidence which confirms the pervasiveness of basic literacy among Irish emigrants as whole:

The proportion of emigrants able to read and write seems to have risen from three-fifths in the 1870s to well over nine-tenths by the Edwardian decade, the improvement being particularly rapid in the case of formerly 'backeard' counties such as Mayo. ...Irish emigrants were no longer seriously disadvantaged in literacy, whether compared with other emigrant groups or with the residual Irish population.¹¹⁵

These better educated Irish immigrants were in a more likely position to obtain successful employment, especially the females who sought work in domestic service.

¹¹⁴ David Fitzpatrick, 'A share of the honeycomb': education, emigration and Irishwomen' in *Continuity and Change*, i (1986), pp 217-234.

¹¹⁵ David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration, 1871-1921' in W.E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland*, vi, *Ireland under the Union, II, 1870-1921* (Oxford, 1996), p. 615.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

The down side to assimilation

It remains to point out that life for all immigrants living in the United States at this time was a 'hard row to hoe'. Especially on the East Coast, the near monopoly by existing native-stock Yankees to wealth and societal position remained strong. Historians suggest opportunities at the very top of the American social and economic hierarchy for most immigrants became more, not less, restricted, by the turn of the century.¹¹⁶ The Irish were regarded as an inferior race as were the Italians or Jews and all non-Protestant immigrants were considered outsiders to the Protestant Establishment's hegemonic status which included elite schools and clubs. 'Irish Catholics might cross these boundaries more easily into elite circles in San Francisco', suggests Dolan, 'but never in Boston, rarely in New York or Philadelphia, and perhaps, only occasionally and uneasily in Chicago.'¹¹⁷

Relations with conditions in Ireland

Throughout this period there was at all times a significant Irish-American public opinion ready in its response to news from Ireland but ultimately concerned with American rather than Irish politics. A small and usually fragmented group of dedicated American-based Fenian conspirators, typified by John Devoy, watched for every potential opportunity to give practical assistance to revolutionary efforts in Ireland (see chapter 3).¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Dolan, *The Irish-Americans*, p. 106.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Comerford, 'Introduction', pp xlv-xlvi.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

Immigrant transition

Newly arrived Irish immigrants, although aided by those already in place, faced the immediate difficulties of dealing with the society and economics of their new country. However, it was easier than for most Southern Europeans and Asian immigrants. The sometimes difficult interactions between the Irish-Americans and other ethnic groups and cultures were an awkward experience for people who came from a relatively homogenous society. When recalling family at home and the relaxed pace of life in agrarian Ireland, many had occasional bouts of nostalgia. But these thoughts usually did not last for long. What did continue was the immigrant's 'passionate, action oriented interest in Ireland, especially as their countrymen back home struggled to secure independence from England ...' (see page 137 below for case of John Devoy).¹¹⁹ While always mindful of the troubles at home in Ireland, the newly arrived Irish appeared to recognize that their life in America, while challenging, was a life which provided them with opportunities. They recognized that these chances, for themselves and their families, were not available to them in Ireland.

However, as the Irish-Americans proceeded to build new worlds for themselves, '[n]o matter how settled in America, immigrants generally keep their minds open to the possibility that one day they will return, if only as a safety net.'¹²⁰ Having left conditions of poverty and bleak hope, endured the challenges of immigrant existence and as a final point found an improved life, Irish-American immigrants found that the two cultural worlds of their life did remain linked

¹¹⁹ Timothy J. Meagher, (ed.), *From paddy to studs: Irish-American communities in the turn of the century era, 1880-1920* (New York, 1986), p. xiv.

¹²⁰ Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish history*, p. 48.

Chapter 1 - Why Leave

through family ties. Most knew that at some point in their new lives, they would most likely consider or would be required for a variety of personal reasons, to make a return visit home to Ireland.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

During the decades following the Great Famine, a small, but significant number of Irish-Americans (approximately one out of every eleven in America) chose to make a trip home to Ireland.¹ Stories of returning Irish-Americans worked their way into the very fabric of Irish society. Who were these individuals who made the important decision to leave the environment they had created in the United States and make a trip back to Ireland? Did they fear that home had changed? Or of even more concern, had life in Ireland remained static, and there would be no easy acceptance of their new identity and mannerisms as Irish-Americans? With his familiarity of Irish immigration, historian Donald Akenson suggested it was 'harder for the Irish than for the non-Irish to return home.'²

Identifying the returned Irish-Americans

The regional origins of Irish emigrants often determined their destinations as their initial emigration journeys took them to where friends and relatives were already settled in the United States. Their region or province of origin appears to have also played a role in likelihood of their return. Viewing overall Irish emigration patterns, historians Fitzpatrick and McCarthy contend that '[t]he Irish favouring the United States tended to originate from the western counties in the province of Connacht, while Canada attracted migrants from Ulster and the north-

¹ Mark Wyman, *Round-trip America; the immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithica, NY, 1993), p. 11.

² Quoted in Marjory Harper, 'Introduction' in Marjory Harper, (ed.), *Emigrant homecomings: the return movement of emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester, 2005), p. 5.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

west.’³ Fitzpatrick further argues that there was a much higher rate of return to the destitute west of Ireland than to the more prosperous east, a discrepancy he argues was closely related to opportunities for land acquisition.⁴ Taking up Fitzpatrick’s premise of higher incidence of return migration to the west of Ireland, this chapter examines who returned to the five impoverished counties of the province of Connacht (Galway, Mayo, Leitrim, Sligo and Roscommon) during the period of 1890 to 1920.

To investigate this return by Irish-Americans, one of the primary sources used in this study was a collection of original U.S. government passport documents made available to the public for the first time in 2007.⁵ This heretofore unseen set of data allows us to examine the identities and stated homecoming intentions of many individual returning Irish-Americans. Individuals deserving of mention, but not addressed in this study, are those who intermittently returned after initially emigrating under the auspices of assisted emigration schemes in the early 1880s, particularly from counties Mayo and Galway.⁶ A report to authorities on state-aided emigration and return of migrants in 1883 cited stories of return of two specific families sent out by Mr. Tuke’s Committee. Two widows, Mrs. Flaherty and Mrs. Conolly, both whose husbands had died of sunstroke in America, had applied for free passage and returned home with their destitute families while

³ David Fitzpatrick, ‘Irish emigration in the later nineteenth century’ in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxii (1980-1), pp 126-43; Angela McCarthy, *Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840-1937: ‘the desired haven’* (Suffolk, 2005), p. 53.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com)(accessed December 2007).

⁶ Gerard Moran, *Sending out Ireland’s poor: assisted emigration to North America in the nineteenth century* (Dublin, 2004), p. 219

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

authorities in Dublin argued over who was responsible for them and whether any compensation could be made for the loss of their means of living?⁷

The U.S. government passport documents located for Irish travelling during the period 1890 to 1920 totaled 14,356 returnees. The number of passports issued to returning migrants by province within Ireland indicates that the highest number were returning to the three counties of Ulster (ROI - Monaghan, Cavan, Donegal), 5278 (37 per cent). In *gross* numbers, the provinces of Leinster and Munster each had about one-quarter of the total applicants, 3455 (24 per cent) and 3622 (25 per cent) respectively, while the province of Connacht had the lowest number of applicants, 2001 (14 per cent) (Figure 2.1).⁸

Leinster		Ulster	
Carlow	84	Antrim	497
Dublin	995	Armagh	574
Kildare	63	Cavan	303
Kilkenny	161	Donegal	444
Queens (Laois)	638	Down	687
Longford	158	Fermanagh	192
Louth	69	Londonderry (Derry)	1015
Meath	150	Monaghan	607
Kings (Offaly)	629	Tyrone	945
Westmeath	94		total 5278
Wexford	286		
Wicklow	119		
	total 3455		
Munster		Connacht	
Clare	501	Galway	642
Cork	1137	Leitrim	154
Kerry	453	Mayo	598
Limerick	471	Roscommon	272
Tipperary	533	Sligo	329
Waterford	518		total 2001
	total 3622		

Fig. 2.1 Number of passport applications by county of birth in Ireland, 1890-1920.

⁷ *Hansard* 3, 283 (1883) col 460-3: *Report of State-aided emigration & the return of emigrants*, 1883.

⁸ U.S. Passport Applications Collection, 1795-1925.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

The criteria applied to reduce the number of applicants further included identifying those who were Connacht-born, who had spent at least one year in their country of destination (United States), and who had applied for a U.S. passport to travel to Ireland between 1890 and 1920.⁹ A database was created to include these relevant passport applicants (1215 individuals) and the information was used for statistical and document analysis in this study. The time frame selected for these records encompasses the generation of emigrants who, around the turn of the century, returned to Ireland to visit or live before the establishment of the Irish State in 1921. The individuals in the database appear to be self-selecting as inclusion in the database involves only those people who choose to apply to return to Ireland.¹⁰ This process is similar to the case of Ruth-Anne Harris' earlier study of over 5000 'Missing Friends' advertisements in the *Boston Pilot* newspaper, but unlike Harris' attempt to compare her cohort's characteristics with other pieces of demographic information such as the Irish census and the emigration numbers from Ireland, there are no comparable statistics with which to analyze and place the group of returnees in the database.¹¹

The majority of passport application documents provide a wealth of information including the applicant's name, birth date or age, birthplace, wife's name if applicable, date and place of immigration, U.S. residence, years residing in U. S., naturalization date and place, occupation, physical characteristics and reasons for travel (for returning Irish, eighteen reasons were identified which were

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) (accessed December 2007).

¹¹ Ruth Anne Harris, 'Characteristics of Irish Immigrants in North America derived from the Boston pilot "Missing Friends" data, 1831-1850' in *Working Papers in Irish Studies* (Boston, 1988), pp. pp.2-3).

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

aggregated by similarity resulting in eight primary motivation categories, see chapter 4 – Why they returned). Helping to put a face to the name, the majority of passport applications include a photo of the applicant. As is correct by U.S. government standards, the passport applications did not require the identification of the applicant's religion. This information gap can not be satisfied by the information studied here, but needs to be acknowledged because, more often than not, religion is of great significance in Irish studies.¹²

To compose a profile of this cohort of returning Irish-Americans, information obtained from the passport database was analysed in multiple ways to include: county of birth and homeplaces of passport database applicants; gender and county of origin; year of emigration; age at time of return; marital status of returning migrants; U.S. residences of passport applicants; occupations in the United States; how many years living in U.S. before current visit and how long did they intend to stay in Ireland.¹³ Whenever possible, graphs and maps have been created to aid with understanding of the data.

County of birth and homeplaces of Passport Database applicants

Within the five-county province of Connacht, the number of passport applicants totaled 1,215 after eliminating duplicates and other those individuals

¹² William J. Smyth, 'Irish emigration, 1700-1920,' in P. C. Emmer and M. Morner (eds.), *European expansion and migration: essays on the intercontinental migration from Africa, Asia, and Europe* (New York, 1992), pp 70-1: Protestant Irish generally arrived in America earlier than their Catholic counterparts and went on to intermarry, merge identities and integrate with other British ethnic groups more rapidly. The Catholic Irish however, were set apart after emigrating by their religion and Smyth concludes that 'in America, Canada and Australia, an Irish identity [was] held to be synonymous with Catholicism whereas the Protestant component of the exodus [was] hidden and largely forgotten.'

¹³ An index listing the 1215 Connacht passport applicants, listing key points of identity, emigration and return, is available.






Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

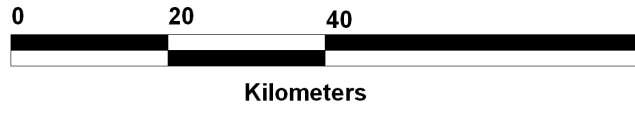
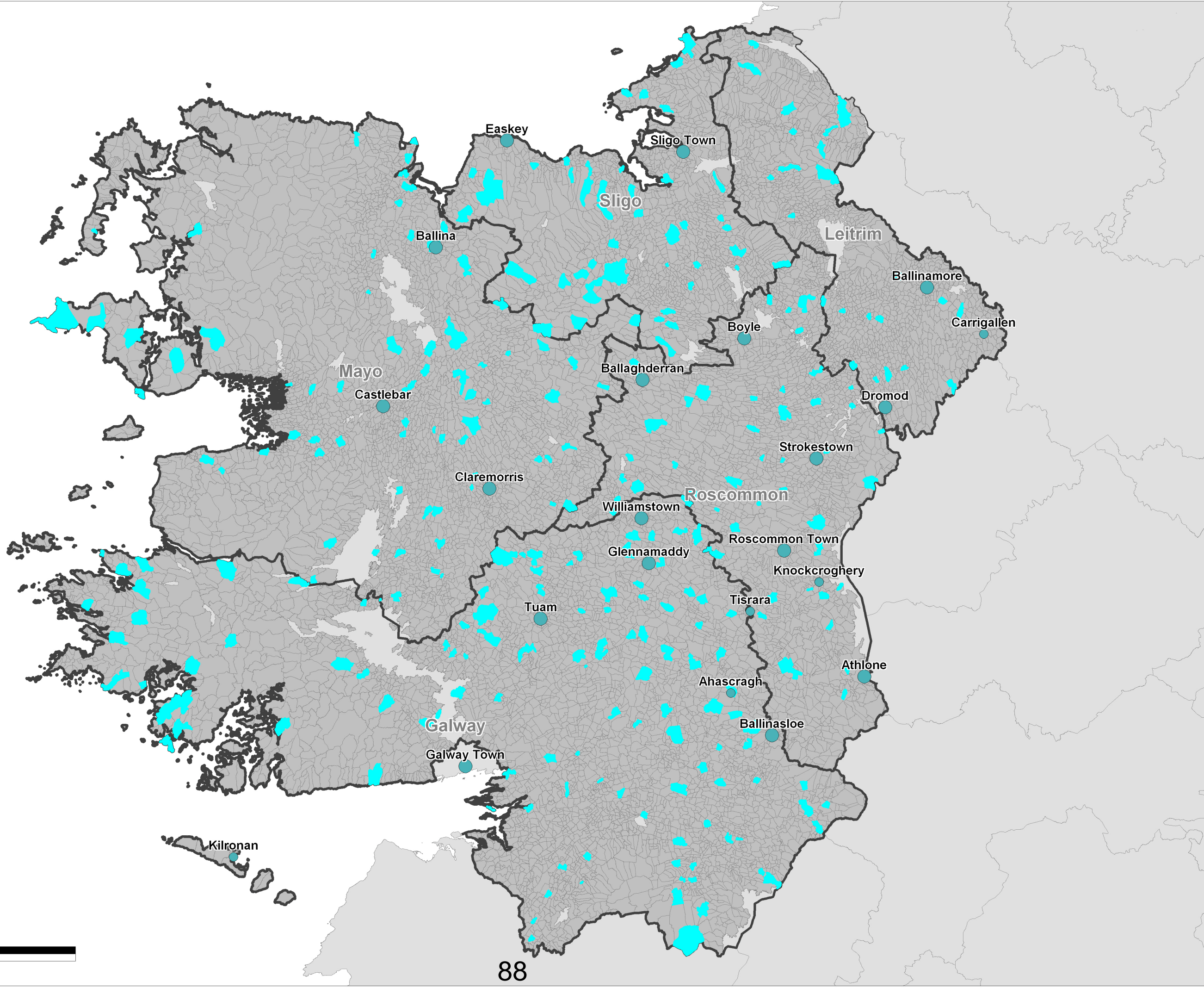
traveling to destinations other than Ireland. The breakdown by county indicates that Galway had the highest number of passport applicants numbering 505 individuals (42 per cent), followed by Mayo with 237 individuals (20 per cent), Sligo with 213 individuals (18 per cent), Roscommon with 151 individuals (12 per cent), and the lowest number of returnees were to Leitrim with 108 individuals (9 per cent).

For the majority of passport applicants (approximately 70 per cent), only a county was identified as their place of birth. The other 30 per cent provided specific birth locations with names of townlands, villages and towns. About 49 per cent of the applicants from each county named a specific place. The results of mapping this *origin* information (Figure 2.2) indicates how widespread was the geographical dispersal of their native localities and endorses the thought that return migration affected all parts of Connacht. A list of the specific names for these towns, villages and townlands identified by passport applicants is displayed in Appendix Table A1. The areas of the map without blue markings (such as north west Mayo) may indicate uninhabitable areas or homeplaces of emigrant individuals not included in the passport applicant database.

Fig. 2.2 Irish homeplaces of Passport Applicants - towns, villages and townlands ,1890-1920

Legend

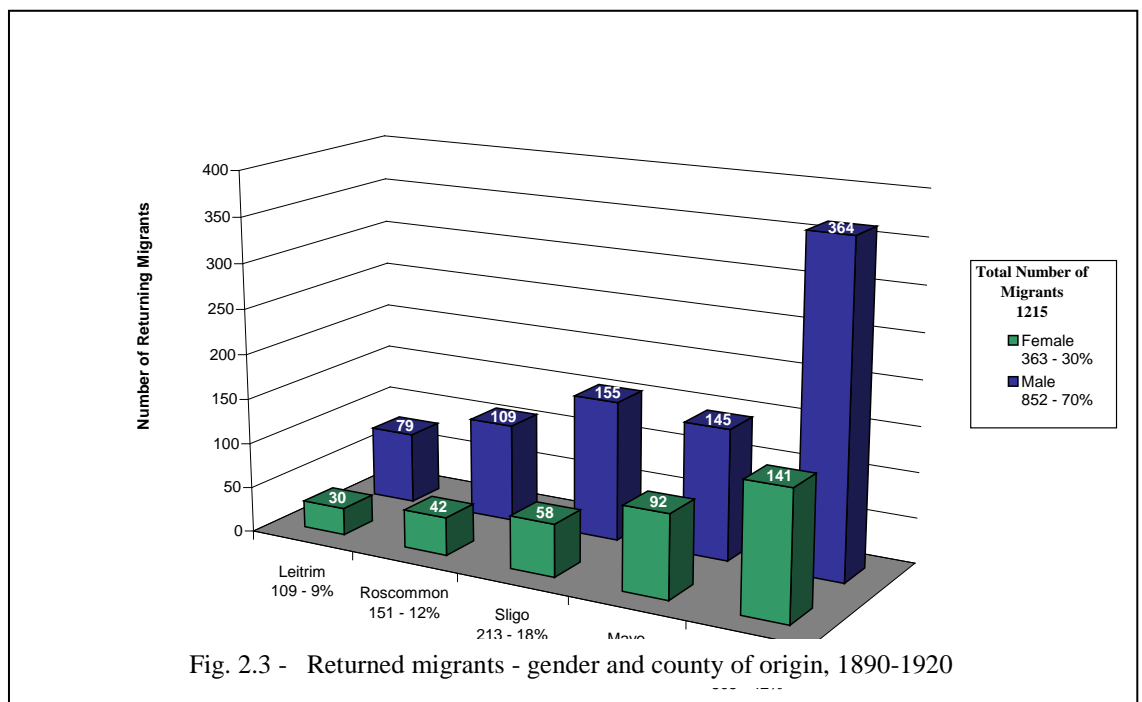
-  County Boundaries
-  Townland Boundaries - Connaught
-  Townlands with Passport Applicants
-  Towns with Passport Applicants
-  Villages with Passport Applicants



Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

Gender and county of origin

Of the cohort of 1,215 returning Connacht migrants, 71 per cent (852) were men and 29 per cent (363) were women. This gender ratio closely corresponds in the wider context to other European return patterns described by Wyman, but not with gender patterns in terms of outward flow.¹⁴ When broken down by gender and county for all five counties, Galway had the largest number of the returnees followed in descending order by Mayo (20 per cent), Sligo (18 per cent), Roscommon (12 per cent), and the smallest number came from Leitrim (9 per cent) (Figure 2.3).



¹⁴ Wyman, Mark, *Roundtrip America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), p. 78: British, Swedish, Finnish and German evidence clearly shows the gender differential for the returning flow of young immigrant men was heavily male.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

Surprisingly, in Mayo only, the ratio changes to slightly less males (61 per cent) versus females (40 per cent) (Figure 2.4).

County	No. of <u>Males</u>	% of <u>Males</u>	No. of <u>Females</u>	% of <u>Females</u>
Galway	364	72	141	28
Leitrim	79	73	30	27
Mayo	145	61	92	40
Roscommon	109	72	42	28
Sligo	155	73	58	27

Fig 2.4 Male vs. female numbers and percentages for returning migrants in Connacht, 1890-1920

Year of emigration

When did these 1,215 returning migrants originally emigrate to the United States? It is notable that many of the returnees were able to name what they remembered as their exact date of emigration, the name of their emigrant ship and the port from which they embarked for America. An analysis of departure dates by decade and gender indicated a wide spread of departure dates for the United States. Because of the Famine, it is especially interesting to look more closely at the 1840s. All nine applicants who left in this decade were males; one in 1844, three in 1847, two in 1848 and three in 1849. In the 1850s, sixteen applicants left, three females and thirteen males. In the 1860s, the number of applicants emigrating increased to twenty-eight with the twenty-four majority being males and only four emigrants being females. In the 1870s, the number of applicants who emigrated

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

increased to once again to forty-seven with the forty applicant majority being males and only seven emigrants being females. In the 1880s, there was a great jump in numbers with 163 applicants emigrating. The majority, 131, were males with only 32 female emigrants. In the 1890s, surprisingly there was a slight decrease in total numbers with 136 applicants emigrating. In this decade the majority of 151 were males while females increased to 95 emigrants. A similar pattern emerged the following decade when between 1900-1910, of the 454 applicants emigrating, the majority of 304 were males with only 41 emigrants being female. The decade of 1911-1920 was the second highest decade of the study with 257 applicants emigrating, the majority of which, 207, were males with only 50 female emigrants. The continuous picture over the three decades under review indicates that there was a majority of male emigrants leaving each decade with females only increasing in significant numbers towards the end of the study period.

Age at time of return

How old were the returning migrants at the time of return? The age range for the migrants in this study ranged between 18 and 79 years of age. Most females appear to have come home at around twenty-six years of age (red arrow), this being approximately four years younger than the males of whom the greatest number traveled home through their thirties (blue arrow). The age of the female majority shown returning in this study is similar by a couple of years to those indicated in Weatherford's study regarding Irish female mill workers in Massachusetts.¹⁵

¹⁵ Doris Weatherford, *Foreign and Female: Immigrant Women in America, 1840-1930* (New York, 1995), pp 112.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

Returnees making the return trip at around age sixty years of age appears to have been more male than female (Figure 2.5). This may be because the returnees in this group were mainly single bachelors or widowers who lived alone in the U.S. and felt the desire to reconnect with their homeplace in their old age. An exception to the gender imbalance in this age group this would be Mrs. Agnes Curran from County Sligo whose story is told in chapter one.

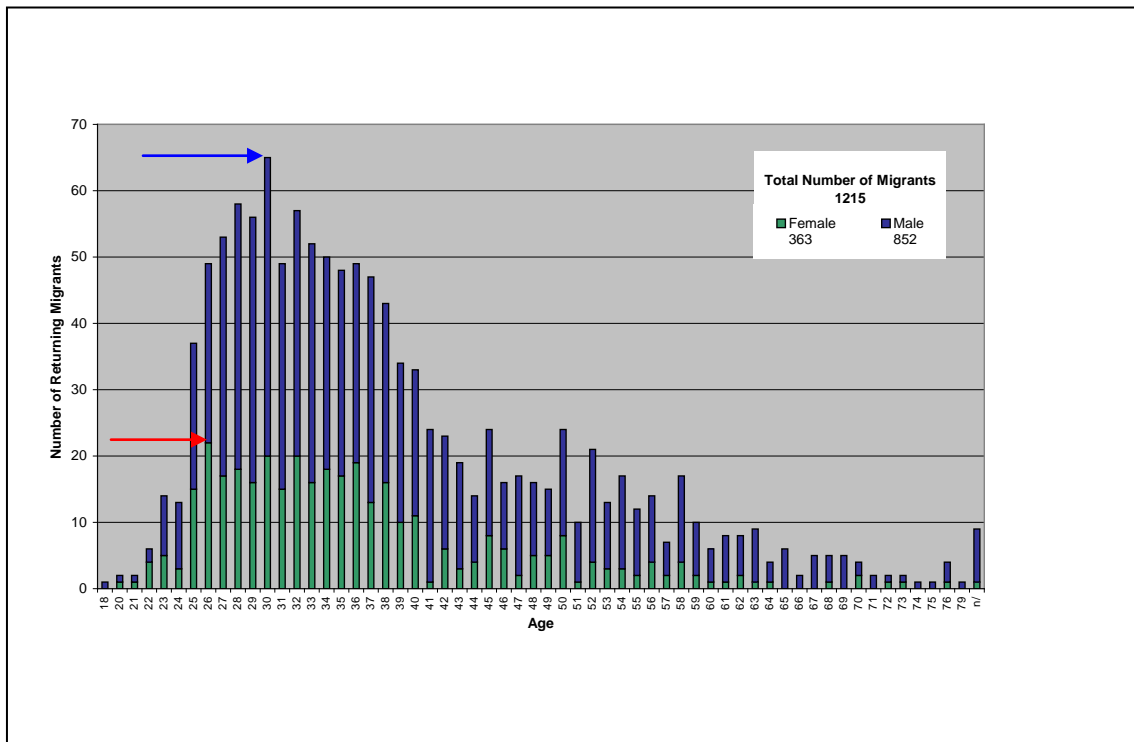


Fig. 2.5 - Age of migrants at time of return to Ireland, 1890-1920

In the database, the youngest of the returnees are the American-born children of Irish-Americans who were being brought to Ireland with their returning parents (see Mary Margaret and Thomas Connelly, children of Delia Connelly, chapter 3).

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

One of oldest returning Irish-Americans was Martin J. Burke originally from Tuam, County Galway.¹⁶ He may have returned on earlier trips to Ireland, however, in this study he is aged seventy-one when he returned in 1889 and he declared that he intended to visit relatives on a two year visit accompanied by his Irish-born wife Kate H. Born in 1818, Martin had emigrated to the States in 1841 via Liverpool on the Brig Robert Peel. Then aged twenty-three, he made his way across country to California. Somewhere along the way, Martin filed his intention to apply for citizenship. He was in California in time for the famous Gold Rush of 1849 followed by California statehood in 1850. Within the first year of statehood, Martin was naturalized as an American citizen in 1851 in San Francisco.¹⁷ From April 1863, Martin fought with the U.S. Marine Corps in the American Civil War during which he received a severe back injury. Finally in 1867, he was discharged from the Marines at the Mare Island Naval Base in San Francisco. In the 1870 San Francisco federal census, Martin is shown as having \$80,000 in real estate properties and \$2000 in personal wealth. His wife Kate is also shown to have \$4000 in real estate properties in her own name. On his passport application, he claimed to have lived in San Francisco for forty-eight years and was involved in the real estate business (property/estate agent) (Figure 2.6).

At the time of Martin's emigration to America in the mid-1840s, he traveled on a sailing ship across the Atlantic Ocean for many weeks. With those memories in mind, his return visit to Ireland in 1889 on a steamship would be a brave and

¹⁶ Martin J. Burke, Galway, returned 1889, *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 10 Jan 2008].

¹⁷ *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) (accessed December 2007).

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

courageous voyage soon turned agreeable as the large ship crossed. It is assumed Martin and Kate Burke returned to the States after their two year stay in Ireland. Martin was to die in 1901 while residing in a National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers in Los Angeles, California.

W. Reed (Incl. Law Book Publisher and Stationer,
109 Nassau Street, cor. of Beekman, and 150 Broadway, N. Y.)

No. 1764 Issued Oct. 1889

United States of America.

STATE OF New York
 COUNTY OF New York }
Martin J. Burke } *sub*
 A NATURALIZED AND LOYAL CITIZEN
 OF THE UNITED STATES, do hereby apply to the Department of State at Washington for a passport for myself and my wife Kate H. Burke
 born in Ireland on the _____ day of _____ 18____, and

In support of the above application, I do solemnly swear that I was born at Quam,
County Salway in Ireland on or about the _____ day
 of _____ 1818; that I emigrated to the United States, sailing on board
 the Sir Robert Peel from Liverpool Eng., on or about the _____ day
 of _____ 18____; that I resided 3 years, uninterruptedly, in the United States,
 from _____ to _____ at _____ that I was naturalized as a citizen
 of the United States before the _____ Circuit Court of the United States
 at California on the 4 day of September 1887, as
 shown by the accompanying Certificate of Naturalization; that I am the IDENTICAL PERSON described
 in said Certificate; that I am domiciled in the United States, my permanent residence being
 at San Francisco in the State of California where I follow
 the occupation of Real Estate; that I am about to go abroad temporarily; and
 that I intend to return to the United States within two years,
 with the purpose of residing and performing the duties of citizenship therein.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

Further, I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States
 against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and
 that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion: SO HELP ME GOD

Sworn before me this 16 (day)
 of April, 1889.
Martin J. Burke
 Notary Public.

DESCRIPTION OF APPLICANT.

Age, <u>71</u> years.	Mouth, <u>Wentacke</u>
Stature, <u>5</u> feet <u>9</u> inches, Eng.	Chin, <u>Beard</u>
Forehead, <u>High</u>	Hair, <u>White</u>
Eyes, <u>Gray</u>	Complexion, <u>Glow</u>
Nose, <u>Prominent</u>	Face, <u> Oval</u>

IDENTIFICATION.

I hereby certify, that I know the above named Martin J. Burke
 personally, and know him to be the identical person referred to in the within described Certificate of
 Naturalization, and that the facts stated in the affidavit are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

J. J. Aldrovanti
 Address of Witness 261 Broadway City, N. Y.

Applicant desires passport sent to following address:

THOS COOK & SON,
261 BROADWAY, N. Y.

Fig. 2.6 - 1889 Passport Application of Martin J. Burke of San Francisco, Calif..

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

Marital status of returning migrants

When considering the various data available on passport applications, marital status was one demographic detail not requested. This makes analyzing marital status very difficult especially in the case of the female travelers. If they did not use the 'Mrs' prefix, state that they were a widow, state they were a homemaker/housewife, or apply to travel naming their minor children, their marital status must remain unknown. The marital status of males is generally clearer, they were considered single unless they in some way mentioned their family.

Marriage between emigrants did occur in the States, but, in the Irish tradition of the time, most Irish women did not think about marriage until comparatively late in life. In the Ireland of 1911, the average age of marriage for females was 29 and the average age for males was 33.¹⁸ Diner and Schrier both emphasize that many of the Irish women who returned were in search of husbands. Their argument was that most of these women had emigrated very young, at seventeen or eighteen years of age.¹⁹ They had worked very hard for the next seven or eight years, saving every penny spared to send home as remittances. But by then, in the American culture of the day, their advancing age meant they were heading towards being an 'old maid'. As American women had been marrying younger all along, there was thus a limited pool of available spouses. Within this argument, it has been suggested that 'personal beauty and physical attractiveness' were less important to the Irish female than the American 'fortune' a returnee

¹⁸ Caitriona Clear, *Social change and everyday life in Ireland, 1850-1922* (Manchester, 2007), p. 74.

¹⁹ Hasia R Diner, *Erin's daughters in America: Irish immigrant women in the nineteenth century* (Baltimore, 1983) pp. 46-48; Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American emigration* (Chester Springs, PA, 1997), pp 130-131.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

might possess.²⁰ Marjolein 't Hart, in her study of Irish return migration, suggests that this argument falls short in several respects. She reasons that it was not that Irish girls could not find husbands in America, rather it was that those females wished to live in Ireland. An obvious way for most of them to marry was to find and marry an owner of a farm and oral history repeats many stories of returned females to whom this occurred (see chapter five).²¹

Economic motives for migration remained paramount after most migrants arrived in the United States. This was reflected generally in their marital status, but especially for the females. The Irish in 'industrial' urban America chose to marry reluctantly and comparatively late in their lives because it made good economic sense. This pattern was closely linked to the stability and continuity of cultural patterns of the post-Famine era experienced by their families. However, though these changes as adopted by the rural agricultural Irish (the new single-inheritance system and the rate of marriage), no longer bound the Irish once in the United States.²² Paradoxically, studies of the Irish conducted throughout the larger cities of the U.S. documented a continuing tendency for the Irish to marry reluctantly. Among the Irish, the individuals married when they were well established as grown-up members of their community and married less frequently than any other immigrant group.²³ Marriage brought a change to the economic status of the immigrant. As single women, Irish girls earned money to send home to their families, to help brothers and sisters and cousins boarding together in the States,

²⁰ David Fitzpatrick, 'A share of the honeycomb': education, emigration and Irishwomen' in *Continuity and Change*, i, (1986), pp 217-234.

²¹ Marjolein 't Hart, 'Irish return migration in the nineteenth century' in *Tijdschrift voor Econ.en Social Geografie*, lxxvi, no. 3 (1985), pp 226.

²² Diner, *Erin's daughters*, pp 46, 49-51; Timothy Guinnane, 'Coming of age in rural Ireland at the turn of the twentieth century' in *Continuity and Change*, v (3) (London, 1990) pp 448-49.

²³ Diner, *Erin's daughters*, pp. 49-51.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

and towards their own potential dowries. So Irish women viewed the marriage state very closely, considering both the social and economic advantages and disadvantages with deliberation.

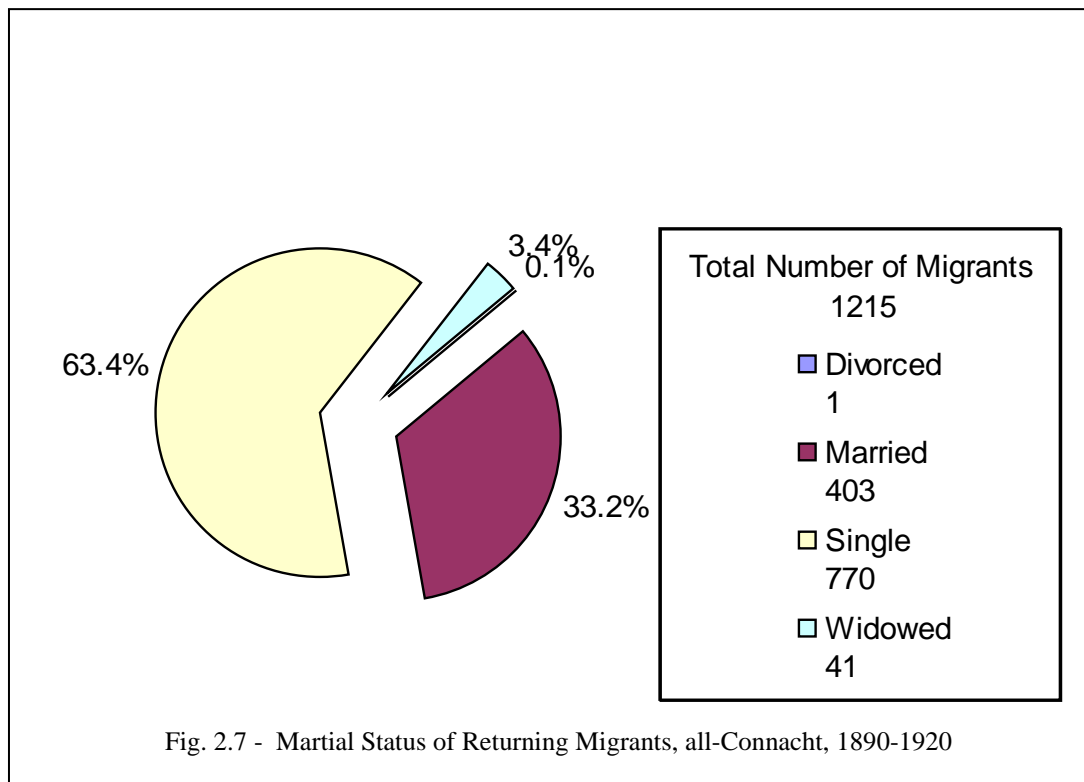
For Irish men, marriage generally brought mouths to feed, economic hardship and family responsibilities. 'Importantly, many of the successful Irish political and business figures, were young men who dedicated their lives to rising into the middle and upper classes, consciously choosing money and power over marriage and family'.²⁴ Enough young Irish eventually decided to marry that generations of Irish-Americans came into existence and have continued as an important ethnic group in America for generations.

The marital status data of the passport applicants highlights the interesting fact that an extremely large proportion of the cohort (770 of 1,215) were single. Even more remarkable is that 699 or 91 per cent were single males as compared to only seventy-one or less than 1 per cent who were single women.²⁵ This may be attributed to single people being more mobile. Of the 403 married returnees, nearly twice as many women were married than men. Widowed returnees numbered forty-one, though almost all of them (37) were women travelers. Only one brave woman from Sligo stated on her application that she was divorced. Within each county the ratios for each of the four marital categories closely matched that of the province as a whole (Figure 2.7).

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Mark Wyman, *Roundtrip America: the immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), p. 78; The make-up of the returning males vs. females in this study's Connacht group is consistent with Wyman's findings for other ethnic groups in which young males stood out, for example, 72.3 per cent of Poland's return migrants between 1908 and 1914 were male and 87 per cent of their overall return was in the 15-45 age group. Most of these returnees travelled singly, however, this did not necessarily reflect their marital status which was more difficult to determine.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?



U.S. residences of passport applicants

When comparing the locations of applicants' Irish homeplaces (see Figure 2.3) to their U.S. place of residence (see Figure 2.10), the majority of returnees appear to be moving from an urban to rural environment. The U.S. distribution of returnees is closely aligned to the general geographical distribution of Irish emigrants and their families throughout the United States during 1890-1920 time period as found in the U.S. census records.²⁶ In the western states, the highest number of applicants lived in California and were clustered in the San Francisco Bay Area. This is to

²⁶ U.S. Census, Population Tables, 1920 (<http://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html>) (accessed 1 May 2011).

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

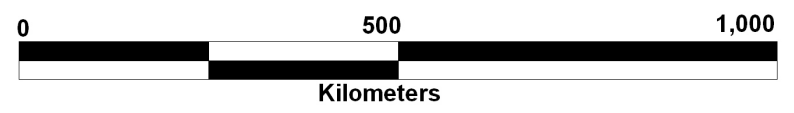
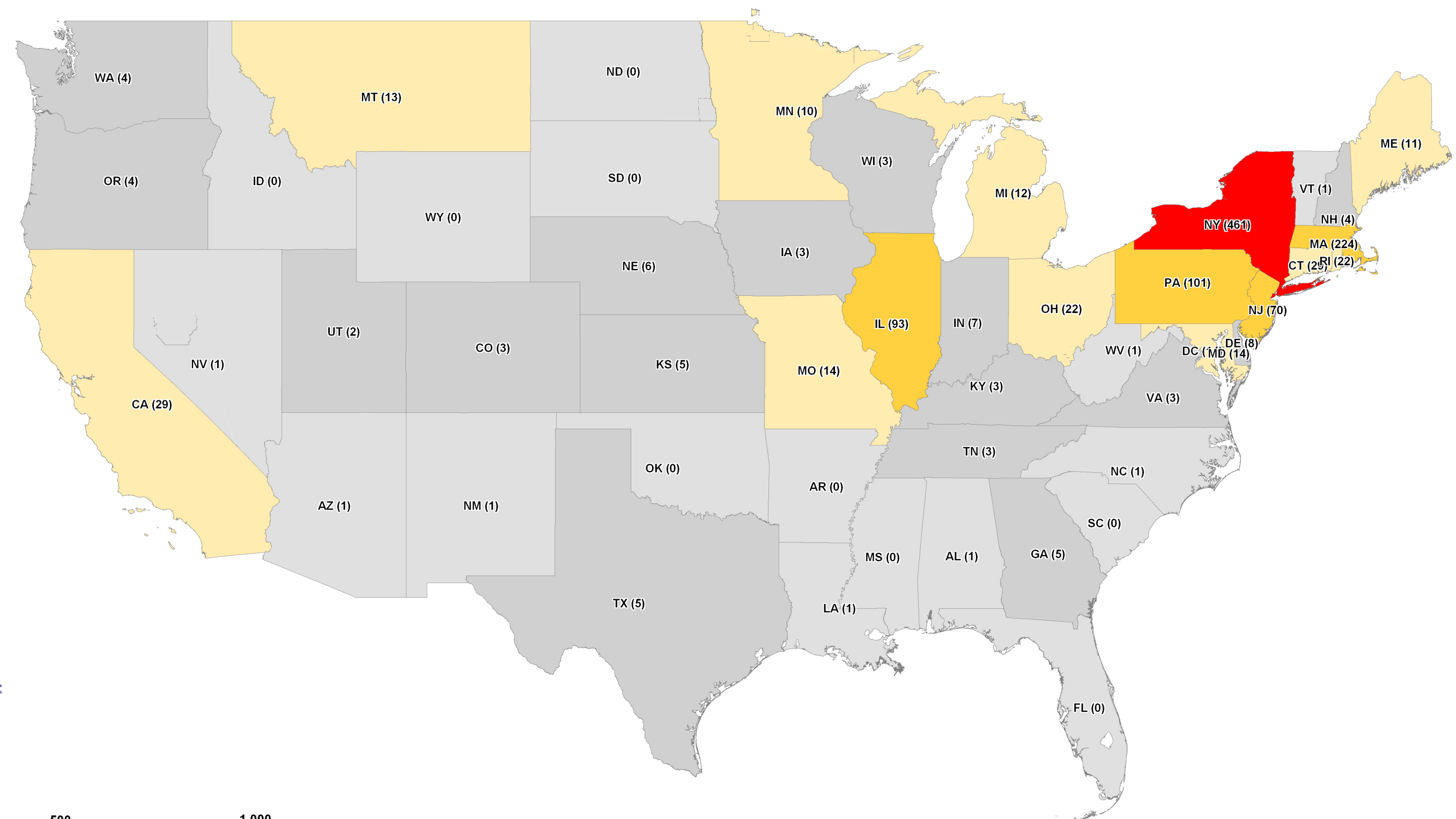
where my own great-grandfather emigrated from Roscommon in 1880. It is no surprise that Illinois, with the city of Chicago, was the place of residence to the highest number of applicants in the mid-western states, followed by those from the state of Ohio. The largest number of applicants living in the southern states were located in the south Atlantic state of Maryland, where the city of Baltimore is located.

As might be expected, the largest numbers of passport applicants resided in the northeastern part of the U.S. Within the more northern New England region, the largest number of returning migrants lived in Boston, Massachusetts and vicinity. In the Mid-Atlantic states, the cities of New York City, New York, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, were home to the largest numbers of passport applicants in the whole database (Figure 2.8).

Fig.2.8 Number of Passport Applicants by U.S. state of residence, 1890-1920

Legend
Number of Returned Emigrants
By State

- 250 to 465
- 70 to 250
- 10 to 70
- 2 to 10
- 0 to 2



Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

The number of returnees in the cohort who lived in minor, but urban communities outside cities and towns are shown in Appendix Table A2. This further breakdown by all local communities in which there was a passport applicant living gives a head count within the state. The table below draws attention to the top eight states in each Connacht county listed in descending number of resident passport applicants Figure 2.9. This perhaps highlights those Irish who emigrated because of chain migration to locations where relatives already resided.

Irish county of origin	Found in no. <u>states</u>	Top eight specific states listed in descending number of immigrants residing therein
Galway	36	NY, Mass, Penn, Illinois, Calif, ME, WA, & MN.
Leitrim	13	NY, Mass, CT, RI, Penn, OH, MO, & Calif
Mayo	19	NY, Penn, Illinois, Mass, NJ, OH, MT, & Calif
Roscommon	21	NY, Mass, Illinois, RI, NJ, Penn, DC, & Calif
Sligo	24	NY, Mass, Penn, Illinois, NJ, Calif, MI & RI

Fig. 2.9 - Top eight states per Connacht county listed in descending number of resident passport applicants.

Presenting the same data visually by state provides us with an graphic image of the applicant dispersal across America (Appendix – Maps A.1-A.5). The array of states shown may reflect the ongoing efforts by kinship networks to assist in bringing family members out of Ireland to join them. Harvey Choldin’s research reveals that in the process of chain migration, prospective emigrants while at home in Ireland, are aided materially with pre-paid steamship tickets and with other emigration information from relatives in America. Then with their travel plans in order, they joined their relatives in the U.S. Once in America, the Irish-American

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

kinfolk assisted the ‘greenhorns’ with confronting the problems of settlement and adjustment including material necessities, social connections, employment and maintaining morale.

Occupation in the United States at time of return

In most cases, the occupations by returning migrants claimed on their passports were skilled and semi-skilled jobs with lesser numbers claiming management positions. Most of the listed jobs differed from the rural agricultural categories in which they had laboured in Ireland. The occupational distribution of immigrants at the time of their arrival into the United States between 1861 and 1910 (for those who reported an occupation) indicate a high proportion of immigrants describing themselves as unskilled laborers in the passenger lists (40–50 per cent before 1900). Immigrants without trade or craft skill had a more difficult time.²⁷ The ‘skill knowledge’ of arriving Irish immigrants during this period was low. At the same time, farmers and agricultural workers are not particularly evident. The category ‘All Other’ consists primarily of managers, sales and clerical workers, and self-employed proprietors and merchants (Figure 2.10).²⁸

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Agriculture</u>	<u>Skilled Labour</u>	<u>Unskilled Labour</u>	<u>Domestic Service</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>All other Occupations</u>
1891-1900	100.0	11.4	20.1	47.0	5.5	0.9	15.1
1901–1910	100.0	24.3	20.2	34.8	5.1	1.5	14.1

Fig. 2.10 - Migrant occupations upon arrival in the United States for immigrants reporting an occupation, 1891–1910

²⁷ Walter Licht, *Getting Work: Philadelphia, 1840-1950* (Pennsylvania, 2000) pp. 14-5.

²⁸ Ernest Rubin, ‘Immigration and the economic growth of the U.S.: 1790–1914’ in Elizabeth W. Gilboy and Edgar M. Hoover (eds.), *Population and immigration*, (New York, 1998), p. 56.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

Miller's research found that in 1900, a fourth of those born in Ireland remained unskilled workers. By 1900, approximately 1.2 million male Irish-Americans (Irish-born and their sons), were blue-collar workers. Some 930,000 (76 per cent) were skilled workers concentrated in the best-paid, most highly unionized trades while another 270,000 (23 per cent) laboured in unskilled, poorly paid occupations. The Irish-born females remained 'heavily concentrated in domestic service, laundry work, and the lower wage branches of the textile industry'.²⁹ Worthy of social-cultural interest is the emergence of distinct and more specialized job titles for the applicants' occupations in the States. Reviewing the decennial census occupation classifications for the U.S. (Federal Census of 1910) and the twenty-six counties of Ireland (Census of 1911) reflects America's earlier and heightened involvement creating occupations in the industrial and trade classes (Figure 2.11).³⁰ By 1920, occupational classification system had incorporated new larger industrial groupings with the accompanying subsets allowing a researcher to locate the occupation category of almost any of the terms used by passport applicants.³¹

As listed on arriving ships' manifests, the occupations of Irish immigrants were typically listed in a general way as labourers for males and as domestic servants for females, with an occasional person noted as a tradesman, such as a

²⁹ Alba M. Edwards, *Classification of Occupations; The Classification of Occupations, with special reference to the United States and the proposed new classification for the thirteenth census report on occupations in Publications of the American statistical association*, xii (94) (1911) pp 618-46; Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and exiles; Ireland and the Irish exodus to North America* (New York, 1985), p. 503.

³⁰ Daniel Kubat, 'The politics of return: international migration in Europe' in *International Migration Review*, xix, no 2 (1985), pp 353-4.

³¹ Steven Ruggles, J. Trent Alexander, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Matthew B. Schroeder, and Matthew Sobek. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

<p>US Fed Census 1910 ³² Broad Occupations Classification</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry (Agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry) 2. Extraction of Minerals (Mining, Quarrying, Production of salt, oil, and natural gas) 3. Manufactories and mechanical industries (Building Trades, Chemicals and allied products, clay, glass and stone products, Clothing, Food and kindred products, Iron and steel and their products, Leather and its finished products, Liquor and beverages, Lumber and its remanufacturers, Metals and metal products other than iron and steel, paper, Printing and bookbinders, Textiles, Miscellaneous industries) 4. Transportation (water transportation, Road, street and bridge transportation, transport by railroad, express companies, post, telegraph, and telephone, Other persons in transportation) 5. Trade (Banking, Insurance, real estate, Wholesale and retail trade, Elevators, Stockyards, Warehouses and cold-storage plants, Other persons in trade, Clerical assistants (industry , business, or profession not specified). 6. Public Service (Public Administration, Public defense and maintenance of law and order) 7. Professional service (Professional service) 8. Domestic and Personal Service (Occupations not in industries, Laundries and laundry work) 9. Retired/Indefinite/Non-productive 	<p>Census of Ireland 1911 ³³ Classes of Occupation</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> IV. Agricultural Class (Persons engaged in fields and pastures, in woods, in gardens and about animals) V. Industrial Class (Persons working and dealing in various mineral substances, Persons working and dealing in Machines and Implements) III. Commercial Class (Persons engaged in Conveyance of Men, Goods, and Messages) (Persons engaged in Commercial, Occupations) I. Professional Class (Persons engaged in the general or local government of the country, Persons engaged in professional occupations, including clerical professions). II. Domestic Class (Persons engaged in domestic offices and Services) VI. Indefinite and Non-productive Class
---	--

Fig. 2.11 - Comparison of Census Occupation Classifications
U.S. Federal Census 1910 and Census of Ireland 1911

³² Alba M. Edwards, *Classification of Occupations*, pp. 618-646.

³³ *Census of Population of Ireland, 1911*, Co. Roscommon, occupations of people, pp 66-67, microfilm.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

carpenter. After the immigrants had lived in the United States and pursued diverse occupations, they seem to have adopted very specific job descriptions/titles as revealed on passport applications. Even immigrants holding menial job positions listed a distinct job title.

The number of Irish-Americans from the passport database corresponds closely to the findings of occupation categories in Miller's work. The resulting numbers of workers in each of the occupation classification categories shows the highest numbers of workers were in the Domestic Service category (312), twice as many as the number of workers in the next three highest categories of Transportation (171), Trades (169) and Manufactories and Mechanical industries (147). While the large number in Domestic Service may not be surprising, the number in Professional Service (112) indicates a steady rise in the number of immigrants becoming professionally educated (Figure 2.12).

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

Occupational Class	Nbr of Returning Migrants
Class 1: Agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry	38
Class 2: Extraction of Minerals (Mining, Quarrying, Production of salt, oil, and natural gas)	9
Class 3: Manufactories and mechanical industries (Building Trades, Chemicals and allied products, clay, glass and stone products, Clothing, Food and kindred products, Iron and steel and their products, Leather and its finished products, Liquor and beverages, Lumber and its remanufacturers, Metals and metal products other than iron and steel, paper, Printing and bookbinders, Textiles, Miscellaneous industries)	147
Class 4: Transportation (water transportation, Road, street and bridge transportation, transport by railroad, express companies, post, telegraph, and telephone, Other persons in transportation)	171
Class 5: Trades (Banking, Insurance, real estate, Wholesale and retail trade, Elevators, Stockyards, Warehouses and cold-storage plants, Other persons in trade, Clerical assistants (industry , business, or profession not specified).	169
Class 6: Public Service (Public Administration, Public defense and maintenance of law and order)	32
Class 7: Professional Service	112
Class 8: Domestic and Personal Service (Occupations not in industries, Laundries and laundry work)	312
Class 9: Retired or Non-productive	58
(Applications with no occupation listed)	67
Total number of passport applicants	1215

Fig. 2.12 - Applicant occupation categories in the U.S. at time of return, 1890-1920
source: Passport Applications database created for this study

A complete listing of all the occupations declared on the applications presents an impressive array of the employment positions as held by the Irish-Americans in urban and rural areas of the United States (Appendix Table 2.3). In the agricultural class, the largest number listed themselves as farmers followed by gardeners. In the extraction of minerals class, the largest number listed themselves as miners (see page 113 below for case of Charley Reilly). In the manufactories and

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

mechanical industries class, the largest number listed themselves as machinists, followed by masons, bricklayers and warehouse watchmen. In the transportation class, the largest number listed themselves as motormen, followed by chauffeurs, coachmen and conductors. In the trades class, the largest group listed themselves as salesmen, followed by bartenders and merchants. In the professional services class, the largest number were office managers, followed by Catholic priests (see case study of John James Farrelly, p. 242), clergymen and journalists. In the domestic and personal services class, the largest number were housewives (see Delia Connelly, p. 115 and Bridget Gillooly, p. 126), followed by housekeepers. Lastly, in the retired and non-productive class the largest number were retired (see case study of Peter John Fallon, p. 325), followed by the unemployed and students. Occupation categories derived from the passport database for the most part fit closely with conclusions of existing literature.

How many years living in U.S. before current visit?

Passport data appears to indicate that nine or ten years was the optimum elapsed time period before a returnee embarked on a visit home. There are few sources for comparable data on immigrant return with the exception of the work of the U.S. Dillingham Immigration Commission in 1911. The documentation from this report provides some useful information on immigrant women working in the cotton goods industry of the northeastern states. The Commission found that 21 per cent of Irish women in the cotton mills made visits home after living ten years in

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

the U.S., that number of years corresponding closely to the number of years before returning by the returning female group in this study.³⁴

In considering the incidence of applicant visits across the span of years, it appears that frequent requests by family in Ireland for immigrants to return, could and did in fact occur at any time after the returnees' initial arrival in the United States. Timing of return visits, for both men and women, followed a similar pattern, however, the largest number of females returned around ten years (red arrow), approximately one and a half years later than the largest number of males who returned at after approximately eight and a half years (blue arrow) (Figure 2.13).

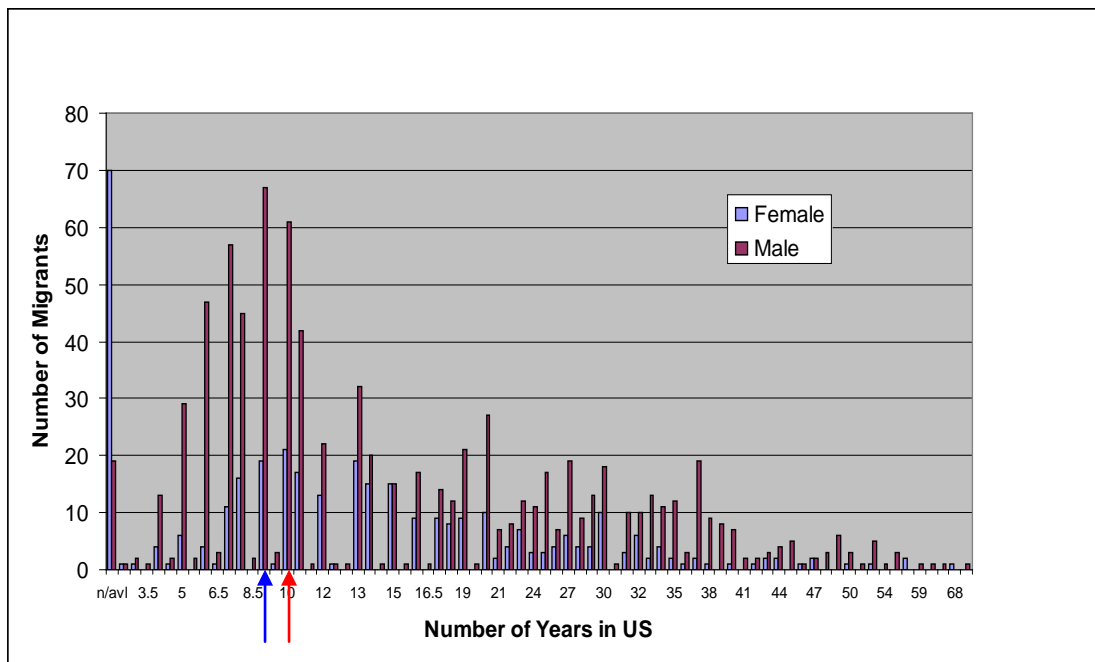


Fig. 2.13 - Returning Migrants - number of migrants versus of years living in the U.S. before current return visit

³⁴ 61st Congress, 2nd session, Senate Document 633, Immigrants in Industries, 'Cotton Goods Manufacturing in the North Atlantic States,' 1911. lxxii, p. 166.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

How long did they intend to stay in Ireland?

Once the returning migrants were home in Ireland, how long did they intend to stay? Numbers attributed to the length of stay in Ireland by these returning migrants fall into some clearly distinct time frames, though what the returning migrants originally state on their applications may not have been 'true'. A significant number of travelers (25 per cent) state they intend to be in Ireland for a year, while the largest group of returnees (49 per cent) planned a six-month interval for their temporary visit home. A smaller grouping (15 per cent) state they will attempt to make the roundtrip within a three month time period.

Although only ten individuals in the database specified they intended making a permanent return on their applications, account must also be taken of those returnees who said they intended to spend from one year (253) to five years (seventy-eight) or planned to stay indefinitely in Ireland (thirty-seven). Together with the ten self-identified individuals, this long-stay group would account for 31 per cent (378) of returnees (Figure 2.14). Though 368 of these individuals did not state they were returning on a permanent basis, once the U.S. started requiring passports, the returnees still needed a passport to depart from the United States. They may also have needed their passport if they were going to be receiving any social benefits from the United States after establishing themselves back in Ireland.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

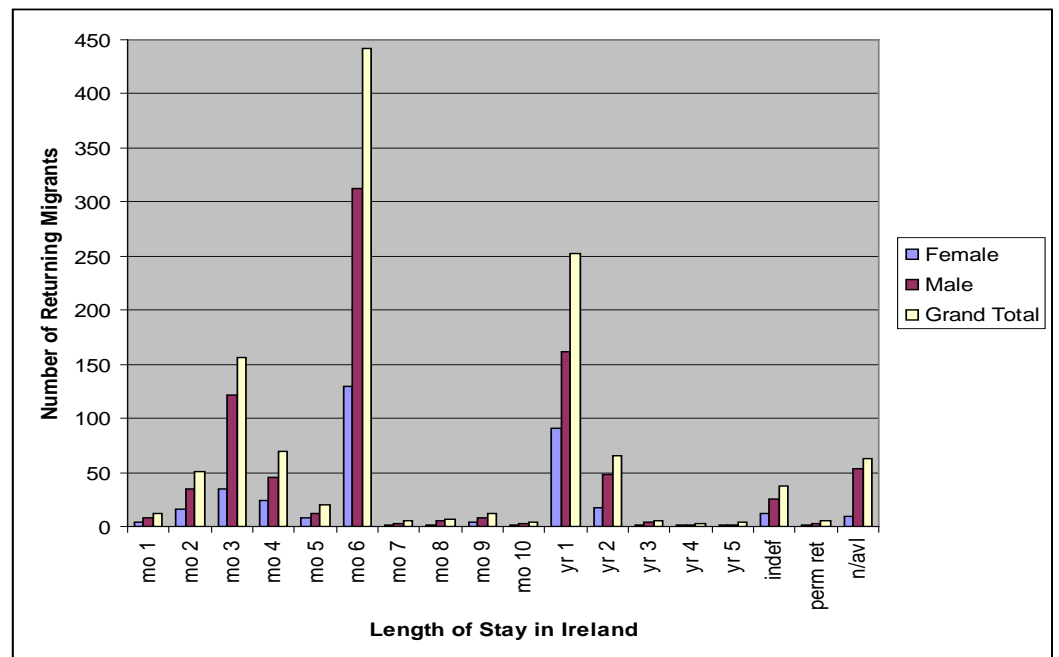


Fig. 2.14 - Returning Migrants' length of stay to stay in Ireland

Several of the returning individuals in the database had multiple passport applications. These individuals have been identified for this study as *repeat migrants*, who are not large in number, but appear not to have let distance or travel anxiety interfere with their own personal agendas. Two examples of repeat migrants in the database were the married couple originally from County Leitrim, Patrick McEnvoy, from Kilroosk, and his wife, Alice Gilligan of Rossinver Parish. Tracing their movements back and forth between initial emigration and their later return trips, traveling together, or individually, or with their children, one born in New York and one born in Leitrim, a total of ten trips were identified for this couple. Similarly, the oral history of a migrant originating from County Roscommon, is laid out by IFC respondents:

I knew a man from Castle Plunkett who crossed the ocean eighteen times according to his own reckoning. He had been in U.S.A. as a young man and came home to marry. The wife's mother lived for a long time in the same

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

home. Trouble arose between the mother-in-law and the young husband, and the wife took the side of her mother. At last, he decided to re-emigrate, but he faithfully shouldered his responsibilities. He sent money home at intervals and used return home once every two years or so to re-stock the farm, pay up the accounts of the shopkeepers and generally adjust matters. His arrival and departure were regarded by the neighbours as inevitable as that of the wild geese. He finally came home, as old age approached, and died after a few years. He was generally regarded as a man of great forbearance and very hard-working. His wages, as a hand in a carpet factory in New York, were sufficient to enable him to act as he did.³⁵

The lives of McEnvoy and Gilligan were framed by repeat migration back and forth between America and Ireland. This Leitrim couple apparently satisfied the constraints of their financial, marital and family life by commuting every several years between Leitrim and New York.

Who returned, in context

As one son or daughter in an Irish family prepared to emigrate to America, an older child might be returning as an Irish-American. The differences would be evident. The returning migrant, would perhaps exhibit a degree of maturity from having gone through the experience of leaving home, making their first railway trip, sailing across the Atlantic followed by making their way in another country and another culture. The lives of the returning migrant and the embarking emigrant, at home and abroad, were so comparatively different that there are few elements which are fairly compared. However, a consideration of differences in age, residential location and occupation may be derived from the existing sources.³⁶ Regarding the relative ages of the different groups, there appears an expected and

³⁵ IFC 1409: 300-304; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan, and Finneran, County Roscommon.

³⁶ *Congested District Board First Annual Report*, H.C. 1893 (6908), lxxi, 525, p. 6; this study's passport database.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

natural progression. As discussed in chapter one, the largest proportion of emigrants were young people (both male and female) who were emigrating to America before they were twenty-five years of age.³⁷ This contrasts fairly logically with the older age range for the majority of migrants in this study whose age at the time of return for females was about twenty-six years for females and for males about thirty years though overall the returnees ranged between eighteen and seventy-nine years (shown in Figure 2.7).³⁸

The homeplaces of residences of emigrants from Connacht were mainly rural and agricultural.³⁹ Even those who lived in the larger urban communities, such as Athlone town and Galway city, experienced a family-rural environment by New York and Bostonian standards. Conversely, the majority of the migrants in this study were returning from residences in America which were in the major cities of New York, Boston and Chicago.⁴⁰

In terms of occupation, at that time the majority of emigrants were identified on ship manifests as labourers (male) and servants (female).⁴¹ Within the returning cohort, the occupations claimed by many male returnees had advanced from labourer to skilled or semi-skilled jobs or more advanced employment. For the emigrating females, the ubiquitous description on passenger lists was that of servant. Occupations of returning female migrants appear to have been transformed into a multitude of jobs. Many women had found advancement opportunities at

³⁷ James Morrissey (ed.), *On the verge of want: a unique insight into living conditions along Ireland's western seaboard in the late 19th century* (Dublin, 2001), p. 69.

³⁸ See Figure 2.5, Age of Returning migrants at time of return, 1890-1920.

³⁹ See Figure 2.2, Irish towns, villages and townlands, 1890-1920.

⁴⁰ See Figure 2.10 – passport applicants state of residence.

⁴¹ Passenger and crew lists [database online] (www.ancestry.com)[accessed 2008-2011].

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

various levels from mill workers, seamstresses, and house maids to school teachers and nurses.

Acknowledging the uncertainties of Mark Wyman's return statistics, they do however provide us with an opportunity to put Ireland in the wider context of United Kingdom and European return migration.⁴² Of the four United Kingdom countries, Ireland, with 11 per cent of returnees, were the group with the fewest per cent of migrants returning to Europe, though the increasing numbers attributed to Scotland (13 per cent) and Wales (13 per cent) were fairly similar to Ireland. France (21 per cent) and Germany (18 per cent) had numbers similar to that of England (21 per cent). In Scandinavia, Danes, Finns and Swedes were reported to experience 19-20 per cent rates of return. The Italians, especially from the South, were a distinctly different cohort in that they came primarily with the declared intention of earning money and returning home to claim a larger role in their society by improving their financial condition.⁴³ This was the return pattern for many of the 'new immigration' ethnic groups who emigrated at the turn of the century. For the 1902-23 time period, the Italian government recorded a 63 per cent return rate, however more recent studies, examining 1880 to the early 1920s, claims a slightly lower return rate with an overall percentage of return at 50 per cent.⁴⁴

This chapter has examined the characteristics of the study group (passport applicants) by focusing on relationships between selected and descriptive

⁴² Wyman, *Roundtrip America*, p. 12.

