

AIM: WHAT CAN WE LEARN ABOUT FAMINE-ERA EMIGRATION FROM CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPER REPORTS?

ACTIVITY: Read reports. Write a speech. Should landlords and the government encourage emigration?

### **Emigration**

Document: The surplus population of Ireland have been trained precisely for those pursuits which the unoccupied regions of North American require for their colonization. That surplus is an overwhelming incubus at home, whether to themselves or others. Remove them and you benefit them in a degree that cannot be estimated. Precisely as you do so, you raise the social condition of those who remain."

- Robert Murray, in Ireland, Its Present Condition and Future Prospects, 1847 (Monash).

Document: I shall not readily forget the scenes that occurred in Kenmare when I returned, and announced that I was prepared at Lord Lansdowne's expense to send to America every one now in the poor-house who was chargeable to his lordship's estate, and who desired to go; leaving each to select what port in America he pleased - - whether Boston, New York, New Orleans or Quebec. The announcement at first was scarcely credited; it was considered by the paupers to be too good news to be true. But when it began to be believed and appreciated, a rush was made to get away at once. Two hundred each week were selected of those apparently most suited for emigration: and having arranged their slender outfit, a steady man, on whom I could depend, Mr. Jeremiah O'Shea, was employed to take charge of them on their journey to Cork, and not to leave them nor allow them to scatter, until he saw them safely on board the emigrant ship.

- William Steuart Trench, land agent, County Kerry who also owned land in County Laois (Litton).

## **The Tide of Emigration to the United States and to the British Colonies**

*(The Illustrated London News, July 6, 1850)*

The great tide of Emigration flows steadily westward. The principal emigrants are Irish peasants and labourers. It is calculated that at least four out of every five persons who leave the shores of the old country to try their fortunes in the new, are Irish. Since the fatal years of the potato famine and the cholera, the annual numbers of emigrants have gone on increasing, until they have become so great as to suggest the idea, and almost justify the belief of a gradual depopulation of Ireland. The colonies of Great Britain offer powerful attractions to the great bulk of the English and Scottish emigrants who forsake their native land to make homes in the wilderness. But the Irish emigration flows with full force upon the United States. Though many of the Irish emigrants are, doubtless, persons of small means, who have been hoarding and saving for years, and living in rags and squalor, in order to amass sufficient money to carry themselves and families across the Atlantic, and to beg their way to the western states, where they may "squat" or purchase cheap lands, the great bulk appear to be people of the most destitute class, who go to join their friends and relatives, previously established in America. Large sums of money reach this country annually from the United States. Through Liverpool houses alone, near upon a million pounds sterling, in small drafts, varying from £2 or £3 to £10 each, are annually forwarded from America, for poor persons in Ireland, to enable them to emigrate; and the passage-money of many thousands, in addition, is paid in New York. Before the fatal year 1847, the emigration was very considerable; but, since that time, it has very rapidly increased.

**Emigration from the United Kingdom during the twenty five years,  
from 1825 to 1849 inclusive**

*(The Illustrated London News, July 6, 1850)*

"Colonisation Circular," which contains the names and duties of the Emigration offices in the ports of The United Kingdom and in the Colonies -- the cost of passage to the various colonies -- a statement of the demand for labour -- the rate of wages, and the price of provisions in each colony -- an explanation of the mode of disposal of Crown lands -- the privileges granted to naval and military settlers -- the victualling scale on board ships-an abstract of the Passengers Act, and other valuable particulars. The Government however, gives no information relative to the United States -- so that its admirable little circular is of comparatively little service to at least one-half of the great crowds of emigrants.

The majority of emigrants take a steerage passage, and go out at the cheapest rate. Out of the 153,902 mentioned above as having left the port of Liverpool in 1849, the number of first and second cabin passengers was only 4,639. The information likely to be most valuable to the great bulk of the emigrants is, therefore, that relative to the demand for their labour in the United States and the British Colonies. We shall, accordingly, extract from the Government Circular a good deal of the official information bearing upon this point, premising, in the case of each colony, a few practical hints and observations as to their characteristics and capabilities as emigration fields: --

We now proceed to detail the process of emigration, beginning with the arrival of emigrants at Liverpool, the great port of intercourse with the United States. The first care of the emigrants, if their passage have not previously been paid for them by their kind friends in New York, is to pay their passage-money, and make the best bargain they can with the passenger-brokers. The competition in this trade is very great, and fares, accordingly, vary from day to day, and even from hour to hour, being sometimes as high as £5 per passenger in the steerage, and sometimes as low as £3 10s.

