

Placing migration in history: *geographies of Irish population movements*

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About 70,000 immigrants entered the Republic of Ireland in the twelve months before this conference at the end of 2005, and the Central Statistics Office estimates that there will be a need for approximately 30,000 per annum for next ten years. Apart from the quite sudden social consequences of a multi-cultural society in-the-making in Ireland, one of the most noteworthy aspects of this immigration, in a broader historical context, is that it is the first significant in-migration to Ireland for three or four centuries. The last comparatively large-scale immigration occurred in the seventeenth century, during the last half of which up to 100,000 Scots came into Ireland.

Historical overview of migration in Ireland

Three general forms of migration may be identified in terms of their geographical and social contexts: immigration, emigration and internal migration, all of which have been important historically in Ireland, ie. people moving in, moving out and moving about within the country.

Although the immigrations from England and Wales during the Anglo-Norman colonisation of the twelfth century had important economic, cultural and environmental implications for much of the island of Ireland, they took place so long ago that evidence on the actual migration process is limited. Family name and placename linkages between parts of Leinster and Wales and the Severn valley provide hints of the population movements which occurred: St David's Day was celebrated in Naas, for instance, until the eighteenth century. The sixteenth and seventeenth century migrants into the island have left more traces. Initially mainly from England and Wales, following the union of England and Scotland in 1603 Lowland Scots immigrants increased especially, although mercenary soldiers and their families from the Western Isles and Highlands had links with Ireland well back into the fourteenth century. Immigration to Ireland continued in smaller numbers throughout the eighteenth century, responding to economic opportunities in the 'new' Ireland with its developing landed estates, its new towns, and expanding rural industry which offered attractions for certain skills in textile work, for instance. There was a trickle of immigration of dissenting minorities from France and Germany in the eighteenth century, who were encouraged to bring their skills and capital into the developing economy.

Seventeenth-century immigration was mainly characterised by state-sponsored programmes, implemented in colonial plantation settlements or parliamentary legislation favouring newcomers. Plantation schemes in Munster, Ulster, parts of Leinster and the midlands, for instance, were designed by the new (British) state apparatus in Ireland to encourage investors and planters to

establish settler colonies and develop local and regional economies. There was also a politics underlying these immigrations, aimed at attracting Protestant, especially Anglican, immigrants who, apart from assumed loyalty to the crown, also had skills and enterprise, and capital perhaps, to spearhead economic development.¹

These seventeenth-century policies were accompanied by tacit encouragement of parallel outmigration of sections of the population perceived to be potentially disloyal, mainly Catholic former landowning elites and their followers, merchants and professional classes (especially clergy), as well as ex-soldiers of former lordships who might pose a threat to the state. The most dramatic example of such migration was the transportation of some thousands of Irish military following the Treaty of Limerick. Many of the Gaelic Irish and the Old English elites who were out of sympathy with the new regime or who had lost property, power and influence left the country, many going to Spain, the Hapsburg Empire, or France. In a more overtly political migration, others were forcibly deported during the Cromwellian period, principally to provide labour in colonial plantations in the Caribbean, or in transplantation programmes to the west of Ireland. Indeed Catholic and Protestant entrepreneurs in new colonies in the Caribbean and the north Atlantic littoral acted as magnets for later emigration flows from Ireland in the eighteenth century. Patrick Fitzgerald has outlined a continuous pattern of migration between Ireland and England from the sixteenth century, which was especially characteristic of a wandering poorer class avoiding the political and economic turmoil in Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.² Emigration to England continued into the eighteenth century as the Industrial Revolution gathered pace, though it was largely overshadowed in fact and popular memory by the growing outmigration to America.

Terms like 'plantation' have tended to eclipse the reality of the migration process in Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From an Irish perspective, plantation has been perceived essentially as a colonial confiscation and dispossession of lands, and oppression of native occupiers. Dispossession there certainly was, but in many more cases, lands were bought and sold in a developing island-wide market economy and immigrants flowed in, responding to labour and land-leasing opportunities. The formal plantation schemes relied crucially on planned immigration projects predicated on minimum numbers of settlers being established on cleared land, in strong houses within a stated period. There was also a more general flow of individual voluntary immigrants which followed the emergence of a consolidated political and economic state in Ireland, much of which might be characterised as chain migration following the routes of earlier pioneers.