⁴³ Dino Cinel, *The national integration of Italian return migration, 1870-1929* (New York, 1991), p. 7.

⁴⁴ Wyman, *Roundtrip America*, pp 10-12.

Chapter 2 - Who Returned?

demographic variables.⁴⁵ The resulting depiction reveals returning migrants in greater detail than has previously been available in past studies. At the same time, it must be noted that it is difficult to make generalizations about these returnees in other than some of their demographic categories. They have mostly returned from residences and occupations in the urban areas in America, their ages at return were generally between twenty-six and thirty-eight years and their gender was mainly male. Scrutinizing the other categories of information will not lend to generalizations offering any 'typical' returnee description for examining. Now the returnees have been identified, the study must next investigate what motivated this group of migrants to make the trip home?

⁴⁵ The return migrants in the study are listed in Appendix 1 – Table 4.

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

This chapter will explore the motivations of the returning Irish-Americans, while at the same time, providing a window on their joys and sorrows, family dynamics, and engagement in various life passages including their return to Ireland. The declared motivations provided by returning Irish-American migrants on their passport applications are examined in this chapter. The study uses evidence derived from narratives and oral history manuscripts which in turn draws one into the life stories of these Irish-Americans.

When initially deciding to visit or return permanently to Ireland returnees are assumed to have had several personal and subjective unspoken intentions in mind. 'No study has accurately demonstrated conclusively that the emigrants' rating of various motivational factors reflects the real reasons for their return'.¹ By the time returnees were faced with answering the statement 'I desire a passport ... for the following purpose' on the passport application, their reasons would most likely have been mentally whittled down to an appropriate answer for official consumption.

The emerging motivations found in this study are similar to those found in other studies with a few exceptions. The motivations have been grouped into six return categories listed in order of the number of applicant responses (Figure 3.1). Evidence from the passport data indicates the largest return category, claimed by approximately 73 per cent of the total returnees, was that of visiting family. To

¹ George Gmelch, 'Return Migration and migrant adjustment in western Ireland' in *Irish Foundation of Human Development*, lxii (1979), p. 27.

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

provide more in-depth detail, the visiting family category has been broken into several subsets of motivation within this family-related category.

Return motivation	Number of individuals	Percentage of cohort
Family-related reasons	938	73
<i>Visiting family – immediate and extended</i>	729	60
<i>Personal/family business - inheritance, estate, property, marriage</i>	133	11
<i>Return to take care of family</i>	24	2
<i>Accompany family to US or back from Ireland</i>	52	4
Health reasons	92	8
Business – <i>commercial or organizational related</i>	52	4
Pleasure/Touring	24	2
Return to live/Retire	1	12
Multiple reasons and responses not available	97	8

Fig. 3.1 Motivations in order of number of applicants & percentage of responses

Some representative passport applicants within each subset of the above categories have been selected to put faces and circumstances into better focus in terms of the Irish-Americans motivations to return home. The individuals discussed were chosen subjectively based on whether their application data contained enough information to tell their story, whether their passport photograph was able to be viewed clearly and if the passport data was supported with enough supplementary documentation (e.g. family letters, doctors' notes, government documents) to

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

present in order to fill out their story. As a result, some have longer stories and some are quite brief.

Visiting family category

Within the foremost category of visiting family it must be noted that the use of the term ‘*visit family*’ encompassed a wide variety of relationships at home including wives and children still living in Ireland, one or both living parents or siblings; and/or the extended family of uncles, aunts and cousins. Kerby Miller suggests most young emigrants, especially those from western counties, came from close-knit, parochial communities and following emigration their ‘longing for parents, especially mothers, often continued for years thereafter.’ He observes that most immigrants experienced separation anxiety and remained ‘pathetically’ attached to parents, neighbours, and childhood scenes. Their social networks are shown to both constrain and enable returning migrants.² Irish anthropologist Conrad Arensberg, writing in the 1930s, claimed that the Irish son returned from exile having maintained the bond, especially to his mother, as a profound sentimental and nostalgic attachment while abroad.³ Arensberg’s description of familial attachment is clearly reflected in the return experience of the first individual in the visiting family category. Charley Reilly,⁴ a native of Sligo, emigrated in 1899 and worked as a miner in Montana for sixteen years before he made this visit home (Figure 3.2). When he arrived in the mining town of Butte,

² Kerby A Miller, *Emigrants and exiles: Ireland and the Irish exodus to North America* (New York, 1985), p 122.

³ Conrad M. Arensberg, and Solon T. Kimbal, *Family and Community in Ireland* (Cambridge, MA, 1968), p. 57.

⁴ Charles Reilly, Sligo, returned 1919, ancestry.com, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line](www.ancestry.com) [accessed 10 Jan 2008].

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

there were approximately 12,000 Irish immigrants living in Silver Bow county and 8,026 of those lived in the county seat, Butte City itself. Two out of every three men worked in the deep mines producing more than one-quarter of the world's copper. David Emmons' study of the Butte Irish maintains this city was one of the most overwhelmingly Irish cities in the United States at the turn of the century, even surpassing Boston.⁵

By 1891, the average wage for the men working in the Butte mines was \$100 per month. This was big money to the Irish men and women who came to Butte, most of whom were under thirty and a significant percentage were unmarried at the time of their emigration. Butte, Montana was an insular world for the Irish which they seldom had to leave. The Irish-American neighbourhoods of Dublin Gulch and Corktown provided most of what they needed, their well-paid jobs, their Catholic churches, their Irish associations, companions and meeting places.⁶ By 1895, Butte's resident Irish immigrant population had established itself enough to bring out a steady stream of relatives and friends from Ireland, almost a self-sustaining – chain migration of which Charley was most likely a part.

There is no evidence of an earlier trip home, but in early 1919, Charley did receive a letter from his mother about returning. Following that, he applied for a passport to leave for Ireland in March. The text of her letter read: 'Charley you know it is a bad blow on me after raising ye not to have one to take care of me now on my death bed and my age 72 yrs. Charley I won't say any more but for God's sake come home if you want to see your Mother alive, come at once, no more.'

⁵ David M. Emmons, *The Butte Irish: class and ethnicity in an American mining town, 1875-1925* (Chicago, 1990), pp 75, 77.

⁶ Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, p. 77.

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

From your loving mother, to Charley.⁷ It is not known how long Mrs. Reilly lived or if Charley ever returned to the States after she passed away, but hopefully Charley was able to bring enough funds back to Ireland with him to live a decent life at home.

The second migrant representing those who returned to visit family personifies the call of family obligations. Delia Connelly, nee Burke⁸, was a native of Dunmore, County Galway, who had emigrated in 1905 (Figure 3.2). Once living in the States, she met and married another Irish emigrant, Patrick Connelly, who had emigrated in 1907. By 1910 they were living in Cincinnati where they both were employed by a freight handling depot. Patrick (twenty-eight) was a freight handler while Delia (twenty-three) was employed as a clerk.⁹ By 1919 when Delia applied for a passport, she was a housewife with two young children Mary Margaret and Thomas. She applied in October 1919 to travel to visit her aged parents Thomas and Catherine Burke, who were in failing health and wished to see their daughter again, and also her children. Delia had not seen her parents since emigrating in 1905 and had never taken the children to see their grandparents until this trip.

The second returnee here was Denis McGuire,¹⁰ one of a small number of applicants who specifically cited they were returning to take care of family.

⁷ Charles Reilly, Sligo, returned 1919, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 10 Jan 2008].

⁸ Delia Connelly, Galway, returned 1919, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 10 Jan 2008].

⁹ U.S. Federal Census, 1910 Cincinnati, Ohio, Hamilton County, Cincinnati City, Patrick and Delia Connelly, W. 3rd St., ED 189, sht 11B, lines 71-72, U.S. census collection [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 10 Jan 2008].

¹⁰ Dennis McGuire, Roscommon, returned 1919, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 10 Jan 2008].

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

Fig. 3.2 - Passport Database Photographs of Representative Returned Migrants



C
Sligo, 1919



Delia Connelly,
Galway, 1919



Den
Roscommon, 1919



Galway, 1919



James Joseph Barry,
Leitrim, 1919



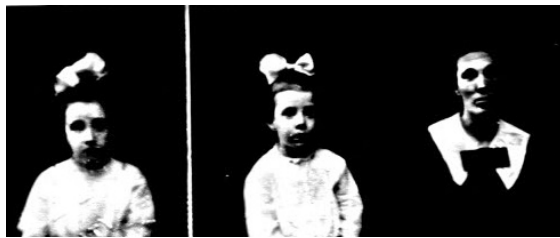
Thomas P. Killion,
Roscommon, 1920



John Doherty,
Leitrim, 1920



Bridget Gillooly,
Mayo, 1916



Sarah Gregory and daughters,
Leitrim, 1916



Francis J. O'Rourke,
Roscommon, 1918



Patrick J. Browne,
Sligo, 1919



William McLaughlin,
Roscommon, 1920



Jennie A. Gavin, Sligo,
1920



Patrick & Mary Leonard,
Sligo, 1919



Patrick McEnvoy,
Leitrim, 1920



Alice McEnvoy, nee
Gilligan, Leitrim, 1920



John Devoy,
Kildare, 1924

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

McGuire was a native of Rooskey, Roscommon, and along with one brother and four sisters had emigrated to Paterson, New Jersey (Figure 3.2). Chain migration is evident in their dates of arrival: Denis 1888, Daniel 1890, Bridget Mary 1896, Nannie Mary 1898, Kathleen 1899, and lastly Lizzie 1906.

By 1910, Denis was widowed and all his other siblings were still single. His brother Daniel called himself a retail merchant and owned a saloon where Denis was the barkeeper. Sister Nannie kept house while Bridget and Lizzie were nurses at nearby hospitals and Kathleen was a stenographer for an electrical supply company.¹¹ Even within their own family, their jobs indicate upward mobility in occupations.

In late 1918, Denis received a Western Union telegram from his neighbour Bridget Neary in Ireland and he immediately left for home in January 1919. The telegram read: 'Mary of unsound mind, what will be done?'¹² It is assumed that Mary was a relative at home, perhaps mother or aunt, and Denis obviously felt the real obligation to go home and deal with the troubled situation.

Returning military veterans

Within the group of Irish-Americans whose motivation was visiting family is a unique subset of individuals who had served in the American Army or Navy during World War I. Of the ninety-four military veteran returnees, forty-two had fought in the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF), the United States Armed Forces contingent sent to Europe in World War I. The AEF had fought under the

¹¹ 1910 Federal Census, State of New Jersey, Essex County, town of Patterson, *U.S. census collection* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

¹² Dennis McGuire, Roscommon, returned 1919.

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

famed Major General John J. 'Black Jack' Pershing in France alongside British and French allied forces in the last year of the war against Imperial German forces. The AEF sustained in the region of 320,000 casualties of which 53,402 were battle deaths, 63,114 were non-combat deaths and 204,000 were wounded individuals. A breakdown by foreign-borne American soldiers has not been located.¹³

After the war, the U.S. passed an Act of Congress which granted those Irish emigrants who had fought in the AEF and who were considered loyal to the U.S. American citizenship with naturalization papers issued at the end of their military service.¹⁴ In all, 155,000 alien soldiers from various nationalities would be granted U.S. citizenship through military service during the war.¹⁵ Not surprisingly, these Irish-American veterans, in applying for a passport, declared that as they had not seen their parents since serving in the war, they desired to return home to reassure their parents now that the war had ended. Some expressed a wish to return to Ireland to be reunited with brothers who had fought in the British Forces, survived the war and were back living in Ireland. There is no evidence in the passport documentation that U.S. officials had any problem with these personal reasons for return (see chapter six – Denis Henihan).

William Joseph Hardiman¹⁶ embodies the traits of many of these returning Irish-American military veterans. He was a native of Headford, County Galway, who emigrated to the U.S. in 1914. After arriving in Boston, he got a job working

¹³ Edward M. Coffman, *The war to end all wars: the American military experience in World War I* (Kentucky, 1998), p. 35.

¹⁴ Nancy Gentile Ford, *Americans all: foreign born soldiers in World War I* (Texas, 2001), pp 643-648.

¹⁵ John Whiteclay Chambers, *To raise an army: the draft comes to modern America* (New York, 1987) p. 231.

¹⁶ William Joseph Hardiman, Galway, returned 1919, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 10 Jan 2008].

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

as a motorman with the Boston Elevated Railway (Figure 3.2). On 5 June 1917 he registered for the draft and was sent to 'boot camp' for months of training. He was one of the one million serving in the AEF in France in 1918 and made it through alive. In his passport application, William states that he had received two letters from his father while in France explaining that his father was very ill. William had told his father he would come home to see him once the war was over. In 1919, his father was still living and wished to see his son William before dying.

Personal Business

The category of *personal business* lead the research into more complex issues as the migrant's return is more than just a family reunion visit. This category often included visits for settling personal estate or property business. Approximately 15 per cent of the returnees in this study indicated they were returning home to deal with personal business (11 per cent) and family business (4 per cent) such as inheritance, estate, property, and marriage issues. The numbers for this category were significantly lower in this study than that in two other Irish return studies. Both Brannick and Foeken found around 50 per cent of all male returnees to Ireland came back due to inheritance or family obligations.¹⁷

In dealing with the various life crises which may affect a family, returning migrants in this study dealt with social and economic circumstances of various life passages. For example, on the death of a parent, it was the accepted custom that one emigrant son should come back to take charge of the farm and care for the

¹⁷ Dick Foeken, 'Return migration to a marginal rural area in north-western Ireland' in *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, lxxi (1980), pp. 114-120; Teresa Brannick, 'A study of returned emigrants in an Irish rural parish', (M.A. thesis, University College, Dublin, 1977), p. 25.

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

surviving parent.¹⁸ In a few instances, after the family had been reared and the children dispersed, the eldest or youngest emigrant son was summoned home to care for his aged parents¹⁹ But in some cases, the immigrant in the States was not interested in inheriting and refused to even return when they were sent for. In a few cases, an attempted solution was to bring the aging parents to America, and to care for them there among their children and grand-children.

The land question, being a central issue of Irish life, played a significant role in personal business undertaken by returning individuals in this category. A large number of applicants stated that they were intending to deal with the transfer of property, especially since many of the older generation in Ireland were involved in properties acquired through the Land Acts of 1903 and 1909. Under those acts, the Land Commission had advanced £7.5 million to the Congested Districts Board in order to purchase 729 estates encompassing 46,700 holdings.²⁰

An excellent example of return for personal business is the case of James John Barry, a native of Drumheriff in Co. Leitrim. James had emigrated in 1906 and was a grocery clerk in New York City (Figure 3.2). In early 1919, James received a letter from a solicitor in Leitrim informing him: 'it is your duty to at once return home in order that you may look after the farm and pay the outgoings in respect of same, that is rent to the Land Commission and rates and taxes. Under the transfers executed by your Father, you are now responsible for all legal charges

¹⁸ Arensberg and Kimball, *Family and community in Ireland*, p. 61; Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American emigration* (Chester Springs, PA, 1997), p. 132.

¹⁹ Schrier, *Ireland and the American emigration*, p. 132

²⁰ Terrence Dooley, *'The land for the people': the land question in independent Ireland* (Dublin, 2004), pp 9, 19.

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

and out-goings payable out of these lands'.²¹ We do not know if young James knew of the changes in land ownership or not, he applied for a passport in April 1919, at age thirty-three, to go to his 'old and helpless' parents who had become unable to work the farms in Ireland. On his passport he stated he 'guessed that he would be in Ireland about two years'.²²

The need to conduct family business also caused fireman John Doherty²³ in 1920 to travel to Ireland bringing along his American-born daughters Mary and Eileen (Fig. 3.2). A native of Proughlish, County Leitrim, John had emigrated in 1887 and by 1920 was a Captain in the Lorain Ohio Fire Department. The reason given in March 1920, when at age 32, Doherty applied for a passport to go to Ireland, was to 'settle father's estate'.

Accompany others to Ireland or back to the U.S.

This is one of the most interesting groups who emerged from the analysis of return motivations. The motivation category involves returning migrants who specifically needed to make a journey in order to accompany individuals (usually a family member) either from the United States to Ireland or on a return trip from Ireland to the United States. References to this category, at this level of detail, were not found in previous return migration literature. Individuals in this category had significant concerns about shipping activities during the World War I period. One of the most alarming shipping incidents involved the Cunard ocean liner, *S.S.*

²¹ James John Barry, Co. Leitrim, returned 1919, ancestry.com, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

²² Ibid.

²³ John Doherty, returned 1920, Leitrim, returned 1920, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

Lusitania, sailing from New York to London. Prior to the *Lusitania*'s departure, the German embassy in the U.S., thinking they would be able to avoid controversy should the liner be attacked by a submarine, placed advertisements in fifty American newspapers on 22 April 1915 literally warning the public that neutral travelers aboard British-flagged vessels en route to the war zone sailed at their own risk.²⁴

On 7 May 1915, the *Lusitania* was indeed torpedoed by a German submarine and sank in eighteen minutes, 15 kilometers off the head of Kinsale, County Cork in Ireland. One thousand one hundred and ninety eight people of the near 2,000 onboard were killed. Four-fifths of the passengers were U.S. citizens.²⁵ The sinking turned public opinion in many countries against Germany, and was instrumental in bringing the United States into World War I. In Ireland, the news especially affected those on temporary visits frightening them and causing them to delay their return, sometimes up to several years. When they finally were ready to return, these individuals had to apply to the American embassy in Dublin for a new U.S. passport with a full explanation of why they had stayed so long in Ireland. Many letters attached to passport applications cite the fear of being sunk by German submarines as the reason why the spouse or children had not returned from Ireland to the United States earlier.

A family practice of the time brings another aspect of this category into the picture: immigrants' intent to leave children, spouses, nieces or nephews with family in Ireland for visits lasting as long as several years. This was the case for

²⁴ *New York Times Archives* online, 9 May 1915, 'Disaster bears out embassy's warning', (<http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive>) [accessed 06June2009].

²⁵ *Ibid.*

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

several of the women in the database who said they were taking their children to be cared for by family in Ireland. It appears that, after a period of time, the migrant would make another trip to Ireland to bring the children back to the States. Other cases in this category involved bringing back an older parent after the other parent had died or bringing back young relatives who no longer had any one to care for them in Ireland.

Two returning individuals are representative of this motivation category: Francis J. O'Rourke of Roscommon and Patrick J. Browne of Sligo. O'Rourke was a native of Ballyfermoyle, Roscommon and resident of Worcester, Massachusetts (Figure 3.2),²⁶ who had emigrated in 1911. In December 1918, at age twenty-two, he applied for a passport to go to Ireland in order to accompany his wife and child, who had been in Ireland since the war began, back to the United States.

The return of Patrick Browne,²⁷ involved responding to his family's needs during the great influenza epidemic in Ireland in 1918-9. Patrick applied for a passport to return home to Sligo in response to a letter from his mother reporting that the family had been severely stricken by the influenza epidemic. The world-wide epidemic is generally described as having struck in three waves from the spring 1918 through early 1919 marked by widespread sickness and death. 'In Ireland, the Great flu claimed more than 20,000 lives in a few months [less than twelve months], infecting as many as 600-800,000 people'....²⁸ In Sligo, 'all ... appeared to be suffering as a result' of the flu epidemic which had been 'working

²⁶ Francis J. O'Rourke, returned 1918, Roscommon, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

²⁷ Patrick J. Browne, returned 1919, Sligo, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

²⁸ Caitriona Foley, *The last Irish plague: the great flu epidemic in Ireland 1918-19* (Dublin, 2011), pp 3, 7, 8.

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

havoc amongst the community'.²⁹ The flu epidemic took the lives of Patrick's father, sister and brother. His aged mother was left without anyone to take care of her and Patrick intended to go and bring his mother back to the United States. A mental hospital attendant, as were his two emigrant brothers, Patrick was a resident in the town of Beacon in upstate New York. He had emigrated in 1877 and in January 1919, at age forty-one, desired to return to Ireland to bring his mother to the United States.

Health reasons

Good health was essential to the survival of the immigrant population housed and employed in large industrialized cities of the east coast of the U.S. Eventually it would be cooperative attitudes on the part of both immigrant and public health officials that would eradicate many of the nineteenth-century's deadly diseases.³⁰ Life was physically hard and sanitary conditions, both in living and working environments, lent themselves to the constant threat of tuberculosis and related respiratory diseases. Access to medical advice was limited by economic circumstances, except where charitable care was offered, and in the earlier days of emigration, the Irish, like numerous other groups, brought their folk medical remedies to America.

After emigration, Irish-born physicians living in the United States extended medical treatment to the needy newcomers in a spirit of altruism and to prevent the ill health of impoverished newcomers and their folk remedies
...³¹

²⁹ Ibid., p 63.

³⁰ Doris Weatherford, *Foreign and female: immigrant women in America, 1840-1930* (New York, 1995), p. 52.

³¹ Ronald H. Baynor and Timothy J. Meagher, *The New York Irish*, (Baltimore, 1996), p. 163.

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

Unofficial medical treatment flourished for all the ordinary and obvious diseases. In order to maintain good health and prevent illness many Irish recommended wearing holy medals and scapulars, blessing the throat, never went to bed with wet hair, never sat in a draught, took laxatives regularly, wore camphor about the neck in influenza season, took tonics and extra vitamins. Some traditional treatments used included painting a sore throat with iodine or soothing it with lemon and honey, putting a poultice of sugar and bread or soap on a boil, drinking hot whiskeys with cloves and honey for coughs or colds, and rubbing Vicks ointment on the chest or breathing in hot Balsam vapors, also for coughs and colds.³²

Within the cotton mills of the east coast, where the Irish predominated as workers, various state Boards of Health doctors gained the power to examine mill workers for infectious and contagious diseases, but they found the immigrants believed in avoiding physicians except when quite ill.³³ Few mill workers were willing to file a report that stated the cause of their illness or injury or included their name. This was because time off from work reduced incomes that were already barely sufficient to survive. Loyalty to patients made local doctors reluctant to report tuberculosis patients, besides tuberculosis diagnosis could have long-term economic repercussions for the patient's family; and also they would be unable to pay for medical care.³⁴

From General Practitioner (G.P.) letters attached to applications in this database, it appears that many doctors serving the Irish communities often

³² Patrick Logan, *Irish country cures* (rev. ed., Belfast, 1981), pp 2, 4, 21, 25, 55-56, 159.

³³ *Ibid.*, p 2-3.

³⁴ Janet Greenlees, 'Stop kissing and steaming!: tuberculosis and the occupational health movement in Massachusetts and Lancashire, 1870-1918' in *Urban History*, xxxii, (2) (2005), p. 234.

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

recommended a trip home to Ireland as a prescription for improved health. Some of the typical advice reads 'Patrick Boyle... is in need of an ocean voyage and sight of his parents in Ireland until he has recovered his nervous and physical strength'³⁵, 'Patrick Flaherty ... is unable to perform any manual labour. Recommend a change of climate and a sea trip with expectation the tonic effect of salt water may help considerably'³⁶ or 'John Lannon who is ill with chronic nephritis', his G.P. 'recommends that he go to [his family in Ireland] for care and treatment'.³⁷ It appears that the most consistent medical advice given to the Irish immigrants in response to displaying serious health problems was a return to the care and comfort of their family in Ireland. This was especially the case for women in this cohort of returnees.

Bridget Gillooly³⁸, a housewife and mother of a young daughter, was a native of Mayo and resident of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Figure 3.2). She applied to return in July 1916 and her passport paperwork was accompanied by a letter from her doctor.

She was reported to have been under his care since the birth of her child and she had had an operation for lacerations related to childbirth. Having not recovered her strength, he recommended she be allowed to go to Ireland where she would be cared for by family and be free from household duties.

³⁵ Patrick Boyle, Galway, returned 1918, *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database online](www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

³⁶ Patrick Flaherty, Galway, returned 1920, *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database online](www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

³⁷ John Lannon, Roscommon, returned 1919, *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database online](www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

³⁸ Bridget Gillooly, Mayo, returned 1916, *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database online](www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

Of more serious note was Sarah Gregory with her two young Brooklyn-born daughters, Margaret and Mary, who applied to travel to Ireland to escape domestic abuse (Figure 3.2). Sarah was a housewife, native of Leitrim and resident of Brooklyn, New York, for whom passport officials in New York urged Washington officials to approve the application stating ... 'This woman's face still bears marks of a beating her husband gave her the other day for which he got ten days. While he is in jail, her friends want to send her back to her mother in Ireland, and I am in favor of issuing her a passport under the circumstances....'.³⁹ Sarah and her daughters left for Ireland in August 1916, but ships records show her and her daughters returning to the marital home in Brooklyn, New York in 1920.⁴⁰

Commercial or Organizational Business

Two other categories, *commercial or organizational related business* and *pleasure/touring* were not mentioned in previous studies though in this study they represent approximately 6 per cent of the returnees. Aside from strict business purposes, other returning migrants in this group included Irish-American representatives of the likes of the Knights of Columbus, Red Cross, U.S. government election and customs officials. One reason for the limited number of returnees in this group may be that Irish-Americans travelling for business reasons at this time may have had other European destinations, than Ireland in mind. However, it is very likely that a pre-disposition towards entrepreneurial activities was just not part of the average emigrant's experience. Labour historian John

³⁹ Sarah Gregory, Leitrim, returned 1916, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database online](www.ancestry.com), accessed 10 Jan 2008.

⁴⁰ *S.S. Columbia*, Sarah Gregory, from Londonderry to New York, New York Passenger and Crew Lists [database online] (www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2011].

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

Cunningham has suggested that ‘it might have been a cultural reluctance or aversion to entrepreneurship which was part of Irish rural society as well as in the emigrant himself.’⁴¹ Miller quotes Irish emigrant Francis Hackett who quipped that American employers ‘were full of business enterprise, while unenterprise was much more our specialty ... The Irish in New York could patrol sidewalks, work on railroads, put out fires, their hands and feet were adaptable, but there was this mind lag ... the Irish were not prepared for the “ruthless efficiency” of urban-industrial society.’⁴²

One of the few individuals in the passport database who traveled for business reasons was Thomas P. Killion,⁴³ a native of Roscommon, who had emigrated in 1891 (Figure 3.2). Thomas and wife Katherine had six sons and one daughter all born in Massachusetts. The Killion family were residents of Peabody, Massachusetts, a small town north of Boston near Salem, where Killion owned his own house. He worked as a bookkeeper, in this case used to describe a position as an accountant, for a ‘car company’ named the Corwin Manufacturing Company. Corwin was a pioneer brass era American automobile company, established in Peabody. During 1905 and 1906, Corwin produced the *Gas-au-lec*, a five-place side-entrance touring car with a copper-jacketed four-cylinder four-cycle gasoline (petrol) engine capable in 1905 of 40-45 hp. Exposure to commerce and an aptitude for finance appears to have influenced Killion to succeed in business as he applied for a passport in April 1920 in order to travel to Europe to establish

⁴¹ Interview with John Cunningham, Department of History, NUI Galway, September 2009.

⁴² Miller, *Emigrants and exiles*, p. 519.

⁴³ Thomas P. Killion, returned 1920, Roscommon, returned 1920, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line](www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

business connections, first in Ireland while also visiting his family, and then on to France, Spain and Belgium.

Not unexpectedly, the *pleasure/touring* category is represented by a very few Irish-Americans. Only 2 per cent of individuals in the passport database declared they were traveling to Ireland for pleasure or touring. Their trips usually included other countries on the Continent. In nineteenth-century America, the idea of a holiday was largely confined to the upper socio-economic classes and was intended primarily for health reasons. Especially in New England, taking time away from work for leisure ran counter to the Puritan ethic of the employer class which had pervaded for two centuries. Idle time away from work could be justified for health reasons, but not simply for amusement or relaxation. The eventual change in public opinion in the States came with changes in transportation technology and the emergence of a wealthy middle class, including newly well-off immigrants following the Civil War. This change gave rise to a 'vast array of resorts and types of vacations for leisure, recreation, education, and, indeed, health.'⁴⁴

The first promotions of the island of Ireland for tourism seem to appear around 1907. There were determined efforts by private entrepreneurs to raise Ireland's profile as a tourist destination, one which 'presented an experience which included 'picturesque wilderness' and a 'frisson' of possible danger due to the

⁴⁴ Timothy Bawden, 'Vacation and leisure' in James D. Hart and Phillip W. Leininger, *Dictionary of American History in The Oxford Companion to American Literature* (New York, 1995). (<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O123-DictionaryofAmericanHstry.html>) [accessed 29 June 2011]...After independence, Irish resorts would see growing numbers of Irish middle-class holiday makers, but lower-income Irish families would not experience 'holidays' until the mid-to-late twentieth century; Barbara O'Connor and Michael Cronin (eds.), *Tourism in Ireland: a critical analysis* (Cork, 1993), p. 71; K.M. Davies, 'For health and pleasure in the British fashion; Bray, Co. Wicklow as a tourist resort, 1750-1914' in Barbara O'Connor and Michael Cronin (eds.), *Tourism in Ireland: a critical analysis* (Cork, 1993), p 73; Glenn Hooper, ed., *The tourist's gaze: travellers to Ireland 1800-2000* (Cork, 2001), pp 114-116, 139-151, 161-164.

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

political situation.’⁴⁵ Playing on nostalgia, occasionally vocal leaders within the Irish-American communities themselves, dramatically urged return. One example was J.J. McCann, an Irish-American living in New York. On the eve of his departure in 1911 for a visit to his brothers, who ran a chain of stores in Roscommon town, Strokestown and Lanesborough, J.J. made a speech advising:

... all the boys to return and share the wealth of love Erin has for all her scattered sons, as was demonstrated this year by the thousands who are going back to the land of song and streams. Day after day the steamship offices are crowded with exiled sons and daughters of Innisfail, who are going back to once more feast their eyes on her emerald shores and meet the loving friends of their youth. Changes are taking place in that dear old land, but thank Heaven, they are all for the better.⁴⁶

The hyperbole is found in the remarks of another Irish-American, Francis J.

Kilkenny of Chicago, the originator of what he called the ‘Back to Ireland’ movement in 1910. He had himself visited his parents four times and as a result, stated:

... the oftener he visits his native land, the more enthusiastic and patriotic he becomes. He says Ireland, with her beautiful lakes, her verdant valleys, noble rivers, picturesque mountains, historic cloisters, and glorious history, is beginning to appeal more and more to the fancy of the American traveler.⁴⁷

Up until the First World War, the idea of touring or holiday-making at Irish sea-side resorts or having a scenic appreciation of mountains, rivers and lakes was largely confined to a small elite. For the English, Germans and other Europeans, the first Irish holiday resorts in the form of spas, resembled a minor version of the ‘grand tour’ indulged in by the aristocratic class on the Continent. However, it was

⁴⁵ Irene Furlong, *Irish tourism, 1880-1980* (Dublin, 2009), pp 1, 9.

⁴⁶ *Leitrim Observer*, 26 August 1911.

⁴⁷ *Leitrim Observer*, 8 November 1913

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

well into the twentieth century before American tourists came in large numbers to County Kerry and other places of tourism interest.⁴⁸ Many Irish-Americans purchased steamship tickets to visit Ireland and even joined guided tours of Ireland such as those offered by immigrant Leo McGovern as described in his life history profile found in chapter 6. The Irish Automobile Club was formed in 1901 and by 1914, there were over 19,000 vehicles registered in Ireland.⁴⁹ The attractions included natural and historic sites, antiquities and sporting events, but on a small-scale basis. During this period, a few descendants of famine-era Irish-American immigrants returned to visit the still remembered homeplace of their parents, an early form of 'roots' tourism which was characterized by attempts to locate their relatives and forge links with them. However, this type of return at the turn of the century is not mentioned frequently while O'Connor and Cronin's work suggests more prolific numbers of Irish-American 'roots' tourists coming to Ireland in the following decades.⁵⁰ After independence, Irish resorts would see growing numbers of Irish middle-class holiday makers, but lower-income Irish families would not experience 'holidays' until the mid-to-late twentieth century. The rural peasant and labourer, struggling to survive, day-to-day, in the west of Ireland, would not have grasped the wealthy person's 'taking time to get away from it all for one's physic and mental health'.⁵¹

The interaction between locals and their visiting American relatives, who were embarking on a holiday tour, may have been filled with a bit of awe and

⁴⁸ National Archives of Ireland, 'Ireland in the early 20th century' (http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/exhibition/kerry/social_conditions.html) [accessed 20 Jun 2011].

⁴⁹ Furlong, *Irish tourism*, pp 31,33.

⁵⁰ Barbara O'Connor, 'Myths and mirrors: tourist images and national identity' in Barbara O'Connor, and Michael Cronin, eds., *Tourism in Ireland: a critical analysis* (Cork, 1993), p 73.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

equally resentment. These return visits were usually fraught with some anxiety at the best of times. The visiting returnee, bearing the label 'returned Yank', might easily be subjected to numerous jokes and made a figure of fun. The visiting individuals, coming from America and exhibiting a recently acquired economic status reflected in their very appearance, might think they were welcomed 'home' again, however, they might just as easily have been the recipient of a less than favourable welcome. As with the following generations of diaspora visitors, including those searching for their roots,⁵² the returnees of this study may have sensed some of the dynamics between the Irish who had remained at home and their returning American relatives:

It may be an understanding that they are not wholly distinct people and their histories are intertwined; it may respect for the cash cow; and it sometimes seemed to me that the Irish require American tourists as an audience; if they could convince the tourists to believe their version of Ireland, they might be able to believe it themselves.⁵³

William J. McLaughlin of Roscommon and Jennie A. Gavin, nee Conway are characteristic of this group of returnees (Figure 3.2). McLaughlin⁵⁴ had emigrated from Roscommon in 1901. At the time of his passport application, he and his Irish emigrant wife, Nora Quinn, had four children (William, Margaret, Vincent and Rita) all under ten years of age. They were residents of New York City where McLaughlin worked as a retail liquor merchant. Over time in Manhattan, McLoughlin had exhibited impressive entrepreneurial spirit as he worked his way

⁵² Catherine Nash, 'Embodying the nation: the west of Ireland and Irish identity' in Barbara O'Connor and Michael Cronin (eds.), *Tourism in Ireland: a critical analysis* (Cork, 1993), p 78;

⁵³ Rebecca Solnit, *A book of migrations: some passages in Ireland* (New York, 1997), pp 14-15.

⁵⁴ William J. McLaughlin, Roscommon, returned 1920, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line](www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

up from working as a bartender in a café on West 125th St to owning his own retail liquor business on Park Avenue in 1920. In June 1920, he applied for a passport to take Nora and all his children to Europe to ‘tour’ in Ireland, England and France.

The widow Jennie A. Gavin, nee Conway,⁵⁵ was a native of Ballymote, Co. Sligo who had emigrated in 1889 and after arriving in Massachusetts had married Thomas Gavin (Figure 3.2). Residents of Watertown, Massachusetts where in 1910, the federal census lists the couple having one teenage daughter and a foster daughter and foster son. Ten years later, Jennie had become a presumably wealthy widow living in Watertown with her sister and a female boarder.⁵⁶ In June 1920, at age 55, she applied for a passport to take a four month tour through Ireland, Great Britain, France and Italy.

Return to live permanently or return due to retirement

Returning to retire may have held little attraction for many Irish-Americans. By the returnee’s retirement age, most of their relatives who had been living in Ireland were just as likely to have emigrated to America themselves and the older generation in Ireland would most likely have passed on. In Handlin’s study of Greek return, the elderly Greek-Americans had ‘imperceptibly become accustomed to American standards of comfort, sanitation, and medicine; they are distressed by the deficiencies of the Old Country. ‘...[T]he cost of living is higher than expected for those who insist upon their usual brand of American cigarettes’.⁵⁷ At the same

⁵⁵ Jennie A. Gavin, Sligo, returned 1920, ancestry.com, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line](www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

⁵⁶ 1910 Federal Census, New York State, Middlesex County, E.D.511, sheet 7B, lines 83-85, *U.S. Census collection* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

⁵⁷ Oscar Handlin, 'Immigrants Who Go Back' in *Atlantic*, cxcviii (1956), p. 73.

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

time, Francesco Cerase has suggested that detachment from their new society occurred often among Italian immigrants with no offspring, 'no one to whom they can bequeath the results of their efforts and aspirations'. Their advancing age and other dissatisfactions may have been the cause of real suffering which could only be relieved by a return move home.⁵⁸

Although only ten individuals in the passport database specified 'permanent return' on their applications, it must be taken into account that those who had stated they intended to spend from one year (253 individuals), those who intended five years (seventy-eight individuals) or those who intended to indefinite stay in Ireland (37 individuals) may also have actually intended a permanent stay but were leaving their options open. If these were to be considered with the ten self-identified individuals, this group would account for 31 per cent of returnees. Again, for personal and/or private reasons, the real motivation presented when considering permanent return may or may not have been the one written on the passport application.

This *permanent return* category includes individuals who may have wanted to escape problems caused by the death or separation of a spouse in that they hoped that returning home would be an escape from painful memories and offer the chance to start a new life, the ill hoped to regain their health.⁵⁹ Others were in serious poor health and unfit for work. The older returned Yanks' were known for their poor health and though once they returned, they may have felt better off in their homeplace, some did not live long after their return. Some had failed to make

⁵⁸ Francesco Cerase, 'Expectations and reality: a case study of return migration from the U.S. to southern Italy' in *International Migration Review*, viii (2) (1974), pp 225-262.

⁵⁹ George Gmelch, 'Who returns and why: return migration behaviour in two North Atlantic societies' in *Human Organization*, xlii (1) (1983), pp 46-54.

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

a success. Many had arrived in America during one of the periodic economic crises (1894, 1907, 1919-20). As they could not make it economically in the depressed economy of the U.S., they fell on hard times and, often with the help of friends and relatives, returned to Ireland.⁶⁰ There were the occasional ne'er-do-wells who were returning because they could not get on neither in America nor in Ireland.⁶¹ The last group of individuals who were returning but not for obvious or proclaimed reasons included those who just had been unable to cope with the hard pace of life and work in America. They may have been discouraged by the rigour of American society such as military service or prohibition. Some may have been discouraged by the re-emergence of the Klu Klux Klan and the associated racial problems.⁶²

For many returning migrants, after first retiring in America, they returned to Ireland to meet their desire to spend their last days in the land 'they first knew and loved.' Motivated by nostalgia, these individuals unfortunately most often experienced readjustment problems that were often difficult and embarrassing, and some regretted having returned.⁶³ This was especially the case if, after arriving, they spent all their American savings and had little funds on which to survive. The return situation for Patrick Leonard,⁶⁴ a sixty-five year old returning migrant, could be representative of this group. Patrick was a born into one of six Leonard families in Easkey townland, Sligo. (Figure 3.2). He had emigrated in 1875 and lived in Watervliet in upstate New York where he worked as a labourer. Having made an earlier visit home in 1914, he applied for a passport for himself (sixty-five) and his

⁶⁰ Marjorie Harper (ed.), *Emigrant homecomings: the return movement of emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester, 2005), p. 21.

⁶¹ Gmelch, 'Who returns and why', pp 46-54.

⁶² Harper (ed.), *Emigrant homecomings*, pp 21-22.

⁶³ Gmelch, 'Who Returns and Why', pp 46-54.

⁶⁴ Patrick Leonard, Sligo, returned 1919, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database online](www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

Irish emigrant wife Mary (sixty-four) in September 1919. He wanted to return home in order to farm. In Patrick's own words, his reason was 'I own a farm in Ireland. I am unable to live in this country as my age prevents heavy work, but I can farm and earn a living in Ireland'. The trip home must have held disappointments because five months later, at the start of the following year, Patrick and Mary Leonard were back in New York state now living on a farm in Hoosick, New York. Patrick was indeed listed as a farmer on a general farm not a dozen miles from their original residence in Watervliet. But in 1920, Patrick was the head of household and with Mary was residing with their unmarried children, son Frank (forty), daughters Julia (thirty) and Catherine (twenty-eight) and youngest son, George (twenty-five).⁶⁵ Had they ever boarded the boat for Ireland the previous year?

Repeat Visits

The passport database contained few cases of repeat migration often termed re-migration by other studies (see chapter one, McEnvoy and Gilligan). Another colourful and detailed story of repeat migration involved an anonymous traveller spoken of by Seamus Ó Maolchatha of County Tipperary:

Of all those who to my knowledge [who] emigrated from the Parishes of Grange and Newcastle, only one made 'thousands' as they say. He had served his time to the drapery in Clonmel and emigrated as soon as his time was up. He had hard times at first and told me he had swept the snow off the streets of New York to earn a few dollars. He came home 10 years ago and built a house that cost £700 - he brought the house a prefabricated one home from America. He spent a few summers in the house and went back again in winter. Then he sold the house for a fraction of what it cost him and went away again. He came back last summer and bought back the

⁶⁵ U.S. Federal Census, 1920, Rensselaer County, New York, Town of Hoosick, ED.8, sheet 2B, lines 90-95, *U.S. Census collection* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 Jan 2008].

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

house again giving the purchase some hundreds more than he gave for it. He is living in the house at present. He has flown back and forth to the USA more times than I could reckon. He is now about 70. He was a school fellow of mine and was only 'middling' as a scholar. To my knowledge several others who emigrated from this district were very much superior to him in intelligence. He is supposed to have made his money in 'stocks'.⁶⁶

Though this return category is not often examined, Drew Keeling conducted a study of repeat migration which identified several subsets of the category: *summer crossings* of migrants departing the U.S. in May, June or July and returning the following August, September or October; *year end crossings* of migrants departing in the U.S. in November, December and the following January to June; and *short term cyclical* crossings of migrants departing the U.S. during recessions and returning during the next subsequent recovery.

While Keeling's data indicates that repeat migration across the Atlantic rose after 1900, there were important differences between European regions with 'the westbound direction, the northern regions of Europe had proportionately higher rates of repeat migration than did the southern regions.' Northern Europeans (e.g. from the British Isles and Scandinavia) mostly made short summer visits to Europe in early summer, then back to United States in early fall, while southern Europeans mostly made one-time return trips to Europe in the late fall.⁶⁷ In each case, the motivation was visiting family (to Ireland) or returning home (to States).

⁶⁶ IFC: MS 1407; 35: Seamus Ó Maolchatha, County Tipperary.

⁶⁷ Drew Keeling, *Repeat migration between Europe and the United States, 1870-1914*, U.C. Berkeley Institute of European studies website (www.escholarship.org/uc/item/56g1k33h)[accessed 23 Aug 2011].

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

Hidden motivation - Returning for political reasons

Did Irish-America immigrants return to Ireland because of their involvement in Irish nationalism? While this would be a germane question in the time period covered by this study, the principal research material consulted does not provide data on the subject. The U.S. government passport applications were not the place to record one's involvement in Irish nationalist politics. The documents of the IFC's Emigration Questionnaire produced no references to returnees with possible political involvement. The use of grounded theory in this case will not reveal a returned migrant whose motivation is politically based. To discover someone who could be so identified required examining the lives of various identified Irish-Americans nationalists. Irish- American John Devoy, originally from Kill, County Kildare provides some enlightenment on this point (Figure 3.2). In his youth, Devoy spent a short spell in the French Foreign Legion before becoming chief Fenian organizer of Irish soldiers in the British Army in Ireland in 1865. Arrested, but released in a general amnesty of Fenians prisoners in 1871, Devoy emigrated to the United States.⁶⁸ He became a naturalized citizen in New York in 1883 and took up the occupation of journalist and then newspaper editor.⁶⁹ During his fifty-four years in the States, Devoy, and the Clan na Gael organisation played a leading role supporting Irish nationalism on both sides of the Atlantic and internationally.⁷⁰ In 1879, Devoy made a clandestine, illegal trip to Ireland to meet with Michael Davit and Charles Stuart Parnell. Their discussion

⁶⁸ Michael Doorley, *Irish-American diaspora nationalism: the friends of Irish freedom, 1916-1935* (Dublin, 2005), p. 223.

⁶⁹ John Devoy, Kildare, returned 1924 (www.ancestry.com), *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 10 Jan 2008].

⁷⁰ R.V. Comerford, *The Fenians in context: Irish politics and society, 1848-82* (Dublin, 1998), pp. 225-30.

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

lead to the 'New Departure', a verbal agreement to loosely link the three strands of Irish nationalist movements.⁷¹ In 1924, Devoy was living on Lexington Avenue in New York City when he applied for a passport for one year to travel to Ireland with his visit 'purely a personal one ... with no mission in mind ... or in any representative capacity.' to visit relatives.⁷² Of special note is the document attached to Devoy's application. This was a Chief Special Agent's report from the U.S. Department of Justice stating the U.S. government 'we have nothing against him to hold him here' (Figure 3.3).⁷³

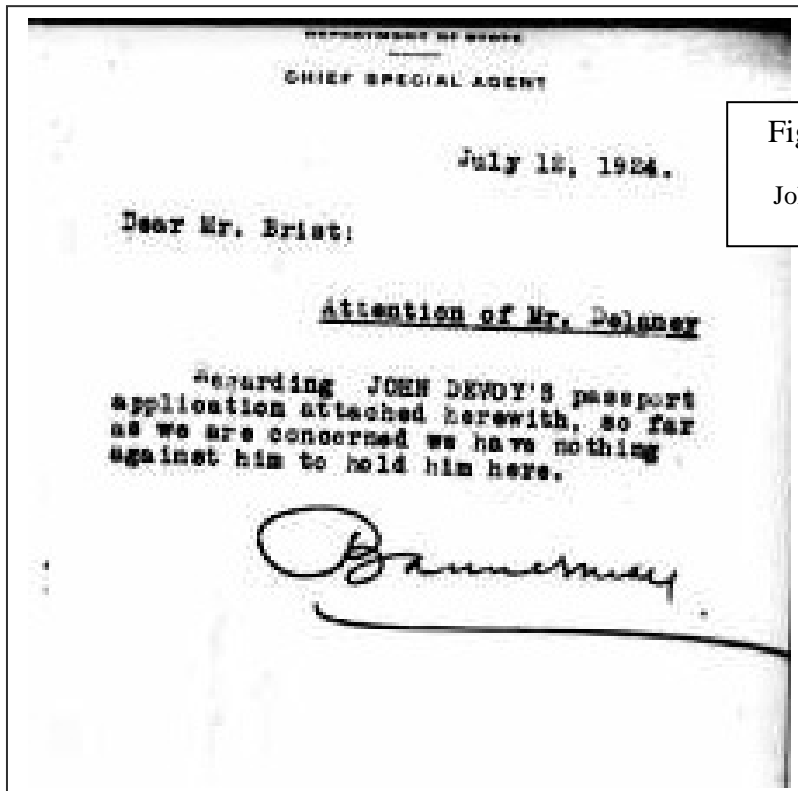


Fig. 3.3 - U.S. Department of State letter, 1924, releasing John Devoy to travel to Ireland.

Devoy arrived in Dublin to receive a State welcome with full military honours. He was received in Government Buildings by President Cosgrove and

⁷¹ Terence Dooley, *The greatest of the Fenians': John Devoy and Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp 98-9.

⁷² *Ibid*, p. 133.

⁷³ John Devoy, Kildare, returned 1924, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 10 Jan 2008].

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

then he travelled around the country receiving resolutions of welcome for six weeks. He was in attendance at the resurrected Tailteann Games in Croke Park.⁷⁴ Devoy returned to New York where he began writing his memoirs, '*Recollections of an Irish rebel*' and finally died at age eighty-six. So one can say there were Irish-American nationalists who did emigrate, who became naturalised, and visited Ireland for their own purposes perhaps including a political agenda, however, this is a subject to be studied more expansively elsewhere.

The return motivation groups examined for this study in the main support the categories developed by previous Irish studies. In general, socio-cultural or ethnic-related reasons rather than economics spurred the return for a majority of migrants though there is a corresponding rise in the numbers of returnees during times of economic crisis in the U.S. in 1894, 1907, 1919-20.⁷⁵ The migrants' strongest motives to return involved their attachment to family, taking over a family farm, home country environment, and nostalgic affiliations to their native ethnicity. Understandably, no one declared patriotic or political interests as a reason on their passport purposes. In studying the motivations of the returning passport applicants, it is clear that returning Irish-Americans were primarily concerned with the needs of the family and their responsibilities towards those at home in Ireland. This was true of Denis Henihan coming home to take over a farm in the family (see case study of Denis Henihan, p. 260).

Health reasons played a more important role in return than has been previously identified. Migrants returned for medical conditions from across the health spectrum, from nervous disposition to life-threatening diseases, as in the

⁷⁴ Dooley, *The greatest of the Fenians*, pp. 134-135.

⁷⁵ See chapter one, Figure 1.11, Economic cycles in the United States, 1880-1920.

Chapter 3 - Why did they return?

case of James Finnerty coming home to recuperate from tuberculosis (see case study of James Finnerty, p. 285).

More research is suggested into Irish-American small commercial business successes which appear to have empowered some migrants to return as businessmen and entrepreneurs as was the case of Leo McGovern and his American-style hotel endeavor, though at the same time, during this time period only a small number of returning Irish-Americans were coming home as tourists (see case study of Leo McGovern, p. 308). Surprisingly few migrants returned home to reside permanently or came home to retire in old age as in the case of Peter John Fallon who returned after years of employment in the U.S. civil service (see case study of Peter John Fallon, p. 325).

This may be an anomaly of the specific group being studied here and most likely larger numbers of retirees may have returned during the period before passports were required. After assessing the motivations presented here by returning migrants in the passport database, one must concur with Angela McCarthy's observation that 'explanations for return migration ... were just as diverse as the motives that propelled migrants from Ireland.'⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Angela McCarthy, *Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840-1937: 'the desired haven'* (Suffolk, 2005), p. 196.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

In time, the successful integration of the Irish maintained an image of progress and achievement and few returned home.¹

The personal demographics and motivations to return of Irish-Americans are the initial part of the story of return migration. The behaviour of the returning migrants, as perceived by the receiving society, is the complement to the returnees' story. Their actions upon return will be examined in light of what friends and neighbours at home observed and by extension, the community's attitude toward the returnee?² This chapter moves the study forward by using oral history responses to questions contained in the Irish Folklore Commission (IFC)'s Emigration Questionnaire.

Views of returning migrants

To uncover the experiences of returning migrants and their social and cultural adaptation once at home, this study initially explored the results from a handful of survey studies authored by scholars who investigated the return of emigrants to their places of origin.³ These studies concentrated on identifying which migrants chose to return home and described their perceived motivations for return. The studies included only a small amount of analysis of how migrants

¹ William J. Smyth, 'Irish emigration, 1700-1920,' in P. C. Emmer and M. Morner (eds.), *European expansion and migration: essays on the intercontinental migration from Africa, Asia, and Europe* (New York, 1992), p. 72.

² *Emigration Questionnaire* held by the UCD Delargy Centre for Irish Folklore and the National Folklore Collection, the successor organisation to the Irish Folklore Commission (1935-1971).

³ Studies in Ireland: George Gmelch, 'Return Migration and migrant adjustment in western Ireland' in *Irish Foundation of Human Development*, lxii (1979), pp 27; Dick Foeken, 'Return migration to a marginal rural area in north-western Ireland' in *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, lxxi (1980), pp 118; 't Hart, Marjolein, 'Irish return migration in the nineteenth century' in *Tijdschrift voor Econ.en Social Geografie*, lxxvi (3) (1985), p. 226; and Fiona McGrath, 'The economic, social and cultural impact of returned migration to Achill Island' in Russell King (ed.), *Contemporary Irish Migration*, (Dublin, 1991), pp 55-69.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

felt about their return. There was little or no information presented which described how the home communities received the returning migrants. Some scholars did comment generally on these subjects. Economist and demographer Julie DaVanzo suggests that because return migrants were familiar with their destination and were likely to have friends and relatives at their destination, the barriers to and psychological costs of returning would have been lower than for individuals arriving for the first time.⁴ She commented that even after many years of absence, some migrants did adjust quickly, and carried on where they had left off as though they had never been away. This may have been demonstrated in the case of Irish returnees who engaged temporarily in the activities of their youth such as picking berries, cutting turf, bringing in the hay, dancing at the crossroads or visiting the ‘ramblin’ houses of the neighbours. Martin Tarpey from County Galway recalls ‘[f]or two or three weeks [while] they were home, social activity was intense.’⁵

Kerby Miller and Paul Wagner relate the story of Tim Cashman, a returning Irish-American who went through a range of emotions upon his return from Boston in 1925. Hoping to record a ‘joyful reunion’, Cashman kept a journal full of his impressions, however, he was to be greatly disappointed. From his observations of Cobh - ‘a scene of desolation, houses built before Abraham’s time, ancient looking, everything without life’, to his village of Killeagh – ‘mud and dirt over everything ... I can’t get my eyes to see things as they were to me before I left’ to, at last, his old home – ‘I stood there in sad contemplation, thinking of times when the family lived together.’ ‘Irish poverty and emigration

⁴ Julie Devanzo, ‘Differences between return and nonreturn migration: an econometric analysis’ in *International Migration Review*, x, (1) (1976), pp 13-27.

⁵ IFC 1409: 224-227; Martin Tarpey, County Galway.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

seemed as great [to him] in 1925 as when he had left his home in 1892.⁶ Using the heart-rending revelations of Cashman's experiences as a case in point, Miller and Wagner point out that the nostalgia for home experienced by most Irish-Americans was possibly less painful than the reality of the 'pain of return'.

In the same vein, George Gmelch's studies of return Irish migration indicate that many returnees felt ill-prepared for their return and would not have been prepared for how much they or their communities might have changed. In the memory of the migrant, the homeplace would most likely have remained frozen in time. Some, perhaps ill-prepared for their return, seemed to encounter problems throughout their visit finding people at home no longer shared the same interests, had developed new friendships, or seemed unwilling to resume old relationships.⁷

Basic differences between cultures disconcerted all returnees. This may generally be attributed to the contrast between the highly urbanised cities where most migrants lived in the States and the provincial rural environment of their home parish. 'Yankee brides' particularly experienced differences in cultures when working in the kitchen of their new homeplace. Cooking facilities of the most primitive kind were still the order of the day and many returning females found they had to abandon efforts to replicate the cooking techniques learned in America.⁸ Women who had learned to roast and fry meat in the United States found everything at home had to be boiled and this was done on a crook over the

⁶ Kerby Miller and Paul Wagner, *Out of Ireland: the story of Irish emigration to America* (Washington DC, 1994), pp 125-27.

⁷ George Gmelch, 'Return migration' in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, ix (1980), pp 135-59.

⁸ Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish foodways in the age of migration* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), pp 215-16.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

fire not on a range [cooker].⁹ In some cases, after living an urban life abroad, the traditional culture of their home district may have even felt backward. Most returnees reported specific frustration with two areas of life at home: a definite 'lack of efficiency' and a 'lack of respect for punctuality'. Everything at home seemed to move so slowly and no one seemed to care about being on time. Responses from Fiona McGrath's study echo the returnees' frustration with the slow pace of life on Achill Island compared to the faster pace of life in America. The returnees also exhibited an emigrant-acquired aversion to the inquisitive attitudes and gossip of Achill Islanders.¹⁰

The desire to return to visit

It might be expected that many Irish-Americans, indeed most immigrants in general, desired at some point to visit their family and indeed, as this study's data indicates, approximately ten to eleven per cent of the Irish-Americans did return home. Cassie Smyth of Woodslee in Ontario expressed her thoughts of return in a letter to her Smyth cousins in 1890:

We often wish that we could see you all and I hope we may some time: if you do not come out I hope we shall some time visit you all there, I would dearly like to go to see all my uncles, aunts and cousins.¹¹

For those migrants who moved beyond words in a letter to taking action, the return experience started for many Irish-Americans before they even left America.

⁹ Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American Emigration* (Chester Springs, PA, 1997), pp 139-140.

¹⁰ McGrath, 'The economic, social and cultural impact of returned migration to Achill Island', pp 74-80.

¹¹ Letter from Cassie Smyth, Woodslee, Ontario, to her Smyth cousins in County Tyrone, 1890, Smyth Collection, document number 0506080, (www.dippam.ac.uk).

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

They often found themselves at going-away parties held in their honour by friends and neighbours, many who would have wanted to be going along. For instance, an account of the leaving of J.J. McCrann of New York provides an inside view to one such party:

An enjoyable, jolly and interesting event took place in New York last week which was in the nature of a surprise party tendered to J.J. McCrann on the eve of his departure to ... Roscommon. ... J.J. is a very popular, his circle of friends true and interested acquaintances is very large and certainly they let no stone unturned to give him a decent send off. There were oceans of refreshments, dancing and singing, wit and jollification. Songs and recitations were rendered, stump speeches, and roars of laughter, followed by the singing of 'I wonder who is kissing her now'.¹²

Nostalgic memories and high expectations for the return trip were emotions universally shared by immigrants of many ethnic groups. Oscar Handlin's encounter with returned Americans in Greece describes the feelings of a visiting Greek-American arriving home in time for Easter Sunday:

He was already surrounded by well-wishers. Jovial, without self-consciousness, he had dropped back into an experience deep in meaning for him. It was the goal of his coming back to be able to recapture a memory. For, in doing so, he gave a wholeness to his life, so that his satisfactions as an old man were made one with his aspirations as a boy.¹³

After being so long away, the returning Irish migrant coming back around 1900, might have been observed as did J. 'Sean-Sean' O'Keefe from County Cork:

Returning to Ireland after a number of years' absence has its elements of embarrassment. There is the warmth and the welcome from all. But there is something the heart seeks but does not get; because nothing can bring back old acquaintances either or scene or personal reminiscences. A change over the face of nature so that the returning emigrant is as hazy as those who receive him. He is wedged in betwixt the old and the young.

¹² Leitrim Observer, 26 August 1911.

¹³ Oscar Handlin, 'Immigrants who go back' in *Atlantic*, xcvi (1956), pp. 70-4.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

The old have altered beyond recognition. The young he has never seen and it takes some time before he gets his bearings.¹⁴

Interestingly, O’Keefe’s response is one of many eloquently-worded observations recorded in the manuscripts of the Emigration Questionnaire.

Social and Cultural Experiences of Returning Migrants

Corresponding to the answers provided by Irish returning migrants in the studies mentioned above are the voices of Irish country people found in the Irish Folklore Commission’s (IFC) *Emigration Questionnaire* manuscripts.¹⁵ This Questionnaire, conducted in 1955, was a collaboration between American scholar Arnold Schrier and the Irish Folklore Commission investigating emigration to America from 1860 to 1900. Responses to the Questionnaire provide one of the principal sources of data for this thesis. Acknowledging that other scholars have ‘dipped into’ these records for an occasional quote or reference, this thesis strived to present a more extensive review of the attitudes of West of Ireland people towards the returning migrant. Schrier, who served as research team leader during the collection and transcription of field data also used data from Questionnaire responses in his 1958 book, *Ireland and the American Emigration*.¹⁶

The Emigration Questionnaire was serviced by the IFC through its established country-wide network of professional interviewers and motivated by an urgency to capture the rich tradition of cant, custom memories and lore associated with emigration (Fig. 4.1) (Appendix Table A.4). Though the information was collected in 1955, the IFC informants were asked to recall

¹⁴ IFC 1407: 320; J. O’Keefe, County Cork.

¹⁵ *Emigration Questionnaire* held by the UCD Delargy Centre for Irish Folklore and the National Folklore Collection, the successor organisation to the Irish Folklore Commission (1935-1971).

¹⁶ Schrier, *Ireland and the American emigration*, p. 195.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

information about those in their communities who had emigrated before 1900. By the 1950s, information regarding emigration as contained in IFC oral histories had been handed down over a hundred years by generations of those who were still among the population and whose memories of the mass departure was strong and vivid. Research has demonstrated that important life events, such as migrations that lasted a long time, are firmly remembered compared to less important, short terms moves.¹⁷







The particular intention of the Emigration Questionnaire project was to capture the social and economic consequences which emigration may have left in its wake.¹⁸ The Questionnaire contains thirteen questions in broad areas of interest each of which then present six or more specific questions. Interviewers were instructed to ask these questions specifically about individuals who had emigrated to America before 1900. Responses to these questions were transcribed from the audio recordings made by the trained field collectors who had conducted the interviews. Once the interview data had been lodged with the IFC, it was placed in manuscripts categorised by province and county. For the purposes of this chapter, information was taken from responses to Question Ten which specifically deals with migrants returning for a visit (Figure 4.2).

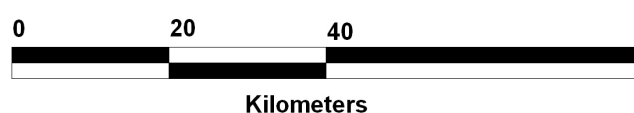
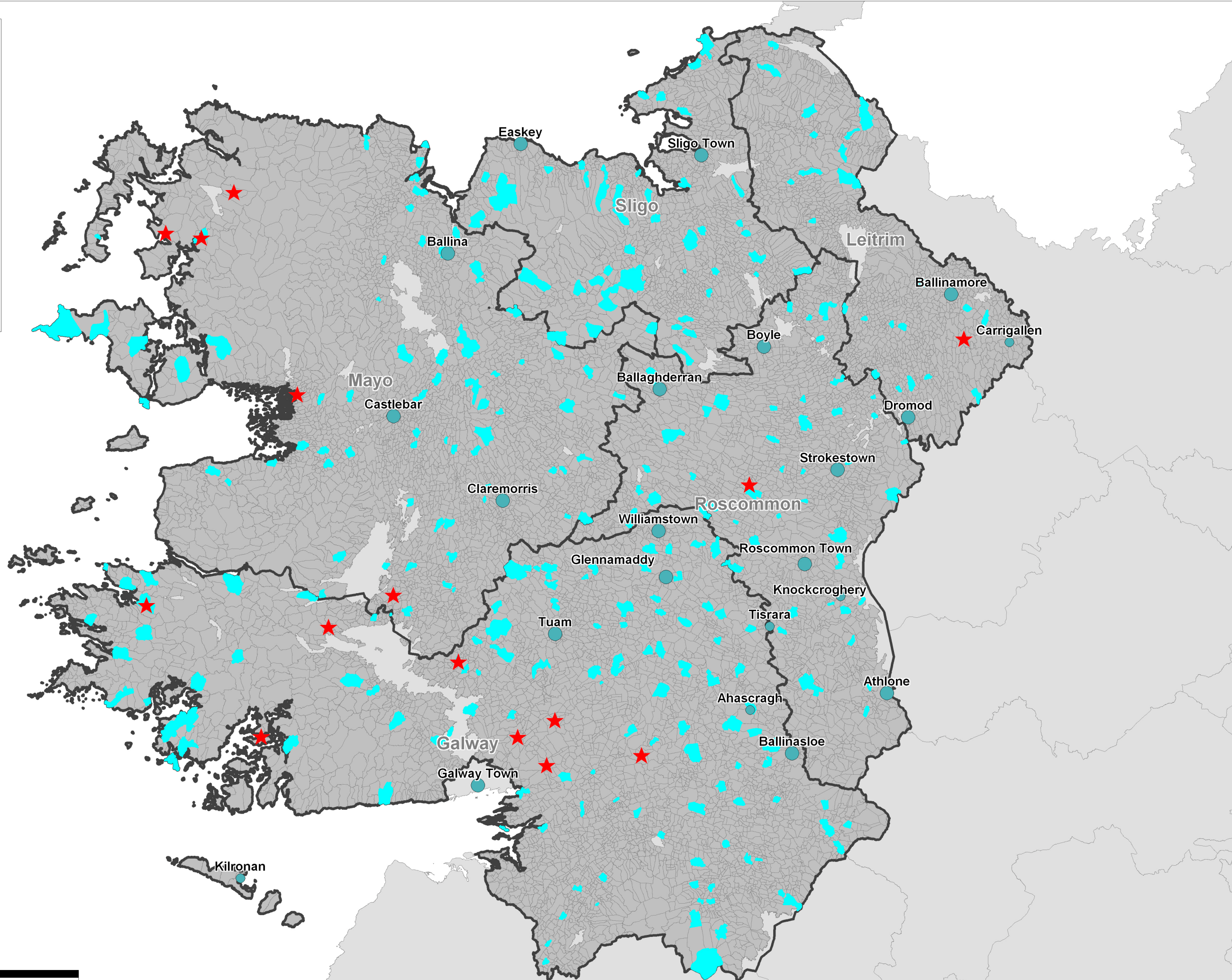
¹⁷ James P. Smith and Duncan Thomas, 'Remembrances of things past: test-retest reliability of retrospective migration histories' in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, clxvii (1) (2003) pp 23-49

¹⁸ Schrier, *Ireland and the American emigration*, p. xi.