The scene in the Waterloo dock, at Liverpool, where all the American sailing packets are stationed, is at all times a very busy one; but, on the morning of the departure of a large ship, with a full complement of emigrants, it is peculiarly exciting and interesting. The passengers have undergone inspection, and many of them have taken up their quarters on board for twenty-four hours previously, as they are entitled to do by terms of the act of Parliament. Many of them bring, in addition to the boxes and trunks containing their worldly wealth, considerable

quantities of provisions, although it must be confessed that the scale fixed by the Government to be supplied to them by the ship is sufficiently liberal to keep in health and comfort all among them, who, in their ordinary course of life, were not accustomed to animal food. The following is the scale, in addition to any provisions which the passengers may themselves bring: --

3 quarts of water daily.

2 and 1/2 lb. of Bread or biscuit (not inferior to navy biscuit)

1 lb. wheaten Flour

5 lb. oatmeal

2 lb. rice

2 oz tea

1/2 lb. sugar

1/2 lb. molasses

Per week. to be issued in advance, and not less often than twice a week.

### **Dancing Between Decks**

The scenes that occur between decks on the day before the sailing of a packet, and during the time that a ship may be unavoidably detained in dock, are not generally of a character to impress the spectator with the idea of any great or overwhelming grief on the part of the emigrants at leaving the old country. On the contrary, all is bustle, excitement, and merriment. The scene of a party of emigrants, male and female, dancing between decks -- to the music of the violin -- played for their amusement, by some of their fellow-passengers, is not a rare one. Sometimes a passenger is skilful upon the Irish bagpipe, and his services are freely asked and freely given for the gratification of his country and countrywomen-not simply while in dock, but, according to the reports of captains and others, during the whole voyage. Any person who can play the violin -- the flute -- the pipe, or any other instrument, becomes of interest and importance to the passengers, and is kept in constant requisition for their amusement. The youngest child and the oldest man in the ship are alike interested; and grey headed men and women are frequently to be seen dancing with as much delight, if not with as much vigour, as if Seventeen, not Seventy, was the number that would must nearly express their age.

But, as the hour of departure draws nigh, the music ceases. Too many fresh arrivals take place every moment, and the docks become too much encumbered with luggage to admit of the amusement. Although notice of the day and hour of departure may have been given for weeks previously, there are a large class of persons -- not

confined to emigrants it may be observed en passant -- who never will be punctual, and who seem to make it a point of duty and conscience to postpone everything to the last moment, and to enjoy the excitement of being within a few minutes or even moments of losing their passage. These may be seen arriving in flushed and panting detachments, driving donkey-carts laden with their worldly stores to the gangway, at the ship's side. It often happens that the gangway has been removed before their arrival, in which case their only chance is to wait until the ship reaches the dock-gate, when their boxes, bails, barrels and bundles are actually pitched into the ship, and men, and women, and children have to scramble up among the rigging, amid a screaming, a swearing, and a shouting perfectly alarming to listen to. Not infrequently a box or barrel falls overboard, and sometimes a man or a woman suffers the same fate, but is speedily re-saved by men in a small boat, that follows in the wake of this ship for the purpose, until she have finally cleared the dock.

#### **The Departure.**

There are usually a large number of spectators at the dock-gates to witness the final departure of the noble ship, with its large freight of human beings. It is an interesting and impressive sight; and the most callous and indifferent can scarcely fail, at such a moment, to form cordial wishes for the pleasant voyage and safe arrival of the emigrants, and for their future prosperity in their new home. As the ship is towed out, hats are raised, handkerchiefs are waved, and a loud and long-continued shout of farewell is raised from the shore, and cordially responded to from the ship. It is then, if at any time, that the eyes of the emigrants begin to moisten with regret at the thought that they are looking for the last time at the old country.

Little time, however, is left to them to indulge in these reflections. The ship is generally towed steam-tug five or ten miles down the Mersey; and during the time occupied in traversing these ten miles, two very important ceremonies have to be gone through: the first is "the Search for Stowaways;" and the second is the "Roll-call of the Passengers."