Emigration emerged as the iconic demographic experience of Ireland for the past two centuries. Throughout, but especially in the latter half of the eighteenth century, emigration became a dominant feature of many regions of the country. In global terms what was happening here was that the new expanding colonies in America needed labour and began to entice migrants from Ireland. Many

of these were second and third generation settlers in Ireland. For example, the agent on a Clones estate was very worried in 1719 about emigration of Protestant families to New England: nearly 40 families left the parish in 1718 and a hundred in 1719.³ Presbyterian ministers organised and led groups of Ulster emigrants to America (which appeared to be a haven for dissenting congregations) in the earlier eighteenth century, with Thomas Clark's group of more than three hundred which left the Ballybay area in County Monaghan in 1764 being one of the last of these. But it was mostly for economic reasons that emigration took place in the last half of the eighteenth century, particularly the attraction of cheap freehold or leasehold land in the New World, increasingly attractive as pressure on land resources escalated in Ireland.

Following the end of the war of independence in 1783 America began to attract increasing numbers of emigrants from Ireland, about 20,000 in 1784, with significant proportions from the southern parts of the country and not simply from Ulster.⁴ Approximately 5,000 per annum emigrated predominantly from Ulster until the end of the European war in 1815 when an island-wide exodus resumed. Incentives were offered to young people to leave under the indenture or redemptioner systems offered by American land agents in the later eighteenth century who were anxious to get their new lands settled and developed, and by merchants and ship captains bringing flax seed and timber to Ulster with otherwise empty ships on the return journey west.

Many localities in Ulster had a strong tradition of emigration established in the eighteenth century, especially in situations where comparatively large groups of tenants (Presbyterians or otherwise) left together. Such emigrants exercised a strong pull on residual communities for a generation afterwards, which was absent from other districts with limited previous emigration experience. The indenture and redemptioner system (in which fares were paid on arrival or in return for labour contracts), which prevailed through much of the eighteenth century enabled large numbers of servants, landless people and sons of smallholders to emigrate. This led many commentators to assume that only the 'idle and dissolute' were leaving, though in the 1780s higher fares and economic recession resulted in emigration of a more substantial class of manufacturers, tradesmen, artisans and 'warm comfortable' farmers who could not alone pay the fare, but who frequently had the means to finance their undertakings on arrival.⁵

From the eighteenth century also, the cod fisheries in Newfoundland established an enduring emigration tradition from Waterford and the south-east which continued up to the mid-nineteenth century, and many of the inhabitants of the outports in Newfoundland today continue to hold strong Irish identities after two hundred years. Connections with the Atlantic provinces of Canada (including New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island) were deepened from the 1830s. Migration links were also established between the midlands and Argentina through the middle decades of the nineteenth century.⁶

Ireland's location at the heart of empire (particularly its location within the

United Kingdom from 1800), the rapid anglicisation of its native language, increasing literacy through the nineteenth century, combined with the economic recession of post-Union Ireland and failure to participate in the industrial revolution, deepened the rural crisis in the densely-populated western half of the country. These all provided an impetus for escalating emigration to the imperial colonies of the New World, but especially to the emerging economic colossus of the USA. High rates of outmigration began to emerge from 1815, estimated by Miller at between 800,000 and one million up to the 1840s, in response not only to changing economic circumstances in the UK and north America but also to changes in British legislation and popular opinion which was now less opposed to emigration.⁷ Legislation which increased passenger costs to America resulted in most emigrants taking the cheaper route to British Canada from which great numbers travelled overland to the United States.