Fig. 4.1 Returned migrants – towns, villages and townlands and locations of IFC respondents, 1890-1920

Legend

-  County Boundaries
-  Townland Boundaries - Connaught
-  Townlands with Passport Applicants
-  Towns with Passport Applicants
-  Villages with Passport Applicants
-  IFC Respondent Locations



Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

Figure 4.2
IFC Emigration Questionnaire – Question 10

A considerable number of emigrants often returned for a visit to their native land:

- Did they create a favourable impression?
- Were they sought after for information on America?
- Did they talk much about America?
- Was their clothing admired and habits or styles of dress copied?
- Did they cause resentment because of bragging or 'showing off' their wealth?
- Had they been successful or unsuccessful in America?
- Did they try to influence others to emigrate to America? Did they try and persuade others to emigrate?
- Are there any stories about the experiences of emigrants in America?

Those participating in this Questionnaire were already part of a field network of informants, trained by the IFC and used in a variety of surveys. Some may have been brought into the informant scheme during the 1937-8 Schools Collection. Responses examined in this study come from individuals who lived in the predominantly rural and relatively impoverished counties of Connacht: Leitrim, Mayo, Galway and Roscommon. The IFC has no record of the *Questionnaire* ever being administered in County Sligo.¹⁹ Also included are responses from individuals in Counties Donegal, Kerry and Cork. These answers were used for possible contrasts between views of these three counties with those of people in the Connacht counties. After reviewing answers from all the different manuscripts, it appeared that, aside from local terminology, there was little if any difference in the responses from the respondents in various counties (Appendix -Table 2).

¹⁹ IFC Emigration Questionnaire, Mss. 1407, 1409 and 1410-Connacht, 1411-Ulster and 1407-Munster; Email from Mr. Críostóir Mac Cárthaigh, Archivist-Collector, Department of Irish Folklore, UCD, 1 September 2010.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

The Welcome

As a rule, when an emigrant returned home to Ireland, he or she was warmly welcomed by family, neighbours and the extended community by an occasion analogous with the American wake they had experienced when emigrating from Ireland. As their return became generally known in the district, people would come from far and near to see them. The neighbours would assemble at the home where the migrants were expected and the house would be full to greet them on their arrival. At the migrant's welcome home, just a quick glance would suffice to take in the appearance, demeanour, body language, mannerisms, and clothing of the returned relative. Though an earlier photo of the emigrant as a green horn in America may have been sent home, now in person, the returnee's physical appearance would be the first clue as to whether there were changes to this returning relative. The Irish-American's confident manner, combined with a clean and tidy appearance and good personal grooming (a good haircut or shave), would have helped to make the good strong first impression.

The return of the 'new come Yankee' would be the talk of the district for a week or more and eventually news of the arrival would spread throughout the community at large. Announcements of local visiting returned migrants would often be carried in the local papers:

Our readers will see by our columns these summer months that many exiles are on a pleasant stay at their native homes. But, alas, it can generally be seen that it is only a 'visit'; that they shall, all too soon, 'mid parting tears, be lost to friends and Ireland once more.²⁰

²⁰ *Leitrim Observer*, 8 August 1914.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

Sometimes referred to as a ‘nine-days-wonder’²¹, the returning migrant would be visited and invited from one house to another.²² In Cornamore, County Galway, it was the custom for friends and relatives to go and meet returning migrants first in Galway. Once they had returned to the village, neighbours came either individually or in batches to visit and welcome them.²³ As James Gibbon recalled: ‘[T]o tell the truth they always thought a lot of the ones back home. I think it made them warmer hearted to go abroad for a while for when they came home again they made a good show of affection. A favorite expression of theirs when they landed was “my, it’s good to be home” ‘.²⁴

Welcome Home party

In many districts of the West of Ireland, within a week or fortnight of the migrants’s return, there would be a celebration in their honour. With the exception of the IFC oral histories, local information about these get-togethers has not necessarily come down through family history because the events would have been considered a normal part of Irish hospitality, as an excuse for a ‘hooley’. But these events were significant in the migrants’s own return experience because the party set the tone for welcome implying ‘we’re happy you are home.’ If they had the means, the returnee themselves gave a party for the neighbours. The initial social gathering of singing and dancing was similar to the ‘American Living

²¹ ‘nine-days-wonder’: a British/Irish term, going back to 1594, used for something or someone that creates a short-lived sensation, Merriam Webster dictionary (www.m-w.com) [accessed 16May2011].

²² IFC 1409: 81; Nora Murphy, County Galway.

²³ IFC 1411: 145; Mrs. George Sweeney, County Donegal; IFC 1407: 41; Sean O Dubhda, County Kerry; IFC 1409: 238; Patrick & Michael Silke, County Galway; IFC 1409: 269; May and Thomas O Sullivan, County Galway; IFC 1409: 55; Michéal Ó Conaire, County Galway; IFC 1409: 143; Michael Moran, County Mayo; IFC 1407: 320; J. O’Keefe, County Cork.

²⁴ IFC 1411:15; James Gubban, County Donegal.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

Wake' or 'Bottle Night' (which the returned migrant had most likely received before their departure to America) though this party was more cheerfully conducted. This gathering was a counterpart to both the original sending off and also the Saturday night 'racket' party which had welcomed the Irish emigrant to the U.S.²⁵ The locals might bring half a pint of porter with them, however, the returnee was expected to provide a half-barrel of porter and a few bottles of whiskey himself. He would treat every man who came in to a drink and provide a drink to any of the old women who 'took a drop'. The young people of the community were very interested in the homecoming night, especially the expected 'treats'. The young and old at the party would be 'at it dancing and singing till cock crow', a real night to remember.²⁶ The graciousness of this neighbourly 'private hospitality' was an ingrained tradition of Irish hospitality reaching back to medieval times.²⁷

Of course they got a great welcome from all the friends & neighbours, especially any one that had people beyond that new [sic] the ones that came home. I expect and I often heard in our home again, "I was glad to hear from so and so that ye showed him or her a good time while they were in Ireland."²⁸

If circumstances permitted, the returnee would be invited to other 'parties' where they were 'well catered for, with all the pleasures of the table, and the inevitable bottle'.²⁹ When Joe W. Flynn and his sister Miss Flynn returned in 1913, the event made the local papers:

²⁵ Diane Dunnigan, *A south Roscommon emigrant: emigration and return, 1890-1920* (Dublin, 2007), p. 44.

²⁶ IFC O'Keefe, p. 321; IFC: Sweeney, p. 145.

²⁷ Catherine Marie O Sullivan, *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland, 900-1500* (Dublin, 2004) p. 120.

²⁸ IFC O'Keefe, p. 322.

²⁹ IFC 1410: 132; Michael Corduff, County Mayo.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

A supper was got up in honour of Mr. Flynn by the Fenagh Temperance Society, after which a dance was held at which fifty couples took part, and at which they enjoyed themselves until 4 o'clock a.m. the following morning.³⁰

The occasion of welcome at their old home in Fenagh, County Leitrim would be remembered by the community as 'a grand reception on their arrival'.

Yankee nomenclature

The term *Yankee*, as used by the Irish at home, may have sounded puzzling to many returning migrants. They could as easily be referred to as 'Forty-niner' (California) or 'Sooner' (Oklahoma).³¹ They had after all returned from various U.S. locations spread east to west over 3,000 miles including some from the American south.³² Scholars mainly agree that the term *Yankee* originated in New Amsterdam (New York) during the seventeenth century as a nickname for Dutch-speaking Americans during colonial times. The term, by extension, may have grown to include non-Dutch colonists. In the New England states (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut), the nickname was largely restricted to the descendants of English settlers and was often associated with such characteristics as shrewdness, thrift, ingenuity, and conservatism. By the American Civil War (1861–5), the term *Yankee* was being used by the southern U.S. states to refer to someone from the northern states and the usage implied *Yankees* were people, inclusive of various

³⁰ *Leitrim Observer*, 8 August 1914.

³¹ 'Forty-niner' became the pet name for any individual living in California. It derived from the early pioneers of the California Gold Rush of 1849. 'Sooner' became the pet name for any individual living in Oklahoma. It derived from the early settlers who unlawfully claimed lands in what would become Oklahoma as in the 1992 movie *Far and Away*. Almost every U.S. state eventually developed its own pet name for its early residents.

³² David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the South, 1815-1877* (Chapel Hill, 2001), pp 187-88.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

ethnic backgrounds, but originating from the New England states. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the term *Yankee* or *Yank* was used by the Irish and British to refer to someone of general American origin.³³ Returning Irish migrants, whose homes were in Louisiana, Texas, Colorado, Montana or California, may have been mystified to be called *Yankees*. Just as the Irish nickname 'Paddy' is used by the Irish and English, the term *Yankee*, when used outside of the U.S., can be used as a term of endearment or as a dismissive term depending on the context.

After arriving home, the returned migrant was often assigned a new nomenclature involving the use of the term 'Yank'. Surnames were usually appended with the term 'Yank' or 'Yankee' before or after. An example of this labeling in County Roscommon was the 'O'Connor Yanks', a returned family of migrant siblings from Carriganmore.³⁴ In County Donegal, Charles Rawdon observed that if a 'man came home to our house he would be called Rawdon's Yankee or if he came to Doherty's he would be called Doherty's Yankee'.³⁵ This labeling became such common practice that it was often jokingly attached to anyone with even an interest in emigrating to America. A young man named John Mannion in County Roscommon who was determined to leave for America was given his goodbyes at an American Wake and he then walked to the railway station in Roscommon town. Standing on the platform, as he waited for the train, he suddenly decided he just could not leave his home. So he turned around and walked home, but he was never allowed to forget that he had once wanted to go

³³ Encyclopedia Britannica (www.eb.com)[accessed 10 November 2010].

³⁴ Interview with Patrick O'Connor of St. John's Parish, Co. Roscommon (17 Mar. 2007).

³⁵ IFC 1411: 130; Charles Rawdon, County Donegal.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

away and he thereafter was affectionately called the 'Yankee' Mannion'.³⁶ In the Questionnaire responses, there was no commentary on the part of returnees regarding having been called 'Paddys' while abroad.

Gifts for those at home

The returning migrants often brought gifts to those at home. Many women brought gifts of clothing that were admired, but not necessarily worn in public. Sometimes other immigrant relatives and friends in America sent presents home via the returnee. Especially for the women and girls were American clothing, watches, or jewellery of every description. Often the older men in the family received a present of American whiskey which was perceived to be stronger but coarser than Irish whiskey. The returning migrant might have a present of some sort for his neighbours or friends at home. Men, in general, appear not to have received as many gifts supposedly because 'they don't trouble about those things'.³⁷ They would be glad however, to receive the occasional present of American razors in cases, which were highly prized by the recipients.³⁸

Information sought regarding relatives/greetings from America

The returned migrant would typically be kept busy at the homecoming party answering questions. Apart from letters and infrequent American newspapers, the returning migrant was the only source of information about loved

³⁶ Interview with James Ganly Derrane, Co. Roscommon, President, County Roscommon historical and archaeological society (3 Sep 2009).

³⁷ IFC: O Sullivan, p. 269; IFC 1409:36; Sean Glennon, County Galway; IFC Moran, p. 143; IFC 1409: 224; Martin Tarpey, County Galway.

³⁸ IFC Martin Tarpey, County Galway.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

ones accessible to those at home and about America for those contemplating emigrating.³⁹ The family and community listened to returnees give an account of events and conditions in America, but the family and friends at home were eager with enquiries about their 'dear ones abroad' and the welfare of their neighbours, relatives and friends in the States.⁴⁰ Had they seen 'this one and did he hear any word of that one'? The older people thought that America was as intimate as home and that everyone knew everyone else.

When I came home they were as glad to see me as if I came from the grave and everyone I met were asking me did I see this and that while I was on the 'other side'. I was asked more questions than I could answer.⁴¹

I remember a returned Yank, a funny man, and lots of people were asking about this and that and how was so and so.
'Ah!, says he, they are all at the same trade or job over there.'
'And what job is that?'
'Oh! They're all drinking.'
I suppose he was pestered by questions.⁴²

Though hard to fathom, many respondents reported that it was sometimes very hard to get any information from these 'Yankees' about people or things in the States. It appeared that when the emigrants went over to America, many forgot 'a good many of their Irish habits and [instead] minded their own business'.⁴³ When they returned to Ireland, they did not want to talk about how 'this person or that person is getting on,' rather, they would just say that everyone was getting on well in America. It was felt by the respondents that it would not do for returnees to say anything about anybody at home because, if they did say

³⁹ IFC 1409: 251; Sean Ryder, County Galway.

⁴⁰ IFC Rawdon, p.130; IFC 1409: 68; Michael Walsh, County Galway; IFC Glennon, p. 36; IFC 1409: 55; Michael Ó Conaire, County Galway; IFC Tarpey pp 224-225 .

⁴¹ IFC 1411: 95; Mrs. Sarah Doherty, County Donegal.

⁴² IFC 1407: 288; Sean O Dubhda, County Kerry.

⁴³ Ibid.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

anything, it would quickly be back in America. If and when the migrant did go back, it would most likely be 'too bad for them'. So migrants were reported to not say much about the people 'on the other side' especially if they had nothing good to say.'⁴⁴

Impressions created by returnees

Almost all those interviewed agreed that when a migrant returned they created a favourable impression. The returned migrants, viewed as people who had seen the world while the vast majority of those at home had scarcely ever left their native county, were listened to with respect. By some of the locals, they were thought of highly for the way they had 'picked up and went ahead'.

Emigrants who returned for a visit were highly esteemed. They were always well-dressed, with plenty of money to spend. People would say 'It must be a great country! Who in Ireland could afford to take a three-months holiday!'.⁴⁵

It was generally recognized among those at home that the returned migrant may have earned the right to behave differently. Having been away, they had acquired mannerisms and habits that distinguished them from those who had never left home.⁴⁶ The migrants, returning after a number of years as American citizens, and having acquired American accents would be accepted and respected. It was said that migrants home on a visit were esteemed according to the way they conducted themselves. In general, returnees were admired and regarded with tolerance unless their behaviour was too extravagant. If they behaved badly they

⁴⁴ IFC 1411: 349; James McCauley, County Donegal.

⁴⁵ IFC 1409: 258; Michael Galvin, County Galway.

⁴⁶ IFC Silke, p. 239.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

would not be highly thought of, merely because they had been away in America.⁴⁷

Emigrants who returned after a very short sojourn in America, perhaps owing to failure to secure suitable employment, or who were unavailable to work, were usually referred to with sarcasm, especially if they were inclined to 'show off'.⁴⁸

Some respondents however, reported that those who showed little change in dress or speech or manner were also favourably commented on by the locals.⁴⁹

In some localities, the returned emigrant was received with mixed feelings. There were those few who 'swaggered' and offended until they 'calmed down'.⁵⁰ But if a returnee put on an American accent and then broke out at some unguarded moment into the old dialect [Irish], the use of Irish might be considered affected, the returnee would be more or less looked upon with scorn and thought unworthy of response.⁵¹

Patrick O'Farrell points out that some respondents did not have a popular view of the returned migrants. In his reading of the responses, the returnees seemed to be regarded as outsiders who had cut themselves off from their homeplace. He suggests '[it] is notable that those few who returned to stay were regarded as semi-alienated oddities, never accepted back into the community they had left.'⁵² O'Farrell quotes the economic and social historian K.H. Connell suggesting that envy was a potent force in the emigration process: 'the returned emigrant was the envy, not only of his peasant brother, but of his nephews too ... more and more young men yearned to acquire clothes like the Yankee's, a voice

⁴⁷ IFC Ryder, p. 251.

⁴⁸ IFC 1407: 40; Tadhg Ó Murchadha, County Kerry.

⁴⁹ IFC 1407: 344; Seamus Ó Maolchatha, County Tipperary.

⁵⁰ IFC O'Keefe, p. 320.

⁵¹ IFC O'Keefe, p. 319.

⁵² Patrick O'Farrell, 'Emigrant attitudes and behaviour as a source for Irish history' in G.A. Hayes-McCoy (ed.), *Historical Studies*, x (Galway, 1976), p. 111.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

so bizarre and a purse so full.’ Connell goes farther and suggests that this envy was no simple emotion but rather ‘it was heavily laden with hostility, ... intolerance and contempt.’⁵³

Returning the music

Irish-American Vaudeville Music

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, songs, dances and jokes of the big cities were incorporated into a national theatre genre, referred to as Vaudeville, which set the foundation for modern American show business. Vaudeville was, in every sense, the most popular type of theatre in America at that time and its form – separate acts strung together to make a complete show bill – was a direct descendent of earlier variety theatre in concert saloons and music halls. By 1880, Vaudeville appealed to broad audiences that included both men, women, working and middle class, native-born and immigrant.

Irish performers played a vital role transforming both American and Irish-American culture. ‘In Vaudeville, Irish performers created a style that was both urban and ethnic,’ a testimony to their passage from being rural immigrants to being at home in America. Irish contributions to Vaudeville, such as jig-dancer Kitty O’Neill and the piper Patrick Touhey, for example, established a Celtic presence in the entertainment industry and invigorated the mainstream of American popular entertainment. A significant part of Irish-American identity was expressed, not in the ballads and fiddle

⁵³ Ibid., p. 112.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

tunes of immigrant generations, but in the products of American show business such as the songs 'Danny Boy', 'My Wild Irish Rose' and 'When Irish Eyes Are Smiling'.⁵⁴

The beautiful air that would become 'Danny Boy' came to America via many fine musicians who had left the Roe Valley, County Londonderry, at the time of the Famine taking their music with them. However, it was in Colorado, that Margaret Weatherly came into contact with the tune in 1912. Her husband Edward had abandoned his London medical practice in 1889, emigrated first to San Francisco and Colorado as part of a gold rush. One day Margaret heard gold-prospectors, believed to be from the Roe Valley, playing a beautiful tune. She immediately thought of Edward's brother, Fred, and she sent the tune to her brother-in-law in Somerset, England. Fred Weatherly (1848-1929) had already written a song called 'Danny Boy' in 1910 and it only required a few alterations to make it fit the beautiful melody he received from America.⁵⁵ It was no surprise that Weatherly's lyrics had an immediate appeal and it was popularised in Vaudeville by Irish-American performers and soon became a St Patrick's Day favourite. At the time of the song's composition, much family entertainment was derived from sheet music, and the seeds of 'Danny Boy's' success were sown in drawing rooms and parlours with families and their guests singing beside a piano. In the ensuing years, over 200 recordings were eventually made of the song.⁵⁶

Chauncy Olcott, an American stage actor and songwriter born in Buffalo, New York (1858-1932), was the master of writing and presenting Irish songs for

⁵⁴ Hilary Bracefield, 'Let Erin remember; The Irish-American influence on traditional music in Ireland' in *Writing Ulster*, No. 5, *America and Ulster: a cultural correspondence* (1998), pp. 29-44; Harry Bradshaw, *Michael Coleman, 1891-1945* (Dublin, 1991), p. 52.

⁵⁵ *The Story of Danny Boy*, Ulster ancestry website (www.ulsterancestry.com) [accessed 20 Apr 2011].

⁵⁶ Bracefield, 'Let Erin remember', pp. 29-44.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

the Vaudeville theatre in America. From the late 1890s to the 1910s, he wrote several stage shows with Irish themes, and at least one or two songs from each show would become famous. In 1899, he wrote 'My Wild Irish Rose' for his production of 'A Romance of Athlone', which incidentally had eighty-eight performances on Broadway. In 1912, he wrote the popular song 'When Irish eyes are Smiling' for his production of the stage show 'The Isle O' Dreams'.⁵⁷

One effect of this evolving Irish-American music industry was not foreseen and probably not particularly intended. This was the bringing home of the American-produced songs and recordings to Ireland by those emigrants who returned on brief visits to see their families. The music recordings particularly were to have a disproportionate effect: there were simply no equivalent recordings of Irish variety or local traditional music being made in the 1920s in Ireland itself. Many of the Irish melodies, lyrics and ballads that gave voice to the experience of emigration survived to become popular all over the world.⁵⁸

Traditional Music

But the stage-Irish songs and records were nothing similar to the traditional country music of home, the music of the people. Irish immigrants, whether they had emigrated looking for musical work or otherwise, found that if they could play traditional music, they could make a good bit of money. In New York, Boston and Chicago and any number of other towns and cities, a thriving

⁵⁷ Bill Edwards, 'Vintage Popular Songs from the Early 1900', vol. 2, in *Perfessor[sic] Bill Edwards Sings Again* (music CD), (<http://www.perfessorbill.com/>) [accessed 10 November 2010].

⁵⁸ J'aime Morrison, 'Dancing between decks: choreographies of transition during Irish migrations to America' in *Eire-Ireland: journal of Irish studies* (Spring-Summer, 2001), pp 1-14.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

music scene desired 'real' Irish entertainment at weddings, social and church events, let alone bars, clubs, and restaurants.

Ironically, the revival of Irish traditional music in the twentieth century, in Ireland itself, was largely sparked off by recordings of Irish musicians not playing in their homeland, but in America in the 1910s, 20s and 30s.⁵⁹ By 1916, American record companies were producing rural vernacular music for immigrant communities providing priceless documentation of genres and traditions virtually extinct today. Some of the great traditional Irish musicians, who had emigrated to America in the early years of the century, found themselves being recorded in music studios to satisfy a growing market for traditional music.⁶⁰

Head and shoulders above all the traditional Irish musicians making American recordings was fiddler Michael Coleman, born 31 January 1891 in Knockgrania, Killavil, Co. Sligo. In October 1914, he emigrated to New York and soon became a professional musician. His first jaunty fiddle recording was entitled 'The Boys at the Lough'. His recordings, eighty in all, were appreciated not only among Irish-Americans but in the American south and at home in Ireland. 'Coleman was also fortunate in his timing: there was a massive demand for all things Irish, as nationalistic feeling was running high among Irish-Americans, the technology of recording was developing rapidly, and it was boom time in 1920s America.'⁶¹ A considerable amount of music was also recorded by his fellow Sligo musicians James Morrison and Paddy Killoran. With their opportunity to record in America and the ensuing return of many

⁵⁹ Bracefield, 'Let Erin remember', pp. 40-44.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Dictionary of Irish Biography, 'Michael Coleman', (<http://dib.cambridge.org.jproxy.nuim.ie/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a1833&searchClicked=clicked&searchBy=1&browsesearch=yes> [accessed 8Sep2011]).

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

copies of their recordings to Ireland, modern Irish music scholars have pondered whether this imposed the County Sligo style on Irish traditional music as a whole at the start of the nineteenth century.⁶²

'Smartened up' in America - American clothing

There was great anticipation before the first meeting with returning relatives. Had their relative changed since they went away? Would they think those at home had changed? The more modern clothing worn by returning Americans impressed people at home and was interpreted by those at home as a sign of financial success in America.⁶³ In Donegal, they observed that '... all the ones who came home were 'very well "put on" and you would stand and look after them on the road'.⁶⁴ Similarly, in Mayo, it was said 'I often seen a Yank at the fair of Newport and of course every one would inquire who he or she was, they would be easily [be] known to be a Yank by their clothes'.⁶⁵

Although returned migrants had been 'smartened up' with their clothing, and their dress was generally admired, local people would consistently comment that 'Yankees' had funny ideas about wearing 'gay' colours, fancy patterns and very 'loud' clothes which no one at home in Ireland would even think of wearing. 'Strong' colours were not considered normal and therefore constituted an unacceptable style in rural Ireland.⁶⁶ Tony Cuff, on one of his visits to Mayo,

⁶² Bracefield, 'Let Erin remember', pp. 29-30; Harry Bradshaw, *Michael Coleman, 1891-1945* (Dublin, 1991), p. 52.

⁶³ Hilary O'Kelly, 'Parcels from America; American clothes in Ireland c. 1930-1980' in Alexandra Palmer and Hazel Clark, *Old clothes, new looks: second hand fashion* (Oxford, 2005), p. 83.

⁶⁴ IFC Gubban, p. 16.

⁶⁵ IFC MS 1409: 96; Dennis Lee, County Galway; IFC O'Sullivan, p. 269; IFC O'Dubhda, p. 41; IFC Ryder, p. 251.

⁶⁶ IFC Rawdon, p. 130-131; O'Kelly, *Parcels from America*, pp 92-93.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

personified this style ‘dressed in bright American clothes, with spring shoes, American cap, and nice flashy clothes’.⁶⁷

Besides the impression made by fine clothes, many male returnees wore a watch and chain which were luxuries unknown among the people at home. The clothing and jewelry signaled that these returnees were ‘Yanks’. The returning men and women also appeared to be very clean, or ‘spick and span’ as the locals would say, which was very different from those at home whose regular work on the land, particularly with turf, did not permit them to be clean except on Sundays.

Clothing specific

From the Great Famine to Irish Independence, there was a ‘gradual, but never total replacement of local, regional styles of dress by the approximation to or adaptation of metropolitan styles or fashion’.⁶⁸ But at the turn of the nineteenth century, most country men in the West of Ireland still wore *bráinín* (woollen cloth) which protected people from the persistent inclement weather. Combined with a ‘heavy homespun pull-over sweater, patched trousers and heavy boots, very few at home had a second pair of trousers’.⁶⁹ Rural men watched in amazement as male returned migrants arrived home wearing tweed suits and light boots. ‘Look at the grand suit he has’ people would say ‘and he has three other suits in his trunk that you did not see at all. He won’t have them worn out for

⁶⁷ IFC MS 1410: 99; Tony Cuff, County Mayo.

⁶⁸ Caitriona Clear, *Social change and everyday life in Ireland, 1850-1922* (Manchester, 2007, pp.149-150.

⁶⁹ IFC Glennon, pp 37-38.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

seven years'.⁷⁰ The returned migrant also wore undershirts and underclothes of the kind that were never seen at home. Locals would say 'it is a long time till he would see it [these clothing styles or materials] at home. He would never see a decent trousers or suit of clothes at home!'⁷¹

Irish women had been knitting and making clothes at home for themselves, their daughters and younger sons since before the advent of the sewing machine in Ireland in 1870.⁷² Rural women, working outside and wearing layers of clothing even in summer, had to make clothes that lasted.⁷³ Returning females wore silk dresses in up-to-date American fashions and these styles caused much consternation among the women in the community.⁷⁴ Sunday Mass was the social platform for display of these wonders:

... the whole parish would be turnin' out at that Mass for to see what she'd be wearing and they'd be talking about it for a week. And the next Sunday they'd be waitin' again to see the new frock for she'd be wearin' a new frock each Sunday.⁷⁵

The family's 'occasional' garments were bought at the local draper in the nearest town, and for very special occasions, such as First Holy Communion, confirmation or weddings, people would shop in the nearest city. Readymade clothes were rarely seen and very poor people would buy second hand clothes from country fairs or street markets.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ IFC Glennon, p. 38.

⁷¹ IFC MS 1409: 57; Michael Ó Conaire, County Galway; Cuff, Mayo, p. 99.

⁷² O'Kelly, *Parcels from America*, pp 92-93.

⁷³ Clear, *Social change and everyday life in Ireland*, p. 152.

⁷⁴ IFC Silke, p. 239; IFC Ó Maolchatha, Tipperary, 344; MS 1410: Cuff, Mayo, p. 99.

⁷⁵ Schrier, *Ireland and the American emigration*, p. 135.

⁷⁶ Clear, *Social change and everyday life in Ireland*, p. 84.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

Imitating the clothing or style of American clothes

American styles were accepted as natural in the case of returning migrants and American clothing was the talk of the community until they went back to the States. But the rural Irish wore rough 'homespuns' styles to which all conformed and most respondents agreed that American styles would be frowned upon if copied and local people would not be changed in their clothing.⁷⁷ One exception was noted by women respondents. The introduction of the returning American female's cape was copied in Donegal during the first decade of the new century⁷⁸ (Figure 4.3), the style gained popularity with many women across Ireland:

I remember it was on a yank I saw the first cape. It was all shawls the women wore before that, but then a lot of them began to copy the yankee's style and began to wear capes. The cape was hung over the shoulders and fastened at the neck with one button.⁷⁹



Fig. 4.3 Advertisement for J.W. Elvery and Co., illustrating *ladies caped ulsters*, July 1893. source: Dunleavy, *Dress in Ireland*, p 162

⁷⁷ IFC Tarpey, p.225; IFC MS; 1409: 57 Michael O Conaire, County Galway; MS 1411;58; Mrs. B. Douglas, County Donegal.

⁷⁸ Mairead Dunleavy, *Dress in Ireland: a history*, (Cork, 1999), p 162.

⁷⁹ IFC Douglass, p. 82.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

In the late 1890s, in some districts of the West, many wives of bigger farmers embraced these short capes and wore them to church and market as a fashion style.⁸⁰

In general though, people at home in Ireland did not try to imitate the American style of dress for they would not have had the material or the means of producing it. All respondents agreed that the local Irish did not wish to make themselves conspicuous by imitating the Yankee fashions.

Any attempt to adopt American styles (except by those who had been to America) would only expose them to ridicule. An old man in Mayo observed that ‘often now Yanks left suits of clothes at home to their brothers, and they would not like to wear them, ... you would hear them say “this old Yankee suit” ’.⁸¹ Thomas Duggan in Galway reported that ‘... the bottom line was that ... the folks in the country would not easily change their lifelong habits or adapt themselves readily to new ways, even those styles coming home on the backs of their American relatives.’⁸² ‘When you would see them you would say to yourself ‘now wasn’t I the fool I didn’t go across for I would be coming home a great swank like that now.’⁸³ The chief effect the style of the returning migrant had on the local population was to reinforce the idea that America was a wonderful country.

⁸⁰ Interview with Ann O’Dowd, clothing curator, National Museum of Ireland, Country Life division, Castlebar, County Mayo, 21 April 2011.

⁸¹ IFC MS 1409: 149; Tony Cuff, County Mayo.

⁸² IFC Lee, p. 97; MS 1409: 15-16; Thomas Duggan, County Galway.

⁸³ IFC Glennon, p. 38; MS 1141: 35-36; Annie McColgan, County Donegal.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

Use of American language/slang by returnees

Returned migrants, when talking about their experiences abroad, were unrestrained in their speech and incorporated a lot of American slang which could often irritate and dismay an Irish listener. In general, the use of ‘Americanisms’ was regarded as very affected behaviour. But Americans seemed to enjoy ‘putting on’ their American slang and spreading their different words around the village. It was also annoying that the returnees had a different name for many things at home, for instance, paraffin oil was ‘kerosene’ to the returnees.⁸⁴ Their pronounced accents were hard to understand and consequently when they insisted on using the newly acquired Yankee terms they were not favourably regarded. Their friends would often become annoyed saying ‘there was too much of it’. Though the returnee would occasionally be made fun of behind his back,⁸⁵ in Donegal, locals downplayed the returnee Yankees speech by saying they ‘had changed their tongue a wee bit’.⁸⁶ Especially distasteful in communities in the West were the returnees who preferred to speak English and use Americanisms, but wouldn’t respond if Irish was spoken to them.⁸⁷

This sister [of mine] married in England [and] generally comes on an annual holiday to Ireland and [it’s] all high-falluting English and Englishisms. When she and the old Yank brother get going in their variants of English, ...the home brother chimes in with “as spoken in Ulster” and I throw in “spars of Gaeditze; then Kilcoo at such a time”. It was a fair idea of Babel.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ IFC Lee, p. 98; IFC Ó Maolchatha, p. 344; IFC O’Conaire, p. 59.

⁸⁵ IFC Lee, pp 96-99; IFC Duggan, p. 16.

⁸⁶ IFC Gubban, p. 17.

⁸⁷ IFC Murphy, p. 81; IFC Duggan, p. 16; IFC O’Conaire, p. 59.

⁸⁸ IFC 1409: 338; anonymous informant, County Galway.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

American slang often caused amusement and was even mimicked in the case of returnees who were too boastful and fond of using American expressions and idioms.⁸⁹

Work in America

When there was talk about work in America, the male returnees would be eager to point out that it was a good country for the man who was not too lazy to work.⁹⁰ However, returnees were quick to point out the dissimilarities between the rigors and hardness of work patterns in the States with work as they recalled it at home. 'These folks saw how hard life was in America compared with Ireland and said we didn't know how well off we were here'.⁹¹ Most returned migrants would admit that they had had to work very hard in America for pay, contrary to many stories, that was not always good. 'You needed your friends to help you get a job or otherwise you might be idle sometimes for months. It was often through the county societies that you were able to get a job'.⁹²

The returned migrants said some Irish got on well in America and others not so well. They did not conceal the fact that the work was often dangerous, especially in factories, on the docks and on building sites.⁹³ The returnees described the hard work variously as shoveling pig iron and iron-ore, working on barges wheeling barrows of coal, working with a gang road-making or railroad

⁸⁹ IFC Duggan, p. 16.

⁹⁰ IFC O Dubhda, p. 41.

⁹¹ IFC Various unnamed informants, Leitrim, p. 329

⁹² IFC Various unnamed informants, Leitrim, p. 329; John T. Ridge, Irish county societies in Ronald Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher, *The New York Irish, 1880-1914* (Baltimore, 1996), p. 297.

⁹³ IFC Tarpey, p. 225.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

making.⁹⁴ They told of some jobs in America which only the strongest men would do and the many jobs which required the men to work all night. While some returnees spoke of men being out of work in the States. It was also reported that returnees felt it was easier for girls to get a job. The returnees warned that one had to be on guard against treacherous fellow workers who might rob you, but nevertheless, they would end up saying 'it was better than at home, where you had nothing, especially for a man who was sensible'.⁹⁵

A common complaint of returnees was that in America, unlike at home, they had to work by the clock:

Tomdhaí maidin a chaithfeá 'ghoil amach lleis a 'gclog, an chaoi nach bhfuil sibh-se annseó. [Many a morning you would have to go out by the clock, unlike you here.]⁹⁶

Most of them admitted that they had to work by the clock and could not waste a minute of their time. A sister of mine who came home on a visit had to work for two hours on the very day she left America!⁹⁷

The returned migrants, who had chiefly gone out to urban centres such as Boston, New York, and Chicago, had their views about those who had gone out to work on farms. '[Y]ou could save your money more easily working for farmers than in the cities and towns, owing to the absence of drinking and gambling facilities. Some might even take farms of their own, [though] perhaps fail'.⁹⁸ But usually, people being interviewed, knew of no one who had actually worked on the land in America.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Wyman, Mark, *Roundtrip America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), pp 48-49.

⁹⁵ IFC Ryder, p. 251.

⁹⁶ IFC O'Conaire, p. 56.

⁹⁷ IFC Galvin, p. 10.

⁹⁸ IFC Glennon, p. 36.

⁹⁹ IFC Murphy, p. 81.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

The same advice came from many who returned: America was a young man's country and any man going there should be young. Some returnees, obviously of a more conservative mode, advised that young people once in America, should seek a government job such as the Police, Army, Navy, or on the Railways if at all possible. Their specific advice, emphasising the lure of job security, was to 'attend night school, stick to your job, [and] mind your business'.¹⁰⁰

Many returnees, having seen how hard life was in America compared with Ireland, told the people at home that they did not know how well off they were. In Roscommon, respondents reported:

I often heard this man [returned migrant] stating that life in America was very trying on a person's nerves, and there was always the fear that one might lose his position and become destitute, and destitution in America made life impossible, He could tell of all classes of rouges, gangsters and derelicts of both sexes, whom he had encountered, and declared strongly that America was a hard, merciless, self-seeking country. He stated that he was lucky, but if he had worked as hard here at home, he would have got on just as well as in America.¹⁰¹

Reporting their own experiences in a negative way, returnees may have in some way influenced future emigrant behaviour.

The impression of success

There was a general belief among those living at home in Ireland, that everyone who went to America achieved success and fortune. The people at home said that they liked seeing that a man had done well in America, and those who appeared to have achieved success and returned home were well thought of and

¹⁰⁰ IFC Various unnamed informants, Leitrim p. 340.

¹⁰¹ IFC 1409; 303: Fitzmaurice, Flanagan, and Finneran, Roscommon.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

highly esteemed.¹⁰² The returning migrant's impression of success provided those at home with an explanation for how returnees could manage to come home at all. For the returnee, perhaps a subconscious part of their return motivation was to appear and be considered as successful to their friends and neighbours. Some returnees had been successful only in the sense that they had saved some small amount of money which would bring them home and let them at least appear as doing well. Those who had not been successful, came home only with what monies they could afford to scrape together in order to return. Those who had hit rock bottom in the United States usually did not come home unless they were sponsored with a ticket paid for by family or friends either in America or Ireland.¹⁰³

Wealth of the returned migrants

The impact of cash wealth displayed in the hands of returned migrants was very noticeable in rural Ireland. In the Harvard scholars Arensberg and Kimball's study of the 'distinctive' culture of small Irish farmers in the 1930s in County Clare, they provide a description of the traditional pattern of courtesies, barter, and gifts which existed within the community. All non-monetary cooperation was accomplished under the auspices of alliance or partnership. For example, in the case of a butcher, he could get his pay for butchering in the shape of the meat shoved under his arm when leaving the farm.¹⁰⁴ Throughout rural Ireland, all the various economic acts executed within the traditional family setting, were

¹⁰² IFC Silke, p. 239; IFC Tarpey, p. 225; IFC Walsh, p.68.

¹⁰³ IFC Galvin, p. 259; IFC Walsh, p. 69; IFC Ryder, p. 251.

¹⁰⁴ Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon M. Kimball, *Family and community in Ireland* (2nd ed., Cambridge, MA, 1968), p 73. This later edition includes six new chapters on the behaviour of Irish townsmen and distinctions between rural and urban life.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

considered part of the reciprocities of ‘act, sentiment and obligation’ which made up family relationships. The ‘friendliness’ of the relatives and neighbours extended into areas of life that were not economic or connected with agricultural labour. These actions might take the form of giving a hand at festivals of social and family life such as weddings, christenings, wakes and funerals.¹⁰⁵ During periods of agricultural work, the Irish term ‘meithal’ was used to describe a working party of shared labour, for instance, when bringing in the hay. The absence of money payment was seen as a point of distinction within the local community. It distinguished the relations between men of a local community: money payment was the mark of the outsider; gift and barter was that of the fellow in the local community.¹⁰⁶

Returned migrants, having left Ireland during difficult economic circumstances and having sent cash-filled remittance letters from America, would have been very aware of the impact of cash within the home community. Their display and use of cash reinforced the notion that ‘their fortunes [were] made’. ‘Everyone thought they were full of money even if they hadn’t a cross.’¹⁰⁷ Local people would be anxious to know if they had much money, and how long they intended to remain at home. In some districts, returned emigrants were regarded almost as gentry and consequently assumed to be very wealthy. When returnees bought farms for themselves or set up in business or lived comfortably on their pensions or investments, this view seemed confirmed.¹⁰⁸ From his Galway district, Sean Ryder provides an opposing observation: ‘In general, returned

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp 72-75.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 252.

¹⁰⁷ IFC Duggan, p. 15.

¹⁰⁸ IFC Lee, p. 97; IFC Tarpey, p. 224; IFC Silke, p. 239; IFC Murphy, p. 81; IFC Glennon, p. 36; IFC Walsh, p. 68.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

emigrants had not amassed any great fortune. I never knew any of them to buy a farm or live on their savings.’¹⁰⁹

Some returnees were said to be good about their money, for example, giving a neighbour the present of ‘ten shilling or five shillings or a half crown or a plug of tobacco’.¹¹⁰ Many respondents reported to feel that returnees were more than good about their money and that ‘a lot of them gave more money away than they got any thanks for.’¹¹¹ Michael Walsh from Galway observed the locals ‘wanted to get all they could out of him and if he didn’t spend freely, he was regarded as no good.’¹¹²

Our other brother Pat in the old thatched homestead in Kilcoo, on the occasion of the yanks return (Mike and wife) , thought to touch up the old homestead he and his wife went to considerable rounds to do so and when new arrivals had as poor Pat thought had been enamoured by the charm of the old place; he and Mike took a short walk to an eminence out in front of the house and looking at the old place, Pat having waited in vain for the Yank’s admiration, thought he would himself give a hint by asking Mike didn’t he think the old place looked well – ‘Oh yes says Mike, but brother it would be foolish to spend much money on it as after all it’s only an old farm’. Which remark at the time hurt Pat somewhat, but though he has spent a good deal of time and money on it since (as much as would have built a new house) he now realizes it to have been true.¹¹³

In general, responses seemed varied regarding how generous returning migrants were with their money while at home.

Returned migrants drinking in Ireland

Many Irish-Americans had joined one of the temperance and abstinence societies while living in America. Did they experience a conflict once at home

¹⁰⁹ IFC Ryder, p. 251.

¹¹⁰ IFC O Conaire, pp 55-60.

¹¹¹ IFC Gubban, p. 17.

¹¹² IFC Walsh, p. 68-70.

¹¹³ IFC MS 1409: 357-364; various informants, County Galway.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

where one of the ways a returned migrant was expected to display his wealth was by being liberal with buying drinks? If the American treated others to a few drinks during the day, he would be put down as a ‘decent’ man by his neighbours.¹¹⁴ From the Silke brothers in Galway comes the story of one Yank who, after some time in the pub, ceased to call more drink so he could spare as much as he could of the small money he had. ‘His neighbour Michael Giles, noticing this whispered to him, ’bé a’ glaoth-ach, no déarfaidh said nach bhfuil tada ‘gat!’ (‘Keep calling [for drink] or they will say you have nothing.’).¹¹⁵ If he did not buy drinks ‘all around’, a typical remark made of him might be: ‘I met so and so yank and indeed if I did himself, I was not drunk after [meeting] him, he is very dry.’¹¹⁶

Paying for a round of drinks for friends in the pub excused a lot of the strange mannerisms exhibited by the Yanks for if they bought drinks ‘they could do as they liked’.¹¹⁷ Occasionally, a returnee who was low on finances, might try to create the impression of being wealthy as in this popular story about a returned migrant in Claregalway:

... he knew a man who arrived home from America with only 7 shillings 6 pence. A few days afterwards he was in Hessian’s public house in Claregalway and stood a few drinks to men he met there - drink was cheap in those days - After some time he ceased to call more drink - he wanted to spare as much as he could of his 7/6. Michael Giles noticing this whispered to him “ bé a’ glaoth-ach, no déarfaidh said nach bhfuil tada ‘ gat! (“Keep calling [calling for drink] or they will say you have nothing.”)¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Richard Stivers, *A hair of the dog: Irish drinking and American stereotype* (2nd edition, Pennsylvania, 2000), pp 101-136.

¹¹⁵ IFC Silke, p. 242.

¹¹⁶ IFC Glennon, p. 36.; IFC Silke, p 242; IFC Moran, p. 143.

¹¹⁷ IFC Glennon, pp 36-41.

¹¹⁸ IFC Silke, p. 242.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

Tony Cuff, both a respondent and returned migrant himself to Mayo, described the humiliating actions of a returnee attempting to portray himself as being wealthy:

Soon after his return home, [the returnee] was in Bangor and had some drinks with neighbours and old pals of his, and would not allow them stand a drink at all. He paid for all the drinks as he said he had plenty of money. On his way home he had to pass by the police barracks and he took out a cigarette or a cigar to light it, but he had no match. He stepped into the barracks to get a match but the barracks orderly had no match at the time, and the returnee said not to bother, that he would get a paper and light it in the fire. He took a pound note out of his pocket and folded it up and was proceeding to the fire to light it, demonstrating as it were, that he had plenty of money and that it made no difference to him if he lit his cigarette with a pound note. The Constable was watching him very closely, and when he saw him, as if he was going to light the pound, he took him by the shoulder and said he was drunk and with that put him into the 'lockup' for the evening. When the man was released late in the evening, he was a crestfallen man, and went home very humiliated.¹¹⁹

Overall, it seems in most IFC observations that the returned migrants were usually good about buying drinks for their old neighbours.

Returnees bragging, causing resentment

On occasion, returned migrants bragged about their achievements in America. Their bragging often caused resentment, especially any attempt on the migrants part to pretend they had more money than they really had. The boasting and exaggeration of some returned migrants was a source of 'searbas' [sarcasm or bitter comment].¹²⁰ People would say about an individual acting this way 'tá 'niomarca ar, fad le rádh aige - b'fhéidir gur níos lugha ní sin atá aige (he has altogether too much to say, maybe it's a lot less [money] that he has).¹²¹ Annie

¹¹⁹ IFC Cuff, pp 99-100.

¹²⁰ IFC O'Sullivan, p. 269; IFC Duggan, p. 36; IFC O'Maolchatha, p. 344.

¹²¹ Translation from Irish by Michael Connaughton, Tuam, County Galway, 15 Aug 2010.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

McColgan of Donegal remembered ‘a young fella down here telling me that he was talking to [a returned migrant] and says he “you know Annie, he wasn’t a blow but a constant blast” ’.¹²² In fact, those who had the most money generally concealed the fact, and those who had the least, were the most inclined to boast.

Boasting and bragging often caused more fun than resentment. If the returnees were too boastful, people would only laugh at them.¹²³ One woman when she returned to County Roscommon, was enjoying the pleasures of the local pub and heard the conversation turn to the wonderful imbibing powers of certain local individuals. She became famous for observing: ‘Ah! Listen here, you guys, I drank more in America, than any ten of you ever drank in your lives, and if you knew the amount I spent on a drunk and cursing myself, you would collapse with surprise’.¹²⁴ Any bragging and boasting, unless it was very outlandish, was accepted by locals as natural in the case of people who had travelled. It was taken for granted that, having been away, these returned migrants had acquired mannerisms and habits that distinguished them from those who had never left home. It was noted however, that returnees boasting was not imitated.¹²⁵

Returnees telling tall tales about America

Very few returning migrants mentioned anything derogatory about America and at the same time many exaggerated its good points.¹²⁶ Some of the returned migrants who had got on well in America never stopped praising it. ‘It’s

¹²² IFC McColgan, p. 36.

¹²³ IFC Galvin, p. 259.

¹²⁴ IFC Fitzmaurice, Flanagan, Finneran, p. 301.

¹²⁵ IFC Tarpey, p. 225; IFC Silke, p. 239.

¹²⁶ IFC Murphy, p. 97.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

God's own country,' they would say.¹²⁷ If a local enquired about someone in the States, the reply always was 'O, he's doing fine' or 'she's doing fine', even if the person concerned was possibly not doing well.¹²⁸ It appeared in the responses that returned migrants hesitated to say anything negative about America, or about anyone there. The unpleasant side of their emigration experiences, if present, was generally not referred to once they were at home.¹²⁹ Respondents in County Roscommon reported that the returnees were reticent about life in America, and they did not appear to know much outside a limited circle consisting of their own work, neighbourhoods, church, and perhaps the general political situation'.¹³⁰

Sean Glennon in Galway observed that some older people at home believed that it was against the law in America to dispraise the country. They were convinced that if an immigrant wrote to their family with uncomplimentary accounts of the States, and the fact became known to his or her fellow-immigrants in America, it would make them very angry.¹³¹

Returned migrants recounted endless stories of their experiences in America. Sean Ó Dubhda, reporting in County Kerry in 1955, observed that the 'older generation of returned Yanks had more to say and were more entertaining company than those who came home in later years'.¹³² A lot of the Yankees were like that. They told a story and you could believe the half of it if you wanted to be on the safe side. When two or more returnees met 'then 'twas all - oh

¹²⁷ IFC Walsh, p. 69.

¹²⁸ IFC Silk, pp 238-239

¹²⁹ IFC Tarpey, p. 226.

¹³⁰ IFC Fitzmaurice Flanagan and Finneran, p. 300.

¹³¹ IFC Glennon, p. 36.

¹³² IFC Ó Dubhda, p. 289.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

boy!’¹³³ Many returnees enjoyed regaling their friends with ‘wondrous’ tall tales of their time in America.¹³⁴ Selected from the numerous stories found in the Emigration Questionnaire, the three shown below are fairly representative of the ‘tall tales’ recounted by returnees who desired to confound those at home with a flavour of America.

The first story described how an Irish immigrant outsmarted his boss and defeated modern machinery which had been brought onto the worksite thereby saving the jobs of his fellow immigrants:

A man from this village, Malachy Duggan, who was years in America told me he was working with a gang, road-making or railroad making. After some time, some machine arrived for stone crushing or riddling sand, and its arrival would make some of the men redundant. Malachy threw a large stone into it and broke it. He was not dismissed and none of the men were laid off nor was the machine repaired, while that job lasted, but Malachy was afterwards known as “the mad Irishman who broke the machine.”¹³⁵

The second story recounted a version of the ‘streets are paved with gold’ theme:

I remember one John McGovern (RIP) telling a yarn of one time how he was crossing the Rockies and his foot struck a tussock (bunch of grass) and he saw something shining and he stooped and scooped away the clay with his hands and lifted out a nugget of gold as big as your head. (Some yarn).¹³⁶

The last story brought great delight to everyone in Ireland who believed that all Irish immigrants in America knew each other:

Big Bill M. spent over forty years over and traveled the most of the States. He happened to be walking or traveling in the forest or prairie with his gun when he saw another man, with a long beard and also having a gun, approaching him. Bill always spoke Irish in preference to English and shouted out in Irish: ‘Cé hé tu feining, nó cad as tu.’ [‘who are you and

¹³³ IFC Douglass, p. 82; IFC Murphy, p. 82; IFC McColgan, p. 37; IFC various unnamed informants, Leitrim, p. 80.

¹³⁴ IFC Corduff, p. 132.

¹³⁵ IFC Duggan, p. 2.

¹³⁶ IFC various unnamed informants, Leitrim, p. 341.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

where are you from?’]¹³⁷ He got a bit of a surprise when the other man answered in Irish. He was a *Corca Dhuibhne* man [a man from Dingle peninsula]¹³⁸ named Ó Sullivan. That was in the [American] Far West.¹³⁹

The returnees seemed to speak a lot about America especially right after their return and the neighbours and community had to make up their own minds whether to believe them or not.

Encouraging emigration

Most respondents agreed that the return migrants did recommend others at home to emigrate. Did the returnees consciously try to influence or persuade or dissuade others at home to emigrate to America? One ‘lately returned exile’, Thomas Madden of Leitrim in 1913, having been asked repeatedly about the chances for young men and women in America, finally decided to publish his views in the local paper:

In the first place, young men, and indeed young girls as well, who wish to try their fortune in the broad lands of the great American Continent should acquire some knowledge of or have some business training, especially such as grocers’ assistants, hardware and carpentry and especially a knowledge of machinery, everything over there is almost done by machinery. ... Now a young man going out there should have some knowledge of this or some other trades. Young men even with an excellent education will have some very uphill work to find a field for their educational abilities, ... Again, as far as labour is concerned, it is almost a thing of the past with the Irish people. ... Now again, youngsters and indeed all classes of people I see in my peregrinations through this country, I find the people will not get out of bed sooner than 7 o’clock, a.m. Well, if these people go to the Western world they will find the farmers in the fields possibly with their horses at sunrise winter and summer, and working until sunset with only time to feed themselves and their horses. Now a number of stores open at 5 o’clock in the morning and some at 6, and close between 9 and 12 at night. ... A young man going

¹³⁷ Translation from Irish by Michael Connaughton, Tuam, County Galway, 15 Aug 2010.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ IFC O’Dubhda, p. 289.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

there must have some one of influence to shove him into any position at the present time. Those are some of the hardships of America. ...¹⁴⁰

However, Madden finished his advice by stressing that the home field had the best advantage:

... but I wish it to be understood that if young men with ambitions for their own welfare would work as hard for themselves in Ireland as they must for strangers in America, or any other country, they would be much happier and much better off.¹⁴¹

This question provoked differing opinions from the IFC respondents. Most agreed with Charles Rawdon from Donegal that young people at home, who were already thinking of emigrating themselves, especially those who were young and active, whose parents were in poor circumstances, and who were not needed at home, would be at the Yankee every chance they got asking how was work out there and where would be the best place to go '.... most of the Yankees would volunteer all the information without being asked.'¹⁴² Caitriona Clear's work on social change in Ireland indicates there was 'a bedrock of emigrants from all over Ireland established in the New World by about 1890',¹⁴³ and that those family members who were part of this 'bedrock' were obligated by family ties and bonds of affection to send back passage money for brothers, sisters, nieces, and nephews still at home. This process is the embodiment of the 'chain migration' element of the overall migration cycle. So returned migrants spent part of their visit sharing emigration information such as ocean crossings and living and working

¹⁴⁰ *Connacht Tribune*, 4 October 1913.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² IFC Rawdon, p. 130.

¹⁴³ Clear, *Social change and everyday life in Ireland*, p. 60.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

conditions in America. They would point out the specific local regions to head for in America.¹⁴⁴ For instance, South Roscommon emigrants tended to congregate in Providence, Rhode Island and Roxbury in Massachusetts while Mayo's Achill Islanders headed to Cleveland, Ohio and emigrants from Kerry were particularly welcome in St Louis, Missouri. Thomas Duggan, a respondent in Galway, observed that the majority who left Mointeach went to Indianapolis in the state of Indiana.¹⁴⁵

They would mention problems such as 'places where it was impossible to go to Mass on Sundays owing to lack of facilities, and there were places so lonely that you would scarcely know what day of the week it was.'¹⁴⁶ Returned migrants were often honest about the homesickness they had experienced:

They all spoke of the terrible loneliness they felt during their first year away, saying that they would have come home again if they could afford it, but after a twelvemonth they began to feel at home and like the place.¹⁴⁷

Apart from any actual advice given, it was the sight of the returned Americans, well-dressed and seemingly well off, which may have induced the young to go. It was clear to young people that they would never achieve anything of the sort at home.¹⁴⁸ For those who were interested, but feeling timid, returnees recommended short-term emigration, suggesting they go out to America for nine or ten years, and if they 'minded themselves', they would be able to come home prosperous.¹⁴⁹ Some of the arguments posed to the potential emigrants included:

¹⁴⁴ Arensberg and Kimball, *Family and community in Ireland*, pp 143-144.

¹⁴⁵ IFC Duggan, p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ IFC Glennon, p. 36.

¹⁴⁷ IFC O'Conaire, p. 56.

¹⁴⁸ IFC Lee, p. 98; IFC Galvin, pp 258-259; IFC Walsh, p. 70; IFC Silke, p. 239.

¹⁴⁹ IFC O Conaire, p. 56.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

If I had remained at home as you are doing, I would still be here in rags, working in dirt and mud and with nothing to show for it.¹⁵⁰

A smart young fellow is only wasting his time here.¹⁵¹

Confound you, what's the use of spending your life here - would it not be better for you to go to America and earn something for your father and mother?¹⁵²

Naturally, some of the respondents stated the opposite opinion, denying that the returning migrants gave any great encouragement to others to emigrate.¹⁵³ J.

O'Keefe in Cork stated that the returned migrants 'never seemed to entice anybody to emigrate.'¹⁵⁴

Returned migrants also escorted new emigrants back to America. This action might be considered as one aspect of chain migration, the process whereby immigrants already established in America sent passage money or tickets home to help relatives and friends to emigrate. Chain migration helped sustain the concept that departing family members remained within the bonds of family kinship. The children of each generation would thus be able to look to a father's or mother's emigrant brothers or sisters for aid if the time came to emigrate themselves.¹⁵⁵ to bring back a younger member of the family, any neighbours who came along usually paid their own passage money.

It was typical to see young people setting off to America as part of a group of siblings, cousins or neighbours. Though the returnee might pay for the ticket to bring back a younger member of the family, any neighbours who came along

¹⁵⁰ IFC Duggan, pp 16-17.

¹⁵¹ IFC Walsh, p. 68

¹⁵² IFC O'Conaire, p. 56.

¹⁵³ IFC Fitzmaurice, Flanagan, Finneran, p. 302; IFC Ryder, p. 251.

¹⁵⁴ IFC O'Keefe, p. 320.

¹⁵⁵ Arensberg and Kimball, *Family and community in Ireland*, pp 146-147.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

usually paid their own passage money. This was the case for Mary Abbott, an immigrant living in Boston who made a summer visit in 1903 to her widowed mother and siblings living in County Roscommon. The care of aged parents was a common or frequent concern expressed by returnees. By the time Mary returned to Boston in late September, she provided escort for four young women ranging in age from seventeenth to twenty-two, all daughters of neighbouring families within the parish (Figure 4.4).¹⁵⁶

It is interesting to discover from respondent replies that ‘discouraging’ emigration became more evident at the turn of the century when young people were compelled to stay in school until they were a certain age. At school, the curriculum increasingly prepared them for an adult life and they began to hear more about America and other places. Teachers suggested America was not a land of plenty as it was supposed to be. These teachers emphasized to their students that not all in America were making a fortune or were even ‘well and working’ as they claimed themselves, but instead were sometimes in more ‘severe straits than the ones at home, so they should reconsider emigration.’¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Clear, *Social change and everyday life in Ireland*, p. 60 and Diane Dunnigan, *A south Roscommon emigrant*, pp 52-53.

¹⁵⁷ IFC, Rawdon, p. 121.

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

BALDON, CABIN, AND BYEGEAR ALIENS MUST BE COMPLETELY MANIFESTED. THIS SHEET IS FOR STEAMSHIP PASSENGERS.

LIST OR MANIFEST OF ALIEN PASSENGERS FOR THE U. S. IMMIGRATION OFFICER AT PORT OF

Required by the regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, under Act of Congress approved March 3, 1903, to be delivered to the U. S. Immigration Officer of any vessel having such passengers on board upon arrival at a port in the United States.

S. S. Mayflower sailing from Queenstown, Ireland, 24 Sep 1903 **BOSTON** **OCT 2, 1903**

No. on List	NAME IN FULL	Sex	Age	Mar. or Single	Color	Height	Complexion	Build	Place of Birth	Profession, Occupation, or Trade	Whether subject to military or naval service in his native country	Whether subject to military or naval service in the United States	Whether subject to military or naval service in any other country	Whether subject to military or naval service in any other country
1	James P. O'Brien	M	45	M	Irish	5' 10"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
2	John J. O'Brien	M	35	M	Irish	5' 8"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
3	John J. O'Brien	M	30	M	Irish	5' 6"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
4	John J. O'Brien	M	25	M	Irish	5' 4"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
5	John J. O'Brien	M	20	M	Irish	5' 2"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
6	John J. O'Brien	M	15	M	Irish	5' 0"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
7	John J. O'Brien	M	10	M	Irish	4' 8"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
8	John J. O'Brien	M	5	M	Irish	4' 6"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
9	John J. O'Brien	M	3	M	Irish	4' 4"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
10	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	4' 2"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
11	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	4' 0"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
12	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	3' 8"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
13	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	3' 6"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
14	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	3' 4"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
15	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	3' 2"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
16	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	3' 0"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
17	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	2' 8"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
18	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	2' 6"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
19	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	2' 4"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
20	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	2' 2"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
21	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	2' 0"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
22	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	1' 8"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
23	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	1' 6"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
24	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	1' 4"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
25	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	1' 2"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
26	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	1' 0"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
27	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	0' 8"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
28	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	0' 6"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
29	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	0' 4"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				
30	John J. O'Brien	M	1	M	Irish	0' 2"	Dark	Medium	Queenstown, Ireland	None				

Fig. 4. 4 Return visitor Mary Abbott escorting four young female emigrants from St. John's Parish, outside Athlone, Co. Roscommon on the SS. *Mayflower*, sailing from Queenstown, Ireland, 24 Sep 1903, arriving in Boston, Massachusetts, 2 Oct 1903. source: www.ancestry.com, Database: Boston Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820-1943 [accessed February 2005].

The dilemma of leaving to return to America

At the end of their extended visit home, Irish-Americans faced the conflicting feelings of leave-taking. In Galway, Michael Silke recalled:

Chapter 4 - Those who returned for a temporary visit

While the family and neighbours were observing and evaluating the returning migrants, the returnees themselves took the opportunity of the return visit to see and evaluate the changes which had occurred since their original departure. The visit had allowed them to maintain socially meaningful identities with their family, neighbours and the world of their community. For some of the returnees, the maintenance of relationships would be especially helpful and put them in a better position to reintegrate socially if and/or when they eventually considered a permanent move.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ David Timothy Duval, 'Linking return visits and return migration among Commonwealth eastern Caribbean migrants in Toronto' in *Global Networks*, iv, no. 1 (2004), pp 51-67.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

*... home means one thing to the man who has never left it, another to the man who dwells far from it, and still another to him who returns.*¹

The number of returning migrants who intended a permanent stay in Ireland was relatively few in number. Many permanent moves came about because the returnee, having come home fully intending to go back to America, for various reasons changed their minds and decided to settle down in their home localities. They may have met a prospective marriage partner or reconnected with the extended family and friends of their youth resulting in an appeal to remain at home.² The questions considered here look closely at these individuals and how well they adapted to living at home, how they interacted with family and community and what was the community's attitude towards their permanent return.³

Coming home would bring back the memories of the past and the returnee expected to return to the past environment of which he had intimate knowledge. Gmelch found that even after many years away, some migrants appeared to pick up where they left off as though they had never been away.⁴ Bridget Dirrane, an elderly migrant returning to her home in Oatquarter townland on Inishmore in the Aran Islands, was encouraged to write her memoirs which described her own decision to permanently return from Boston to the Aran Islands:

¹ Alfred Schuetz, 'The homcomer' in *Chicago Journals*, 1 (5) (1945), p 370.

² IFC 1407; 320: J. O'Keefe, Co. Cork.

³ IFC Emigration Questionnaire, Mss. 1407, 1409 and 1410-Connacht, 1411-Ulster and 1407-Munster; correspondence from Mr Críostóir Mac Cárthaigh, Archivist-Collector, Department of Irish Folklore, UCD, 1 September 2010.

⁴ George Gmelch, 'Return migration and migrant adjustment in western Ireland' in *Irish Foundation of Human Development*, lxii (1979), p 152.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

I had now retired from nursing and was living with my nephew and his family. I had come to the end of my days in the States ... *It was time to go home to Aran to retire for good.* During my 39 years in the States, I had never lost touch with home.

Fate was kind to me in allowing me to return the 'ould sod' hale and hearty I was 72 years old and delighted to be *sa bhaile* (at home) among family, neighbours and friends. For me, it was a new beginning and the closing of an old file, attached to which was so much struggle, strife and hardship, but also one which carried much adventure and excitement.⁵

Home encompassed not merely the homeplace, but everything it stood for.

The concept of home was emotionally evocative and hard to describe but

sociologist Alfred Schutz has tried:

Home means different things to different people. It means ... mother tongue, the family, the sweetheart, the friends; the beloved landscape, "songs my mother taught me", food prepared in a particular way. Familiar things for daily use, folkways and personal habits, ... a peculiar way a life composed of small and important elements, likewise cherished.⁶

Some Irish immigrants however, were returning because they did not want to continue to live in the United States as happened to Charles Mullen of Brooklyn, New York. In August 1884, during a downturn of the American economy (see Figure 1.5), Mullen who wrote to Ireland advising the family at home of his parents intention to move back:

Dear aunt, this country is not what I thought it was. I was waiting from week to week to see would things mend. My father has not done two weeks work since he came to the country & I am sorry now I ever came. ... Father and Mother are disgusted with the place that is the reason I took no interest in writing ... they intend to go home to sligo [sic] as soon as possible (there are Hundreds here who would be glad to get back to Ireland if they could).⁷

⁵ Bridget Dirrane, *A woman of Aran* (London, 1997), pp 67-8, 82.

⁶ Alfred Schutz, 'The homecomer', p. 370.

⁷ Letter from Charles Mullen, Brooklyn, USA to his aunt and uncle in Sligo, The Public Record Office, Northern Ireland T 1866/9, (www.dippam.ac.uk) [accessed 5Jun 2011].

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

Though there may have been some degree of exaggeration in Mullen's return rhetoric, some returnees took any chance to extricate themselves from America as told in Sean Glennon's story from County Galway:

A first cousin of mine went to America and came home after spending about 30 years there and he hadn't a penny saved - even his passage home had to be sent to him. I believe drink was the cause of it. He spent a year at home and then a woman who was friendly with him in America sent him his passage and he returned and married her. He became very thrifty and never drank after that. He paid another visit home after 20 years. They had one son who became a doctor - Dr Glennon, who paid us a visit here four or five years ago.⁸

These returnees were genuinely disappointed with their immigration experience and most likely shared their dissatisfaction with all who would listen once they returned. This may have influenced some potential emigrants not to go to America.

Adjusting/adapting to living at home

For many migrants, having decided to stay, they appeared to IFC informants as adjusting with few problems. In general, returnees were perceived to be better off financially than their neighbours at home. A small number of migrants brought with them new resources and skills which, if acceptable and adaptable, might help transform the locality. In several ways, the experiences of permanently returning Irish mirror the results of a broader analysis of return migration by Lynellen D. Long and Ellen Oxfeld which involved a spectrum of locations from Germany, Nicaragua, the Balkans to the Philippines. Identifying complex and sometimes contentious connections between permanent returnees and their home communities, their studies found that:

⁸ IFC 1409: 36-41; Sean Glennon, County Galway.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

On the one hand, issues of land title, property rights, political orientation, and religious and cultural beliefs and practices create grounds for clashes between returnees and their home communities, but on the other, returnees bring with them a unique ability to transform local practices and provide new resources.⁹

But for those individuals who were primarily motivated by nostalgia, readjustment could often be difficult and uncomfortable and the reality of living at home may have left them in a state of limbo. Home may have become unfamiliar in many ways and returnees may have found themselves situated somewhere between being an insider and outsider.¹⁰ J. 'Sean Sean' O'Keefe from County Cork captured the emotions of some returnees when he stated that returning to Ireland after a number of years' absence had its elements of embarrassment.

