

FOREIGN IMPORTS:
IRISH IMMIGRANTS AND MATERIAL NETWORKS
IN EARLY NEW ORLEANS, 1780-1820

AN ABSTRACT

SUBMITTED ON THE TWELFTH DAY OF MARCH 2014

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

OF THE SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

OF TULANE UNIVERSITY

FOR THE DEGREE

OF

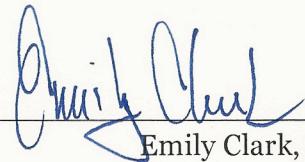
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

Kristin L. Condotta

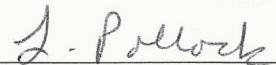
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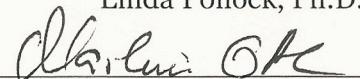


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Abstract

Traditionally, academic narratives on Irish immigration to the Americas have focused on experiences of dislocation caused by changes in geography. Settlers, they argue, clung to Old World identities, adapted to new cultural habits or mixed the two.

This dissertation explores the social and cultural transitions of Irish immigrants who arrived in New Orleans between 1780 and 1820, or during the city's late Spanish colonial and early national period. Employing an object-focused perspective, it shows that these persons inhabited a transoceanic setting that linked Ireland and the Gulf Coast together in their shared investments in commerce and conscious consumerism. This resulted in a significant overlap between travelers' Old and New World lives, and it suggests a new migratory model focused on continuity across the Atlantic Ocean.

Referencing the examples of foods, linens and enslaved persons, this dissertation shows that Irishmen and women had ample contact with the non-local, even before they moved overseas. This prepared them, in many ways, for their lives abroad. Some goods, like the South American potato, were so ingrained in island culture by the late 1700s that consumers forgot its foreign provenance. Others, like textiles, had values that changed between Ireland and Louisiana. The example of slaveholding, in particular, points to the ways that immigrants encountered human-commodities common to their visual culture but unrecognizable in practice. The many Irish immigrants who became slave-owners, ultimately, adapted material languages concerning wealth and status they brought from Europe to these new consumerism. They thus made sense of the exotic in familiar terms.

By examining the growth of commercial webs and the market availabilities of early New Orleans, this project offers an intimate look at experiences of movement, materiality and cosmopolitanism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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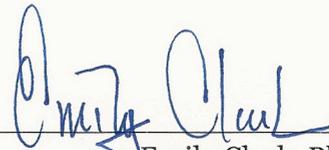
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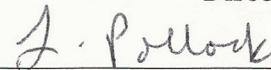
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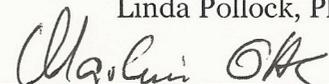


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I have been asked by many prospective graduate students about my experiences obtaining the PhD. This reflection never failed to remind me of the wide community of scholars, family members and friends on whom my progress relied. The pages that follow, along with their mistakes, are my own, but they never would have been possible without my supporters. I truly feel myself a dwarf on the shoulders of giants.

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errand-runners and sources of entertainment. Their friendship means the world to me. Over the past years, I also had the pleasure of meeting many talented scholars with whom I shared aperitifs, coffees and dinners. Marieke Polfliet, Elodie Peyrol-Kleiber, Frances Kolb, Amanda Stuckey, Aoife Laughlin, Laura Kelley, Terrence Fitzmorris and Sophie White offered insightful and encouraging comments to this dissertation in its many imaginings. They made my research trips and conferences all the more enjoyable.

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List of Abbreviations

HNF	Historic Natchez Foundation
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
LSM	The Louisiana Historical Center, Louisiana State Museum
LSU	Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University Libraries
NAI	National Archives of Ireland, Dublin
NLI	National Library of Ireland, Manuscripts Division, Dublin
NONA	New Orleans Notarial Archives
NOPL	City Archives, New Orleans Public Library
PRONI	Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast
SRC	Earl C. Woods and Charles E. Nolan, eds., <i>Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans</i> . 19 vols. New Orleans: Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1987-2003.

Introduction:
Consuming Immigration

On the morning of September 9, 1817, Hugh Quin, Jr. woke from a night of fitful sleep in his rural residence in Ardkeen, County Down, Ireland. The sixteen-year-old Irishman shared this house with his father, sisters and an aunt, and the time had finally come for the well-educated youth to leave his family to find an income of his own. Quin's search would take him to Portaferry, Ireland and across the English Channel to Liverpool, where, after a short sojourn and some ship restocking, he would sail along the southern coast of Ireland, across the Atlantic Ocean, past the Caribbean islands of Antigua, Montserrat and Hispaniola, and up the Mississippi River to New Orleans.¹ He had little idea what opportunities awaited him in this new setting, and his career expectations varied from private educator to commercial secretary during his voyage. But, on that serene September morning when he awoke, all he and his relations could express were "anxiety, grief, resignation."² With an air of sad humor, the Irishman called out "I'll return in the Evening" and then departed.

Quin's narrative begins with a tone that characterizes many histories of immigration and even movement during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Irish scholars, in particular, have settled upon narratives focused on the dislocation travelers felt in having to set up their lives again in new geographical

¹ Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 9 September 1817. Quin Papers, 1817-1941, PRONI. The Irishman had to travel to Great Britain not only because no transoceanic vessels left the small harbor of Portaferry. He also needed to register his name and occupation at a British custom house. Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 13 September 1817, Ibid. The total voyage took him just under three months travel time to complete and covered over 7,435 miles.

² Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 9 September 1817, Ibid.

settings.³ Now, surely Quin was sad and a bit fearful as he waved “good bye” to his Irish family in 1817. But there was an interloper in this scene that reminded the Irishman that the land to which he moved was not so totally unfamiliar. This was a pet parrot that noisily chattered as the young man prepared to leave.⁴

It initially seems odd that a Caribbean or South American bird would have made its way—assuredly as some sailor or merchant’s captive—to a small Irish village whose primary economy was agriculture. The Ireland in which Hugh Quin, Jr. and his contemporary compatriots lived, however, was a highly connected place. And, indeed, not only would these men be used to seeing tropical birds in their Old World homes. They also would regularly eat potatoes and turkeys that were natives to the Americas, import coffees, sugars and teas, dress in cloths and styles originating from around the globe, and even encounter the figures of indigenous and African-Americans in Irish advertisements and texts.⁵ Quin would experience some new sites and interact with many new peoples along the Gulf Coast, all the time recording them in a journal for his father. But his writings hardly conveyed the overwhelming sense of astonishment and fear of the unfamiliar that characterized early exploratory narratives about the New World.⁶ Rather, the things he and his compatriots owned in Ireland, as well as the

³ See Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston: Little and Brown, 2009); Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Earl F. Niehaus, *The Irish in New Orleans, 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965).

⁴ Quin particularly recalled: “My eyes wandered from the Parrot (who seemed chattering out a farewell) to the Door.” Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 9 September 1818, Quin Papers.

⁵ L.A. Clarkson and E. Margaret Crawford, *Feast and Famine: Food and Nutrition in Ireland, 1500-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Patricia Lysaght, “When I makes Tea, I makes Tea...’: Innovation in Food—the Case of Tea in Ireland,” *Ulster Folklife* 33 (1987): 44-71; Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions, 1500-1760* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007); Robert DuPlessis, “Transatlantic Textiles: European Linen and the Cloth Cultures of Colonial North America,” in *The European Linen Industry in Historical Perspective*, ed. Brenda Collins and Philip Ollerenshaw (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 123-137; Catherine Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony: Encountering Atlantic Slavery in Imperial Britain* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁶ Irishman Florence O’Sullivan, for example, wrote to Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury in 1670: “[This] country proves good beyond expectacon aboundin in all things, as good

commercial networks used to circulate them, did much to prepare them for eventual encounters overseas. When men like Hugh Quin, Jr. arrived in settings like early New Orleans, as a result, the foreign did not seem quite so alien as it had to immigrants decades earlier.

This dissertation reconnects the migratory and material networks that overlapped and mutually informed the experiences of Irish-born persons living in New Orleans from 1780 to 1820. It shows that almost two-thirds of immigrants professionally relied on transatlantic trade, as merchants, retailers, dockside laborers and planters.⁷ All, furthermore, encountered a “world of goods” in early Louisiana that was quite similar to commodity markets in Ireland.⁸ This was a result of the widened circulations of objects occurring after 1492, which made foreign items fashionable in Europe and European manufactures demanded in the colonies. This project reconstructs the material availabilities of Ireland and New Orleans in this period as well as local habits of accumulation. Through examples like that of Hugh Quin, Jr., it emphasizes the frequency with which certain items and specific fashions appeared on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. It then points to the ways that things and the networks that retailed them had the potential to link Irish natives’ lived experiences and to ease their transitions across geographical distances. This argument revises narratives that assume that bonds of ethnicity were the essential in organizing immigrants’ travels and adjustments to their new homes. It also emphasizes to the importance of transimperial

Oake Ash Deare turkies partridges rabbits turtle and fish.” He encouraged Cooper to send more Europeans to a bountiful North America. Florence O’Sullivan to Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, 10 September 1670, in *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, ed. William Saunders, vol. 1 (Raleigh: P.M. Hale, 1886), 206-208. Also, Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, eds., *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

⁷ See pages 48-50.

⁸ John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Toby Barnard, “The World of Goods and County Offaly in the Early Eighteenth Century,” in *Offaly: History & Society*, ed. William Nolan and Timothy O’Neill (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1998), 371-392; T.H. Breen, “An Empire of Goods: the Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776,” *The Journal of British Studies* 25 (October 1986): 467-499.

and transoceanic networks in shaping experiences of movement in wider American and Atlantic settings, as mediated by material culture.

The timeframe of this dissertation specifically situates it in a period that Irish and North American historians have understood as dominated by nation-building. The creation of political and socio-cultural “imagined communities” relies on processes of differentiation, wherein divergent people unite under the banners of shared borders, languages, religion and ancestry.⁹ In Ireland, historians of earlier and later eras that have dominated the scholarship have focused on the ways that “ethnoreligious linkages” shaped how immigrants moved, worked and socialized abroad.¹⁰ These scholars have understood such bonds as essentially characterized by shared histories of dispossession. The “Wild Geese” model, a product of nineteenth century nationalism, focuses on the movement of Irish Catholics overseas after the Elizabethan and Williamite conquests of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. British victories, its proponents contend, essentially stamped out opportunities for advancement by these traditional island elites, who saw family estates seized. As a result, they exiled themselves to the religiously sympathetic powers of France and Spain and there began to rebuild their communities through ethnic enclaves.¹¹

⁹ See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

¹⁰ Kerby A. Miller, et al., eds., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675-1815* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 318.

¹¹ John McGurk, “Wild Geese: the Irish in European armies (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries),” in *The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage, Identity*, ed. Patrick O’Sullivan (New York: Leicester University Press, 1992), 1:36-62; Gráinne Henry, “Ulster Exiles in Europe, 1604-1641,” in *Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising*, ed. Brian MacCuarta (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1993), 36-70; R.A. Stradling, *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries: The Wild Geese of Spain* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994). More recent studies, which focus on interaction, include Óscar Recio Morales, “Irish émigré group strategies of survival, adaptation and integration in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spain,” in *Irish Communities in Early-Modern Europe*, eds. Thomas O’Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), 240-266; Jane Ohlmeyer, “Seventeenth-century Ireland and Scotland and their wider worlds,” 457-483, in *Ibid.*

Oscar Handlin introduced the image of the dispossessed or “uprooted” settler to United States histories in 1951 in his study of immigrants moving to northern cities in the wake of mid-nineteenth century political and economic crises in Europe. This included the 1845 Irish Potato Famine.¹² His model examined Irish ethnic and subsequent religious exclusion in urban centers, which he attributed to provincial migrants’ unpreparedness for their lives overseas and the unwillingness of their American neighbors to welcome new social and economic competition. While meant to represent persons in a specific timeframe, Handlin’s imagining of dispossessed Irish immigrants whose lives were shaped by ethnicity has become the standard narrative in Irish-American history. Thus, even in studies of earlier eras, many Irish-American scholars begin by assuming that settlers moved with certain values attached to their Irishness which they hoped to rekindle abroad.¹³

Scholars of the New British History and Atlantic Ireland, or the “Green Atlantic,” have done much to revise such narratives by looking at the interactions of “natives and

¹² Handlin, *The Uprooted*.

¹³ Its application to Louisiana is most evident in Niehaus, *The Irish in New Orleans*. A more interactive narrative of Irish settlers’ success using local institutions in early New Orleans is offered in Laura Kelley, “Erin’s Enterprise: Immigration by Appropriation, the Irish in Antebellum New Orleans (PhD diss., Tulane University, 2004). Histories focused on Ulster Presbyterians, or the Scots Irish, have extended this narrative back to the seventeenth century. These migrants, who were united by common religious sympathies, often resettled near their spiritual brethren along the North American frontier and did arrive in large numbers between 1700 and 1770. Their attachments, however, have been described as “clannish” by historians, who have described them as maintaining strong ancestral connections to one another across geographies and as moving mostly because of Old World prejudices. See Kieran Quinlan, *Strange Kin: Ireland and the American South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005); David Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775* (London: Routledge, 1966). Patrick Griffin, while much less isolationist in his narrative, also notes: “[t]heir imagined America seemed to offer economic opportunities they had come to expect, religious freedoms they had never enjoyed, and the unity they had lost.” Patrick Griffin, *The People with No Name: Ireland’s Ulster Scots, America’s Scots Irish and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 97. Even studies of prominent Irish Catholics, like Charles Carroll who settled in Maryland, can overemphasize the victimization, rather than opportunities, that pushed immigrants overseas. Ronald Hoffman with Sally Mason, *Princes of Ireland, Planters of Maryland: a Carroll Saga, 1500-1782* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2000), esp. xx-xxii.

newcomers” within the early modern island and overseas.¹⁴ Patrick Griffin’s *The People with No Name: Ireland’s Ulster Scots, America’s Scots Irish and the Creation of a British Atlantic World* (2001) emphasizes the importance of placing immigrants in the complex communities in Ireland from whence they originated, especially if we hope to understand how they adjusted to and socialized in their post-migratory lives. Yet, it is economic historians who most test traditional paradigms by pointing out that many Irishmen and women moved overseas as entrepreneurs, rather than as political and economic victims, and that their business successes relied on making connections with persons who did not share their ancestral or even imperial heritage.¹⁵ L.M. Cullen and Thomas Truxes’ detailed surveys of the imports and exports that moved through Ireland from 1500 to 1830 particularly have allowed for an emerging interdisciplinary study of early modern Irish consumerisms. And scholars like Toby Barnard and Sarah Foster continue to accent the ways island residents not only made enough money to participate in non-necessary economies-of-scale in this period, thus disproving claims of isolated, rural provincialism. These shoppers, they show, did so with much choice and a

¹⁴ See Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie, eds., *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society, 1534-1641* (Bungay: Irish Academic Press, 1986); J.P.A. Pocock, “British History: a Plea for a New Subject,” *Journal of Modern History* 47, no. 4 (1975): 601-621; Nicholas Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland and the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); Jane Ohlmeyer, “Seventeenth-Century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic Histories,” *The American Historical Review* 104 (April 1999): 446-462; Kevin Whelan, “The Green Atlantic: radical reciprocities between Ireland and America in the long eighteenth century,” in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840*, ed. Kathleen Wilson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 216-238. A recent source of transatlantic study has been Irish engagements in the slave-trade and abolition. See Nini Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery: 1612-1865* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Angela F. Murphy, *American Slavery, Irish Freedom: Abolition, Immigrant Citizenship and the Transatlantic Movement for Irish Repeal* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010).

¹⁵ See L.M. Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1968); L.M. Cullen, “The Irish Merchant Community of Bordeaux, La Rochelle and Cognac in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Négoce et industrie en France et en Irlande aux VIII^e et XIX^e siècles: actes du Colloque franco-irlandaise d’histoire*, ed. L.M. Cullen and P. Butel (Paris: Centre nationale de la recherché scientifique, 1980), 51-63; Francis G. James, “Irish Colonial Trade in the Eighteenth Century,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 20 (October 1963): 574-584; Thomas M. Truxes, *Irish-American Trade, 1660-1783* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Bertie Mandelblatt, “A Transatlantic Commodity: Irish Salt Beef in the French Atlantic World,” *History Workshop Journal* 63, no. 1 (2007): 18-47.

cognizance of material fashions that attested to their knowledge that the goods they bought and sold projected distinct social and cultural identities.¹⁶

United States scholars, meanwhile, have become comfortable using the Atlantic World paradigm to talk about the colonial history of North America. The model has been employed in two ways by academics. One school, epitomized by the writings of Bernard Bailyn, understands the intense connection between Africa, Europe and the Americas after Christopher Columbus's voyages as unique to its period and its contemporary world.¹⁷ A second school finds the Atlantic World a useful unit of analysis, which highlights intense processes of exchange largely located in but not limited to those continents bordering the Atlantic Ocean.¹⁸ Adherents of both groups have done much to expose the interactive and transoceanic histories of continental North America in ways that cross traditional spatial and imperial boundaries. Yet, they only fleetingly have applied the model beyond 1783 or 1804, the dates that mark the political independences of the United States and Haiti. This seems to suggest that influences from the non-local

¹⁶ The works of Toby Barnard and Martyn Powell especially focus on certain political groups' use of consumer culture in Ireland to express identity, namely Anglo-Protestants and Catholics. Toby Barnard, *A New Anatomy of Ireland: the Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Martyn J. Powell, *The Politics of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). For Irish retailing, see Sarah Foster, "Going Shopping in Eighteenth-Century Dublin," *things* 4 (Summer 1996): 32-61; D. Fitzgerald, "Early Irish Trade-Cards and Other Eighteenth-Century Ephemera," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 2 (1987): 115-132; Susan Flavin, "Consumption and material culture in sixteenth-century Ireland," *Economic History Review* 64, no. 4 (2011): 1144-1174.

¹⁷ Bernard Bailyn, *The Idea of Atlantic History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002).

¹⁸ This dissertation works within this understanding of the Atlantic World. See Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," *American Historical Review* 111 (June 2006): 741-757; Alison Games, "Beyond the Atlantic: English Globetrotters and Transoceanic Connections," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63 (October 2006): 675-694; Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 2 (2002): 391-427; Peter A. Coclanis, "Drang Nach Osten: Bernard Bailyn, the World-Island, and the Idea of Atlantic History," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 1 (2002): 169-182.

ended with imperialism.¹⁹ A majority of political, social and cultural studies of the United States after this period, as a result, have focused on the insular ways that the developing new nation attempted to distinguish itself from overseas powers and create a particular identity based on land-ownership, gender and bio-cultural concepts of race.²⁰

A study of Irish immigrants in late Spanish and early national New Orleans is perfectly positioned to challenge the ideological assumptions that inform ethnicity-based Irish and nation-focused American histories and to extend the Atlantic World paradigm into the 1800s. Colonial Louisiana was not a part of the British North American empire, although it would become a United States territory in 1803. It also had multiple imperial governments—France (1718-1763) and Spain (1763-1803)—and its often unsupervised Euro-descended residents frequently interacted with indigenous and Afro-descended persons as well as British settlers on the Gulf Coast and along the Mississippi River.²¹ Commerce connected these inhabitants to one another on a regular basis, as well as pushed them to engage traders and residents in the Caribbean, in eastern North American seaports and across the Atlantic Ocean. Despite Spanish efforts to restrict and control these interactions, they rarely were limited by imperial

¹⁹ An exception to this trend occurs in studies of abolitionism, which extend for Great Britain until 1833. See Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2006); Murphy, *American Slavery, Irish Freedom*; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *Slavery, Freedom, and Abolition in Latin America and the Atlantic World* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011); Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, eds., *From Slavery to Emancipation in the Atlantic World* (London: Frank Cass, 1999).

²⁰ See, for example, David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: the Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1997); Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early Republic* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1995); Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1980); François Furstenburg, *In the Name of the Father: Washington's Legacy, Slavery and the Making of a Nation* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006).

²¹ Shannon Lee Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Lawrence N. Powell, *The Accidental City: Improvising New Orleans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); John Clark, *New Orleans, 1718-1812: an Economic History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970).

boundaries.²² New Orleans between 1780 and 1820, much like April Lee Hatfield has shown for colonial Virginia, was an externally-focused and transoceanic setting.²³

It can be easy to assume that such connectivities made early Louisiana a unique space. Yet, as economic and consumer histories of contemporary Ireland point out, there were many hubs in the Atlantic World wherein foreign persons and things interacted on a routine basis. This dissertation especially benefits from a recently reinvigorated scholarship on material culture, or the circulation of artifacts, in this transoceanic environment. Alfred Crosby's originated the concept of a Columbian Exchange, wherein plants, animals, people and diseases moved between the Old and New Worlds.²⁴ Scholars like T.H. Breen, Kariann Yokota and Sophie White have since extended its narrative of things as regularly exchanged across cultures to the eighteenth century, and they add to his arguments an awareness that such possessions were personally meaningful for owners. Material culture, in short, was a site of intimate contact and continuity in this period.²⁵ White's studies of indigenous and African dress in French Louisiana highlight the ways imperial powers utilized materials to convert and contain

²² Governor-General Alejandro O'Reilly, for example, expelled all British merchants from Spanish New Orleans in 1769. Governor Bernardo de Gálvez repeated this ban, which was intended to funnel local commerce through Iberian traders, in 1778. See Margaret Fisher Dalrymple, ed., *The Merchant of Manchac: the Letterbook of John Fitzpatrick, 1768-1790* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 10.

²³ April Lee Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

²⁴ See especially Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972); Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: the Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997).

²⁵ Material culture theorists have written about things as having both "inherent" and "attached" values, relating to the items making up their composition (i.e. gold, precious stones) and to public and personal meanings "accrue[d] from utility." These latter significances, in particular, they argue, allowed things to create a "world of meanings" wherein they could express identities for their owners. This project does not, at this point, explore the meanings that immigrants attached to the goods they possessed. But it remains cognizant that the items they collected on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean had the potential to be used in such intimate ways. See Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: an Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17 (Winter 1982): 3; Ann Smart Martin, "Makers, Buyers, and Users: Consumerism as a Material Culture Framework," *Winterthur Portfolio* 28 (Summer 1993): 141-157; Amanda Vickery, "Women and the World of Goods: a Lancashire Consumer and Her Possessions, 1751-81," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 294. Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: at Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

non-Europeans. These individuals either accepted attempts at Frenchification (often on their own terms) or they perverted expected colonial uses for commodities like handkerchiefs to express public acts of rebellion.²⁶ Either way, they expressed familiarity with non-local items and used them comfortably to show attained or desired identities to their neighbors. Breen and Yokota extend this transoceanic material narrative to the American Revolution and the early national periods. Both indicate that, as related to consumer culture, markets of the soon-to-be United States were quite similar to those perused by contemporary British shoppers. Indeed, they show that one of the most difficult moments in the fledgling nation after 1783 would occur when it moved away from a material culture that looked to and obtained commodities from Great Britain and towards a nation that celebrated the homespun that George Washington wore at his first inauguration.²⁷ This indicates, in important ways, that the transoceanic circulation of items continued to impact not only New Orleans but also other North American and European cities well into the nineteenth century. It also reveals that residents on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean publically encountered these goods at market *and* privately introduced them into their households and domestic routines. Contact with the foreign through the material was a widespread and intimate phenomenon that continued well into the nineteenth century.

This dissertation introduces an understudied Irish-New Orleans population to the complex transoceanic setting resuscitated by Irish economic and American material

²⁶ Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Sophie White, "Wearing three or four handkerchiefs around his neck, and elsewhere about him': Slaves' Constructions of Masculinity and Ethnicity in French Colonial New Orleans," *Gender & History* 15 (November 2003): 528-549; Sophie White, "Geographies of Slave Consumption: French Colonial Louisiana and a World of Things," *Winterthur Portfolio* 44 (2011): 229-248.