In the nineteenth century emigration trends intensified and from the 1840s, especially during the Famine years, exceeded anything that was experienced in the eighteenth century, although the trauma has tended to overshadow the fact that emigration had been rising significantly in the immediate pre-famine decades. During the 1840s the north-western quadrant of Ireland and the following counties, in order of magnitude, lost between one third and one quarter of their populations: Roscommon, Mayo, Monaghan, Sligo, Longford, Cavan, Leitrim, Laois, Galway, Clare, Fermanagh, Kilkenny. Emigration continued steadily into the twentieth century following the establishment of the independent state in the Twenty-six Counties, peaking again in the 1950s.⁸ The population of the province of Connacht fell from 1.4 million in 1841 to less than half a million a century later. Leitrim county's population declined by 120,000 in the first six decades of the twentieth century.

The state responded to the mid-twentieth century surge in outmigration by establishing a commission on emigration in 1948, and in the fifties the Catholic Church demonstrated the prevailing spirit of helplessness in the country by issuing a 'prayer for emigrants' which was recited in churches and households:

O Jesus who in the first days of thy life on earth was compelled to leave the land of thy birth, and with Mary thy loving mother and St Joseph, to endure in Egypt the hardship and poverty of emigrants, turn thine eyes in mercy upon our people who in search of employment are forced to leave their land far away from all that is dear to them, and faced with the difficulties of a new life they are often exposed to grave temptations and dangers to the salvation of their souls.

Be thou O Lord their guide upon their way, their support in labour, their consolation in sorrow, their strength in temptation. Keep them loyal to their faith, free from sin and faithful to all their family ties.

Grant that this life's journey ended we may be all united in the blessedness of our heavenly home. Amen

Total emigration from Ireland⁹

1850s	1,011,000
1860s	850,000
1870s	624,000
1880s	771,000
1890s	434,000
-1910	346,000
-1921	164,000

Estimated net emigration from the Irish Republic¹⁰

1926-36	167,000
-1946	187,000
-1956	315,000
-1966	292,000
-1979	+55,000
-1986	76,000

In Ireland internal migration, probably the most common movement of people in most countries, has been eclipsed in popular consciousness by emigration out of the country. Tradition, songs and collective memory have been seared by the intensity and persistence of the haemorrhage of emigration. Internal migration was relatively common in the seventeenth century, especially among the settler populations who were quite mobile and had shallow roots in local landscapes. In the context of internal migration, a case might be made for considering the British Isles as a social geographical unit. Even though political relationships have been fraught, in terms of population movement geographical connections within these islands were significant and were influenced by accessibility, bolstered by social and kinship links from waves of earlier movements across the Irish Sea.

Most modernising economies have experienced migration from rural areas to towns and cities. This process occurred in Ireland also, though it was predominantly to the cities of Britain or America that people migrated until the 1960s. In a sense, when Ireland was joined to Britain in the Union, though the intention was to encourage investment and economic development in Ireland, much of the country evolved as a lagging rural region with its western outposts being depopulated to the industrial-urban core of the UK. Apart from migration from rural Ulster to Belfast and the Lagan valley, which matched much of that taking place in England and Europe in the nineteenth century, urbanisation in general was underdeveloped in Ireland. Irish towns lacked a significant industrial base; the older agricultural processing industries like brewing and distilling were in decline by the mid nineteenth century, affording limited opportunities for in-migrants from rural hinterlands, and Irish town populations and morphologies remained largely static until the mid-twentieth century.

Historically, however, internal migration in Ireland was limited in scope and distance: it was largely a local phenomenon that is often reflected in surname landscapes, for instance, manifested in the telephone directory, or electoral lists which record the distinctive concentrations of family names locally and

regionally: McCarthys in west Munster, O'Haras in Sligo, McKennas in north Monaghan, Maguires in Fermanagh. Such concentrations of surnames reflect the local-ness of movements in the past. More useful data on contemporary internal migration patterns in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is provided in such sources as the Civil Survey for 1654-5, 1659 poll tax returns and the hearthmoney lists from the 1660s, as well as the Tithes Applotment Books and the Valuation lists of the nineteenth century.¹¹ Some of the seventeenth-century immigration streams are discernible in surname landscapes in Fermanagh and Leitrim for instance.¹² The hearthmoney rolls of the 1660s show quite a lot of local movement between townlands although this is difficult to track with accuracy.