There is the warmth and the welcome from all. But there is something the heart seeks but does not get; because nothing can bring back old acquaintances either or scene or personal reminiscences. A change over the face of nature so that the returning emigrant is as hazy as those who receive him. He is wedged in betwixt the old and the young. The old have altered beyond recognition. The young he has never seen and it takes some time before he gets his bearings.¹¹

The most unfortunate cases concerned returnees perceived as being unhappy, disillusioned, disappointed and occasionally bitter about their life once back in Ireland. Some regretted having returned, especially if after arriving, they spent all their American savings and were left with little to live on.

⁹ Lynellen D. Long and Ellen Oxfeld (eds.), *Coming home?: refugees, migrants and those who stayed behind* (Philadelphia, 2004), pp 151, 288.

¹⁰ David Ralph, 'Home is where the heart is'? understandings of 'home' among Irish-born return migrants from the United States' in *Irish Studies Review*, xvii (2) (2009), p. 1.

¹¹ IFC 1407; 320; J. 'Sean Sean' O'Keefe, Co. Cork.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

'Knowing all'

Living among their neighbours, a number of 'Yanks' appear to have created a know-it-all impression, that he (or she) 'knew all', possibly suggesting at the same time that the people at home 'knew nothing'. Tadhg Ó Murchadha in County Kerry recalled a favourite expression of the returnee was "This damn country aint no good" and the returnee would utter the avowed intention of 'going right back to the States again'.¹² He noted that 'strange to say, they were the very persons who had the least intention of doing so. They remained on and settled down in the "damn country" - very often in miserable little holdings. I knew a good many of them who did so'.¹³

Bringing home the money

In general, respondents to the Emigration Questionnaire agreed that almost all who came home from America appeared to have some money saved, but no one seemed to have amassed any great fortune. In Connacht counties, most savings were said to be used for non-productive investments such as the purchase of land, housing and consumer products. Those who had saved a bit of money were able to buy a holding of land or married into farms, though most were not bringing back ideas about progressive farming.¹⁴ Only in a few instances did respondents report a returning migrant making an investment in a business place.¹⁵

¹² Ibid.

¹³ IFC 1407: 41; Tadhg Ó Murchadha, County Kerry.

¹⁴ See statistics for number of returning applicants in agricultural occupations, Appendix A.4.

¹⁵ IFC 1409: 238-243; Patrick & Michael Silke, County Galway; IFC 1409: 269-270; May and Thomas O Sullivan, County Galway; IFC 1409: 68-70; Michael Walsh, County Galway; IFC 1409: 238-243; Patrick & Michael Silke, County Galway; IFC 1409: 251-252; Sean Ryder, County Galway; IFC 1409: 251-252; Sean Ryder, County Galway; IFC 1409: 337-346; IFC Various unnamed Informants, County Leitrim.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

The returning migrants had to decide where to put by their American-earned savings. Coming home with cash savings meant finding a 'hidey-hole' in their cottage or sheds in which to store their money. This was the method used since time immemorial by their families and neighbours at home. As an example, Helen Moran Daly (1898-1973), of Newbridge, Far Drum, Athlone, kept her pin money for current needs in a black handbag in her bedroom drawer. Here she stored her pension and any monies earned selling butter and eggs to regular customers in town on Saturdays. Whatever money she did not spend on groceries or give to her adult son, she kept in that handbag with a snap closure. But her real savings, consisting of two red Irish £20 notes, were hidden between her mattress and the base of her bed. When she would show her savings to her grandson Michael, she would say, 'I have that to bury me'.¹⁶ In a similar vein, a generation earlier, Kathleen Brady Connaughton (1875-1959), St Peter's Terrace, Athlone town, kept her current money and savings in a white jug decorated with flowers placed on the top shelf of the dresser out of the way of everyone's eyes.¹⁷

For the small number of returning Irish-Americans who had brought back significant funds there was an option to protect their American wealth in a more secure fashion. While living in New York or Boston, many had had the experience of saving part of their wages in the Emigrant Savings Bank. Tyler Anbinder's study of Irish immigrants living in the Five Points neighbourhood of Manhattan indicated that the immigrants opened 153 accounts with an average \$102 and accumulations of up to \$250. Anbinder suggested this was accomplished by extraordinary

¹⁶ Interview with Michael Gavagan of St. John's Parish, Co. Roscommon (16 Feb. 2010).

¹⁷ Interview with Michael Connaughton of Tuam, Co. Mayo (5 Jan. 2011).

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

frugality learned from their deprived circumstances in County Kerry.¹⁸ The Emigrant Savings Bank in New York City was established in 1850 by members of the Irish Emigrant Society, the only savings bank in the city with the goal of serving the needs of the immigrant community in New York. ‘The theory was that such savings would ease poverty as well as reduce demands on the public purse for relief.’¹⁹ The bank served thousands of Irish immigrants, but also included immigrants from other European nationalities as depositors. By the 1920s, the Emigrant Savings Bank had become the largest in the nation.²⁰ In 1883, the Emigrant Savings Bank had accounts for 9,431 individuals born in Ireland.²¹ Savings accounts for immigrants from Connacht counties numbered: Galway 220, Mayo 176, Sligo 173, Roscommon 165, and Leitrim 99. The Emigrant Savings Banks had helped condition returning migrants to the concept of bank savings. It appears probable that returning migrants, from New York City at least, had some prior experience with savings accounts and brought home that practice to their Irish location.

Did returned Irish-Americans use the Postal Savings Banks once at home? Were they building on their experiences with a savings bank in New York? It seems reasonable that returning migrants would have continued saving by depositing their returned monies with the Postal Saving Banks. Regrettably, there is limited evidence which detail the savings bank accounts in Ireland during this

¹⁸ Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: the 19th century New York City neighbourhood that invented tap dance, stole elections, and became the world’s most notorious slum* (New York, 2001), p 137-8.

¹⁹ Marion R. Casey, ‘Introduction: Emigrant savings bank: its first decade and new research possibilities’ in Kevin J. Rich (ed.), *Irish immigrants of the emigrant industrial savings bank, test book no. 1*, iii (New York, 2010), p. xi.

²⁰ *New York Emigrant Savings Bank, 1850-1883*,ancestry.com. [database on-line] [accessed 17 July 2010]. Original data: Emigrant Savings Bank. *Emigrant Savings Bank Records*. Call number *R-USLHG *ZI-815. Rolls 1-20. New York Public Library, New York, New York.

²¹ *Ibid.*

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

period. The Post Office Savings Bank had evolved in Britain at the beginning of the nineteenth century and by 1862 was introduced by Gladstone into Ireland to provide a savings bank in every town and village in the United Kingdom. The bank was viewed by the government as ‘an instrument for thrift’ providing the means for the working class to put aside savings against unemployment, sickness, or death.²²

The archives of the British postal savings bank are only able to provide reports and accounts in general amounts, breaking down deposits into the counties and regions of the United Kingdom. The most detailed archival reports available simply reference ‘Ireland’. At the end of 1888 the average account in Ireland held 18.14.²³ The increase in average savings amounts in Ireland to £18 7s 11d in 1893 may reflect an increase in both the large amount of remittances received from America and deposited savings by returned migrants.²⁴ Irish savings statistics from the government report ‘Statistics of deposits and cash balances in joint stock banks, deposits in Post Offices’ indicate the numbers increased incrementally from £5,603,000 in 1895, £8,059,000 in 1900 to £14,271,000 in 1915.²⁵

Coming home poor

Not all returning migrants came home with savings. A few of the returnees were actually homeless and ended up living with friends or moving about living with one relation or another.²⁶ Dennis Lee from County Galway recalled that ‘the

²² Richard Barry, ‘Savings in Ireland’ in *Irish University Review*, i (10) (Autumn, 1956), pp. 45-6.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Reference up to 1900: *Statistics of deposits and cash balances in joint stock banks, deposits in Post offices*, H.C. 1901 (342), 573, p. 8; Reference after 1905: *Banking, railway and shipping statistics of Ireland*, H.C. 1914-1916 [Cd. 7884] 8271, p. 46.

²⁶ IFC 1409: 238-243; Patrick & Michael Silke, County Galway; IFC 1409: 224-227; Martin Tarpey, County Galway.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

majority [of returnees] - before I went to America - came home poor, and some worked their way home. And I knew some of them to walk home from Dublin after landing'.²⁷ Some even had to have their fare home paid by others. 'I heard of a man whose sister at home paid his fare.'²⁸

Some Irish-American immigrant families, unable to save money in the States, and desiring to return home to Ireland, would have collections made for them by other immigrant Irish. It seemed this was the only way they were able to return to Ireland even though they arrived penniless to lead a sad and lonely existence.²⁹

Thus for some of the migrants, returning in poverty, their lives were ill-spent and not a few died in the workhouse.³⁰

Living on savings

Most respondents maintained that few returned migrants came home and were able to live exclusively on their savings. Even the most successful could not live on their savings alone. Unless returnees kept adding to their savings from another source of income, it was generally agreed that their money would not last long. Michael Walsh of County Galway concurred with this sentiment:

Some came home and regretted it. I am one of those. All the money I brought with me was soon spent. It was impossible to live on your savings alone, unless you did something to add to them, - bought a farm or invested them in some such way. The most successful could not live on their savings alone.³¹

²⁷ IFC 1409: 96-99; Dennis Lee, County Galway. We do not know the exact dates for Lee's return, but his emigration to the U.S. would have been before 1900 according to the Questionnaire requirements.

²⁸ IFC 1409: 55-60; Michael O Conaire, County Glway.

²⁹ IFC 1410: 33-34-38-39-40; Ketty OToole&Doherty, Co Mayo; IFC 1409: 15-22; Thomas Duggan, County Galway.

³⁰ IFC 1410: 106-110; Michael Corduff, County Mayo; Caitriona Clear, *Social change and everyday life in Ireland, 1850-1922* (Manchester, 2007, p. 131).

³¹ IFC 1409: 68-70; Michael Walsh, County Galway.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

Returning migrants intending a permanent stay had to find something else to support them, such as marrying into a place or starting a shop or pub, otherwise the returnees' money would soon dwindle and they would be left penniless after a few years. Those whose savings dissipated in this way would then have to find work at home, in shops, as a casual labourer or on their parents' farm, which might by this time belong to a married brother.³² Some of the elderly who came home with little savings and without family to greet them and care for them, were reported to live only a few years.³³

Living on pensions or annuities

There were a few fortunate individuals who came home able to live on payments from annuities purchased while earning in the States. The monies typically were derived from pensions from their employment in the army, police or other government-related agencies, though federal civil service pensions did not come into being until July 1920.³⁴ By having a source of money from a pension, these returnees appeared to have done reasonably well overseas and were able to buy little places or set themselves up in business or live comfortably on their pensions or investments.³⁵

³² IFC 1409: 96-99; Dennis Lee, County Galway; IFC 1409: 68-70; Michael Walsh, County Galway; IFC 1409: 269-270; May and Thomas O'Sullivan, County Galway; IFC 1409: 251-252; Sean Ryder, County Galway; IFC 1409: 80-84; Nora Murphy, County Galway; IFC 1409: 238-243; Patrick & Michael Silke, County Galway; IFC 1409: 15-22; Thomas Duggan, County Galway; IFC 1409: 258-260 Galway; Michael Galvin, County Galway; IFC 1409: 36-41; Sean Glennon, County Galway; IFC 1409: 80-84; Nora Murphy, County Galway.

³³ IFC 1407: 344; Seamus Ó Maolchatha, County Tipperary.

³⁴ Olivia S. Mitchell and Edwin C. Hustead (eds.), *Pensions in the public sector* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 9; see chapter 6 – profile 8 Peter John Fallon.

³⁵ IFC 1409: 300-304; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan and Finneran, County Roscommon; IFC 1409: 258-260; Michael Galvin, County Galway; IFC 1409: IFC 1409: 357-364; Anonymous Informant, County Galway.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

Regretted returning

Once back in Ireland, some returned migrants found life much harder than expected, or once back at home they failed to make a successful adjustment. These individuals would openly speak of their desire to return once again to the United States. For a variety of reasons, once having returned, they longed to go back again, and it was an 'abiding intention with them to return there', notwithstanding that they had made the decision to come home from America.³⁶ Michael Corduff from County Mayo recalled a man who:

... was never done talking of re-emigrating. When he was in the 'States' he worked in the coal mines, but after a few years, he became weary of his subterranean occupation and he decided to return home, but not a penny richer than the day he left. Still the hankering after good wages obsessed him, and there were times, as the mood seized him, when he would bitterly deplore his having returned from America. But this man, like his neighbour, never went back to America.'³⁷

Those who longed to go back or talked endlessly of the option to go, never seemed to settle. Being unable to afford a return trip to America, they were satisfied to share their misery with all who would listen to them. They used their discontent as an excuse to complain and it gave them a platform for their views on most issues in life.

Returned objects

Linked closely to the returnees' American experiences were items of material culture they brought back to Ireland, as they had taken items to remind them of home when initially emigrating, the few items of clothing, books or a sod

³⁶ IFC 1410: 106-110; Michael Corduff, Co. Mayo; IFC 1409: 55-60; Michael O Conaire, Co. Galway.

³⁷ IFC 1410 Mayo - Informant Michael Corduff, p. 133.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

cut from a parent's turf bank.³⁸ Returning from America migrants selected to bring back items variously for their practical uses and/or as an ironic expression of their 'new world' identity. There was a natural tendency within families for memories to 'fade' and in doing so, lose the identities and life stories of immigrant family ancestors. Keeping and treasuring family migrant objects might have helped arrest the family's fading memories of their own 'returned Yank'.³⁹

The ubiquitous American trunk came home with most returned Yanks. It was usually stored in a room in the house or outhouse for about a generation, and then relegated to the attic, and possibly and finally to the rubbish dump or bonfire. Three examples of these returned objects include a trunk, a pocket watch and a christening spoon. The trunk has been lovingly kept and handed down within Malachy Finneran's family in Derryglad, Co. Roscommon, since the late 1920s (Figure 5.2). Malachy had gone out to his brother Thomas in New York in 1905. As with most newly arrived Irish immigrants, who were called 'greenhorns', he dutifully had his photograph taken soon after arrival and sent it home to his father. When Michael returned to live in Ireland in 1920, he brought home his American trunk.⁴⁰

The American pocket watch was the property of Patrick Murphy of Galway City. Patrick and friend Mike McDonough went out to Indianapolis, Indiana in 1906 where they worked as coopers making barrels. Patrick had gone out to his aunt Mrs McCarthy, nee Murphy, who was already residing there. Mrs McCarthy

³⁸ Diane Dunnigan, *A south Roscommon emigrant: emigration and return, 1890-1920* (Dublin, 2007) p. 31.

³⁹ Brian Lambkin, 'Representing 'Migrant Objects' in cinema and museum: a recent case study from Northern Ireland' in *AEMI (Association of European Migration Institutions) Journal*, iv (2006), pp 22-35.

⁴⁰ Interview with Charlie Finneran of Derryglad, Co. Roscommon, grandson of Malachy Finneran; photographs by author, 30 March 2010.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

was especially fond of this nephew from home and gave him the pocket watch as a gift (Figure 5.3). Patrick was extremely proud of this object and always kept it in a protective case. Patrick and Michael returned in 1912, reason unknown, but they soon had employment in a quarry near Galway city. The pocket watch was handed down from oldest son to oldest grandson and remains a treasured family heirloom.⁴¹

More uncommonly, a ‘silver christening cup and spoon’ was brought back by Mrs Margaret Mary Conlon, nee Diffley, a native of St John’s parish in County Roscommon. Margaret emigrated to Boston around 1898, and then moving to western Massachusetts, she worked as a domestic servant for a wealthy family in Adams Town in the Berkshires. Here, in her duties, she handled and cared for the material objects of the wealthy household. For her wedding gift, she married Irish emigrant, Thomas Conlon from Co. Westmeath, her employers gave her a silver tea set embellished with her initials. When Margaret’s son John was born on 12 July 1907, the employers presented the child with a silver christening spoon and cup bearing his initials (Figure 5.4), items that came home to County Roscommon.⁴²

Repeat migration

Some of the most complex and interesting stories from IFC oral histories relate the experiences of individuals involved with life-long migration trajectories taking the form of repeat migration. Many more stories of repeat migration were

⁴¹ Interview with Liam Breathnach of Galway City, Co. Galway, grandson of Patrick Murphy. photographs by Liam Breathnach, 15 Jan 2011.

⁴² Interview with Elizabeth Donlon, nee Conlon, of St. John’s parish, Co. Roscommon, daughter of John Joseph Conlon (08 Jul 2009).

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently



Fig. 5.2 Returned migrant Malachi Finneran of Derryglad, County Roscommon and Brooklyn, New York with his 'American trunk'.



Fig.5.3 Gold American pocket watch brought back from to Indianapolis, Indiana to Galway City by returned migrant Patrick Murphy shown (left) with friend Mike McDonough.

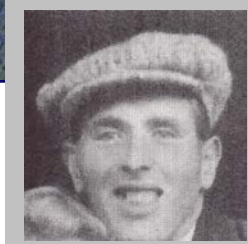


Fig. 5.4 Silver Christening cup and spoon for John Joseph Conlon (insert), U.S. born son of returned migrant Margaret Mary Conlon, nee Diffley, of St. John's County Roscommon and Boston, Massachusetts .

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

revealed than were initially expected as most research examined for this study has only described the one-way trip home of permanent stay returnees. Many who came to Ireland to stay soon returned to the States for a variety of personal reasons such as not finding any suitable place to settle down or finding the 'old country' backward in comparison to the States.⁴³

Returnees experienced a variety of situations at home which resulted in 're-migration'. Stories were told of some returnees who emigrated in their twenties and returned home married or to marry, who did in fact work hard and rear their children as they had hoped. But once their children reached maturity, these parents once again emigrated to the States.⁴⁴

Some returnees were uncomfortable once back at home in Ireland. I have also seen two elderly men leaving their homes, wives and families and steal away to America. One returned financially improved and put his place in good order with his seven years savings in America. The other never returned.⁴⁵

Closely aligned with this scenario was the story of returnees who became widowers at home and then handed over their children to be raised by family in Ireland while they went off to America once more.⁴⁶ The reduced costs (in 1894 an Irishman could cross the Atlantic for \$8.75 - third class steerage ticket)⁴⁷ and increasing ease of travel in steam ships across the Atlantic in the 1890-1920 time period appears to have aided certain individuals who came and went as their needs dictated.⁴⁸

⁴³ IFC 1407; 41; Sean O Dubhda, County Kerry.

⁴⁴ IFC 1409: 300-304; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan, and Finneran, County Roscommon.

⁴⁵ IFC 1407; 320: J. O'Keefe, County Cork.

⁴⁶ IFC 1410: 98-100; Tony Cuff, Co Mayo.

⁴⁷ Mark Wyman, *Roundtrip America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), p. 23.

⁴⁸ Mark Wyman, *Roundtrip America*, pp 23-4.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

Many returned migrants lacked the energy to actually make the return trip to the States though they maintained a psychological desire to return. Their unhappiness took the form of ‘talking’ about leaving. Yet generally, these were the very persons who in reality had the least intention of doing so. Tadhg Ó Murchadha from County Kerry recalled the returnees ‘remained on and settled down in the ‘damn country’, very often in miserable little holdings. I knew a good many of them who did so’.⁴⁹ Amongst neighbours, when asked when were they going back, they would not necessarily give a day or date, but would put them off by saying something like ‘I’m going back at the fall’ or ‘I’m leaving in the spring’.⁵⁰

In County Mayo, Michael Corduff knew of a returnee who was ‘never done talking of re-emigrating’. This particular migrant had worked in the coal mines in the States and become ‘weary of his subterranean occupation’ so he decided to return home. Though he returned ‘not a penny richer than the day he left’, the returned migrant continued to be obsessed by the possibility of good wages in the States ... ‘as the mood seized him, ...he would bitterly deplore his having returned from America. But this man ... never went back to America’.⁵¹

The inclination of some returnees to verbalise their desire or perceived need to re-emigrate shows up as part of community lore throughout the various counties in the study area. Families and neighbours were subjected to the tirades of those returnees who thought ‘the grass was greener’ on the other side even though having been there they knew this was or it had simply not been the case for them. One of the most engaging stories again comes from Michael Corduff

⁴⁹ IFC 1407: 40; Tadhg Ó Murchadha, County Kerry.

⁵⁰ IFC 1407: 320; J. O’Keefe, County Cork.

⁵¹ IFC 1410: 110; Michael Corduff, County Mayo.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

illustrating the almost indefinable yearning to return to America that was experienced by some returnees;

I once knew a man who was a farmer and fisherman who had been in America as a single man and failed to get on there, having thrown the blame on his health. He returned home, got married, settled down and had a family. ... He was poor like the rest of community, but every time he got drunk he would drive out his only cow, to take her to the nearest fair, and with the price of the animal he intended going off to America, and leave his wife and children at home. He would not have gone far with the cow until he was overtaken by some neighbours or relative, who would bring back both himself and the animal, and next day after he had sobered up, he became his normal self once more, and there was no mention of emigration until he got drunk again, and the cow was again trotted out to finance the owners emigration expenses. In time, the cow became known as the 'American', the 'Yank', 'the dollar', etc. But the poor man, despite his libationary intentions never went back to America.⁵²

In some farming communities, there were a few returnees observed coming back and spending a while at home showing their belief they could 'knock a living out of farms they bought'. However, after a while, when they decided being a farmer was not working, they went back to the States again. Neighbours would speculate that the returned farmer, while living abroad, had gotten soft in an urban environment and this then endangered their health in a rural environment at home in Ireland.

For a small number of individuals, making multiple trips back and forth across to America became almost a form of commuting which fulfilled their own personal agenda. Some men went out for a period of years and sent money home to their wives and children and then returned. Michael Ó Conaire from County Galway reported that his own father crossed the Atlantic about sixteen times working for periods in Boston and Milwaukee, then returning home. Supposedly, by working his way across on coal boats, the father never had to pay his passage.⁵³

⁵² IFC 1410: 106-110; Michael Corduff, County Mayo.

⁵³ IFC 1409: 55-60; Michael Ó Conaire, County Galway.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

Supposedly, the returnees were viewed as no longer able to withstand the cold and hardships endured by the hardy Irish country man or woman.⁵⁴

How returnees interacted with the community?

The connections between those who returned to stay permanently and the home community could be fraught and complex. The returned migrant could be resented by those at home who preferred the settled order of their lives and resisted change though this might include native individuals who were resentful of any suggested change that was not associated with 'revolutionary' actions and neighbours who were just basically 'bound to the status quo through inertia.'⁵⁵ Patrick O'Farrell's study of IFC sources noted that returnees in general seem to have been regarded as 'outsiders, those who had cut themselves off from their birthplace ... regarded as semi-alienated oddities, never [totally] accepted back into the community they had left.'⁵⁶ However, IFC sources in Connacht reported other returnees fell back quickly into the 'home' ways even after having spent years in America. They readjusted to their lives at home and were so effective in the resumption of roles that they gave the impression they had never spent a day away from home. These individuals spoke rarely of America and many retained their native Irish language perfectly. In keeping with the theme of fitting in, many permanent returnees were admired because their dress was simple, unassuming and more in keeping with the Irish at home.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ IFC 1411; 349; James McCauley, County Donegal.

⁵⁵ Oscar Handlin, 'Immigrants who go back' in *Atlantic*, cxcviii (1956), p. 74.

⁵⁶ Patrick O'Farrell, 'Emigrant attitudes and behaviour as a source for Irish history' in G.A. Hayes-McCoy (ed.), *Historical Studies*, x (12) (Galway, 1976), p. 111.

⁵⁷ IFC 1409: 238-243; Patrick & Michael Silke, Co. Galway; IFC 1410: 33-34-38-39-40; Kitty O'Toole & Doherty, Co Mayo.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

Many returnees had retained an identification with their native Irish cultural identity throughout the migration experience. Emigration Question creator Arnold Schrier, after analysing numerous IFC responses from across Ireland, concluded that the 'returned Yank' was at best an adapter, whose roots were essentially in Irish soil, but who was not yet respected as a true bearer of new gifts. He was 'more still an Irishman than an American even with his American experiences'.⁵⁸

Some returnees did revert to being 'just like the individuals at home', though with perhaps a more alert or sharper outlook, and a greater sense of progress. In Castle Plunkett, County Roscommon, returnees were often heard to say to the locals '[g]et on with the business and get things done' while '[w]hat are you waiting for?' seemed to be the general attitude towards life as learned in America.⁵⁹

On Achill Island, McGrath found returning migrants experienced problems with the slow pace of life and isolation of the district. The returnees resented the nosiness of the locals and missed the anonymity of urban life. They expressed a strong dislike of being watched or questioned by the community. On the other hand, some returnees verbalized faults with everything in Ireland, 'thereby creating an unnecessary mental barrier between themselves and the home setting'.⁶⁰

Generally, the Irish at home appear to have viewed the permanent returnees as those who wanted to escape problems; those overcome by serious

⁵⁸ Schrier, *Ireland and the American emigration*, p. 142.

⁵⁹ IFC 1409: 300-304; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan, and Finneran, Co. Roscommon.

⁶⁰ Fiona, McGrath, 'The economic, social and cultural impact of returned migration to Achill Island' in Russell King (ed.), *Contemporary Irish Migration*, (Dublin, 1991), pp 61-62.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

poor health and unfit for work; those who had failed to make a success in America; or those who were unable to cope with the fast pace and demands of life and work in America. This perception is understandable as many of the migrants intending permanent return were older, notwithstanding their social or economic circumstances. Issues of land, property rights and politics could bring on clashes between returnees and community members. Outwardly, the returnees appear to have been generally indistinguishable from the rest of the neighbours though the extra experience, money and perhaps increased land holdings acquired would be recognised and the returnees would be mocked if they aspired to any new status within the community. Certainly they might experience ridicule if they displayed American-acquired mannerisms and ways of speech and dress.⁶¹

Russell King has suggested that in many emigrant societies, people of rural backgrounds, who have a home and family to return to, are 'simply reabsorbed as if they had never migrated'.⁶² In the similarly agricultural environment of southern Italy, studies found that a majority of returning migrant workers return to their pre-emigration occupation.⁶³ In general, IFC respondents do not describe any individual returnees as returning with 'democratic, liberal, reformist ideals' because of their time in America, however one Castlerea Union report claimed that '[t]he men who return from America are not much good as workmen. They will not stand supervision, and are too independent and

⁶¹ IFC 1409: 15-16; Thomas Duggan, County Galway: 'The dress was not copied - we were too poor for that, and anyone attempting it would incur ridicule. Their American slang caused amusement and was even mimicked sometimes and in the case of individuals who were too fond of using American expressions and idioms, resentment might be caused - it would be regarded as a form of "showing off"'.⁶¹

⁶² Russell King, 'Return Migration: a neglected aspect of population geography' in *Kings Royal Rifle Corps Chronicle*, x (1978), p. 178.

⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 179.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

democratic'.⁶⁴ With the exception of Irish-adapted American colloquialisms, there is little evidence that these Irish-Americans displayed much change of values or served as dynamic agents of cultural change within their communities.

Being sent for

For some migrants the return was at the request of their parents and involved a variety of reasons. One of the most common reasons a migrant returned home permanently was because their parents sent for them when they were ill or when the eldest brother at home had died. Michael Walsh in County Galway spoke of his own experiences: 'I was in America 28 years in all, but I came home after 7 years, ...My father was sick and some of the family were small and they wrote to ask me to come home and look after the place'.⁶⁵ On the death of parents, other elderly relatives, or elder brothers, the returnee would usually inherit the holding.⁶⁶ In county Leitrim, one respondent reported: '[a] member of my family emigrated, ... after spending about eight years and saving a bit of money, he married a Galway woman (though I never heard of her), and they came home and an old X.N.T. [an ex-National Teacher] bachelor uncle of ours [died and left] them his place. ...'⁶⁷

Interestingly, respondents reported they knew of a small minority of Irish-Americans in their communities who refused to return from America even when sent for.⁶⁸ Charles Rawdon in County Donegal remembered: 'I knew people

⁶⁴ *Royal Commission on Labour: the agricultural labourer, vol. iv, Ireland, pt.iv, report of Arthur Wilson Fox on the Castlereagh union*, H.C. 1893-4, xxxvii, p. 101.

⁶⁵ IFC 1409: 68-70; Michael Walsh, County Galway.

⁶⁶ IFC 1409: 251-252; Sean Ryder, County Galway; IFC 1409: 36-41; Sean Glennon, County Galway.

⁶⁷ IFC 1409: 337-346; informants various unnamed, County Leitrim.

⁶⁸ IFC 1409: 58; Michael Ó Conaire, County Galway.doc

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

down the road and after rearing a big family they had sent for the oldest boy in America to come home and look after them in their old age, but they would not return'.⁶⁹

A young Mayo man, Patrick Moran, experienced this entreaty by family to return home with heartbreaking results.⁷⁰ His experience is representative of those instances when return incentives cause dissatisfaction and reintegration problems occur once the returnee is back at home in Ireland.⁷¹ Born in 1860 in Glen Island, Castlebar, Patrick Moran was around thirty years old when he emigrated to relatives living in South Orange, New Jersey, a village located approximately 18 miles from New York City. In 1897, while working as a gardener in South Orange, Patrick met twenty-eight year old immigrant Margaret Gorman, from Ballyglass, Mayo Abbey near Castlebar, who had also come out to her own New Jersey relatives. They married on 21 April 1897 at Our Lady of Sorrows Catholic Church in South Orange.⁷² Family oral tradition tells that Patrick continued to work as a gardener while Margaret left domestic service and became a laundress and took in laundry. Three children were born to them while living in South Orange: Thomas, Margaret Mary and Francis. Sometime in 1907, the couple received a letter from one of Margaret's maternal uncles offering them his farm on his death if they would return home.

The Moran family decided the offer gave them a chance for their own piece of land and was too good to turn down. So they gathered up their belonging and embarked for Ireland. While onboard the ship returning home, they received a

⁶⁹ IFC 1411: 131; Charles Rawdon, County Donegal.

⁷⁰ Interview with Gerard Moran of the History Department, NUI Galway (10 Nov 2009); State of New Jersey Archives, Marriage Returns, 21 April 1897, Patrick Moran, age 37.

⁷¹ Christian, Dustman, Samuel Bentolila and Riccardo Faini, 'Return migration: the European experience' in *Economic policy*, xi (22) (April, 1996), pp. 213-250.

⁷² State of New Jersey, Marriage Return, 21 April 1897.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

the letter informing them that farm had been sold to others and the offer was no longer valid. Having no other options, the family rented a house in Castlebar where Patrick worked as a labourer. A fourth child, Patrick, was born around 1910. The family maintained a low profile when it came to any type of official records and were not found in the 1911 census of Ireland. The couple never discussed the circumstances of their return and lived a very quiet and unobtrusive life until their deaths, Patrick in the 1920s and Margaret in 1931. The only comment on their emigration experiences came from returning visitors from New Jersey who felt Patrick and Margaret had enjoyed better economic circumstances in the village of South Orange before they returned home.⁷³

Return because of old age

Those emigrants who returned to stay often did so in the belief that Ireland offered a more pleasant environment for people getting on in years. Perhaps the wish to die in the country of their birth influenced their return.⁷⁴ Some older migrants came home to reside with relatives and lived on their savings or annuity they had purchased in America during the years they were earning money. There were some who 'had a few pounds scraped together and they thought that they would come and live at home for a man likes to be in his own corner when he gets old'.⁷⁵ Respondent Tony Cuff in County Mayo, a returned migrant himself, had remained in America for a number of years until his son was grown and had taken

⁷³ Family records of Patrick Moran, held by grandson Gerard Moran, History Department, NUI Galway.

⁷⁴ IFC 1409: 300-304; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan and Finneran, County Roscommon; IFC 1409: 15-22; Thomas Duggan, County Galway.

⁷⁵ IFC 1409: 300-304; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan and Finneran, County Roscommon; ⁷⁵ IFC 1411: 17-18; James Gubban, County Donegal.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

over the 'old home in Attsvála'. The elderly Tony then came home to the son and stayed with him for the rest of his life.⁷⁶

Return because of health

Many of the returned migrants spoke of their returning home due to 'health reasons'. As previously discussed, some Irish-Americans returned in bad health, recuperated in their home environment, and then settled down to live and work at home.⁷⁷ Nora Murphy in County Galway recalled ... 'I came home on a visit. I was not getting my health and the doctor told me to go home for a rest if I could. I intended to return again when I got strong, but I got married here after some years [and decided to stay].⁷⁸ In County Donegal, James Gubban knew a lot of people who had come home to stay '... because they had broken down in health. They had worked so hard when they were young that they were old people long before their time'.⁷⁹ Sean Glennon in County Galway knew several young men who, before they emigrated, were fine strong young 'lads', but who came home in bad health, and some of them even died from ill health after returning. Though some returnees recovered their health and elected to return to the States, many others actually never returned, 'they seemed to have had enough of America'.⁸⁰

While some migrants put their coming home down to health reasons, in reality, their return may have been due in part to failure to get on in America. Similarly, in Wyman's work on return migration, Italians were reported as

⁷⁶ IFC 1410: 98-100; Tony Cuff, Co Mayo.

⁷⁷ IFC 1407: 344; Seamus Ó Maolchatha, County Tipperary.

⁷⁸ IFC 1409: 80-84; Nora Murphy, County Galway.

⁷⁹ IFC 1411: 17; James Gubban, Ardagh, Ballyliffin, County Donegal.

⁸⁰ IFC 1409: 36-41; Sean Glennon, County Galway.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

returning because of retirement, but their return stemmed from illness as well as old age.⁸¹

Occupation on return

The question of whether returning migrants would be able to make a living at home was a big part of their return consideration. In general, IFC respondents observed that returnees usually reverted to the same sort of occupation they had been accustomed to before emigrating. Some worked on the land having married into farms or inherited the homeplace from their parents. While other returnees may have continued to operate an inherited a shop or pub. Those who had saved a considerable amount of money in America may have been able to buy a holding of land or even start up a new business.⁸²

Farming

For those who returned to the country areas in Ireland, there was little future for them except in farming. This was reflected in a fundamental desire of many returned migrants to purchase land at home. The returned migrants often bought either a farm of their own or married into a farm.

My uncle Paddy came home to stay. He came back because he had plenty of money made and he bought the land that at one time belonged to the Doherties [sic] of the Park House. Those same Doherties put out many a poor person who could not meet the rent and many a pound was sent home from America to pay the rent for them. It was funny that in the end that it was money that was earned in America went to buy their old home and there is not the name of the landlord in it today.⁸³

⁸¹ Mark Wyman, *Roundtrip America*, p. 75.

⁸² IFC 1409: 269-270; May and Thomas O Sullivan, Co. Galway.

⁸³ IFC 1411: 267; Mrs. Michael McLaughlin, Millbrook, Malin Town, County Donegal.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

In Castle Plunkett, County Roscommon, respondents knew of returned migrant neighbours who had saved enough money to buy a house and holding of land of about 35 acres.⁸⁴

Among those who had brought back money, there were a few who sometimes acquired very large farms, and farmed with more success than their average neighbour.⁸⁵ The reports of success may be partially attributed to exaggeration, but at the same time, it may have resulted from the returnees' ability to focus and persevere at tasks, and reflect skills acquired while in the States. Even those who purchased lesser holdings such as 'a small farm of thirteen or fourteen acres in Cahergowan', were reported as having done well.⁸⁶ Michael Walsh in County Galway recalled '[a] man from Cleggan made a lot of money in America and bought a large farm and Kylemore Lodge. He was known as "Texas Conroy" ... and he made a success of the farm.'⁸⁷ These men who returned home with savings were considered a good 'match'. Instead of buying a place of their own, they might instead 'marry into a place', that is, they married a woman who already owned a home and small farm or was perhaps due to inherit the same.⁸⁸

Not all returned with money and if still able to work, became labourers. Respondents observed that some in these circumstances lived with a married brother or sister and helped on the farm as they did in their youth, or they might

⁸⁴ IFC 1409: 300-304; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan, and Finneran, County Roscommon.

⁸⁵ IFC 1409: 15-22; Thomas Duggan, County Galway; IFC 1410: 106-110; Michael Corduff, County; IFC 1409: 68-70; Michael Walsh, County Galway.

⁸⁶ IFC 1409: 15-22; Thomas Duggan, County Galway.

⁸⁷ IFC 1409: 68-70; Michael Walsh, County Galway.

⁸⁸ IFC Fitzmaurice, Flanagan, and Finneran, County Roscommon, pp 300-304; IFC 1409: 58-260; Michael Galvin, County Galway.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

live with some other relative and labour on their farm.⁸⁹ Thomas Duggan in County Galway observed that ‘any work on the farm would be welcome in a country where most of the farms are worked with unpaid family labour’.⁹⁰

Returnees, without any financial resources, simply went to live in their old homes and scraped a living on the land as they had been accustomed to before going away.⁹¹ For others, though their parents might be dead, if they were fortunate, a brother married at home would receive them and the returnee would be glad of any financial assistance they could provide. Seamus Ó Maolchatha recalled a returned neighbour typical of this scenario in County Tipperary. The returnee was pensioned off by a petroleum company in the States for which he had worked for years. When he came home, he went to live with his sister and started farming and jobbing on a small scale.⁹² Some of the less motivated people who went to work as casual labourers: ‘[t]heir lives were ill-spent and not a few died in the workhouse.’⁹³

After a dozen years or so in America (see chapter 2), many unmarried female migrants had ‘had enough of the washboard’ and returned with money earned as domestic servants and mill workers.⁹⁴ With their accumulated savings serving as a dowry, they had little difficulty upon their return marrying into good

⁸⁹ IFC 1409: 238-243; Patrick & Michael Silke, County Galway; IFC 1409: 269-270; May and Thomas O Sullivan, County Galway; IFC 1409: 68-70; Michael Walsh, County Galway. IFC 1409: 238-243; Patrick & Michael Silke, County Galway; IFC 1409: 251-252; Sean Ryder, County Galway; IFC 1409: 251-252; Sean Ryder, County Galway; IFC 1409: 337-346; Various unnamed Informants, County Leitrim.

⁹⁰ IFC 1409:15-22; Thomas Duggan, County Galway; IFC 1409: 36-41; Sean Glennon, County Galway.

⁹¹ IFC 1409: 224-227; Martin Tarpey, County Galway.

⁹² IFC 1407:344; Seamus Ó Maolchatha, County Tipperary.

⁹³ IFC 1409: 96-99; Dennis Lee, County Galway

⁹⁴ IFC 1409: 59-60; Michael Ó Conaire, County Galway.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

farms, especially farms where there was no male heir.⁹⁵ It was easy for them to marry into a place if they had a bit of money, and they were much sought after for this purpose.⁹⁶ In County Cork, J. O'Keefe remembers two girls of his acquaintance, 'who had spent some 12 or 15 years in America and [after returning] settled down to farm life giving their savings as a dowry, [feeling] quite happy and reared families at home'.⁹⁷ Marrying into a place 'ready made', without the necessity to expend money on buildings and stock, was viewed as a better economic proposition from the returning female's point of view, rather than buying a farm themselves, though a few eventually did that.⁹⁸ In Roscommon, IFC respondents thought that these returned migrant brides were very common. They were observed to be mostly 'good, hard-working women' who tried to urge their husbands to make the most of their resources. These women had the reputation of being economical and 'that generosity holds no place in their lives'.⁹⁹ IFC respondents reported that the returned women in Donegal were often only looking for the excuse to stay in Ireland.

I never saw a Yankee woman who would not marry a bottle washer if she thought that she could stay at home. There were plenty of great 'swells' of girls who came home to this parish and they were 'gled' to marry a man with a wee bit of land and work hard for the rest of their lives'. The returning women were easily influenced to stay at home and if they got an old 'sciosan' of a man of any kind, they would not go back.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ David Fitzpatrick, 'Emigration, 1871-1921' in W.E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, VI, Ireland under the Union, II, 1870-1921* (Oxford, 1996), p. 636.

⁹⁶ IFC 1409: 15-22; Thomas Duggan, County Galway; Arnold Schrier, *Ireland and the American emigration* (Chester Springs, PA, 1997), pp 130-31.

⁹⁷ IFC 1407: 320: J. O'Keefe, County Cork.

⁹⁸ IFC 1409: Sean Glennon, County Galway; IFC 1409: 82; Nora Murphy, County Galway; IFC 1409: 98-99; Dennis Lee, County Galway; IFC 1409: 300-304; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan and Finneran, County Roscommon.

⁹⁹ IFC 1409: 300-304; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan and Finneran, County Roscommon.

¹⁰⁰ IFC 1411: 18; James Gubban, Ardagh, Ballyliffin, County Donegal; IFC 1411: 37; Annie McColgan, Pollan, Ballyliffin, County Donegal.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

In Galway, local observers held that it was not difficult for these female returnees to get a husband. Some Irish noted ‘when such a one got married – “she was only an old yank, but she had the money!”’ .¹⁰¹ Now and then, it was remarked that it was the money the returnee had saved working in the States rather than her own personal qualities that were the means of securing her a husband and a place unless they were too old:

Should a young man with a reasonably good farm appear not to be doing well, a comment might be made that he should look out for some hard-fisted or close-fisted yank with a *cisze* [bunch] of dollars to look after himself and the farm. Over sixty-percent of the married women attending Mass in our church, Kilmurry, are returned Americans.¹⁰²

Some female returnees married an Irish immigrant in America and then they returned together to make their home in Ireland.¹⁰³ A few such couples reported that when they had married in America, they had had to live in a four-roomed flat [apartment] in the city, they had purchased everything ‘on time’ [i.e. on the installment system], and in most cases, had had to take in boarders to help them meet their living expenses. Returning home to Ireland, they were seeking a less hectic, more friendly existence.¹⁰⁴

The Trades

In the urban areas of the United States, many migrants had acquired occupational skills in various trades, such as carpentry, house-building and automobile mechanics. However, having acquired this specialised training and

¹⁰¹ IFC 1409: 259; Michael Galvin, County Galway.

¹⁰² IFC 1409: 300-304; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan and Finneran, County Roscommon.

¹⁰³ IFC 1409: 300-304; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan and Finneran., County Roscommon.

¹⁰⁴ IFC 1409: 96-99; Dennis Lee, County Galway.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

skills, once back home they usually could not find a frequent use for them. There was no demand in Ireland for 'conveyor-belt labour' learned in the States.¹⁰⁵ By engaging in these trades, even in a small way in rural areas at home, the returnee managed to conserve their savings which would otherwise vanish quickly. For those with pensions or investments, those who returned with a skill were able to set up in business and live comfortably.¹⁰⁶

One point of view about motivated returnees expressed by Michael Corduff in County Mayo was that many of the returnees appeared to have developed sound traits of industry and initiative, and a go-ahead character which was in peculiar contrast to the 'lackadaisical, easy and happy-go-lucky way of living' which had characterized their manner of life before they left home.¹⁰⁷ Sean Ó Dubhda in County Kerry observed that 'every man of these Yanks had his own way of thinking and talking; some of them told the truth and told of hard work and a struggle for existence. Some used to say if you had a way of living at home not to emigrate'.¹⁰⁸

Less motivated returned migrants appeared glad to be back in Ireland where, though the work was hard, conditions generally were more casual compared with that which they had experienced in America. One did not have to keep a close track of your time at home. 'There is no clock or watch or boss to watch you here.'¹⁰⁹ A lot of fishermen in County Kerry reportedly came back and

¹⁰⁵ King, 'Return migration: a neglected aspect of population geography', p 179.

¹⁰⁶ IFC 1409: 68-70; Michael Walsh, County Galway. IFC 1409: 224-227; Martin Tarpey, County Galway. IFC 1409: 55-60; Michael Ó Conaire, County Galway. IFC 1409; 337-346; Various unnamed informants, County Leitrim

¹⁰⁷ IFC 1410: 106-110; Michael Corduff, County Mayo.

¹⁰⁸ IFC 1407: XX; Sean Ó Dubhda, County Kerry.

¹⁰⁹ IFC 1409: 96-99; Dennis Lee, County Galway

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

went right back to fishing again as they preferred that free life to bosses and clocks in America.¹¹⁰

Being an entrepreneur in Ireland on return

Returning Irish-Americans engaged in entrepreneurship in very limited circumstances, few and far between. Because of their uniqueness, their activities have remained especially prominent in many detailed stories in local oral history. The successes and failures of these returnees after coming back home in Ireland are part of the community memory. Those who had had a successful career in America, were said to be self-made men and women, who ‘by their character, industry and talents achieved success at home and abroad.’ These returnees were often described by those at home as ‘noble examples of good citizenship and probity’ and once established at home, were considered respectable and influential citizens in the life of Ireland.¹¹¹ On the other hand, returned migrants did not really attempt to introduce American ways. They would encounter the phrase ‘it couldn’t be done here’ as locals generally felt that American ways were very different from those at home in Ireland. In County Galway, respondent Michael Walsh laid out his view of how business differed in the two cultures: ‘... no one can succeed here in business unless he is very close and tight, but the opposite is the case in America - unless a man was open-handed, he would not succeed. He must not be too keen on making profits [here].’¹¹²

IFC reports regarding entrepreneurial efforts mainly centred around returning migrants who owned businesses such as shops/groceries, public houses,

¹¹⁰ IFC 1409: 55-60; Michael Ó Conaire, County Galway; IFC 1409: 96-99; Dennis Lee, County Galway; IFC 1409: 96-99; Dennis Lee, County Galway; IFC 1410: 106-110; Michael Corduff; IFC 1410: 106-110; IFC 1407: 41; Sean Ó Dubhda, County Kerry.

¹¹¹ IFC 1410: 106-110; Michael Corduff, County Mayo.

¹¹² IFC 1409: 68-70; Michael Walsh, County Galway.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

and dance halls. While other commercial endeavours may have occurred, no others were mentioned in the IFC oral histories. Some enterprising returnees used their savings as capital to set up a business of some kind, or invest in the business perhaps of someone they married who was already in business. Some returnees were reported also buying land holdings in addition to their new place of business.¹¹³

Shops

In rural areas where country shops were very few and far between, discerning Irish-American saw opportunities for commercial success. Though the number of shops owned by 'Yanks' were in the minority, Michael Corduff of County Mayo observation was that there was scarcely a town or village that did not have a few shopkeepers who started life in America:

Another instance of the returned American becoming shopkeeper was a near relative of mine who went to America about 1900, worked on public buildings in Chicago, came home after a sojourn of five years and started a grocery business in the same villages as the former individual. He began his commercial trade in a very modest way with a horse-drawn vehicle carrying goods to and from the nearest towns. He...succeeded admirably, and ... he supplemented shop business with agriculture. He was hard-working and ambitious.¹¹⁴

One was a shop assistant ... [who] entered the tramway service, and after about two years he returned to Ireland, built a new house in his native village, and started commercial businesses, in which he prospered and became a rich man. He also acquired farms of land and amassed a good deal of wealth. He combined the two businesses of farmer and merchant.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ IFC 1409: 300-304; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan and Finneran, County Roscommon; IFC 1409: 269-270; May and Thomas O Sullivan, County Galway; IFC 1409: 96-99; Dennis Lee, County Galway.

¹¹⁴ IFC 1410: 107; Michael Corduff, County Mayo.

¹¹⁵ IFC 1410: 106-110; Michael Corduff, County Mayo.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

When these returning migrant came home, ‘they saw no better way of investing fair amounts of cash than to set up shops, or married into commercial families’. Their purchase of shops in rural Ireland was seen as displaying ‘foresight and acumen’. Perhaps had they stayed at home in Ireland, the returnees would never have ‘acquired the perception and keenness of character which they developed abroad’.¹¹⁶

Pubs

As reported by IFC respondents, many returning migrants used their savings to purchase public houses. For those who had little or no previous experience in business, being a publican may have seemed the easiest business to manage.¹¹⁷ For those who had gained some knowledge of the saloon business by owning a bar or being a barkeeper while in the United States, the setting up of a pub at home seemed a natural progression for their business endeavors. The role of the ‘returned Yank’ and publican seemed to work well together, especially in rural communities. The bonhomie and storytelling natural to the pub atmosphere was enhanced by the sometimes outrageous talk between the returnee and his crony circle. In County Roscommon, IFC respondents told of a man:

... who came home after spending fifteen years in San Francisco. He emigrated about 1902 at the age of twenty and returned in 1914. He worked in San Francisco in a saloon bar owned by a relative of his own. His background was sufficiently good, and the money he possessed sufficient in amount, to make him eligible to settle his match with a

¹¹⁶ IFC 1410: 106-110; Michael Corduff, County Mayo; IFC 1410: 108; Michael Corduff, County Mayo; IFC 1409: 238-243; Patrick & Michael Silke, County Galway; IFC 1409: 357-364; Anonymous Informant, County Galway; IFC 1409: 357-364; Anonymous Informant, county Galway; IFC 1409: 36-41; Sean Glennon, County Galway; IFC 1409: 68-70; Michael Walsh, Galway; IFC 1409: 15-22, Thomas Duggan, County Galway; IFC 1409: 337-346; Various unnamed informants, County Leitrim.

¹¹⁷ IFC 1409: 224-227; Martin Tarpey, County Galway.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

daughter of a man who owned a long-established grocery and bar here in Castle Plunkett. He compensated the old man and took over the business jointly with his wife.¹¹⁸

Additionally, oral history locally in Roscommon tells of one returnee publican who served as an agent for steamship lines creating a country location where potential emigrants could purchase their tickets or pick up pre-paid tickets.¹¹⁹ For returned migrants, the role of steamship agent was perfect because of their personal experience in the United States (see case study of Leo McGovern, p. 308)

. Examples of public house ownership by two returning migrants in County Galway are represented by Malachy Kelly and the Mahon brothers:

Respondents Patrick & Michael Silke knew of Malachy Kelly of Loughgeorge, who returned about thirty-five years ago, bought a large public-house and a large farm at Loughgeorge. He had a saloon in Indianapolis. My brother Peter worked in the saloon with him for seventeen years, but not many around here at any rate made as much money as he did. I heard that how he came to buy it, he was home on a visit once and he saw the place in Loughgeorge and he said if it ever went up for sale, he would like to buy it. When it was up for sale, he came home and bought it.¹²⁰

Respondent Nora Murphy knew of John and James Mahon of Kiltulla [in parish of Castlegar near Galway, who] set up public houses when they came home. James later on bought a hotel in Galway.¹²¹

A field investigation to locate these premises in the summer of 2010 found that the ruins of the Mahon pub in Kiltulla was known only to the oldest in the village.

¹¹⁸ IFC 1409: 303; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan and Finneran, County Roscommon.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Michael Gavagan of Carnagh East, County Roscommon, 10 May 2011.

¹²⁰ IFC 1409: 238-243; Patrick & Michael Silke, County Galway.

¹²¹ IFC 1409: 80-84; Nora Murphy, County Galway.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

Local residents in Loughgeorge however, knew of no building ruins or had any knowledge of the once-upon-a-time Malachy Kelly pub.

In County Sligo, two well-known pubs were at one point acquisitions of returning Yanks. Thomas Tighe, a tenant farmer before emigrating, returned from being a vintner in America with enough funds to buy his own pub-cum-grocery, an existing business called 'The Old Stand', in Ballymote. In Sligo town, the Connolly brothers, Thomas and Denis, returned from America in 1890 and bought a going-concern owned by a distant relation, James Hannigan. They renamed the premises as 'Connollys' pub and also acted as steamship agents.. Molloy suggests that by becoming publicans, many including these returning Yanks, were able to enter the middle classes once back in Ireland. Both Sligo businesses successfully moderated over changing times and are still currently in existence.¹²²

Dance Halls

A cluster of dancehall enterprises were started by returned migrants in various districts of County Leitrim as identified in the IFC oral histories. Most of these dance halls were opened by returnees who had spent years in the states accumulating what was a small fortune for the time, usually \$1000 or less. The returnees typically invested in properties which could be converted to community dancehalls and possibly combined with buffets and/or cinemas. Some of these new publicans encountered problems obtaining local planning permission and some had running controversies with local Church officials. One returnee who

¹²² Cian Molloy, *The story of the Irish pub: an intoxicating history of the licensed trade in Ireland* (Dublin, 2002), pp 52, 99, 132.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

encountered these problems was John McGivern of Glenfarne, a well-known returned migrant in County Leitrim. He set up the dance hall business successfully on modified American lines and which in 1932 became known as the celebrated Ballroom of Romance (Figure 5.5).¹²³

John McGivern had emigrated to relatives in Newark, New Jersey where in the early 1930s he worked as a labourer during the day and attended school at night. He professed a great interest in radio broadcasting and eventually obtained a job as an assistant radio announcer in Newark for several years. While a disc jockey in New Jersey, he adopted the pet name 'Johnny Macaroni' for his popular music broadcasts. On returning to Leitrim, he opened his ballroom and did occasionally encounter disputes with the local parish priest who did not approve of dance halls.¹²⁴ In the 1950s, he booked many of the top Irish stars of the day. McGivern used his American radio experience and 'Johnny Macaroni' stage name to enhance his role as the master of ceremonies at these dances.¹²⁵ He and his wife Maureen retired to County Sligo in the 1970s and he died in May 1995.¹²⁶

¹²³ IFC 1409: 337-346; Various unnamed informants, County Leitrim.

¹²⁴ *Anglo-Celt*, 2 June 1935.

¹²⁵ Interview with John Finneran of Glenfarne, Co. Leitrim, grand nephew of John McGivson, 8 Oct 2010.

¹²⁶ *Anglo-Celt*, 16 May 1995.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently



Fig. 5.5 McGivern's Ballroom of Romance, Glenfarne, Co. Leitrim founded in 1930. A council grant is funding the current expansion. Source: photograph by author, October 2010.

Several miles away in Kiltyclogher, County Leitrim, returnee John MacGowan was reported to have done well by purchasing a combination dance hall and cinema. After emigrating to New York, MacGowan worked hard until he had saved '£700 or £850 in about seven years of hard work and saving and then he came home and bought the [the dancehall]' in Kiltyclogher (Figure 5.6).¹²⁷



Fig. 5.6 McGowan Dance Hall and Cinema (white structure and two-story building with red roof behind) now empty in Kiltyclogher, Co. Leitrim. source: photograph by author.

¹²⁷ IFC 1409: 337-346; Various unnamed informants, County Leitrim.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

In Feenaville, south County Leitrim, another returnee [unnamed] operated a 'full American line running buffet and dance hall. He was known to employ and pay his own policing controls to ensure that order was kept.'¹²⁸ A dance hall in Glenade, Laragy Donnel, County Leitrim was erected by subscriptions from former residents living in the U.S. For a number of years it was known as the Emigrants Hall and was 'the sole property of the people of the district and controlled by a local committee with the clergy having no say.'¹²⁹ It was also used on occasion as a concert hall. In Ballinthrillbeck, a few miles from Glenade, a similar hall was erected, but 'as a proper deed of the site the hall has not been secured and [there is a] continued in dispute as to the right of holding functions maring its use.'¹³⁰

It is interesting to note that in the IFC manuscripts examined for this study, these stories related above were the only oral histories regarding dancehalls run by returned migrants recorded within the Connacht study area.

Involvement in Politics

Any involvement by returned migrants in political activity was sparsely reported by IFC respondents. Observers from across Connacht reported that practically none of the returnees took any active part in local or national politics. Most returned migrants appeared content to mind their own affairs. These returning individuals most likely had their own political opinions, but holding a personal opinion seemed the limit of their involvement.¹³¹ A similar lack of

¹²⁸ IFC 1409: 337-346; Various unnamed informants, County Leitrim.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ IFC 1409: 36-41; Sean Glennon, County Galway; IFC 1409: 55-60; Michael O Conaire, County Galway; IFC 1407: 344; Seamus Ó Maolchatha, County Tipperary; IFC 1409: 96-99;

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

interest in political involvement was observed in Lawrence Took's work on return migration to the Italian province of Chieti: '[n]either do returnees return as leaders of local opinion or as active local politicians. Few returnees were found to be politically active . . .'¹³²

Those few returned Irish-Americans who did take part in politics were usually those who had been interested in politics before they emigrated. They then appeared to renew an interest in politics on their return to Ireland.¹³³ One example of this was involvement of a returning migrant with the re-establishment of the Executive of the United Land League in Connemara in the summer of 1913:

The revival is largely due to Mr. Patrick Wallace, a returned American exile, who had infused some of the old spirit of courageous independence into his fellow-clansmen, and shown them that the best way to attain their ends is to help themselves.¹³⁴

However, as IFC respondents Patrick and Michael Silke in County Galway observed:

You would have to be very smart ('smart' in addition to meaning intelligent, means 'educated') to take a prominent part in politics and very few were able. Some who were a long time away, came home to changed conditions and found it hard to understand the political situation here, e.g. people who went out when the country was owned by the landlords, and came home to find the landlords gone, and the land divided amongst the tenants.¹³⁵

Sean Ó Dubhda in County Kerry observed that some returnees in his district used to take part in politics in positions such as the local District

Dennis Lee, County Galway; IFC 1409: 224-227; Martin Tarpey, County Galway; IFC 1409: 251-252; Sean Ryder, County Galway.

¹³² Lawrence Took, 'Land tenure, return migration and rural change in the Italian province of Chieti' in Russell King (ed.), *Return migration and regional economic problems* (London, 1986), p. 97.

¹³³ IFC 1409: 258-260; Michael Galvin, County Galway. IFC 1409: 269-270; May and Thomas O Sullivan, County Galway. IFC 1409: 68-70; Michael Walsh, County Galway.

¹³⁴ *Connacht Tribune*, 23 August 1913.

¹³⁵ IFC 1409: 238-243; Patrick & Michael Silke, County Galway.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

Councillors or County Councillors.¹³⁶ In County Roscommon, respondents reported:

When I and some few others were recruiting for the Local Security Force, in cooperation with the *Gárda Síochána*, some of the returned emigrants were the first to come forward and offer their services. Some had served in the U.S.A. Forces during the 1911-18 War, and we succeeded in establishing a very efficient service in this area owing to their experience and help.¹³⁷

It seemed that in Co. Roscommon, the returned Americans settled into the life of the community at home, and [only] took about the same part in local affairs, including politics.

Making comments on life in Ireland

Bridget Dirrane, writing in her memoirs, spoke expressively on how her community had changed while she was living in America:

... Aran too had changed, much of it for the better. It was no longer the simple, often isolated place it was in my young days, where all ran wild and free. When I returned even the weather seemed to have changed. Or is it just that we tend to remember sunny days and black out the wet, miserable ones that must have been there too? ... Where, oh where, have all the beautiful summers of long ago gone to? I remember how the summer started in early April with the cuckoo's call and, at times, went straight into and through September long after the cuckoo had departed. During those long, hot summers drinking water was scare.¹³⁸

In general, comments by returning migrants observed that everything in Ireland was too slow and people were too easy-going at home.¹³⁹ By the time of the IFC emigration questionnaire in the 1950s, Michael Corduff in County Mayo was philosophical about the Yanks attempted changes:

¹³⁶ IFC 1407: 41; Sean O Dubhda, County Kerry.

¹³⁷ IFC 1409: 300-304; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan and Finneran, County Roscommon.

¹³⁸ Dirrane, *A woman of Aran*, p. 68.

¹³⁹ IFC 1409: 300-304; Fitzmaurice, Flanagan and Finneran, County Roscommon.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

[Returnees] tried to introduce the American ideology into Irish life, but with scant success. Our Irish traditions were too deeply rooted, to be displaced by individual American doctrines, and so the Irish way of life persisted and endured, notwithstanding the many taunts and jibes and ridicules leveled at our customs, beliefs and superstitions. In this respect, the examples and preachings of the individual American was merely the voice of one 'crying in the wilderness'. Indeed, such apostles of foreign ideology were in the old days regarded as eccentrics and oddities who had become perverted from their native character by their absence abroad.¹⁴⁰

Irish-Americans however, were also thought to be never idle and were usually observed getting up earlier in the morning than those who had never been away.

Returnees were also very anxious to upgrade their old homes and spent more of their time in making improvements such as improved existing fences and outhouses.¹⁴¹

Government assistance to permanent returning migrants

The Irish emigrant had originally left Ireland as an individual and emigrated for what was perceived as individual or family social and economic circumstances. In reality, that family's actions were part of country-wide responses to the existing social and economic problems. Irish return migration, similar to the original decision to emigrate, was also driven by individual, personal motives usually associated with the family needs at home in Ireland. However, the adaptation of returning Irish-Americans back into their home communities was marked by the absence of any official government policy to assist in their return. Research for this study shows there is minimal historical reference or evidence indicating any programme or policy by the British government which acknowledged, much less embraced, the circumstances of

¹⁴⁰ IFC 1410: 135; Michael Corduff, County Mayo.

¹⁴¹ IFC 1409: 226; Martin Tarpey, County Galway.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

returning Irish migrants nor British returnees. This circumstance contrasts with several positions taken in other European locations including Sicily where it was advocated that the state, local authorities, church and the family all had responsibilities in aiding the return and reintegration of the returnee.¹⁴² Pre-planning by Finnish returnees, aware of problems that might await them upon return, included making plans to return in large groups and settle in areas populated by return migrants. Not expecting any assistance from the Russian government, the returnees felt that establishing a community of Finnish-Americans would help with re-adaptation.¹⁴³

The British government appears to have concerned itself only in an indirect manner with Irish returnees who were subsumed in the general travelling public. From 1890 to 1960, the Board of Trade, as required by law, kept lists of passengers on all ships arriving in the U. K. ports with separate lists for British (and Commonwealth) passengers.¹⁴⁴ The lists were for use in compiling government statistics, however, it may be speculated that some special attention was made regarding the possible return of Irish-American Republican activists. The same indirect attention to Irish returnees as they returned through U.K. ports was because of the government's concern with epidemics and infectious diseases entering the country. Along with the travelling population (such as tuberculosis carriers) the Irish passengers were generally scrutinised for signs of disease,¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Russell King, 'Return migration: a review of some case studies from southern Europe' in *Mediterranean Studies*, i, (2) (1979), p. 26.

¹⁴³ Keijo Virtanen, 'Finnish Migrants (1860-1930) in the overseas return migration movement' in *Genealogia*, ix (1978), p. 6.

¹⁴⁴ UK Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878-1960 (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/passenger-lists.htm>) [accessed June 2010].

¹⁴⁵ Dorothy Porter, *Health, civilization and the state: a history of public health from ancient to modern times* (London, 1999) p. 198.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

though responsibility for public health in Britain and Ireland was passed on to local authorities and communities of cities, towns and local areas.¹⁴⁶

. More directly negative attention was focused on returning Irish-Americans who potentially qualified for a pension under the Old Age Pension scheme. At the turn of the nineteenth century, there was little or no information provided to returning migrants regarding the Pensions Act provisions or if they were qualified to receive such a pension. A public debate in Ireland at the turn of the century discussed the need for the government to respond to the 'increasing insecurity of old age ... linked to economic change and the weakening of traditional support networks'.¹⁴⁷ The public conversation resulted with the passing of the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908, effective in 1909, in which old age was defined as seventy years and older and the question of how the provisions would affect returning migrants was not initially addressed.¹⁴⁸ Problems arose from the initiation of the Act. Because the number of Irish claimants was severely underestimated and monetary resources were very limited, a reassessment was made in 1909. The provisions of the Act initially entitled men and women, seventy years or more, resident in the U.K. for the previous two decades and whose annual income did not exceed £31 10s. to a weekly pension, however, most claimants fell into the category of below £21 annually and were given the full five shillings a week. The state of the poor in Ireland was highlighted by the response to the Pension Act

¹⁴⁶ Caitriona Foley, *The last Irish plague: the great flu epidemic in Ireland 1918-19* (Dublin, 2011), pp 107, 167-8.

¹⁴⁷ Cormac Ó Gráda, 'The political economy of the old age pension: Ireland c. 1908-1940', Centre for Economic Research, 2000 (www.ucd.ie/economics/researchpapers/2000/wp0022.pdf) [accessed 3Mar2011], pp 2-3.

¹⁴⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica, 1911 edition* [http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Old-Age_Pensions].