²⁷ T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Breen, "An Empire of Goods"; Kariann Akemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). Also, Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

culture scholars.²⁸ Early Americans regularly explain historical encounters between two populations via three models: acculturations, the maintenance of distinct tradition, and syncretism. The first two suggest the dominance of a native or new cultural group over its competitors; the last an intermixing.²⁹ When applied to immigration, these models assume that Irish settlers retained specific ethnic identities or adjusted to different or mixed American ones. Neither leaves room for the possibility of sameness across space, or at least a syncretism begun before overseas travel. The transoceanic perspective of this project—and essentially of Irish Louisianans’ lives—allows contemporary sources the room to suggest their own continuities and differences, apart from unintentional prejudices sown in established histories. It first and crucially reveals that those migrants who moved to New Orleans between 1780 and 1820 were not the dispossessed travelers imagined in existing narratives. Instead, it emphasizes that settlers on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, who mutually benefitted from a transatlantic consumer revolution, had more in common than they had diverging.³⁰ A privileging of such continuities and commonalities in the following chapters checks the role of ethnicity as an assumed and distinguishing organizing principle in Irish New Orleanians’ lives. Instead, it requires that ethnic identities compete alongside others—such as profession, social order, gender and race—for preeminence. Ultimately, this dissertation argues that fixing on Irishness

²⁸ Irish immigration in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in general, remains a minority field of historical study. Yet, Irish settlers in the American South, too, have received much less attention than their northern counterparts. For exceptions, see David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the South, 1815-1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Quinlan, *Strange Kin*; Bryan Albin Giemza, ed., *Rethinking the Irish in the American South: Beyond Rounders and Reelers* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2013).

²⁹ The assumed centrality of assimilation is, for example, the foundation of “whiteness” studies, which argue that immigrants quickly pursued the social and cultural capital of identifying themselves as *white* Americans. David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 2007); Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

³⁰ For more on the consumer revolution, Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb, eds., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982); Cary Carson, “The Consumer Revolution in Colonial America: Why Demand?,” in *Of Consuming Interests: the Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 483-697.

as a form of self- or group-awareness is not helpful in discussing the experiences of immigrants along the Gulf Coast in this period. Rather, a truly transatlantic history of Irish settlers suggests that it was around the circulation and accumulation of material items that immigrants organized their lives, much as did their Old World relations and their New World neighbors.

This project relies on extensive archival research completed on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean to ground its narrative. Initial work focused on New Orleans depositories, including successions at the New Orleans Notarial Archives, estate inventories at the New Orleans Public Library, sacramental records published by the Archdiocese of New Orleans, and occasional court records held at the Historical Research Center of the Louisiana State Museum. Business accounts and letter collections relating to specific Irishmen and their associates additionally were accessed at depositories across the United States. This included onsite research at the Hill Memorial Library at Louisiana State University, the Historic Natchez Foundation and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. My research also took me to Ireland and Northern Ireland, where I mined customs records, estate receipts, correspondence and scattered inventories for a sense of what material life was like on the eighteenth-century island. A majority of my time abroad was spent at the National Library of Ireland, Manuscripts Division, and the National Archives of Ireland, both located in Dublin, and at the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, located in Belfast.

This dissertation initially intended to trace immigrants and their luggage across the Atlantic Ocean and to ascertain how Irishmen and women used the objects they owned to align with and distinguish themselves from their new neighbors. Unfortunately, archival and time limitations have put these inquiries on hold for subsequent projects, and this work more narrowly focuses on material availabilities rather than Irish immigrants' efforts to use ownable commodities as assertions of

individual identity. Research into early modern Irish consumerisms is difficult. A 1922 fire at the Public Records Office in Dublin destroyed many of those estate inventories not held in private hands, the latter which usually represent elite families. As a result, it is almost impossible to trace Irish New Orleanians back to their own or their ancestral estates in Ireland and to recreate their personal material narratives. To overcome such limitations, this dissertation employs a variety of sources, which include manuscripts, newspapers, paintings and prints, and popular literature. Visual and print sources often documented imagined situations, rather than lived moments and thus must be used with care. Yet, they reveal in ways limited in manuscript sources the expectations Irishmen and women had of their material surroundings. They also emphasize the ways in which many eventual immigrants had contact with consumables that they may not have owned.

New Orleans archives, while quite plentiful, present their own challenges. The most notable of these is that historical records did not consistently offer information relating to the ethnicity of residents until the mid-nineteenth century. This project has dedicated much time to identifying in sacramental and notarial records Irish-born inhabitants between 1780 and 1820. The catalogue offered in Appendix A, however, should be understood as a work-in-progress and not a definitive listing. Fortunately, for those individuals whose origins can be ascertained, extant records do offer much information on their Old World origins, careers, family formation and possessions. Often, references to single immigrants survive in only a few sources, but these records offer details on such range of persons that we can get a sense of who early immigrants were, why they moved to early Louisiana, and how materiality shaped their lives.

This dissertation is divided into two sections of three chapters each, which respectively focus on immigrants' social and cultural encounters with New Orleans as mediated by the transoceanic circulation of things. Section One—"The People"—offers a detailed look the demography of Louisiana's early Irish populations, their origins in

Ireland, and their professional and personal interactions with the diverse inhabitants of the early Gulf Coast. To do so, it references sacramental and notarial records as well as the correspondence of Irish merchants and their associates.³¹ Section Two—“The Things”—then offers case studies of several commodities circulated by Irish merchants and their contemporaries throughout the Atlantic World. It examines the availabilities of these various items in Ireland and New Orleans and the ways in which meanings attached to them altered or remained consistent as they moved. To get at how Irish New Orleanians encountered and accumulated these commodities, it relies on estate inventories and those few Irish memoirs and account books that have survived.³²

Chapter One, “A Material Basis: Demographic and Scholastic Origins,” offers a brief overview of those Irish New Orleanians assessed in this dissertation, providing information on their overall gendered, social and professional makeup and their origins in the Old World. It suggests that this population was quite distinct from those examined in histories of immigration in other contemporary North American locales. It then posits that a study of webs of material exchange, the importance of which is indicated by immigrants’ demography, has the potential to explain and amend such historiographical divergences.

The next two chapters examine the economic and social experiences of Irish merchants living in New Orleans from 1780 to 1820. This focused perspective, in part,

³¹ Sacramental records in early New Orleans exist entirely for the Roman Catholic Church, although it is clear that not all Irish settlers in the region shared this religion. They do, however, document even the lives of less financially successful Irish settlers in ways that property-focused records obscure. Notarial records, as a result, can be used to compensate for some of the gaps of spiritual records while also being covered by the socially inclusive nature of these latter documents. The majority of New Orleans’s sacramental records have been published. See SRC. Notarial records are available at NONA.

³² Estate inventories, because they often only document one moment in a person’s life (i.e. death), offer only a static image of consumer culture. When possible, habits discerned in immigrants’ successions have been compared to domestic account registries that document spending over time. The best examples of this for Irish Louisiana are Matthias O’Conway, New Orleans account books, 1793. Correspondence and miscellaneous papers of the family of O’Conway in the United States of America, early 19th century, NLI.

reflects the fact that commercially-involved immigrants left far more written records than non-trading compatriots. Yet, it also acknowledges the fact that Louisiana primarily attracted Irish settlers interested in benefitting from its advanced commercial-systems. Chapter Two, “Professional *Negotiantes*: Merchant Networks and Irish New Orleans,” reconstructs the commercial networks pursued by migrants involved in Louisiana trade, and it looks at the ways their hopes to benefit from the non-local circulation of things pushed them to engage with their Irish and non-Irish neighbors. This chapter, and the next, employs Pierre Gervais’s perception of early modern commerce. Gervais argues that transoceanic exchange in the eighteenth century was incredibly risky business and that, in an effort to counteract its dangers, traders worked in limited webs of relatives and friends. As a result, trade was professionally and personally meaningful for merchants, who often expressed a great deal of emotional attachment to business associates and their families.³³ This chapter specifically follows Irish merchants’ networks as they moved outward from family members and in-laws to include more non-Irish acquaintances over time. It then shows how this resulted in a situation wherein immigrants developed professional “fictive families” across ethnic lines that were founded primarily on mutual interest in trade.

Chapter Three, “Interpersonal Exchanges: Merchant Socialization and Irish New Orleans,” reexamines merchants’ professional networks from the perspective of intimacy. It especially looks at those persons invited to witness the sacramental events Irishmen and their children celebrated and those that accepted bequests or administrative roles in final successions. This chapter identifies significant overlap between the progression of immigrants’ professional networks outward from kin to non-Irish associates and the development of their interpersonal networks to include more

³³ Pierre Gervais, “Neither Imperial nor Atlantic: a Merchant Perspective on International Trade in the Eighteenth Century,” *History of European Ideas* 34, no. 4 (2008): 465-473.

diversity. Indeed, the same individuals often entered Irish New Orleanians' lives in commerce and in moments of private socialization that did not directly benefit or relate to their careers. As a result, this chapter further examines the ways the transoceanic exchange of things informed all aspects of settlers' socializations in Louisiana and argues that these relationships indicate no efforts at a purposeful ethnicity.

The final three chapters offer focused examinations of different items and consumer cultures encountered by Irish Louisianans in their Old and New World residences. They emphasize in direct ways how material culture linked immigrants' experiences in both settings. Chapter Four, "A Taste for the New World: Irish Foods," looks at the food-items and foodways that informed Irishmen and women's diets on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. It shows that residents of Ireland long encountered culinary items from the New World—most notably the potato—and that they did so in ways that even began to remove their associations with the foreign. Island economies, in fact, long had benefitted from the overseas sale of island-raised edibles, and immigrants who moved to the Americas often found that they did so alongside these items. Attempts to cultivate familiar edibles for colonizers in New Orleans furthered the availabilities of recognizable foods for Irish settlers who arrived after 1780. This chapter ultimately contends that foodways in Ireland and early Louisiana directly paralleled one another in this period and they did so to the benefit of immigrants seeking familiar elements in their new American setting.

Chapter Five, "The Threads that Bind: Irish Linens," examines the impact of another popular Irish commodity circulated throughout the Atlantic World, namely high-end linens. Irish linens, or "toiles d'irelande," readily were available in Old and New World markets, and they were used in both settings to indicate status through their visual cleanliness, or whiteness. Yet, unlike food-items, some of the complex meanings associated with linens did not transfer transatlantically. These especially related to

fashion. Contemporary linens often functioned as a substitute for East Indian cottons that were banned in Europe and the Americas for much of the eighteenth century. In Europe, they offered wearers access to the bright colors and bold patterns of these non-accessible textiles and the opportunity to dress in styles that imitated the colonies. In hot and humid environments like New Orleans, lightweight and dryable linens also provided dressers a much desired comfort in their new climate. This chapter thus not only identifies Irish Louisianans as moving during a heightened period of sartorial continuity between Europe and its eastern and western colonies but also explores the ways settlers came to appreciate new uses for familiar commodities abroad.

Chapter Six, “Consuming Bodies: Irish Slave-Ownership,” examines a final area of immigrant accumulation that was understood significantly different along the Gulf Coast and in Ireland. It argues that residents of the Old World were not unaware of black bodies as meaningful material possessions and points out that they encountered them often in texts, images and even popular advertisements. Encounters with Africans and African-Americans, however, were primarily imagined in Ireland, and this chapter shows that immigrants were little prepared for encounters with living enslaved persons in New Orleans who could challenge their objectification. It argues that Irishmen and women took to slave-ownership eagerly along the Gulf Coast but also reveals that shifts from migrant to master were not always smooth. Rather, immigrants reacted at times with fear, confusion and violence as they attempted to adjust their own consumer mentalities to fit a setting significant African populations. Ultimately, this chapter suggests, they were able to fall back on their experiences dealing with other transoceanic commodities to make sense of the habit in entirely new and American terms.

This dissertation combines elements of social, cultural and economic history to elucidate the complex setting in which Irishmen and women found themselves when they moved to New Orleans between 1780 and 1820. It reveals that neither Ireland nor

Louisiana were isolated spaces in this period and that, rather, their residents encountered one another and persons from other hubs in the Atlantic World with a regularity best described as cosmopolitanism.³⁴ A study of Irish New Orleanians thus not only challenges expectations for ethnicity- or nation-based historical narratives in the era after 1783. It offers a lens into the intimate, material-based minds of movers in an early transoceanic world. By reestablishing this common ground, this dissertation also reveals that differences in origins, imperial loyalties, religion and languages along the early Gulf Coast were not so insurmountable as historians have supposed.

³⁴ Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

The People

Chapter 1:
A Material Basis:
Demographic and Scholastic Origins

County Cork native and merchant John Joyce must have been pleased with the professional successes he achieved along the early Gulf Coast. The Irishman, as attested to in his short autobiography, initially moved to and settled in Canada in the 1760s and 1770s.¹ He had hoped to benefit from the transatlantic fur trade in this colony but was disappointed to find only intense competition and depleting supplies.² Seeing more potential in the American South, he packed his belongings and moved to Louisiana sometime after 1776. There, he discovered a booming commerce in animal peltries and deerskin. He quickly established himself in trade and made alliances with residents of British, French, Spanish and indigenous heritages. Joyce paired up with Scotsman John Turnbull to manage the storehouse of import-export firm Strother, Mather & Company in Mobile, West Florida in 1788. Joyce & Turnbull also started to acquire their own retail-able items via trade with the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations in this period, which they sold to overseas buyers out of New Orleans.³ Obviously they did so with much dexterity, because they could afford to construct plantations in Spanish Louisiana by 1791 or during the colony's sugar boom. From his rural residence near Baton Rouge,

¹ John Joyce, diary. LSU (microfilm).

² See Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Rethinking the Fur Trade: Cultures of Exchange in an Atlantic World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Harold Adams Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: an Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956).

³ "Turnbull and Joyce Receipts and Accounts," 1787-1812. Turnbull-Allain Family Papers, 1784-1941, LSU. "Turnbull and Joyce Account Books," 1795-1798, Ibid. John Joyce, diary.

Joyce continued to invest in import and export commodities—agricultural produce and enslaved bodies—transatlantically until his death in 1798.⁴

The autobiography that John Joyce recorded in the late eighteenth century, augmented by archival sources, reveals motives and migratory experiences that were common to many of his contemporary Irish New Orleanians. These included careers in or heavily reliant on commerce, a willingness to move around the Old and New Worlds in pursuit of business opportunities, and, most notably, a perception of social and cultural connection between life in Ireland and North America. This chapter offers a portrait of the late colonial and early national Irish Gulf Coast between the end of the Seven Years' War and 1820, with a focus on demography and origins. It suggests that this population was distinct from Irish immigrants who moved to other American cities in this timeframe, and it assesses the historiographical implications of this finding. It ends by looking at the professions of early Irish New Orleanians and the ways that their occupations linked them to a world of things extending beyond but critically rooted in the Lower Mississippi Valley.

Demography and Origins

Irishmen and women moved to New Orleans in significant numbers between 1780 and 1820, and they represented a diverse population as related to gender, social standing, religion, regional origins and profession. Most, however, and as later chapters will show, were linked to one another and to their new neighbors by individual interests in and occupational reliances on long-distance trade, or the transoceanic exchange of material things.

⁴ John Joyce accidentally drowned in 1798, while on a trading voyage between New Orleans and Mobile. Testimony on the Accidental Death of John Joyce, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 36, 24 March 1800, NONA. "Inventory and estimation of the property belonging to the partnership of the deceased Turnbull and Joyce at Baton Rouge, on Prairie St. John, Bayou Sarah" 5 May 1800. Archives of the Spanish Government of West Florida, 1789 to 1816, Edith Garland Dupré Library, University of Louisiana at Lafayette (microfilm).

Sacramental records for the Roman Catholic Church and notarial documents, such as wills, frequently identified the nativity of their participants. They make possible a demographic catalogue of many of the Irishmen and women who migrated to early Louisiana.⁵ Current calculations confirm the settlement of at least 368 Irish-born persons living or regularly conducting business in New Orleans between 1780 and 1820, a timeframe extending from the height of local Spanish commercial expansionism until roughly the end of the War of 1812. These numbers do not include short-term visiting professionals or temporary travelers who sojourned in the city for only a few days before moving upriver.⁶ Contemporary records identify another 250 persons of possible (but unverified) Irish origins.⁷ This means that there probably were upwards of 600 or 700 first-generation Irishmen and women residing in the city during its late colonial and early national years. And, at any given moment, 200 or 300 immigrants likely shared this urban space with other native- and foreign-born Louisianans. In 1791, such numbers would have meant that Irish settlers constituted 12% or 13% of a total white population of 2,065. This percentage would have dropped to 3% (of 8,001) in 1810 but only as a result of the recent arrival of nearly 9,000 refugees from Saint-Domingue.⁸

⁵ These records, of course, have certain limitations. Notarial records, especially those marriage contracts and wills that cited nativity, largely were composed by persons having significant material estates. Church records, of course, documented only the presence of Catholic immigrants.

⁶ New Orleans, particularly after the 1811 success of the steamboat, was touted in Ireland as a crucial entry point for those individuals hoping to settle in Kentucky and Tennessee. For example, see the McKowen-Lilley-Stirling Family Papers, 1797-1921, LSU. Cunningham and Clarke Manuscripts, 1746-1934, PRONI. Also, Walter S. Dunn, *Opening New Markets: the British Army and the Old Northwest* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002); Robert Fabel, *The Economy of British West Florida, 1763-1783* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988).

⁷ These assumptions are based both on a knowledge of common Irish surnames and on links to other persons of confirmed Irish-birth. For verified Irish-New Orleanians, see Appendix A.

⁸ New Orleans records register a total urban population 5,497 in 1791 and 24,552 in 1810. Census of New Orleans, 1791. NOPL (microfilm). Federal Census of 1810, relating to the Parish of Orleans, NOPL (microfilm).

There is no evidence that Irish immigration to the Gulf Coast slowed or sped-up in the early 1800s, even after the 1801 Act of Union abroad.⁹

Many of these settlers were young and unmarried men, who often traveled alone or with one or two male relatives. They included Daniel Clark, Jr., a native of Sligo in western Ireland who moved to New Orleans in 1786 at the age of 20 to professionally aid an uncle already working there.¹⁰ County Donegal-born Alexander Porter relocated from Nashville, where he settled after his Atlantic crossing, to the Gulf Coast city in 1809 and at age 23. There, he offered legal advice to residents and eventually attained a spot on Louisiana's Supreme Court.¹¹ The exact arrival dates of many Irish immigrants remain unknown, as ship records in the period and especially those of vessels traveling between imperial powers often are quiet on passengers. Yet, age indicators in internment records for the Catholic Church confirm substantial numbers of single Irishmen who must have moved to New Orleans in their late teens and early twenties. William Kelly, a native of Drumcliff, for example, died in 1823 at the age of 35. A James Kelly (who probably was not a relative of William) similarly was interred in 1822 at the age of 24.¹² The fact that both men were noted in contemporary records as grocers indicates that they had resided in New Orleans for long enough periods pre-mortem to establish retail shops.

Women and families, however, also made the move to early New Orleans, especially after 1780. Detailed information on such populations is harder to come by, but it is clear that these individuals almost entirely migrated as nuclear family units. This included children relocating with their parents (and vice versa) and wives relocating

⁹ See David A. Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States: Immigrant Radicals in the Early Republic* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).

¹⁰ Elizabeth Urban Alexander, *Notorious Woman: the Celebrated Case of Myra Clark Gaines* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 64.

¹¹ Thomas W. Fitzgerald, ed., *Ireland and Her People: a Library of Irish Biography* (Chicago: Fitzgerald Book Company, 1910), 392.

¹² "William Kelly" (1823); "John Kelly" (1822), SRC, vol. 15.

with their husbands. Elizabeth Gubbins, a native of Knocklong, for example, moved to the Gulf Coast in the 1770s in the company of her Limerick-born husband and soon-to-be Louisiana planter, William Conway. The pair, who registered their nuptials in New Orleans, brought with them two children.¹³ Fanny and Barney Cuddy similarly relocated from native Belfast at some point before the 1820s.¹⁴ Other Irishwomen immigrated with their parents and siblings, and they regularly found spouses among their new American neighbors. This sometimes included those Irish bachelors mentioned above, although it is notable that rarely did these partners originate in shared Old World counties. George Forster of Dublin, for example, married Anna Brown of Galway in 1805. Simon Paxton of Dublin similarly wed Rhutisa Englis of Belfast before 1820.¹⁵ It was just as common, however, that female immigrants sacramentally attached themselves to non-Irish Louisianans. Eliza Kerr, for instance, married and worked alongside the Venetian-born Jean Dominguez in his Faubourg Sainte-Marie grocery in the early nineteenth century.¹⁶ Josephine O'Duhigg, a native of County Wicklow, wed Samuel Kelly of Philadelphia in Saint Louis Cathedral in 1820. And Limerick-born Mary Farrell celebrated nuptials with Francophone Laurent Nowlan before 1823.¹⁷ In many similar instances the presence of extended family members as witnesses confirmed that they migrated alongside kinsmen.¹⁸

The earliest Irishmen and women to arrive along the Gulf Coast often did so indirectly, stopping at ports in England, France or Spain before traveling overseas or

¹³ "William Conway" and "Elizabeth Gubbins" (1781), *Ibid.*, vol. 6.

¹⁴ "Fanny Cuddy" and "Barney Cuddy" (1822), *Ibid.*, vol. 15.

¹⁵ "Simon Paxton" and "Rhutisa Englis" (1820), *Ibid.*, vol. 14.

¹⁶ "Eliza Kerr" and "Juan Dominigue" (1821), *Ibid.*, vol. 14. Inventory of Jean Dominguez, 1822. Estate Inventories of Orleans Parish Civil Courts, 1803-1877, NOPL (microfilm).

¹⁷ "Josephine O'Duhigg" (1820); "Samuel Kelly" (1820), SRC, vol. 14. Mary Farrell" (1823), *Ibid.*, vol. 15.

¹⁸ For example, "Elizabeth Gubbins" (1781), *Ibid.*, vol. 6. "Ann Karrigan" (1820); "Catherine Rowney" (1821), *Ibid.*, vol. 14.

sojourning along the eastern coast of North America for several years until they decided to relocate again. Several Irish merchants like Oliver Pollock and Daniel Clark, Sr., resided in the commercial hub of Philadelphia before moving with their wives and young families to Louisiana in the 1760s.¹⁹ Antonio Walsh, another transatlantic trader, departed for life overseas from Bordeaux circa 1791, where he left a young wife whose anxieties about sea-travel prevented her from making the trip.²⁰ These individuals often had access to significant financial means or were connected via their employers to vessels moving abroad. This removed them from the complaint that impacted the movements of many socially lower migrants, namely that transatlantic travel was quite costly.²¹ A few early Irish immigrants to the Gulf Coast were too poor to pay for their own passage overseas. They thus arrived as soldiers in French and Spanish employ.²² Overall, the expense of transoceanic travel seems to have limited regional migration largely to those of moderate incomes until 1780. At this time, expanded trade provided more regular and more direct voyages between Ireland, Great Britain, the Caribbean and New Orleans. The opening of these passage routes, as well as imperial encouragements that will be discussed, allowed for a more socially diverse population of Irish Louisianans between 1780 and 1820.

¹⁹ Daniel Clark Letters and Invoice Book, 1759-1762, HSP. Light Townsend Cummins, "Oliver Pollock and the Creation of an American Identity in Spanish Colonial Louisiana," in *Nexus of Empire: Negotiating Loyalty and Identity in the Revolutionary Borderlands, 1760s-1820s*, eds. Gene Allen Smith and Sylvia L. Hilton (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010), 198-218.

²⁰ Richard Geoghegan to Anthony Patrick Walsh, Bellavista, 11 November 1791. Antonio Patrick Walsh Papers, 1789-1826, LSU.