The practice of "stowing away," or hiding about a vessel until after the passage tickets have been collected, in order to procure, by this fraudulent means, a free passage across the Atlantic, is stated to be very common to ships leaving London and Liverpool for the United States. The "stowaways" are sometimes brought on board concealed in trunks or chests, with air-holes to prevent suffocation. Sometimes they are brought in barrels, packed up to their chins in salt, or biscuits, or others provisions, to the imminent hazard of their lives. At other times they take the chance of hiding about the ship, under the bedding, amid the confused luggage of other

passengers, and in all sorts of dark nooks and corners between decks. Hence, it becoming expedient to make a thorough search of the vessel before the steam-tug has left her, in order that, if any of these unhappy intruders be discovered, they may be taken back to port and brought before the Magistrate, to be punished for the fraud which they have attempted. As many as a dozen stowaways have sometimes been discovered in one ship; and cases have occurred, though not frequently, of men, women, and young boys, having been taken dead out of the barrels or chests in which they had concealed themselves, to avoid payment of £3 or £4 passage money. When the ship is fairly out, the search for stowaways is ordered. All the passengers are summoned upon the quarter-Deck, and there detained until the search has been completed in every part of the ship. The Captain, Mate, or other Officer, attended by the clerk of the passenger broker, and as many of the crew as may be necessary for the purpose, then proceed below, bearing masked lanterns or candles, and armed with long poles, hammers, chisels, etc., that they may break open suspicious looking chests and barrels. Occasionally, the pole is said to be tipped with a sharp nail, to aid the process of discovery in dark nooks; and sometimes the man armed with the hammer hammers the bed-clothes, in order that if there be a concealed head underneath, the owner may make the fact known, and thus avoid a repetition of the blows. If a stowaway be concealed in a barrel, it is to be presumed that he has been placed with his head uppermost, and the searchers, upon this hint, whenever they have a suspicion, deliberately proceed to turn the barrel bottom upwards -- a process which never fails, after a short time, if the suspicion be well founded, to elicit an unmistakable cry for release. Although this search is invariably made with the utmost care, it is not always effectual in discovering the delinquent; and instances have occurred in which no less than eight, ten or even a larger number, including both men and women, have made their appearance after the vessel has been two or three days at sea. Some captains used to make it a rule to behave with great severity, if not cruelty, to these unfortunates; and instances are related of their having caused them to be tarred and feathered, or to walk the decks through the cold nights with nothing on but their shirts: but this inhumanity does not now appear to be practised. As there is a great deal of dirty work that must be done on ship-board, the stowaways are pressed into that service, and compelled to make themselves useful, if not agreeable. They are forced, in fact, to work their passage out, and the most unpleasant jobs are imposed upon them. After the search for them in every corner of the ship, the next ceremony, that of the Roll Call, is commenced. This is one that occupies a considerable space of time especially in a large ship, containing seven or

eight hundred emigrants. The passengers-those in the state cabin excepted-being all assembled upon the Quarter-Deck, the clerk of the passenger-broker, accompanied by the ship's surgeon, and aided in the preservation of order by the crew, proceeds to call for the tickets. The clerk, or man in authority, usually stands upon the rail, or other convenient elevation on the Quarter-Deck, so that he may be enabled to see over the heads of the whole assemblage -- usually a very motley one -- comprising people of all ages, from seven weeks to seventy years. A double-purpose is answered by the roll-call -- the verification of the passenger-list, and the medical inspection of the emigrants, on behalf of the captain and owners. The previous inspection on the part of the governor was to prevent the risk of contagious disease on board. The inspection on the part of the owners is for a different object -- unmentionable garments. Those who have really no money, and who cannot manage to appeal to the sympathy of the crowd for a small subscription to help them to the New World, must resign themselves to their fate, and remain in the poverty from which they seek to free themselves, until they are able to raise the small sum necessary for their emancipation. The stowaways, if any, are ordered to be taken before the magistrates; and all strangers and interlopers being safely placed in the tug, the emigrant ship is left to herself. May all prosperity attend her living freight!

"Far away -- oh far away --  
We seek a world o'er the ocean spray!  
We seek a land across the sea,  
Where bread is plenty and men are free,  
The sails are set, the breezes swell --  
England, our country, farewell! farewell!"