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

especially by households in the west which only earned about half the national income while having the highest proportion of elderly people.¹⁴⁹

Because so many people signed up for their pensions in the absence of civil registration records and parish registers, it was often left up to the local priest and medical officer who knew their local population fairly well. Storyteller Eamon Kelly relates how the father of a man he knew started telling his priest a long, convoluted story about the night of the Big Wind and kept on and on until the priest signed the pension affidavit just to keep the man quiet.¹⁵⁰ So many old people (and many not) testified to being alive on the night of the Big Wind in 1839, that the resulting numbers were great. Remembering the Big Wind soon had to be discarded as a qualification. The wide spread publicity, through newspapers and word of mouth, resulted for example, in neighbours in rural Roscommon ferrying cartloads of aged female pensioners to the Post Office and the police in county Galway having to form queues outside the Post Office in Gort.¹⁵¹

Returning elderly migrants might be qualified as pointed out by a letter to the editor of the *Connacht Tribune* by Mr Martin Ward in 1911. The response from Mr P. J. Glennon, perhaps a local county official or solicitor, provides one of the few sources of information for how the pensions applied to the elderly returnees:

I ... request space in your popular journal to call attention to a further provision of the new [Old Age pensions] Act – namely, that affecting old people who have been in America or other foreign countries. Under the Act of 1908 a claimant should have been a resident of the United

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁵⁰ Éamon Kelly, *Ireland's master storyteller: the collected stories of Eamon Kelly* (Dublin, 1998), p. 343.

¹⁵¹ Ó Gráda, 'The political economy of the old age pension, p. 4.

Chapter 5 - Those who returned to stay permanently

Kingdom for twenty years preceding his application for a pension. In the new Act this is considerably modified. A total of twelve years' residence within the period of 20 year is now sufficient. The twelve years need not be consecutive. ... if his periods of residence in the United Kingdom since that date [initial leaving] come to a total of twelve years, he is qualified for an old age pension. ... periods during which a person has maintained a dependent, such as a wife, etc., in the United Kingdom, ... shall count as periods of residence in the United Kingdom.¹⁵²

Other than this newspaper article, there is little documentary or anecdotal evidence that these conditions and changes for returning elderly migrants was widely known. It should be noted, however, that by modifying the Old Age Pensions Act to provide better circumstances under which returning migrants could benefit, the government actions would be one of the few instances when returning Irish migrants were acknowledged officially.

The act of coming home realized the classic dream of return for many migrants. They seemed fundamentally to want to be at home, seeking to spend their future or last days in the land 'they first knew and loved'. A brilliant example is found in the classic story of Michael MacGowan's return from America to County Donegal, when he arrived in his own village to observe it had not changed a bit since he left and 'that didn't upset [him] in any way ...it was like a healing balm to find myself under the old rafters again.'¹⁵³ Though the returnees had in a sense become outsiders, the appeal of homeplace and kin was often so strong that visitors often changed their minds and once again becoming insiders, they decided to remain permanently in Ireland.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² *Connacht Tribune*, 28 October 1911.

¹⁵³ Michael MacGowan, *The hard road to Klondike* (Boston, 1977), pp 144-45.

¹⁵⁴ David Ralph, 'Home is where the heart is? Understandings of "home" among Irish-born return migrants from the United States' in *Irish Studies Review*, xvii (2) (May, 2009), p 183.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

'Without a story to explain ourselves, we are nothing'.¹

The personal stories of individual returning Irish-Americans often contain an emotional intensity which embraces heart-felt sentiment, family drama, prodigal successes and sometime tragedy. It appears warranted to adopt an historical approach which examines personal life histories thus bringing return migration and its migration trajectories into sharper perspective. The profiles of return portrayed in this chapter will present individuals who share two basic characteristics; they each had reached out to the relative unknown by emigrating and now were returning to the known by making a return.

Wyman asks if in telling the story of thousands of return migrants, we overlook individual stories?² Early attempts to study immigrants in greater detail and at a personal level involved examining ethnic enclaves at the community level. Deemed in the field as the 'humanist approach' to migration studies, Caroline Ware's work in 1935, recently republished, provided a view of a multi-generational migrant community focusing on their adaptation to the existing culture and resulting cultural transfer and change.³ Seventy years later, Tyler Anbinder's work in a New York community sought to provide a detailed history of the immigrant enclave established there. Though Anbinder was investigating a community, he used the device of

¹ M.R. Hall, *The disappeared* (London, 2009), p. 189.

² Mark Wyman, *Roundtrip America: the immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), p. 14.

³ Carolyn F. Ware, *Greenwich Village, 1920-1930: A comment on American civilization in the post-war years* (Berkeley, 1994), p. 427; Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder, *What is migration history?* (Cambridge, 2009), pp 61-2.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

prologues containing immigrant pen-portraits before he discussed each of his historical themes.⁴

Bruce Elliott's 1988 work on 775 immigrating Irish, originating from North Tipperary and arriving in Ontario, Canada, focused on actual Irish men and women within assisted emigration communities. By linking their experiences at home and abroad, Elliott examined in some detail the communities on both sides of the ocean bringing some of the research methods of family history to a transnational migrant study. In the introduction to the work on Canadians, Don Akenson states '...Elliott's study is such a breakthrough... done with a significant number of individuals drawn from a similar background, so that one can generalize about the migration process as it occurred in this group ... from the observations of the lives of specific individuals'.⁵

Studies that deal with actual migrants, tracing their lives from one side of the Atlantic through their lives and careers on the other are indeed rare. Fewer studies deal with any return to the country of origin by the same migrants. Akenson noted that the use of life histories as accompaniment to the study of emigration is very rare:

...there are numerous biographies of individual migrants and even more numerous pieces of family history put together by filially pious genealogists, but these are too unsystematic, too tiny a subset, to permit their being the basis of meaningful conclusions about migrants in general'...[S]cholars are apt to be put off by the sheer amount of hard slogging that is required in such research.⁶

Only a few migration scholars have used the personal stories of migrants to investigate their study of migration experiences. In the 1950s, historian Theodore Saloutos

⁴ Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: the 19th century New York City neighbourhood that invented tap dance, stole elections, and became the world's most notorious slum* (New York, 2001), pp 1, 38, 106.

⁵ Bruce S.Elliott, *Irish migrants in the Canadas: a new approach* (Ithica, 1988), pp xvi, 117-9.

⁶ D.H. Akenson, 'Foreward' in Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish migrants in Canada: A New Approach* (Montreal, 2004), p. xv.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

produced one of the first books written about immigrants who returned to their native land. His study was groundbreaking in that he used twelve personal histories of different lengths to illustrate the various return experiences of Greek-Americans. At the time, available sources and printed materials were very limited on the subject so he personally conducted interviews in Greece collecting information which was very revealing and emotionally intense. While he considered these preliminary findings, he ‘trusted that future scholars might some day capitalize on these findings and adduce new information to provide the fuller story’.⁷

In 1994, David Fitzpatrick used fourteen sets of correspondence between Irish emigrants in Australia and their connections at home to ‘bring us closer to the experience of migration than any aggregate statistics could do’.⁸ His innovative methodology uses migrant correspondence to explore relationships mentioned by name, events to which allusions are made, and the social and economic context of both worlds of the migrant. The individual stories are used as platforms to explain the various topics involved with emigration, settlement, acculturation, links to home and possible and actual return visits, however, there is a lack of occurrence or emphasis in mentioning return migration in light of coverage in the chapters.⁹

In 2005, historian Angela McCarthy adopts a transnational approach to help reconstruct the lives of New Zealand migrants at home and abroad. Following to some extent in Fitzpatrick’s footsteps, she examined thirty-six sets of correspondence through studying 253 personal emigrant letters. McCarthy provides

⁷ Theodore Saloutos, *They remember America: the story of repatriated Greek-Americans* (California, 1956), pp 88-102.

⁸ David Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of consolation: personal accounts of Irish migration to Australia* (London, 1994), pp. viii-ix, p. 3.

⁹ Ibid.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

pen portraits of some of the various migrants whose letters are examined in the book. By focusing on specific regions, she generated significant local studies from such records as parish and civil records, street directories, probates and genealogies. McCarthy focuses more on return than Fitzpatrick by devoting an entire chapter to the themes of return.¹⁰

The successful employment of life histories was utilized by Neil Richardson in a recent (2010) historical study of returning Irishmen who served with the British Army in World War I. The public appeal made by the Richardson study resulted in an overwhelming collection of first-hand oral accounts based on stories by the veterans themselves and recounted to the author by their children and grandchildren. The outcome was individual histories which gave a more personal edge to the famous battles and events of the war. This allowed the author to indicate what individual Irishmen men went through – especially the ordinary private soldiers who, for the most part, kept no diaries.¹¹

For each person, home connotes not only a spatial condition, but also encompasses the context of their self-identification, the circle of social relations that validate them as an individual and human being.¹² The home contexts, at home and abroad, for eight individual return migrants are profiled in this chapter (Figure 6.1). For seven of the individuals, the ‘life paths’ are of similar economic and social backgrounds centering on rural and small town experiences. The eighth








¹⁰ Angela McCarthy, *Irish migrants in New Zealand, 1840-1937: ‘the desired haven’* (Suffolk, 2005), p. 5, 7.

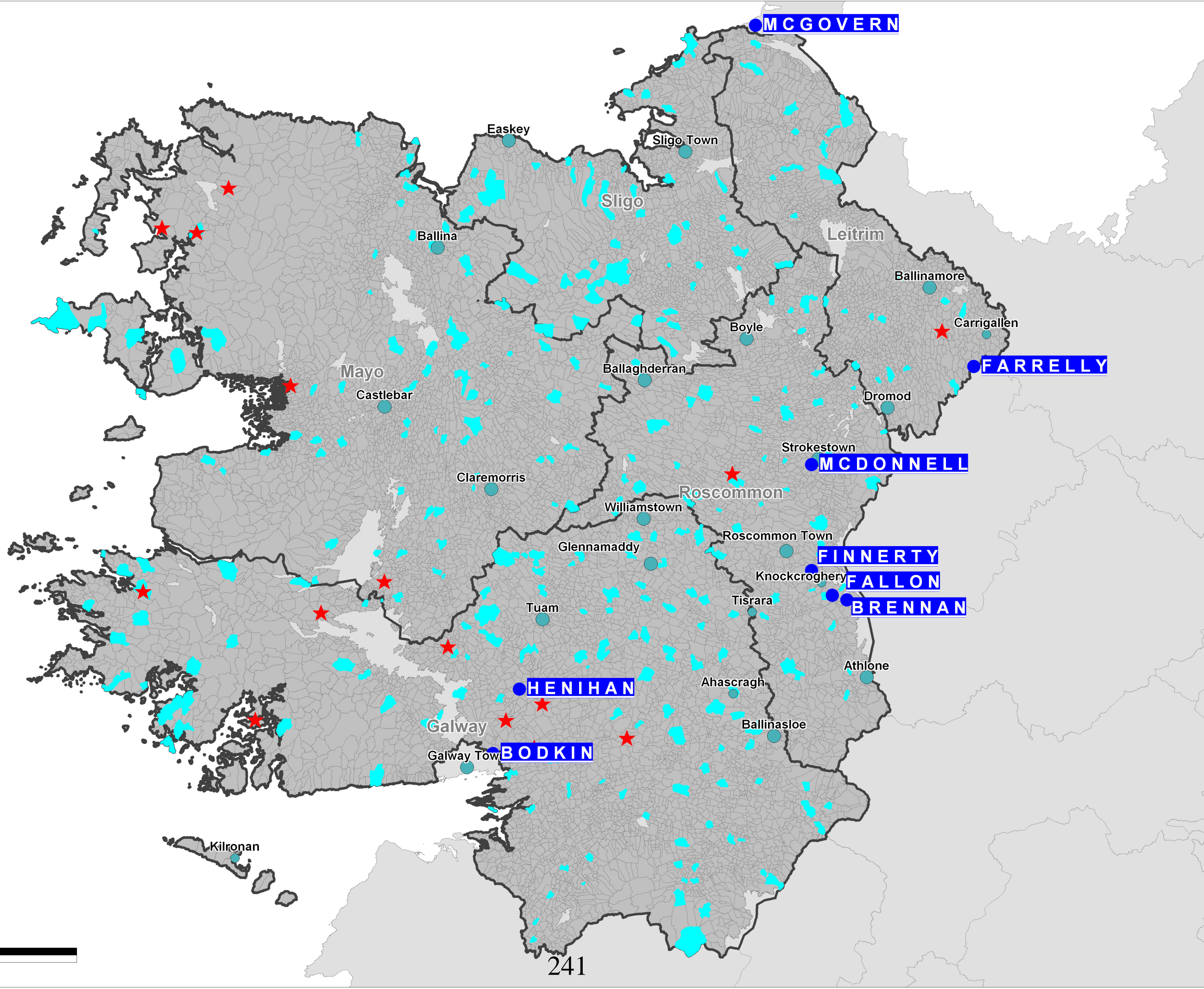
¹¹ Neil Richardson, *A coward if I return, a hero if I fall* (Dublin, 2010), pp 9-11.

¹² Theano S. Terkenli, ‘Home as a region’ in *Geographical review*, lxxxv (3) (1995), pp 324-334.

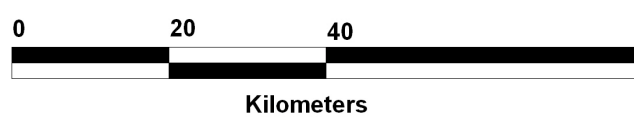
Fig. 6.1 Irish homeplaces of passport applicants, towns, village and townlands, IFC respondents and profiled returnees, 1890-1920

Legend

-  County Boundaries
-  Townland Boundaries - Connaught
-  Townlands with Passport Applicants
-  Towns with Passport Applicants
-  Villages with Passport Applicants
-  IFC Respondent Locations
-  Profiled Returnees



NIRSA
 NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR REGIONAL AND SPATIAL ANALYSIS
 AN INSTITIÚN NAISCIÚNTA CHU ANÁLÁIS REATHNÁISIAICHE AGUS SPAISIAICHE



Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

life history details a returning migrant who came from a more privileged background, but with his experience of emigration from Ireland during the Famine and subsequent return visits to Ireland, he represents the events as encountered by a small, but authentic section of Irish emigrant population. The selected personalities were determined from the list of individuals in the passport database and also individuals identified by *opportunity* during research. Any conclusions about return migration would hopefully effect the ways in which differences in motivation and experience can be respected rather than ‘pigeon-holed’ into neat return categories. In using case studies or life histories, it is hoped to move away from the ‘rut of categories and ... offer instead the rich analyses of people’s lives’.¹³

The personal stories in this chapter begins with recounting the emigrants’ place of origin and home life in Ireland and then traces with as much precision as possible their life course in the United States, their return to Ireland and the outcome of their lives. To research these personal journeys, investigations were made of historical data from sources as diverse as government documents, church records, local history libraries, specific local histories, city directories, and alumni records. Family genealogical research has been used to balance this material as well as, when possible, conducted oral interviews with descendents. Caroline Ware’s approach to evidence was a guiding hand in this work. She emphasized that ‘all types of material, whatever their source or form, may shed light on a problem if they are regarded as evidence and are subjected to the tests and criticisms which all evidence

¹³ Gary Thomas, *How to do your case study: a guide for students and researchers* (London, 2011), pp. 208, 231.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

demands'.¹⁴ It is also good to be mindful of Alistair Thomson's suggestion that 'all forms of inquiry, especially social inquiry, produce knowledge that is provisional, in other words, good only until someone comes along and continues the study'.¹⁵

The basic demographic data for each person outlines their life history. Diligent efforts were made to gather evidence within five personal history categories based on the chronology of a person's life experiences: life at home, emigration, life in States, return to Ireland, and outcome (Appendix Table A1). Each new data element discovered adds to a general profile of the returned migrant. However, detailed and specific information was more readily available for some of the migrants than for others. It is recognized that all life histories have gaps and this has resulted in some life histories being constrained by less evidence and thus of less volume. These contrast with those life histories with more extensive references resulting in greater depth and extent. The religious denomination of returning individuals was not always self-evident in the source evidence and thus religion was not explicitly addressed in the life histories, however it evolved that all eight profiled individuals were drawn from Roman Catholic families. It is hoped that these life histories will lead to a further examination and analysis of future individual stories thus bringing a 'more complex and nuanced set of understandings of return.'¹⁶ Should one attempt to draw generalizations about the emigration and return migration process as it occurred with this group of individuals? While a folklorist might use one person's life story as a case study of norms and folkways of a

¹⁴ Harzig and Hoerder, *What is migration history?* (2009), pp 61-2.

¹⁵ Alistair Thomson, *Moving stories: an intimate history of four women across two countries* (Manchester, 2011), p. 128.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p 128.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

particular community, an historian, with the inclusion of interpretive text, can use a life history to represent the lives of many or as a mirror of the era that the individual experienced.¹⁷ This section of the thesis may thus be said to use the technique of prosopography. Proponents of *prosopography* as a research approach attempt to bring together all relevant biographical data for groups of individuals in a systematic and representative way. The prosopographic method can be viewed as a system of organizing data, attempting to answer the question of representativeness of the source material and at the same time reveal connections and patterns between data sets.

Thomas suggests that case study research is not good research from which to generalize. He suggests that in social inquiry, with certain questions, ‘we are better learning from a specific example. ... The migrant life histories are offered for a purpose, but not as examples from which we can generalize. In each story it is one person and we can make no generalizations about that migrant. ... If you want to talk about a “case” you also need the means of placing it in context’.¹⁸ I suggest the research and discussions provided in the previous chapters place the individuals in these eight life stories in their American and Irish contexts. From family relationships to occupations, from states of health to economic and political occurrences, the profiled individuals are contemporary participants of their time and place.

¹⁷ Peter Heffelfinger and Barbara Heacock, ‘The Man from Maine: Charles Dinsmore, an oral history’ in *Oral History Review*, x (1982), pp 166-82.

¹⁸ Thomas, *How to do your case study*, pp 17-20.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Profile 1

JAMES JOHN FARRELLY, County Leitrim ... *a son from a priestly family* ...

James John Farrelly (1870-1931) is typical of the hundreds of Irish immigrants who made visits home to be with an older and perhaps ill parent close to death. At the same time, he is representative of the thousands of those in the special category of emigrant religious men and women from Ireland. Fr Farrelly spent twenty-nine successful years serving the Boston Diocese as one of the Irish priests specifically trained for the American Mission. Because of Fr Farrelly's religious career, more evidence was located on the stages of his life and career than was usual in any immigration research. Though Farrelly may have returned to Ireland at an earlier date, the available passport records indicate he made a return visit in 1920.

Life at home

James John Farrelly was born 24 June 1870 in Gortermone, Calligallen Parish, in southeast County Leitrim.¹⁹ His father was James John Farrelly of Gortermone²⁰ and his mother was Anne Redeken, born in County Longford.²¹ His

¹⁹ *U.S. Passport Application database*, James J. Farrelly, return 1920 [database online](www.ancestry.com) [accessed 5 July 09]; 1920 Passport photo of Fr James J. Farrelly.

²⁰ LeitrimRoots webpage (www.leitrimroots.com)[accessed 11 April 09]; Leitrim-Roscommon genealogy webpage (www.leitrimroscommon.com)[accessed 11 April 09].

²¹ *U.S. Passport Application database*, James J. Farrelly, return 1920 [database online](www.ancestry.com) [accessed 5 July 09]; NAI Census of Ireland of Population of Ireland, 1901, John Farrelly, Gortermone, Carrigallen, Co Leitrim, microfilm, [accessed 8 July 09].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

known siblings (all born in Gortermone), were Patrick (1866), John, Jr. (1871), Peter (1873) and Bernard (1880).²²

The Gortermone townland name, derived from the Irish *Gort Ar Móin*, meant ‘field of the bog’ or cultivated, rough boggy land. The townland is in the south-west of the parish and traditionally was mainly grazing with some tillage farming.²³ There were two Farrelly families and one Farrelly widow living in the townland at the time of the 1821 Census of Ireland. Both families were well off enough to employ a maid and servant boy.²⁴ At the time of Griffith’s Valuation in 1857, three Farrelly men and their families were living on large adjoining properties in Gortermone. Patrick farmed 18 acres with a rent of £7 a year while Michael and James (grandfather of emigrant James John) together farmed 36 acres for which they paid an annual rent of £11.5s²⁵

As in many Irish rural communities, ‘passionate personalities were communally exhibited’.²⁶ On the one hand, the parish was known for its ‘seething factionalism’ and many people had reportedly lost their lives in faction fights,²⁷ though the Catholic Church attempted to temper this by holding local missions to keep the peace.²⁸ At the same time, oral tradition holds that Gortermone families

²² John Farrelly family genealogy, LeitrimRoots webpage (www.leitrimroots.com) [accessed 11 April 2009]; John Farrelly family genealogy, Leitrim-Roscommon genealogy webpage (www.leitrimroscommon.com) [accessed 11 April 2009].

²³ Raymond Hackett and Michael Reilly (eds.), *Carrigallen parish: a history*, (Ballinamore, 1996), p. 359.

²⁴ Leitrim County Library, Ballinamore, *Return of the population of the Parish of Carrigallen, Co. Leitrim, 1823* (microfilm), pp 114-23.

²⁵ Griffith’s Valuation of Tenements, Union of Mohill, Parish of Carrigallen, Townland of Gortermone, 1857.

²⁶ Patrick Maguire, *A history of Carrigallen* (N.D.) p. 15.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

embraced the belief that ‘ignorance was deplorable, that knowledge was ‘no load to carry’ and that everyone had a right to be taught how to acquire it’.²⁹ Long before the National School system extended education to all in 1854, a hedge school catered to the education of local Carrigallen children. This deeply-rooted belief in education was perhaps persuaded by easy access to nearby *Moyne Latin School* where many young Carrigallen men in the nineteenth century prepared themselves for entry to seminaries and eventual ordination.

A short description of the Moyne Latin School during this period helps set the context for James John’s education and emigration. The Moyne School started with hedge school predecessors and continued for more than a century and a half. No systemic records were kept at the school before the 1930s, however, the school has a rich tradition and the ‘loyalty, love and pride felt by hundreds of its past students [survives] in family traditions and folk memory’.³⁰ A history of the school, written in 1996, counts nearly 600 priests among the past pupils. From records of the Missionary College of All Hallows, Dublin, we learn that a James John Farrelly of Gortemone was one of the Moyne School alumni.³¹

Nearly all Moyne students were native to the dozen rural parishes in a twenty-mile radius of the school including students from Counties Leitrim, Longford, and Cavan. In those days, many future priests travelled on foot to school each day up to six, eight or up to ten miles each way. James John Farrelly himself

²⁹ Hackett and Reilly, *Carrigallen parish: a history*, pp 197-8.

³⁰ Edward Boylan, and Francis Gray, *The Latin School: St. Mary’s Apostolic School, Moyne* (Cavan, 1979), p. 34.

³¹ Fr Kevin Condon, C.M., *The Missionary College of All Hallows, 1842-1891* (Dublin, 1986), p. 360.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

would have walked about a mile and a half each way from his family farm to attend the Moyne School.

It was a good evening if it wasn't raining and an even better one if the wind was at your back. In the winter months, it was often night and the oil light would be lit by the time we reached home. Lessons were done by the light of the same lamp – often left on the table to provide a better chance to study for the chosen son who had been sent to the 'Latin School'.³²

In the 1880s, much of James John's school day would have been 'given to reading, understanding and appreciation of grammar and composition in the Greek and Latin tongue.'³³

The timetable for the senior and junior classes Monday through Thursday dealt with five class periods each forty-five minutes in length studying Latin, Greek, English, Latin Composition and Greek Composition. On Fridays, the boys studied the Old Testament, the New Testament, Christian Doctrine and Reading St. John's Gospel in Latin and Greek. Mathematics were also taught, but often by lay teachers brought in on an ad hoc basis.³⁴

The close proximity of the Moyne Latin School no doubt contributed to the numerous vocations from Carrigallen parish where the tradition of studying for the priesthood appears to have been very strong.³⁵ For both diocesan and American missions, there was a particular tradition of 'priestly' families who, every generation, gave at least one son to the priesthood. Uncles who were priests played a significant role in this as they encouraged nephews and regularly helped finance their education.³⁶ While each townland of Carrigallen can claim two to three priests, Gortermone stands out as exceptional with thirteen priests native to the townland

³² Boylan and Gray, *The Latin School*, p. 14.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

³⁵ Kilian J. Mitchell, *The missionary priests and bishops of the diocese of Kilmore* (Cavan, 2000), pp 34-7.

³⁶ James S. Sullivan, *One hundred years of progress: Catholic Church of New England embracing archdiocese of Boston* (Boston, 1895), pp 31-2.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

including a Farrelly cousin, Patrick (1854-1936), [son of Michael Farrelly and Mary McCabe], ordained in 1888 for Providence, R.I. Four other cousins, related either maternally through the Redehens or by marriage, were also part of the Gortemone tradition: Patrick McCabe (son of John and Jane Redehen), ordained in 1880 for Providence, James McCabe (son of John and Margaret McCabe) ordained in 1940 at Maynooth, his brothers Vincent McCabe, ordained in 1946 at Maynooth and Gerard McCabe, ordained in 1947 at Kilkenny.³⁷

In this manner, James John Farrelly completed his education at Moyne and in a sense, made his first migration from Leitrim to enter All Hallows Missionary College, Drumcondra, Dublin in 1888.³⁸ All Hallows College had been opened in 1842 as a seminary exclusively for the missions. All Hallows had developed a close relationship with various American dioceses, principally on the east coast of the U.S, to provide mission priests for the Irish diaspora. The American Catholic mission was established through All Hallows and Maynooth Colleges because of the religious needs, including denominational schools, for the increased numbers of Catholics who settled in Baltimore and the eastern urban areas of Maryland, in Boston and New York.³⁹ It was noted as early as 1790-1815 by John Carroll, first bishop in the American Catholic Church, that there were insufficient numbers of priests to minister to their needs. He determined that the immediate needs of American Catholics ‘would have to be met by European expatriates until a native clergy emerged from the seminaries’. Carroll requested European priests have a high level

³⁷ Hackett and Reilly, *Carrigallen parish: a history*, p. 83.

³⁸ Condon, *The Missionary College of All Hallows*, p. 360.

³⁹ *Ibid.*; Sullivan, *One hundred years of progress*, p. 1.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

of fluency in the English language and have a good understanding of American culture and the American way of life.⁴⁰

From 1842 to 1896, 1,407 priests had been trained at All Hallows, ninety-two of whom were from the diocese of Kilmore and who had been ordained for the North American mission.⁴¹ It should be noted that similarly, Church of Ireland clergymen from Trinity College Dublin were arriving in the U.S. to meet the needs of the Anglican communities. Some Kilmore seminary students spent a few years in the Irish seminaries before finishing their major studies in the U.S.⁴² After his seminary studies at All Hallows, James John was eventually assigned to the Boston archdiocese to be part of the ‘American mission’ providing pastoral care to the Irish immigrants in Massachusetts.⁴³

Emigration

It was under the auspices of the Boston archdiocese that James John Farrelly emigrated on the *SS Cephalonia* to Boston arriving in April 1891 when he was nineteen years of age.⁴⁴ In 1903 and 1904, following the common pattern of chain migration, James John sent tickets to bring over two of his brothers, Patrick and Bernard respectively.⁴⁵ No emigration information has been located for his other

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp 190-91.

⁴¹ Tom Sullivan, ‘Wherever you go you find a Catholic congregation: aspects of the Catholic missionary movement from the diocese of Kilmore to North America in the nineteenth century’ (M.A. thesis, Queens University, Belfast, 2007), pp 10-12.

⁴² William L. Smith, ‘Immigrant Irish secular priests in America’ in *History Ireland*, viii, (2000), pp 41-51.

⁴³ Daniel Murphy, *A history of Irish emigrant and missionary education* (Dublin, 2000), p 280.

⁴⁴ U.S. Census, 1900, Middlesex, Newton, MA, 8&9 June 1900, ED 905, pg 7B, line xx (www.ancestry.com)[accessed 6 March 2009]; Emigration databases, Boston Ships Manifests, www.ancestry.com [accessed 9 September 2009]

⁴⁵ Leitrim Births, Carrigallen Parish, Civil records, Farrelly family, www.leitrimroots.com [accessed 9 September 2009].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

brother Peter, however, in the 1911 Irish census, one Peter Farrelly with his wife Eliza, are farming in the Corduff North district less than 2 kilometres from Carrigallen. The really interesting part of the record are the four children, John, James, Catherine and Elizabeth (the youngest one year old), all whom were recorded as being born in America. This may have been brother Peter returning recently from the States with wife and family or possibly a Farrelly cousin.⁴⁶

Life in the United States

Each stage of James John's career in the United States was by and large directed and controlled by the archdiocese of Boston. As a result, many details emerge from his archdiocesan assignment card (1897-1931) which gives a good picture of his professional life and religious career.⁴⁷ However, little is known about how he spent his personal time or what were his personal likes and dislikes. He would be described by parishioners as a 'dedicated and focused' worker, but we can make few assumptions about his personal life beyond that he may have occasionally vacationed in the States with his brothers and cousins.⁴⁸

Seminary Education and Ordination, 1891-1897:

The Boston archdiocese sent him first to an American seminary at Mount St. Mary's in Baltimore, Maryland, an institution established by Bishop Carroll as part of his program to provide for the religious needs of Catholics in America. Here

⁴⁶ National Archives of Ireland, Census of Population of Ireland, 1911, manuscript, Co. Leitrim, Peter Farrelly family, Carrigallen parish.

⁴⁷ Archives of the Archdiocese of Boston, Mr. Robert Johnson-Lally, email message dated 23 February 2009.

⁴⁸ St. Monica's Parish, Methuen, MA, *Fiftieth anniversary booklet* (Methuen, MA, 1968), pp 5-9.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

James would have been educated in the ways of the American Catholic Church and American way of life as proscribed by Carroll's early dictates.⁴⁹ After Farrelly spent his five years at St Mary's, he was ordained there on June 13, 1897 by Rt. Rev. Edward P. Allen, D.D.⁵⁰ His new position as priest carried status and earnings that could be quite substantial for his family back home in Ireland.

After ordination, a priest was expected to repay the family investment from his presumed wealth as a priest. In the 1870s those ordained for the American mission could work up to a yearly salary of \$400 plus additional fees gathered from masses, funerals, weddings, pew rents, sodality memberships and plate collections. A considerable amount of these monies were expected by the families to be sent home as remittances.⁵¹

First Assignment - Newton, MA - 1897-1917

Soon after his ordination, the relatively young Fr Farrelly (27) was assigned by Archbishop Williams to be an assistant superintendent of the newly-built Working Boys Home in Newton, MA.⁵² Archbishop Williams had the overwhelming task of providing new parishes and social services for the Irish from the 1860s through the 1890s.⁵³ Williams was said to 'judge an individual on his character, on his "moral individuality"'.⁵⁴ We have no documentation as to the selection circumstances, however, Fr Farrelly must have shown to Archbishop

⁴⁹ Daniel Murphy, *A history of Irish emigrant and missionary education*, p 191.

⁵⁰ James J. Farrelly, returned 1920, Co. Leitrim, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 3 March 2008]; Archives of the Archdiocese of Boston (AAB), Rev. James J. Farrelly assignment card, 1897-1931.

⁵¹ Sullivan, *One hundred years of progress*, pp 23-4.

⁵² AAB, email message dated 23 February 2009.

⁵³ Donna Merwick, *Boston priests, 1848-1910: A study of social and intellectual change* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 71.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Williams significant leadership and organizational skills during his seminary years to be given this position as his first assignment. Most of the young priests in his class would have been given assignments as curates or assistant parish priests or junior administrators within the Diocese administration.⁵⁵

Fr Farrelly supervised both a large institution and a sizeable staff; a prefect, one engineer, two farmers, one printer, one journalist, Franciscan Sisters (Mother Superior and six nuns in charge of domestic affairs), four female servants, and 135 boys, most Massachusetts-born children of immigrants of various ethnic groups.⁵⁶ There were also temporary quarters provided for ‘unfortunate lads thrown upon their own resources for a living before they had reached twelve years.’⁵⁷ The Working Boys Home facility encompassed sixty acres of open space and wooded area and was in reality an extension to an original school building in downtown Boston where homeless working boys, ‘without distinction of creed or color,’ had been given a temporary home and schooling by the archdiocese since 1883 (Figure 6.2).

Fr Farrelly’s facility had an expanded curriculum to include educational and industrial departments. The boys over twelve years received ‘the usual grammar school education’ and were instructed in the trades of ‘baking, tailoring, shoemaking, printing and carpentry.’⁵⁸ In the surroundings, land was laid out as a model farm where the boys would be trained in agricultural skills. If employed part-time, the boys were required to pay a percentage of their earnings towards their keep. After

⁵⁵ Archives of Mt. St. Mary’s Seminary, Emmetsberg, MD, archivist Irene Powell, June 2009.

⁵⁶ Sullivan, *One hundred years of progress*, p. 266.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 265-6.

⁵⁸ Sullivan, *One hundred years of progress*, p. 267.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

graduating from the school in Newton, the boys were sent to the original facility in Boston where an employment bureau helped them to obtain work.⁵⁹

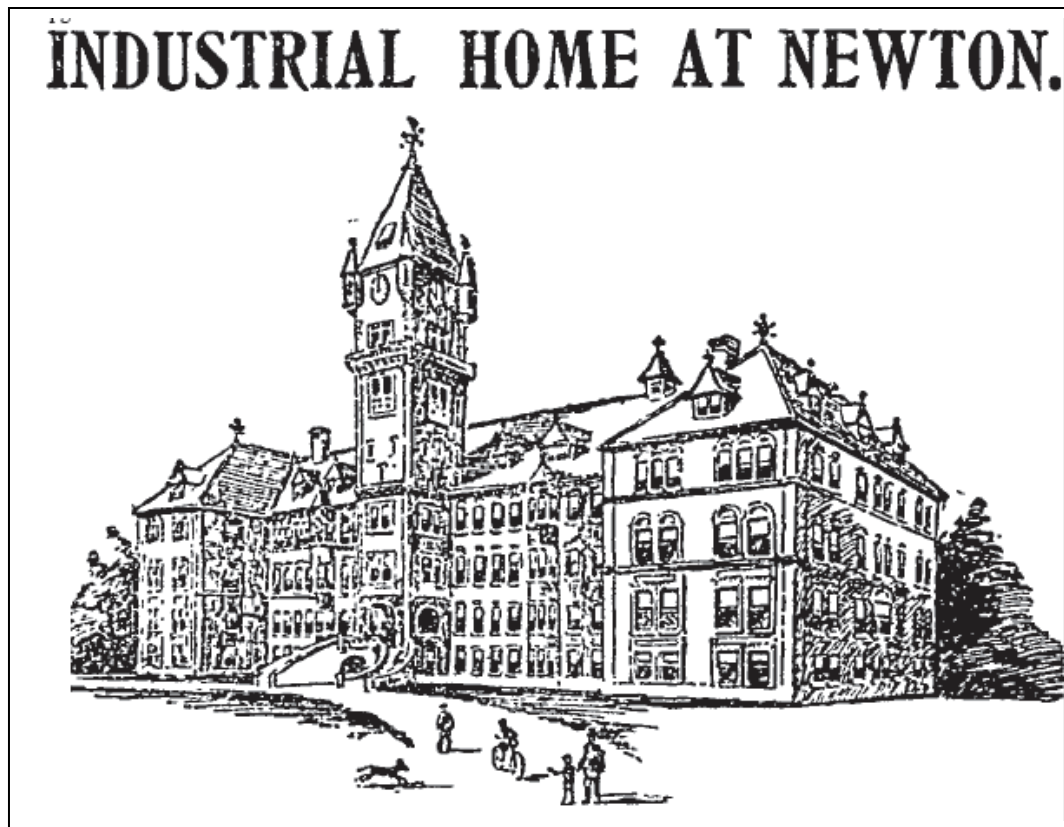


Fig.6.2 Sketch of new Working Boys Home in Newton, Massachusetts, 1896. Fr Farrelly was an assistant supervisor from 1897-1917. source: *The Boston Globe*, 26 Apr 1896, p. 32.

The 1900 Newton census lists Father Farrelly in his role as Assistant Superintendent of the Boys Home, though the archdiocese's records have him working at the school from 1899 (Figure 6.3).⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ U.S. Federal Census, 1900, Massachusetts, Middlesex County, Newton town, James J. Farrelly, 8&9 June 1900, ED 905, p. 7B, line 26.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Second Assignment, Bridgewater, MA – 1915 to 1917

Reassigned from the Working Boys School in 1915, Fr Farrelly was sent to serve at the parish of St Thomas Aquinas in Bridgewater, Massachusetts where many of the parishioners were Irish immigrant workers employed by Lazell's Iron Foundry and the Bridgewater Iron Co.⁶¹ Here as assistant pastor, he was prepared for the goal of having his own parish.

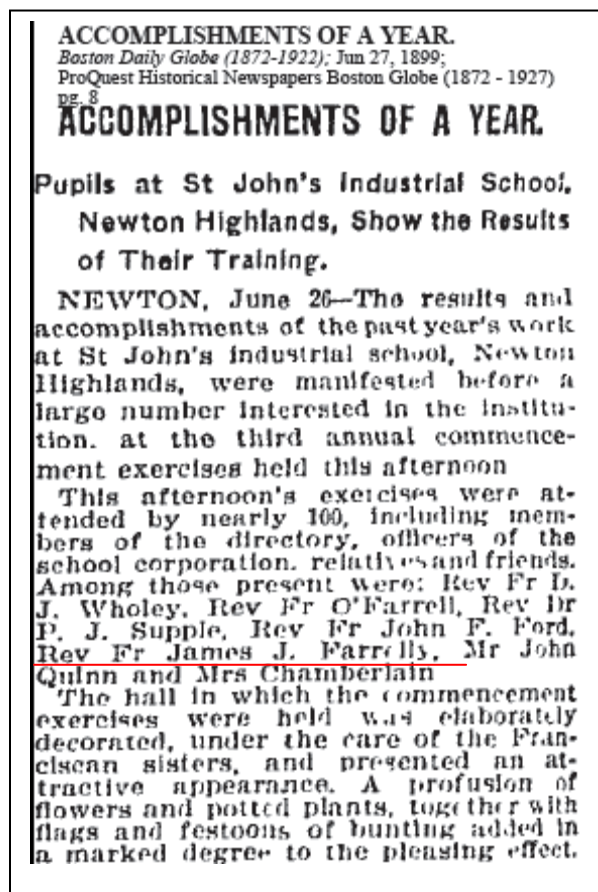


Fig. 6.3 - *Boston Globe* report on activities at Working Boys Home, June 1899

Third Assignment 1917-1931:

Near the end of July 1917, Cardinal O'Connell appointed Fr Farrelly as administrator and resident priest for the new parish of St Monica's Church opened in

⁶¹ AAB , email message, 23 February 2009.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Methuen, MA. A persuasive parish committee had made an appeal to separate from the parent parish of St. Mary's in nearby Lawrence, MA. His priestly duties at St Monica's began immediately on the Sunday after his appointment with three baptisms and a marriage. Fr Farrelly was to stay in the parish until his retirement in 1931.⁶²

For most of its history, the Catholic Church in the United States had depended on international priests serving in its parishes. 'Until the end of the nineteenth century, foreign priests - mainly from Ireland, France and Germany – dominated the Church in America' but Irish priests were the most common foreign-born priests.⁶³ Not all immigrant priests were successful and some were considered troublemakers by the church. One of the main complaints was that European priests preferred a more hierarchical, less republican-style church than the Americans and they sometimes struggled to understand and adapt to the separation of church and state.⁶⁴ In his new assignment, Fr Farrelly joined scores of Irish mission priests throughout the Boston area who had come from a similar Irish culture back home. He was doubtlessly able to empathise with the immigrants who were his parishioners.⁶⁵ Fr. Farrelly would be mostly concerned with carrying out pastoral duties which supported the Irish immigrants in their new homes and occupations. As with the majority of the parish priests, these men were the primary church individuals responsible for building the infrastructure of the American Catholic Church in New England, establishing basic church facilities, schools, hospitals and

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Dean R. Hoge and Aniedi Okure, 'International priests in American history' in Dean R. Hoge and Aniedi Okure, *International priests: new ministers in the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 2005), p. 13.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p 2.

⁶⁵ St. Monica's Parish, *Fiftieth anniversary booklet*, pp 5-9.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

orphanages and many would in the end be described as ‘bricks and mortar’ priests.⁶⁶ Archbishop Gaetano Bedini, Papal Envoy to the United States reflected that ‘the most outstanding priest is the one who built the most churches and began the most institutions’ making a priority of building the physical infrastructure.⁶⁷ This philosophy went along with the development program stressed by the Cardinal O’Connell to build-up the infrastructure of the American church with many new churches and schools.⁶⁸

At St Monica’s in Methuen, Father Farrelly was known as an ‘indefatigable worker’.⁶⁹ As the United States had entered World War I about five months before he took office, young men in his parish were going off to war and he offered them much needed spiritual comfort and solace. His duties in general were heavy, along with most of the Catholic clergy, he offered masses, heard confessions, ‘visited the sick, comforted the bereaved, married the young, buried the dead and chastised alcoholic and abusive husbands, wayward wives and delinquent children’.⁷⁰

While living in Methuen, Fr Farrelly became a naturalized American citizen on 15 December 1919 in the U.S. District Court in Boston.⁷¹ One of the first projects undertaken by Fr Farrelly was renovation of the church building which was in urgent need of repair. Since there was a war going on, building materials were in short supply and it was reported that Fr Farrelly’s enthusiasm and hard work,

⁶⁶ William Byrne et al., *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States: History of Hartford*, (2 vol., Boston, 1889), ii, p. 180

⁶⁷ Sullivan, *One hundred years of progress*, p. 85.

⁶⁸ Byrne, *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*, p. 181.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Farrelly, James J., returned 1920, Co. Leitrim, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 3 March 2008].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

brought about ‘the repair work, redecorating and installation of first-ever electric lights ...accomplished in the church in time for Mass on Christmas Day.’⁷²

Farrelly’s next project involved reducing the \$6,000 church debt owed to the Boston Archdiocese for the construction of the original church. With a greatly focused effort, Fr Farrelly is reported to have organized the payment of the debt by June 1918, within a year of his arrival in the parish. Fr Farrelly and his curate used a small wood frame house as the rectory until 1922 when a wealthy and prominent citizen deeded land for a fine stone rectory (seventeen rooms and four baths and an electric refrigerator) adjacent to the church.⁷³ As well as being a religious and educational institution, St Monica’s functioned as a growing social force in the community and under the supervision of Fr Farrelly, there was encouragement for parish activities such as the drama club to provide popular and regular social events.

Return to Ireland

In 1901, Fr Farrelly’s parents were still living at home in Gortermone with two grown sons, John Jr. (28) and Bernard (20). In October 1904, John Jr. married Sarah Kilkenny from a neighbouring townland in Aughava parish⁷⁴ Then in the summer of 1909, the Farrelly brothers in the United States received the sad news that their mother Anne had died after suffering for six months with stomach cancer.⁷⁵ By the 1911 census, James’ widowed father, John, Sr (77) headed a household

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Sullivan, *One hundred years of progress*, p. 85.

⁷⁴ General Registry Office (GRO), marriage record, John Farrelly, Jr. and Sarah Kilkenn, Carrigallen, Leitrim, 25 Oct 1904.

⁷⁵ GRO, death record, Anne Farrelly, Carrigallen, Leitrim, 13 Jun 1909.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

containing his son John Jr. (29), John Jr.'s wife Sarah Jane (32), and a new 10-month-old grandson, John Joe.

In May 1920, Fr Farrelly applied for a U.S. passport to travel to Ireland. At that time he was forty-nine yrs old, 5 ft. 9 in. in height with grey hair and blue eyes. His passport photo shows a distinguished older man in a Roman collar (Figure 6.4).

⁷⁶ He sailed from New York in early May having stated his primary purpose for the trip was to see his father who may have been ill. During his visit home, Fr Farrelly would have typically spent his time with his family and reuniting with friends of his youth.

Fig. 6.4 Fr James John Farrelly,
passport photo, 1920



With the consent of the local parish priest, Fr Farrelly may have said a Mass in Carrigallen. Most of his time during the summer visit would most likely be spent helping his brother in the fields or re-creating the activities of his youth.⁷⁷ Fr. Farrelly would most likely have caught up on the news of the place and be inundated

⁷⁶ Farrelly, James J., returned 1920, Co. Leitrim, *U.S. passport applications, 1795-1925* [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 3 March 2008].

⁷⁷ Interview with Fr Killian Mitchell, Kilnacrott Abbey, Ballyjamesduff, Co. Cavan, 28 April 2009.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

with stories of the renewed emigration from the area. The local newspaper claimed emigration, which had ceased during World War I, had begun again all over Ireland. On 8 May 1920, it was reported that queues of sixty young boys and girls of twenty years of age, principally from Galway and Mayo, were lined up outside the offices of the American Consulate waiting their turn to have their passes for America ‘vised’. It was also reported that the outgoing vessels carried large numbers of returning migrants.⁷⁸ The other topic of importance that Spring would have been local activities involved in the fight for independence. In the 1910s and 1920s, a hut was built and used as a meeting place in Carrigallen itself by the local company of the Irish Volunteers and there was significant Black and Tan activity in the county.⁷⁹

Return to United States

Fr Farrelly stayed with his father and his brother John’s family for two and a half months in County Leitrim, and then returned to Massachusetts at the end of July on the *SS Imperator*.⁸⁰ He returned to a full and demanding life as pastor of St Monica’s in Methuen and continued his duties there, assisted by a curate and housekeeper, through the 1920s and into 1931.⁸¹

Archdiocesan records show that Fr Farrelly retired from St Monica’s as pastor in February 1931.⁸² After fourteen years of service to the parish in Methuen, he did not move home to County Leitrim, as might be expected, but instead settled

⁷⁸ *The Anglo-Celt*, 8 May 1920.

⁷⁹ Carrigallen.com in the heart of Lovely Leitrim website, www.carrigallen.com/1900-1920.htm [accessed 20 September 2009].

⁸⁰ *SS Imperator*, 31 July 1920, from New York to London, James J. Farrelly, U.K Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878-1960 [database online] (www.ancestry.co.uk) [accessed 11 September 09].

⁸¹ 1920 US Census, Methuen, Massachusetts; 1930 US Census, Methuen, Massachusetts, (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 12 September 09].

⁸² AAB, email message, dated 23 February 2009.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

within the Methuen community. Then in July 1931, Fr Farrelly made a visit to Iowa to enjoy several weeks holiday with relatives and old friends.⁸³ During his visit to Fr J.G. Murtagh in Emmetsburg, Iowa, Fr Farrelly reminisced affectionately about when he was a young priest at the Working Boys School in Newton, Massachusetts. He recalled starting a band there as soon as he arrived in 1898. The band increased in size until it had 55 members and on one occasion played for President Theodore Roosevelt. He was especially proud that in 1901 eleven boys of the school band were taken on board a Navy vessel in Boston harbour where they enlisted for four years. The commander of the Navy stated it was the first all-American band in the American Navy. Many alumni of the school band went on to famous musical careers.⁸⁴

This visit to Iowa may have been a fact-finding trip to investigate possible retirement plans. Fr Farrelly moved to Iowa shortly thereafter to live out his remaining years among several of his Farrelly cousins. These relatives in Crawford County, Iowa had immigrated from Drumhalry, Co. Longford, near his home in Carrigallen, County Leitrim.⁸⁵ One of these cousins was a Denison farmer (Peter J. Farrelly) and two were also priests (Rev Michael J. Farrelly of Denison, Iowa and Rev F. Patrick Farrelly of Sheldon, Iowa).⁸⁶ Fr Farrelly may have felt that in moving to Iowa for his retirement years he would be surrounded by the supportive kinship network which existed there among all the Farrelly immigrant relatives.

⁸³ *The Democrat*, Emmetsburg, Iowa, 17 Sep 1931.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ St. Monica's Parish, *Fiftieth anniversary booklet*, pp 5-9.

⁸⁶ *The Denison Review*, 19 Dec 1899, obituary of Mrs. Mary Farrelly (1825-1899) of Drumhalry, Co. Longford.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Outcome

Fr. James John Farrelly died in Crawford County on 3 February 1933. He was taken from Houlihan's Funeral Home in Sheldon, Iowa to a diocesan burial plot in St Cecilia's Cemetery outside of the town of Sanborn in O'Brien County.⁸⁷ The cemetery is located about 100 miles from Denison where his relatives lived. There is no record to tell us if these were his personal instructions (one anomaly was that his name on the headstone listed him as John J. rather than James J). He had left Ireland as a teenager and lived in the United States for forty years. His headstone in this isolated cemetery in Iowa simply reads 'John J. Farrelly 1870-1933 Priest' (Figure 6.5).⁸⁸



Fig 6.5 Headstone of Fr Farrelly, St Cecilia's Cemetery, Sanborn, Iowa. Photo by Janet Branson of Sheldon, Iowa & IowaGenWeb.



⁸⁷ Tombstones of O'Brien County, page 42, *Iowa Cemetery records* [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 12 September 09].

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Profile 2

DENIS HENIHAN, Co. Galway... *very much attached to New York and the US ...*

Denis Henihan (1888-1969) was a thirty-three year old commercial chauffeur in New York, originally from Carrownruane, Annaghdown, County Galway. He had emigrated and planned to make his life in America when he received a summons in 1921 to return home to Ireland. He is typical of the Irish-Americans who found they were obligated to their family to return home and take over the farm. In Denis' case, his brother, designated to have the farm, was killed in the British Army during WWI. Denis became the immigrant sibling selected to return from America to do the 'right thing'.⁸⁹

Life at home

Denis Henehan was born 4 October 1888 in Carrownrooaun townland, Annaghdown parish, south of Tuam, in County Galway.⁹⁰ His father was Thomas Henihan (b.1846) of Carrownrooaun⁹¹ and his mother was Mary Lardner (b.1847) from the townland of Knockdoe, County Galway about one mile away.⁹² Parents Thomas and Mary Henehan were a made match, neighbours from adjacent parishes,

⁸⁹ Family records of Denis Henihan, held by grandson John Cunningham, History Department, NUI Galway; US Passport Application Database, application of Denis Henihan (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 04 December 08].

⁹⁰ GRO birth record for Denis Henihan; 4 Oct 1888, Carranruane (Supt District of Tuam, Reg. district of Headford, Co Galway), Honour Henighan present at birth, made her mark.

⁹¹ Galway Family History Society West Ltd, family history ref. no. 851-248 – Heneghan Family, 4 November 2010. Family folklore holds that Thomas' father's name was Bartholemew (called Bartley).

⁹² Interview with John Cunningham, NUI Galway, grandson of Denis Henihan, September 2009.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Carrownrooaun in Annaghdown and Knockdoe in Lackagh. Carrownrooaun townland is adjacent to and slightly north of Knockdoe townland on the opposite side of the Galway to Tuam road.⁹³ Thomas and Mary had married on 2 February 1868 in Lackagh parish.⁹⁴ The other ten children in the family were all born in Carrownrooaun, starting with the eldest; Thomas (1868), Bartly (1870), John (1872), Patrick (1875), Honor (Nora) (1877), Ellen (1879-died young), Martin (Mattie) (1881), Hubert (Hugh) (1884), Michael (1886), and Mary (1891).⁹⁵

The Henihans in Carrownrooaun farmed an area that presented a constant struggle in indifferent soil in southwest Annaghdown though records indicate they had survived there for several generations. There were two Henihan families living in Carrownrooaun at the time of 1857 Griffith's Valuation living in adjoining properties, Bartholomew Henihan held approximately seventeen acres with a rent of £7 a year and Martin Henihan held a slightly larger through poorer quality property of approximately nineteen acres with a rent of £6 18 s. a year.⁹⁶ Family oral history tells of many in the family who went to New York City.⁹⁷ The 1901 census indicates that four of the Henihan siblings, Bartly, Thomas, John and Ellen, were no longer living in the household, perhaps having emigrated to New York during the 1890s when in their twenties. By 1911, another three siblings, Patrick, Hugh and Michael, were not in the 1911 census. More detailed emigration research discovered

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Galway Family History Society West Ltd, Family History ref. No. 851-248 – Heneghan Family, 4 Nov 2010.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Griffith's Valuation of Tenements, Union of Tuam, Parish of Annaghdown, Townland of Carrownrooaun.

⁹⁷ Interview with John Cunningham, September 2009.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

that Patrick went to New York in 1892⁹⁸, Bartly and Hugh were in New York by 1910⁹⁹. and Michael to Sheffield, England before 1914.¹⁰⁰ Family lore also tells that Martin eventually emigrated out to his brothers. Norah and Mary stayed at home, though Mary would eventually marry a postman, Paddy Grady, from Monilea, Co. Galway.

Emigration

Thus Denis was 24 years old when he decided to leave home, many of his siblings were no longer at home. The older emigrant brothers and sisters, having already emigrated, were said to have spent the rest of their lives in New York City (Figure 6.6).¹⁰¹ It is likely that the immigrant siblings sent the passage money which brought Denis out to New York City.¹⁰² He sailed in October 1912 on the *S.S. Oceanic* from Queenstown to New York. The manifest record stated he was a single labourer, twenty-four years old, intending to stay permanently in the U.S. and was able to read and write. He was originally from Co. Galway and his nearest relative at home was listed as his father, Thomas Henihan, Carranruane, Claregalway.¹⁰³ From his passport application we learn his physical description: 5' 11" tall with brown

⁹⁸ U.S. Federal Census, 1920, Methuen, MA, James J, Farrelly [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 12 September 2009].

⁹⁹ Photograph of Henihan brothers, Bartley (mustache), Hugh (centre) and Denis, in New York, between 1911-1920, provided by John Cunningham, NUI Galway, Denis' grandson, 15 April 2011.

¹⁰⁰ *Soldiers Died in the Great War, 1914-1919, part 69 – The Connacht Rangers*, (London, 1921), p. 63.

¹⁰¹ Interview with John Cunningham, September 2009.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *S.S. Oceanic*, 12 October 1912, from Queenstown to New York, Denis Henihan, New York Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820-1943 [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com), [accessed 17 November 2010].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

hair, fair complexion, and blue eyes and missing the top part of one finger on his right hand.¹⁰⁴

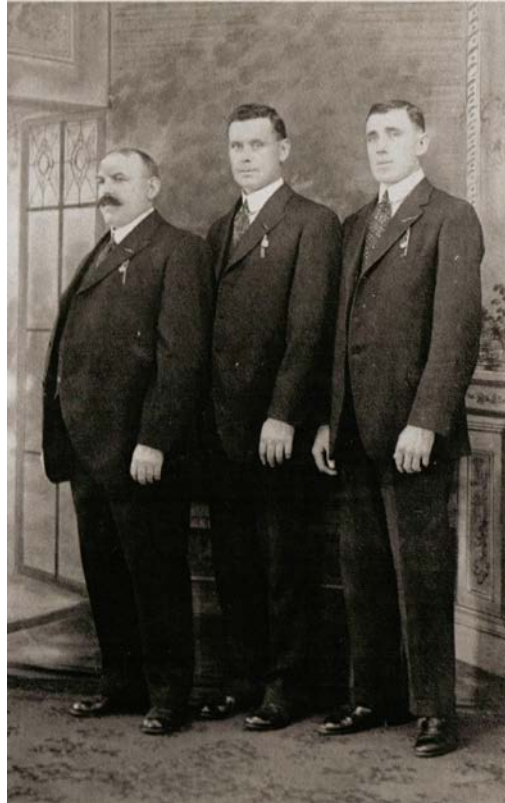


Fig. 6.6 Henihan brothers, Bartley (moustache), Hugh (centre) and Denis (right), in New York City, between 1911-1920. source: John Cunningham, NUI Galway, grandson of Denis.

Life in the United States

Without other evidence, it is assumed that Denis worked as a labourer in New York City from his arrival in 1912 until 1918. Then in 1918 he was drafted into the American military and served for fifteen months (Aug 1918-Oct 1919) as an able seaman with the United States Merchant Marine.¹⁰⁵ The Merchant Marine (as part

¹⁰⁴ Interview with John Cunningham, September 2009; letter from John Cunningham, 13 Sep 2011-Denis told John the damage resulted from an accident involving a horse cart and gate before emigration.

¹⁰⁵ Henihan, Denis, returned 1921, Co. Galway, *US passport applications, 1795-1925* [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 04 December 08].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

of the U.S. naval forces) consisted of American ships which transported soldiers and supplies of the American Expeditionary Force back and forth across the Atlantic. It was dangerous and risky work with higher rates of loss (from German submarines, torpedoes, bombs and mines) than experienced by the regular U.S. Navy ships themselves. The Commander of the U. S. Naval Forces in European Waters during WWI, Admiral William Snowden Sims, praised the performance of the Merchant Marine:

The courage, initiative, and sense of responsibility, skill in handling ships of all types, and noteworthy seamanship characterized the merchantmen. Without the merchantmen's skill, courage and loyalty the war could not have been won.¹⁰⁶

Most of Denis' naval career was served abroad the *U.S.S. Kroonland*, a passenger steamship converted to a Naval troop ship at the outbreak of World War I.¹⁰⁷ On board the *Kroonland*, Denis held the rating (occupation) of SC3c – ship's cook, third class, as part of the Sixth Division (yeomen, cooks, and bakers) (Figure 6.7). The Sixth was jokingly referred to as the 'Foreign Legion' because of the significant number of immigrant seamen represented within: Russian, Greek, Turk, Swedish, Norwegian, English, Italian, French, Spanish, and Philippino were represented by one or two men from each nationality while notably, there were seventeen Irish sailors. There were also eighty-one American born men.¹⁰⁸ The *Kroonland* served as a transport ship crossing between the United States and Great

¹⁰⁶ *American Merchant Marine at War* (www.USMM.org) [accessed 15 November 2009].

¹⁰⁷ Naval History and Heritage Command (<http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/sh-usn/usnsh-k/id1541.htm>) [accessed 15Sep2011].

¹⁰⁸ Ralph M. Griswold, *War book of the U.S.S. Kroonland "Empress of the Seas" 1918-1919* (Chicago, 1919), pp 46-7.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Britain making five round-trip voyages carrying American troops to France.¹⁰⁹ On at least one occasion, Denis and his friends (according to his own recollections to his grandson) made a trip to visit Paris while on liberty leave.¹¹⁰ Until the November 1918 Armistice ended the fighting in Europe, the *Kroonland* returned from each trip carrying wounded military home from the fighting. On 10 July 1918, an encounter with an enemy U-Boat produced some military maneuvering which may have damaged the submarine with gunfire, however, the *Kroonland* emerged unhurt. After the Armistice, the *Kroonland* began bringing veterans home from the former war zone until she was decommissioned at the beginning of October 1919.



Fig. 6.7 U.S. Navy transport ship .S.S. *Kroonland* - 6th Division of yeomen, cooks and bakers – March 1919. Denis Henihan is one of the above merchant marines, but is as yet unidentified.
source: Naval History and Heritage Command (<http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/sh-usn/usnsh-k/id1541.htm>) [accessed 15Sep2011].

¹⁰⁹ Naval History and Heritage Command (<http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/sh-usn/usnsh-k/id1541.htm>) [accessed 15Sep2011].

¹¹⁰ Interview with John Cunningham, September 2009

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

During the rest of his life, Denis expressed to his family a feeling of great connection with his experiences in the American military during WWI.¹¹¹ As a result of his military service, Denis became a naturalised American citizen in 1918.¹¹²

Denis was living in New York City with his brother Patrick in 1920. Denis stated his occupation to be a commercial chauffeur, however, the family in Ireland always thought that since he had not known how to drive a car while in Ireland, he had actually been a horse-drawn streetcar conductor while in New York.¹¹³ His brother Patrick, after arriving in 1892, had become a naturalized citizen in 1897 and married Margaret, another Irish immigrant, whose home county is unknown. Patrick lived in Manhattan and worked as an engineer for the Harvard Club in New York City.¹¹⁴

In Carrownrooan, brother Michael, next younger to Denis by two years, was living and working at the family farm lived and worked alongside his father Thomas during the difficult economic years in Galway before World War I. To assist his family financially, it appears Michael migrated, though perhaps initially as a seasonal labourer, to Rotherham in Yorkshire, England. Unfortunately, there is little published research regarding Irish immigration in the Rotherham area, but anecdotally, there is some evidence of Irishmen coming to the Rotherham area just before World War I to work in the new collieries then being sunk, notably at Silverwood and Maltby. This is given some substance by the founding of Roman

¹¹¹ Interview with John Cunningham, September 2009.

¹¹² U.S. passport application database, Denis Henihan record; interview with grandson, John Cunningham, September 2009, see Chapter 3, returning military veterans.

¹¹³ US Federal Census, 1920, New York State, Manhattan, Denis Henihan [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 15 May 2009].

¹¹⁴ US Federal Census, 1920, New York State, Manhattan, Patrick Henihan [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 15 May 2009].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Catholic churches in Thrybergh (near Silverwood) in 1911 and Maltby in 1912, villages which were not otherwise likely to have many Catholic inhabitants.¹¹⁵

Michael Henihan was living and working in Rotherham when, apparently in response to the pressure of military recruitment before WWI, he and his friends enlisted in the British Army in 1914.¹¹⁶ Throughout England (and Ireland) young men between eighteen and twenty-five years of age were being urged to enlist in the British Army. By researching Michael's military service number (14572), we can follow the activities of his military career. First he enlisted in the local York and Lancashire regiment of the British Army. However, when in 1915 the Connacht Rangers came to Basingstoke in Hampshire, Michael transferred into the 5th Battalion of the Irish regiment, with his new service number 3191.¹¹⁷ He was with the Connacht Rangers in July 1915 when they left for Gallipoli. After arriving, over the following weeks they experienced savage fighting and horrendous casualties. When it became apparent that the Allies would not be successful in forcing out the Turks, many of the British troops, including the 5th Battalion, were then deployed to Salonika in the autumn of 1915. In October and November, they moved through Serbia and by late November, as they were fighting near the Serbian border, Michael Henihan was wounded.

Michael Henihan was carried back through the British lines to Midros Island and then transported to a British Army hospital in Alexandria, Egypt. Many of the British soldiers were lost when hospital ships or transports were sunk in the

¹¹⁵ Interview with Celia Parker, Assistant Archivist, Archives and Local History Service, Rotherdam Central Library, 12 October 2009.

¹¹⁶ *Soldiers Died in the Great War, 1914-1919, part 69 – The Connacht Rangers*, (London, 1921), pp 63-4; Adrian Gregory and Senia Pašeta, *Ireland and the great war: 'a war to unite us all'?* (Manchester, 2002), pp 1-7.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Mediterranean, sailing to or from Alexandria while others died of wounds or sickness while aboard such vessels and were buried at sea. Though Michael made it alive to the hospital in Egypt, he then died from double pneumonia on 4 Dec. 1915.¹¹⁸ He is buried in the Chatby Military and War Memorial Cemetery (originally the Garrison cemetery) in Alexandria, Egypt.¹¹⁹ Michael received the Victory and British War campaign medals for his military service with the Connacht Rangers.¹²⁰

Return to the United States

While Denis was serving in the Merchant Marine, his father died in 1916-1917.¹²¹ The family farm was taken over by his siblings Martin (Matie) and Nora, neither of whom married.¹²² At some point around that time, Denis' uncle Mike Lardner, who had no children of his own, invited Denis to take over the running of his farm in Knockdoe while promising to make Denis his heir. Though Denis returned to Ireland in November 1921, but he did not necessarily intend to stay as he stated on his passport that he intended to go home for only 6 months. Again, relationships changed his plans as they did with many returned migrants. Before Denis had left for America in 1912, he had been engaged to a woman from a nearby townland, but she had since married. Denis conducted a courtship with Mary Feeney,

¹¹⁸ GRO, death record, Michael Henihan, age 29, Rgtl. 3191, rank Private 5th Battalion, place of death: Alexandria, cause of death double pneumonia.

¹¹⁹ *Commonwealth War Graves Commission* (www.cwgc.org/search/cemetery_tails.aspx?cemetery=10702&mode=1) [accessed 01 October 09].

¹²⁰ British National Archives (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/medals.asp) [accessed 2 September 09].

¹²¹ Interview with John Cunningham, September 2009.

¹²² Letter from John Cunningham, September 2011: Denis' second son Bernard would eventually inherit the Henihan farm.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

daughter of Bernard (Brian) Feeney, a herdsman from Corbolley, Cummer, whose brothers were rumoured to have been active in the IRA during the War of Independence.¹²³ Denis and Mary were married on 29 November 1928 in the Church of Corofin, Tuam, County Galway. Family history tells that Denis built a two-story house on the farm while his uncle Mike Lardner continued to live in the older thatched house.