²¹ One anonymous Irish author, for example, noted that he had to unexpectedly sell the "piano-forte, which belonged to my dear wife, and on which my daughter used to practice" in Canada so as to fund his family's further travel into the American interior. *Hibernicus; Or Memoirs of an Irishman, Now in America* (Pittsburg: Cramer & Spear, 1828), 154. Also, Marianne S. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: the Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 102; 120-128.

²² See, for example, "Thomas Temple" and "Thomas O'Konelly" (1791), SRC, vol. 5.

Historians of immigration often speak of “push” and “pull” factors as motives for relocation.²³ A majority of Irish immigration scholarship, even focused on this early period, emphasizes “push” factors that caused individuals to unwillingly leave their native lands as a result of political, social and economic limitations. It is true that Catholics and Presbyterians did face certain legal restrictions on their upward mobility in Ireland, such as bans on owning land and bearing weapons.²⁴ Yet, such restrictions did not significantly motivate the travels of Irish New Orleanians. Evidence that the men, women and families who moved to the early Gulf Coast did so as a result of “pull” factors, rather than “push,” is apparent in the diversity of their religious beliefs and in their regional (and related economic) origins in Ireland.

Irish Louisianans in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries represented both Catholic and Protestant spiritualities. The empires of France and Spain maintained monarchs religiously and politically attached to the Roman Catholic Church. Indeed, the 1493 Treaty of Tordesillas, signed by Pope Alexander VI, symbolically granted control of most of the Americas to the Iberian crown, in return for the promise that Spanish colonizers would evangelize to any native peoples they encountered. Some Irish Catholics who moved to the Gulf Coast appreciated the ability to practice their faith locally. Mathias O’Conway, for instance, regularly attended mass at the local Saint Louis Cathedral and socialized with the “Blessed Priests,” as his daughter later remembered.²⁵ Louisiana, however, also bordered on British-controlled West Florida from 1763 to 1783,

²³ J.P. Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (New York: P.M. Haverty, 1868); Handlin, *The Uprooted*; Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*; Martin Wallace, *A Little History of Ireland* (Belfast: Appletree Press, 1994); Nicholas Canny, “In Search of a Better Home?: European Overseas Migration, 1500-1800,” in *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500-1800*, ed. Nicholas Canny (New York: Clarendon Press, 1994), 263-283.

²⁴ *A Statement on the Penal Laws, which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland: with Commentaries*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: H. Fitzpatrick, 1812). Also, John Ranelagh, *A Short History of Ireland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 79-80.

²⁵ Cecilia O’Conway to Columbkille O’Conway, College of St. Mary’s, n.d. Matthias O’Conway Papers, Pennsylvania Archdiocesan Historical Research Center (microfilm).

and there were numerous Irish immigrants to New Orleans who arrived via this colony. Other Protestants emigrated directly from Ireland. James Hull, for example, was a native of Bangor in northern Ireland, and this lawyer-turned-minister served as the primary officiate in New Orleans's Presbyterian church after 1810.²⁶ Others, like Coleraine-born Oliver Pollock, moved across the Atlantic Ocean with one religious heritage but were flexible in their beliefs. Pollock alternated between Protestantism and Catholicism throughout his life—practicing the former while residing in Philadelphia and having his children baptized Catholic in Louisiana.²⁷ Ultimately, there is little evidence that religion inspired a majority of Irish settlement or that immigrants experienced early New Orleans as an especially spiritual setting. Ardkeen-native Hugh Quin, Jr., for example, noted in his travel journal that he eagerly attended confession and took communion after arriving in the Gulf Coast city in 1817. He also, however, derided the humor of male worshippers who “strut up and down with their hats on during divine service...[and] nail the Ladies gowns to the Floor while they are on their knees.”²⁸ This suggests that Quin, and many of his contemporaries, had more complex motives than religion in moving to the Gulf Coast.²⁹

Immigrants geographically originated in all counties of Ireland (**Figure 1.1**). Ulster and Leinster registered the highest numbers of contemporary emigrants and contributed 34% and 32% of all travelers respectively. The southern provinces of

²⁶ Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 5 December 1814, Quin Papers.

²⁷ “Carlos Pollock” (1774); “Christina Pollock” (1775); “Diego Pollock” (1780); “Jerrett Pollock” (1776); “Lucetta Pollock” (1782), SRC, vol. 3. Cummins, “Oliver Pollock and the Creation of an American Identity,” in Smith and Hilton, *Nexus of Empire*, 198-218.

²⁸ Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 4 December 1814, Quin Papers.

²⁹ Such expectations again inform models established for sixteenth-century “Wild Geese” histories, wherein dislodged Catholics in Ireland offered their military and economic services to Catholic France and Spain. McGurk, “Wild Geese,” 36-62; Stradling, *The Spanish Monarch and Irish*.

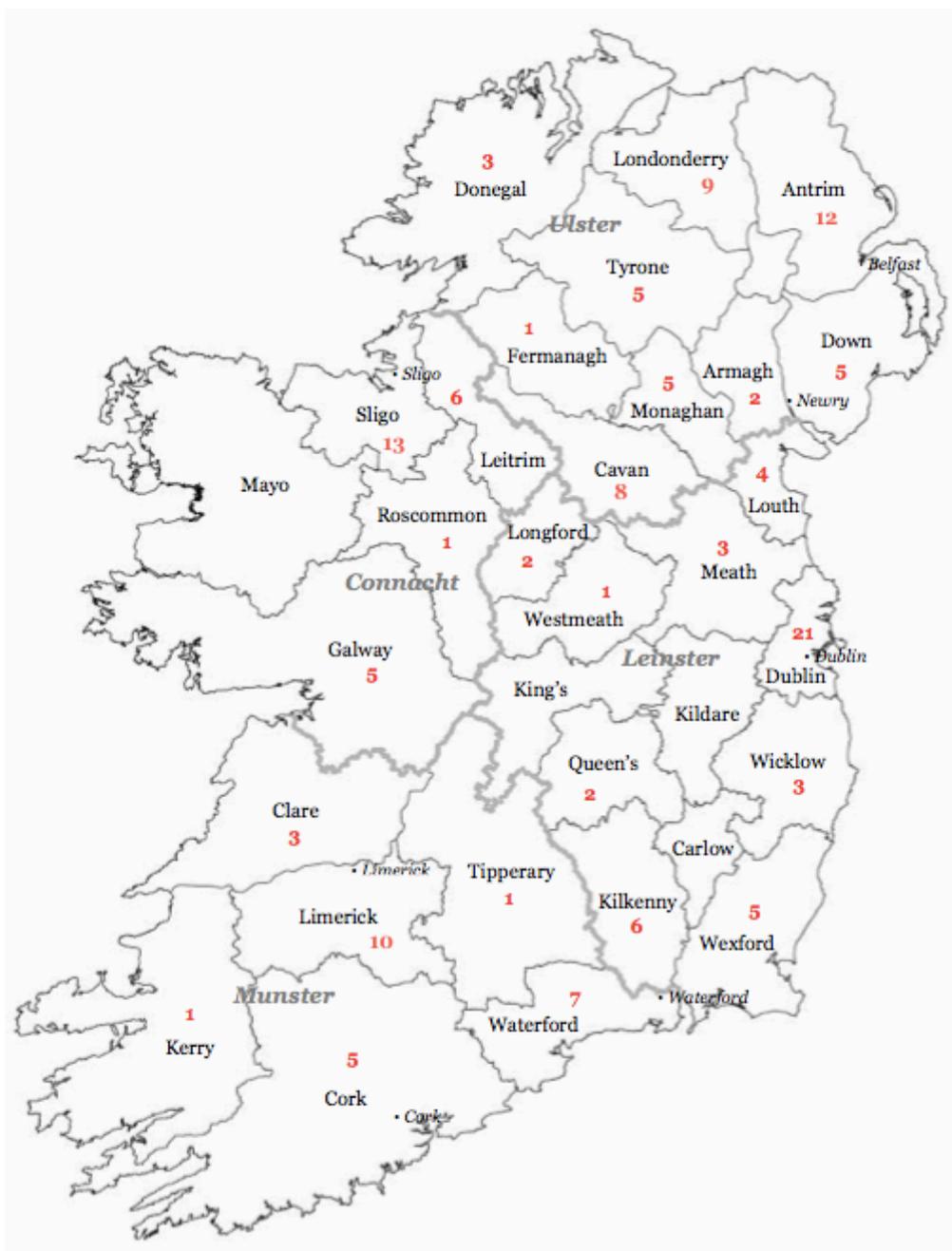


Figure 1.1. Map of Ireland, with Immigrant Nativities Indicated.
Gathered from NONA and SCR.

Munster and western Connaught, however, also sent settlers to the early Gulf Coast, and they did so at the rates of 21% and 19%.³⁰

³⁰ Archival items noting immigrant nativities are limited. But, through the use of probate documents and sacramental records, I have been able to particular the origins of about 40% (or 148 persons) of my surveyed New Orleans population.

These settlers may not have originated in common regions, but they shared predominantly urban backgrounds. In most Irish counties, town-dwelling travelers grossly outnumbered their rural counterparts. They did so in Galway, Down and Limerick at ratios of 3:2, in Antrim of 2:1; in Londonderry of about 3:1; in Cork of 4:1, in Waterford of 6:1; and in County Dublin of 21:1. Irish towns having at least 5,000 residents in 1780 consisted of Derry, Newry Drogheda, Limerick and Waterford. These settlements alone contributed at least 18% of travelers to early Louisiana. Cities of over 13,000 long-term inhabitants—such as Dublin, Cork, and Belfast—contributed another 22% of total identified Irish New Orleanians.³¹ This means that at least 40% of eventual immigrants to the Gulf Coast were born and raised in Old World settings wherein their daily lives revolved around skilled crafts, professions and trade rather than agriculture.

Eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Irish Louisianans were thus hardly backward potato farmers. They lived and worked in towns and cities, where they had prior contact with overseas communities established through trade and its related industries. Such connections especially are evident in areas from which large numbers of Gulf Coast settlers originated. These included the city of Dublin, which gave 21 of a total 148 confirmed Old World travelers. They also involved at high rates the southern counties of Cork, Limerick and Waterford (22 persons) and northern Antrim (12). A closer look at these particular locales sheds light on the developments that prompted Irishmen and women to migrate to the Lower Mississippi Valley and facilitated their adjustments to the new Gulf Coast home.

Dublin was Ireland's political and economic capital in the eighteenth century. And, by 1798, it housed more urban residents than did Bristol, York, Edinburgh,

³¹ I have only included in these statistics persons specifically identified as being from a town or city. Many Irish counties shared names with their leading settlements; and, in instances when the reference is unclear, I excluded this data from my analysis. As a result, actual numbers most likely are higher than those offered here. See footnote 40. Also, K.H. Connell, *The Population of Ireland, 1750-1845* (Oxford: Clarendon University Press, 1950).

Philadelphia or Calcutta. This made it the second most populous city in the entire British Empire, behind London.³² Irish-New Orleanians originating from this city would have been exposed to transoceanic commerce and the cosmopolitanism of buyers and sellers. The reemergence of the Irish Parliament after the 1660 Restoration of the British Monarchy centralized Anglo-Protestants, who were eager to impress their English counterparts, in this east coast city. To validate Dublin's image as an imperial settlement culturally akin to London, these individuals encouraged beautification efforts via refined townhouses and public squares during the 1700s. Such actions, in turn, created a need for and expanded local populations of modest laborers and middling professionals.³³ Merchants also depended on the Dublin Customhouse for their trade, as a result of legislation that required incoming ships to dock at approved and numerically limited sites for inspection before unloading cargoes.³⁴ The city's link to banks—and thus credit—solidified its role as the primary import-export center of late-eighteenth-century Ireland.³⁵ As a result, Dublin, despite its political culture favoring Protestantism,

³² The 1798 population of Dublin was 182,000 persons. Brenda Collins, "Matters material and luxurious – eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Irish linen consumption," in *Luxury and Austerity*, ed. Jacqueline Hill and Colm Lennon (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 1999), 108.

³³ See especially Brendan Twomey, "Financing speculative property development in early eighteenth-century Dublin," in *The Eighteenth-Century Dublin Town House*, ed. Christine Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), 29-45; Rowena Dudley, "St. Stephen's Green: the early years, 1664-1730," *Dublin Historical Record* 53 (2000): 157-179.

³⁴ Liverpool merchants in 1774 noted that "[t]he first thing to be done [on entering a new port] is to get the Vessel *entered out*; in order to do which enquiry must be made for that Person in the Custom House." Thomas Lowndes and John Smallwood, *The Merchant's Guide; consisting of Tables for the Computation of Duties, and Directions for transacting the Business of the Custom-House* (Liverpool: William Nevett, 1774), 81. Contemporary trading publications separated "Members" and "Creeks" ports. Only the former had adequate administrative facilities to allow imports and exports in the British Isles. The latter allowed ships temporary stoppage, but these vessels could not unload any of their cargoes thereupon. Wyndham Beawes, *Lex Mercatoria Rediviva: or, the Merchant's Directory being a Complete GUIDE to all Men in Business* (London: R. Baldwin, 1761). For more on merchants' urban impacts, see Sheridan-Quantz, "The Multi-Centered Metropolis," in *Two Capitals: London and Dublin, 1500-1840*, ed. Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 275-277.

³⁵ See L.M. Cullen, "The Exchange Business of Irish Banks in the Eighteenth Century," *Economica* 25, no. 100 (1958): 326-338.

maintained a population that was quite ecumenical. From 1778 to 1782, the city registered 1,250 Catholics working in trade-dependent fields, including 143 merchants.³⁶

The connectedness of Old World cities like Dublin to imperial and transatlantic settings made immigration a logical step for many of its enterprising inhabitants. This included men like William Brown, a city native who immigrated to the Gulf Coast no later than 1805. There, he used his familiarity with trade to attain the role of customs collector for the port of New Orleans. The Irishman emphasized the benefit of such Old World experiences in 1808, when he used a legal technicality to continue to clear mercantile vessels for trade in Europe and the Caribbean despite a recent embargo by the United States. He eventually used these same non-local commercial networks himself to relocate and thus escape prosecution, after absconding with \$150 in civic funds in 1809.³⁷ Other Dublin natives to relocate to early Louisiana included James Fletcher, Maurice Stackpoole and Antonio Patrick Walsh—all prominent Gulf Coast merchants.³⁸ These men maintained British commercial routes post-migration. They also, as in the case of Walsh who moved Mexican cochineal from the Americas to Europe, connected these networks to new geographies and thus expanded their own prospects for professional success.³⁹

³⁶ Maureen Wall, “The Catholic Merchants, Manufacturers and Traders of Dublin, 1778-1783,” *Reportium novum: Dublin diocesan historical record* 2, no. 2 (1960): 298-323. Also, David Dickson, “Catholics and trade in eighteenth-century Ireland: an old debate revisited,” in *Endurance and Emergence: Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. T.P. Power and Kevin Whelan (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990), 85-100. Protestants, too, were heavily invested in Irish trade, including out of Dublin. Overall numbers for this city, however, have not yet been calculated. See Barnard, *A New Anatomy of Ireland*.

³⁷ Gautham Rao, “The Creation of the American State: Customhouses, Law, and Commerce in the Age of Revolution” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2008), 309. Also, Jared William Bradley, ed., *Interim Appointment: W.C.C. Claiborne Letter Book, 1804-1805* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 328.

³⁸ “Adelaida Fletcher” (1798); “Felicite Fletcher” (1798), SRC, vol. 6. “Santiago Fletcher” (1802), *Ibid.*, vol. 7. Will of Maurice Stackpoole, ca. 1802. Probate Records for Adams County, HNF. Walsh Papers.

³⁹ Le Baron de Carondelet to Antonio Patrick Walsh, Mexico, 11 November 1797; 5 December 1797, Walsh Papers. Manuel Gayoso de Limos to Antonio Patrick Walsh, New Orleans, 1 April 1799, *Ibid.* Porro & Murphy to Samuel and James Moore, Vera Cruz, 30 May 1799, *Ibid.*

Similar experiences characterized the Old World lives of Irish New Orleanians coming from the southern counties of Cork, Limerick and Waterford. Traditionally, this region dominated archipelagic and transoceanic provisions trades. Livestock raised and cereals grown in interior Limerick, Kerry and Tipperary found ready markets in the seaside cities of Cork and Waterford. The latter were situated on shipping routes out of Europe and across the Atlantic Ocean, as sailors chose to stay within sight of land as long as possible.⁴⁰ As a result, a visitor noted of Cork in 1806 that “no less than two thousand vessels have floated upon its bosom” on their way to the West Indies in a single year.⁴¹ The role of Irish foodstuffs in providing for passing crews, passengers and even enslaved persons on these ships also is evident in travel journals that recalled salted and barreled meats lining regional harbors. In 1797, for example, elite Irishman Patrick Lattin recorded in his daybook that he found Cork maintaining “a large quantity of beef and pork on the quay ready to ship.”⁴² It is unclear whether the ships that transported these groceries abroad were manned by Irish crews or even owned by Irish firms. Yet, as early as 1729, regional cities like Cork housed at least 164 merchants of Protestant and Catholic heritages.⁴³ As these cities’ urban populations expanded from 17,000 to 60,000 during the 1700s, their commercially-invested populations also increased in number.⁴⁴ Philadelphia merchant Tench Coxe, at least, seemed to think Munster had an abundant supply of persons trained in trade. In a 1783 letter to the Waterford firm of Richard

⁴⁰ For more on the Irish provisions trade, see Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, 76-78; Donald Woodward, “The Anglo-Irish Livestock Trade of the Seventeenth Century,” *Irish Historical Studies* 18 (September 1973): 489-523; Mandelblatt, “A Transatlantic Commodity,” 18-47.

⁴¹ John Carr, *A Stranger in Ireland: or, a Tour in the Southern and Western Parts of the Country, in the Year 1805* (Philadelphia: T&G Palmer, 1806), 257.

⁴² Patrick Lattin, *Diary*, 18 March 1797. Mansfield Papers, 1565-1954, NLI. Also, Thomas Mortimer, *A Grammar illustrating the Practice and Principles of Trade and Commerce for the Use of Young Persons Intended for Business* (London: W. Flint, 1810), 134-135.

⁴³ Barnard, *A New Anatomy of Ireland*, 15. Protestants traditionally dominated trade in Munster; but both Barnard and Dickson argue that Catholics made significant inroads as professionals in transoceanic trade during the eighteenth century. David Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster, 1630-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005).

⁴⁴ Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, 76; Dickson, *Old World Colony*, 149-159.

Isaac and Thomas Jacob, he asked these Irishmen to elicit much-desired indentures from city residents. Coxe especially requested a focus on those “Ship Carpenters, Masons, House Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Labourers...Coopers, Hatters, Shoemakers & taylors” that he believed would attract high contract-prices in urban America.⁴⁵ There also is evidence of a non-native mercantile presence in this region, which was made apparent in foreign-named spaces linked to export trade. Cork residents, for instance, worked in harbors named Lavitt’s Quay (for Frenchman Joseph Lavitte) and Seven Ovens Quay (for its Dutch owner Theodore Vansenhoven).⁴⁶ As a result, Munster residents found their rural and urban labor in high demand in a transoceanic context. They also discovered that the skills they gained at home moved with them to Louisiana.

This region, as a result, also contributed many commercially-invested immigrants to early New Orleans. Maurice Conway, for example, was born in the town of Limerick, moved to Louisiana in June 1769, and established himself as a tanner in the Lower Mississippi Valley. He used his skills in this trade to build a small fortune, acquire numerous land grants and several plantations, and eventually socialized with regional elites, including his uncle Governor-General Alejandro O’Reilly.⁴⁷ Francis Riley, a Waterford-born cooper, likely moved to the Gulf Coast with similar ambitions of progressing from a skilled artisan into a prominent landowner. Unfortunately, this Irishman died in 1815, before all of his material aspirations were achieved.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Tench Coxe to Richard Isaac and Thomas Jacob, Philadelphia, 20 December 1783. Coxe Family Papers, 1638-1970, HSP.

⁴⁶ David Dickson, “Huguenots in the urban economy of eighteenth-century Dublin and Cork,” in *The Huguenots and Ireland: Anatomy of an emigration*, eds. C.E.J. Caldicott, Hugh Gough and J.P. Pittion (Dublin: Glendale Press, 1988), 321-332; James P. McCarthy, “Dutch Influences in the Urban Landscape of Cork City, pre-1800: Fact or Myth?,” *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies* 35 (March 2011): 63-88.

⁴⁷ Fontaine Martin, *A History of the Bouligny Family and Allied Families* (Lafayette, LA: Centre for Louisiana Studies, 1990), 260. Gilbert Din, *Spaniards, Planters and Slaves: the Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763-1803* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 281, footnote 61.

⁴⁸ Inventory of Francis Riley, 1815, Estate Inventories.

A final county that originated significant numbers of Irish immigrants to the Gulf Coast was Antrim and its northern neighbors. Ulster was more rural than Ireland's other provinces, and Belfast, one of its major urban centers, still housed a population of only 13,000 in 1783.⁴⁹ Commerce, however, penetrated further into rural and small town settings in this region on account of its highly profitable linen industry. The trade in Irish-made cloths connected agriculturalists in Holland and especially the mid-Atlantic North American colonies, like New York and Pennsylvania, who produced flaxseed to growers and domestic producers in Ireland. In this way, much as in southern Ireland, it created many widespread professional opportunities for artisanal and mercantile activities. Commerce also caused the regularly circulation of ships that would be used by migrants for direct travel to the Gulf Coast no later than 1810. These numbers again included merchants and urban professionals whose skills were demanded overseas.

At least a few immigrants directly benefitted from their connections to such northern Irish markets in the early Americas. Daniel Clark, Sr., for example, negotiated for the sale of much demanded flaxseed in Sligo—a port in northwestern Ireland and his hometown—while he lived in Philadelphia during the 1760s. Such initial business opportunities ingratiated him with his new merchant father-in-law, and they provided him with the initial funds to set off on independent commercial ventures in New Orleans by 1768.⁵⁰ At least twelve Irish settlers, in fact, used the frequent flaxseed vessels leaving from Sligo to begin their emigrations to the early Gulf Coast. These included several pairs who likely were of more modest social means, such as siblings James and Brigitte

⁴⁹ Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, 78-79; J.C. Beckett, *Belfast: the Making of the City* (Belfast: Appletree Press, 2003), 13-26; Ruairí Ó Baoill, "Archeology of post-medieval Carrickfergus and Belfast, 1550-1750," in *The post-medieval archaeology of Ireland, 1550-1850*, ed. Audrey Horning (Dublin: Wordwell, 2007), 91-116.

⁵⁰ Daniel Clark, Sr. to Holliday, Dunbar & Co, Philadelphia, 14 January 1761, Clark Letters Book. Daniel Clark to James Drumgoole, Philadelphia, 5 December 1761, Ibid. Daniel Clark to Edward Cochran, Philadelphia, 23 November 1761; 5 December 1761, Ibid.

Fahey and their respective Irish spouses Mary Cook and Henry McCadon.⁵¹ Newry, a developing canal town just south of Belfast, and northern Coleraine, too, contributed such eventually successful Louisianans as merchants George and Oliver Pollock.⁵²

Irish urbanization, as fueled by investment in non-local commerce, thus resulted in island populations that were well aware of and well connected to foreign communities. These individuals not only would have known of professional opportunities abroad. They would have had the means to travel to them in merchant vessels. They also would have been exposed to skill-sets common to and demanded in commercial, oceanic hubs. Persons of Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian sympathies could and did professionally benefit from such developments in the Old World. They also immigrated to the New World in roughly congruent percentages, which emphasizes that impending Gulf Coast residents did not move as result of “push” motives.