The most ubiquitous form of local migration in the past was inter-rural, between farms. Marriage, for instance, would have been one of the most important migration links between areas, with 'bridesheds' reflecting the spatial extent of mobility of brides. Up until the early decades of the twentieth century, marriage partners commonly originated within the parish, often in neighbouring townlands. Parish registers of marriage permit the construction of maps or graphs of 'marriage distance' from the mid-nineteenth century, and earlier with some registers, and show it expanding gradually into the mid-twentieth century as local mobility increased.¹³

Non-farm, landless labouring populations tended to have more extensive internal migration fields: their names are less concentrated reflecting more footloose communities. The best examples are provided in the tillage counties of the east, such as Louth, Meath, Kilkenny, Wexford and Carlow where labourer settlements can be found (on old commons for instance, or on bog edges, wasteland and road sides) with a great variety of surnames demonstrating a wide diversity of geographical origins.

Understanding the migration process

Setting aside the more obvious changes brought on by modern technologies and economic globalisation, the dynamics of migration today continue to hold lessons for studies of past migrations. What are the most important features of the migration process? Modern migration can be examined with the aid of comprehensive statistical summaries, as well as migrant and potential migrant profiles based on interviews and questionnaire surveys. Although such methods are usually unavailable to historians of migration, the results of such studies highlight the following main parameters which can equally well help us understand migration in the past:

- i) The demographic and economic implications of migration, especially with regard to the age and sex of migrants, and the occupational profiles of labour migrants;
- ii) The geographical context in terms of origins, destination and distance of migration and;
- iii) The behavioural context of migration which includes psychological and

perceptual influences on decision-making as reflected in the extent and intensity of information fields.

In a broad sense, migrants and intending migrants behaved in much the same way in the past as today. Again and again on looking at the sources regarding emigration to America in the nineteenth century (either at a personal level or at the level of more official reportage) one is struck by the similarities in demographic and behavioural characteristics to what one might observe at present. Although there is less material evidence available for the eighteenth, and especially the seventeenth, centuries in Ireland, what circumstantial details there are in the way of stray correspondence and accounts suggest that the same patterns of migration behaviour also applied then.

Universally migration is an activity of the young, who have the energy and motivation to seek new pastures and new opportunities and have less ties and responsibilities in their home places. The immigration into Ireland in the seventeenth century was largely a movement of the young and fit, often single, though many with young families. They were all pioneers setting out to make a new start in what was often essentially a frontier society in depopulated or thinly-populated localities, much of it unreclaimed forest land or land devastated by war. As Gillespie notes, three quarters of the 884 migrants bound from Chester to Ireland in the year 1632-33 were young unmarried people.¹⁴ Similarly in the eighteenth-century emigration to America, young indentured people were recruited to work in newly-emerging landscapes, in reclamation and farm husbandry. Much of the large-scale emigration of the nineteenth century was composed of labourers and servants heading for the exploding industrial cities of the new American Republic: 36% of emigrants (1852-1921) were aged 20-24, 23% were 25-35 with 30% under 19 years of age. American cities were especially attractive to women migrants in the nineteenth century, predominantly for domestic service, but also increasingly in secretarial, nursing and teaching professions. Rural Ireland was distinguished by the manner in which it ejected its young women, who dominated the emigration stream for many years in the nineteenth century, especially females aged 15-19, from the 1870s to the early 1900s.¹⁵

The main exception to this demographic selectivity of migration, today and in the past, would be what could be called crisis or refugee migration, or more systematically-organised group migrations in which whole families participated, as exemplified by large tenant groups getting together to emigrate to America in the eighteenth century. In such circumstances, whole families of young and old are usually involved, fleeing from some disaster. In the seventeenth century many of those who fled the wars or the oppression of the new British political regime often included young and old. Many old and infirm followers of the Munster lords fled to Spain in the early years of the seventeenth century.¹⁶ The migrations to Connacht in the mid-seventeenth century were of whole family groups. The Great Famine of the 1840s was a classic crisis migration which forced many families to abandon their homeland hurriedly, often bringing the old and infirm with them to America in great hardship. Nineteenth-century census data

on the decline in inhabited houses provide clues to changing trends in both family migration, and house extinction, and migration of individual siblings (which left house and household units intact). The collapse in the numbers of fourth class houses, inhabited by the poorest sections of the population, is indicative of the migration (and mortality) impact of the famine. In Monaghan, for instance, these poor dwellings were virtually eliminated by 1851, with almost every parish experiencing reductions of more than 70% in this house type.