Outcome

We gain a more personal view of Denis from his grandson's observations. 'He was a farmer for the rest of his life and he was a happy farmer. He was quite a strong character and would have made a big impression on a young fellow. He was quite stern, but gentle, he was a religious fellow, very upright and a member of the temperance organisation known as the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association (founded in 1898).¹²⁴ Denis was one of the few in the family who was. His education would have been to primary school level so he was an intelligent man, an educated man. He often gave advice to "never work for anybody else, be your own boss". He was very attached to New York and the United States all his life, but he never went back for a visit. He had a son that went to the United States to live, and was always asking him how things were in New York, asking "what was such and such a place like now?"'¹²⁵

Once back in Ireland, Denis became one of hundreds of Irish-American WWI veterans who joined the American Legion. When an American Legion Post was

¹²³ Letter from John Cunningham, 13 September 2011.

¹²⁴ Brian Lalor (ed.), *The encyclopaedia of Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), p. 874; *Jesuits in Ireland* website, (www.jesuit.ie/where-we-work/pioneer-total-abstinence-association) [accessed 22 May 2011].

¹²⁵ Interview with John Cunningham, September 2009.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

established in Killarney (Fr Francis P. Duffy Post #2) in September 1951, it opened its membership to Irishmen from all over Ireland who had served in American military forces in during both World Wars and the Korean War. The Legion provided support and comradeship for Irish-American veterans and a welfare programme which assisted widows and families.¹²⁶ Denis appears on existing Legionnaire membership lists for 1958 and 1961 noting his home in Knockdoe, Galway.¹²⁷ When a new American Legion Post was established in Claremorris, County Mayo in 1958, he appears to have transferred to the Legion Post located there. Denis' grandson recalls Denis wearing his American Legion cap, reading his monthly American Legion magazine and displaying American Legion memorabilia around the house. He was particularly proud of how he and other Irish-American military veterans as part of the American Legion traveled to Galway City on 29 June 1963 to petition President John F. Kennedy for a raise in their military pensions (Figure 6.8).¹²⁸ 'It is possible that the retrospective focus on his naval service was higher [around the time of the Kennedy visit] than it was at other times in his life.'¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Comradery: the special relationship that exists between soldiers that have experienced combat together, Merriam Webster dictionary (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/comradery>) [accessed 10 Sep 2011].

¹²⁷ American Legion membership records, Fr Francis P. Duffy Post #2, Killarney, interview with Post Adjutant Glen Foy, Corofin, Co. Clare, 2 November 2009.

¹²⁸ Interview with John Cunningham, June 2009.

¹²⁹ Letter from John Cunningham, 13 September 2011.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

In September 1969, Denis had a stroke and seemed to ‘go from being active to bedridden’ very fast. He declined over three months and died on 23 December 1969 in Knockdoe where he is buried in the local cemetery.¹³⁰



Fig. 6.8 Irish-American Legion veterans in Galway City with U.S. President John F. Kennedy, July 1963
source: *Connacht Tribune*, 6 July 1963

¹³⁰ GRO, death record, Denis Henihan, Knockdoe, Co. Galway, 23 December 1969.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Profile 3

ELIZABETH MCDONNELL, County Roscommon ... *a match was made at home...*

Elizabeth McDonnell (1870-1964) is representative of the many female Irish-Americans who came home to visit their family after a number of years in America. When she returned home to Ireland in 1908, Elizabeth was a thirty-eight year old domestic servant¹³¹ who had lived in the U.S. for twenty-three years. While visiting at home, she made a match with a neighbour, a bachelor farmer, and thus remained in Ireland to marry and raise a family.¹³²

Life at Home

Elizabeth McDonnell was born in April 1871¹³³ in Cloonslanor townland, parish of Cloonfinlough, County Roscommon, one of seven children born to James McDonnell (b. 1834 - d.1904) and Catherine Harlow (b.1845 – d. 1875), daughter of Pat and Mary Harlow of Grange townland, Four Mile House. Her siblings in the family, starting with the eldest, were Mary (number one, died at six days old), Anne, Mary (2), Catherine, Winnifred, Bridget and Michael.¹³⁴

In 1901, the townland of Cloonslanor in Cloonfinlough parish (about 1 mile from centre of Strokestown) had a number of related, but aging McDonnell families living on adjacent farms. The eldest McDonnell, Joseph, (seventy-eight), was a

¹³¹ 1900 Federal Census, state of New York, Nassau county, Oyster Bay, p. 11, line 27, Elizabeth is listed as one of three Irish domestic servants in the Work household. (www.ancestry.com)[access 15May2011]

¹³² Family records of Elizabeth McDonnell Dwyer, held by grandson Jim Ganley.

¹³³ 1900 Federal Census, state of New York, Nassau county, Oyster Bay, p. 11, line 27. (www.ancestry.com)[access 15May2011]

¹³⁴ Interview with James Ganley of Cloonarragh, Derrane, Co. Roscommon (20 September 2009), grandson of Elizabeth Dwyer, nee McDonnell, president of Co. Roscommon Historical and archaeological society.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

farmer/widower living with his farmer son George and George's wife Anne, daughter-in-law Bridget and Joseph, Mary and Kate, and three grandchildren under twelve years. Next door lived Anne McDonnell (sixty-five), a farmer living with her married sister Eliza (forty-eight). It was noted that Eliza's husband William was included under the census report for the Strokestown workhouse under Thomas MacDermott. On the next property lived Elizabeth's father James McDonnell (sixty-seven), a farmer/widower, living with her spinster sister Mary. On the other side of Joseph's property were the Dwyer family: farmer Patrick (Patt) Dwyer (sixty-five), with his wife Ellin and son Thomas (twenty-six) who was later to play a decisive role in Elizabeth's life.¹³⁵

They all lived in Clonfinlough parish located southwest of the town of Strokestown and the Strokestown Workhouse was actually located in Cloonslanor townland. The land in general, with the exception of about 300 acres of bog, is equally arable and pasture land and very good limestone was found in the district. On the eastern side of the parish is part of the Slievebawn Mountain and at its base was a race-course in Ballynafad where the ruins of Ballynafad castle owned by the O'Connor Roe branch of the O'Conors still remained in the early nineteenth century.¹³⁶

Elizabeth was only five years old when her mother died in 1871, six days after giving birth to Michael her youngest child. Elizabeth's father James, faced with raising six young motherless children decided to send them to live with relatives. Elizabeth and her sisters were sent to her maternal grandparents, the Harlows,

¹³⁵ National Archives of Ireland, Census of Population of Ireland, 1901, Co. Roscommon, Strokestown D.E.D. Cloonslanor townland.

¹³⁶ Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland* (1837), Cloonfinlough, Roscommon, (<http://www.libraryireland.com/topog/index.php>) [accessed 10 November 2010].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

living in nearby Grange townland where the grandfather was *herd* for 600 acres and held thirty acres for himself. It is thought by the family oral history that only son Michael stayed eventually helping his father with the farmwork.

Elizabeth was a very good student in primary school and as a result she was asked to stay on to work as a school monitor after she finished school. For a while at least, she stayed on to help at the Carnalassan school in the Four Mile House area.

Emigration

Family lore recounts that Elizabeth emigrated to the States around 1885. It is not known if a relative brought her out to New York, but Elizabeth herself stated in the 1900 U. S. census that her year of emigration was 1890 when she was about twenty years old.¹³⁷ Pondering her reason for emigrating, her grandson points out that she and her sisters, living with their grandparents, had nothing to look forward to and no inheritance, so her reasons appear primarily economic.¹³⁸ Elizabeth's experience could be said to be typical of the 'circumscribing of opportunities for women in Ireland' as suggested in Hasia Diner's work.¹³⁹ Additionally, she may have had a sense of adventure which motivated her to leave. Of her sisters, we know only that Winnifred entered the Sisters of Mercy when she was sixteen or seventeen years old and is buried in Summerhill, Athlone. The lives of Anne, Mary, Catherine and Bridget are unknown.

¹³⁷ 1900 Federal Census, state of New York, Nassau County, Oyster Bay, E.D. 725, Sheet 11, line 37. (www.ancestry.com) [access 15May2011].

¹³⁸ Lawrence J. McCaffrey, *Textures of Irish America* (Syracuse, 1992), p. 18.

¹³⁹ Interview with James Ganley, September 2009; Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's daughters in America: Irish immigrant women in the nineteenth century* (Baltimore, 1983) p. 33.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Oral tradition within the family tells of her brother Michael, the only son, leaving the farm and going to sea at a young age. This supposedly was the source later of his pet name, ‘the Whaler’. No one really knows why Michael left or if he ever intended to return. Perhaps he was reluctant to take on the responsibilities of the farm. Hasia Diner argues that Irish men may also have left their homeplaces because of the constricting possibilities of their future at home. On the other hand, to leave Ireland unwillingly was especially difficult: ‘when Irish men migrated, the abandonment of home involved a much greater break with the past; for them the move meant leaving a society that accorded men the greatest honours and where their superior social position was acknowledged by all.’¹⁴⁰

Life in the United States

Elizabeth’s life in New York is difficult to discern. During her several decades in the United States her existence ‘falls between the cracks’ in terms of official documentation with the one exception of a 1900 census entry. In terms of becoming a naturalised citizen or making an earlier visit home to Ireland, there is no evidence relating to Elizabeth McDonnell. But happily, from the one census entry some of her circumstances can be detected. At the time of the 1900 census, Elizabeth was employed as a domestic servant for the family of Frank J. Work (forty-nine), his wife Emma (forty-nine) and their eighteen year old son John.¹⁴¹ The Work family and their three immigrant servants were living in the resort community of Oyster Bay, New York on the Long Island Sound. It appears from the census that the Work

¹⁴⁰ Diner, *Erin’s daughters in America*, p. 72.

¹⁴¹ 1900 Federal Census, state of New York, Nassau County, Oyster Bay, E.D. 725, Sheet 11, line 37. (All three domestic servants were immigrants named Elizabeth, two from Ireland and one from Scotland) (www.ancestry.com) [access 15May2011].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

family was permanently resident in Oyster Bay. Head of household Frank Work is listed as having no occupation though he owns his home free of mortgage, and thus may have been independently wealthy and retired by that time. A closer look at Elizabeth's employers leads to twenty years earlier, when we find Frank and Emma Work were living with her parents Francis and Elizabeth Marbury in New York City. Francis Marbury was listed as a lawyer and his son-in-law Frank Work was listed at that time as a stockbroker. A decidedly affluent family, the Marburys, natives of the state of Maryland,¹⁴² lived on Irving Place near Gramercy Park in New York City and had three Irish domestic servants in their home.¹⁴³

Domestic work was a wise choice of employment for Elizabeth McDonnell. The benefits of domestic work over working in sweatshops and mills were considerable. Domestic employment was dependable and one generally received decent treatment, though there were cases of mistreatment and unscrupulous practices. Room and board and often clothing, sometimes uniforms and sometimes 'tailor quality discards', came with the position. This allowed the immigrants to save virtually all their earnings enabling them to send remittances and pay passage money for those at home.¹⁴⁴ The wages they received in affluent households such as the Works were considered above average, as much as '\$8.10 to \$9.08 per week earned per week in addition to receiving the board, room, and clothing' relative to female

¹⁴² Both Marbury parents were born in Maryland and the grandparents were listed as natives of Maryland; Frank Work was a native of the state of New York and his parents were natives of Maryland.

¹⁴³ 1880 U.S. Federal census, New York State, Manhattan, Borough of Manhattan. ED 71, page 27C, lines 31-35 (www.ancestry.com)[access 15May2011].

¹⁴⁴ Doris Weatherford, *Foreign and female: immigrant women in America, 1840-1930* (New York, 1995), p. 122.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

textile workers earned \$7.15, saleswomen \$6.21 and seamstresses only \$6.00'.¹⁴⁵ It is fairly probable that Elizabeth, after sending some money to her father at home, was able to save a decent amount during her time working in America.¹⁴⁶

Many female Irish chose domestic work because they wanted to be in a home: 'I preferred to go into a respectable family where I could have a home. You can have better cooked food and a better room than most shopgirls'.¹⁴⁷ Another advantage came from usually working in households where there were other servants for companionship. In more cases than naught, these individuals would also be Irish immigrants.

It was very typical for very wealthy New Yorker families to have summer homes in Oyster Bay and entertain their friends and relatives throughout the summer. One domestic servant recalled her work with children:

These people had a fine place down on Long Island to which we all went in the summer, and there I had to ramble around with the children, boating, bathing, crabbing, fishing and playing all their games. It was good fun, and I grew healthy and strong.¹⁴⁸

One such wealthy celebrity living in Oyster Bay was the famous glass artisan Louis Comfort Tiffany whose country estate, Laurelton Hall, overlooked Long Island Sound in Oyster Bay.¹⁴⁹ In 1900, at the time Elizabeth was working for the Work family in Oyster Bay (Figure 6.9), Theodore Roosevelt was Governor of the state of New York. One year later, when President Harrison was assassinated,

¹⁴⁵ Diane Dunnigan, *A south Roscommon emigrant: emigration and return, 1890-1920* (Dublin, 2007) p. 46.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹⁴⁷ Doris Weatherford, *Foreign and female*, p. 250.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp250-1.

¹⁴⁹ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Louis Comfort Tiffany: Loggia from Laurelton Hall, Oyster Bay, New York (<http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1978.10.100>) [accessed 7Apr2011].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Roosevelt became the twenty-sixth President of the United States in 1901.

Throughout his presidency and until his death in 1919, he considered his home at Sagamore Hill in Oyster Bay as his official private home. Perhaps Elizabeth met some of Roosevelt's six Irish immigrant domestic servants (two nurses, parlour maid, table maid, house maid and cook) as she did errands around the town of Oyster Bay?¹⁵⁰ Perhaps they were her companions on her day off at the beach, dances or other amusements?

Only one record can be located for Elizabeth's brother Michael McDonnell in the States. The 1900 census shows Michael living in a rooming house on Hudson Street along with other Irish labourers. He reported that he was twenty-eight years of age, had emigrated in 1890 and had been in the States ten years. Also in the rooming house is a Patrick McDonnell, age twenty-one, who had only been in the U.S. for four months. No mention is made of a maritime occupation for Michael.¹⁵¹

Return to Ireland

Elizabeth's father James McDonnell died on 16 April 1904 at seventy years of age. His daughter Mary was present at his death resulting from apoplexy (paralysis due to stroke).¹⁵² One year later, in June 1905, Elizabeth made a visit home. It had been twenty years since she emigrated, and while there are no family records indicating she made an earlier visit home, it is not impossible. At age thirty-

¹⁵⁰ 1900 Federal Census, state of New York, Nassau County, Oyster Bay Township, E.D. 723, sheet 16, lines 3-17.

¹⁵¹ 1900 Federal census, state of New York, Manhattan, E.D. 10, sheet 7, lines 17 and 22.

¹⁵² GRO, death record, James McDonnell, 16Apr2011; Old names of diseases website (<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~armissis/diseases.htm>) [accessed 25May2011].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

five, she crossed from New York on the *S.S. Caronia* to Queenstown and paid to travel in second cabin.¹⁵³



Fig. 6.9 Elizabeth McDonnell (woman on right) on beach at Oyster Bay, N.Y., with children and young women, circa 1902. source: James Ganley, Co. Roscommon.

While visiting family and friends at home, a match was made with close neighbour Tom Dwyer who lived in the same townland and Elizabeth was never to go back to the United States. She and Tom married in Carnaskagh, in the parish of Strokestown, when she was thirty-nine years old. The couple lived with Tom's elderly father and mother on the Dwyer farm. They had their first child in 1910 when Elizabeth was forty years old. Her mother-in-law Ellin Dwyer was known as a 'handy woman', the name used locally for midwives. As she was living in the same

¹⁵³ *S.S. Caronia*, June 1905, Elizabeth McDonnell, from New York to Queenstown, U.K. Incoming Passenger lists, 1878-1960 [database online] (www.ancestry.co.uk) [accessed 3 November 2010].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

house, Ellin was in attendance for the birth. But, perhaps having become accustomed to American ways, Elizabeth also requested that a doctor arrive in time to deliver her first child, a baby boy named James. Elizabeth would eventually have two daughters named Elizabeth and Ellen. By the 1911 census, the Dwyer parents Patrick and Ellin were eighty and seventy-one years of age, respectively. Listed as also living at the Dwyer farm were Elizabeth and Thomas, their infant son James, eleven months, and a relative named Thomas Dwyer age sixty-nine.

In 1907, Michael McDonnell came home from America, presumably to inherit the family farm. He was thirty-three when he crossed from New York on the *S.S. Oceanic* to Queenstown.¹⁵⁴ He married Honora (Nora) Keegan in 1908 and then with their four young children lived and farmed the McDonnell homeplace adjacent to the Dwyers. Also living with Michael's family was Mary, another McDonnell sibling, who had lived at home all the passing years to care for her now deceased father James McDonnell. Soon after Michael encountered troubles, first because his father had never officially signed the farm over to his son and then when his wife became very ill and along with the McDonnell children were taken into her sister's family for care. The cost of their maintenance was too great for Michael so he had to sell the farm to meet the costs. Elizabeth stepped in and using some of her remaining American savings purchased the family farm for £300.00 sterling. The proceeds were split seven ways between the McDonnell siblings each getting approximately £43 shillings.¹⁵⁵ Michael continued to live and work the McDonnell-Dwyer holding.

¹⁵⁴ *S.S. Oceanic*, June 1907, from New York to Queenstown, Michael McDonnell, .U.K. Incoming Passenger lists, 1878-1960 [database online] (www.ancestry.co.uk) [accessed 3 November 2010].

¹⁵⁵ Interview with James Ganly, 20 September 2009.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Elizabeth's grandson Jim Ganly has many memories of his grandmother

Lizzie (Figure 6.10):

Looking at her eyes, I always thought of them as 'smiley' eyes, you could almost see her humour in her eyes. She was bright and intelligent and even though she was getting old, she still had a great interest in people and acquaintances. They weren't living more than a mile from town and she had the newspaper in everyday. I remember her sitting on a stool reading the newspaper with a magnifying glass. She would go down the births and deaths column in the Independent and she'd say 'Oh my, another one gone! They never lived long [in that family]'. My aunt would ask her 'how old was this one'? And Lizzie would answer – 'eighty-four!'. She was very sociable and a great woman for the talk.¹⁵⁶



Fig. 6.10 Elizabeth Dwyer, nee McDonnell, at home in Co. Roscommon, circa 1960. source: James Ganley, Co. Roscommon.

In 1930, Elizabeth the returned migrant watched as her daughter Elizabeth left home at age sixteen to train as a nurse in Northampton, England. The daughter's emigration to England may have been part of the widening of Irish emigration to include Britain in terms of where the next generation went¹⁵⁷ after the 1929 great crash in America. Britain became the dominant destination for emigrants from

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Mark Wyman, *Roundtrip America: the immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), p. 21.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Ireland from 1929.¹⁵⁸ It is likely though that her daughter's choice of going to England may have been related to her chosen occupation and the opportunities available for young Irish girls in nursing training at that time. However, the decision may also have been influenced by the new restrictions on immigration quotas enacted in the United States in 1924 followed by the unemployment in America brought about by the Wall Street financial 'crash' of 1929. Fitzgerald and Lambkin suggest 'from the mid-1930s, Irish migrant labour was proving flexible and adept at '... pioneering pathways and establishing networks [in Britain] that would prove crucial for the following generation.'¹⁵⁹ From another viewpoint, Ruth-Ann Harris argues that Irish workers were in Britain because they were unwilling to sever all ties with Ireland and their return home was fairly easy.¹⁶⁰

In Northampton, daughter Elizabeth eventually nursed in a psychiatric hospital where the patients were mostly wealthy patients. Occasionally, the nurses would be asked to do private nursing when the patients wanted to go home for the weekend. On one such occasion, the patient's family chauffeur taught young Elizabeth Dwyer from Strokestown how to drive using the family car, a Rolls Royce. Elizabeth was to marry a young man from home who had also emigrated to England. With his savings, they arranged to move home to Roscommon to buy a farm. Once home, the property auction was disrupted by a private treaty. To stay economically afloat, Elizabeth's husband moved the family through several locations and

¹⁵⁸ Donald M. MacRaild, *The Irish in Britain 1800-1914* (Dundalk, 2006), p. 74

¹⁵⁹ Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History, 1607-2007* (London, 2008), pp 214-15.

¹⁶⁰ Ruth-Ann Harris, *The nearest place that wasn't Ireland: early nineteenth-century Irish labor migration* (Iowa, 1994), p. 147.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

occupations, a pub in County Mayo, a farm in County Galway and then once again back to where they had previously met and worked in Northampton, England.

Elizabeth Dwyer was always anxious that her grandchildren who remained in Roscommon would never have to leave home, would never have to emigrate like she had. Her grandson Jim observed ‘Of course, she had not really known her mother and probably felt a loss of that kind of companionship, and then when she emigrated to America, she lost more contact. She probably felt, if you had a family, keep it together as long as you could.’¹⁶¹ Elizabeth lived most of her life as a busy farm wife. She raised chickens, geese and turkeys for Christmas. She sold them for profit, the way the woman of the house would have cash, but would keep the odd one for special occasions for themselves.

She kept the eggs and bartered them with the traveling shop. She’d give the man the eggs and he would give her something back in kind of that value. She’d be buying the essentials like tea, sugar and flour, then she’d bake her own bread. She was a good seamstress and made clothes, modified clothes and repaired clothes and would be thrifty. When she had been in school in Carnalassan she was trained by her teachers to sew and knit. And then when she was a school monitor, she would pass these skills on to the children. She passed these skills on to her daughters too. The women of the house were very thrifty and good money managers too.¹⁶²

The description of Elizabeth’s life on the farm corresponds closely with the description of woman’s work as portrayed in Arensberg and Kimball’s study of Irish rural life. In Joanna Bourke’s study of women and housework in Ireland she suggests the sexual division of work was not simply that men took care of the outdoor work while women remained indoor, rather it was a determination of what each was better

¹⁶¹ Interview with James Ganley, (20 September 2009).

¹⁶² Ibid.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

able to accomplish.¹⁶³ In Elizabeth's world, the work inside the house was her domain and ... '[a]ll money obtained from the sale of eggs and butter, the women's yard enterprise, belonged to the woman and she could decide what to do with it subject to the needs of the family. The lighter tasks of the farm considered part of 'women's work' included preparing and planting rows of potatoes. The women of the house had a definitive role in the work involving 'bog, garden and meadow'.¹⁶⁴

Outcome

When Elizabeth's husband Tom died in 1949, she stayed on the farm and her son James stayed with her. James eventually got a job with the county council and married in 1955. Once he married, Elizabeth let the farm to family and neighbours and moved in with her daughter Nellie's family until her death in 1964 at ninety-four years of age.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Joanna Bourke, *Husbandry to housewifery: women, economic change and housework in Ireland 1890-1914* (Oxford, 1993), pp 231-35.

¹⁶⁴ Conrad M. Arensberg, and Solon M. Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland* (Cambridge, MA, 1968), p. 447, 48, 52; Dunnigan, *A south Roscommon emigrant* pp 15-25.

¹⁶⁵ Interview with James Ganley, 10 April 2010.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Profile 4

JAMES FINNERTY, County Roscommon ... *his place will know him no more...*

James Finnerty (1866-1897) was a thirty-two year old cotton mill worker who lived in the United States for seven short years before he returned home to Ireland in 1897. He is representative of the many Irish immigrants who experienced declining physical conditions and serious illness, often related to the places of their types of employment, while living in the United States.¹⁶⁶ As evidenced in their medical and/or employment documentation, these immigrants were advised by their doctors to return to Ireland in order to recuperate and/or improve their health.¹⁶⁷

Life at home

James Finnerty, born in March 1866, was raised on Lord Crofton's Mote Park estate in County Roscommon.¹⁶⁸ His father Michael Finnerty (b.c. 1835)¹⁶⁹ was originally from the townland of Ballymurray on the Mote Park estate in the parish of Kilmeane. The Finnerty family was traceable here back to the Tithe Applotment Lists of 1827. At the time of Griffith's Valuation in 1855, two Finnerty families had lived in Ballymurray. James' mother Mary McGreevy (b.c. 1834¹⁷⁰) was from Roscommon Town and married Michael in the early 1860s. James'

¹⁶⁶ Mark Wyman, *Roundtrip America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), pp 70-71.

¹⁶⁷ Mass. Catholic Order of Foresters life insurance records held by The Irish Ancestry Research Association, Boston, Massachusetts; photograph courtesy of American Immigration Law Center, Home for the Heart: the story of Irish Immigration, photo from Library of Congress.

¹⁶⁸ Letter from County Roscommon Heritage and Genealogy Company, Ltd., 28 April 2009, REF: F47-09, regarding family search for children of James Finnerty and Mary McGreevy of Ballymurray, Kilmeane.

¹⁶⁹ General Registry Office, James Finnerty, death record.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

maternal uncle was John McGreevy of Goff Street, Roscommon, and a well-known member of the Roscommon Urban District Council. James was the oldest son and his siblings were Mary Anne (1865), Bridget (1867), John (1869) and William (1871).¹⁷¹

A short description of the Finnerty landlords, the Crofton family, during this period helps to set some of the context for James' emigration. The Croftons were powerful men in their time tracing their original land grants in Roscommon to the 1580s during the reign of Elizabeth I. Mote Park estate consisted of about 7000 acres.¹⁷² By the late 1800s, the Croftons were generally known as good landlords locally.

They were not rack renters – the rents were low and seldom rose. Their tenants were secure from confiscation and had security of tenancy on payment of rent. Land improvement schemes were encouraged and financed and charitable support was given in times of need.¹⁷³

Under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Acts, the tenants on the Crofton estate made little or no effort throughout to 'buy out' their lands. The degree of deprivation which dominated the early 1880s most likely combined with unfavourable terms of land purchase and this discouraged the tenants from buying. With economic conditions worsening in 1895, 75 percent of the Crofton tenants were in arrears.¹⁷⁴ It became clear that Lord Crofton, like many landlords at that time,

¹⁷¹ Letter from County Roscommon Heritage Centre letter, REF: F47-09, 28 April 2009, James Finnerty's Forester Insurance application: In 1895, James stated he had 2 brothers living, ages 18 and 24, and 2 sisters living, ages 26 and 30.

¹⁷² 'Mote Park House: The Rise and Fall of a Big House in Roscommon' (www.askaboutireland.ie) [accessed 06 June 09].

¹⁷³ Mary Finnerty, 'The Roscommon estates of the Lords Crofton, 1845-1895' (B.A. thesis, Our Lady of Mercy College, Carysfort, Blackrock, Dublin, 1986), pp 1-10.

¹⁷⁴ Finnerty, 'The Roscommon estates of the Lords Crofton', p. 62.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

could no longer expect to extract money from the rural economy.¹⁷⁵ The tenants remained poor and dependant on the charity of their landlord, in fact in 1895, he was forced to buy seed potatoes for a large percentage of the tenants.¹⁷⁶ Crofton also made loans to tenants to build new outhouses and paid them compensation for farm improvements. Significant to the Finnerty family's story, during this period Crofton continued to provide assistance for emigration with loans of approximately £2 given to help send tenants' sons or daughters to America.¹⁷⁷

In Ballymurray townland, Michael Finnerty leased 1.5 acres of land, with little more than a two-room cottage and a garden to produce potatoes and crops for home use.¹⁷⁸ Michael's occupation, variously listed over time on his children's birth certificates, was 'servant' [perhaps domestic servant] from about 1865 onwards. His main work would have been either at Ballymurray House or on the demesne itself around the grounds of the big house, Mote Park House (Figure 6.11). While still living at home, young James probably worked assisting his father on the demesne or as a labourer in the fields. Until he was fourteen years of age and when he could be spared, James would have attended primary school in Ballymurray near the location of the current National School.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland, a new economic history, 1780-1939* (Oxford, 1994), pp 256-57

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 63-4

¹⁷⁸ *Census of Population of Ireland, 1901*, Michael Finnerty, Ballymurray, Kilmeane, Co. Roscommon, microfilm [accessed 8 June 2008].

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Albert Siggins, archivist, National Museum of Ireland, Countrylife, Casltlebar, Co. Mayo (3 November 2009).

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return



Fig. 6.11 Mote Park House, County Roscommon, c. 1910
Source: Crofton archives, County Roscommon Library

Emigration

Around 1890, it appears a family decision was made for James to emigrate to relatives living in the Boston area. James would have been expected, once in the States, to help by sending home remittances to his parents struggling in Ballymurray. James emigrated from Ireland, travelling by train from Ballymurry to Cork and then departing from Queenstown for New York in early May 1890, on the *S.S. Alaska*.¹⁸⁰ From New York he would have taken a railway connection to reach Boston. In the spring of 1891, James sent for his younger brother John to come out in May on the *S.S. Bothnia*.¹⁸¹ Five years later, the two brothers together brought out their sister

¹⁸⁰ *S.S. Alaska*, May 1890, James Finnerty, from Queenstown to New York, New York Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820-1943 [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com), [accessed 03 February 2005].

¹⁸¹ *S.S. Bothnia*, May 1891, John Finnerty, New York Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820-1943 [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com)[accessed 03 February 2005].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Mary in August 1896 on the *S.S. Gallia*.¹⁸² Their sister Bridget stayed at home to take care of the parents Michael and Mary. There is no record at this time for what may have happened to the youngest son William. He may have later emigrated to join his siblings in Boston.

Life in the United States

James Finnerty's relations lived and worked in the small mill town of Canton twenty miles southwest of downtown Boston. One death record has been located for a Margaret Finnerty, possibly a grand-aunt, who died in Canton in December 1879 at eighty-six years of age.¹⁸³ Canton, as with many towns outlying to Boston, claims links to a Revolutionary War role through links with the family and business of Paul Revere. By 1802, the first manufacturing of cotton cloth began in Canton. As early as 1835, Irish immigrants flocked to the area when they were engaged as labourers in building the Canton 'Viaduct', the final link on the Boston and Providence railroad. Cotton and wool mills flourished in Canton and were part of the manufacturing backbone of the town until the early 1930s.¹⁸⁴ Thousands of Irish immigrants flocked to Canton and the other larger mill towns of New England for employment in such as the cities of Holyoke and Lawrence, Massachusetts, seen as always heavily immigrant. The city of Lowell, similar in many ways, was an example of the 'paternalistic capitalism' of the 'mill factory village'.¹⁸⁵ This pattern

¹⁸² *S.S. Gallia*, August 1896, Mary Finnerty, New York Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820-1943 [database on-line] (www.ancestry.com), [accessed 03February 2005].

¹⁸³ Correspondence with Jim Roache, Canton Historical Society, Canton, MA, 26 January 2009, history of Canton and area, MA; Canton death record for a Margaret Finerty, d: 22 Dec 1879, 86 years old, birthplace Ireland.

¹⁸⁴ Correspondence with Wally Gibbs, Canton Historical Society, Canton, MA, 15 January 2009, history of Canton, MA; correspondence with Patricia Ryburn, Local History Librarian, Canton Public Library, on history of Canton, MA, 22 December 2009.

¹⁸⁵ Brian C. Mitchell, *The Paddy Camps: the Irish of Lowell, 1821-61* (Urbana, 2006), pp 153-4.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

of development governed many New England mill communities until the 1940s giving way slowly to become immigrant industrial cities encompassing more formal relationships between immigrant and factory owner.¹⁸⁶ In the period 1880-1910, most Irish were less-skilled and were mainly agricultural workers who had immigrated due to hardships at home. With this influx of workers, mill manufacturers acquired an inexpensive form of labourer who was willing to work longer hours and for lower wages than the American workers.¹⁸⁷

No documentation has been found on James' life from his arrival in the States in 1890 until 1895 when he shows up working at the Canton Manufacturing and Bleaching Company in Canton Junction, the town's railway station (Figure 6.12). The Bleachery was a good size company worth about \$50,000 in 1901 and owned by James Little, Jr. of Boston. There were three tenement houses on the site which housed company employees and it was here where James most likely lived.

Typical mill workers, depending on their jobs, earned incomes ranging from \$5 to \$19 per week as documented in a government report issued in 1895.¹⁸⁸ From Bleachery records, James' company supervisor stated James' occupation was a 'starcher', that is he mixed starch for cotton cloth. This probably put James in the \$8.00-\$10.00/week wage band.¹⁸⁹

A typical working day for James would have '... started with a factory bell ringing at 4 o'clock in the morning to wake up employees. Within an hour employees had to be at the mills starting work until late in the evening; sometimes

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., pp 153-4.

¹⁸⁷ *New York Times*, 29 Jun 1913.

¹⁸⁸ Alina Chrostek, *Occupational health and safety in textiles*, Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute, p. 6, (www.216.239.59.132) [accessed 05 June 09].

¹⁸⁹ New Bedford Preservation Society, Howland Mill Village, (<http://www.nbpreservationsociety.org/howlandmillhousing.html>), [accessed 30 October 2009].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

12-14 hours a day. The air in the mills was not circulated causing it to become very hot in the summer and extremely cold in the winter. Workers were either sweating or shivering by their machines and many of them got sick with tuberculosis or other respiratory diseases.’¹⁹⁰



Fig. 6.12 Canton Bleachery, Canton, Massachusetts, postcard, 1912, where James Finnerty worked as a ‘bleacher’ in 1896. source: Canton Public Library, 18 Mar 2010.

Starching and bleaching were among a wide variety of processes for converting and finishing cotton cloth after it had been woven. The cloth had to be bleached, printed, dyed or mercerized¹⁹¹ and then put through other machines to finish it before being shipped. The all natural gray-like colour of the woven cloth needed to be made to look white. After singeing the cloth to get a smooth surface, James would have washed and boiled the cloth in large tubs for several hours or washed the cloth in a hot chemical solution made from caustic soda. The process

¹⁹⁰ Alina Chrostek, *Occupational health and safety in Textiles*, (Yale, Conn.,) p. 6.

¹⁹¹ Mercerized: process to give cotton yarn luster, strength and receptiveness to dyes by treatment under tension with caustic soda, Merriam Webster Dictionary (www.m-w.com) [accessed 20 January 2011].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

would be repeated several times until the cloth turned white and was ready for finishing or dyeing. James would have had to develop an accurate knowledge of the chemicals involved and the machinery involved, in particular the boiling kiers.¹⁹²

Specific immigration and occupation information about James was obtained from his application for life insurance from the Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters (MCOF).¹⁹³ A group of Irish immigrants founded the Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters in 1879 in order to provide life insurance benefits for its members. The organization grew from one small group in Boston to branches in cities and towns throughout the state. By 1895, when James became a member, ninety-five Forester Courts had spread throughout Massachusetts. By 1930 there were 60,000 members of the Foresters in Massachusetts. Each prospective Forester applying for coverage completed an application which included personal data, family information and a physical examination and named insurance beneficiaries.¹⁹⁴ In his detailed documentation, James identified his home in Co. Roscommon, Ireland, his parents' names and the number of his siblings. At the time of applying, James was single, 6 feet 2 inches tall and 168 pounds. He even identified the name and residence of his closest friend – Robert E. Lloyd. In case of death, James' insurance policy would pay \$1000.00 to James' beneficiaries, his parents.¹⁹⁵

It appears that James spent 1895-97 working in the damp mill conditions which promoted diffusion of contagious diseases. Due to breathing fine cotton dust

¹⁹² Chrostek, *Occupational health and safety*, p 11; Melvin T. Copeland, 'Technical development in cotton manufacturing since 1860,' in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, xxiv (1909), pp 109-59; p. 152.

¹⁹³ Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters (MCOF) historical records held by The Irish Ancestral Research Association (TIARA), Boston, MA.

¹⁹⁴ The Irish Ancestral Research Association website (<http://tiara.ie/forest.php>) [accessed 15 April 2011].

¹⁹⁵ The Irish Ancestral Research Association, Susan Steele, MCOF documents project manager, James Finnerty, MCOF insurance application, 1895, received November 2008.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

particles and chemical fumes into his lungs, James apparently contracted or at least was diagnosed with tuberculosis around Christmas 1896. It is most likely that he did not tell anyone beyond his closest circle. The Massachusetts Board of Health doctors had gained the power to examine mill workers for infectious and contagious diseases, but they found few mill workers were willing to file a report that stated the cause of their illness or injury and or that included their name. This was because time off from work reduced incomes that were already barely sufficient to survive and the threat of dismissal. Loyalty to patients made local doctors reluctant to report tuberculosis patients, besides tuberculosis diagnosis could have long-term economic repercussions for the patient's family.

Return to Ireland

By May 1897, James at thirty-two, must have become so ill that he decided he needed to return home to Ireland. He sailed steerage class from Boston on the *S.S. Cephalonia* arriving in Queenstown on 7 June 1897. It is interesting to note that the *Cephalonia* manifest did not list James as an ill passenger.¹⁹⁶ He must have written to his parents telling them of his intention to return home, his projected arrival date and ship's name. On Monday morning, 7 June 1897, James Finnerty arrived back home in Ireland in very poor health. He sailed into Queenstown Harbour onboard the *S.S. Cephalonia* just seven short years after his emigration to Boston. James was met by his father who took his son directly to the Queenstown Royal Hospital where the young man died the same day as his arrival. James died of 'phthisis pulmonalis' or

¹⁹⁶ *S.S. Cephalonia*, 7 June 1897, from Boston to Queenstown, James Finnerty, U.K. Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878-1960 [database online] (www.ancestry.co.uk) [accessed 30 June 2009].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

tuberculosis, certified to be of six months duration.¹⁹⁷ It is most likely that Michael took his son's coffin home to Roscommon for burial in Kilmeane cemetery. Within two months of James' death his mother Mary Finnerty died on 29 July 1897.¹⁹⁸

James evidently had told his father of the Forester's life insurance policy in Massachusetts. Michael Finnerty turned to his brother-in-law John McGreevy in Roscommon Town for help in processing the paperwork involved in obtaining the funds from America. This involved appointing James' close friend Robert E. Lloyd in Canton as power of attorney for the Massachusetts side of business. McGreevy's letter to the Foresters in Canton read:

28 August 97

To Robert E. Lloyd Esq.
Recording Secretary, M.C.O.F.

Dear Sir,

Your favour of the 16th inst. to hand and for which I feel obliged. I have shown its contents and explained same to my brother-in-law Michael Finnerty the father of James Finnerty deceased and both he and I are satisfied to allow two hundred and nine dollars which you say is the sum of all the claims to be deducted out of one thousand dollars due to the parents of my nephew.... I now beg to enclose that document [power of attorney] duly and properly signed by Michael Finnerty in the presence of a Justice of the Peace for County Roscommon.

I returned to you the other power of attorney sent to have the signature of James Finnerty's mother attached thereof, because she died on the 28th July last. She never recovered the shock occasioned by the death of her dear son James. She was my beloved sister, R.I.P. It was her wish to have all the money sent to Michael Finnerty her husband.

Thanking you sincerely for your kindness in the matter.
I remain dear sir yours faithfully.

John McGreevy

¹⁹⁷ General Registry Office, death record, James Finnerty, 7 June 1897, Queenstown, County Cork.

¹⁹⁸ Letter from John McGreevy, Roscommon to Robert E. Lloyd, Canton, MA, dated 28 August 1897 from the James Finnerty records of the MCOF held by TIARA.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Outcome

In September 1897, a check for \$1000.00 was sent to Michael Finnerty in Roscommon.¹⁹⁹ After first burying his son, and then his wife, Michael Finnerty appears to have become semi-retired. The 1901 census indicates Michael (a farmer) and daughter Bridget (a farmer's daughter) were living at home in Ballymurray. Then in 1909, after suffering four years of chronic rheumatic arthritis, Michael died in the Roscommon Workhouse Infirmary. These circumstances suggest that the life insurance money was no longer available, perhaps having been spent. When the 1911 census was taken three years later, Bridget is no longer living in Ballymurray, anywhere in Co. Roscommon or Ireland according to the census. She may have emigrated to join her siblings in Boston. A search of marriage records for Mary Anne, John and William in Irish sources, despite searching records for all parishes and the civil marriage records prior to 1900, resulted in no marriage records being located.²⁰⁰ Patrick O'Farrell has pointed out two factors which appear to apply in the James Finnerty situation. Firstly, in many cases emigration occurred in a selective way which completely removed some families from a district while little affecting others. Secondly, because of the youth of most immigrants, between 18 and 25 years of age, the eventual death of their parents in Ireland often meant a severance of connections and family names died out.²⁰¹ There is no record or means to find out of what happened to James' insurance money. It may have been taken to the states and

¹⁹⁹ Mass. Catholic Order of Foresters receipt for \$1000.00 endowment on the death of James Finnerty, dated 21 Sep 1897.

²⁰⁰ Letter from County Roscommon Heritage Centre, REF: F47-09, 28 April 2009.

²⁰¹ Patrick O'Farrell, 'Emigrant attitudes and behaviour as a source for Irish history' in G.A. Hayes-McCoy (ed.), *Historical Studies*, x (Galway, 1976), pp. 109- 112.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

distributed between the siblings. In any case, by the 1911 Census of Ireland, the Finnerty name had gone out of Ballymurray townland.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Profile 5

DOMINIC G. BODKIN, County Galway...*heroic, successful, eminent physician ...*

Dominic G. Bodkin (1834-1902), though distantly related to a wealthy and influential Irish family, was one of the estimated 1.2 million emigrants who left Ireland during the Great Famine in the late 1840s. From his arrival in America onwards, Dominic's focus appears to have been to better himself while building a life of sacrifice and service to other people while living in the United States. At the same time, records in the passport database indicate that he was also one of thousands of Irish immigrants who maintained their ties to Ireland and his Irish relatives by making visits home to Galway.

Life at home

Dominic G. Bodkin was born on 15 May 1834 in County Galway.²⁰² His father John (b.c. 1798) was originally from Ragoon parish on the outskirts of Galway City. John married Eleanor O'Donnell (b.c. 1800)²⁰³ of Moycullen around 1826. Dominic's known siblings included Catherine (b.1820), Anne (b. 1829), Bridget (Bilidia) (b. 1831), Elenor Jr. (b. 1833), Martin (b.1835), Lawrence (b.1838) and the youngest, John Jr. (b.1839).²⁰⁴

²⁰² *U.S. Passport Application Collection, 1795-1925* [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 06 Dec 2007]; Passport application, Dominic G. Bodkin, 9 May 1878, Brooklyn, N.Y., for travel to Ireland

²⁰³ *S.S. Cushlamacree*, 23 April 1848, Galway to New York, John Bodkin family list.

²⁰⁴ Correspondence from Galway Family History Society West, Ltd. Ref. 851-248, Bodkin Family (4 November 2010).

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

After reviewing Bodkin historical and genealogical records gathered by historian Patrick J. Melvin²⁰⁵ (and with no other evidence available), it appears that Dominic's father John was possibly in some way related to Major Thomas Bodkin.²⁰⁶ The Christian name 'Dominic G. Bodkin' reoccurs within the Bodkin family in different generations and various branches of the family both forwards and backwards of our subject Dominic's generation. In tracing the birth locations of John and Eleanor's children we are able to locate the family residences during the 1820s and 1830s. In 1820, their oldest daughter Catherine was born in Mayor's Park in Rahoon parish, but the next six children were born between 1829 and 1839 in the townland of Briarhill, indicating an internal family migration to Castlegar parish on the outskirts on Galway City. While growing up in Galway, Dominic began the study of Greek and Latin at age six and was tutored until he was thirteen (and left for America) by his maternal uncle Dr Laurence O'Donnell, native of Oughterard who became Bishop of Galway on 28 October 1845.²⁰⁷

Locating John and Ellen Bodkin in Rahoon parish at the time of the birth of their first child may indicate a connection with Major Thomas Bodkin. Thomas' son John James Bodkin, after selling Rahoon House in 1850, became landlord of Kilcloony House near Tuam, and was 'the first Catholic M.P. elected to represent Galway Town, and three years later, the County of Galway'.²⁰⁸

Hardiman's *History of Galway* states the Bodkins of Galway, and the earls of Desmond and Kildare, were both descended from the common ancestor, Maurice

²⁰⁵ Interview with historian Patrick J. Melvin of Dublin, Co. Dublin (November, 2010).

²⁰⁶ Landed Estates Database, NUI Galway, (www.landedestates.ie) [accessed 18 November 2009].

²⁰⁷ 'Eulogy for Dr. Dominic G. Bodkin, given by his nephew Rev Fr McGoldrick in Brooklyn, N.Y., January 1902', in Agnes King, *The story of a rare parish* [St. Cecilia's, Brooklyn] (New York, 1920), pp 123-36.

²⁰⁸ Paul Mohr, 'Landlords, politics and dining: a window into North Galway/South Mayo society during the decade before the famine' in *Journal of the Old Tuam Society* (2005), p. 31.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Fitzgerald, Lord of Windsor, and one of the first invaders of Ireland, under Strongbow. A grandson, Thomas, was the ancestor of the Bodkin family.²⁰⁹ The wider Bodkin family was regarded as one of the original Fourteen Tribes of Galway:

As time went on, the Governance of the City [Galway] tended more and more to fall into the hands of a few very powerful families who constituted the Freeman or Commonaltie. There were eventually fourteen such families, and they rigidly prevented any outsider from having any say whatever in civic affairs. Moreover, they claimed to be of a superior order, and intermarried only within their own circle, and seldom received even the English families into their society, and of course, never any of the native Irish, whom they regarded as barbarians ... these were the Fourteen Tribes of Galway.²¹⁰ The traditional characteristic of the Bodkin family was 'bloody' and their country of origin was 'Norman'.²¹¹

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, branches of the Bodkin family resided at various times in the areas of Annagh, Ballymacward, Carrowbeg and Thomastown, Castletown and Mountsilk, Kilcloony and Roseberry.

Emigration

Whatever John and Eleanor Bodkin's family status in the third year of the Famine, the parents and their seven children emigrated together in 1848. They sailed directly from Galway City to New York on the *S.S. Cushlamacree* arriving on 23 April 1848.²¹² The ship's manifest lists the family as John, forty-eight (occupation a labourer), Ellen forty-four, Catherine, nineteen, Elenor Jr., seventeen Bidelia [Bridget], fifteen, Dominic, thirteen, Martin, eleven, Lawrence, nine, and John Jr.,

²⁰⁹ James Hardiman, *History of Galway, An alphabetical list and concise account of the ancient families of Galway* (http://www.galway.net/galwayguide/history/hardiman/chapter1/ancient_families.html) [accessed 20 February 2010].

²¹⁰ Anthony MacDermott, 'The tribes of Galway: a lecture given to the Irish genealogical research society on April 11th, 1946' in *The Irish Genealogist*, ii (4) (1946), pp 99-106; Landed Estates Database, NUI Galway, www.landedestates.ie [accessed 18 November 09].

²¹¹ MacDermott, 'The tribes of Galway', p. 101.

²¹² *SS. Cushlamacree*, Galway to New York City, April 1848.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

seven.²¹³ Accompanying the family was a John O'Donnell, seventeen, most likely a relative of Mrs. Bodkin's and also a non-family member spinster named Elenor Jones, seventeen. Miss Jones is obviously traveling with the Bodkin family as her name was listed on the manifest along with Mr and Mrs Bodkin.

Life in the United States

Two years after arriving in New York, Catherine is the only Bodkin family member to be found in the 1850 federal census. She was twenty years old, living in a boarding house in New York City, and working as a grocery clerk. The rest of her immigrant family were not located in the 1850 federal census for New York City and environs. According to Dominic's later obituary, his parents John and Ellen died from a fever a few weeks after their arrival in New York City,²¹⁴ and the other Bodkin young adults may have been in-between residential locations as a result. He also reported that relatives in Ireland had sent for the younger children to return to Ireland, however Dominic, only age fourteen, 'courageously resolved to stay in New York and carve out a pathway for himself'.²¹⁵

Whatever he did to survive the next decade, Dominic managed to send for three of his brothers and one sister to emigrate from Ireland by 1860. By the June 1860 federal census, the five Bodkin siblings were boarding together in New York City's thirteenth ward. The oldest Dominic G. (twenty-four) was shown as a painter, Martin R. (twenty-two), a clerk, Laurence P. (twenty-one), a stair builder, John S.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ 'Eulogy for Dr. Dominic G. Bodkin', pp 123-6.

²¹⁵ Ibid, p. 126.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

(nineteen), a plumber and Bedelia B. (twenty-two), a seamstress.²¹⁶ By that time, Catherine may have been married in New York City, but we have no record of her location or circumstances. There is also no record of the location of sibling Elenor (jr) who may have chosen to remain in Ireland after returning. In 1860, the street where the Bodkin siblings were living had sixteen other individuals resident there, fourteen of whom were immigrants. Their listed occupations, with the exception of two domestic servants and one labourer, were all in skilled trades plus two professionals - one lawyer and one engineer. Most interesting were the amounts of personal estates indicated. The boarding house owner where the Bodkins lived reported having \$1000, the lawyer \$500, and the engineer \$300. More surprisingly, the housekeeper reported \$400 and the dressmaker \$150. The savings of these latter individuals lend credence to the reports of the Emigrant Savings Bank (see chapter 5).²¹⁷ The residence was a multi-cultural boarding house: two individuals on the census return were from New York, six were born in Germany (three from Hessen Cassell and three from Hanover), one from England, one from Scotland and including the Bodkins, fourteen from Ireland.

A notable event occurred in October 1860 when Dominic submitted his petition to become a naturalized U.S. citizen in the New York District Court.²¹⁸ He followed this in the early 1860s, by fulfilling a long-held ambition and enrolling in New York University (NYU)'s School of Medicine to become a physician.²¹⁹

²¹⁶ 1860 Federal Census, state of New York City, Manhattan, 2nd division, 13th Ward, page 42, taken 16 June 1860.

²¹⁷ See chapter 5 - Bringing home the money.

²¹⁸ 1883 Passport Application, Dominic G. Bodkin [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 2 January 2010].

²¹⁹ Interview with Colleen Bradley-Sanders, archivist, Ehrman Medical Library Library, New York University School of Medicine, 5 January 2010; Obituary of Dominic G. Bodkin, New York Times, 26 Jan 1902.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Having no preparatory college to qualify him, Dominic none the less was accepted due to the extensive classics education he received when young in Galway under his uncle the Bishop O'Donnell.²²⁰ Dominic had finished the first year of the three year medical programme when the American Civil War broke out and a call came for volunteer doctors to serve in the Union Army. Not yet having earned his medical degree, he was ranked as a nurse and was assigned to the ambulance corps. As the war progressed, and the need grew, Dominic was assigned greater medical responsibilities and gained much practical experience in the field serving as an acting physician and surgeon under General Canby.²²¹ His work was carried out mostly in field hospitals which were often places of appalling carnage. We get an idea of the terrible conditions from American poet Walt Whitman who went out onto the battlefields during the Civil War. Through personal interactions with soldiers, he got a glimpse of the soldier's lifestyle, and experienced important events of the war. When Whitman first arrived at the battlefield, he climbed the river bank to the Lacy House, a makeshift military hospital, where his first sight was 'a heap of feet, legs, arms, and human fragments, cut bloody, black and blue, swelled and sickening . . .'. (Figure 6.13).²²² As the war escalated, Dominic was assigned greater responsibility and at different periods during the war, was placed in charge of the smallpox and fever hospitals at Dauphin Island and Fort Gaines.²²³

²²⁰ 'Eulogy for Dr. Dominic G. Bodkin', pp 123-6.

²²¹ Obituary of Dominic G. Bodkin, *New York Times*, 26 Jan 1902.

²²² Matthew F. Ignoffo, *What the war did to Whitman* (New York, 1975), p. 24.

²²³ *American Medical Association biographical index entry for Dr. Dominic George Bodkin*, History of Medicine Division, National Institutes of Health and National Library of Medicine, correspondence received 15 February 2010.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return



Fig. 6.13 Union Army makeshift field hospital, battle of Antietam, 1862. source: History.com Civil War Photo Gallery (<http://www.history.com/photos/civil-war-antietam/photo8>)

Returning from the war, Dominic continued his medical studies at NYU's School of Medicine. The requirements he had to meet in order to graduate included: being twenty-one years of age, having completed two courses [semesters] of medical lectures, at least one year at NYU School of Medicine, previously having studied practical medicine for three years under a medical director, and lastly having written a medical thesis of about twenty wide-ruled pages.²²⁴ The university granted him credit for the field experiences of the war to fulfil the university requirement of having studied practical medicine for three years under a medical director. In the 1866-7 annual school announcement, his name is listed as Dominic G. Bodkin from County Galway, Ireland. For graduation, he received a 'Certificate of Study and

²²⁴ Interview with Colleen Bradley-Sanders, archivist, Ehrman Medical Library Library, New York University School of Medicine, 5 January 2010.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Moral Character’ from a licensed physician. With this documentation he could set himself up as a doctor with his own practice²²⁵ which he did by the end of the decade. By 1870, Dominic (thirty-five) is found living with his brother Laurence (thirty-one) and Laurence’s wife Margaret (twenty-nine), also an Irish immigrant, in the residential area of the fourth ward in Brooklyn (Figure 6.14). Dominic’s occupation is shown as a physician and Laurence is a builder. Also listed with the household is Lenora Bodkin (twenty-four), an Irish native, who may have been a newly-arrived cousin, listed with no occupation. The Bodkin household at this point was employing the services of a domestic servant, Betsy Farrell (twenty-two), also an Irish immigrant, birth county unknown.²²⁶



Fig. 6.14
Home of Dr. Dominic
G. Bodkin in Brooklyn,
New York from the
1870s to 1902 (white
structure). Photo by
Peter Justice,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

²²⁵ Interview with Colleen Bradley-Sanders, archivist, Ehrman Medical Library Library, New York University School of Medicine, 5 January 2010.

²²⁶ 1870 U.S. Federal census, State of New York, Kings County, Brooklyn, Dominic G. Bodkin, 4th Ward, taken 8 June 1870, orig. page 328 [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 2 January 2010].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Return to Ireland

From the passport database, we know Dominic made his first known return visit to Galway in 1878 ten years after he became a physician. In all, the passport database shows he made four visits back to Ireland in 1878, 1883, 1889 with the last trip in 1897. Travelling to Ireland approximately every six to eight years, it appears Dominic was possibly visiting the sister who had returned to Ireland two decades earlier and seemed determined to maintain links with his relatives in Galway. In 1878, his passport application describes him as having blue-gray eyes and a straight nose. He was forty-four years old, six foot tall with dark brown hair with a dark complexion in a long face.²²⁷

In 1880, the Bodkin household were living at 92 Sands Street, Brooklyn, and consisted of Dominic (forty-three) physician, his brother L.P. [Lawrence] Bodkin (forty) coal yard owner, and two female servants, Margaret Lawrence (twenty-nine) and Eva Raycraft (eighteen), both from Ireland.²²⁸ Though Lawrence's wife is missing from this household on census day, she may have been away from the house for some reason as she turns up again in a later census year. In 1883, Dominic (fifty), accompanied by his younger brother John (forty-four), made another visit to Galway. The two brothers are shown on the manifest of the *S.S. Gallia* leaving Queenstown in 1883 sailing back to New York arriving on 28 August. Dominic and John are both

²²⁷ Dominic G. Bodkin, return 1878, U.S. Passport Application database, 1795-1925 [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 2 January 2010].

²²⁸ 1880 Federal Census of New York, Kings County, Brooklyn, 4th Ward, ED 21, page 4, taken 8 June 1870, (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 2 January 2010].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

listed as U.S. citizens, the one a physician and the other a merchant, and they each have three pieces of luggage.²²⁹

Dominic made his last two trips home in 1889 and 1897. At the turn of the century, Dominic (65), physician, was still living in Brooklyn, now at 290 Clinton Avenue where he owned his own home. Living with him is Lawrence's widow Margaret (58) and two immigrant servants; Annie O'Brien (38) from Ireland and Annie Corlees (34) from England, but of Irish parents.

During Dominic's medical career, he was occasionally sent abroad by his fellow Brooklyn Medical Society physicians to represent the Society at medical conventions in London, Paris, Berlin and St Petersburg. These trips may have enabled Dominic to link visits to County Galway with his travel to medical conferences. In Brooklyn, he was well-known and had a demanding medical career:

He was a general practitioner, yet in one branch, obstetrics, his annual returns to the Health Board was for eight or ten years more than 1,000 cases a year. . . . never did he refuse his services when called on, no matter how great the distance, how cold the night or warm the day, or poor the patient. He was, of a truth, a Napoleon in the practice of medicine, knowing no distraction by day or night and sleeping only when forced to do so; often in his carriage, in going from one call to another.²³⁰

In addition to his medical success, Dominic belonged to a group of eminent Catholic individuals who provided support to the Brooklyn Archdiocese:

Dr. Dominic G. Bodkin was included in a list of those in Brooklyn who were distinguished for their zeal for religion and generosity to the Church. Other distinguished individuals included Judge Alexander McCue, Charles A. Hoyt, E. Louis Lowe (formerly Governor of Maryland), Patrick C. Keeley (architect of many Catholic churches in various parts of the country, who

²²⁹ *S.S. Gallia*, arrived 28 Aug 1883, Dominic and John Bodkin, from Queenstown to New York, New York Passenger and Crews Lists [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 5 January 2010].

²³⁰ 'Eulogy for Dr. Dominic G. Bodkin', pp 123-6.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

began his career here), James A. McMaster, for many years editor of "The Freeman's Journal", Patrick Vincent Hickey, editor of the "Catholic Review", and Laurence Kehoe, Manager of the Catholic Publication Society.²³¹

Outcome

After a long illness from a gastric ulcer, Dominic died at his home in Brooklyn on 26 January 1902 at sixty-eight years of age, four years after his last trip home to County Galway. His obituary in the New York Times reflected his accomplishments in the medical field and a wide spectrum of New York life (Figure 6.15), however arrangements for burial were not noted and we do not know where he is buried.²³² Records at the Diocese of Brooklyn cemeteries office has no record of where Dr. Bodkin was buried.²³³

DEATH LIST OF A DAY.

Dr. Dominick George Bodkin.

Dr. Dominick George Bodkin died on Sunday night at his home, 290 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, after a long illness. He was one of the best-known physicians of Brooklyn, where he had practiced for thirty-five years.

Dr. Bodkin was born in County Galway, Ireland, in 1833, coming to this country with his parents when he was nine years old. While pursuing a course of study in the New York University Medical School, the civil war broke out and young Bodkin responded to Lincoln's call for volunteers. He served in the war as an Assistant Surgeon in the corps commanded by Gen. Canby. At the close of the war he completed his medical studies.

Dr. Bodkin had lived in Brooklyn since 1866. For thirty-two years he had an office in Sands Street, and built up a large practice. He was a delegate to the International Medical Congress held in Russia some years ago. Dr. Bodkin was a member of the New York State Medical Association, the Kings County Medical Society, the Mutual Aid Physicians' Association, the Columbian Club, the Catholic Benevolent Legion, and other organizations. He was also for many years on the medical staff of St. Mary's Hospital. Dr. Bodkin never married. He is survived by a brother and a sister. The arrangements for the

Fig. 6.15 Obituary of Dominic G. Bodkin, *New York Times*, 26 Jan 1902.

²³¹ Catholic Encyclopedia, Diocese of Brooklyn (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02798d.htm>) [accessed 4 February 2010].

²³² *American Medical Association biographical index entry for Dr. Dominic George Bodkin*, History of Medicine Division, National Institutes of Health and National Library of Medicine, correspondence received 15 February 2010.

²³³ Interview with Diocese of Boston Cemetery Office, 1Jul2011.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Profile 6

LEO MCGOVERN, County Donegal ...*bringing American-style tourism to Bundoran...*

Leo McGovern (1909-75) was one of a very few number of Irish individuals who stated in the passport records that their motivation to return home was to engage in business.²³⁴ Living in the United States, McGovern had gained business experience while being a grocery store manager and part-time steamship agent selling tickets to Ireland. On his return, he dreamed of setting up a business in Ireland which would incorporate American-style tourism.

Life at home

Philip Leo McGovern, known always as Leo, was born on 2 July 1909 in Cashel, County Fermanagh, the youngest child of seven in the family of John McGovern, a farmer, and Anne Stewart, both native of Agho, Cleenish Parish in County Fermanagh.²³⁵ Leo's siblings in the family, starting with the eldest, were Anne, Francis John, Alfred, Roxanne, Teresa and Cecelia.²³⁶

Emigration

After leaving school, Leo was employed locally as a clerk, but told his family of his dreams of emigrating. As soon as he turned eighteen, he purchased a steamship ticket for himself and emigrated to Boston via New York. He travelled on

²³⁴ US Passport Application Database, Leo McGovern, returned 1930 [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 04 December 08].

²³⁵ General Register Office birth certificate for Philip Leo McGovern, 2 July 1909.

²³⁶ Interview with May McGovern Fox of Bundoran, Co. Donegal, 19 May 2009, daughter of Leo and Helena McGovern.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

the *SS Carmania* arriving 17 October 1920 carrying \$100, more than most emigrants. His personal features were described as a fresh complexion, brown hair, and blue eyes. Coming from Kiltyclogher, Leitrim, Leo was listed, in the classic chain migration pattern, as going out to his cousin, Mr F. Gallagher of 41 Cresland St., in Waltham, Massachusetts.

Life in the United States

In viewing Leo's ten year sojourn in America, one would be forgiven for thinking he was living his life with some personal master plan in mind, one which included making and saving money. Within a year of arriving, he declared his intention of becoming an American citizen.²³⁷ By 1924, Leo was already manager of a Co-op Store in the Boston suburb of Haverhill while boarding with a local family.²³⁸ During the next several years, he moved to the nearby town of Quincy and became manager of one of the larger First National Stores, a chain of grocery stores spread throughout the Northeast.²³⁹ While he appears to have been a successful manager, at the same time on the side, he opened a travel agency called 'Ye Old Sod' and sold steamship tickets to Irish-Americans planning a visit to Ireland. His nephew Dr Francis Hannaway (son of Leo's sister Anne) was a child at the time, but recalls that on occasion, Leo would act as a tour guide to escort Irish-Americans on a tour of Ireland himself.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ *U.S. Naturalization Records Indexes, 1794-1995*, [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 10 May 2009].

²³⁸ U.S. City Directories Collection, [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 10 May 2009].

²³⁹ Interview with May McGovern Fox, 19 May 2009.

²⁴⁰ Email correspondence from Dr. Frank Hannaway of Quincy, Massachusetts, 13 Nov 2010, nephew of Leo McGovern.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

In May 1928, Leo became a naturalized American citizen in Boston's District Court²⁴¹ and was able to apply for a U.S. passport. He left that summer to make a short trip to Ireland presumably to visit his remaining family. One could speculate if, in making that trip home, Leo was laying the ground in Bundoran, County Donegal for his future commercial enterprise. When he returned in September of that year, Leo used his sister Jessie McGovern's residence in Boston as his recorded abode. Two years later, in the 1930 federal census, Leo was living in Quincy as a boarder with Irish-Americans Michael and Catherine Convoy. Leo is listed as a manager of a grocery store.²⁴²

The older McGovern siblings had emigrated before Leo and used their savings to bring out most of the other brothers and sisters. The exception was Leo's brother Alfred who became Brother Peter, a Cisterian monk in Roscrea, Co. Tipperary, though he would later act as best man at Leo's marriage. Anne emigrated to America in 1909 and worked first as a domestic servant, then a nurse. She became naturalized in 1914 and by 1920, when she was twenty-four years old, she was a nurse to a private family in Boston. She married Frank Hannaway (from Northern Ireland, location unknown) in 1923 and by 1930 she and her husband had three children. Husband Frank had himself emigrated in 1918, became a naturalised citizen, and was a machine operator at an electrical plant.²⁴³

Little is known about the life circumstances of Leo's brother Francis John, however, the three younger sisters each did well for themselves after emigrating.

²⁴¹ U.S. Naturalization Records Indexes, 1794-1995, [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 10 May 2009].

²⁴² 1920 Federal Census, Massachusetts, county of Norfolk, Quincy city, Ward 6, Ed 11-115, sheet 11B, line 90.