The Historiographical Problem of the Gulf Coast Irish

The profile of this early Irish-New Orleans population is not readily explained in the existing historical scholarship. Most studies on early Irish America examine those individuals who moved to the eastern British North American colonies before 1820, especially Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York and the trans-Appalachian West. These works specify the migration of two different and, as they have been imagined, distinct populations. The first, which extended from the early seventeenth through the eighteenth centuries, were poor and largely male indentured servants.⁵³ The second were Ulster Presbyterians who sought political and religious refuge in the Americas

⁵¹ “Bernard McCadon” (1822); “Marie Jane Fahey” (1823), SRC, vol. 15.

⁵² Will of George Pollock, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 41, 27 August 1802, NONA. James Alton James, *Oliver Pollock: the Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1937).

⁵³ See, for example, Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*; Audrey Lockhart, *Some Aspects of Emigration from Ireland to the North American Colonies between 1660 and 1775* (New York: Arno Press, 1976).

during the 1700s.⁵⁴ In each of these instances, historians characterize immigration as being influenced by perceived opportunities in the New World but started by “push” factors in the Old, namely a lack of economic prospects and spiritual persecutions. They also describe early exoduses as maintaining social, regional and religious homogeneity, which allowed for the emergence of “Irish” identities in Great Britain and its colonies.⁵⁵

Some historians have suggested variances in these cohesive immigration narratives, especially relating to place. Dennis Clark and scholars of Irish settlement in the American South, for example, contend that Irishmen and women’s experiences of relocation differed based on the specific settings in the Americas to which they moved.⁵⁶ The demography of Irish New Orleans between 1780 and 1820, which differed much from its northern contemporary counterparts, in part supports this conclusion. The following chapters will demonstrate, however, that it was not the New World destinations of these immigrants that accounted for such differences in migratory experiences but rather their complex and diverse origins in the Old World.

Settlers of the early Gulf Coast represented all social ranges and professions, not just low-income laborers. Louisiana similarly offered homes to immigrants of Catholic and Protestant (and Anglican and Presbyterian) religious sympathies. These individuals were urbanites and not rural farmers. They also came from all over Ireland. In short, the Irishmen and women who moved to early New Orleans were a cosmopolitan bunch. The fact that Irish Louisianans do not easily fit into existing historical narratives begs explanation. Why, for example, were those migrant populations who moved to the early

⁵⁴ Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America*; Griffin, *The People with No Name*; David N. Doyle, *Ireland, Irishmen and Revolutionary America, 1760-1820* (Dublin: The Mercier Press, 1981, 73-74. Such historians recognize an exception in 1784, when decreased travel costs resulted in more island-wide migratory patterns. James Kelly, “The resumption of emigration from Ireland after the American war of independence: 1784-1787,” *Studia Hibernica* 24 (1988): 74-80.

⁵⁵ Miller, et al., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, 6-8.

⁵⁶ Dennis Clark, *Hibernia America: the Irish and Regional Cultures* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986). Also, Gleeson, *The Irish in the South*; Quinlan, *Strange Kin*.

Gulf Coast so different from the indentured servants and Ulster Presbyterians who relocated further north? Were they unique in their diversity? Or does their example beg for a refashioning of early Irish migratory history, wherein more ethnically conscious settlers in sites like Philadelphia really were the exception?

This dissertation posits that the answer to such questions lies not in the southern-ness of early New Orleans but in the Gulf Coast's especially Atlantic orientation between 1780 and 1820. This resulted from local investment in the transimperial and transoceanic circulation of things, and it was an interest shared not just with Irish immigrants but also with Irish persons overseas. Ireland, as the following chapters will show, remained heavily connected to the Atlantic World as it related to commercial economies, professional sociabilities and consumer cultures. These networks linked immigrants to foreign persons, places and objects well before they left home.

By following Irish New Orleanians between Ireland and Louisiana, it becomes clear that immigrants moved to the early Americas for more complicated reasons than impoverishment or the pursuit of ethnic and religious freedoms. Rather, these travelers were accustomed to lives heavily shaped by materiality in the Old World in ways that crossed regional, professional and religious lines. It seems likely that they sought out New World homes wherein such prior experiences might benefit. Indeed, by using transatlantic commerce and consumerisms to reassess the experiences of immigrants in early New Orleans, it becomes evident that early Irishmen and women moved in a world already familiar to them. These experiences had the potential to link their Old and New World lives socially and culturally. They did so in interactive and intimate ways that allowed for intermixing both within and beyond Irish Louisiana.

Material Exchange: A New Explanation for Irish Immigration

Surviving sources indicate that early Irish settlers moved to the Lower Mississippi Valley to benefit from frontier exchange and liberal land grants. Thus, from their initial migrations, these individuals viewed the Gulf Coast not as a place of refuge but as a land of opportunities. Immigration increased after the 1780s alongside expanding Spanish markets, and it attracted to New Orleans not just Irish merchants hoping to take advantage of agricultural exports and the trade in human-chattel. It also brought artisans and even Irishwomen in increasing numbers, who saw prospects in those urban activities like barrel-making, café ownership and boarding upon which traveling traders, naval officers, sailors and dockside laborers increasingly relied. These activities reveal that commerce was a consistent factor in diverse Irish Louisianans' lives.

French Colonial Origins and the Frontier Peltry Trade

New Orleans was established as a geographic and economic French stronghold. Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, founded the city in 1718 to protect imperial investments in the North American interior and to offer a base for privateer actions against Spanish ships transporting silver from Mexico and South America. John Law's Company of the Indies that governed Louisiana until 1731, however, asserted a more particular commercial destiny for New Orleans in 1722, when it moved its colonial capital from Mobile to this river settlement.⁵⁷ More direct mercantilist policies soon followed, with only French ships allowed in or out of the city and with only French or French imperial products. The Company especially hoped the commodity leaving New Orleans in vast quantities would be tobacco, an item much desired in Europe but

⁵⁷ Clark, *New Orleans...an Economic History*, 3-20; Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire*, 101-103; Powell, *The Accidental City*.

monopolized by British growers and commercial networks during the early 1700s.⁵⁸ Intense Old World advertising created much initial interest in Louisiana trade. Yet, the financial collapse of the Company of the Indies in 1720 and the 1729 Natchez Indian Rebellion, which reduced French settlement in prime tobacco country, caused the outmigration of foreign capital. For much of the remaining French colonial period, New Orleans functioned as an efficient local and regional entrepôt while operating only limitedly in transoceanic exchange.⁵⁹

The Gulf Coast's earliest pockets of Irish immigrants arrived in this period, which Daniel Usner describes as dominated by a "frontier exchange economy" of unofficial and illicit trade.⁶⁰ These Irish traders, who were usually men, are not well documented in surviving archival records, largely because they set up lives away from imperial centers. They also constituted a much smaller population than later immigrants.⁶¹ It is clear, however, that they moved with the hopes of benefitting from the deerskin trade and that they did so efficiently after relocating in the 1750s, 1760s and 1770s.⁶² Irishmen like George Galphin, Lachlan McGillivray and Arthur O'Neill set up large companies in a

⁵⁸ See especially Jacob M. Price, *France and the Chesapeake: a History of the French Tobacco Monopoly, 1674-1791, and of its Relationship to the British and American Tobacco Trades* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1973).

⁵⁹ Shannon Dawdy suggests four tiers of commercial investment in French colonial New Orleans. These were "local urban-rural exchange networks," the Indian and Illinois trades, intercolonial commerce with the West Indies, and a small amount of transoceanic trade with France. Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire*, 104-107.

⁶⁰ Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: the Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1992).

⁶¹ Most details on the lives of Irish frontier traders have to be gathered from irregular correspondence addressed to employing firms or from later-in-life reflections. An exception occurs in the surviving letterbooks of John Fitzpatrick. Dalrymple, *The Merchant of Manchac*. John Joyce, diary.

⁶² For contemporary perspectives into this merchant population, see Dalrymple, *The Merchant of Manchac*. Alexander McIntosh Journal, 1772-1774. Mississippi Department of Archives & History, Jackson. George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780. Newberry Library, Chicago.

region spanning from British Georgia to French Louisiana in this period.⁶³ There, they and their associates sojourned among indigenous traders, with whom they exchanged textiles, finished garments, gunpowder, knives and metal-wares for animal pelts much desired in the Old World.

Most Irish immigrants, however, labored as site-specific agents for British East Coast and French New Orleans firms interested in deerskins.⁶⁴ These men migrated alone, which may again attest to an awareness that they would spend long periods away from regional cities and that they would have to be hands-on frontiersmen. They also proved to be quite adaptable, or at least sensitive to the social and cultural differences of persons with whom they traded. Immigrants would have met indigenous suppliers on an economic “middle ground,” which accepted and ignored standard Old World commercial habits.⁶⁵ Indigenous Natchez traders, for example, worked with European expectations for credit-based exchange but refused to acknowledge related concepts of interest.⁶⁶ Mathias O’Conway, meanwhile, found his circa 1780 professional encounters with western tribes in Philadelphia significantly eased when he “dressed in their fashion and learned to chatter three of their languages.” He and several other Irishmen translated

⁶³ See Edward Cashin, *Lachlan McGillivray, Indian Trader: the Shaping of the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992); Kathryn E. Holland Braud, *Deerskin & Duffels: the Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-Americans, 1685-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993); Amos J. Wright, Jr., *The McGillivray and McIntosh Traders on the Old Southwest Frontier, 1716-1815* (Montgomery, AL: New South Books, 2007);

⁶⁴ A few Irish-born persons did move to colonial Louisiana as soldiers in French and Spanish armies. These persons, who have been dubbed the “Wild Geese” by historians, were a minority among early settlers. See “Thomas Temple”; “Thomas O’Konnely” (1791), SRC, vol. 5. Bartholomew Macarty also served as an officer in the French military before moving to New Orleans. Stanley Clisby Arthur, *Old Families of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Claiborne Publishing Division, 1971), 330-333. For more on the “Wild Geese,” see page 4.

⁶⁵ See especially White, *The Middle Ground*; Beth Fowkes Tobin, “Wampum Belts and the Tomahawks on the Irish Estate: Constructing an Imperial Identity in the Late Eighteenth Century,” *Biography* 33 (Fall 2010): 693-697.

⁶⁶ Usner, *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves*, 261.

these commercial linguistic skills into careers as urban language tutors later in life.⁶⁷ Some Irishmen, like George Galphin, even married native women and thus established kinship with trade partners, although there is little evidence that this often occurred in Irish Louisiana.⁶⁸

A significant number of Irish settlers in New Orleans proper in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries also had their roots in this trade, whether locally or in other American settings. Daniel Clark, Sr., for example, imported British calicoes and linens to Philadelphia in the 1760s, which he then distributed to merchants in western Pennsylvania to sell to indigenous buyers. Oliver Pollock similarly supplied the northern trade in peltries before moving to Louisiana.⁶⁹ Irishmen John Joyce and John Fitzpatrick attained their first Gulf Coast successes by buying and exporting animal peltries overseas through the regional ports of Mobile and Pensacola in the 1760s and 1770s.⁷⁰ Coleraine-born Andrew Todd, finally, negotiated a royal order for “the exclusive commerce of the Indian nations established to the north of the Ohio and the Missouri” from Spain in 1794, which he ran through the port of New Orleans.⁷¹ These immigrants were a mixed bunch, representing not only all counties of Ireland but also varying

⁶⁷ Mathias O’Conway to Cato B.M. O’Maddon, Philadelphia, n.d, O’Conway Papers. Mathias O’Conway and Thomas Valentin Dalton were previous frontier traders who settled in Louisiana as language tutors.

⁶⁸ For more on Galphin’s and similar partnerships, see Wright, *The McGillivray and McIntosh Traders*, 81; Cashin, *Lachlan McGillivray*, 72; Richard Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 186. John Turnbull, John Joyce’s partner, is suspected of having an indigenous wife.

⁶⁹ Daniel Clark to Mssrs. Neale & Pigou, Philadelphia, 12 November 1761, Clark Letters Book. Daniel Clark to John Ormsby, Philadelphia, 27 June 1761, Ibid. George Morgan to Oliver Pollock, Philadelphia, 22 June 1771; 12 September 1772. Baynton, Wharton and Morgan Papers, 1725-1827, Pennsylvania State Archives (microfilm).

⁷⁰ John Joyce, diary. John Fitzpatrick to Godley & Raincock, New Orleans, 4 May 1769, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 51. John Fitzpatrick to Charles Stuart, Manchac, 13 March 1773, Ibid., 146. John Fitzpatrick to John Stephenson, Manchac, 14 January 1777, Ibid., 225. John Fitzpatrick to Oliver Pollock, Manchac, 23 January 1777, Ibid., 228.

⁷¹ Juan Ventura Morales to Diego de Gardoqui, New Orleans, 1 December 1796, in *Before Lewis & Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804*, ed. A.P. Nasatir (Norman, OK: Red River Books, 2002), 482. Also, William E. Foley and C. David Rice, *The First Chouteaus: River Barons of Early St. Louis* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983).

Catholic and Protestant heritages. This diversity, again, worked to their favor, as the “frontier exchange economy” required a degree of comfort meeting and adapting to unfamiliar mercantile partners and the skill-set to work across linguistic and imperial boundaries with ease. In fact, while Irishmen would encounter new situations on the American frontier, it seems that their origins in a cosmopolitan Ireland did much to prepare them for their professional lives abroad. The next immigrants who moved to the early Gulf Coast similarly encountered a diverse social and cultural environment, and they, too, used Old World familiarities working with non-local persons to benefit themselves professionally.

Imperial Conflicts and Widening Immigration, 1763-1780

New Orleans experienced significant political and economic shifts in the period following the end of the Seven Years’ War in 1763. First, the Treaty of Fontainebleau transferred imperial control of Louisiana from France to Spain in 1762. The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1763 and which ended hostilities, meanwhile, assigned governance of the east side of the Mississippi River to Great Britain, and it opened the territories in this area to uninhibited settlement by Anglophones.⁷² This created a situation of both intense economic interaction along the Gulf Coast and of unnerving imperial instability. Governor-General Alejandro O’Reilly noted as much when he arrived in New Orleans in 1769 and acknowledged that Anglophones were “entirely in possession of the commerce of the colony.” He immediately banned all of those without local landholding or marital ties.⁷³ Great Britain and Spain, in fact, quickly commenced a turf war along the Lower Mississippi Valley and Gulf Coast, as each sought to secure their territorial claims through settlement. Ironically, and for differing reasons, Irish-born persons met the

⁷² Clark, *New Orleans...an Economic History*, 158-180; 202-220; Powell, *The Accidental City*, 129-196.

⁷³ Proclamation of Alejandro O’Reilly, 1769, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 9.

land grant criteria of both sides. British administrators liberally parceled out acres to veterans who had served in its armies. This included a large number of Irish natives who had initially settled in western Pennsylvania, New York and Canada.⁷⁴ Spanish officials, meanwhile, sought to create regional population buffers through the means of Irish *Catholics*, and they, too, would grant much land to new settlers in this and later periods.⁷⁵ As a result of these opportunities—not imperial loyalties—a second wave of Irish immigrants relocated to the region in approximately the twenty years after 1763.

This population seems to have been larger than earlier influxes of Irish-born persons, although it continued to be predominantly male and religiously intermixed. A majority of these settlers moved to the region initially in response to the aforementioned land grants offered by England and Spain. Daniel Clark, Sr., for example, previously served as a “colonel” in the British imperial army, and he obtained his first 500-acre grant in modern-day Mississippi in 1768. Altogether, he would receive over 3,000 acres for his military service.⁷⁶ Other Irishmen either received or had previous grants approved in West Florida after the colony was transferred to Iberian control in 1788. Dublin-born John Fletcher, for instance, claimed 1,000 acres in 1788. William Brown (1789), Patrick Foley (1790) and John Joyce (1791) also appear in colonial records as

⁷⁴ For contemporary British and Spanish land grants, see Clinton Howard, *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947); Clifford Neal Smith, *Spanish and British Land Grants in Mississippi Territory, 1750-1784* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1996); Usner, *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves*, 112.

⁷⁵ See especially Solano, “La colonización irlandesa de la Luisana Española: Dos proyectos de inmigración,” *Acta académica* 12 (May 1993): 201-208; Gilbert Din, “Proposals and Plans for Colonization in Spanish Louisiana, 1787-1790,” *Louisiana History* 11 (Summer 1970): 197-213. As a condition for the transfer of West Florida, Spain agreed to recognize all land grants made during the British occupation.

⁷⁶ Walter Lowrie, *Early Settlers of Mississippi as Taken from Land Claims in the Mississippi Territory: American State Papers* (Washington, D.C.: Duff Green, 1834); May Wilson McBee, *The Natchez Court Records: Abstracts of Early Records, 1767-1805* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2003), 402; 502. For evidence of Daniel Clark, Sr.’s military title, see Col. Daniel Clark to Gen. Wilkinson, Natchez, 30 May 1799; 20 April 1799, in General James Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1816), 603-605.

recipients of four hundred or more acres confirmed by Spain.⁷⁷ It is unclear exactly why these settlers decided to take advantage of imperial land grants at this moment. It is possible that Catholic immigrants, who were denied rights of property-ownership in Ireland, enjoyed the benefits that came with the long-term possession and development of an estate.⁷⁸ Yet, it also is apparent that most of these individuals did not settle on their lands as plantation masters before the 1790s.⁷⁹ Instead, they appointed overseers to manage their properties and they themselves continued to dabble in export exchange. They thus remained an incredibly commercial bunch. Some men, such as Bartholomew Macnamara and Patrick Morgan, continued to trade deerskins and peltries to Anglo-American firms during this period.⁸⁰ Many also hoped to benefit from rising commerce in agricultural produce. To this end, their rural landownership provided them with particular access to regional producers. Belfast natives George and Robert Cochran, for example, received land grants from the Spanish government in the late 1780s and early 1790s. Yet, they primarily worked managing a storehouse for the Philadelphia trading house of Reed & Forde in Natchez, West Florida during this period. There, they thrived selling agricultural and household supplies to their planter-neighbors, who in turn promised them yields of upcoming harvests. The brothers then sold these crops overseas

⁷⁷ McBee, *The Natchez Court Records*, 444; 468; 396.

⁷⁸ John Fitzpatrick to Bartholomew Macnamara, Mobile, 23 November 1769, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 78. George Morgan to Bartholomew Macnamara, Fort Chartres, 20 December 1767. George Morgan Letterbook, 1767-1768, HSP.

⁷⁹ Daniel Clark, Sr., for example, infrequently resided at his Belvedere estate in West Florida until after passing his business on to nephew Daniel Clark, Jr. in the late 1790s. Daniel Clark to Winthrop Sargent, Clarksville, 2 October 1798; 27 January 1799, Winthrop Sargent Papers, 1771-1948, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston (microfilm). Daniel Clark to Winthrop Sargent, Natchez, 15 May 1799, *Ibid.* Daniel Clark to Winthrop Sargent, Belvedere, 1 June 1799, *Ibid.* This, too, characterized the residency patterns of Daniel Clark, Jr. who owned a plantation named Sligo near Natchez. The latter's frequent absence from this estate is attested to by a multiday robbery that occurred there undisturbed in February 1812. Daniel Clark v. John Minor and Stephen Minor, 1812. Circuit Court Records for Adams County, HNF.

⁸⁰ John Fitzpatrick to Patrick Morgan, Manchac, 18 February 1778, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 286. John Fitzpatrick to Morgan & Mather, Manchac, 14 August 1777; 24 July 1779, *Ibid.*, 260; 331. John Fitzpatrick to Bartholomew MacNamara, Mobile, 23 November 1769, *Ibid.*, 78.

out of New Orleans.⁸¹ Similar experiences characterized the contemporary lives of Daniel Clark, Sr., and Oliver Pollock, both of whom provided planters with dry goods and then retailed and shipped their tobacco, indigo and sugar crops from the Gulf Coast.⁸²

This second wave of Irish settlers remained similar to that of earlier frontier traders. They were entrepreneurial, often moved alone (at least initially) and, although their social origins were not elite, they commanded enough financial standing to secure credit and insert themselves as middlemen in regional and transoceanic exchange. These men often brought with them experiences of settlement and interaction in other American settings, and this—and their Irish origins—prepared many of them to do well in early Louisiana. A few, such as Maurice Conway, Daniel Hicky and Oliver Pollock, even attained official or advisory roles in its colonial administration.⁸³ Most of these settlers eventually retired to the plantations that initially attracted them to the region and into which they invested the sums they made in commerce in the form of enslaved laborers.⁸⁴ Their activities helped to develop New Orleans into a major import-export hub by the end of the eighteenth century, and their aspirations that relatives might

⁸¹ McBee, *The Natchez Court Records*, 72; 144; 413; 468. Robert Cochran to Reed & Forde, New Orleans, 5 August 1796; 6 September 1796. Reed and Forde Papers, 1759-1823, HSP. David Ferguson to Reed & Forde, Natchez, 5 August 1791, *Ibid*.

⁸² Oliver Pollock remained loosely invested in the regional peltries trade, suggesting that interests in agricultural export may have grown out of early Gulf Coast commercial experiences. Invoice of Daniel Clark, 2 July 1795. Louisiana Research Collection, Special Collections, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University. Receipt of Oliver Pollock for “Neuf Cent dix neuf livres net indigo,” 14 May 1789, Coxe Family Papers. Also, Clark, *New Orleans...an Economic History*, 183; Thomas N. Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: the First Slave Society in the Deep South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 128-129; Jack D.L. Holmes, “Indigo in Colonial Louisiana and the Floridas,” *Louisiana History* 8 (Autumn 1967): 329-349.

⁸³ Daniel Hicky was appointed Indian Commissioner of the Gulf Coast region. Maurice Conway and Oliver Pollock, meanwhile, formed intimacies with the colonial administration that allowed them to trade with foreign merchants otherwise limited by imperial legislation. Philip Hicky and Family Papers, 1769-1902, LSU. Martin, *A History of the Bouligny Family*. Deposition of Oliver Pollock, 8 June 1808; 10 June 1808, in Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times*, 581-586.

⁸⁴ “Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara, Invento. y estimaron. des sus vienes,” January 1788. Spanish Judiciary Records, 1763-1803, LSM. Succession of John Fitzpatrick, 9 May 1791, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 425-432. “Inventory and estimation...of the deceased Turnbull and Joyce,” 5 May 1800, Archives of the Spanish Government of West Florida.

benefit from their economic gains commenced a final wave of Irish settlement to the early Gulf Coast.

Commercial Expansion and Irish Entrepreneurs, 1780-1820

New Orleans's large-scale investment in foreign commerce reignited under Spanish control, especially after 1780. King Carlos III of Spain and his ministers sought to establish an organized and economically efficient empire. They did so by actively encouraging trade, again mostly through imperial networks, and by implementing common commercial laws across the Spanish New World. Tobacco was one product that particularly benefitted from the transfer of political control in New Orleans early on. In 1776, for example, the Crown followed up on prior efforts to export Louisiana crops to Mexico by ordering Governor Julian Luis de Unzaga to supply as much tobacco to the *Renta*, or Royal Tobacco Monopoly in New Spain, as they desired. Later acts further authorized the governor to take measures to encourage Gulf Coast production by constructing a storehouse in New Orleans and offering bonuses on properly shipped cargoes.⁸⁵ Peltries, naval stores, indigo, sugar and cotton all eventually were supported as Spanish exports. By 1780, the colony annually shipped an average of 350,000 piastres of tobacco, 350,000 piastres of dyestuffs and 350,000 piastres of lumber and shipbuilding materials.⁸⁶ Spanish officials tried to limit exchange with non-imperial markets, for example, by prohibiting English, French and American ships from even landing in Louisiana in a 1768 ordinance.⁸⁷ Yet, it was clear by 1780 that New Orleans

⁸⁵ Brian E. Coutts, "Boom and Bust: The Rise and Fall of the Tobacco Industry in Spanish Louisiana, 1770-1790," *The Americas* 42, no. 3 (1986): 289-309; Powell, *The Accidental City*, 189-190.

⁸⁶ Usner, *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves*, 281.