At times of crisis this kind of migration was usually tacitly, if not overtly, encouraged in the country of departure because it relieved the state or local authorities of the burden of the old (moving it to the receiving land) and facilitated structural changes in landholding and society. In the seventeenth century this meant the immigration and plantation of new and productive settlers. In the nineteenth century, departure of whole families of impoverished tenants relieved the landed estates and the Poor Law authorities of the burden of support, often shifting it to English parishes or poor law agencies, or more controversially during the Famine, to American or Canadian municipal authorities. In Ireland it facilitated the consolidation of farms and reductions in the rural population.

Geographical factors affect the intensity, direction and endurance of migration patterns. In normal circumstances, more people tend to migrate short distances through familiar landscapes, to the nearest town perhaps, often moving step-wise up the urban hierarchy to larger centres. Many of the geographical observations about migration were made by E G Ravenstein in Britain in the late nineteenth century – reflecting the experience of the first urban industrial society in the world which had also undergone a huge transport revolution.¹⁷ Ireland's experience in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been exceptional, however, unless one sees the streams of migration to Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham as examples of such rural-to-urban migration. Apart from east Ulster, short-distance rural-to-urban movements were limited in Ireland.

Distance and migration were frequently functions of changing patterns of mobility. Up until the twentieth century, for most people the world was largely a pedestrian one where migration meant overcoming the social obstacles and material costs of geographical distance. In the eighteenth century, migration (whether emigration or immigration) for all but the wealthy elite meant long walks to ports of embarkation, carrying a minimal burden of baggage. The gradual improvement in coach transport by the nineteenth century, especially the development of Bianconi cars and the introduction of rail transport, reduced some of the pain of travel for many emigrants, though for the poorest, into the late-nineteenth century, long walks to ports were still undertaken. In our cocooned car-journey age, we have forgotten the hazards and hardships of travel two and three centuries ago, in rain and wind and on poor roads. Both in Ireland, and perhaps more so in the new lands of America, migration was a stressful and exhausting experience, where group migrations helped to ease the emotional and physical burdens. Only the young had the necessary stamina to

undertake migration over any significant distance in the pre-railway age. A folk memory from County Fermanagh confirms this:

Chicago was nearly the principal place where they went from around here, our forefathers people... They all went from the Foyle at Derry. I heard tell of my father talking when they were going there was always maybe 12 fellows or girls... They walked it to Derry from here. They had to take their own provisions – they carried that on their shoulders. And the fellows carried whatever the girls had to take. They had to knit their own socks and made their own clothes. They had a year's supply of clothes and stuff with them when they landed on the other side.¹⁸

New transport technology, especially the train, perfectly matched Ireland's long-distance migration needs. Significantly, Ireland's trains in the nineteenth century specialised more in human than freight traffic and the expanding rail network, ostensibly developed to enhance the economic potential of the regions, mainly served as emigration channels from rural hinterlands to the ports and overseas destinations:

When the train came out, anyone who had an idea of emigrating, they were known to go to Clones and take the train down to Enniskillen to see how they'd like travelling, to get used to it. ...It was imagined you'd get sick very quick on the train or the ship.¹⁹

However, the inhibiting effects of distance and inaccessibility, as well as being reduced by transport improvements, were also minimised by information on the outside world. Migration everywhere is heavily reliant on information and information feedback to the home community. Studies today talk of migration occurring within an 'information field' whose extent is associated with patterns of migration already established. Irish migration in the past reflected the impact of information flows from overseas destination areas which usually generated chain migration between parts of Ireland and parts of England or America. As a result of generations of emigration until the 1960s, therefore, Ireland had well-developed information fields which helped to perpetuate and impel further outmigration: places like Leitrim and Mayo probably have more overseas migration contacts than eastern counties, so that a continuation of outmigration is (and has been) more likely from such areas.