²⁴³ Interview with May McGovern Fox, 19 May 2009.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Roxanne first lived in New York where she married Jimmy Adley who had fortuitously invested in American Telephone and Telegraph. Adley became a millionaire and moved his family to Boston. Though Teresa stayed single, she trained for and became an opera star eventually singing in Milan, Italy. Youngest sister Cecelia trained as a hair dresser, married a Mr Toner and also resided in Boston.²⁴⁴

Return to Ireland

Perhaps wanting to personally avoid the perils of the economic crisis which followed the crash of the stock market in October 1929, Leo made his permanent move home to Ireland in 1930.²⁴⁵ His departure was followed by U.S. stock prices starting to fall in early September 1929 and bringing his American savings and newly honed business acumen home with him, Leo decided to purchase an existing hotel located on the beach road in the center of Bundoran, County Donegal. McGovern was adamant that he intended to create an American style hotel and other tourist attractions in Bundoran, a town which at the end of the nineteenth century, had become fashionable for holidays across the social classes especially with the coming of the railway link to Belfast and Dublin. In Wakeman's travel guide in 1877, Bundoran was described as one of the most well-liked seaside resorts in Ulster attracting more people than just the affluent families of the earlier years. 'Bundoran [was] the most popular watering place on the north western coast of Ireland – visited

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Email correspondence from Dr. Frank Hannaway of Quincy, Massachusetts, 13 Nov 2010.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

by every class, from lords and ladies to the bourgeois and farmer even by families of the hewers of wood.²⁴⁶

Leo renamed his purchased structure the ‘New York Hotel’. The building had several floors and a basement and was located near the main crossroad in the center of town (Figure 6.16). Leo refurbished the interior and exterior of the building and installed electricity and a dumb waiter long before the other hotels in the area. He started a variety of events at the hotel which included tea dances.²⁴⁷ In later years, Leo would rename the hotel as the ‘American House’ perhaps implying the hotel was modern affording comfort and luxury to any guest who holidayed there.



Fig. 6.16 New York Hotel, owned by Leo McGovern, Bundoran, County Donegal, c. 1932.

²⁴⁶ Interview with May McGovern Fox of Bundoran, 19 May 2009; William F. Wakeman, *The Tourist's Guide to Ireland*, (Dublin, 1887) pp 250-252.

²⁴⁷ Interview with May McGovern Fox, 19 May 2009.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

In October 1932, Leo married Helena [Lena] O’Doherty, daughter of another Bundoran hotelier family.²⁴⁸ At the time of his marriage, Leo stated his occupation as steamship agent, similar to his role as a steamship agent in Massachusetts, most likely selling tickets to emigrants as part of his business. Lena was a teacher at the local Bundoran National School, but she had an interesting past as reportedly part of Cumann na mBan in the 1916 Rising in Dublin. Her children think she may have been imprisoned for a while in Kilmainham jail, but there is no documentation, just an old revolver kept by the family.²⁴⁹ The young couple made a very full life for themselves in Bundoran raising five children (Figure 6.17).



Fig. 6.17 Leo and Lena McGovern, proprietors of the New York Hotel in Bundoran, County Donegal, c. 1935.

²⁴⁸ General Register Office, marriage certificate, Philip McGovern and Helena O’Doherty, 26 October 1932, Bundoran, County Donegal.

²⁴⁹ Interview with May McGovern Fox, 19 May 2009.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Leo and Lena McGovern seemed to enjoy their life together and left many fond memories for their children. Daughter May recalls the couple dancing around the kitchen of the hotel playing American style music on the phonograph and bringing the children into the dance. Leo especially liked to welcome visiting Americans on holiday in the area and reminisce with them about his early life in Boston.²⁵⁰ The hotel eventually closed, but the building remains family property and the ground floor continues to function as a convenience store.

Leo McGovern played a strong role in Bundoran's business and tourism community. He was eventually appointed postmaster and was elected to the Urban District Council.²⁵¹ After a very full and energetic life, he seemingly had accomplished the plans that drove him during his time in America and once home in Ireland. He died in Bundoran on 5 October 1975 at age sixty-four and is buried locally.²⁵² McGovern's obituary in the *Donegal Democrat* on 10 October (Figure 6.18), paid tribute to his life in a wide area of northwest Ireland, but also included mention of his life and activities in Massachusetts.

²⁵⁰ Interview with Leo McGovern, Jr., Bundoran, Co. Donegal, 10 Jun 2009, son of Leo and Lena McGovern.

²⁵¹ *Irish Times*, 6 Oct. 1952, p. 4; *Irish Times*, 30 Jun. 1967, p. 5.

²⁵² Leo's death in 1975 does not appear to have been registered with GRO.

PROMINENT BUSINESSMAN'S DEATH



LATE MR. MCGOVERN

The death, which took place at his residence, American House, Bundoran, on Sunday, after a lengthy illness, of Mr. Leo P. McGovern, P.C., was learned of with deep regret not only in Bundoran but over a wide area of South Donegal, Fermanagh, North Leitrim and North Sligo, where he was highly esteemed by a very wide circle of friends.

A kindly, friendly personality, possessed of a quiet humour, he enjoyed great popularity among all who came to know him during a long life of public service. He was for many years a member of Bundoran Urban Council, which he also represented on the County Vocational Education Committee for some years. Keenly interested in Irish cultural matters, he was a valued member of the committee of the Bundoran G.A.A. club. He was also a member of the Friends of St. Louis and of the local Conference of St. Vincent De Paul Society. A native of Cashel, Co. Fermanagh, in his earlier years he was manager of the First National Stores, Boston, U.S.A. On his return to his native land he set up a souvenir and confectionery business in Bundoran where he was later appointed postmaster. A man of great business acumen his enterprise flourished and The American House was a popular shopping centre for visitors to the resort. A few years ago he was succeeded as postmaster by his son, Mr. Leo McGovern, junr.

Figure 6.18 Obituary of Philip Leo McGovern on the front page of the *Donegal Democrat*, 10 October 1975.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Profile 7

MARGARET BRENNAN, County Roscommon ... *what brought me back from America?...*

Margaret Brennan (1883-1937) is representative of the thousands of young Irish females who emigrated to the United States and worked as domestic servants for middle- and upper-class Americans. Margaret aided her family at home by sending remittance money and she began a chain of migration within her own family by sending passage money to bring out to Boston her sister and two youngest brothers to Boston. After nine years in America, during a return visit to her family, an introduction to an eligible farmer brought an opportunity for marriage and life at home.²⁵³

Life at Home

Margaret Brennan was born in 1883 in Carrownamaddy townland, parish of St John's, Co. Roscommon, one of seven children born to Patrick Brennan (1850-1933) and Anne Ward (1853-1929) of the adjacent Rinnegan townland. Records indicate the Brennan family had lived in Carrownamaddy since the time of the bishop of Elphin's Census in 1749. Under the Land Act of 1896, Patrick Brennan purchased his 13 acre farm on 20 June 1898. The most constant anxiety within the Brennan household became accumulating enough money to pay the £3 annuity owed twice a year in May and November or suffer the loss of their land. By the time of the

²⁵³ This profile is based on Margaret Brennan's life history in Dunnigan, *A south Roscommon emigrant*, which contains the sources for what is set out here.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

1901 census, the Brennan family had the largest number of family members in the townland; parents Patrick and Anne, and children James Joseph, Margaret (Maggie), Nora, Michael, Patrick Joseph and Francis.

From the limited information available, putting newer inheritance rules into practice and the dispersal of siblings within the Brennan family can first be observed in the Patrick Brennan-Anne Ward generation. As his children reached adulthood, Patrick had intended that his oldest son, James Joseph, would inherit the farm in Carrownamaddy. However, James J., along with many young sons of Catholic farmers, was recruited to join the Royal Irish Constabulary (R.I.C.), a career path which permitted young men to remain in Ireland. In 1902 his R.I.C. employment would mean a regular source of income for his parents. It would thus be the second son, Michael, who would stay at home and work alongside his father over the years, and eventually inherit the farm in 1933 following his father's death.

Emigration

Soon after the 1901 census, Patrick Brennan received a letter from cousins in America offering to 'bring out' one of Patrick's older children to work in Boston. He had to consider the offer seriously and it was Maggie, the oldest daughter, who was chosen to emigrate to America. At seventeen, she was considered old enough to take advantage of the emigration opportunity offered in the letter from Boston. Most importantly, if Maggie went to America, she would be able to send money home to help out her parents and siblings. The economic reality was that Maggie needed to go to America to financially help the family. In the end, five of Patrick and Anne Brennan's six children would leave Carrownamaddy for economic reasons, four to

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

emigrate to America and James J. to migrate internally to posts around Ireland as he followed his duties in the R.I.C.

In August 1902, following an ‘American wake’ held by the neighbours for her departure, Maggie travelled by train to Cork and Queenstown Harbour where she sailed with a third class ticket on the *S.S. Campania*. After arriving in New York, she went through immigration processing at Ellis Island and travelled by train to Boston where her relatives helped her find housing and employment.

Life in the United States

During the years Maggie lived and worked in Boston, there are few records revealing her residences and/or her occupations. In the Boston City Directories for years 1903-1905, she may be the Margaret Brennan listed in Boston city as a dressmaker living first at 1324 Dorchester Avenue and then at 246 Adams Drive. Her family recalls her telling of working at some point as a ‘daily’, a domestic servant who worked in the employer’s home during the day, but returned to her own rooms at night.

Sometime before 1910, Maggie appears to have become employed as a live-in maid for a very wealthy Boston family in one of the most elite neighbourhoods. To get a sense of Maggie Brennan’s life as a domestic servant in this household, information from the 1910 Boston census information has been combined with primary sources detailing domestic service in the late nineteenth century era. While doing domestic service, an Irish girl encountered fewer safety and health problems than those in millwork or seamstress work. The domestic servants who lived-in with their employer would have escaped from some of the dirtiest, most congested, most

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

disease-ridden sections of any nineteenth-century and situated them instead in upper- and middle-class neighbourhoods. Since they lived in their employers' household, maids had no expenses for food, shelter or transportation. In most cases, servants did not have the expense of purchasing work clothes as they were usually dressed in some sort of uniform provided by the employer. In addition, the diet of the domestic servant surpassed that of a mill hand and seamstress. Employers regarded live-in servants as having less of a chance to imbibe than those women employed in other kinds of jobs. Wages for women in Massachusetts at that time averaged \$8.10 to \$9.08 per week for domestic servants, whereas female textile workers earned \$7.15, saleswomen \$6.21 and seamstresses only \$6.00.

Fortuitously, Maggie was identified in the 1910 Massachusetts census as a general maid in the John F. Tyler household at 16 Chestnut Street in Boston's wealthy Beacon Hill district. The head of the household, John Ford Tyler, was a fifty-four year old Harvard educated lawyer who lived with his wife Mary Osgood Stevens originally from North Andover, Mass. and they had no children. Their Beacon Hill neighbourhood was historically one of Boston's most exclusive and wealthiest neighbourhoods and was home to the so-called Boston 'Brahmins,' a class of wealthy, educated, elite members of Boston society, were mostly the descendants of 17th century Puritan settlers. John Tyler was very much part of the Boston establishment and it would be entirely typical and customary that his household would have a staff of domestic servants for the convenience of himself and his wife in their large house on Chestnut Street. The Tyler domestic staff in 1910 consisted of three women; Catherine Nelson, Massachusetts-born Irish-American, age 44 and two younger Irish immigrants, both aged twenty-four, Margaret M. Kennedy and

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Margaret M. Brennan. Catherine was the daughter of Irish immigrants while both Margaret Kennedy and Maggie Brennan had immigrated from Ireland in 1902. To ensure a smoothly functioning household, domestic servants were expected to work long and somewhat erratic hours depending upon the requirements of the employer. Maggie would have been expected to work from sunrise to sunset, at least ten hours a day, though a busy day might average eleven to twelve hours. In this time period, having a full day off was rare; instead servants usually had one or two evenings or half-days off per week. A typical schedule would give Irish maids Thursday and Sunday afternoons off.

Maggie would have always been ‘on call’ for John and Mary Tyler through the use of an extensive bell system reaching into servants' bedrooms on the upper floors or the basement. The physically demanding nature of turn of the century housework called for the servants to have a good diet. Depending on the household, servants generally ate leftovers from the family meal, worked, and snatched leisure moments in the busy kitchen.²⁵⁴ When Maggie’s work day was finally over, she would go to her sleeping quarters. Her room would be either in the attic or the basement and furnished with family cast-offs -- a bed, perhaps a chair and a washstand, probably no carpets, curtains, or decorations. Her wardrobe would be hung on rows of pegs on the walls and her room would have been likely hot in summer and cold in winter. There would usually be no fireplaces in these rooms, no furnace ducts, and no stoves. Servants' rooms, already vulnerable to the intrusions of the call bell, were also often shared with other servants.

²⁵⁴ Faye E. Dudden, *Serving women: household service in nineteenth-century America* (Connecticut, 1983), pp 194-196; Sutherland, *Ireland yesterday and today* (Philadelphia, 1909) pp. 99-102.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

In America, Irish female domestic servants could work for wages and, after sending money home, spend their surplus earnings as they wanted, even on *themselves*. Late-nineteenth century writers commonly described Irish women as well dressed and one settlement worker observed that of women in a variety of ethnic groups ‘the Irish girl had the greatest refinement in her dress’. Maggie Brennan sent her parents a photograph of herself (Figure 6.19) in a very decorative dress indicating her own fine taste in clothing and perhaps consciously intended and



posed to create an impression on those at home.

Fig 6.19 – Margaret Brennan, circa 1910, Boston, Massachusetts. source: Anne Margaret Quinn, Carnagh East, St John’s Parish, eldest daughter of Margaret Brennan Dowling.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

As previously mentioned, Irish women were particularly conscientious about sending money home. Maggie Brennan appears to have been an industrious worker and must have been quite good at managing and saving her wages. Besides sending home money on a fairly frequent basis, within twenty-four months of arriving in America she did manage in classic fashion to save enough money to bring out her younger sister Norah in 1903. Norah in turn brought out their brother Patrick in 1925 and then Patrick brought out his younger brother John in 1927.

Maggie's employer John Ford and his wife Mary travelled extensively and visited Europe almost annually from 1902 until 1910. During the year 1911, the Fords traveled to Hawaii and Japan, coincidentally providing a convenient time for their maid Maggie Brennan to make an extended visit home to Ireland.

Return to Ireland

Maggie Brennan was at home in Carrownamaddy in time to be recorded along with her family in the 1911 Census of Ireland. During her visit, she presented her parents with money intended for a new room to be built onto the Brennan house. Family history hints there may have been some indication that she wanted to have the room to sleep in if she came home again to visit. Her descendents have wondered if this was an early indication that she was thinking of eventually returning to stay. A family story also suggests that during her holiday in Carrownamaddy, Maggie was asked if she would be interested in marrying a suitable local man if one could be found. There was mention of a thirty-six year old farmer in the nearby village of Ballyduff, Carnagh East townland named Patrick Dowling, who was seen as 'a good catch.' He owned 30 acres very near Maggie's aunt Bridget Kelly who lived in

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Glanduff, Carnagh West. Maggie may have had serious thoughts about her future plans as she is said to have made a solemn promise to Patrick Dowling that she would return. Maggie returned to America, leaving Queenstown on 11 May 1911 on the *S.S. Ivernia*. After two years, Maggie returned home for the final time in 1913. She married Patrick Dowling on 20 November 1913 in St John's Church, witnessed by Michael Dowling, Patrick's younger brother, and Maggie's younger sister, Norah Egan, née Brennan, who was home on a visit from the States. Maggie brought home money for her dowry and an American trunk filled with dresses, coats and suits for herself and outfits for Patrick Dowling. They lived on the Dowling homeplace in Ballyduff, and raised five children, Michael, Patrick, Anne Margaret (Dowling) Quinn, Mary (Mae) (Dowling) Kilduff and Francis (Frank), all who did not have to emigrate and were able to remain living in Ireland.

Maggie appears to have incorporated into her life at home an appreciation of some 'quality of life' values learned during her years working for the 'upper crust' in Boston. Her oldest daughter, Anne Margaret Quinn, remembers that her mother Maggie enjoyed reading books and urged education for her children, especially for her daughters whom she encouraged to be self-reliant. Maggie was brilliant at dressmaking and made her daughters' confirmation dresses (white satin trimmed with lace) with material she had brought home from America. With part of her American savings, Maggie helped to finance a new parlour with a boarded floor which was built onto the Dowling house and then she made and hung the curtains. The new room had a side board, six chairs, a round table, side tables, a table lamp and brass candlesticks. There were table cloths, tray cloths and cutlery with the initial 'B' engraved on them, all items brought home from America. Always house-

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

proud, Maggie had ‘excellent housekeeping skills, and liked everything to be nice and taught her daughters to follow in this tradition’.

When Maggie’s mother Anne Brennan became blind, Maggie was able to bring her into the Dowling home for the last ten years of her mother’s life. Maggie herself became seriously ill when she was only fifty-one years old. During the years of her illness, Maggie worked hard to prepare her daughters for their future lives. For instance, she instructed her oldest daughter Annie Margaret on how to apply for a grant in order to build up the rooms of the old house to the same level as the new parlour. Maggie died in 1937 while her husband Patrick lived another 21 years to die in 1958. They are buried together locally in St John’s Parish, County Roscommon.

Maggie Brennan’s choice to return home to St John’s Parish and marry Patrick Dowling produced a legacy of nineteen grandchildren and twenty-four great-grandchildren. Their daughter Anne Margaret recalled that their fondness for each other was shown in their occasional bantering: Maggie would say ‘I don’t know what brought me back from America to marry you!’ and Patrick would reply ‘It’s my lovely black curly head and my good looks that brought you back!.

Profile 8

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

PETER JOHN FALLON, County Roscommon ...*to spend the rest of my days ...*

Peter John Fallon (1846-1924) was a sixty-nine year old government clerk who had lived in the United States for fifty-four years before he returned home to Ireland in 1919. He is representative of many Irish immigrants who were motivated to return in order to settle an estate after the death of a family member and then decided to make plans to permanently retire to Ireland.²⁵⁵

Life at Home

Peter John Fallon was born in 1846 during the Great Famine in Culleen, a small cluster of houses near Knockcroghery in south County Roscommon.²⁵⁶ His father Peter had married Anna Kelly of Culleen. Peter John was born as the consequences of the potato blight were taking hold throughout the west of Ireland. Peter's known siblings included Malachy (1833), Patrick (1841), then Peter John (1846), Thomas (1847) and Catherine (1848) and the youngest, Edward (1850).²⁵⁷

Local historians suggest that the cottages at Culleen were most likely established as tenant housing convenient for labourers who worked on three or four nearby large estates. The Culleen families were clustered on the edge of a bog near the old Killinvoy cemetery. In medieval times, the centre of the Killinvoy area was a parish church and graveyard. In the early eighteenth century, a Mass House was built in Culleen and became the focal point of the Catholic community for well over 150

²⁵⁵ *US Passport Application Database*, Peter John Fallon, return 1919, 1795-1925 [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 04 December 2008].

²⁵⁶ Baptism Records for Peter John Fallon, 5 January 1846, St. John's parish records, (unpaginated) LDS FHL Microfilm # 989752.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

years.²⁵⁸ The homeplaces of the Fallon and Kelly families are shown on the 1858 Griffith's Valuation map indicating where Peter John's grandparents lived and where he was born.²⁵⁹

Along with his two older brothers, Malachi and Patrick, Peter John would have spent his youth both as a labourer on the family farm and occasionally as a day labourer on the large estates located in the surrounding area, such as George Plunkett and Patrick Grehan at Mt. Plunkett, Edward Kelly and Patrick Grehan at Churchboro House, Denis and Jane Kelly at Kellybrook or the Bonds of Galeybeg.²⁶⁰

Emigration

Only two of the Fallon siblings are known to have emigrated from Culleen to America. Peter John emigrated to America in 1865 just four months after the end of the American Civil War. He was an eligible twenty-one year old who was likely to have been drafted into the Union Army if he had emigrated earlier. Peter John left Queenstown in October 1865 sailing to New York on board the *SS Pennsylvania*.²⁶¹ Six years later he brought out his younger brother *Thomas*. Thomas was born in 1847 at the height of the Famine. In 1871, when he was twenty-two, Thomas travelled from Queenstown to New York and on to his brother Peter John in Michigan.²⁶² Back in Culleen, the two older brothers would eventually inherit the Fallon homeplace and a neighbouring farm.²⁶³ Oldest brother Malachy and his wife

²⁵⁸ William Gacquin, 'Culleen Hall, the Beginning', Local history paper, Co. Roscommon, presented 26 April 1999).

²⁵⁹ Valuation office, Dublin, Valuation of Tenements, 1858, County Roscommon, map 46.

²⁶⁰ Landed Estates Database, NUI Galway, (www.landedestates.ie) [accessed 18 November 09].

²⁶¹ *S.S. Pennsylvania*, Peter John Fallon, October 1865, from Queenstown to New York [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 14 October 2009].

²⁶² *S.S. City of Limerick*, Thomas Fallon, 12 May 1871, from Queenstown to New York (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 14 October 2009].

²⁶³ 1901 Census of Ireland, Roscommon Registration District, Killienrevagh.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Eliza Campbell farmed one of the two properties while brother Patrick and his wife Margaret farmed the adjoining property. Peter John's sister Catherine married a farmer named Patrick Beirne from Rathmore near the town of Boyle in north Roscommon. Two of Peter John's siblings undertook preliminary rural-urban migration when they moved into Roscommon Town. The youngest brother Edward, who would remain a bachelor his whole life, moved into town to become a publican/grocer on Main Street. The youngest sister Anne married James Feeley who had a public house/grocery on Goff Street in Roscommon.

Life in the United States

Michigan

Upon arriving in the States, Peter John travelled from New York to the frontier area of southern Michigan to meet three cousins of his father from home.²⁶⁴ Lawrence, Daniel and Patrick Fallon had emigrated in the 1850s, along with several thousand other Irish, who had flocked to a rectangular area of land located roughly in southeastern Jackson County and northwest Lenawee County, Michigan.²⁶⁵ In 1860, brother Lawrence Fallon was a mason married with no children, brother Patrick was a bachelor day labourer, while brother Daniel, also a day labourer, was married with two children. They were living in adjacent homes in Jackson City.²⁶⁶

By 1868, Peter John was living in the Lenawee County portion of the 'Irish Hills'. As evidenced by his 'Declaration of Intent' document, he sought to become

²⁶⁴ Interview with Ita Fallon Commins of Boyle, Co. Roscommon, 10 October 2009; Fallon family oral history.

²⁶⁵ Interview with Phyllis Richard, local history librarian, Lenawee County public library, Lenawee, Michigan (5 Aug 2011).

²⁶⁶ 1860 Census records, Jackson City, ward 3, Jackson Co., MI, sheet 74, line 31-37, (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 10 October 09].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

naturalised American citizen. These documents were normally completed soon after an immigrant's arrival in the United States. Twenty-five years later, when Peter was living in Indiana, he went on to file his Final Naturalisation Papers.

Fort Wayne, Indiana

By 1874, Peter John had left Michigan and moved west 106 miles across state lines to the city of Fort Wayne in Allen County, Indiana. Over the next forty years, he would make his home in Indiana while his employment status transitioned from engineering trades to professional federal employment as he moved up the occupational ladder. Peter John was just one of the large numbers of Irish, Polish, and German immigrants who arrived in Fort Wayne to work on the massive endeavour of building the Wabash and Erie Canals. After the Civil War, work shifted to working on the developing railroad system.²⁶⁷ Fort Wayne was growing out of being a frontier town with a reputation for 'murder, mayhem and lawlessness'. Similar to what was happening to Detroit, Michigan and other upper mid-west towns, Ft Wayne had been 'assured of growth by the twin effects of transportation changes and population movement'.²⁶⁸ In the 1840s, the Wabash and Erie Canal construction had opened up waterways and saloons in Allen County. In the few years leading up to the American Civil War, the Fort Wayne area was bustling with activity. Long before Fort Wayne had seen its first locomotive in 1860, town visionaries began preparations for the railroad, for what was to become one of the largest industries in the city's history. In fact, railroad activity was so great that the city's population doubled between 1850 and 1860 and the county was ranked third in

²⁶⁷ Howard Henry Peckham, *Indiana: a history* (Champaign, 2003), p. 46.

²⁶⁸ Joellen Vinyard, *The Irish on the urban frontier; nineteenth century Detroit, 1850-1880* (New York, 1976), p 7.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

the state for the number of workers employed. By 1881, Fort Wayne had many new enterprises which had been founded on the basis of construction and repair of these new railroads following the nation-wide statistic from the census that one out of every thirty-two people in the U.S. were either employed by a railroad or engaged in railroad construction.²⁶⁹ Irish immigrants were attracted to the ‘young and rising’ cities like Ft Wayne which offered better opportunities to the skilled workmen. The commercial and industrial development of Ft Wayne, Detroit, Indianapolis and other upper mid-west locations offered semi-skilled and skilled jobs along with warehouse work, clerical and factory positions.²⁷⁰

As discussed in chapter one, during the mid and late nineteenth century, thousands of Irish-American males worked in occupations related to transportation industries. Similarly, Peter John Fallon, during the decade following his arrival from Michigan, was a one of the boilermaker in the engineering shops at the Wabash, St Louis & Pacific Railway Company (W, SL & P).²⁷¹ In 1880, when he was twenty-nine years old, he rose to the position of a manager in the engineering shop. The ‘Pennsylv railroad shops’, named after the Pennsylvania Railroad, became the leader in design, construction, testing, and maintenance of steam engines and Pullman cars. The shops at various times employed more than two hundred workers, many of whom were immigrants, providing good paying jobs to skilled and unskilled workers as well. All these types of engineering shops displayed innovative

²⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 62; Web article on New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad (<http://www.economicexpert.com/a/New:York:Chicago:St:Louis:Railroad.htm>) [accessed 19 November 2009].

²⁷⁰ Vinyard, *The Irish on the urban frontier*, pp 38-9

²⁷¹ *Ft. Wayne Gazette*, 6 Aug. 1884, p. 6, col. 3 (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 19 November 2009].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

performance and were kept busy for nearly half a century at the end of the nineteenth century as no less than 200 trains a day arrived and departed from Fort Wayne.

By 1889, Peter John had undergone a major occupational transition as he left the engineering shops and his machinist working skills behind to become a clerk for the New York, Chicago and St Louis Railroad (NYC&S). Commonly referred to as the ‘Nickel Plate Road,’ this railroad operated throughout the mid-central United States. It was dubbed the ‘meat express’ because every night six long ‘meat’ or cattle trains passed over it’s tracks travelling through Fort Wayne. The railroad served a large area, including trackage in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Its primary connections included Buffalo, New York, Chicago, Illinois, Cleveland, Ohio, Indianapolis, Indiana, St Louis, Missouri and Toledo, Ohio.²⁷² In 1894, Peter John then made the change from clerk at the Nickel railroad to the job of ‘collector’ for the Bauer and Harnett Iron and Machine Works in Fort Wayne.

While in Ft Wayne, Peter John lived in an ethnic Irish neighbourhood called ‘Irish Town’ located immediately south of the railroad shops.²⁷³ Here immigrants clustered together with others from the same county or region, marrying and trading within the sub-group from their old country. Not surprisingly, it was there that St Patrick's Catholic Church was built in 1890.²⁷⁴ Peter John became a naturalized

²⁷² *New York, Chicago and St Louis Railroad* (<http://www.economicexpert.com/a/New:York:Chicago:St:Louis:Railroad.htm>) [accessed 19 November 2009].

²⁷³ John D. Beatty, (ed.), *History of Ft. Wayne, Allen County, Indiana, 1700-2000* (Evansville, Indiana, 2006), p. 728; Fred F. Johnson, *Graphic Street Guide of Greater Fort Wayne* (Michigan, 2005), p. 19; According to Beatty, the boundaries of ‘Irish town’ were roughly the rail lines, Fairfield Ave., Williams Street and Calhoun St. St. Patrick’s church was located two blocks outside this area on the corner of Dewald and Harrison Streets.

²⁷⁴ Peckham, *Indiana: a history*, p. 46.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

citizen on 24 January 1893.²⁷⁵ Altogether, Peter John lived in Ft Wayne for 26 years before he moved to Indianapolis, Indiana in 1894 to take a position as a clerk in the office of Col. Charles A. Zollinger, United States pension agent in that town.²⁷⁶

Indianapolis, Indiana

The primary function of the Federal government's Bureau of Pensions where Peter John worked was to examine and adjudicate the claims and the payments of military veteran's benefits. Bureau staff like Peter John investigated the facts of each case, primarily by interviewing parties with some knowledge of the claimant. Individual Bureau clerks like Peter John Fallon were in a position to weigh the evidence and make judgments. Special efforts were made for the tens of thousands of pension claims filed by widows in the post-Civil War decades. In reading their applications, Peter John would frequently encounter heartbreaking stories of the hardship these women could experience after the loss of their husbands.²⁷⁷

During the era in which Peter John worked in the Indiana state capital as a clerk for the Pension Bureau,²⁷⁸ Indianapolis was at the hub of the transcontinental rail traffic and operations system, the federal highway system and also became one of the centres of automobile manufacturing, rivaling the city of Detroit.²⁷⁹ As part of the city's expansive growth, Indianapolis was home to the first Union Station, or common

²⁷⁵ *U.S. Naturalization Records Indexes, 1794-1995* [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 10 May 2009].

²⁷⁶ Peter John Fallon obituary, *New Sentinel* newspaper, Ft. Wayne, Indiana, 29 February 1924, p. 27; Peter John Fallon, return 1919, *US Passport Application Database, 1795-1925*, [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 04 December 08].

²⁷⁷ Gustavus A. Weber, *The Bureau of Pensions: its history, activities and organization* (Baltimore, MD, 1923), pp 27-8, p. 40, 43, 46, 47.

²⁷⁸ 1900 US Census Record, Indianapolis, Indiana, P.J. Fallon (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 15 October 09].

²⁷⁹ Joseph Elbert Griswold and Mrs. Samuel R. Taylor, *The pictorial history of Fort Wayne* (Chicago, 1917), p 409.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

rail passenger terminal, in the United States. Indianapolis lay on the original east-west National Road, one of the first major improved highways in the United States built by the federal government. The city became a major hub of regional transport connecting to Chicago, Louisville, Cincinnati, Columbus, Detroit, Cleveland, St Louis, and Indianapolis.²⁸⁰

Washington, D.C.

In 1910, Peter John was assigned a position in the office of the commissioner of pensions (a promotion) at the national office in Washington, D.C.²⁸¹ He lived at 1245 I Street NW, an area favoured by federal civil servants because they could walk daily to their offices through a newly restored and beautified downtown area of the city.²⁸² In addition, the U.S. Senate had recently established the National Mall, along with numerous monuments and museums. Many of the slums that had surrounded the Capitol were replaced with new public monuments and government buildings. The execution of the beautification plan was interrupted during World War I, but was largely completed with the construction of the Lincoln Memorial in 1922. Peter John lived and worked in Washington during the whirl wind years of World War I.

Return to Ireland

It was while working in Washington, D.C. that Peter John heard about the death of his younger brother Edward on the 24 December 1918. It is not known if

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Peter John Fallon, return 1920, *US Passport Application Database, 1795-1925* [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 04 December 08]; Peter John Fallon obituary, *New Sentinel* newspaper, Ft. Wayne, Indiana, 29 Feb. 1924, p. 27.

²⁸² Peter John Fallon, return 1919, *US Passport Application Database, 1795-1925* [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 04 December 08].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Peter John and/or his brother Thomas made any visits home from the U.S. prior to 1919. By March 1919, Peter John had submitted a U.S. passport application stating he intended to return home to ‘investigat[e the] estate of a wealthy brother who died recently’.²⁸³

The wealthy brother was Edward who had taken over a pub and grocery store sometime before 1901 near the corner of Castle Street and Lanesborough Street in the centre of Roscommon town. Edward had a substantial establishment with a pub/shop located on the ground floor and living quarters overhead, but it is not known if he also served as a steamship agent as did many local grocery shops. In 1901, he employed a shop assistant (Peter Noone-seventeen) and a housekeeper (Maria Mullen-thirty-four) both resident on the premises.²⁸⁴ By 1911, Edward was calling his business a grocery instead of a public house. He had brought his niece Brigid Beirne, the daughter of his sister Catherine, into town from rural Culleen to help him as a shop assistant. In addition, he still had retained another shop assistant and housekeeper.²⁸⁵ While living in Roscommon, his niece Brigid started ‘doing a line’ with John Kennedy of Laneborough Street and they were married in Roscommon on 5 June 1916.²⁸⁶

Edward died in Roscommon during Christmas 1918 after suffering several years of chronic bronchitis and asthma.²⁸⁷ His *Roscommon Journal* obituary stated he had won the esteem and respect of the local people, had been successful in

²⁸³ Peter John Fallon, return 1919, *US Passport Application Database, 1795-1925* [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 04 December 08].

²⁸⁴ National Archives of Ireland, Census of Ireland 1901, Roscommon, Ardnanagh townland, Edward Fallon.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ General Registry Office marriage record, Brigid Beirne and John Kennedy, 5 Jun 1916, Roscommon Parish, Co. Roscommon.

²⁸⁷ General Registry Office death record of Edward Fallon, 24 December 1918, Roscommon Town

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

commerce and a model Christian.²⁸⁸ It appears Edward left the shop to his niece Brigid Beirne and her husband John Kennedy. The young Kennedy couple were responsible for Edward's funeral and erecting an impressive celtic cross over him in old Killinvoy Cemetery near Culleen.²⁸⁹ Though John was to die a young man, Brigid continued to trade there in Roscommon for many years²⁹⁰ During Peter John's visit home, he found that Edward had been generous to the various young children of the several siblings leaving the children from £250 to £50 each in his will. It seems that Edward was also close to the local Roscommon priest and left generous money gifts to the local parish.²⁹¹

Peter John appears to have greatly enjoyed his visit home to Roscommon as evidenced in a news article sent to the *Ft Wayne Gazette* in August 1919 (Figure 6.20).²⁹²

²⁸⁸ *Roscommon Journal*, 27 Dec. 1918, p. 3, col. 1.

²⁸⁹ Burial plot of Edward Fallon, old Killenvoy cemetery, Killenvoy, Roscommon.

²⁹⁰ Interview with Ita Fallon Commins of Boyle, Roscommon, 15 September 2009.

²⁹¹ Will of Edward Fallon, Main Street, County Roscommon, Dec 1918, National Archives, Dublin.

²⁹² *Ft. Wayne Gazette*, Wednesday 27 Aug. 1919, p. 12, col. 4, *Newspapers and Publications Collection* [database online](www.ancestry.com) [accessed 19 November 2009].



Fig. 6.20 News article, *Fort Wayne Journal*, relating Peter John Fallon visit to Ireland, 1919.

Return to the United States

After reconnecting with his many siblings and their families living around County Roscommon, Peter John appears to have given serious thought about retiring to come home to Ireland. He even mentioned these plans in his news article. After a three-month visit to Roscommon, he returned to Washington presumably with plans

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

to retire from his Civil Service government job. In May 1920, at seventy years of age, he applied for his second and last U.S. passport application. His stated intention was to ‘spend the rest of my days’ in Ireland and he ‘did not intend to return’ to the U.S. (Figure 6.21). He planned ahead intending to sail to Ireland on 18 September 1920 onboard the *SS Carmania*.²⁹³



Fig.6.21 Passport photo, Peter John Fallon, 1920.

Outcome

A month later, in the 1920 federal census, Fallon was listed living at his Washington, D.C. residence address presumably waiting for his September departure.²⁹⁴ There was however, a change in his financial status which may have influenced his retirement plans in Ireland. The U.S. Congress had been trying for twenty years to adopt retirement plans for civil-service employees of which Peter John was one. This effort culminated in the passage of the Federal Employees

²⁹³ Peter John Fallon, return 1920, *US Passport Application Database, 1795-1925* [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 04 December 08].

²⁹⁴ US Federal Census, 1920 Peter Fallon, residence – 1002 13th Street, Wash DC, Lodger, M,W, sgl, age 70, unmarried, occupation - govt clerk, U.S. Pension Bureau, Wash. D.C. (www.ancestry.com)[accessed 10 November 2009].

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

Retirement Act on 22 May 1920.²⁹⁵ The key features of the original act of 1920 meant Peter John would gain the ability to retire and draw a federal pension. The Act stated that all classified civil service employees would qualify for a pension after reaching age seventy after having worked for at least fifteen years of service. Peter John was seventy years of age in 1920 and had worked for the Pension Bureau for twenty-six years. An employee could, however, be retained for two years beyond the mandatory age if his department head and the head of the Civil Service Commission approved. His pension benefit after twenty-six years would have been approximately fifty percent of his average annual salary during the last ten years of service.²⁹⁶

Peter John did finally return after a life of emigration, frontier and railroad building, and high level federal employment, to live permanently ‘in the place of his birth’ in the summer of 1920. According to his nephew, Rev T. John Feeley of Athlone, Peter John died in Athlone’s St Vincent’s hospital on 12 February 1924. His return to Ireland was documented in his obituary found in several Ft Wayne, Indiana newspapers. By sending the death information to two Fort Wayne newspapers, the young priest satisfied his uncle’s request to let his old friends know of his death.²⁹⁷ (This nephew priest who is indicated as surviving Peter John was the son of his youngest sister Anne Feeley, nee Fallon, who lived in Roscommon.) Fr Feeley wrote that his uncle Peter John had returned to Ireland to take charge of an estate left him by a deceased brother, and that Peter John ‘was a gentleman of excellent character and attractive manners’ and that ‘no born American loved

²⁹⁵ Lee A. Craig, *Public sector pensions in the United States*, Economic History website, (<http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/craig.pensions.public.us>) [accessed 15 February 2010].

²⁹⁶ Olivia S. Mitchell and Edwin C. Hustead (eds), *Pensions in the public sector* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 9.

²⁹⁷ *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, 29 February 1924, p. 5; *New Sentinel*, Fort Wayne, 29 February 1924, p. 27.

Chapter 6 – Profiles of Return

America more than did my dear old uncle, who left at the dawn and returned only at the settling of his life to his native land'.²⁹⁸ Peter John was buried next to his brother Edward in old Killinvoy cemetery, near Culleen in Co. Roscommon.

This chapter has endeavoured to trace and present life stories in greater depth for eight Irish-American returned migrants. It is expected that these stories will capture some of the sentiment alluded to by Kerby Miller when describing lessons learned from Californian historian Patrick Dowling. Miller advocates that more than 'impersonal statistics and cold theories of social change, history, and especially Irish-American history, comprises the stories of individual human beings, with all their virtues and vices, humour and pathos, dreaming and struggling against the odds to better themselves and their communities – sometimes mistaken or unsuccessfully – but none the less courageously.'²⁹⁹ Through examining these life histories, the problems encountered by each returning migrant – the personal, social, economic and occupational – are illustrated and we, the descendent generations, can better understand their quests as immigrants and returning migrants and challenges experienced in both their native and adopted worlds.

²⁹⁸ *Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, p.5

²⁹⁹ Patrick Dowling, *Irish Californians: historic, benevolent romantic* (San Francisco, 1998), p xiv.

Conclusion

The return migration experiences of Irish-Americans, from the perspective of individuals coming back to the west of Ireland at the turn of the nineteenth century, validate and endorse the study of return migration as an integral third role in the overall immigration flow model of immigration, internal migration and emigration. To understand returning migrants and their motivations one must understand the state of affairs in which they lived. At the turn of the century, Irish-American migrants were aware of the various transitions taking place in both their worlds, the inhabited and the remembered. They were part of a dynamic and evolving United States in which they struggled to establish and maintain themselves and their families. At the same time, they were psychologically attached to their family at home and maintained a serious awareness of the social, economic and political movements bringing change to Ireland. Return motivations of migrants who choose to return home to Ireland were linked through family circumstances with the social and economic transitions occurring in both worlds. The transatlantic flow of Irish migrants in both directions appears clearly influenced by and linked to the fluctuations in the American economy as much as it was to changes in Ireland affecting landownership, family composition and marriage possibilities.

The cohort of returning migrants in this thesis appear as individuals who for the most part successfully survived immigrant problems with finding material necessities and settlement, establishing social connections and adjusting to life in the United States. Two important findings from the analysis were the greater than expected advancement into skilled trades for a large number of the Irish immigrants and the female immigrants who moved at least in some cases from domestic service to nursing and teaching. Late marriage patterns and a disparate choice of residential

Conclusion

location, perhaps linked closely with kinship networks and chain migration were also reflected. Immigration documentation such as passenger lists, census and emigrant letters provided evidence that these Irish immigrants in the U.S. still actively participated in the chain migration process by bringing out relatives and friends even though the overall Irish immigration numbers would decline by the time of U.S. quotas and Irish independence.

The motivations emerging in this study validate similar reasons found in other return migration studies. As related in previous research, central to understanding the returnee experience is recognition that theirs is essentially a human story primarily focused on the relationship to family and family-related intentions. Clustered into six return categories, return motivations in this study were found to be chiefly family-related; approximately three-quarters of these returnees came back to visit parents and relatives, conduct personal family business, and accompany family from Ireland or back to the U.S. Other categories revealed include health reasons, commercial/organisational business, pleasure/touring travel and returning to live permanently or for retirement. The return motivations, as taken from migrants' own statements on passport applications, are consistent with oral history manuscripts sources in the Irish Folklore Collection.

The behaviour of returned migrants, as observed by neighbours and communities at home, was recorded in the IFC oral history manuscripts. The component aspects of their visit were found to be more complex than originally thought, extending from the anticipation and/or payment of the return through the welcome home party, gifts brought home, information sought regarding relatives, encouragement of emigration, migrant material possessions and music brought home, American clothing and the impressions created by returnees (wealth, success, drinking, bragging and tall tales) during their time at home. While at

Conclusion

home, the migrants had a chance to evaluate the changes which may have occurred since their original emigration. The return visit allowed each migrant to re-establish and/or maintain socially meaningful identities with their family, neighbours and community. For those considering an eventual move home, the act of a return visit allowed them to be in a better position to reintegrate socially if they ever did decide to return permanently.

Few of the returnees in this study (12 per cent) stated they intended permanent return. Of that group, many returned to their past environment expecting to pick up where they left off as though they had never been away. Some in fact achieved this state while others found any changed conditions very frustrating. Various factors shaped a successful or unsuccessful return for these returnees such as family issues (having been sent for), exhibiting Irish-American attitudes, finding an occupation upon return, dealing with health or old age problems and having wealth and/or savings or pensions, or lack thereof. Of particular interest were the small the number of returnees expressing entrepreneurial intentions which translated into establishment of shops, pubs and dance halls. Considering the times, there was a lack of observations by local respondents citing returnees who became involved in local politics. Expressing regret at returning from America or engaging in repeat migration involved only a limited number of returned migrants.

Little or no government actions were directed at returning migrants as they entered Ireland through U.K. ports as part of the general travelling public. It may be speculated however, that some special attention was paid to the possible return of Irish-American republican activists. The British government did however express concern regarding returning Irish-Americans in the case of their qualifications for the newly instituted Old Age Pension. With an eye towards elimination of

Conclusion

candidates, strict government criteria were established to cite specifically how and when a returned Irish-American might qualify.

The study of return comes full circle with the profiling of eight individual returning Irish-Americans. Their stories recount life histories from cradle to grave: from place of origin and home life in Ireland through their life course in the United States, their return to Ireland and the outcome of their lives. As emphasized by Caroline Ware, the evidence gathered was from ‘all types of material, whatever their source or form, [which] may shed light on a problem if ... regarded as evidence and ... subjected to the tests and criticisms which all evidence demands’.¹ Because of their life choices, each of the eight migrants had become an outsider to their native community by reaching out to the unknown world through emigrating, but they also, in returning to their remembered home environment, might become an insider once again. Their life histories may be considered to be representative of the lives of many returnees at the turn of the nineteenth century.

It appears that the general literature on Irish emigration, and particularly Irish-America, has not taken a sufficient account of return migration or the possibility of return, thus it is hoped this study will be a helpful contribution to what is known. Ironically, similar stories of emigration and return have continued to be part of Ireland’s history throughout the twentieth century and currently Irish academics are exploring the phenomena of return migration to Ireland in the early twenty-first century.²

¹ Harzig and Hoerder, *What is Migration History?* (Cambridge, 2009), pp 61-2.

² Caitriona Ní Laoire, ‘Complicating host-newcomer dualisms: Irish return migrants as home-comers or newcomers?’ in *Transactions: migrations and social change*, iv (1) (Winter, 2008), pp 35-50.

Appendix Table A.1

Towns, Villages and Townlands identified by returning Migrants, Connacht, 1890-1920

Co. Galway	Co. Leitrim	Co. Mayo	Co. Roscommon	Co. Sligo
Aconry	Aughadera	Achill Island	Ashfort	Achonry
Ahane, Kilkerrin	Auglahlish	Achill Island, Keel	Athlone	Aclare
Ahascragh	Ballinamore	Ashford	Aughrim	Aclare,
Annadown	Greaghalass	Balla	Ballaghadereen	Cloddagh
Ardagh, Letterfrack	Ballyshane	Balla, Curuahan	Ballinlough	Ardagelly
Aran Islands	Bohay	Balla, Prison	Ballydooley	Baley
Athenry	Carrick-on-Shannon	Ballaghaderren	Ballyfermoyle	Ballina
Ballamara	Carrigallen	Ballhauna	Bluefield	Ballinarry
Ballinamane	Cloncoose	Ballina	Bockagh	Ballindoon
Ballinasloe	Cloone	Ballinamore, Kiltimagh	Boyle	Ballinfutt
Ballygar	Courawallen	Ballinrobe	Caramina	Ballymote
Ballymoe	Culmore	Ballinstone	Four Roads,	Buninadden
Barna	Curnanranghy	Ballycastle	Carnsleva	Cappagh Coolaneey
Beanfield	Dargoan	Ballyhaunis	Carragh	Carrerea
Beladagan	Drimoleague	Ballykilleen	Cartron	Carrickbanagher
Belmount	Drumheriff	Ballyshane	Castlereea	Carrowgubidd
Boggins Tomard P.O.	Drumsna	Bohola	Cloonagara	Cauraugh
Caherfouwause	Fairglass	Caramore	Clooneck, Kilrooskey	Charlestown Brohea,
Caherlistrane, Abbeytown	Fenagh Fonfield	Cartron Cashel	Cootehall Corbo	Cliffoney Cloonagh
Caherlistrane, Beaghmore	Glenade, Largydonell	Castlebar	Cortoon	Cloonaghane
Cahoon	Glencar	Castlebar, Chancery	Culleen	Cloonraver
Caltra	Gortermone	Castlebar Mountdaisy	Cullenboy	Connaught
Caltralea	Ballinamore, Greaghalass	Charlestown	Curraghroe	Coolaney
Cappatagel	Greaghnadarragh	Clairmorris	Derreenvicara	Corballa
Carhoon	Killamaun	Clonfad	Derrycastle	Culleens
Carna	Killargue	Cloonfaghtrine	Elphin	Cully
Carna, Callancruck	Kiltyclogher	Cloonfinnish	Farahan	Culmore
Carrabrowne	Kiltyclogher, Aughoo	Cong	Frenchpark	Curracurhane
Carragarew	Kinlough	Crossmolina	Gardenfort	Curry
Carraroe	Lackan	Deerpark	Inishshaun, Frenchpark	Doocastle
Cashel	Langan	Derryoyowl	Kidlawn	Doongela
Casshoon	Manorhamilton	Doocastle	Kilbegnet	Doorish
Castlefrench	Kilroosk	Drimcoggy	Kilmore	Doorla

Appendix Table A.1
Towns, Villages and Townlands identified by returning Migrants, Connacht, 1890-1920

				Drimina
Churchfield	Mohill	Ferrygory	Kilteevin	
		Louisburgh, Fleenane		
Clare Ireland	Mulbaron		Lisphilip	Tubbercurry
				Dromond Carrowreagh
Clifden	Mulhaun	Foxford	Loughglynn	
Clonbur	Proughlish	Glensane	Milltown	Dromore
	Rossinver Glenaniff			
Clonbern		Greenano	Moneeneybeg	Easkey
Clonkea	Shanraw	Irishtown	Raheela	Killentoff
Cloonadra		Kelvendoney	Rathlina	Geevagh
Cloonminda		Kerry Castle	Strokestown	Glanao
Creggs		Kilcummin	Tisrara	Glenavas
			Tubber- McLoughlin	
Culiure		Killala		Gurtadrass
Cummer		Mufflafarry	Tulsk	Gurteen
Dangan		Kilmaine		Inniscrone
Dano		Kilmore		Keash
Derry Goolan		Kilmovee		Kilglass
Derryinver		Knock		Kilmacowen
Dolan		Leenane		Knocknasha
		Lismulgar, Carnacastle		
Doone				Lambpark
Dooneascrogh		Logboy		Larkhill
Dunmore		Louisburgh		Liggan
Dunmore, Clooneen		Louisburgh, Fleenane		Monasteraden
Dunmore, Menlo Park		Louisburgh Killgiever		Mount Temple Mullaghanarry
Dunmore, Reddington		Meelick Muckanagh		Mullaghmore Quignalicha
Eyrecourt		Newport		Rathglass
Frigh west, Abbey		Newport, Sea View		Rehua
Galway		Swinford		Riverstown
				Riverstown, Kilcullen
Galway Town		Tooromeen		
Glenamaddy		Turlagh		Rover
Glinsk		Westport		Skreen
Gort		Westport,		Templeboy
Gurtmalea		Derrygorman		Tubbercurry
Headford				Tullylinn
Innisboffin				
Williamstown				
Kilbride				
Kilcolgan				
Kilkerrin				
Kilkerrin, Carna				

Appendix Table A.1

Towns, Villages and Townlands identified by returning Migrants, Connacht, 1890-1920

Kilkerrin, Furhill				
Killyon				
Kinvara				
Laurmiltorn				
Leenane				
Leitrim				
Lettercraff				
Letterfrack				
Lissicarra				
Loughrea				
Loughrea Baaratoore				
Loughrea				
Castle Daly				
Loughrea Drim, Curragh,				
Loughrea,				
Finshedawn				
Loughtorick				
Low Park				
Lowpark, Kilconly				
Maam				
Meelick				
Menlough				
Milltown				
Mountbellew				
Moycullen				
Moyglass				
Moylough				
Mulloughglass				
Mynish Island				
Myrus				
Newbridge				
Oranmore				
Oranmore, Cave				
Oughterard				
Polaturick				
Portumna				
Portumna, Cahir				
Prospery				
Roundstone				
Russeltown				
Spiddal				
St. Brandons				
Toherroe				

Appendix Table A.1

Towns, Villages and Townlands identified by returning Migrants, Connacht, 1890-1920

Tuam				
Tuam, Ballintlave				
Tuam, Milltown				
Tudfrey Castle				
Turnee				
Tiaquinn				
Waterview				
Williamstown				
Woodford				
Woodlawn				

Appendix Table A.2 Specific US state/city of residences for passport applicants at time of return – 1890-1920
(Locations with 10 or more immigrants in bold)

6t vPermanent US state address	Permanent US city of residence	Number of migrants
AL - 1	Mobile	1
AZ - 1	Douglas	1
CA - 31	Los Angeles	2
	Oakland	3
	Richmond	1
	San Francisco	19
	San Mateo	1
	Santa Cruz	1
	Sonoma	1
	Tulare	1
CO - 3	Denver	1
	Leadville	2
CT - 29	Bridgeport	2
	Danbury	1
	Hartford	3
	Meridan	1
	Naugatuck	1
	New Haven	15
	Norwalk	1
	Norwich	1
	Stamford	2
	Waterbury	2

Permanent US state address	Permanent US city of residence	Number of migrants
DC - 14	Takoma Park	1
	Wash DC	13
DE - 8	Wilmington	8
GA - 5	Ashburn	1
	Atlanta	1
	Camp Benning	1
	Savannah	2
IA - 3	Blencoe	1
	Des Moines	1
	Elkhart	1
IL - 94	Evanston	1
	Blencoe	1
	Bloomington	2
	Cairo	1
	Chicago	84
	Marshall	1
	Mound City	1
	Peoria	2
	Springfield	1
IN - 6	Bristol	1
	Indianapolis	5

Appendix Table A.2 Specific US state/city of residences for passport applicants at time of return – 1890-1920
(Locations with 10 or more immigrants in bold)

<u>Permanent US state address</u>	<u>Permanent US city of residence</u>	<u>Number of migrants</u>
KS - 5	Elk. Co.	2
	Fort Scott	1
	Herington	1
	Parsons	1
KY - 3	Covington	2
	Henderson	1
LA - 1	New Orleans	1
MA - 224	Allston	2
	Belmont	1
	Beverly	2
	Boston	125
	Bridgewater	1
	Brighton	1
	Bristol	1
	Brockdale	1
	Brookline	8
	Cambridge	8
	Charlestown	1
	Chelsea	2
	Cohasset	1
	Dorchester	1
	Everett	2
	Framingham	1
Haverhill	1	

<u>Permanent US state address</u>	<u>Permanent US city of residence</u>	<u>Number of migrants</u>
MA (cont)	Holyoke	1
	Lawrence	1
	LenoxDale	1
	Lowell	3
	Lynn	5
	Malden	1
	Manchester	1
	Marlboro	1
	Medford	2
	Methun	1
	Milton	2
	Nahant	1
	Neptune	1
	Newton	2
	Newtonville	1
	Norwood	1
	Peabody	2
	Pittfield	1
	Reading	1
	Revere	1
Salem	3	
Somerville	3	
Springfield	4	
Springfield	1	
Swampscott	1	
Waltham	4	
Watertown	3	

Appendix Table A.2 Specific US state/city of residences for passport applicants at time of return – 1890-1920
(Locations with 10 or more immigrants in bold)

<u>Permanent US state address</u>	<u>Permanent US city of residence</u>	<u>Number of migrants</u>
MA (cont)	Wellesley	1
	Whitinsville	1
	Winchester	2
	Winthrop	1
	Woburn	1
	Wollaston	1
	Worcester	8
MD - 14	Baltimore	13
	Springfield	1
ME - 11	Portland	11
MI - 12	Bay City	1
	Detroit	8
	Escabana MI	1
	Flint	1
MN - 10	Duluth	2
	Glencoe	1
	Minnapolis	1
	St Paul	5
	Winona	1
Permanent US	Permanent US	Number of

<u>Permanent US state address</u>	<u>Permanent US city of residence</u>	<u>Number of migrants</u>
MO - 13	Kansas City	2
	Kirkwood	1
	St Louis	10
	Wellston	1
MT - 13	Butte	8
	Cascade Co.	1
	Columbus	1
	Helena	1
	Missoula	1
	Wallace	1
NC - 1	Asheville	1
NE - 6	Chappell	1
	Grand Is	1
	Lincoln	1
	O' Neill	1
	Omaha	2
NH - 4	Manchester	2
	Nashua	2
Permanent US	Permanent US	Number of

Appendix Table A.2 Specific US state/city of residences for passport applicants at time of return – 1890-1920
(Locations with 10 or more immigrants in bold)

<u>state address</u>	<u>city of residence</u>	<u>migrants</u>
NJ - 70	Bayonne	4
	Bernardsville	1
	Bordentown	1
	Camden	1
	Cliffside	1
	East Orange	1
	Edgewater	1
	Elizabeth	2
	Hoboken	5
	Jersey City	18
	Lakewood	1
	Longport	1
	Morris Co	1
	Morristown	1
	Newark	14
	Oradell	2
	Orange	1
	Passaic	1
	Paterson	2
	Plainfield	2
	Somerville	1
	Trenton	3
	West Orange	2
	West New York	3
NM - 1	Silver City	1

<u>state address</u>	<u>city of residence</u>	<u>migrants</u>
NV - 1	Reno	1
NY - 462	Beacon	1
	Bronx	9
	Brooklyn	77
	Buffalo	9
	Canajoharie	1
	Flushing	4
	Geneva	1
	Larchmont	1
	Lockport	1
	Long Island	5
	Lowville	1
	New Rochelle	1
	Newburgh	1
	New York City	322
	Port Chester	2
	Queens	2
	Rensselaer Co.	1
	Rochester	2
	Saratoga Springs	1
	Schenectady	5
	Scotia	1
	Scranton	1
	Solvay	1
	Staten Is	2

Appendix Table A.2 Specific US state/city of residences for passport applicants at time of return – 1890-1920
 (Locations with 10 or more immigrants in bold)

<u>Permanent US state address</u>	<u>Permanent US city of residence</u>	<u>Number of migrants</u>
NY (cont)	Syracuse	3
	Tuckahoe	1
	Utica	1
	Waterliet	1
	West Point	1
	Westbury	1
	White Plains	1
	Yonkers	1
OH - 22	Cincinnati	2
	Cleveland	3
	Dayton	1
	Lebanon	1
	Loraine	1
	Nat Mil Home, OH	1
	Price Hill	1
	Springfield	1
	Toledo	1
	Walnut Hills	3
	Youngstown	7
OR - 4	Condon	1
	Keppner	1
	Ontario	1
	Portland	1

<u>Permanent US state address</u>	<u>Permanent US city of residence</u>	<u>Number of migrants</u>
PA - 101	Braddock	1
	Charleroi	1
	Cluster	1
	Delaware Co	3
	Germantown	1
	Homestead	1
	Johnstown	1
	Lackawanna	2
	McKees Rock	1
	Philadelphia	66
	Pittsburgh	7
	Pittstown	1
	Reading	1
	Scranton	7
	Villanova	1
	West Chester	1
	Westmoreland Co.	1
	Wilkes-Barre	3
	Williamsport	1

Appendix Table A.3 - List of U.S. Occupation Classes and Related U.S. Occupations of Returning Migrants, 1890-1920

Source: Connaught Returned Migrants database developed from Ancestry.com U.S. Passports Applications, 1795-1925 [database on-line]. Provo, Utah, USA [accessed 23 Jan 2010].

Occupation class 1: Agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry	
Specific occupations	Nbr of Returning Migrants
cattle foreman	1
currier	1
dealer, hay & feed	1
farmer	11
gardener	9
groundskeeper	1
horse keeper	1
horse shoer	1
miner	3
ranchman	2
retired farmer	1
stableman	3
stockman	3
timberman	1
Grand Total	38

Occupation class 2: Extraction of Minerals	
Specific occupations	Nbr of Returning Migrants
miner	6
rigger in oil fields	1
mining engineer	1
Stillman, oil company	1
Grand Total	9

Occupation class 3: Manufactories and mechanical industries	
Specific occupations	Nbr of Returning Migrants
barrel dealer	1
boiler maker	2
bricklayer	4
buffer and polisher	1
builder	1
building labourer	1
checker	1
coal passer	1
contractor	2
cooper	1
crane man/runner	2
dock builder	1
driller	1
electrical crane operator	1
electrical worker	1
electrician	1
examiner	1
factory operator	1
factory work	2
foreman	3
gardener	1
gasmaker	1
Gold and silver refiner	1
guard	3
hook attendant	1
iron worker	5

lathe hand	1
leather worker	3
machinist	19
manufacturer	5
mason	2
masonry helper	1
mechanic	2
mechanical engineer	1
meat cutter	1
metal polisher	1
mill operator	2
moulder	6
packer/packing	4
painter	1
papermaker	1
paver	2
pipe fitter	6
plasterer	5
plumber	4
porter	3
pressman	1
repairing business	1
riveter	1
rubber manufacturing	5
shipping clerk	1
silver polisher	1
smelterman	1
soda water bottler	1
steamfitter	8
steel worker	1
stonemason	3

tailor	1
tanner	1
trainer	1
watchman, warehouse	4
water & sewer contractor	1
weaver	1
welder	1
weigh master	1
Grand Total	147

Occupation class 4: Transportation	
Specific occupations	Nbr of Returning Migrants
automobile dealer	1
automobile tyre builder	1
automobile cleaner	1
aviator instructor	1
grand brakeman	2
brakeman, railway	1
cab driver	1
car repairman	3
car shifter	1
chauffeur	29
coachman	1
collector	1
conductor	14
conductor str. railway	1
driver	1
drop forger	1
electrician, railroad	1
engineer	2

Appendix Table A.3 - List of U.S. Occupation Classes and Related U.S. Occupations of Returning Migrants, 1890-1920

Source: Connaught Returned Migrants database developed from Ancestry.com U.S. Passports Applications, 1795-1925 [database on-line]. Provo, Utah, USA [accessed 23 Jan 2010].

Occupation class 4: Transportation	
(continued)	
expressman	2
foreman, bridge & buildings, South Pac RR	1
freight handler	2
freight clerk	1
inspector, Cadillac car co	1
lineman	1

street car conductor	7
street car motorman	1
street car railroading	1
switchman	1
teamster	2
truck driver	3
Grand Total	171

Occupation class 5: Trades	
Specific Occupations	Nbr of Returning Migrants
advertising	1
baggage router	1
bailer - maker	1
barkeeper	1
bartender	16
blacksmith	2
blacksmith helper	2
bookkeeper	5
bookkeeper and buyer	1
bookmaker	1
brewer	1
butcher	1
buyer	1
buyer (import)	1
cabinet maker	1
café helper	1
café proprietor	1
car repairman	1
carpenter	5
caterer	1
cigar retailer	1
cleaner	1

grocer	3
grocery clerk	4
hatter	1
hotel business	1
hotel keeper	1
hotel man	1
hotel owner	1
hotel porter	1
hotel proprietor&manager	1
hotel waiter	1
hotel waitress	1
houseman	1
importer	1
Importer, silks	3
insurance agent	1
life insurance	1
life insurance salesman	2
market man	1
liquor dealer	5
liquor dealer, retired	2

clerk in tea store	1
clerk, grocery	1
club manager	1
convey owner	1
cook	6
cooper	2
corset cutter	1
cotton dyer	1
decorator	1
dressmaking	4
free trader	1
furniture dealer	1
gas maker	2
gents furnisher	1

liquor	
liquor	
marke	
merch	
merch	
night v	
peddle	
picture	
private	
real es	
real es	
real es	
real es	
real es	
real es	
restau	
retired	
salesm	
saloon	
saloon	
shoe s	
shoe v	
shoem	
soda v	
tailor	
textile	
trades	
travel	
travell	
wholes	
wine t	
wood	
wool h	
Grand	

Appendix Table A.3 - List of U.S. Occupation Classes and Related U.S. Occupations of Returning Migrants, 1890-1920

Source: Connaught Returned Migrants database developed from Ancestry.com U.S. Passports Applications, 1795-1925 [database on-line]. Provo, Utah, USA [accessed 23 Jan 2010].