⁸⁷ Clark, *New Orleans...an Economic History*, 158-180. British merchants were expelled from New Orleans on several occasions. Once was in 1769 by General Alejandro O'Reilly. In 1778, Governor Bernardo de Gálvez similarly allowed English, Scottish and Irish residents thirty minutes to decide whether to swear loyalty to the Spanish crown or to relocate. See Dalrymple, *The Merchant of Manchac*, 10. For more on Spanish imperial policies, David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 237; Fabel, *The Economy of British West Florida*.

was quite dependent on transimperial and transoceanic commerce, and any attempts to limit this trade quickly were checked. The commercial *cédula* of 1782, for instance, reversed the previously prohibited exchange between New Orleans, France and the French West Indies for ten years. In 1787, 1793 and especially the Treaty of San Lorenzo in 1795, Spanish officials in New Orleans made other concessions to traders from the United States, to whom they had closed the Mississippi River in 1784. These included rights of usage without duties, direct purchase of much-needed food from interior farmers, and free navigation and deposit.⁸⁸ Commerce continued to attract settlers to New Orleans well into its territorial period, and, by 1810, it ranked as the fifth most populated city in the United States, with 24,522 inhabitants.⁸⁹

Merchants exchanged the many products of early New Orleans for trade items, groceries, clothing, enslaved persons and manufactured luxuries from other American settlements and from the Old World. Sophie White has shown that, in the French colonial period, city elites used access to fashionable Parisian dressmakers to demonstrate their social connectedness and status in the New World.⁹⁰ An interest in European styles and goods were maintained into the Spanish and early national eras. They enabled those vessels sending Louisiana products overseas to return with full holds and a wider community of city residents to invest themselves in the transoceanic exchange of things. Much as in contemporary Ireland, the newness of imported goods was a key selling point. An 1810 advertisement in the *Louisiana Courier*, for example,

⁸⁸ Spain reopened the Mississippi River to usage by citizens of the United States in 1787, albeit with high charges on unloading goods in New Orleans. In 1793, or during the war with France, Spanish officials again turned to farmers in the American interior to supply much needed foodstuffs for New Orleans residents, as naval trade at this time was too risky. Powell, *The Accidental City*, 189; Clark, *New Orleans...an Economic History*, 221-274.

⁸⁹ Clark, *New Orleans...an Economic History*, 274.

⁹⁰ Sophie White, "This Gown...was Much Admired and Made Many Ladies Jealous': Fashion and the Forging of Elite Identities in French Colonial New Orleans," in *Washington's South*, ed. Tamara Harvey and Greg O'Brien (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 86-118; White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*.

began with a bolded “Just Received” before detailing the tortoise-shell combs, shoes and artificial flowers that made up the merchandise recently arrived from Philadelphia.⁹¹ Later chapters will look at the interconnected materialities of Ireland and Louisiana from 1780 to 1820 in more detail. Yet, it is important to recognize here that New Orleans did not just participate in commerce in one-direction, as a raw goods exporter, in this period. Locals, instead, were regularly in contact with the foreign persons who traded and the things they exchanged at their port. This intense commerciality would be apparent to Irish settlers, who encountered and often socialized with the crews of merchant vessels at the delta port of La Balize while waiting sometimes days for permission to start sailing up the Mississippi River to New Orleans.⁹² For those Irish immigrants who moved to the city after 1780, such sights must have been exciting. Many of them would have, after all, traveled directly to benefit from this commercial setting.

The final populations of Irish natives to move to Louisiana in the eighteenth century (and who continued to arrive even after 1820) were those who sought the opportunities created by transoceanic trade. These were not frontiersmen like their predecessors, who expected to spend years living with indigenous nations. Instead, these settlers intended to reside and work in New Orleans and to benefit professionally from the demands of its ever-changing marketplaces.⁹³ Their economic variability and vitality is attested to by their occupations. The employment of just under 100 settlers are specified in the archives. These notations confirm the heavy and diverse reliance of settlers in this period on material exchange, revealing that a majority (about 75%) of Irish settlers worked in commerce-reliant professions (**Table 1.1**). This not only included merchants, who made up about one-third of these settlers. Between 1780 and

⁹¹ *Louisiana Courier*, 16 July 1810. Howard-Tilton Library, Tulane University (microfilm).

⁹² See especially Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 18 November 1817, Quin Papers.

⁹³ Ireland would experience a political rebellion against British rule in 1798, and several American cities did receive significantly greater numbers of “exiles” after its failure. There is no evidence, however, that New Orleans was among them. Wilson, *United Irishmen, United States*.

**Table 1.1. Professional Break-Down
of Identified Irish New Orleanians, 1780-1820**

<i>Profession:</i>	<i>Nos.</i>
Commerce (merchants, merchant-planters)	33
Small-Scale Agriculture (farmers, overseers)	3
Education (teachers, tutors)	4
Religious (priests, ministers)	6
Housing (hoteliers, board house owners)	6
Food Services (cafe owners, grocers)	13
Construction (bricklayers, carpenters, laborers)	9
Shipping, Packaging (bottlers, coopers, stevedores)	6
Transportation (captains, sailors, pilots, draymen)	4
Military (soldiers, officers)	6
Other	9
TOTAL	98

Gathered from SCR, vols. 1-14.

1820, the city attracted increasing numbers of middling and modest settlers who worked in retailing, food services, housing and artisanal trades. James and William Kelly, for example, both opened up grocery stores within a few blocks of the Mississippi River's docks in the early 1800s.⁹⁴ Patrick Fox, James Martin and Michael McMannas all similarly opened and operated boarding facilities for traveling seamen, maritime officers and merchants in the Vieux Carré during this period.⁹⁵ These settlers relied on the frequent circulation of persons and commodities in and out of New Orleans to supply their residences and retail shops and to provide patrons for their businesses.

⁹⁴ Also, inventory of John McCall, 1816, Estate Inventories. Inventory of John McGoubbrick, 1817, Ibid.

⁹⁵ "Patricio Fox" and "Ysabel MacFader" (1816); "Ana Emilia Fox" (1817), SRC, vol. 12. "James Martin" (1823), Ibid., vol. 15.

This period also differed from earlier patterns of immigration in the increased presence of female settlers. And Irishwomen, too, involved themselves in local exchange economies. Mary Caughey and Mary Fitzgerald, for instance, managed cafés and gaming halls attached to their urban homes and independent of their husbands.⁹⁶ Given, again, that many of these women arrived with family members, it is clear that Louisiana as a migratory destination expanded among all Irish populations after 1780. This further is indicated by the fact that Belfast was able to offer at least one direct and annual sailing vessel to New Orleans by 1810.⁹⁷

Those Irish merchants who moved in this period or continued to trade after earlier migrations, on whom the next two chapters will focus, hoped to benefit from transoceanic commerce, not regional barter. Many new settlers would be well set-up to do so, as they relocated at the request of family members who had already moved to the region. Patrick Macnamara, William Conway, and Daniel Clark, Jr. all migrated to the Gulf Coast to join merchant-uncles already established there.⁹⁸ New and unattached Irish traders also made their way to the Gulf Coast after 1780, and their numbers included men of socially-middling and commercially-experienced backgrounds, like Moses Duffy, James Rice Fitzgerald, John McCall, Arthur McClasky and George Pollock.⁹⁹ They again came from all regions of Ireland and represented Catholic and

⁹⁶ An inventory dating to June 27, 1831 assessed the goods at Marie Caughey's "Café du Bayou," located in Bayou St. Jean. Among these were "[c]ent bouteilles de bierre," "[s]oixante bouteilles de Vin rouge," "[t]rois douzaines de verres," "[u]ne longue table en Cypre" and "[u]n Jeu de quiller." Inventory of "Marie Caughey, wife of William Wells," 1831, Estate Inventories. Mary Fitzgerald to Bishop Luis Penalver y Cardenas, New Orleans, 24 December 1795. Papers of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, 1576-1803, University of Notre Dame Archives.

⁹⁷ See records relating to the "Waldron" (1810), "Parker & Sons" (1816) and "Edward Downes" (1817). *Documenting Ireland: Parliament, People and Migration* (<http://www.dippam.ac.uk>).

⁹⁸ See pages 65-69.

⁹⁹ Only the date of George Pollock's arrival in New Orleans can be confirmed, namely in 1801. George Pollock to Jonathan Bural, New Orleans, 2 May 1807. Simon Gratz Collection, HSP. Records relating to these other Irishmen composed in the Louisiana city confirm post-1780 residencies. Bill of Lading from Moses Duffy, 9 February 1811. William Wheelan Papers, 1811-1841, HSP. For James Rice Fitzgerald, Jean Longpré, *An answer to the report of the committee of stockholders of the Louisiana*

Protestant spiritualities.¹⁰⁰ In New Orleans, these men participated in the export of indigo, shipbuilding materials, sugar and cotton to associates in eastern Atlantic cities and to firms in Europe. They also benefitted from new and lucrative exchanges, such as the import of enslaved Africans and African Americans through the Caribbean.¹⁰¹ The transoceanic exchange of things, however, did not just occupy these Irish merchants' time in New Orleans. It essentially shaped the ways in which they engaged with and adjusted to the city. Contemporary immigrants' expectations that they would involve themselves in trade on a regular basis, for instance, were evident in their residencies. Almost all Irish merchants owned or rented homes near the busy commercial district of the Vieux Carré while they were professionally active.¹⁰²

Commercial interactions also impacted Irish immigrants' socializations in New Orleans. Local, regional and especially transoceanic exchange in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries depended on networks of mutually interested and knowledgeable traders. Contemporary tracts offered a laundry list of skills that potential merchants should master. These included writing, arithmetic, comparative money and weights, an awareness of various countries' special products, "the nature of *exchange*,

Bank (New Orleans: J.C. de St. Romes, 1820). Also, "Arthur McClasky" (1818), SRC, vol. 13. Inventory of John McCall, 1816, Estate Inventories.

¹⁰⁰ The role of religion in commercial networks requires a more extensive examination, especially the regularity with which Irish traders comfortably engaged in exchange across denominational lines. This is a topic I anticipate dealing with further in my subsequent manuscript.

¹⁰¹ Douglas B. Chambers, "Slave trade merchants of Spanish New Orleans, 1763-1803: Clarifying the colonial slave trade to Louisiana in Atlantic perspective," *Atlantic Studies* 5 (December 2008): 335-346; Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: the First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

¹⁰² County Cork-native John McCall, for example, died "in a house situated on the public walk between the city of New Orleans and the Suburb St. Mary." Henry Paul Nugent, meanwhile, gave his will "à l'encoignure de las rues Ste. Anne et Condé." The inventories of James Rice Fitzgerald and Robert Sanders Lett both were conducted at their homes in the Vieux Carré. Will of John McCall, Acts of Michel de Armas, vol. 10, 8 May 1816, NONA. Will of Henry Paul Nugent, Acts of Michel de Armas, vol. 13, 6 June 1817, NONA. Inventory of James Rice Fitzgerald, 1815, Estate Inventories. Inventory of Robert Sanders Lett, 1818, Ibid. Also, "Memorandum for Mr. Coxe's Government of Lots sold in the Suburb St. Jean," 10 August 1809. Daniel W. Coxe Papers, 1793-1868, HSP. "Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara," January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records.

according to the course of different places,” methods of shipping and packing, various conditions for insurance, ship repairs, and language.¹⁰³ Such texts intended to encourage self-reliance. Yet, they ironically emphasized the contrary, namely that traders could not be in all places at all times nor could they provide total awareness of all foreign markets. As a result, and as the above demands still needed to be met, successful firms relied on specifically placed contacts that could offer them timely goods and business information. The latter included updates on commodities desired by local shoppers, on lulls and gluts caused by newly arrived ships, on low or rising sales prices, and on any political or administrative issues that might cause goods shipped to be delayed or seized during wartime. This meant that Irish-New Orleans merchants necessarily had to connect with buyers and sellers from diverse backgrounds and in various settings, if they hoped to expand their business. They also would have expected to fulfill these roles for non-local persons and firms they personally knew. Trade then—rather than regional origins, Old World ethnicity, or shared faiths—initiated the social ways that immigrants engaged their new homes. Mercantile networks did so professionally and personally.

¹⁰³ *The Book of Trades, or Library of Useful Arts*, vol. 2 (London: Tabart & Company, 1804), 152-155. Also, George Fisher, *The American Instructor: or, a Young Man's Best Companion. Containing Spelling, Writing, and Arithmetick...Instructions to Write Variety of Hands...Also Merchants Accompts* (Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin, 1748); Beawes, *Lex Mercatoria Rediva*, 30-31; Mortimer, *A Grammar illustrating the Principles and Practices of Trade*.

Chapter 2:
Professional *Negotiantes*:
Merchant Networks and Irish New Orleans

In March 1788, the schooner *Governor Miro* arrived in New Orleans to deliver its cargo of 125 enslaved Africans. It was business as usual for the local merchant house of Sligo-born Daniel Clark, Sr. and partner Ebenezer Rees. The men spent the next few weeks dividing these properties—all of whom were bought on consignment and hand-picked by Clark in British Dominica—among their new Louisiana owners. With English financiers, Caribbean suppliers, and North American consumers, the transatlantic slave-trade was a complicated but popular business along the Gulf Coast after 1780. It also was one whose diverse networks went unnoticed when it ran smoothly. The latter, of course, was not always the case. Clark & Rees soon discovered that the depletion of their enslaved inventory did not end their dealings with the 1788 *Governor Miro*. Rather, their problems ensued late in 1789, when the Philadelphia-born trader Peter Whiteside filed for bankruptcy in England.¹ Credit-based issues were common in specie-scarce imperial economies.² Whiteside's residence along Broad Street in London, a few blocks from the Bank of England and the South Seas Company, underlined his speculative transoceanic investments.³ Unfortunately for Daniel Clark, Sr. and Ebenezer Rees, the

¹ Proceedings instituted by Don Patricio Morgan, in order to prove his authorization, granted by Don Peter Whiteside, 3 February 1790, Spanish Judiciary Records.

² See especially Margot C. Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740-1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Bruce H. Mann, *Republic of Debtors: Bankruptcy in the Age of American Independence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Jacob M. Price, *Capital and Credit in the British Overseas Trade: the View from the Chesapeake, 1700-1776* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

³ Other Broad-Street-Ward buildings housing related business venues included the Sun Fire office, an assembly hall regularly used by the East India Company, and the Drapers' and Merchant

American Whiteside fronted the £6323.18.10 needed for their slaving adventure. His creditors now expected their money to be immediately and entirely paid back by Clark & Rees in pounds sterling. Even more troubling for the New Orleans merchants, these European lenders wanted this to be accomplished through economic networks that were unfamiliar to them.

The firm of Clark & Rees actually had settled their accounts for the *Governor Miro* by the time Patrick Morgan, the creditors' local agent, approached them in February 1790. Their 1788 ledgers indicate a payment of £5013.3 to "Messr. Samuel Chollet," a Swiss Huguenot living in Dominica, for the "125 Negroes" he supplied their ship. Additional sums relating to commission (£125.6) and insurance (£158.2.6) eventually were taken from the profit of the New Orleans slave-sales, and they were sent to Peter Whiteside through Chollet & Company and its Irish-born agent, James Blair.⁴ The London lenders, however, were dissatisfied with Clark & Rees's decision to favor familiar mercantile networks represented by Chollet & Company when relaying this money overseas. The creditors thus petitioned the New Orleans colonial courts to seize the aforementioned sums and to reroute them via their own approved, financial lines. This change may seem trivial. Yet, an English-based circulation actually allowed Whiteside's lenders a more direct say in how the transferred monies and bill-of-exchange would be used to reduce the Philadelphian's debts. It also gave them the liberty—if said sums were to be exhausted—to negate any monies due to Samuel Chollet. Such a result would not have boded well for the future business relations of Daniel Clark, Sr., Ebenezer Rees and their Swiss slave-supplier. It therefore makes sense that they pushed to keep the payment of Peter Whiteside's loan within their own commercial control. Ultimately,

Taylor's halls. See John Noorthouck, *A New History of London: Including Westminster and Southwark* (London: R. Baldwin, 1773), 56-576.

⁴ "Dn. Messr. Clark & Rees New Orleans in Account Current with Peter Whiteside of London," 20 July 1789, in proceedings instituted by Don Patricio Morgan, 3 February 1790, Spanish Judiciary Records. Samuel Chollet, at some prior time, was granted a power-of-attorney by Peter Whiteside, in order to settle the latter's financial accounts in the region.

however, little of this debate mattered. Oliver Pollock, a Coleraine-born merchant and prominent New Orleans trader, declared precedence to the disputed monies.⁵ And area-courts, likely hoping to satisfy one of their largest provisions suppliers, favored his claim. In the process, they absolved Clark & Rees of their outstanding debts in England.

The example of the 1788 *Governor Miro* reveals the complicated webs of late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century commerce as they operated out of New Orleans. David Hancock once described contemporary merchants as “citizens of the world,” who possessed limitless access to global persons and goods without having a real attachment to place.⁶ Recent scholars have tempered this view as related to sellers and buyers, and they argue that the overwhelming nature of transoceanic economies made individuals keen to do business within smaller, more personalized circles of family and friends.⁷ In this mutual support system, suppliers and their location-based agents monitored the prices and qualities of requested commodities. Faithful buyers then provided merchants with the firm consumer base needed to expand business. The proceedings following Peter Whiteside’s bankruptcy point to the workings of these specific networks. And they suggest that their breakdown (or even substitution) affected a wide range of commercial investors, sometimes quite negatively. Clark & Rees’s activities additionally reveal another important characteristic, or lack thereof, of these professional webs. This was that the intimate ties scholars recognize among traders in this period did not especially coalesce along perceived ethnic, religious and geographical

⁵ Petition of Oliver Pollock, 15 March 1790, *Ibid.*

⁶ David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁷ See Gervais, “Neither Imperial nor Atlantic,” 465-473; Cathy Matson, *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); Serena R. Zabin, *Dangerous Economies: Status and Commerce in Imperial New York* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Xabier Lamikiz, *Trade and Trust in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World: Spanish Merchants and their Overseas Networks* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2010).

lines.⁸ Instead, it literally paid to be cosmopolitan when it came to exchange. Contacts with non-local persons offered Clark & Rees a means to quickly assemble cargos of human-chattel for Caribbean export in a market-system wherein timing was everything. They also guaranteed the firm, as will be discussed, numerous and diverse buyers for these enslaved persons on their New Orleans arrival. Indeed, it seems that inhabitants of an intensely commercial Gulf Coast understood shared investments in non-local trade as basing many of their relationships.

Irish immigrants, as already suggested, benefitted from the intense and diverse material interests of Louisiana in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. And, in New Orleans, individuals like Oliver Pollock, the Daniels Clark, Sr. and Jr., John Fitzpatrick, John Joyce, and Antonio Walsh established themselves as major merchants and linked the city to American markets in Mobile, the Illinois Country, Philadelphia, New York and the West Indies and to those farther afield in London, Liverpool, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Calcutta.⁹ These traders, however, worked via limited and particular networks, much as did other merchants in the Old and New Worlds. Many initially moved to the Gulf Coast so as to benefit professional webs focused on the family, including uncles, brothers, and sons who exchanged with one another. This first resulted in Irish-New Orleans commercial-systems unintentionally linked by ethnicity. As settlers adjusted to Louisiana life and began to trust new friends and friends-of-friends, however, their networks diversified to regularly include professionals of varied local and foreign ancestries. Indeed, to succeed in New Orleans business, Irish merchants realized

⁸ Early immigration scholars often point to “ethnoreligious linkages” as a site of professional and personal socialization among Irish settlers in the Americas. See Miller, et al., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, 318.

⁹ Oliver Pollock to Girod & Co., New Orleans, 12 May 1789, Coxe Family Papers. Daniel Clark to Thomas Fitzsimmons, New Orleans, 3 July 1787, Gratz Collection. Oliver Pollock to John & Robert Barclay, Dominica, 1 September 1788. Jaspas Yeates Papers, 1733-1876, HSP. Beverly Chew to Daniel Coxe, Paris, 3 February 1808, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. Daniel Clark to James Dromgoole, Philadelphia, 5 December 1761, Clark Letters Book. Oliver Pollock to Benjamin Franklin, 29 April 1778. The Papers of Benjamin Franklin (<http://www.yale.edu/franklinpapers/index.html>). Also, see Joseph M. Pile to Rebecca Pile, Calcutta, 29 September 1818. Pile Family Papers, 1793-1836, HSP.

they would have to engage wider and wider circles of buyers and sellers as transoceanic negotiators.¹⁰ This chapter reconstructs these networks and analyses their significance to the professional activities of Irishmen along the Gulf Coast. It shows that these networks were beneficial for merchants, thus ensuring an interest in their maintenance. As a result, they—and their expressed investment in a non-local world of things—became the cornerstone of migrants’ interactions with their new neighbors in early Louisiana.

The Benefit of Professional Networks

The networks that Irish immigrants and their non-Irish counterparts formed to conduct commerce were key in procuring financial capital, quality products, timely shipments and sometimes alternative or subversive means of exchange. Most individuals started in trade with little upfront money. Acts of buying and selling in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, additionally, were rarely completed with hard currency. Instead, early transoceanic commerce ran on credit, and a merchant’s success primarily was judged on the amount of credit his firm commanded. Prosperous traders thus quite often died heavily in debt—a circumstance that did not necessarily indicate professional failure during their lifetimes.¹¹ Commerce, then, was conducted via monetary loans at agreed upon interest rates, account credits to be paid in future goods, and the transfer of bills-of-exchange already existing between two trading individuals.¹²

¹⁰ “Negotiante” was the contemporary Spanish term meaning “merchant.” For an example of this usage, see proceedings instituted by Don Patricio Morgan, 3 February 1790, Spanish Judiciary Records.

¹¹ Daniel Clark, Jr., for example, left an “immense estate,” including several plantations, enslaved persons and real-estate holdings in Bayou St. Jean when he prematurely died in 1813. Most of these goods, however, were sold by his executors over the next ten years to compensate for his debts. Alexander, *Notorious Woman*, 18; 154.197.

¹² See Pierre Gervais, “A Merchant or a French Atlantic? Eighteenth-century account books as narratives of transnational merchant political economy,” *French History* 25, no. 1 (2011): 28-47; Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1986), 45-47; Laurence Fontaine, “Antonio and Shylock: Credit and Trust in France, c. 1680-c. 1780,” *The Economic History Review* 54, no. 1 (2001):

In all instances, lenders had to be fairly confident that their monies would be returned within agreed upon timeframes. Otherwise, they might find themselves falling behind with creditors and hurting their own reputations and food circulations.¹³ The issuance and acceptance of promissory notes, therefore, tended to occur in very limited circles. Limerick-born Louisianan Maunsell White, for example, found difficulty in having his credit accepted by Natchez planters in 1806, as he was a “young [beginner]” in the cotton-export trade. It would take time and proven finances, his local agent noted, before White attained “confidence with the most respectable part of the inhabitants” and thus an ability to pay in terms other than cash.¹⁴

Bonds of financial obligation inspired a mutual interest in the success of networked buyers and sellers. The desire to be paid back was augmented by the fact that merchants who regularly traded together were often those who loaned each other money and advanced credit.¹⁵ As a result, commercial firms and their agents tried to ensure that they exchanged amongst each other the best quality of products possible. This included asking suppliers for their specific aid. While working in Philadelphia during the 1760s,

39-57; Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: the Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); Finn, *The Character of Credit*.