Migration decision-making therefore is based on the flow of information to the home community and, as studies today demonstrate, personal information is the most likely to positively affect decisions to migrate – not advertisements or third party reportage. Personal information, either in letters, phone calls or face-to-face contacts, is more reliable and powerful in this regard.

In eighteenth and nineteenth century migration the letters from America were hugely important in terms of providing trusted information on the 'how and where' of emigration, more than the blandishments of emigration or railroad agents, or newspaper articles and books promoting emigration to America. Increasing shipping movement across north Atlantic throughout the eighteenth century brought more and more information in letters carried to homes and read out to neighbours in parishes across Ulster.²⁰ During the controversy following the sinking and loss of life aboard Lord Palmerston's emigration ship

The Carrick in April 1847, his land agent in Sligo showed an astute awareness of the importance of letters from emigrants about the voyage and the new land in America by copying all the best letters for publicity at home. Ship's captains were also tuned into the popular psychological effect of the letter by getting passengers to write in praise of the passage experience. In terms of transmitting useful information, a letter from Clones in 1870 contained practical details on the journey and its daily diet, how to register following disembarkation in New York's Castle Gardens, on purchasing railroad tickets, changing money, transferring luggage, on being duped in relation to wages and work conditions (en route to Magdalena Bay) and on how to use a lasso!²¹

Reminiscences and stories of emigration to Scotland, England and America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries repeatedly make reference to the role of siblings, friends and neighbours already settled in the destination community who helped the new migrant in obtaining board and work. Letters from Connecticut in 1848 demonstrate the importance of social contact and community in the New World:

'...there is more than eighty Irish of every age and sex living in this neighbourhood and all of us visit each other every Sunday regularly though there was not an Irish man or woman in this part of the state of Conn. six months ago'.²²

Although few letters have survived from seventeenth-century migrants, one assumes that letters or visitors back-and-forth to Scotland and England (such as ministers of religion, for example) were important in encouraging the immigrations into Ireland in the seventeenth century. Who would want the arduous trip to Fermanagh unless someone they trusted had provided information about the place and its opportunities?

Those commentators who advocated emigration in the nineteenth century as an economic solution to population pressure, and who funded schemes to emigrate groups of tenants, were well aware of the role of information feedback in fuelling further, unsubsidised, emigration. William Steuart Trench 'emigrated' several thousand tenants from the Bath estate in Monaghan in the mid-nineteenth century which he saw 'as a vast seed bed which I never doubted would repay itself in cash' in that large sums of money remitted home were contributing to subsequent emigration to America.²³ The Palmerston estate in north Sligo estimated that assisting 2,000 to emigrate off the property led to 4,000 going in the following eighteen months. It has been estimated that ninety-two girls sent out by Vere Foster from Clare had paid the passages of ninety-four others within four years.²⁴

Irish migration typologies

In looking at migration over the past few centuries in Ireland, we can broadly classify it in forms of individual voluntary migration and planned group migrations reflecting variations in levels of management by local or national authorities. To some extent all migrations exhibit a modicum of management by political or economic agencies either directly or indirectly facilitating migration.

Interventions by the state to encourage immigration in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were clearly early attempts at migration planning with limited effectiveness. The nineteenth century saw more comprehensive interventions by a range of public and private agencies to promote out-migration from Ireland. Even in the twentieth century the new Irish state was complicit in arranging labour migration to Britain, especially during the second world war.²⁵ One writer has recalled in 1944 that most of the passengers going to England with him were travelling on Wimpey's vouchers en route to the building sites of England:

The Globe hotel in Talbot Street was the mecca of the building workers and it was there they were given their destination and work permits.... We all met up later on and discovered on board ship, ironically named *Hibernia* that we were all to do work for the British Ministry of Labour which was described on our work permits as work of 'National Importance'.²⁶

The main difference between direct and indirect interventions in the migration process is that the former are more demographically, economically, and geographically focussed in the sense of transparently targetting specific categories or groups of migrants. In contrast, indirect interventions are less focussed with less predictable demographic or economic outcomes.