Occupation class 6: Public service/ Public Administration	
Specific occupations	Nbr of Returning Migrants
clerk	24
clerk, US govt	3
secretary	2
stenographer	2
Grand Total	32

Occupation class 7: Professional service	
Specific occupations	Nbr of Returning Migrants
attorney-at-law	3
auditor	1
bank floor runner	1
banker	1
banking & merchandising	1
capitalist	1
clergyman	16
priest, Catholic	18
Commr. of Public Works	1
company manager	1
dentist	2
display manager	1
editor	1
engineer	11
journalist	1
manager	4
Mgr, Commission Firm	1
nurse	35
office manager	1
physician	4
probation officer	1
publishing, printing	4
real estate	1
stationary engineer	3
US customs searcher	1
Grand Total	112

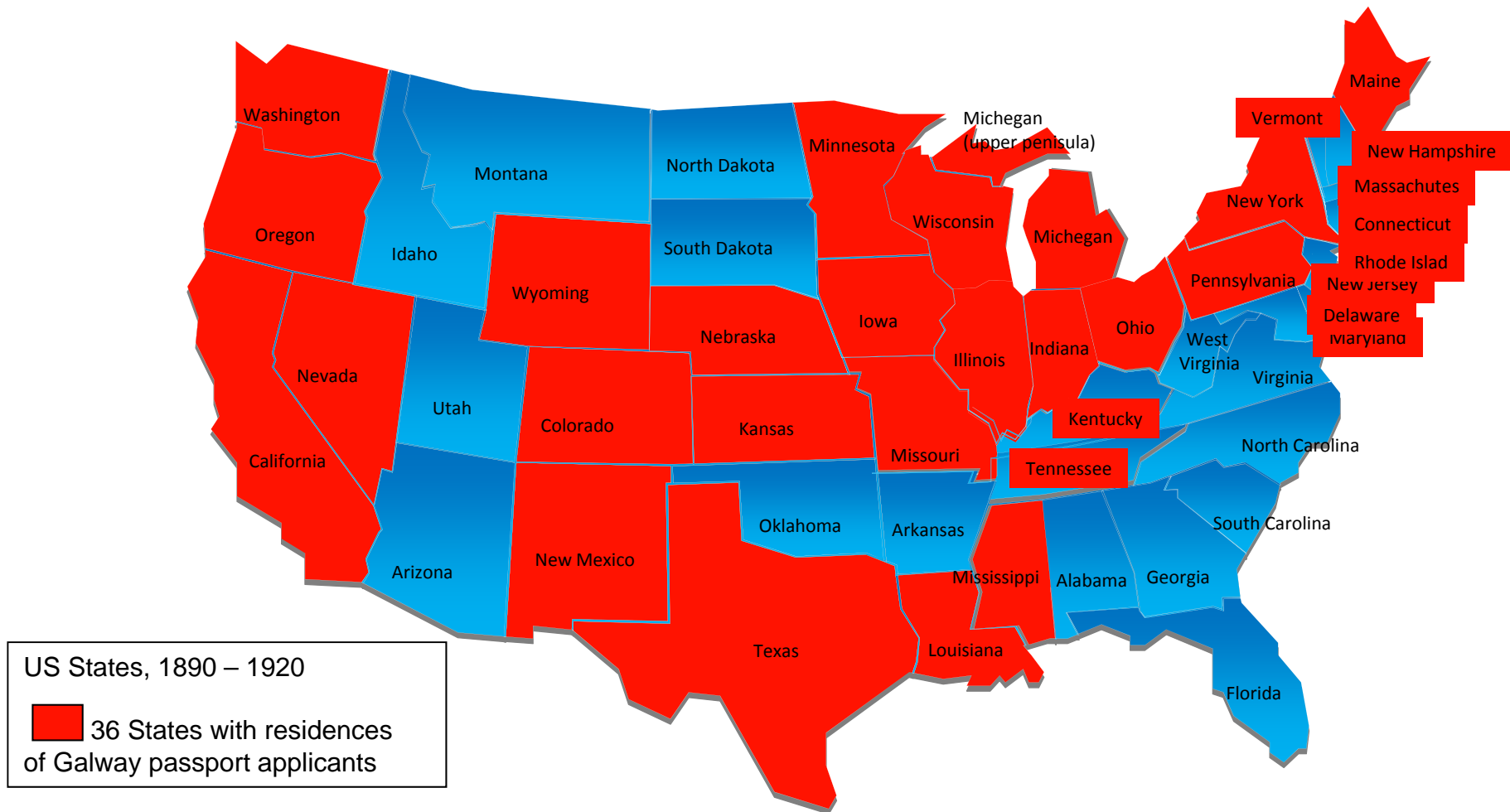
Occupation class 8: Domestic and Personal Service	
Specific occupations	Nbr of Ret. Migrants
butler	2
caretaker	2
cook	3
domestic servant	5
doorman	2
helper	1
homemaker	3
hotel clerk	1
hotel worker	2
housekeeper	40
housemaid	4
houseman	1
housewife	212
housework	6
janitor	2
valet	1
keeper	1
lady's maid	1
laundress	2
nurse, childrens	2
porter	1
steward	3
waiter/ waitress	10
Grand Total	316

Occupation class 9: Retired or Non-productive	
Specific occupations	Nbr of Ret. Migrants
no occupation	11
retired	14
student	4
unemployed	1
unknown/not available	28
Grand Total	58

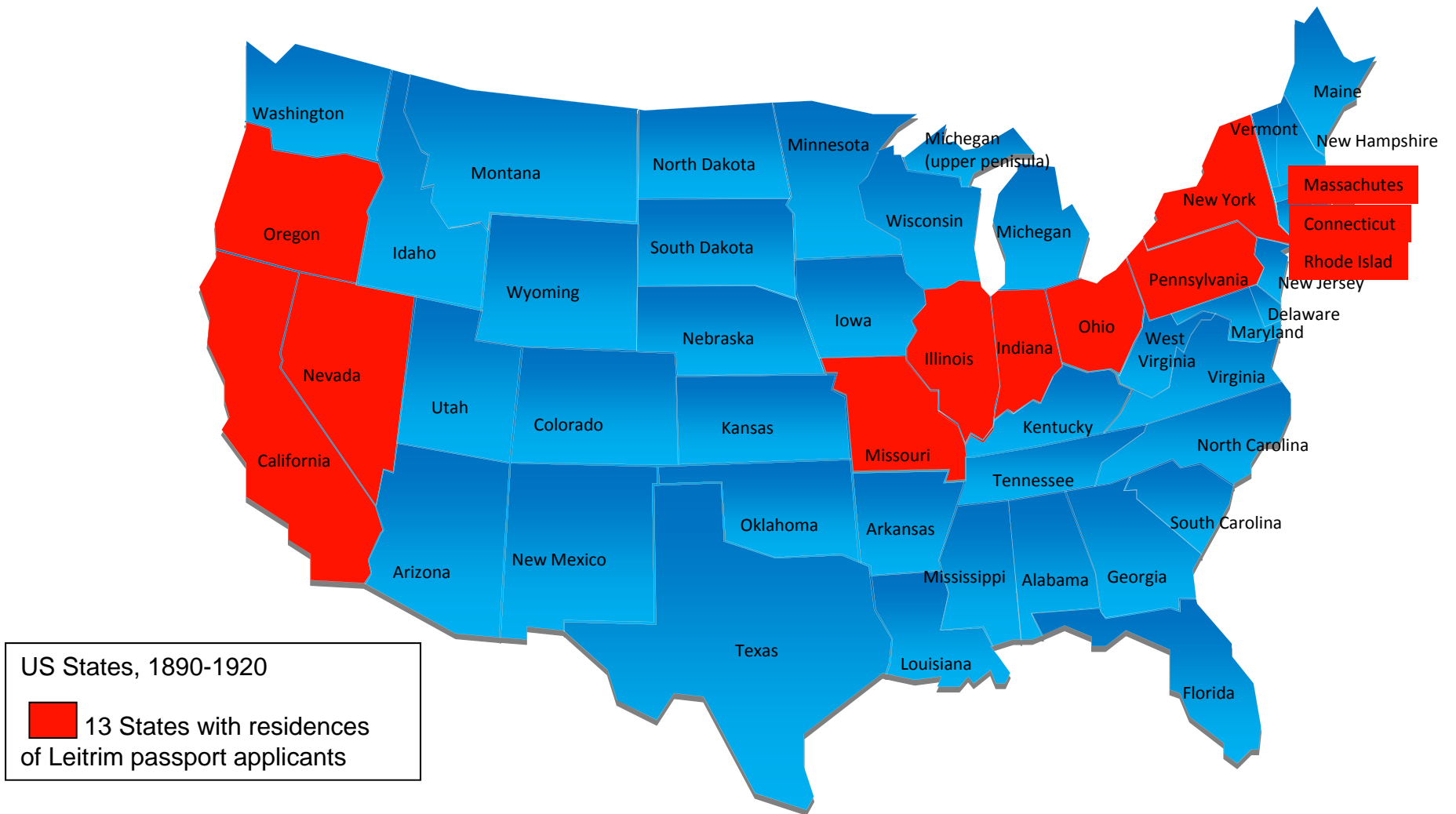
Appendix Table A.5
Respondent contributors to Emigration Questionnaire

source: Irish Folklore Collection, Emigration Questionnaire, Mss. 1407, 1409 and 1410-Connacht, 1411-Ulster and 1407-Munster; held at Department of Folklore, UCD, Dublin

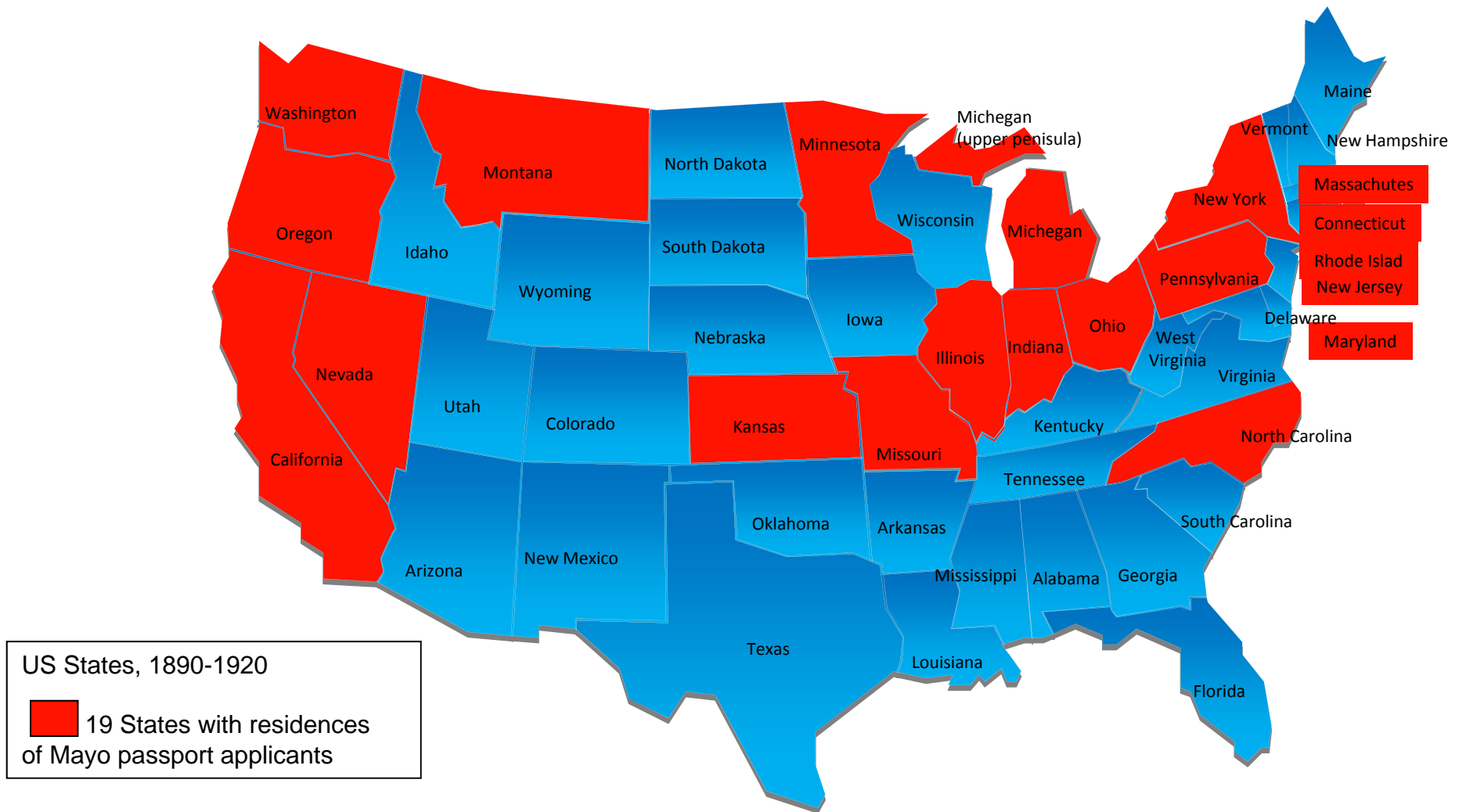
Galway	Thomas Duggan	Mointeach, Parish of Claregalway, Co. Galway
Galway	Sean Glennon	Eochaille (Waterdale), Parish of Claregalway, Co. Galway
Galway	Michael O Conaire	Rosmuc, Co. Galway
Galway	Michael Walsh	Letterfrack Clifden, Co. Galway
Galway	Nora Murphy, nee Costello,	Lissarulla, Co. Galway
Galway	Dennis Lee	Carmmore, Oranmore, Claregalway, Co. Galway
Galway	Michael O Cadhain	Co. Galway
Galway	Martin Tarpey	Lackaghlieg, Turloughmore, Co. Galway
Galway	Patrick and Michael Silke	Carmmore, Oranmore,, Claregalway, Co. Galway
Galway	Sean Ryder	Curraghmore, Headford, Co. Galway
Galway	Michael Galvin	Attymon, Co Galway
Galway	May and Thomas O Sullivan	Cornamore, Co. Galway
Leitrim	Various unnamed informants	Co. Leitrim - Interviewer Liam O'Brian)
Mayo	Michael Moran	Newport, Co. Mayo
Mayo	Kitty O'Toole	Doolough, Geesala, Co. Mayo
Mayo	Tony Cuff	Glentuck, Co. Mayo
Mayo	Michael Corduff	Co. Mayo
Roscommon	Timothy Fitzmaurice	Rusheen, Castle Plunkett, Co. Roscommon.
Roscommon	Thomas Flanagan	Cloonykearney, Ballintober, Castlerea, Co. Roscommon
Roscommon	Michael Finneran	Treen, Castlerea, Co. Roscommon
Cork	J. 'Sean-Sean' O'Keefe	The Lodge, Twyford Abbey, Park Royal, County Cork
Kerry	Sean O Dubhda	Carraig, Baile na nGall, Daingeanlly Chuis, Corca Dhuibhe, Co. Chiarrai [Co. Kerry]
Kerry	Tadhg O Murchadha	An Coirean, Co. Chiarrai [Co. Kerry]
Tipperary	Séamus Ó Maolchatha	Anzáinseaí, Chrainmeala, Co. Tipperary
Donegal	James Gubban	Ardagh, Ballyliffin, Co. Donegal
Donegal	Annie McColgan	Pollan, Ballyliffin, Co. Donegal
Donegal	James McCauley,	Letterbarrow, Glebties, Co. Donegal
Donegal	Mrs. Michael McLaughlin	Millbrook, Malin Town, Co. Donegal
Donegal	Mrs. George Sweeney	Glenagivney, Moville, Co. Donegal
Donegal	George Rawdon	Moville, Co. Donegal
Donegal	Mrs. Sarah Doherty,	Beagh, Malin, Co. Donegal
Donegal	Mrs. B. Douglas,	Carthage Mountain, Ballyliffin
Donegal	Mrs. Mary Douglass,	Ballyhellion, Malin Head



Appendix Map A.1 Galway passsot applicants - residences in US states, 1890-1920



Appendix Map A.2 Leitrim passport applicants - residences in 13 US states, 1890-1920



Appendix Map A.3 Mayo passport applicants - residences in US states, 1890-1920

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

MANUSCRIPT

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

General Registry Office of Ireland, Roscommon Town, Co. Roscommon

Birth, marriage and death records for Counties Galway, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon and Sligo.

Leitrim Country Library, Ballinamore

Return of the population of the Parish of Carrigallen, 1823, Co. Leitrim, pp.114-123.

National Archives, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Passport Applications Collection, 1795-1925 (available at www.ancestry.com)

Emigration databases, Boston and New York Ships Manifests (available at www.ancestry.com)

U.S. Federal Census (available at www.ancestry.com)

State of New Jersey Archives

Marriage Returns

NON-GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Baptism register, United parish of Killinvoy, Rahara and St. John's, Co. Roscommon, January 1845, (unpaginated) (available on microfilm no. 989752).

Irish Folklore Commission

Irish Folklore Collection (IFC), *Emigration Questionnaire*, Department of Folklore, University College Dublin

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Public Record Office of Northern Ireland

Letter from Cassie Smyth, Woodslee, Ontario, to her Smyth cousins in County Tyrone, P.R.O.N.I., Smyth Collection (available at www.dippam.ac.uk)

Papers in private possession

American Legion membership records-1919-1925, Fr. Francis P. Duffy Post #2, Killarney, held by Post Adjutant Glen Foy, Corofin, Co. Clare.

American Medical Association biographical index entry for Dr. Dominic George Bodkin, 1902, History of Medicine Division, National Institutes of Health and National Library of Medicine.

Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters life insurance records, held by The Irish Ancestry Research Association (TIARA), Boston, Massachusetts.

Rev. James J. Farrelly assignment card, 1897-1931, Archives of Archdioceses of Boston, Archdiocesan Office, Boston

CONTEMPORARY PRINTED SOURCES

GOVERNMENT

Congested District Board photographs held in P.J. Welch Collection, Ulster Museum National Museums Northern Ireland.

General alphabetical index to the townlands and towns, parishes and baronies of Ireland, based on census of Ireland for 1851 (reprint, Baltimore, Maryland, 1984). Griffith's Valuation of Tenements, Union of Mohill, Parish of Carrigallen, Townland of Gortermone, 1857

Griffith's Valuation of Tenements, Union of Tuam, Parish of Annaghdown, Townland of Carrownrooan, 1855

Parliamentary papers

Royal Commission on Labour: the agricultural labourer, pt .iv, report of Arthur Wilson Fox on the Castlereagh union, H.C. 1893-4, xxxvii, 101, vol. iv, Ireland.

Congested District Board First Annual Report, H.C. 1893 (6908), lxxi, 525, p. 6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Statistics of deposits and cash balances in joint stock banks, deposits in Post offices, H.C. 1901 (342), ci, 573, p. 8

Census of Population of Ireland, 1901, pt i: giving details of the area, houses, and population; also ages, civil or conjugal condition, occupations, birthplaces, religion and education of the people in each county, and summary tables for each province, vol. iv, *province of Connacht*, [Cd 1059], H.C. 1902, cxxviii, I.

Census of Population of Ireland, 1911, pt i: showing area, houses, and population; also the ages, civil or conjugal condition, occupations, birthplaces, religions and education of the people of the people, vol. iv, *province of Connacht*, [Cd 6052], H.C. 1912-13, cxvii, I.

Savings banks (Ireland). Return to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons dated 23rd April 1913, H.C. 1913 (272) lvii, 915.

Banking, railway and shipping statistics of Ireland, H.C. 1914-1916 [Cd. 7884] 8271, p. 46.

Savings banks (Ireland). Return to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons dated 12th November 1919, H.C. 1921 (71) xix, 437.

Hansard 3, Report of State-aided emigration & the return of emigrants, 1883 (vol 283, Dublin, 1883), col. 460-3.

Library of Congress, United States of America

61st Congress, 2nd session, senate document 633, Immigrants in industries, 'Cotton goods manufacturing in the north Atlantic states,' 1911. lxxii , p. 72.

NON-GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS, MANUSCRIPT

Letter from John McGreevy, Roscommon to Robert E. Lloyd, Canton, MA, dated 28 August 1897 from the James Finnerty records of the T.I.A.R.A.

NON-GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS, PRINTED SOURCES

Byrne, William, et al., *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States: History of Hartford*, vol. 2, (Boston, 1889).

Copeland, M. T., 'Technical development in cotton manufacturing since 1860' in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, xxiv, (1)(1909).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dunnigan-Ryan Family records, held by author, San Francisco, CA, 1999.

Dwyer, Elizabeth McDonnell, family records, held by grandson Jim Ganly, Durrane, Co. Roscommon, 15 June 2008.

Edwards, Alba M. 'Classification of occupations: The classification of occupations, with special reference to the United States and the proposed new classification for the thirteenth census report on occupations' in *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, xii, (94) (Jun., 1911).

Finnerty family genealogy records, 28 April 2009 from County Roscommon heritage and genealogy company, ltd., family history ref. no. F47-09.

Griswold-Phelps handbook and guide to Fort Wayne, Indiana for 1913-1914 (Fort Wayne, 1914).

Hardiman, James, *History of Galway, An alphabetical list and concise account of the ancient families of Galway* (http://www.galway.net/galwayguide/history/hardiman/chapter1/ancient_families.html) [accessed 20 Feb 2010].

Henihan, Denis, family records, held by grandson John Cunningham, History Department, NUI Galway, 10 May 2010.

Heneghan genealogical records, 4 Nov 2010 from County Galway family history society west ltd, family history ref. no. 851-248.

King, Agnes, 'Eulogy for Dr Dominick G. Bodkin, by his nephew Rev. Fr McGoldrick in Brooklyn, N.Y., January 1902', in *The story of a rare parish* [St Cecilia's, Brooklyn] (New York, 1902).

MacManus, Seamus, 'A revolution in Ireland' in *Catholic World*, lxxix (412) (1899).

McDonald, Walter D. D., *Reminiscences of a Maynooth professor* (London, 1925).

McGoldrick, Fr, 'Eulogy for Dr. Dominic G. Bodkin, given by his nephew Rev. Fr. McGoldrick in Brooklyn, N.Y., January 1902', in Agnes King, *The story of a rare parish* [St. Cecilia's, Brooklyn] (New York).

Moran, Patrick, family records, held by grandson Gerard Moran, History Department, NUI Maynooth, 10 May 2010.

Redmond, John E., 'Introduction' in Hugh Sutherland in *Ireland yesterday and today* (Philadelphia, 1909).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sheehan, P.A., 'The effect of emigration on the Irish church', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 3rd series, iii (October, 1882), pp 607.

Soldiers who died in the Great War, 1914-1919, part 69 – The Connaught Rangers, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, (London, 1921).

Sullivan, James S., *One hundred years of progress: Catholic Church of New England embracing archdiocese of Boston* (Boston, 1895).

Sutherland, Hugh, *Ireland yesterday and today* (Philadelphia, 1909).

Thompson, S. W. J., M.D., Registrar-General of Ireland, 'Mortality from influenza in Ireland' in *Journal of the statistical and social inquiry society of Ireland*, (1919).

Turner, Edward Raymond, *Ireland and England; in the past and present* (original book, New York, 1919, archive CD copy by Eneclann, 2010).

Wakeman, William F., *The tourist's guide to Ireland*, (Dublin, 1887).

NEWSPAPERS

Anglo-Celt

Boston Globe

Connacht Tribune

Democrat, Emmetsburg, Iowa

Denison Review, Denison, Iowa

Donegal Democrat

Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette, Fort Wayne, Indiana

Irish Times

Leitrim Observer

New Sentinel, Fort Wayne, Indiana

New York Times

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Roscommon Journal and Western Reporter

SECONDARY SOURCES

BOOKS

Akenson, Donald .H., 'Forward' in Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish migrants in Canada: a new approach* (Montreal, 2004).

Anbinder, Tyler, *Five Points: the 19th century New York City neighbourhood that invented tap dance, stole elections, and became the world's most notorious slum* (2001).

Arensberg, Conrad M. and Solon M. Kimball, *Family and community in Ireland* (Cambridge, MA, 1968).

Ballard, Linda May, *Forgetting frolic: marriage traditions in Ireland* (Belfast, 1998).

Bayor, Ronald, and Timothy J. Meagher, *The New York Irish* (Baltimore, 1996).

Beatty, John D. (ed.), *History of Ft. Wayne, Allen county, Indiana, 1700-2000* (Evansville, Indiana, 2006).

Berger, Ronald M. (ed.), *Textile mill: industry at work* (New York, 1978).

Bertaux, D. (ed.), *Biography and society: the life history approach in the Social Sciences* (Beverly Hills, CA, 1981).

Bourke, Joanna, *Husbandry to housewifery: women, economic change, and housework in Ireland, 1890-1914* (Oxford, 1993).

Boylan, Very Rev. Edward Canon and Rev. Francis Gray, *The Latin school: St. Mary's apostolic school, Moyne* (Cavan, 1979).

Bradshaw, Harry, *Michael Coleman, 1891-1945* (Dublin, 1991).

Breathnach, Ciara, *The congested district board of Ireland, 1891-1923: poverty and development in the west of Ireland* (Dublin, 2005).

Briody, Michael, *The Irish Folklore Commission, 1935-1970: history, ideology, methodology* (Helsinki, 2007).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Caplan, Jane and John Torpey, *Documenting individual identity: the development of state practices in the modern period* (Princeton, 2001).

Calkins (ed.), Carroll C., *Reader's Digest: the story of America* (Pleasantville, New York, 1975).

Cinel, Dino, *The national integration of Italian return migration, 1870-1929* (Cambridge, 1991).

Chambers, John Whiteclay, *To raise an army: the draft comes to modern America* (New York, 1987).

Charmaz, Kathy, *Constructing grounded theory: a practical guide through qualitative analysis* (London, 2007).

Clark, Dennis, *Hibernia America: the Irish and regional cultures* (New York, 1986).

Clarkson, L.A. and E. Margaret Crawford, *Feast and famine: food and nutrition in Ireland 1500-1920* (Oxford, 2001).

Clear, Caitriona, *Social change and everyday life in Ireland, 1850-1922* (Manchester, 2007).

Coffman, Edward M., *The war to end all wars: the American military experience in World War I* (Kentucky, 1998).

Comerford, R.V., *The Fenians in context; Irish politics and society 1848-1882* (Dublin, 1998).

Condon, C.M., Fr. Kevin, *The missionary college of All Hallows, 1842-1891* (Dublin, 1986).

Crotty, Michael, *The foundations of social research: meaning and perspective in the research process* (London, 1998).

Cunningham, John, 'A town tormented by the sea': *Galway 1790-1911* (Dublin, 2004).

Daniels, Roger, *Guarding the golden door: American immigration policy and immigrants since 1882* (New York, 2004).

Daunton, M.J., *Royal mail: post office since 1840* (London, 1985).

Dictionary of Irish Biography, 'Michael Coleman', (<http://dib.cambridge.org.jproxy.nuim.ie/>) [accessed 8Sep2011].

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Diner, Hasia R., *Erin's daughters in America: Irish immigrant women in the nineteenth century* (Baltimore, 1983).
- Diner, Hasia R., *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish foodways in the age of migration* (Cambridge, MA, 2001).
- Dirrane, Bridget, *A woman of Aran* (Dublin, 1997).
- Dolan, Jay P., *The Irish Americans* (New York, 2008).
- Dooley, Terence, *The greatest of the Fenians': John Devoy and Ireland* (Dublin, 2003).
- Dooley, Terence, *'The land for the people': the land question in independent Ireland* (Dublin, 2004).
- Doorley, Michael, *Irish-American diaspora nationalism: the friends of Irish freedom, 1916-1935* (Dublin, 2005).
- Dowling, Patrick, *Irish Californians: historic benevolent, romantic* (San Francisco, 1998).
- Dunleavy, Mairead, *Dress in Ireland: a history* (Cork, 1999).
- Dunn, Mary Lee, *Ballykilcline Rising: From Famine Ireland to Immigrant America* (Massachusetts, 2008).
- Dunnigan, Diane, *A south Roscommon emigrant: emigration and return, 1890-1920* (Dublin, 2007).
- Eales, Anne Bruner and Robert M. Kvasnicka, eds., *Guide to genealogical research in the National Archives of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 2000).
- Eisenhardt, Kathleen M., 'Building theories from case study research' in A. Huberman, and Matthew B. Miles, *The Qualitative Researchers Companion*: (London, 2002).
- Elliott, Bruce S., *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach* (Ithica, 1988).
- Elliott, Marian, *The Catholics of Ulster* (New York, 2002).
- Emmons, David M., *Beyond the American pale: The Irish in the west, 1845-1910* (Oklahoma, 2010).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Emmons, David M., *The Butte Irish: class and ethnicity in an American mining town, 1875-1925* (Chicago, 1990).

Fallon, Rosaleen, *A County Roscommon wedding, 1892* (Dublin, 2004).

Finnegan, Ruth and Michael Drake (eds.), *From family tree to family history* (Cambridge, 1994).

Fitzgerald, Patrick and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish history, 1607-2007* (London, 2008).

Fitzpatrick, David, *Irish emigration, 1801-1921* (Dublin, 1984).

Fitzpatrick, David, *Oceans of consolation: personal accounts of Irish migration to Australia* (Ithica, 1994).

Foley, Caitriona, *The last Irish plague: the great flu epidemic in Ireland 1918-19* (Dublin, 2011).

Ford, Nancy Gentile, *Americans all!: foreign born soldiers in World War I* (Texas, 2001).

Furlong, Irene, *Irish tourism, 1880-1980* (Dublin, 2009).

Glazer, Nathan and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the melting pot: the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge, MA, 1974).

Gleeson, David T., *The Irish in the South, 1815-1877* (Chapel Hill, 2001).

Gregory, Adrian and Senia Pašeta, *Ireland and the great war: 'a war to unite us all'?* (Manchester, 2002), pp 1-7.

Guinnane, Timothy W., *The vanishing Irish: households, migration, and the rural economy in Ireland, 1850-1914* (Princeton, 1997).

Hackett, Raymond and Michael Reilly (eds.), *Carrigallen parish: a history* (Leitrim, 1996).

Hall, M.R., *The disappeared* (London, 2009).

Harper, Marjorie, ed., *Emigrant homecomings: the return movement of emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester, GB, 2005).

Harzig, Christiane and Dirk Hoerder, *What is migration history?* (Cambridge, 2009).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Harris, Ruth Anne, 'Characteristics of Irish Immigrants in North America derived from the Boston pilot "Missing Friends" data, 1831-1850' in *Working Papers in Irish Studies* (Boston, 1988).
- Harris, Ruth-Ann, *The nearest place that wasn't Ireland: early nineteenth-century Irish labor migration* (Iowa, 1994).
- Hooper, Glenn, *The tourist's gaze: travelers to Ireland 1800-2000* (Cork, 2001).
- Huberman, A. Michael and Matthew B. Miles, *The qualitative researcher's companion* (London, 2002).
- Ignoffo, Matthew F., *What the war did to Whitman* (New York, 1975).
- Kelly, Éamon, *Ireland's master storyteller: the collected stories of Éamon Kelly* (Dublin, 1998).
- Kelly, Mary C., *The shamrock and the lily: The New York Irish and the creation of a transatlantic identity, 1845-1921* (New York, 2005).
- Kennedy Robert E., Jr., *The Irish: emigration, marriage and fertility* (Berkeley, CA, 1973).
- Kenny, Kevin, *The American Irish: a history* (Great Britain, 2000).
- Kubat, Daniel, ed., *The politics of return: international return migration in Europe* (New York, 1984).
- Lalor, Brian (ed.), *The encyclopaedia of Ireland* (Dublin, 2003).
- Lamb, Brian and Patrick Fitzgerald, *Migration in Irish history, 1607-2007* (London, 2008).
- Licht, Walter, *Getting Work: Philadelphia, 1840-1950* (Pennsylvania, 2000).
- Linenthal, Peter and Abigail Johnston, *San Francisco's Potrero Hill* (San Francisco, 2005).
- Logan, Patrick, *Irish country cures* (rev. ed., Belfast, 1981).
- Long, Lynellen D. and Ellen Oxfeld, eds., *Coming home?: refugees, migrants and those who stayed behind* (Philadelphia, 2004).
- MacGowan, Michael, *The hard road to Klondike* (Boston, 1977).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MacKillop, James, ed., *Contemporary Irish cinema: from the 'quiet man' to 'dancing at Lughnasa'* (Irish studies) (Syracuse, 1999).

MacRaild, Donald M., *The Irish in Britain 1800-1914* (Dundalk, 2006), p. 74

Maguire, Patrick, *A history of Carrigallen* (Leitrim, n.d.).

McCaffrey, Lawrence J., *Textures of Irish America* (Syracuse, 1992).

McCarthy, Angela, *Irish migrants in New Zealand, 1840-1937: 'the desired haven'* (Suffolk, 2005).

Meagher, Timothy J.(ed.), *From paddy to studs: Irish-American communities in the turn of the century era, 1880-1920* (New York, 1986).

Meagher, Timothy J., *Inventing Irish America; generation, class and ethnic identity in a New York City, 1880-1928* (Notre Dame, 2001).

Meagher, Timothy J., *The Columbia guide to Irish American history* (New York, 2005).

Merwick, Donna, *Boston priests, 1848-1910: a study of social and intellectual change* (Cambridge, MA, 1973).

Miller, Kerby A., *Emigrants and exiles: Ireland and the Irish exodus to North America* (New York, 1985).

Miller, Kerby and Paul Wagner, *Out of Ireland: the story of Irish emigration to America* (Washington DC, 1994).

Mitchell, Brian C., *The paddy camps: the Irish of Lowell, 1821-61* (Urbana, 2006).

Mitchell, Kilian J., *The missionary priests and bishops of the diocese of Kilmore* (Cavan, 2000).

Mitchell, Olivia S., and Edwin C. Husted (eds.), *Pensions in the public sector* (Philadelphia, 2001)..

Moffitt, Miriam, *Soupers and jumpers: the Protestant missions in Connemara, 1848-1937* (Dublin, 2008).

Molloy, Cian, *The story of the Irish pub* (Dublin, 2002).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Moran, Gerard, *Sending out Ireland's poor: assisted emigration to North America in the nineteenth century* (Dublin, 2004).
- Morrissey, James (ed.), *On the verge of want: a unique insight into living conditions along Ireland's western seaboard in the late 19th century* (Dublin, 2001).
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick *Land of Immigrants* (Boston, 1997).
- Mulrooney, Margaret M., *Black powder, white lace: the Dupont Irish and cultural identity in nineteenth century America* (New Hampshire, 2002).
- Murphy, Daniel, *A history of Irish emigrant and missionary education* (Dublin, 2000).
- Newman, John J. and Brad Steuart (eds.), *American naturalization records, 1790-1990: what they are and how to use them* (Salt Lake City, 1998).
- Ni Laoire, Caitriona, 'Coming 'home': a geography of recent return migration to the Republic of Ireland, in *2nd Intl population geographies conference, narratives of Migration and Return* (St. Andrews, Scotland, 2004).
- Nolan, Janet, *Servants of the poor: teachers and mobility in Ireland and Irish America* (Notre Dame, 2004).
- Lynch, Thomas, *Booking passage* (New York, 2005).
- O'Connor, Barbara and Michael Cronin (eds.), *Tourism in Ireland: A Critical Analysis* (Cork, 1993).
- O'Dowd, Anne, *Spalpeens and tattie hookers: history and folklore of the Irish migratory agricultural worker in Ireland and Britain* (Dublin, 1991).
- O'Flanagan, Patrick, Paul Ferguson and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Rural Ireland: modernisation and change* (Cork, 1987).
- Ó Gráda, Cormac, *Ireland, a new economic history, 1780-1939* (Oxford, 1994).
- Ó Suilleabhain, Sean, *Handbook of Irish folklore* (Detroit, MI, 1970).
- O'Sullivan, Catherine Marie, *Hospitality in medieval Ireland, 900-1500* (Dublin, 2004).
- Orser, Charles E., *Unearthing hidden Ireland. historical archaeology at Ballykilcline, County Roscommon* (Dublin, 2006).
- Peckham, Howard Henry, *Indiana: a history* (Champaign, 2003).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Porter, Dorothy, *Health, civilization and the state: a history of public health from ancient to modern times* (London, 1999) p. 198.

Quinn, Dermot, *The Irish in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 2006).

Richardson, Neil, *A coward if I return, a hero if I fall* (Dublin, 2010).

Ritchie, Donald A., *Doing oral history* (New York, 1995).

Robertson, Craig, *The passport in America: the history of a document* (Oxford, 2010).

St. Monica's Parish, Methuen, Massachusetts, Fiftieth Anniversary Booklet (Methuen, MA, 1968).

Saloutos, Theodore, *They remember America: the story of repatriated Greek-Americans* (California, 1956).

Scally, Robert, *The end of hidden Ireland: rebellion, famine, and emigration* (Oxford, 1995).

Schrier, Arnold, *Ireland and the American emigration* (Chester Springs, PA, 1997).

Shannon, William, *The American Irish: A political and social portrait* (New York, 1974).

Solnit, Rebecca, *A book of migrations: some passages in Ireland* (New York, 1997).

Stivers, Richard, *A hair of the dog: Irish drinking and American stereotype* (2nd edition, Pennsylvania, 2000), pp 101-136.

Tsuda, Takeyudi (ed.), *Diasporic homecomings: ethnic return migration in comparative perspective* (Stanford, 2009).

Thomas, Gary, *How to do your case study: a guide for students and researchers* (London, 2011).

Thompson, Paul, *The voice of the past: oral history* (3rd ed., Oxford, 2000).

Thomson, Alistair, *Moving stories: an intimate history of four women across two countries* (Manchester, 2011).

Vaughan, W.E. and A.J. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Historical Statistics: Population 1821-1971 (New History of Ireland)* (Dublin, 1978).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Vinyard, Joellen, *The Irish on the urban frontier; nineteenth century Detroit, 1850-1880* (New York, 1976).

Wakefield, Alan and Simon Moody, *Under the devil's eye: Britain's forgotten army at Salonika 1915-1918* (Gloucsetershire, 2004).

Ware, Carolyn F., *Greenwich Village, 1920-1930: A comment on American civilization in the post-war years* (Berkeley, 1994).

Walsh, Maurice, *The quiet man* (London, 1947).

Weatherford, Doris, *Foreign and female: immigrant women in America, 1840-1930* (New York, 1995).

Wells, A. F., *The local social survey in Great Britain* (London, 1935).

Wyman, Mark, *Roundtrip America: the immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, NY, 1993).

Yin, Robert K., *Case study research: design and methods*, 3rd edition (London, 2003).

PERIODICAL ARTICLES and BOOK SECTIONS

Altman, Ida, 'Return Migration' in Ida Altman, *Emigrants and society: extremadura and Spanish America* (Berkeley, 1989), pp 247-274.

Baldssar, Loretta, 'The return visit as pilgrimage: secular redemption and cultural renewal in the migration process' in Eric Richards and Jacqueline Templeton (eds.), *The Australian immigrant in the twentieth century: searching neglected sources* (Australian National University, 1998), pp 127-56.

Barry, Richard, 'Savings in Ireland' in *Irish University Review*, i (10) (Autumn, 1956), pp 45-6.

Bawden, Timothy, 'Vacation and leisure' in James D. Hart and Phillip W. Leininger, *Dictionary of American History in The Oxford Companion to American Literature* (New York, 1995). (<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O123-dictionaryofAmericanHstry.html>) [accessed 29 June 2011].

Bernard, H. Russell and Lambros Comitas, 'Greek return migration' in *Current Anthropology*, xviv (3) (1978), pp 658-59.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blessing, Patrick, 'The Irish' in Stephan Thernstorm (ed.), *The Harvard encyclopedia of American ethnic groups* (Cambridge, MA, 1980), pp 524-45.

Boyle, Paul J. and Keith H. Halfacree, 'The challenge facing migration research: the case for the biographical approach' in *Progress in Human Geography*, xvii (1993), pp 333-348.

Bracefield, Hilary, 'Let Erin remember; The Irish-American influence on traditional music in Ireland' in *Writing Ulster, No. 5, America and Ulster: A Cultural Correspondance* (1998), pp 29-44.

Brady, Mary E., 'Sligo county' and 'Sligo town' in Brian Lalor (ed.), *The encyclopedia of Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp 996-997.

Breen, Richard, 'Dowry payments and the Irish case' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, xxvi (20) (1984), pp 280-296.

Brophy, Thomas J., 'Rivalry between Irish associations in San Francisco over second funeral of Terrence Bellew Mcmanus, 1861' in R.V. Comerford and Jennifer Kelly (eds.), *Associational culture in Ireland and the wider world* (Dublin, 2010), pp 67-84.

Casey, Marion R., 'Introduction: emigrant savings bank: its first decade and new research possibilities' in Kevin J. Rich (ed.), *Irish immigrants of the emigrant industrial savings bank, test book no. 1*, iii (New York, 2010), pp xi-xix.

Cavaioli, Frank J., 'Patterns of Italian immigration to the United States' in the *Catholic Social Science Review*, xiii (2008), pp 213-229.

Cawley, Mary E., 'Galway city' in Brian Lalor (ed.), *The encyclopedia of Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), p. 427.

Cerese, Francesco P., 'Nostalgia or disenchantment: considerations on return migration', in Silvano M. Tomasi and Madeline H. Engel (eds.), *The Italian experience in the United States* (New York, 1970), pp 217-239.

Cerese, Francesco P., 'Expectations and reality: a case study of return migration from the U.S. to southern Italy' in *International Migration Review*, viii (2) (1974), pp 225-262.

Choldin, H., 'Kinship networks in the migration process' in *International Migration Review*, vii (2) (1973), pp 163-175.

Comerford, R.V., 'Introduction' in W.E. Vaughan(ed.), *A new history of Ireland, vi, Ireland under the Union, II, 1879-1921* (Oxford, 1975), p. xli.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Conk, Margo Anderson, 'Occupational classification in the United States census: 1870-1940' in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, xi (1) (Summer, 1978), pp 111-130.

Corcoran, Mary P., 'The process of migration and the reinvention of self: the experiences of returning Irish emigrants' in *Eire-Ireland*, xxxi (2002), pp 175-191.

Cousens, S.H., 'The regional pattern of emigration during the Great Famine, 1846-1851' in *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British geographers)*, xxviii (1960), pp 119-134.

Crozier, M., 'Powerful wakes'; perfect hospitality' in Chris Curtin and Thomas Wilson (eds.), *Ireland from below: social change and local communities*, (Galway, 1987), pp 71-91.

Davies, K.M., 'For health and pleasure in the British fashion; Bray, Co. Wicklow as a tourist resort, 1750-1914' in Barbara O'Connor and Michael Cronin (eds.), *Tourism in Ireland: a critical analysis* (Cork, 1993), pp 71-81.

Devanzo, Julie, 'Differences between return and nonreturn migration: an econometric analysis' in *International Migration Review*, x (10) (1976), pp 13-27.

Devanzo, Julie, 'New, repeat and return migration' in *Southern Economic Journal*, xlv (30) (Jan, 1978), pp 680-4.

Duffy, Patrick, 'Rundale' in Brian Lalor (ed.), *The encyclopedia of Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), p. 952.

Dustman, Christian, Samuel Bentolila and Riccardo Faini, 'Return migration: the European experience' in *Economic Policy*, xi (22) (April, 1996), pp. 213-50.

Duval, David Timothy, 'Linking return visits and return migration among Commonwealth Eastern Caribbean migrants in Toronto' in *Global Networks*, iv (1) (2004), pp 51-67.

Erikson, C. 'The uses of passenger lists for the study of british and Irish emigration' in I.A. Glazier and L. De Rosa (eds.), *Migrations across time and nations*, (London, 1986), pp 318-335.

Fitzgerald, Patrick, 'Come back Paddy Reilly': aspects of Irish return migration, 1600-1845' in M. Harper (ed.), *Emigrant homecomings: the return movement of emigrants, 1600-2000*, (Manchester, UK, 2005), pp 32-54.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Fitzpatrick, David, 'A share of the honeycomb': education, emigration and Irishwomen' in *Continuity and change*, i (1986), pp 217-234.
- Fitzpatrick, David, 'Emigration, 1871-1921' in W.E. Vaughan (ed.), *A new history of Ireland: Ireland under the Union, II, 1870-1921*, (Oxford, 1996), pp 607.
- Fitzpatrick, David 'Irish emigration in the later nineteenth century' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxii (1980-1), pp 126-43.
- Foeken, Dick, 'Return migration to a marginal rural area in north-western Ireland' in *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, lxxi (1980), p. 118.
- Foley, Mark C. and Timothy W. Guinnane, 'Did Irish marriage patterns survive the emigrant's voyage? Irish-American nuptiality, 1880-1920 in *Irish Economic and Social History*, xxvi (1999), pp 15-34.
- Freeman, T. W., 'The congested districts of western Ireland' in *The Geographic Review*, xxxiii (1) (New York, 1943), pp 1-14.
- Galor, Oded and Oded Stark, 'Migrants' savings, the probability of return migration and migrants' performance' in *International Economic Review*, xxxi (2) (1990), pp 463-467.
- Gmelch, George and R. Rhodes, 'Bibliography on return migration' in *Papers in Anthropology*, xx (1979), pp 187-196.
- Gmelch, George and Barnett Richling, 'The impact of return migrants in rural Newfoundland' in Russell King (ed.), *Return migration and regional economic problems*, (London, 1986), pp 185-197.
- Gmelch, George and Lawrence Delaney, 'Irish return migration: the socio-demographic characteristics of return emigrants' in *Papers in Anthropology*, xx (1) (1979), pp 155-166.
- Gmelch, George, 'The readjustment of return migrants in western Ireland' in Russell King (ed.), *Return migration and regional economic problems*, (London, 1986), pp 153-171.
- Gmelch, George, 'Return migration' in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, ix (1) (1980), pp 140.
- Gmelch, George. 'Return migration and migrant adjustment in western Ireland' in *Irish Foundation of Human Development*, lxii (1979), pp 27.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gmelch, George, 'Who returns and why: return migration behaviour in two North Atlantic societies' in *Human Organization*, xlii (1) (1983), pp 46-54.

Gould, J. D., 'European inter-continental Emigration - the road home: return migration from the U.S.A.' in *Journal of European economic history*, ix (1) (Spring, 1980), pp 41-113.

Greenlees, J., ' "Stop kissing and steaming!": tuberculosis and the occupational health movement in Massachusetts and Lancashire, 1870-1918' in *Urban History*, xxxii (2) (2005), pp 223-246.

Guinnane, Timothy W., 'Coming of age in rural Ireland at the turn of the twentieth century' in *Continuity and Change*, v, (3) (1990), pp. 443-472.

Guinnane, Timothy W., 'Age at leaving home in rural Ireland' in *The Journal of Economic History*, lii, (3) (1992), pp 651-674.

Handlin, Oscar, 'Immigrants who go back' in *Atlantic*, cxviii (1956), pp 71-6.

Harris, Ruth Anne, 'Characteristics of Irish immigrants in North America derived from the Boston pilot "Missing Friends" data, 1831-1850' in *Working papers in Irish studies* (Boston, 1988), pp.2-3.

Hatton, Timothy and Jeffrey Williamson, 'After the Famine: emigration from Ireland: 1850-1913' in *The journal of economic history*, liii (3) (September, 1993), pp 575-600.

Heuston, John, 'Kilkee – the origins and development of a West Coast resort' in O'Connor, Barbara and Michael Cronin (eds.), *Tourism in Ireland: a critical analysis* (Cork, 1993), pp 23-48.

Hill Kulu and Tiit Tammaru, 'Ethnic return migration from the east and the west: the case of Estonia in the 1990s' in *Europe-Asia studies*, lii (2) (March, 2000), pp 349-369.

Hoge, Dean R. and Aniedi Okure, O.P., 'International priests in American history' in *International priests: new ministers in the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 2005), pp 1, 3.

Jackson, Pauline, 'Women in 19th century Irish emigration' in *International Migration Review*, xviii, (4) (Special Issue - Women in migration) (Winter, 1984), pp 1004-1020.

Johnson, James H.. 'The context of migration: the example of Ireland in the nineteenth century' in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, new series, xv (3) (1990), pp 259-276.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Keep, G.R.C. 'Some Irish opinion on population and emigration, 1851-1901', in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th series, lxxxiv (December, 1955), pp 377.

Kenny, Kevin, 'Diaspora and comparison: the global Irish as a case study' in *Journal of American History*, xc (1) (2003), pp 134-162.

King, Russell, 'Return migration: a neglected aspect of population geography' in *Kings Royal Rifle Corps Chronicle*, x (1978), pp 175-182.

King, Russell, 'Return migration: a review of some case studies from Southern Europe' in *Mediterranean Studies*, i (2) (1979), pp 4-30.

King, Russell, 'Return migration and regional economic development: an overview' in Russell King (ed.), *Return migration and regional economic problems*, (London, 1986), pp 1-37.

Kubat, Daniel, 'The politics of return: international migration in Europe' in *International Migration Review*, xix (20 (1985), pp 353-354.

Lamkin, Brian, 'Representing 'migrant objects' in cinema and museum: a recent case study from Northern Ireland' in *AEMI (Association of European Migration Institutions) Journal*, iv (Denmark, 2006), pp 22-35.

MacDermott, Anthony, 'The tribes of Galway: a lecture given to the Irish genealogical research society on April 11th, 1946' in *The Irish Genealogist* (1946), pp 99-106.

MacDonald, John S. and Leatrice D. MacDonald, 'Chain migration ethnic neighbourhood formation and social networks' in *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, xlii (1) (January, 1964), pp 82-97.

MacKillop, James, 'The quiet man speaks' in James MacKillop (ed.), *Contemporary Irish cinema* (Syracuse, 1999), pp 169-181.

Mageean, D. 'Ulster migration to Philadelphia, 1847-1865: a preliminary analysis using passenger lists' in I.A. Glazier and L. De Rosa (eds.), *Migrations Across Time and Nations* (London, 1986), pp 277-286.

Martyn, Petula, 'Galway, county' in Brian Lalor, ed., *The encyclopedia of Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp 426-427.

McCaffrey, Lawrence J., 'Forging forward and looking back' in Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (eds.), *The New York Irish* (Baltimore, 1996), pp 229-234.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

McCarthy, Angela, 'Personal letters and the organization of Irish migration to and from New Zealand, 1848-1925' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxiii (131) (May, 2003), pp 297-319.

McDonnell, Janet A., 'Documenting cultural and historical memory: oral history in the National Park Service' in *The Oral History Review*, xxx (2) (2003), pp 99-109.

McGrath, Fiona, 'The economic, social and cultural impact of returned migration to Achilles Island' in Russell King (ed.), *Contemporary Irish migration*, (Dublin, 1991), pp 55-69.

Meagher, Timothy J., ed., *From paddy to studs: Irish-American communities in the turn of the century era, 1880-1920* (New York, 1986), p.3.

Miller, Kerby and Paddy Fitzgerald, 'Miller's crossing' in *History Ireland*, xiii (1) (Dublin, 2005), pp 48-51.

Mohr, Paul, 'Landlords, politics and dining: a window into North Galway/South Mayo society during the decade before the famine' in *Journal of the Old Tuam Society* (2005), p. 31.

Moltmann, G., 'American-German return migration in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' in *Central European History*, xiii (1980), pp 378-392.

Morrison, J. a. 'Dancing Between decks: choreographies of transition during Irish migrations to America' in *Eire-Ireland: a Journal of Irish Studies*, x (2001), p. 2.

Moss, Kenneth, 'St. Patrick's day celebrations and the formation of Irish-American identity' in *Journal of Social History*, xxix (1) (Autumn, 1995), pp 125-148.

Nash, C., ' "Embodying the nation" - the West of Ireland landscape and Irish' in Barbara O'Connor and Michael Cronin (eds.), *Tourism in Ireland: a critical analysis* (Cork, 1993), pp 278-285.

Ní Laoire, Caitriona, 'Complicating host-newcomer dualisms: Irish return migrants as home-comers or newcomers?' in *Transactions: migrations and social change*, iv (1) (Winter, 2008), pp 35-50.

Ni Laoire, C. 'The 'green, green grass of home'? return migration to Ireland' in *Journal of rural studies*, xxiii (3) (2007), pp 332-334.

O' Brien, M. J., 'Transatlantic connections and the sharp edge of the great depression' in *Eire-Ireland: journal of Irish studies*, xxxvii (1-2) (2002), pp 38-57.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

O' Brien, E., 'Savages' in Susan Hill (ed.), *The Penguin book of modern women's short stories* (London, 1990), pp 210-235.

O'Connor, Barbara, 'Myths and mirrors: tourist images and national identity' in Barbara O'Connor and Michael Cronin (eds.) *Tourism in Ireland: a critical analysis* (Cork, 1993), pp 278.

O Grada, C., 'A note on nineteenth-century Irish emigration statistics' in *Population studies*, xxix (1) (March, 1975), pp 143-149.

O'Farrell, Patrick, 'Emigrant attitudes and behaviour as a source for Irish history' in G.A. Hayes-McCoy (ed.), *Historical Studies*, x (12) (Dublin 1976), pp. 109-12.

O'Kelly, Hilary, 'Parcels from America: American clothes in Ireland c. 1930-1980' in Hazel Clark Berg and Alexandra Palmer (eds.), *Old clothes, new looks; second hand fashion*, (Dublin, 2005), pp 83-102.

O'Rourke, K. 'Why Ireland emigrated: a positive theory of factor flows' in *Oxford Economic Papers*, new series, xlv (2) (1992), pp 322-340.

Ralph, David 'Home is where the heart is'? understandings of 'home' among Irish-born return migrants from the United States' in *Irish Studies Review*, xvii (2) (2009), pp 190-209.

Ravenstein, Ernest George 'The laws of migration' in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, xlviii (2) (1885), pp 167-235

Richman, Anthony, 'Return migration from Canada' in *Population studies*, xxii (2) (1968), pp 263-271.

Ridge, John T., 'Irish county societies in New York, 1880-1914' in Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (eds.), *The New York Irish* (Baltimore, 1996), pp 275-300.

Roseman, Curtis C., 'Migration as a spatial and temporal process' in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, lxi (3) (September, 1971), pp 589-598.

Rubin, Ernest, 'Immigration and the economic growth of the U.S.: 1790-1914' in Elizabeth W. Gilboy and Edgar M. Hoover (eds.), *Population and immigration*, (New York, 1998), pp 56-72.

Ryan, W.J.L., 'Some Irish population problems' in *Population Studies*, ix (2) (November, 1955), pp 185-188.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sánchez-Alonso, Blanca, 'Those who left and those who stayed behind: explaining emigration from the regions of Spain, 1880-1914', in *The Journal of economic history*, lx (3) (September, 2000), pp 730-755.

Saraceno, E., 'The occupational resettlement of returning migrants and regional development: the case of Friuli-venezia Giulia, Italy' in Russell King (ed.), *Return migration and regional economic problems*, (London, 1986), pp 69-78.

Schmiller, Nina Glick Linda Basch and Cristina Szanton Blanc 'Immigrant to transmigrant: theorizing transnational migration' in *Anthropological Quarterly*, lxvix (1) (1995), pp 48-63.

Schuetz, Alfred, 'The Homecomer' in *The American Journal of Sociology*, i (5) (1945), pp 369-376.

Serra-Santana, E., 'Return of Portuguese: economic goals or retention of one's identity' in D. Kubat (ed.), *The politics of return: international return migration in Europe*, (New York, 1984), pp 55-56.

Share, Bernard, 'Railways' in Brian Lalor (ed.), *The encyclopedia of Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp 229-230.

Smith, James P. and Duncan Thomas, 'Remembrances of things past: test-retest reliability of retrospective migration histories' in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, clxvii (1) (2003) pp 23-49

Smith, William L., 'Immigrant Irish secular priests in America' in *History Ireland*, viii (3) (2000), pp 41-59.

Smyth, William J. 'Irish emigration, 1700-1920,' in P. C. Emmer and M. Morner (eds.), *European expansion and migration: essays on the intercontinental migration from Africa, Asia, and Europe* (New York, 1992), pp 70-1.

Snyder, Robert W., 'The Irish and vaudeville', in Marion Casey and J.J. Lee (eds.), *Making the Irish American: history and heritage of the Irish in the United States* (New York, 2007), pp 402-412.

Streib, G.F., 'Migration and filial bonds; attitudes of Cork farmers and Dublin men' in *Irish Journal of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology*, iii (1) (1970), p. 61-73.

't Hart, Marjolein, 'Irish return migration in the nineteenth century' in *Tijdschrift voor econ.en social geografie*, lxxvi (3) (1985), pp 226-246.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Terkenli, Theano S. 'Home as a region' in *Geographical Review*, lxxxv (3) (1995), pp 324-334.

Tilly, Charles, 'Trust networks in transnational migration' in *Sociological Forum*, xxii (1) (2007), pp 3-25.

Took, Laurence, 'Land tenure, return migration and rural change in the Italian province of Chieti' in Russell King (ed.), *Return migration and regional economic problems*, (London, 1986), pp 81-99.

Townsend, A. R., 'The role of returned migrants in England's poorest region' in *Geoforum*, xi (4) (1980), pp 353-369.

Tsuda, Takeyudi, 'Why does the diaspora return home? The causes of ethnic return migration' in Tsuda, Takeyudi (ed.), *Diasporic homecomings: ethnic return migration in comparative perspective* (Stanford, 2009), pp. 21-43.

Took, L., 'Land tenure, return migration and rural change in the Italian Province of Chiati' in Russell King (ed.), *Return migration and regional economic problems*, (London, 1986), pp. 79-99.

Toren, Nina, 'Return migration to Israel' in *International Review*, xii (1) (1978), pp 39-54.

Vanderkamp, John, 'Migration flows, their determinants and the effects of return migration' in *The Journal of Political Economy*, lxxix (5) (Sep.-Oct., 1971), pp 1012-1031.

Virtanen, Keijo, 'Finnish migrants (1860-1930) in the overseas return migration movement' in *Genealogia*, x (1979) pp 12-21.

Yngveson, Barbara, 'Backed by papers: undoing persons, histories and return' in *American Ethnologist*, xxxiii (2) (2004), pp 177-190.

Waldorf, B., 'Determinants of international return migration intentions' in *Professional Geographer*, lxxviii (2) (C1995), pp. 125-136.

Wyman, Mark, 'Emigrants returning: the evolution of a tradition' in Marjorie Harper, (ed.), *Emigrant homecomings: the return movement of emigrants, 1600-1845*, (Manchester, 2005), pp. 16-31.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CONFERENCE PAPERS

Virtanen, Keijo, The influence on migration on Finnish cultural identity in the twentieth century: some preliminary considerations, in *Thirteenth annual meeting of the social science history association* (Chicago 1988).

ORAL HISTORY SOURCES

Gacquin, William, *Culleen Hall, the Beginning*, unpublished local history paper, Co. Roscommon, presented in Co. Roscommon, 26 April 1999.

Interview with Colleen Bradley-Sanders, archivist, Ehrman medical library, New York University school of medicine, 5 Jan 2010.

Interview with Liam Breathnach of Galway City, Co. Galway, grandson of Patrick Murphy.

Interview with Michael Connaughton of Tuam, Co. Mayo, 5 Jan 2011, 20 Apr 2011.

Interview with John Cunningham, Department of History, NUI Galway, September 2009.

Interview with Charlie Finneran of Derryglad, Co. Roscommon, grandson of Malachy Finneran.

Interview with May McGovern Fox, Bundoran, Co. Donegal, daughter of Leo and Lena McGovern, 19 May 2009.

Interview with James Ganley, President, Roscommon historical and archaeological society, Derrane, Co. Roscommon, 3 Sep. 2009.

Interview with Michael Gavagan of St. John's Parish, Co. Roscommon, 16 Feb. 2010.

Interview with Leo McGovern, junior, Bundoran, Co. Donegal, son of Leo and Lena McGovern, 10 Jun 2009.

Interview with historian Patrick J. Melvin of Dublin, Co. Dublin, November, 2010.

Interview with Fr. Killian Mitchell, Kilnacrott Abbey, Ballyjamesduff, Co. Cavan, 28 April 2009.

Interview with Gerard Moran, History Department, NUI Galway, 10 Nov 2009.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Interview with Patrick O'Connor of St. John's Parish, Co. Roscommon, 17 Mar. 2007.

Interview with Celia Parker, Assistant archivist, Archives and local history service, Rotherdam central library, 12 October 2009.

Interview with Irene Powell, archivist, Archives of Mt. St. Mary's seminary, Emmetsberg, MD, 12 June 2009.

Interview with Albert Siggins, archivist, National Museum of Ireland, Countrylife, Castlebar, Co. Mayo, 3 November 2009.

CINEMA REPRESENTATIONS

Land of heart's desire, Dir. Edward P. Cullen Productions, 29 minutes, 16 mm colour, prod. Dist. Center Productions, Inc. Boulder, Colorado (1979).

The quiet man, Universal Studios (DVD, Republic Entertainment inc., (2007)

The quiet man, Director John Ford, 129 minutes, colour, prod. Distribution by Argosy Pictures (1952).

UNPUBLISHED THESIS AND DISSERTATION MANUSCRIPTS

Áine Corrigan, 'Irish immigrant entrepreneurs in the United States: ethnic strategies and transnational identities', (Ph.D. thesis, NUI Maynooth, 2006).

Brannick, Teresa, 'A study of returned emigrants in an Irish rural parish', (M.A. thesis, University College, Dublin, 1977).

Dunn, Mary Lee, 'Faugh a Ballagh: loss and leverage in Ballykilcline and Rutland', (M.A. thesis, University of Massachusetts, Lowell, 2003).

Finerty, M., 'The Roscommon estates of the Lords Crofton 1845-1895', (BA thesis, Our Lady of Mercy College, Dublin, 1986) pp 75.

Flynn, Charles E., 'Dundalk: an oral history, 1900-1960', (Ph.D. thesis, NUI Maynooth, 1989), pp 217.

Sullivan, Tom, 'Wherever you go you find a Catholic Congregation: aspects of the Catholic missionary movement from the diocese of Kilmore to North America in the nineteenth century,' (M.A. thesis, Queens University, Belfast, April 2007), pp 85.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ELECTRONIC RESOURCES

American Merchant Marine at War (www.USMM.org) [accessed 15 Nov2009].

Ancestry.com - *Articles Archives* (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 4 Apr 2011].

British National Archives (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/medals.asp) [accessed 28-09-09].

Carrigallen.com, Carrigallen in the heart of Lovely Leitrim (www.carrigallen.com/1900-1920.htm) [accessed 20 Sep 2009].

Catholic Encyclopedia, Diocese of Brooklyn (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02798d.htm>) [accessed 4 Feb 2010].

Chrostek, Alina, *Occupational health and safety in Textiles*, Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute, p. 6 (www.216.239.59.132) [accessed 05-06-09].

Commonwealth War Graves Commission (www.cwgc.org/search/cemetery_tails.aspx?cemetery=10702&mode=1) [accessed 01-10-09].

De Souza, Roger Mark, *Using return migration as a development tool – Are the right policies in place?* (Population Reference Bureau, Sep 2006), www.popref@prb.org [accessed 6 Aug 2009].

Devoy, John, memorial website (www.devoynaas.com/in-his-later-years) [accessed 15 Dec 2010].

Edwards, Bill, 'Vintage Popular Songs from the Early 1900', vol. 2, in *Perfessor Bill Edwards Sings Again* (music CD), <<http://www.perfessorbill.com/>> accessed 10 November 2010.

Encyclopedia Britannica <eb.com>, accessed 10 November 2010.

Environmental History Timeline (www.radford.edu/~wkovarik/envhist/5progressive.html) [accessed 4Apr2011].

Email correspondence from Wally Gibbs, Canton Historical Society, Canton, MA, 15 Jan 2009 regarding history of Canton Beachery and Manufacturing Company, Canton, Massachusetts .

Email correspondence from Dr. Frank Hannaway of Quincy, Massachusetts, 13 Nov 2010.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Email correspondence from Críostóir Mac Cárthaigh, Archivist-Collector, Department of Irish Folklore, UCD, 1 September 2010.

Email correspondence from Jim Roache, Canton Historical Society, Canton, MA, 26 Jan 2009, Canton death record for Margaret Finerty, died 22 Dec 1879, 86 years old, birthplace Ireland.

Email correspondence from Patricia Ryburn, local history librarian, Canton Public Library, Canton, MA, 22 Dec 2009 regarding history of Canton Beachery and Manufacturing Company, Canton, Massachusetts.

Email correspondence from Zoe van Well, the British postal museum & archive, London, archives records assistant (10 Oct. 2010).

Farrelly, John, family genealogy, LeitrimRoots webpage (leitrimroots.com) [accessed 11 Apr 2009].

Farrelly, John family genealogy, Leitrim-Roscommon genealogy webpage (www.leitrimroscommon.com) [accessed 11 Apr 2009].

Griswold, Joseph Elbert and Mrs. Samuel R. Taylor, *The pictorial history of Ft. Wayne* (Chicago, 1917, pp 741 (<http://books.google.com/books?id=TBUVAAAAYAAJ&dq=>) [accessed 20 Jun 2011].

Grohol, J. M., Psy.D., *Learning from the Irish*, ii (2007), (www.psychcentral.com) [accessed 09-09-09]

Historycentral.com (<http://www.historycentral.com/Europe>) [accessed 4 Apr 2011].
Iowa Cemetery records, Tombstones of O'Brien County, page 42 [database online] (www.ancestry.com) [accessed 12 Sep 09].

Keeling, Drew, *Repeat migration between Europe and the United States, 1870-1914*, U.C. Berkeley Institute of European studies website (www.escholarship.org/uc/item/56g1k33h)[accessed 23 Aug 2011].

Landed Estates Database, NUI Galway, (www.landedestates.ie) [accessed 18 Nov 09].

Lewis, Samuel, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (1837) (<http://www.libraryireland.com/topog/index.php>) [accessed 10 Nov 2010].

Migration studies - The use of migration as an explanatory concept in archaeology website (<http://www.seiselt.com/smutheory/David%20Willers/Ravenstein.html>) [accessed 4 Jul 2011].

BIBLIOGRAPHY

'Mote Park House: The Rise and Fall of a Big House in Roscommon',
(www.askaboutireland.ie) [accessed 06-06-09].

New Bedford Preservation Society, Howland Mill Village,
(<http://www.nbpreservationsociety.org/howlandmillhousing.html>) [accessed 30
October 2009].

National Archives of Ireland, Ireland in the early 20th century
(http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/exhibition/kerry/social_conditions.html)
[accessed 20 Jun 2011].

New York Times archives online, 9 May 1915, 'Disaster bears out embassy's warning',
(<http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive>) [accessed 06June2009].

New York Times archives online, 29 Jun 1913, 'Tuberculosis' harvest among women in
cotton mills', (<http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive>) [accessed 23Nov2008].

New York Emigrant Savings Bank, 1850-1883 (www.ancestry.com). [database on-line]
[accessed 17 Jul. 2010]. Original data: Emigrant Savings Bank. *Emigrant Savings
Bank Records*. Call number *R-USLHG *ZI-815. Rolls 1-20. held at New York
Public Library, New York.

Ruggles, Steven J., Trent Alexander, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Matthew B.
Schroeder, and Matthew Sobek. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0*
[Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010.
Teachnet.ie (www.teachnet.ie/dhorgan/1900-10.html) [accessed 4Apr2011].

The Irish Ancestral Research Association website (<http://tiara.ie/forest.php>) [accessed
15Apr2011].

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Louis Comfort Tiffany: Loggia from Laurelton
Hall, Oyster Bay, New York ([http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-
art/1978.10.100](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1978.10.100)) [accessed 7Apr2011].