¹³ Eighteenth and early nineteenth century merchants rarely sued one another for sums unpaid, instead preferring the contemporary maxim “[a] bad compromise is better than a successful law-suit.” Mortimer, *A Grammar illustrating the Principles and Practices of Trade*, 183. Lawsuits were expensive, rarely resulted in fully paid loans, and could dissuade future buyers and sellers from engaging a firm. Thus, merchants often spent years trying to track down and get debtors to pay whatever sums they could to their commercial houses. Henry Cruger, for example, wrote to the Philadelphia firm of Reed & Forde for several years seeking payment on loan. It was only when he threatened a suit for “faith less Conduct and ungenerous too” that the Pennsylvanians forwarded a small sum. Henry Cruger to Reed & Forde, New York, 27 February 1793; 25 July 1794; 25 October 1794, Reed and Forde Papers. In 1801, Reed & Forde similarly wrote Daniel Clark, Jr. in New Orleans: “two years have elapsed without our having received any remittance...from you.” Reed & Forde to Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, 16 April 1801, *Ibid*.

¹⁴ [Elips] Frazer & Co. to Maunsell White, Port Gibson, 28 August 1806. Maunsell White Papers, 1802-1912, The Southern Historical Collection, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

¹⁵ Daniel Clark to Daniel Mildred, Philadelphia, 13 November 1760, Clark Letters Book. Daniel Clark to William Neale, Philadelphia, 14 January 1761, *Ibid*. Oliver Pollock to William Hamilton, Philadelphia, 5 July 1788, Yeates Papers. Oliver Pollock to William Hamilton, New Orleans, 1 June 1780, *Ibid*. Similarly, in 1786, a London firm warned Philadelphians Reed & Forde to “instantly make us remittances with avidity; & so you continue to stand high in the opinion of the Commercial world.” Crueger, Lediard & Mullell to Reed & Forde, London, 1 February 1786, Reed and Forde Papers.

Daniel Clark, Sr. requested of London merchant William Neale “that care be taken in the Choice of my goods...[especially given] my slight Knowledge of the Business.” The Irishman even included a small appeal to Neale’s wife, that she might pick out some popular items for his female shoppers: “Towards the end of this order I mention something new fashion’d to touch the Fancy of some of our Ladies which [I] leave Intirety [sic] to Mrs. Neales Taste.”¹⁶ Letters between networked merchants were frequent and often detailed. Fellow traders inquired of each other about commodities specifically wanted by their customers. John Fitzpatrick wrote to a fellow Louisiana trader in 1768: “If in Case any of your friends has a Negro Man that they will sell; at a reason able price, there is a Spanish Gentleman that will Take him.”¹⁷ These letters also detailed the products that might find a particular market among regional buyers. During the 1790s, Daniel Clark, Jr. sent invoices to the Philadelphia firm of Reed & Forde, requesting that they send flour, hams, brandy, rum, raisins, cheese, hair powder, nankeens and muslins, and specific serving wares to New Orleans for sale. The Irishman included notes on those goods that would “sell fast” and those that should be “good Quality and cheap.”¹⁸ The information about items relayed within merchant networks was crucial for the success and continued business of individual salesmen. And the exclusivity of these updates is evident in the fact that local agents often requested that merchant contacts “keep the advice to yourself” and thus retain its benefits for a limited group.¹⁹ Furthermore, traders understood that poor quality commodities shipped to foreign markets could impact not only their reputation with buyers but the entirety of

¹⁶ Daniel Clark to William Neale, Philadelphia, 16 October 1768; 25 September 1768, Clark Letters Book.

¹⁷ John Fitzpatrick to John Stephenson, New Orleans, 30 June 1768, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 38.

¹⁸ Coxe & Clark to Reed & Forde, New Orleans, 21 March 1793; 10 July 1793, Reed and Forde Papers.

¹⁹ Daniel Clark, Jr. to Winthrop Sargent, New Orleans, 15 January 1799, Sargent Papers.

their supply-credit networks. This certainly was the case in 1802, when Clark, Jr. berated partners Richard Relf and Beverly Chew for sending wet and ruined cotton to the London market. His reprimand focused not on lost product values but on lasting damage to the company's name: "You may congratulate yourself on having shaken Mr. Coxe's [another business partner] credit and fortune, as well as mine and your own, and almost your future reputation to the very foundation."²⁰ The Irishman understood that his European contacts trusted his firm to send them quality goods. And, when this failed, his only solution was to rebuild this trust through face-to-face conversation. Clark thus quickly departed to meet with the unhappy buyers in England.²¹

Timing, too, determined the success of commercial shipments, and having trustworthy local agents helped merchants know when to send items so as to make the greatest profits. Members of trade-focused networks expected to be in regular written contact with one another. Daniel Clark, Jr. particularly berated the silence of a Philadelphia associate in 1807, lamenting "that at a moment of crisis like the present you neglect to write to us." His "dear Friend," the Irishman continued to mourn, never should have "suffer[ed] 3 Weeks to pass without a Line."²² Traders located in various port cities informed one another of rising and falling local demands. Markets often varied based on the arrival of trade ships, and they were subject to quick change, especially if an expected vessel did not make it to port. In such instances, it was those merchants who quickly learned of these lulls from local associates and sent ships filled

²⁰ Daniel Clark to Chew & Relf, Liverpool, 7 October 1802, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, case no. 8825, United States Circuit Court of the Fifth Judicial Circuit and District of Louisiana, vol. 2 (New Orleans: Clerk's Office, United States Circuit Court, 1883), 1781-1782.

²¹ *Ibid.* Clark noted from Liverpool: "I have been here three days, and am on the instant of my departure for London. Although prepared for the horrid tale I have heard, I could scarce stand it."

²² Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, 24 August 1807, New Orleans, Daniel W. Coxe Papers.

with replacement commodities that professionally benefitted.²³ Accurate information shared between traders in various locales also allowed these individuals to fearlessly move goods to and between unfamiliar markets, without worry that unsold items might sit in costly foreign storehouses for long periods of time.²⁴ Of course, by helping non-local associates have successful commercial experiences in settings like early New Orleans, merchants stationed there guaranteed their own continued supply lines. They also ensured that grateful contacts would help navigate trade in their respective ports.

To obtain the aforementioned information and its associated benefits, it was not unusual for firms to send a representative that they already knew to settle in foreign ports. Daniel Clark, Jr., for example, actively involved himself in the commercial life of early New Orleans. Yet, it seems that he little enjoyed his move from Pennsylvania, where his business partner lived and his Irish mother ultimately settled. In an 1793 letter to Daniel Coxe, he sardonically recognized that one of them needed to be a resident of Louisiana so as to expand their firm: “it seems to me sufficient that one of the two at a time should be doomed to all the horrors of New Orleans.”²⁵ Oliver Pollock, in 1780, similarly described New Orleans as the “End of the World.”²⁶ These men specifically moved to the region to develop pre-established commercial networks. The volatile political climate of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries also made such residencies valuable to merchants exchanging through the West Indies and Europe. Several wars broke out between France, Spain and Great Britain from 1780 to 1820. And

²³ Daniel Clark informed his Philadelphia contacts in 1793, for example, that “[f]lour seems likely to rise therefore would recommend you making a Shipment by the Schooner if she should return.” Coxe & Clark to Reed & Forde, New Orleans, 25 March 1793, Reed and Forde Papers. John Fitzpatrick similarly noted that “Your Brigs coming to the Mississippi...her Being able to make a Saving voyage; Will be owing intirely to the Time she Comes in; if there is any Other before her it will Lower the price of your Goods.” John Fitzpatrick to McGillivray & Struthers, Manchac, 31 October 1772, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 135-137.

²⁴ James Thompson to Reed & Forde, Wilmington, 8 June 1780, Reed and Forde Papers.

²⁵ Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 24 September 1793, Daniel W. Coxe Papers.

²⁶ Oliver Pollock to Thomas Bradford, New Orleans, 1 March 1780. Bradford Family Papers, 1620-1906, HSP.

many Irish-Louisiana traders had cargos seized by privateers claiming to protect imperial powers.²⁷ New Orleanians, as residents of an Iberian colony from 1763 to 1803, had access to Spanish ships and shipping routes. And city merchants could use these vessels to send commodities along protected Spanish routes in wartime. Furthermore, legislation that prohibited trade between imperial powers (especially during military conflict) was more often enforced in the prized Caribbean than in Louisiana. As a result, locally-situated merchants comfortable with the administration could negotiate the import of goods from other North American markets, transfer these items to sanctioned vessels, transport them on imperial ships to the West Indies, and thus attain access to the much desired commodities of this region for prohibited northern consumers.²⁸ The liminality of Irish-New Orleanians allowed them particular success in this transimperial trade. Immigrants used their ties to East Coast, interior and overseas Anglophone commercial networks, their residencies in the Spanish Empire, and their often unclear citizenships to gain contracts and attract import-export business along the Gulf Coast.²⁹ Oliver Pollock, for example, offered Spanish officials his contacts with Ohio and Mississippi River grain farmers in the 1780s. As administrators could not meet local needs for bread, they sanctioned the Irishman's otherwise illicit commerce with the new United States.³⁰ Antonio Patrick Walsh similarly used his repute with Louisiana officials

²⁷ See especially records relating to the *John Adams* and the *Grand Sachem*. B. Bosque to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 14 June 1803, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. Beverly Chew to Daniel Coxe, Paris, 3 February 1803; 12 February 1803; 12 March 1803; 22 March 1803; 20 June 1803; 6 July 1803, *Ibid*.

²⁸ Deposition of William Porter, 28 April 1808, Gilpin Family Papers, 1727-1872, HSP. Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 17 October 1793, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. Daniel Clark to Fulwar Skipwith, Paris, 16 May 1803, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1780-1781.

²⁹ See also Sylvia L. Hilton, "Loyalty and Patriotism on North American Frontiers: Being and Becoming Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1776-1803," in Smith and Hilton, *Nexus of Empire*, 8-38.

³⁰ Pollock recognized the "confidential intimacy I had with the Governor and all the Spanish officers" in Louisiana. Deposition of Oliver Pollock, 8 June 1808; 10 June 1808, in Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times*, 581-586. John Hunter to Oliver Pollock, St. Kitts, 19 August 1767, Oliver Pollock Papers, 1767-1784, LSU. Also, Cummins, "Oliver Pollock and the Creation of an American

to gain access to the lucrative Mexican trade, especially dyestuffs. He, in turn, shared the many commodities of this market with contacts in Spain, France and North America.³¹

The aim of this interconnected commerce was not universal aid but competition. English traveler Thomas Ashe estimated that, between 1800 and 1806, the number of traders in New Orleans increased fifty-fold.³² His estimates likely are high, but Ashe did point to a recognizable Gulf Coast reality. This was that the number of new and native Louisianans hoping to benefit from transoceanic exchange was increasing. Irish settlers recognized this expansion, and they sought to be competitive by amassing loyal networks of suppliers and buyers. Some immigrants started partnerships with merchants in other markets. Daniel Clark, Jr. and Philadelphian Daniel Coxe did so, they noted, to “avoid hurting [ourselves] and Friends who were interested in the trade [of] this place...by a constant competition in our Sales.”³³ Others operated as agents for larger firms with local transactions, as Bartholomew Macnamara did beginning in the 1760s for the prominent frontier trading company of Baynton, Wharton & Morgan.³⁴ Ultimately, Irish merchants in early New Orleans proved incredibly loyal to the individuals they had previously engaged in trade and rarely substituted commercial associates. Trade networks grew, instead, through personal contacts, as immigrants came to know their new neighbors in New Orleans and gained new acquaintances via the recommendations of trustworthy friends. Commerce out of late eighteenth and early nineteenth Louisiana to the rest of the world was complicated and subject to quick change due to demand and

Identity,” 201, 206. James Alton James, “Oliver Pollock, Financier of the Revolution in the West,” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 16 (June 1929): 67-80.

³¹ Le Baron de Carondelet to Antonio Patrick Walsh, Mexico, 11 November 1797; 5 December 1797, Walsh Papers. Manuel Gayoso de Limos to Antonio Patrick Walsh, New Orleans, 1 April 1799, Ibid. Porro & Murphy to Samuel and James Moore, Vera Cruz, 30 May 1799, Ibid.

³² Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America Performed in the Year 1806* (London: Richard Philips, 1809), 309-310.

³³ Daniel Clark to Reed & Forde, New Orleans, 16 March 1793, Reed and Forde Papers.

³⁴ George Morgan to Bartholomew Macnamara, Fort Chartres, 20 December 1767, George Morgan Letterbook.

imperial politics. Merchants thus needed to know that the people they dealt with were informed, well supplied, resourceful when facing difficulties, and believed their successes to be interlocked with those of their associates. The final result of these codependent material exchanges, as experienced by Irish Louisianans, was particular and intimate professional networks that began with the family and grew outward.

Nuclear Family

Given the trust required for early transoceanic trade, it is unsurprising that many Irish immigrants initially founded businesses with immediate family members. Such efforts are demonstrated in more detail in other American cities, especially the letters between Baltimore merchant Robert Moore and his Derry family. Moore arranged the export of flaxseed from Maryland to Ireland in the 1790s and 1800s and the subsequent import of British manufactures. Yet, as a recent emigrant, he relied upon his wife and sons to broker this trade in the Old World. The Irishman pushed to have his children educated in professional skills so as to aid this end. In 1800, he wrote that sons Andrew and William should be instructed “to write correctly & elegantly & be good accountants.” He also asked that they be sent to Maryland in a few years for hands-on training with him.³⁵ Moore then employed his older sons as commercial agents and suppliers in various Irish and American settlements. Joseph, an Ulster resident, was requested by his father to regularly send “Ironmongery, Cutlery & Hardware...judiciously chosen” to Maryland.³⁶ Moore also sought his son’s appointment as “American Consul at Derry,” likely to increase his access to local metal wares and thus increase his own supplies.³⁷

³⁵ Robert Moore to Ann Moore, Baltimore, 3 May 1800. Moore Family Papers, private collection. Held at Trinity College Dublin Archives. Robert Moore to Joseph Moore, Norfolk, 22 December 1799, *Ibid.* Moore, in contrast, instructed that his daughter Rose be taught “Geography & French” but no professional skills.

³⁶ Robert Moore to Ann Moore, Baltimore, 12 November 1800; 3 May 1800, *Ibid.* Robert Moore to Joseph Moore, Norfolk, 22 December 1799, *Ibid.*

³⁷ Robert Moore to Joseph Moore, Baltimore, 20 February 1802, *Ibid.*

Moore sent another son, Samuel, to French Martinique and London, with hopes that he might connect the family to other commercial suppliers and lenders. These activities, he instructed his children, should be completed in the name of the firm “Robert Moore & Sons.”³⁸ Robert Moore neither hoped nor expected that success in trade would reunite his Irish family. Rather, he consciously used spatially dispersed relatives as a way to establish and expand his merchant house across the Atlantic Ocean:

I hope ere the month of October is over that most of [my sons] will be with me, -- not that I wish our business in Derry should be relinquished – on the contrary, I think Joseph & one of the other Boys should continue there...we would in that case be of reciprocal service to each other.³⁹

Family provided the Irishman with the “familiarity” that contemporary commercial tracts and historians perceived as required to compensate for the geographical and emotional distances of transoceanic trade.⁴⁰ Little correspondence survives from Irish settlers in early New Orleans, and it thus is difficult to trace in the same reflective ways the development of their post-migratory commercial networks. Business papers from the region, however, reveal many of the connections immigrants made after relocation. They confirm that the Moore family model initially was mirrored along the Gulf Coast.

Many Irish merchants migrated to New Orleans to benefit or profit from relatives’ professional networks. They did so as agents for firms based elsewhere, as traders in common Gulf Coast companies and as inheritors of previously established commercial-systems. Andrew Todd, for example, moved to Louisiana from Canada at the bequest of his Irish uncle. Isaac Todd, a native of Ulster, had relocated to New France in 1764, after its colonial transfer to Great Britain. There, he and partner James

³⁸ Robert Moore to Ann Moore, 11 June 1800, *Ibid.* Samuel Moore to Joseph Moore, December 1800, *Ibid.*

³⁹ Robert Moore to Ann Moore, 3 May 1800, *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ See especially Sarah Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the late Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 56-79; Eve Tavor Bannet, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688-1820* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). *The Complete American –Letter Writer, Containing Letters on Trade & merchandize.*

McGill quickly dominated the regional commerce in peltries.⁴¹ The firm of Todd, McGill & Company, however, could only secure so much of this lucrative market, namely that around and north of the Great Lakes region. As a result, seasoned frontier trader and Coleraine-native Andrew joined them as junior partner in the 1780s. He expanded their firm's business into the Spanish- and United States-controlled Mississippi and Missouri river valleys. Andrew based his activities out of New Orleans, which allowed the Todds to exert northern and southern economic control over these waterways. To accomplish this, however, he needed to become a Spanish citizen—a loyalty that alone limited his commercial access to British Canada—and to garner the patronage of Louisiana's colonial administration. The Irishman did both and, in the process, was awarded exclusive trading rights to the imperial interior, which included fur and provision markets at St. Louis, Michilimackinac and Detroit.⁴² Isaac and Andrew Todd thus translated their natural relation as kin into a mutually beneficial economic arrangement. Each Irishman focused their professional efforts on a different imperial setting, and they then were able, despite efforts to curtail transimperial trade, to connect goods and create commercial networks that crossed the political boundaries of the early Americas.

Such connections also crossed oceans, as is evident in the letters of James Blair, an Irish native who settled in the Caribbean but sometimes traded through New Orleans. Blair sent orders of flaxseed home to his mother and sister, who ran a small supply shop in Newry, Ireland. They, in return, supplied their immigrant relative with Irish linens for

⁴¹ Julie Winch, *The Clamorgans: One Family's History of Race in America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2011), 24; Stanley Brice Frost, *James McGill of Montreal* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

⁴² "Your Excellence, with His Majesty's approval, had conceded to him [Andrés Todd] the exclusive trade with the Indians of the Upper Mississippi including those along the rivers on its western shore above the Missouri." Zenon Trudeau to Baron de Carondelet, St. Louis, 21 July 1797, in *Before Lewis & Clark*, ed. Nasatir, 552-554.

resale.⁴³ By managing business in two different locales, each of these arrangements ensured that enough high-quality commodities and accurate market information were available for family members to mutually benefit.

Other Irish immigrants moved to New Orleans to offer aid to merchant-relatives already residing there. This provided the initial migratory motives of Daniel Clark, Jr. The Irishman's uncle and namesake, Daniel Clark, Sr., moved to the Gulf Coast in the late 1760s or early 1770s as the result of recent British land grants and established himself in local trade.⁴⁴ Clark, Sr., after sponsoring his nephew's education, requested that he join him in New Orleans in 1786.⁴⁵ There, the younger Clark labored part-time as a clerk for the firm of Clark & Rees. He additionally began to work as secretary and English language interpreter for Governor Ésteban Miró. The latter employment made the two Clarks intimately acquainted with imperial officials and commercial elites in a period of much anxiety about Anglophone intrusion. Clark, Jr.'s relationships with Miró, furthermore, permitted some otherwise illicit material exchanges for his uncle. The elder Clark received the import of "a cargo consisting of negroes, cattle, tobacco, flour, bacon, lard, and apples to the amount of 50,000 or 60,000 pesos" from United States General James Wilkinson in 1787. This import was transacted duty free, with the approval of Governor Miró, and it resulted in a regular commerce in tobacco between Kentucky farmers and Clark, Sr.'s firm.⁴⁶ Thus, even before acting as a trader himself,

⁴³ Elizabeth Blair to James Blair, Newry, 29 October 1774; 29 October 1774. Blair Family Letters, 1773-1796, PRONI. Anne Blair to James Blair, Newry, n.d., Ibid. James Blair later would open a West Indian firm with his brother Lambert.

⁴⁴ See page 10.

⁴⁵ Daniel Clark, Jr. allegedly matriculated at Eton College, although source material relating to this claim were made postmortem and largely were based on family histories. See *New York Evening Star*, 11 November 1835. Also, Alexander, *Notorious Woman*, 64-70; Elizabeth Urban Alexander, "Daniel Clark: Merchant Prince of New Orleans," in Smith and Hilton, *Nexus of Empire*, 241-268.

⁴⁶ "Extract from a Memoir submitted to the honourable Timothy Pickering when secretary of state, by the honourable Daniel Clark," 1798, in Daniel Clark, Jr., *Proofs of the Corruption of Gen. James Wilkinson and of his Connexion with Aaron Burr* (Philadelphia: William Hall, Jr. & George W. Pierie, 1809), 6-9. See Julien Vernet, *Strangers on Their Native Soil: Opposition to United States'*

the younger Clark worked to benefit his uncle's mercantile house. It was a commercial empire, he understood, that he would one day inherit. Other settlers in and near New Orleans showed similar efforts to professionally help out family. George and Robert Cochran, the two Belfast-born brothers who lived near Natchez, traded regularly through New Orleans in the 1790s. These men relied upon each other to provide updates on local markets while away on business and to monitor their eventual plantations.⁴⁷ Daniel Clark, Jr., too, ultimately mirrored the familial professional networking of his uncle in 1810, when he invited his brother to join the firm of Coxe & Clark. He wrote to his partner: "I beg leave to add that my Brothers having put a ship in this trade as a regular trader, & having procured us several valuable correspondents in NY & will no doubt be of vast service to the house here."⁴⁸ The Irishman trusted and indeed sought out his siblings' movement to Louisiana as a familiar relation. He then expected associate Daniel Coxe to accept him into their business because of his proven service.

Irish merchants also migrated to Louisiana to inherit established mercantile networks. Developed exchange outside immediate family, as will be discussed, took much time and risk. Many settlers hoped to avoid early career struggles for suppliers and customers by stepping into commercial relationships already approved by relatives. William Conway, for example, moved to New Orleans with his wife Elizabeth Gubbins and their two children in the late 1700s at the bequest of uncle Maurice Conway. The elder Conway was well connected, having wedded the financially-secure New Orleans-native Jeanne Francoise de Macarty, widow Le Bretton, in 1775. His wife's sister Celeste,

Governance in Louisiana's Orleans Territory, 1803-1809 (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2013), 14.

⁴⁷ Robert Cochran to Reed & Forde, New Orleans, 5 August 1796, Reed and Forde Papers. Will of George Cochran, 1804, Probate Records for Adams County.

⁴⁸ Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 7 December 1810, Daniel W. Coxe Papers.

in addition, was married to Louisiana Governor Ésteban Miró.⁴⁹ Maurice set up William and his family on an estate north of New Orleans and introduced them to the contacts he had made as a politician, military officer, tanner and trader. Eventually, he bestowed on his Irish nephew the entirety of his Louisiana estate.⁵⁰ Similar patterns characterized the migration of County Clare native Patrick Macnamara, as motivated and professionally supported by uncle Bartholomew.⁵¹ Commercial contacts did not always easily transfer, as Isaac Todd found in 1796 when he requested that nephew Andrew's Mississippi and Missouri river monopolies be transferred to his name. Spanish officials in New Orleans hesitated, noting that he might "not realize the same good effects that might have been expected from Don Andrés, a man whom the Indians trusted."⁵² Yet, professional networks relating to trade were most commonly expanded through referral.⁵³ And, even with regard to family, merchants were unlikely to recommend those uninterested in developing their firm. Irish settlers' relocation was a testament to their professional investment.

Families thus formed the earliest networks through which Irish immigrants conducted trade in early New Orleans. Relatives often provided the information and migratory requests that caused Old World residents to relocate to the Americas. And they would have been many settlers' first accessible suppliers and agents. Popular publications in Europe and the Americas, furthermore, touted the family as a source of

⁴⁹ "Jeanne Françoise de Macarty" (1775); "Celeste de Macarty" (1779), SRC, vol. 2. Also, D. Graham Copeland, *Many Years After: a Bit of History and Some Reflections on Bamberg* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1940), 525-526.

⁵⁰ Will of Maurice Conway, Acts of Francisco Broutin, vol. 15, 23 May 1792, NONA.

⁵¹ "Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara," January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records. Macnamara continued to receive financial support from his uncle's widow until his death.

⁵² Zenon Trudeau to Baron de Carondelet, St. Louis, 21 July 1797, in *Before Lewis & Clark*, ed. Nasatir, 524-525.