Both individual voluntary movement and group migrations occurred at the same time. In the eighteenth century there were significant group emigrations to America by religious dissenters or tenant groups getting together and organising a migration themselves. Planned group emigration organised by estate owners or philanthropists was an important factor in the nineteenth century. But certainly during these periods, individual emigration of siblings at family level was probably the most characteristic form of movement. Individual migration is the commonest universal migration where a migrant on his/her own decides to migrate in search of opportunities elsewhere, leaving family behind. In terms of impact at home, this is a largely random event, with unpredictable consequences for community and landscape, depending on who goes, who stays and who follows: whether there is any beneficial result of their going (or vice versa) is largely in the lap of the gods. One thing which can be predicted is that structural change in houses, households and farms is minimal. Consequently the stage is set for further emigration from the house or farm in the next generation, and this is precisely what happened in much of rural Ireland for more than a century. In one village in west Mayo in 1911 there were twenty-five households containing seventy-four children and teenagers. An elderly resident recalled that of this seventy-four, forty-six subsequently went to America and ten went to England. Of the eighteen who remained and had families at home, most of their children also emigrated a generation later in the 1950s. Individual migration led to chain migration and in the medium term many other members of families were paid for and brought out, which ultimately led to the extinction of many households.

The realisation of the gradual and unpredictable nature of individual voluntary emigration underlay many migration policies in Ireland. But group migration

obviously has quite different implications for the sending communities. In this case a large number of individuals leave together, either in family or specific younger age groups. Clearly a degree of forward planning is involved so that this could not be characterised as random in its occurrence or its consequences. When the Rev Thomas Clark had a disagreement with some of his congregation in Ballybay in 1764, he spent a year organising the migration of more than three hundred members, which had significant repercussions on the parish. Much of the earlier immigration in the seventeenth century would have been group migration from Scotland or the Scottish borders, from Wales and from the north of England, although there is limited information about it. The contracts and leases which drove these earlier plantation schemes required landlords to settle stated numbers of families within particular time frames. Many went to their home counties and parishes to recruit migrants and arrange their transport to Ireland.

Group migrations were usually planned with a purpose, therefore, to 'engineer' a demographic solution, to address imbalances in resources and population, to improve the economic opportunities for those left behind, or to bring about outcomes deemed desirable by the organising agency. As far back as the mid-seventeenth century, in his *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, published in 1691, William Petty proposed a draconian scheme which incorporated many of the ideas in later discourses of planned migration. In his case it was intended to lead to a re-structured economy and society in Ireland where the Irish language and customs would be replaced by English modes. He proposed moving 200,000 English settlers into Ireland and emigrating 20,000 Irish women to be married off, one in every English parish and replaced by 20,000 English women to be married to Irishmen. This was one of many such proposals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most of them far beyond the capacity of the political authorities at the time but clearly indicating an underlying theoretical framework of migration.

Large-scale planning of group migrations took off in the nineteenth century. They were either estate emigrations assisted by landlords, or large-scale group migrations planned and assisted by other agencies, such as the state-funded scheme managed by Peter Robinson to assist about 2,500 emigrants from Munster to Upper Canada in the 1820s, or the Poor Law Union emigrations of more than 45,000 in the last half of the nineteenth century. For example, a manufacturer from Newcastle-upon-Tyne wrote to Castleblayney workhouse in 1846 with detailed labour requirements:

... boys to work in the fire brick manufactory ... The boys must not exceed four feet six inches in height and must be of good health and constitution and from ten to fourteen years of age, and if stout and strong, the younger the better... they [will] acquire such knowledge as enables them to obtain employment in the numerous collieries and manufactories in the neighbourhood ... The boys ought to take two pairs of stockings, two shirts, working clothes and clothes for Sunday. I think that the Guardians ought to pay the expenses of the journey here and provide the boys with proper clothing.²⁷

NOTICE

To persons who may be selected for Emigration during the month of APRIL 1851, from off the Estate of The Most Noble The

MARQUIS OF BATH.

To those persons going to NEW YORK or NEW ORLEANS, no advantage but that of a free passage will be granted.