## **The Depopulation of Ireland**

*(The Illustrated London News, May 10, 1851)*

The Census Returns, when published, will enable us to ascertain, in some degree, the extent of the combined ravages of famine and pestilence, in the first place, and of despair and emigration, in the second, in the depopulation of Ireland. But even these returns, authentic as they will be, cannot be complete; for the emigration that has gone on since the census was taken, and which still continues, will compel the statist to make large deductions from the amount which the census will yield, if he wish to ascertain the real number of the Irish people. The annals of the modern world offer no such record as that presented in the history of Ireland, since the memorable and deplorable years of the potato famine, and of the pestilence that followed in its track. The splendid emigrant ships that ply between Liverpool and New York, and which have sufficed in previous years to carry to the shores of America an Irish emigration, amounting on the average to 250,000 souls per annum, have, during the present spring, been found insufficient to transport to the States the increasing swarms of Irish who have resolved to try in the New World to gain the independence which has been denied them in the old.

"Emigration," says a letter dated a few days back, "is proceeding to an extent altogether unprecedented; but much less, in proportion, from Ulster than the other provinces. From most of the southern countries, the small farmers are hastening in vast numbers; and even in Leinster the mania for emigration prevails far and wide. The remittances from America are far greater in amount than in any previous year, and considerable sums are paid by the banks and by private commercial establishments, from day to day, on orders from the United States. From some districts in Ulster, numbers of the smaller tenantry are taking their departure. From one of the principle estates in Monaghan nearly one thousand persons of the cottier class are about to be sent to Canada at the expense of the landlord, who, it is stated has made arrangements for providing them with a comfortable passage, and some small allowance of money to each family after reaching the port of their destination."

The number of emigrant vessels proceeding to America direct from Irish ports is quite unprecedented, and is one of the most extraordinary circumstances of the time. Within eight days the following eleven vessels, carrying 1,565 passengers, sailed from the single port of Cork: -- The Dominique, for Quebec, 150 passengers; the Don, for New York, 160; the Lockwoods, for New York, 280; the Marchioness of Bute, for Quebec, 120; the Sara, for Boston, 104; the Solway, for New York, 196; the Try Again, for Quebec, 130; the Favourite, for Boston, 120; the Clarinda, for New York, 100; the

Swift for Boston, 120; the Field Marshal Radetzsky, for New York, 88 passengers. In addition to those vessels, the Hotspur went down the Cork river, on Tuesday, with 100 paupers on board, from the Kenmare Union-house.

But what is most remarkable is, that, while this enormous emigration is going on, leading to a fear in some parts of the country that sufficient people will not be left to cultivate the land, the owners or mortgagees of Irish estates continue to evict their tenantry with as much virulence as ever. The Galway Vindicator states: -- "There were 195 ejectments entered -- 13 at the suit of the trustees of A.H. Lynch, one of Mathew S. Coneys, and 181 were brought by the Law Life Insurance Company; and of 183 entries of civil bills, 87 were at the suit of the insurance company. With the exception of three or four, the ejectments were all undefended. They were disposed of at the rate of one each minute; so that, taking an average of five souls to each family ejected, we will have 300 per hour, and in the entire 905 human beings cast upon poor-house relief.

"The same journal estimates the total evictions in Connemara during the present season at upwards of 4,000. In Limerick and Kerry the same system is carried on; the evicted remaining in the union workhouse until remittances arrive from their friends in America, when they shake from their feet the dust of their native land, and rejoin their friends and relations across the Atlantic.

The following letter from our Correspondent in Cork -- accompanying a series of Sketches, which we have engraved for our present Number -- gives the latest information upon this interesting subject: --

(From our Correspondent at Cork.)

The constant appearance of the heading "Emigration from Ireland," and the no less constant stream of well-clad, healthy, and comfortable-looking peasantry in our streets, induces me to send you the accompanying sketches and communications on that subject.