⁵³ Galway settler Mathias O'Conway reminded his daughter on her visit to Baltimore in 1808: "a respectable stranger and his lady cannot obtain remittance into...formal society without credential or letters of recommendation." Mathias O'Conway to Isabel O'Madden, Philadelphia, 4 April 1808, Correspondence...of the family of O'Conway.

shared emotional investment or sentimentality.⁵⁴ As a result, merchants expected that blood relatives naturally looked to one another's best interests. Such characteristics also were desired in transoceanic trade, which required trust and mutual investment to mitigate risks. It thus is unsurprising that Irish Louisianans trusted family with their initial commercial foundations in New Orleans and their expansions into other American and European markets. These bonds were inter-Irish, but there is no evidence that they were consciously so. Few immigrants, however, could find an immediate relation in every place they hoped to trade. Merchants' families, too, could not provide the full range of consumers needed to expand firms. As a result, Irish Louisianans turned to professional circles inspired by but extending beyond the family. These commercial networks retained their intimacy and reliance on mutual aid. Yet, they grew over time to incorporate increasingly diverse populations of suppliers and buyers. Ultimately, it was the creation of these cosmopolitan, yet limited professional "families" that allowed Irish merchants to successfully involve themselves in the commercial worlds of the Gulf Coast.

Affinal Kin

The easiest way to develop economic networks beyond blood-relations was through marriage. Many immigrants wed the sisters and daughters of the men with whom they did business. Evidence suggests, as the next chapter more fully explores, that these marriages were sentiment-based rather than negotiated for professional gain. Yet,

⁵⁴ Contemporary tracts like *The court letter writer* promised to instruct its readers by example in the proper ways to correspond feelings of "Duty, Filial Affection, Parental Affection, Courtship, Love, Marriage, Friendship, Politeness...and Many other Subjects." *The court letter writer: or the complete English secretary for town and country* (London: S. Bladon, 1773); *The complete letter-writer. Containing familiar letters on the most common occasions in life* (Edinburgh: W. Darling, 1778); *The secretary and complete letter writer; containing a collection of letters upon most occasions and situations in life* (Birmingham: Knott & Lloyd, 1803). David Cressy and Sarah Pearsall have located this rise of sentimental literature in the large-scale transoceanic moves of the 1600s and 1700s and their effects on the family. They argue that long-distance, especially written relationships required different forms of emotional expression. Pearsall points to the evident overlaps in commercial and sentimental language in this period. This is clear in correspondents who wrote of being "in debt" to one another for unanswered notes. See David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 213-234; Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*; 128, 130; 172.

this did not prevent Irish merchants from significantly expanding their transoceanic commercial networks by working with their in-laws. Daniel Clark, Sr. saw his professional connections exponentially expand after his 1758 marriage to Pennsylvania-born Jane Hoops. Jane was the daughter of Adam Hoops, a native of Belfast who migrated to Germantown, Pennsylvania in the 1730s. There, the Irishman initially established himself in frontier exchange. The imperial conflicts of the 1750s and 1760s brought more business to the elder Hoops, who received a contract supplying army provisions. By the time of his daughter's wedding, he managed a successful merchant house in colonial Philadelphia.⁵⁵ Clark, Sr. joined his father-in-law's firm in 1761 and, in the process, gained an expanded web of commercial contacts. These included William Neal and Daniel Mildred, London suppliers who began to ship with the Irishman and accept his credit at the written request of Adam Hoops.⁵⁶ Clark, Sr.'s nuptials also involved him with his commercial brothers-in-law. He socialized with Thomas Barclay, the merchant husband of Mary Hoops and founder of Philadelphia's Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. His nephew, Daniel Clark, Jr., also traded with Barclay until the 1810s, likely on lines inherited from his Irish uncle.⁵⁷ Clark, Sr. additionally transacted business with James Mease, the husband of Isabel Hoops and a partner in the firm Mease & Caldwell. In the 1780s, he borrowed money from this merchant house on several occasions to insure his trading vessels.⁵⁸ To these relationships, Clark, Sr. brought his familiarity

⁵⁵ Priscilla H. Roberts and James N. Tull, "Adam Hoops, Thomas Barclay, and the House in Morrisville Known as Sumersseat, 1764-1791," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 90, no. 5 (2000): 4-20.

⁵⁶ Daniel Clark to Daniel Mildred, Philadelphia, 13 November 1760, Clark Letters Book. Daniel Clark to William Neale, Philadelphia, 14 January 1761, Ibid.

⁵⁷ Daniel Coxe to Daniel Clark, Jr., Philadelphia, 3 June 1803; 3 October 1803, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. Daniel Coxe to Chew & Relf, Philadelphia, 11 July 1811, Ibid. Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 18 February 1804; 26 June 1806; in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1536-1539; 1548-1550. Daniel Clark to Messrs. Chew & Relf, Liverpool, 7 October 1802, Ibid., 1781-1782. Daniel Clark to Messrs. Chew & Relf, London, 13 October 1802, Ibid., 1782-1783.

⁵⁸ A 1792 court case reveals that, in 1783, "Daniel Clark, Esq. [drew] on Mease & Caldwell, for the sum of £ 800 Virginia currency, on an insurance policy of the schooner General Wayne." Barr v.

with commerce in his hometown of Sligo. Given that Adam Hoops often shipped Pennsylvania flaxseed to this specific port, it is likely that his new son-in-law helped him secure new markets therein.⁵⁹

Similar patterns of in-law networking characterized the professional expansion of other Irish New Orleanians. Daniel Clark, Jr., for example, regularly shipped Louisiana-grown indigo, sugar and cotton to the Liverpool firm of Green & Wainwright in the 1780s. George Green, a principal partner in this commercial house, was the spouse of Clark, Jr.'s sister, Jane.⁶⁰ George Pollock, meanwhile, began his commercial career with his brothers, Carlisle and Hugh, after relocating from Dublin to New York City in the 1780s. A May 1793 advertisement in *The New York Daily Gazette* noted the siblings as importing textiles and spirits together their first ten years post-migration.⁶¹ George wed Catherine Yates at the local Trinity Church in 1787. And, when his merchant father-in-law's brother and business partner died in 1796, the Irishman quickly stepped into this role. A commercial tie to Richard Yates through the new firm of Yates & Pollock linked the Irishman to New York City's professional and social elites. It only helped Pollock's business relations that his father-in-law sat on the local Chamber of Commerce and that he previously dominated regional trade to Jamaica.⁶² The commercial interests of these

Craig, March 1792. Records of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State Archives. Also, Miller, et al., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, 538-539.

⁵⁹ Daniel Clark, Sr. to Holliday, Dunbar & Co., Philadelphia, 14 January 1761, Clark Letters Book. Daniel Clark to James Drumgoole, Philadelphia, 5 December 1761, Ibid. Daniel Clark to Edward Cochran, Philadelphia, 23 November 1761; 5 December 1761, Ibid.

⁶⁰ Jane Green to Daniel Clark, Jr., Liverpool, 3 May 1806, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans* vol. 2, 1677-1678. Daniel Coxe to George Green, Jr., Philadelphia, 1 January 1804, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 28 September 1810, Ibid. "Account Sales of 8 Serrons of Indigo received pr. Baltic from New Orleans," Liverpool, 23 April 1810, Ibid.

⁶¹ This announcement noted that George and Hugh Pollock were selling "Irish Linens" and "Port Wine," which had just arrived from Dublin. *New-York Daily Gazette*, 10 May 1793.

⁶² George Pollock, for example, later conducted business in New Orleans with "Gouverneur Kimble" of New York, whom he most likely met through the Yates family. George Pollock v. His Creditors, 5 March 1808. Superior Court Records for the Orleans Territory, 1804-1813, NOPL. See Bryan John Zygmunt, "Portraiture and Politics in New York City, 1790-1825: Stuart, Vanderlyn, Trumbell and Jarvis" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2006), 17-20; John Daniel Crimmins, *Irish-*

two families were further enmeshed in 1792, when George's older brother Carlisle married his wife's younger sister Sophia. George Pollock moved to New Orleans in 1801, or upon the bankruptcy of the firm Yates & Pollock. Documents relating to his own Louisiana finances in 1808, however, make clear that he brought the New York City networks he forged alongside his father-in-law with him to early Louisiana.⁶³

Marriage provided affinal relations with certain professional perks. Daniel Clark, Jr., for example, received numerous extensions on his debts from brother-in-law George Green. The firm of Green & Wainwright, meanwhile, charged other merchants a high 6% commission fee.⁶⁴ Yet, a more useful aspect of marriages was the sharing of trustworthy commercial contacts between new in-laws. These, as mentioned above, provided the groundwork for George Pollock's commercial expansion into Louisiana markets in the early nineteenth century. Daniel Clark, Sr., too, developed his overseas trade by working with several of Adam Hoops' prior associates. In the 1760s, Clark, Sr. and Hoops invested in a Philadelphia schooner named the Polly, and they did so with fellow city resident and Sligo-native Thomas Dromgoole.⁶⁵ Dromgoole previously had worked with Clark, Sr.'s father-in-law, and his incorporation into the Irish immigrant's commercial networks brought with it contact to his merchant brother, James, in western Ireland. Over the next fifteen years, Daniel Clark, Sr. shipped flaxseed and rum—sometimes with Thomas's involvement, although not always—transatlantically to Sligo. This resulted in a

American Historical Miscellany: Relating Largely to New York City and Vicinity (New York: John D. Crimmins, 1905), 98; Henry Collins Brown, ed., *Valentine's Manual of the City of New York for 1916-17* (New York: The Valentine Company, 1916), 230.

⁶³ George Pollock to Jonathan Burrall, New Orleans, 2 May 1807, Gratz Collection. George Pollock v. His Creditors, 5 March 1808, Superior Court Records. Bradley, *Interim Appointment*, 440.

⁶⁴ Daniel Coxe to George Green, Jr., Philadelphia, 1 January 1804, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. Daniel Coxe to Chew & Relf, Philadelphia, 11 July 1811, *Ibid.* Alexander, *Notorious Woman*, 48. Average commission merchants in the eighteenth century charged between 2.5% and 5%. See Peter Coclanis, *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice and Personnel* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), 127.

⁶⁵ Daniel Clark to Thomas Dromgoole, Philadelphia, 15 May 1761, Clark Letters Book. Also, invoice of the "Brigatine Sally in Common with Adam Hoops, Thomas Dromgoole, Stephen & Jos. Shewit, William Henderson & Daniel Clark," 1761, *Ibid.*

new circular trade. Clark, Sr. wrote to James Dromgoole independently, asking that he identify Irish tradesmen willing to sign contracts of indenture, as negotiated by his firm.⁶⁶ James, in return, requested that Clark, Sr. and his associates might help find a place for brother Edward, who recently arrived in Baltimore, in a commercial house.⁶⁷

The movement of Irish New Orleanians' merchant networks from relatives to in-laws to the confirmed associates of personal relations emphasizes two aspects of their professional socializations. First, immigrants expanded their webs of commerce outward over time and, as they did so, these relationships became less rooted in shared Old World origins.⁶⁸ Second, these networks nonetheless retained their intimate, limited and personalized natures as they expanded. Irish merchants did not just trade with anybody out of Louisiana, nor did their associates. Rather, transoceanic commerce relied upon trusting relations between individual merchants. And new New Orleanians almost always only contracted new business based on the advice and recommendations of persons who proved themselves to be reliable commercial contacts.⁶⁹ Eventually, many immigrants' mercantile networks moved beyond the realm of family entirely. It then would be suppliers and other non-related traders who directed them to new associates. This ultimately resulted in professional webs wherein inter-Irish trade was rare.

⁶⁶ Daniel Clark to James Dromgoole, Philadelphia, 5 December 1761, Ibid. Also, Daniel Clark, Sr. to Edward Cochran, Philadelphia, 23 November 1761, Ibid.

⁶⁷ Daniel Clark to James Dromgoole, Philadelphia 5 December 1761, Ibid. Clark, Sr. also occasionally traded with a Francis Dromgoole out of Liverpool, England. He was Thomas and James's brother. Daniel Clark, Sr. to Francis Dromgoole, Philadelphia, 16 October 1761, Ibid.

⁶⁸ Again, this is not to argue that Irish merchants in New Orleans intentionally traded with other persons of their ethnic heritage. It rather recognizes that the first people settlers knew were those individuals (especially family members) who resided near them in Ireland. See page 4.

⁶⁹ Col. Daniel Clark to Gen. Wilkinson, Clarksville, 28 March 1798, in Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Time*, 603. Tench Coxe to Daniel Clark, unknown, 21 March 1798, Coxe Family Papers. Tench Coxe to Daniel Coxe, unknown, 28 December 1796, Ibid. Joseph Ball to Oliver Pollock, Philadelphia, 9 April 1789, Reed and Forde Papers.

Non-Related Associates

Consanguineous and affinal family members often put Irish New Orleanians in touch with their suppliers. Adam Hoops, for example, recommended Daniel Clark, Sr. to the British firms of William Neale, Daniel Mildred and Holliday, Dunbar & Company in the 1760s. They not only purchased items for the Irishman's frontier trade. They also financed many of his early commercial activities.⁷⁰ Such Old World firms—many of which were located in London, Bristol and Liverpool—were limited in number, and each thus catered to many New World traders. Peter Coclanis has estimated that fifteen to twenty British agencies supplied the commodities sold by 200 to 350 Philadelphia merchants during the 1760s and 1770s.⁷¹ As a result, these suppliers operated as hubs linking traders around the Americas. They sometimes did so tangentially, by sending goods or asking that money be transmitted via other contacts' soon-departing ships.⁷² At other moments, they directly promoted exchange among geographically spread traders with whom they did regular business.⁷³

The benefit of such ties is apparent in the professional networks of two Irishmen, Daniel Clark, Sr. (**Figure 2.1**) and John Fitzpatrick (**Figure 2.2**). Clark, Sr. regularly worked with traders in Philadelphia, western Pennsylvania, Virginia, Barbados, Ireland

⁷⁰ Daniel Clark to Daniel Mildred, Philadelphia, 13 November 1760; 14 January 1761, Clark Letters Book. Daniel Clark to Mildred & Roberts, Philadelphia, 3 August 1761, Ibid. Daniel Clark to William Neale, Philadelphia, 20 December [1759]; 22 August 1760; 25 September 1760, Ibid. Daniel Clark to Mssrs. Neale & Pigou, Philadelphia, 12 August 1761; 14 January 1761, Ibid. Daniel Clark to Holliday, Dunbar & Co., Philadelphia, 14 November 1761, Ibid.

⁷¹ Coclanis, *The Atlantic Economy*, 101.

⁷² Daniel Clark, for example, shipped his partner brown sugar, jalap, sasparilla and logwood via Bartholomew Bosch. Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 1 September 1807, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. John Wheeler to Reed & Ford, Bermuda, 22 September 1794, Reed and Forde Papers. For the transmitting of monetary notes, see Daniel Coxe to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 6 November 1810, Daniel W. Coxe Papers.

⁷³ Scattergood & Stevenson to Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, 16 November 1797, Coxe Family Papers. Tench Coxe to Daniel Clark, unknown, 21 March 1798, Ibid. Tench Coxe to Daniel Coxe, unknown, 28 December 1796, Ibid. Tench Coxe to Richard Yates, Philadelphia, 15 December 1783, Ibid. Tench Coxe to Richard Isaac & Thomas Jacob, Philadelphia, 20 December 1783, Ibid. Hugh W. Hilvain to Philip Nolan, Frankfort, 17 March 1791. Philip Nolan Papers, 1791-1800, LSU. Messrs. Samuel & James Moore to Porro & Murphy, Vera Cruz, 30 May 1799 Walsh Papers.

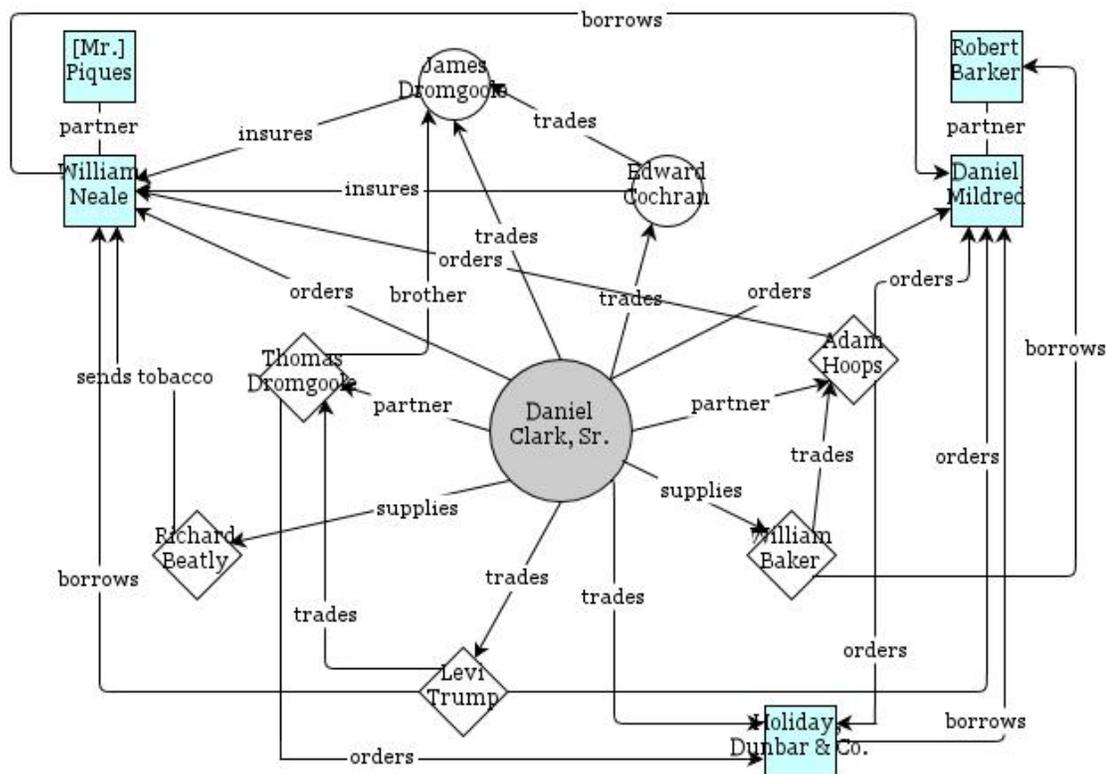


Figure 2.1. Daniel Clark, Sr.'s Primary Commercial Networks, 1760s.
With English Firms in Blue. Gathered from Clark Letters.

and England in the 1760s. These individuals may have been physically removed from one another, but they united in their dependence on the material and financial aid of the same English suppliers. It was these firms, in fact, that made their transoceanic trade possible. For example, Richard Bentley, a planter in Gloucester County, Virginia, frequently shipped tobacco to the London company of Neale & Piques. The firm applied the post-sale value of this crop against the debts they held in the name of Clark, Sr. These had been contracted for manufactures sent overseas to the Irishman. Clark, Sr., in turn, wrote off the same sums in his own accounts, for dry goods he sold to Bentley on credit.⁷⁴ In a similar manner, Levi Trump shipped West Indian sugar to Mildred &

⁷⁴ Daniel Clark to Richard Bentley, Philadelphia, 5 November 1760, Clark Letters Book. Daniel Clark to William Neal, Philadelphia, 14 July 1761, Ibid.

Barker in the 1760s. The sums he gained ultimately paid Clark, Sr. for the provisions, like flour, he sold to Trump. Once again, these monies cyclically returned to England via the Irishman's supply purchases.⁷⁵ These British firms—as is clear in a £ 200 note of Clark, Sr.'s transferred from Daniel Mildred to the Liverpool-based Holliday, Dunbar & Company in 1761—even exchanged with each other.⁷⁶ By working in these limited circuits, Old and New World merchants could more carefully ensure that they would be paid in goods or in monetary sums for their trade. They also could monitor the success of their associates, a factor that also implicated their own finances, and offer aid to their contacts and their professional networks as needed. It, for instance, certainly helped Daniel Clark, Sr. to have William Neale insure several vessels sailed by his Irish contacts James Dromgoole and Edward Cochran in 1761.⁷⁷ After all, these ships carried his import purchases.

John Fitzpatrick, a Waterford-born merchant living near New Orleans until the 1790s, similarly relied on his suppliers to conduct trade and expand his networks along the Gulf Coast. This Irishman's primary commercial hubs, however, were founded in major American firms.⁷⁸ Fitzpatrick completed much of his trade as an agent for the houses of McGillivray & Struthers, Arthur Strother and James Mather, based in Mobile, Pensacola and New Orleans respectively. And, much as with Clark, Sr., material exchanges and credit-lines tended to flow both circularly and cyclically within these networks. The Irishman, for example, borrowed money from fellow frontier trader and Scotsman Alexander McIntosh in the 1760s. Yet, he did so with the assumption that

⁷⁵ Daniel Clark, Sr. to Levi Trump, Philadelphia, 8 November 1761, Ibid.

⁷⁶ Daniel Clark to Holliday, Dunbar & Co., Philadelphia, 14 January 1761, Ibid.

⁷⁷ Daniel Clark to Edward Cochran, 23 November 1761, Ibid. Daniel Clark to Mrrs. Neale & Piques, 20 November 1761, Ibid.

⁷⁸ Many local firms along the Gulf Coast operated as representatives for British firms. Yet, they also were on the vanguard of an eighteenth-century shift of merchant centers from Europe to the Americas. See Phyllis Whitman Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670-1780* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001); Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*; Yokota, *Unbecoming British*.