Emigrants not having friends in either of these Ports, are strongly advised not to start for already overcrowded towns, but, those having friends ready to receive and help them, are recommended to join their friends.

To each individual going to QUEBEC, a suit of Clothes (consisting of the following articles) will be given on leaving Carrickmacross.

MAN.

Cap,
Coat and Vest,
Trowsers,
Shirt,
Neck-tie,
Pair of Brogues.

BOY UNDER 20.

Jacket and Vest,
Remainder same as Man.

WOMAN.

Bonnet and Ribbon,
Printed Calico Dress,
Peticot,
Chemise,
Woolen Shawl,
Pair of Shoes.

GIRL UNDER 20.

Same as Woman.

In addition to the above suit a sum of 10s. 0d. for each individual old and young, will be handed on arrival at their destination.

The following addition will also be made to the usual legal ship allowance, for each adult passenger:

One Stone Meal,
One Stone Flour,
Eight lbs. Meat,
Two lbs. Butter,

Besides all these advantages to parties going to QUEBEC, it is the usual practice of the Government, at their own expense, to send all Emigrants up to where there is most demand for their labour, or where their friends reside.

(SIGNED)

WILLIAM STEWART TRENCH.

Bath Agency Office,
Carrickmacross,
19th March 1851.

J. REILLY, PRINTER, CARRICKMACROSS.

Emigration notice from the Bath Estate Office, Carrickmacross, south Monaghan, 1851, offering free clothes and rations to those prepared to go to Quebec.

Reproduced by courtesy of the Marquess of Bath.

William Steuart Trench, however, sent 900 paupers abroad in 1851 by bypassing the workhouse system which he found to be excessively bureaucratic and expensive.²⁸

Immigration societies in Australia or the United States also assisted with the out-movement and settlement of large groups from Ireland. The migration policies of other agencies such as US railroad companies or state governments, Canadian land agencies or Colonial Commissioners similarly influenced the situation in selecting categories of emigrant to suit their purposes. Members of the clergy, in Ireland or America, helped with the recruitment of groups, like those who went from north Monaghan parishes to Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, or from the midlands and south-east to Argentina. James Hack Tuke, the Yorkshire philanthropist, assisted tens of thousands from the west of Ireland in 1880s; at same time Vere Foster, a philanthropist from a landed family in Louth, provided partial assistance for 22,000 young people, mostly girls, to emigrate.²⁹

For many landlords the principal objective of much of this type of migration was economic. They often targetted unemployed young people who could potentially contribute to subsequent streams of migration, or whole families whose houses were frequently demolished to prevent them returning or the farm continuing in use. Estate assisted emigration was especially keen on selective migration:

The great and marked differences between the emigration off this estate and that which is purely voluntary', reported Steuart Trench from the Bath estate in 1852, 'is that in our case none but paupers are going. We have not lost one single man I should wish to keep... Other estates where no assistance is given (and where emigration has at all set in) retain their paupers, whilst all the respectable tenants are moving off.

In other words it was a planned strategy to encourage unwanted households to go.

The records on the Shirley, Fitzwilliam and Palmerston estates indicate an interest in emigrating whole families of cottiers and farmers from very small holdings, with the intention of having immediate resolution of the landholding problems on the estate. 'Eliminating the surplus', consolidating farms, squaring and enlargement of fields, planting of trees and hedges, drainage improvements and extinguishing houses were the priorities in emigration programmes.³⁰

From the point of view of migrants, apart from the financial assistance with travel costs and provisioning, group schemes had the advantage of providing social and emotional support on the journey and in the new settlement overseas, support which was not readily available to individual voluntary migrants. Individuals leaving remote rural communities for the first time experienced considerable stress and were regularly duped by crooks in ports of embarkation.

They were all moidered in their minds after the quiet peaceful lives they led, to be driven and shouted at like cattle going to the fair.

Oh the confusion on the platform, my head split with the terrible roar throughout

the place, boxes thrown out of the train without pity or tenderness, big cans, full of milk as I heard, hurled out on to the hard cement ... And not a word of Irish to be heard! What would I do if there was not a word of English on my lips?³¹

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