"Upon reference to notes and papers of my own, and to information afforded me by the emigration agents here, I am disposed to think that about the middle of May the great emigrational torrent ceases to flow from these shores. Looking backward for the last month, I find that, during the week ending April 11, the greatest rush for the season took place. The numbers who left Cork that week could not have fallen far short of 1,500 souls, and this with the emigration of the other ports of Limerick, Waterford, Dublin, and even of Belfast, will give us an approach to 5,000 weekly leaving the country. Large as this number may appear, it is well known that he himself had booked 600 emigrants in four days, and yet he is but one of the many

agents who are to be met with not alone in the large towns and seaports, but even thickly scattered through each petty town and village throughout the country. In England you can have but little conception of the sufferings of the poor Irish emigrant from the time he first announces his intention of leaving home to his final departure; nor, indeed, can it be understood even in this country, except by those who make it their business to investigate the subject. Impressed with this belief, and being desirous of witnessing some of the partings of the emigrants from amidst the scenes of their youth, I took a few days since, a run into the south-west of the country, from whence the great stream pours into the city of Cork. In my ramble I fell in with a clergyman, who was there on his way to take leave of a large number of his parishioners, who were then packing up.

"None perhaps feel more severely the departure of the peasantry than the Roman Catholic clergy; as from them, and them alone, it may be said, comes the sole means of support which they receive. Yet non take a more active part in seeing them safely out of the country, or have looked more closely to the interest of those they leave behind, than those clergymen, even though their revenues are reduced, in most cases, to one-half, and in some to one-third. In company with one of these humble but exemplary men, I came to a sharp turn in the road, in view of that for which we sought, and of which I send you a sketch, namely, the packing and making ready of, I may say, an entire village -- for there were not more than half-a-dozen houses on the spot, and all their former inmates were preparing to leave. Immediately that my Rev. friend was recognised, the people gathered about him in the most affectionate manner. He had a word of advice to Pat, a caution to Nelly, a suggestion to Mick; and he made a promise to Dan to take care of the "old woman," until the five pounds came in the spring to his "Reverence" to send her over to America. Then ensued a scene of tears and lamentation, such as might have softened a much harder heart than mine or that of the priest. He stood for awhile surrounded by the old and the young, the strong and the infirm, on bended knees, and he turned his moistened eyes towards heaven, and asked the blessing of the Almighty upon the wanderers during their long and weary journey. Many were the tears brushed quietly away from the sunburnt cheeks of those who there knelt, and had implicit faith that the benediction so fervently and piously asked, would be vouchsafed to them.

"It was not pleasant to linger amid a scene like this; so to dispel our sadness, we took a last farewell of the group, and ere long found ourselves upon the road to Kenmare, and in the midst of a train of from 200 to 300 men and women, boys and girls, varying in age from ten to thirty years. They looked most picturesque in their

gay plaid shawls and straw bonnets, and were all on their way to Cork, to go on board the emigrant ship.

"Upon inquiry I was given to understand that this was but one of the many groups sent from the union-houses through the country, and at the expense of the ratepayers. This, though an expensive process, is better than to leave them to pine and perish with want, as in the too wretched union of Kilrush; yet it is sad to see so much young blood sent from amongst us, and that too, as a gentleman, an extensive farmer in the county of Kerry, told me, at a period when it is found difficult to obtain hands to do the necessary farm-work. To so great an extent has this extraordinary emigration mania been carried in the county of Kerry, that this gentleman told me that he had been obliged even thus early to engage farm labourers at Mill-street, in the county of Cork, to take in his harvest in the county of Kerry during the coming season. Moreover, he stated that he was not the only one in the county who would be obliged to have recourse to the same means of procuring labourers. It would be strange indeed, that Ireland, who, at one time, was able to supply with her superabundant labour the farmers of England and Wales, should be obliged to seek in the English and Welsh fields for hands to do her work. Yet it is quite possible that such a thing may happen."

"Having seen sufficient of the country, I turned my steps towards the city, and upon my arrival there, first sought out the houses of the strangers who frequently are obliged to remain in lodging-houses from one to five or six days, according to circumstances. I can assure you that it is not exaggerating the abject misery of these miscalled 'lodging-houses for emigrants.' It is no unusual thing to thrust from twenty to forty persons, of all ages and both sexes, into rooms not more than four yards by five or six yards square, with no other accommodation than a mass of filthy straw, placed around the room, upon which the weary traveller is expected to find repose. In the event of his being provided by the proprietor with some sort of covering, he is charged threepence a night; should they bring their own bed-clothes, they pay twopence; and those who are content to sleep on the straw, without divesting themselves of the rags, pay one penny."

"For standing room where they may breakfast or dine -- for it cannot be called accommodation -- the charges are pretty much on the same scale. On the whole, it is fortunate that the great business of emigration is generally over before the setting-in of the warm weather, otherwise these lodging-houses, from their over-crowded state, as well as from the accumulated amount of filth in them, would become perfect nuisances, and dangerous to the health of the community."

"Several years since, when landing for the first time on the French shore, I felt much harrassed by the untiring persecution of the hotel touters; but little did I dream of ever seeing the touting system carried to such a fearful extent as it now is in Ireland; for no sooner is the red plaid of an Irish emigrant girl, or the unbuttoned shirt-collar of a Kerryman recognised, than she or he is instantly beset by those harpies, or mancatchers. It is sometime impossible to escape, except by main force, and by the aid of the police. The latter are daily thanked by the bench of magistrates for their exertions in this respect."

"The accompanying is a sketch of a party of emigrants who have arrived on the quay after a long journey, in some cases close upon one hundred miles: -- They are stretched and tumbled about upon boxes and straw to seek some few moments' repose. This, and the companion sketch of the row at the office-door, where some of the emigrants are seen paying their passage-money, will show the extent to which the ruffianly touters and mancatchers carry their interference, and from which they are only obliged to desist upon the application of superior force.

"Having thus shown you what was picturesque in the passage of the group of emigrants from the home of their infancy to the office of the emigration agent who provides them with a ship direct from the port, not now be out of place for me to send you a sketch of the interior of one of those vessels, which I accordingly do, and which I trust will readily explain the mode in which those vessels are fitted up, and where each party gets so many square inches to her or his share of ship, as the case may be, and where, if I am given rightly to understand, man woman, and child are obliged to huddle together like pigs at a fair. But then the ship is partitioned, divided, and formed exactly according to the strict letter of the law, and none can grumble, yet few can go on board one of them without being instantly struck with the chances that appear of the complete demoralization of the whole group; and what it must be when the sea rolls heavily, when the hatches are all closed, and the ship heaves and labours in the storm, can be much better imagined by others than described by me. The answer given to a party who, upon seeing the way in which these unfortunate beings were left toss and tumble about, asked if even a plank in the shape of a table was not to be provided for them was, 'Cock them up with it, indeed! How badly off they're for a table!' And yet this man is known to be a kind, generous-hearted man in other respects."

"Every inquiry or remonstrance is answered by the allegation, that all is according to the Act of Parliament, or 'the Act so directs it;' so that you will perceive what little chances of extra comforts the emigrant has who emigrates in the smaller

vessels belonging to men, some of whom are making lordly fortunes by their new trade."

"Having now shown you so much of what appertains to those who sail from this port direct to America, nothing remains but to send you a sketch of the departure of the steamers for Liverpool, which generally, of late, have been crowded to suffocation, owing, perhaps, as much to the cheapness of the fares, caused by the steam-boat opposition for some time back, as to a previous knowledge among the emigrants that they will be better provided for in the way of a ship in Liverpool, the 'great port of embarkation,' than they are likely to be in Irish vessels."

"The withdrawal of this ruinous competition will now, no doubt, in this matter of emigration, materially serve the Cork Steam-ship Company, as doubtless large numbers of those who heretofore made for Waterford, will be now tempted to turn their thoughts towards Cork, owing to the superiority of the vessels leaving the port. From early dawn on the day of the steamer's sailing up to the hour of starting, whether it be ten in the morning or five in the evening, the curious in those matters will be sure to find the quays leading to the packet-office one continued stream of cars, carts, trucks, and porters, and all heavily laden with feather-beds, boxes, trunks, indescribable baggage and sacks of potatoes, and all tending to the one centre, namely, the deck of the Nimrod, and where the well-disposed as also the ill-disposed are sure to congregate to witness the departure."

The sketch which I send you represents one of those weekly scenes, and from which I trust your readers will have some notion of the bustle and excitement that takes place upon those occasions, and when the incidents sometimes witnessed at the parting of friends and relations are truly heart-touching.

"During the existence of the low fares, it was more than once stated that 'some of the emigrants were wretched and miserable-looking beings.' At present it is the bone and sinew of the land that appear to go out, and even those in more than comfortable circumstances are often among the number, as the immense sums of money sent into this country from relatives in America (our branch bank alone paid out, on account of remittances received during this season, the large sum of £40,000) testify."