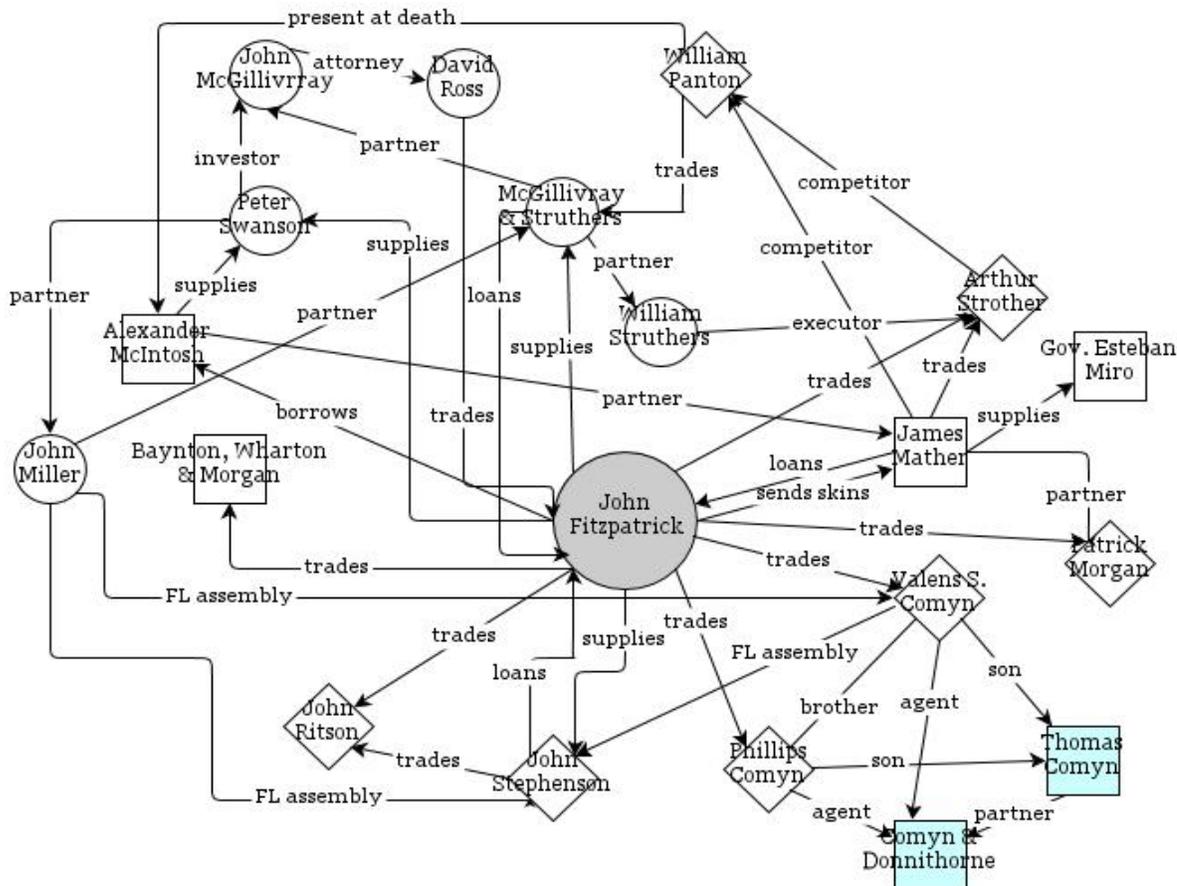


Table 2.2. John Fitzpatrick's Primary Commercial Networks, 1760-1791. With English Firms in Blue. Gathered from Margaret Dalrymple, ed., *The Merchant of Manchac: the Letterbooks of John Fitzpatrick, 1768-1790* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978).

these sums would be repaid to McGillivray & Struthers and James Mather, to mitigate debts held in McIntosh's name. The companies operated as both men's suppliers.⁷⁹ Evidence also suggests that these firms encouraged the growth of Fitzpatrick's trade networks. John McGillivray and William Struthers shared their company's management with Pensacola resident John Miller after the 1750s. Miller sat on the Florida colonial assembly alongside two other prominent regional merchants, John Stephenson and Valens S. Comyn.⁸⁰ Extant letters show that John Fitzpatrick began regularly trading

⁷⁹ John Fitzpatrick to McGillivray & Struthers, New Orleans, 17 July 1769, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 58-59. Also, Wright, *The McGillivray and McIntosh Traders*, 146-154.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 119.

with these two men after 1768. This also was when he was most active with the firm of McGillivray & Struthers, which suggests that his commerce with the Florida men was founded in their shared professional acquaintances.⁸¹

As Irish immigrants settled into life in early Louisiana they developed professional networks that were increasingly expansive. Connections to British suppliers may have spoken to Irish commercial links that existed before migration or they may simply underscore American merchants' large-scale reliance on English manufactures.⁸² It is clear, however, that Irish New Orleanians did not limit their commercial involvement to persons with their own imperial identities and religious affiliations. Oliver Pollock and Andrew Todd especially were reliant on the Spanish Empire for local trade.⁸³ Daniel Clark, Jr., meanwhile, established a twenty-year-long partnership with United States resident Daniel Coxe in 1793. He later brought into this firm Philadelphian Richard Relf and Virginian Beverly Chew, who both resided in New Orleans by the early 1800s.⁸⁴ Eventually, the Sligo-born merchant worked with a varied network of traders along the Gulf Coast. These included Jerome DesGrange from France, the Saint-Domingue-born Lafitte brothers who lived in New Orleans, Pierre Baron Boisfontaine from Saint-Domingue, and Josef Deville Degoutin Bellechase, who

⁸¹ John Fitzpatrick to McGillivray & Struthers, New Orleans, 13 April 1769; 4 August 1769; 2 September 1769, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 43-44; 65-66; 71-72. John Fitzpatrick to McGillivray & Struthers, Manchac, 15 February 1770; 31 May 1770; 23 July 1770, *Ibid.*, 83-84; 86-89; 90-91. John Fitzpatrick to John Stephenson, New Orleans, 30 June 1768; 22 April 1769; 5 May 1769, *Ibid.*, 38-39; 46; 50-51. John Fitzpatrick to Valens S. Comyn, New Orleans, 22 April 1769; 5 May 1769; 18 July 1769; 1 August 1769; 1 September 1769, *Ibid.*, 46; 50-51; 60; 64; 70.

⁸² Walter S. Dunn, *Frontier Profit and Loss: the British Army and the Fur Traders, 1760-1764* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998); Edward Barbier, *Scarcity and Frontiers: How Economies Have Developed Through Natural Resource Exploitation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 306-367; Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods*.

⁸³ See pages 16; 18-19. John Fitzpatrick also took a simple loyalty oath to Spain in September 1778, largely to avoid having to remove from the province for a second time. He did, however, retain a certain sympathy for his British homeland. In January 1778 (or during the American Revolution), he noted: "God be praised the Americans have got a flogging." Revolutionary sympathizers additionally ransacked his Louisiana plantation during the war. John Fitzpatrick to John Miller, Manchac, 14 January 1778, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 277-278.

⁸⁴ Clark & Coxe to unknown, New Orleans, 15 August 1793, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. Articles of Agreement between Daniel Clark, Beverly Chew and Richard Relf, 1801, *Ibid.*

was from Louisiana but resided in Cuba.⁸⁵ Other Irish merchants, like Bartholomew and Patrick Macnamara, showed professional networks that favored French-descended rather than British associates.⁸⁶ And traders like John Fitzpatrick clearly worked with both Protestants and Catholics in early Louisiana.⁸⁷

Some of this commercial development was need-based. Irish traders in New Orleans required local producers and customers to fill and empty their transoceanic ships. These persons were not uniformly or, during many periods, overwhelmingly Anglophones. Language barriers may have inhibited some merchants from working with French- or Spanish-speakers in early Louisiana, but this does not seem to have been largely the case. Rather, Irish traders were remarkably educated in this period and many comfortably corresponded in languages other than English. Oliver Pollock, for example, transacted business in French, and many of Antonio Patrick Walsh's surviving letters are in Spanish.⁸⁸ This linguistic cosmopolitanism allowed immigrants access to numerous sellers and buyers along the early Gulf Coast. In May 1789, for example, Oliver Pollock received 919 pounds of indigo from the plantation of Francophone Louisianan Jean Baptiste Sarpy. He negotiated additional exports of lumber and sugar from 1789 through the 1790s with lower Mississippi Valley residents who had French surnames.⁸⁹

Daniel Clark, Sr. and his partner Ebenezer Rees, in a related way, depended on a diverse group of urban customers to keep their Louisiana commercial house in business.

⁸⁵ Deposition of Theodore Zacharie, 1 June 1849, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1471-1473. Deposition of Mr. Cavalier, 31 May 1849, *Ibid.*, 1471-1473. Deposition of Pierre Baron Boisfontaine, 29 May 1835, *Ibid.*, 1847-1851.

⁸⁶ "Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara," January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records.

⁸⁷ John Fitzpatrick to McGillivray & Struthers, New Orleans, 17 July 1769, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 58-59.

⁸⁸ See, for example, Isaac Monsanto to Oliver Pollock, Pointe Coupée, 10 February 1775, Pollock Papers. Col. Daniel Clark to Gen. Wilkinson, Clarksville, 28 March 1798, in Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times*, 603. Walsh Papers.

⁸⁹ Receipt of Oliver Pollock, 15 May 1789; 7 January 1790, 15 March 1789, Coxe Family Papers.

The sales of enslaved persons that followed the arrival of the *Governor Miro* in 1789 highlight this reliance. Clark & Rees divided their cargo of 125 Africans among thirteen buyers in early New Orleans. Three clients were Irish Louisianans: Sligo-native Daniel Clark, Jr., Limerick-born Maurice Conway and County Clare-native Daniel Hickey. The remaining buyers were of American, French and Spanish ancestries. These included Jacob Cowperthwait, a relocated Pennsylvania Quaker.⁹⁰ Buyers Pedro Bourgois, Marius Bringier, Francois Grasse and Gilbert-Antonio de St. Maxent, meanwhile, all moved to the Gulf Coast from France, and Francisco Bouligny was a native of Alicante, Spain and the lieutenant-governor of Louisiana starting in 1777.⁹¹ The fact that many of these buyers also were members of New Orleans's political and social elite emphasizes that cosmopolitan professional networking was required for Irish merchants to attain success in local and non-local (or import) trade. It also points to the development of Irish commercial webs over time. Clark, Sr., for example, traded in Anglo-networks he was invited to join by his father- and brothers-in-law and Old World contacts in Philadelphia during the 1760s. Thirty years later, the Irishman exchanged commodities with a diverse group of Gulf Coast settlers and—by importing British slaves in Spanish territory—did so across imperial lines. His mercantile networks clearly expanded over this period to include suppliers and buyers who helped him and his new firm connect to more markets, more materials and more customers. Yet, despite this growth and as the example commencing this section confirms, Daniel Clark, Sr.'s webs worked in very particular ways and were not easily displaced. Even as Irish settlers' professional networks grew and diversified in Louisiana, they remained quite intimate.

⁹⁰ Proceedings instituted by Don Patricio Morgan, 3 February 1790, Spanish Judiciary Records. Also, Last Will and Testament of Maurice Conway, Acts of Francisco Broutin, vol. 15, 23 May 1792, NONA; Last Will and Testament of Jacob Cowperthwait, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 17, 17 June 1793, NONA.

⁹¹ Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon*, 172-174; Martin, *A History of the Bouligny Family*. Clark & Rees's other buyers were Francisco Fernandez, John Wall and Rene Jean Gabriel Fazende.

Irish merchants continued to depend on trusting relations between associated traders, even after their businesses took off and expanded to new markets domestically and overseas. In many ways, this was done by treating new non-related contacts as members of fictive families. Many Irish immigrants employed terms of endearment when they wrote to their most regular associates. Daniel Clark, Jr., for example, began his letters to partner Daniel Coxe with the title “Dear Friend.”⁹² Similarly, requests to “[r]emember me affectionately” to relatives not only spoke to professional kindness; they highlighted real familiarities between merchants and their contacts’ families.⁹³ Aid in trade further was ground for Irish traders to confirm emotional bonds with associates. Clark, Jr., for example, first encountered Delaware-born Samuel Davis in 1799, when he helped the latter recover from some business losses after the seizure of his ships by French privateers. Davis recalled that they became “friend[s]” when the Irishman financed hi partnership with nephew William Harper until he got back on his feet.⁹⁴ Commerce was expected by Irish merchants to result in such emotional bonds. John Fitzpatrick, in fact, noted in 1770 that it was only through such feelings of shared investment that large-scale trade profited: “I might want & may Rest satisfied all my Connections...hitherto will Meet Reciprocal Compliance, being the Commercial Expediance to support mutual interest friendship and free the Suppliers from

⁹² Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 24 September 1793; 23 October 1793, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. Daniel Clark, Sr. also affectionately called Thomas Dromgoole “Thom” in his letters. Daniel Clark to Thomas Dromgoole, Philadelphia, 20 May 1761, Clark Letters Book.

⁹³ Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, Washington, D.C., 6 February 1808, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1570-1571. Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 11 July 1808; 31 October 1808, 1574; 1576-1577. Joseph Ball to Oliver Pollock, Philadelphia, 9 April 1789, Reed and Forde Papers. Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 22 October 1793, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. Mary Coxe to Peggy Coxe, unknown, 12 January 1802, Ibid. William Herries to Daniel Clark, Montesano, 30 July 1809, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. Lamb & Checkley to Reed & Forde, Savannah, 28 January 1789; 20 February 1789, Reed and Forde Papers.

⁹⁴ Deposition of Samuel B. Davis, 10 July 1849, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1379-1387.

Apprehensions in case of Accidents.”⁹⁵ Commerce between such individuals offered, as Fitzpatrick recognized, *compliance* in sending correct and quality commodities and payments and *expediency* in ensuring that orders arrived within acceptable timeframes. In doing so, it combatted many of the potential complications facing merchants trading across long distances. Ultimately, it was these interpersonal bonds that based migrants’ professional socializations.

The non-importance of ethnicity to the commerce of early Irish New Orleanians is emphasized in the ways that their professional networks overlapped (**Figure 2.3**). Many immigrants in the city shared key suppliers and agents in other cities, such as Philadelphia, New York and London. Tench Coxe, for example, was the older brother of Philadelphian Daniel Coxe and advised him on business even after the latter began a firm with Daniel Clark, Jr.⁹⁶ Tench additionally traded on several different occasions with George Pollock and with Pennsylvanians Reed & Forde.⁹⁷ This latter company worked with Pollock but also exchanged commodities with brothers George and Robert Cochran, Oliver Pollock and John Fitzpatrick in the Lower Mississippi Valley.⁹⁸ Oliver Pollock, in turn, supplied Irishmen Maurice Conway and William Vousdan with items he purchased from this firm. And he encountered Daniel Clark, Sr. in New Orleans and especially during judicial activities relating to the 1789 *Governor Miro*.⁹⁹ It thus seems

⁹⁵ John Fitzpatrick to McGillivray & Struthers, Manchac, 31 May 1770, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 86-89.

⁹⁶ Tench Coxe to Daniel Coxe, unknown, 28 December 1796; 14 March 1798, Coxe Family Papers. Tench Coxe to Daniel Coxe, New York, 31 October 1797, *Ibid.* Tench Coxe to Daniel Clark, unknown, 18 November 1797, *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Tench Coxe to Richard Yates, Philadelphia, June 3, 1778; Tench Coxe to Mssrs. Skinner, Yates & Vondam, Philadelphia, June 16, 1778, *Ibid.* Tench Coxe to Reed & Forde, Philadelphia, April 11, 1796; July 20, 1796, *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ George and Hugh Pollock to Reed & Forde, New York, 1 October 1796; 3 November 1796, Reed and Forde Papers. Robert Cochran to Reed & Forde, New Orleans, 5 August 1796; 6 September 1796; 22 September 1796, *Ibid.* Reed & Forde to Oliver Pollock, Philadelphia, 2 June 1793; 14 December 1793, *Ibid.* David Ferguson to Reed & Forde, Natchez, 4 July 1790, *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Maurice Conway to Oliver Pollock, Hermitage, 12 May 1789, Coxe Family Papers. Reed & Forde to Oliver Pollock, Philadelphia, 2 June 1793, Reed and Forde Papers. Receipt of William G.

professional investment. Irish merchants in early Louisiana thus viewed one another much as they did non-Irish city traders, namely as sources of potential competition unless proven otherwise through positive mercantile interactions.

Commerce, or the exchange of material items, grounded the migratory encounters and professional activities of Irish merchants in early New Orleans. It first proved to be a constant in the experiences of Irish natives who relocated before 1820. Immigration initially was confined to individuals who hoped to benefit, almost entirely as single men, from the tough “frontier exchange-systems” that characterized the hinterlands around New Orleans in the 1760s. In subsequent decades, however, expanding trade in the Gulf Coast city attracted more and more diverse immigrants, who still looked to long-distance exchange to create opportunities for them. Trade, however, even when it spanned the Atlantic Ocean, was not all-inclusive but worked through limited networks informed by familiarity and a reputation for informed dealings. It thus is not surprising to see, as the next chapter more fully explores, that the professional contacts of Irish merchants often became quite personal for these settlers. Trade, then, was not only an occupation. It was a personal history for many settlers, a motivation for travel, and a venue for public and private socializations. The exchange of goods essentially informed immigrants’ encounters with and adjustments to New Orleans in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This noted, the lack of frequent exchange between Irish immigrants does not point to a traumatic failure to cultivate ethnic cohesion along the Gulf Coast. Rather, it suggests that the mutual interests in commerce formed stronger—or more geographically moveable—bonds than “Irishness.” These investments carried over into and crucially informed new settlers’ private lives.

Chapter 3:
Interpersonal Exchanges:
Merchant Socialization and Irish New Orleans

Patrick Macnamara was born in County Clare, Ireland, but he died fully invested in his New Orleans home. This immigrant's Last Will and Testament, dated January 1788, attests to his professional *and personal* integration into the diverse populations of the Gulf Coast, revealing a wide circle of business and financial associates and a personal life that mirrored it.¹ There was nothing of the ethnic enclave about his life in the Lower Mississippi Valley.

Patrick arrived in Louisiana in the early 1770s, likely at the request of uncle Bartholomew Macnamara. The elder settler operated as a frontier trader starting in the 1760s, and commerce associated him with Francophone merchants in and near New Orleans, British traders working out of West Florida, and Anglo-American firms along the eastern Atlantic coast.² Patrick inherited these cosmopolitan professional contacts from his uncle. His postmortem estate registered unpaid debts to James Mather, Arthur Strother, "los hermanos Monsanto" and David Hodge. All of these men—who were of English, Dutch and Scottish origins—were prominent regional merchants, and they

¹ "Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara," January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records.

² These included father-in-law Pierre Joseph Delisle Dupart, Alexander McGillivray, John Fitzpatrick and the Philadelphia-based firm of Baynton, Wharton & Morgan. Delisle Dupart held the title "Commissaire des Nations Indiennes" in early New Orleans. His connection to Bartholomew Macnamara via this role is suggested by the fact that the Irishman served as a witness in his 1769 oath of allegiance to the Spanish crown. Oath of Allegiance to Spain, 26 August 1769. John Fitzpatrick to Bartholomew Macnamara, Mobile, 23 November 1769, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 78. George Morgan to Bartholomew Macnamara, Fort Chartres, 20 December 1767, George Morgan Letterbook.

worked in the same peltry-export commerce as did Bartholomew.³ The younger Macnamara added to these professional networks his own diverse contacts. These included Irish café owner Mary Fitzgerald, locally-born Louis Toutant Beauregard, and Franco-Spanish administrator Gilbert-Antonio de St. Maxent.⁴ Clearly, as he remained settled in early New Orleans, this Irishman saw the benefit of widespread associations.

Patrick Macnamara's cosmopolitanism did not end with his business. Probate records instead indicate that his commercial contacts integrated quite thoroughly with his personal life. The Irishman, for example, wed French-descended Marguerite Chauvin Desillet in New Orleans' Saint Louis Church in May 1776.⁵ The ceremony not only professionally linked Patrick to the family of wealthy frontier tradesman-turned-planter Antoine Chauvin Desillet. It also, by means of his wife's extensive land-holdings, oriented his American experiences to favor Francophone socializations.⁶ The Irishman spent his final days literally surrounded by French-speaking in-laws in Louisiana. From the windows of his indigo plantation downriver of New Orleans, he could see the adjoining estates of Francis Chauvine Desillet, Marguerite's brother, and Vincent de Morant, her sister's husband.⁷ Macnamara, in fact, had so ingrained himself in this non-British world by his 1788 death that his half-Irish daughter eventually required language lessons to speak in English.⁸ This Irishman's cosmopolitanism, which began in his

³ Patrick Macnamara ordered tar, pitch, blankets, linens and flour from Mather & Strother; textiles from the Monsanto brothers; and small manufactures from David Hodge. Receipt of Mather & Strother, 12 October 1787, in "Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara," January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records. Receipt of "los hermanos Monsanto," July 1784, Ibid.

⁴ Receipt of Marie Fitzgerald, 15 January 1787, Ibid. Receipt of Mr. Beauregard, 27 August 1789, Ibid. Receipt of Antoine de St. Maxent, 30 August 1789, Ibid.

⁵ Marriage Contract of Patricio Macnemara and Marguerite Judith Desillet, Acts of Andres Almonaster y Roxas, vol. 7, 21 May 1776, NONA.

⁶ Antoine Chauvin Desillet was described by contemporaries as "a famous trader who is set froth as an oracle" among members of the Choctaw tribe. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves*, 253.

⁷ "Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara," January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records.

⁸ See note that "Mrs. Meriuelt recommenced [with her lessons]." Mathias O'Conway, New Orleans account books, 3 September 1793, Correspondence...of the family of O'Conway.

professional networking as a merchant, thus immensely impacted his and his family's private lives along the early Gulf Coast.

Trade and intimacy coincided for many Irish merchants in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Louisiana. The previous chapter explored the potential benefits for immigrants of treating commercial networks as "fictive families," wherein traders imitated the limited ties of loyalty believed to exist between consanguineous relations for mutual profit. This resulted in a professional setting wherein Irish immigrants knew or knew-someone-who-knew most of their associates. The example of Patrick Macnamara, however, suggests that many of these networks were more than utilitarian and that they also resulted in emotional intimacies. These included feelings of private sentimental attachment believed to inform natural relations.⁹ Irish New Orleanians, in fact, regularly invited commercial contacts to celebrate with them major life moments, including commemorations of marriages, births and baptisms, and deaths. They did so in ways that had no apparent professional benefit. Rather, sacramental and notarial records indicate that merchants' associates were present because they figured largely in these immigrants' personal lives. Religious and probate records allow us to trace the private aspects of Irish sociabilities over the course of immigrants' residency along the early Gulf Coast. The resulting trends reveal personal relations very much akin to traders' professional networks. Blood relatives often provided many settlers' initial motivations for moving and thus informed their immediate and unintentionally inter-Irish social habits. Over time, however, such private relations expanded to include interactions with diversified groups of in-laws and associates. Ultimately, in wills, it was a wide group of professional contacts that merchants entrusted with the important tasks

⁹ Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 2nd ed. (London: A. Millar, 1761); David Hume, "Of Moral Prejudices," in *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. T.H. Green and T.H. Grose (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1907), 371-374; Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*, 80-110; G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: the Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

of settling their estates and attending to the financial well-being of their families.

Cosmopolitan professional networks thus did more than prepare Irish immigrants for contact with non-Irish persons in early New Orleans. They grounded and informed their non-work socializations.

Nuclear Families

Irish settlers brought with them to Louisiana flexible understandings of the domestic household and family. These, much as in long-distance trade, were expansive but intimate. Residents of the British Isles in the eighteenth century often lived within nuclear family groups. Peter Laslett has estimated that contemporary English residences supported an average of 4.18 to 4.69 persons. Irish scholars, acknowledging the island's high growth rate after 1780, suggest a relatable mean household size of 5.0 individuals.¹⁰ These small households depended on the early departure of youths from parental homes to save for their own futures. As a result, living spaces in Ireland usually housed two adults, only a few small children, and a non-related servant. Such residences were fluid sites of social and economic "organization," wherein often changing members benefitted from an "exchange of work and material benefits."¹¹ The fact that domestics took part in

¹⁰ Peter Laslett, "Size and Structure of the Household in England over Three Centuries," *Population Studies* 23 (July 1969): 208-210; E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: a Reconstruction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981). Irish population studies are notoriously wide-ranging in their estimates. K.H. Connell, the first scholar to tackle Ireland's demographic history, argued for significantly higher mean household size of 5.47 in 1767 and 5.65 in 1791. This high population he attributed to a young age at first marriage, restrictive land-tenure systems, the shift from pastoral to arable farming, and the inclusion of potatoes as a major part of Irish diets. See Connell, *The Population of Ireland*. Recent scholarship, however, suggests that Connell's numbers are too extreme. It instead suggests a more moderate population increase, primarily resulting from Ireland's participation in continental and transatlantic commerce. See William Macafee, "The pre-Famine population of Ireland: a reconsideration," in *Industry, Trade and People in Ireland: essays in honour of W.H. Crawford*, eds. Brenda Collins, Philip Ollerenshaw and Trevor Parkhill (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2005), 69-83; L.A. Clarkson, "Household and Family Structure in Armagh City, 1770" *Local Population Studies* 20 (Spring 1978): 14-31; Brian Gurrin, *Pre-Census Sources for Irish Demography* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002).

¹¹ Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 28.

the work, religious and cultural routines that made these households functional underlines the prominence of non-related persons in Old World homes.

Residents of Great Britain, including Ireland, further used familial rhetoric to describe wide-reaching groups of related and non-related associates. Scholars of early modern England have found that terms like “father,” “nephew,” “cousin,” “relation” and even “family” referenced a number of social relations, including immediate kin, in-laws, friends, political and spiritual sympathizers, and even temporary boarders.¹² Persons who warranted such titles were expected to offer each other a basis for business, monetary loans and emotional support in hard times.¹³ Given this, it is less surprising that Irish traders overlapped professional and personal networks.¹⁴ These settlers arrived in early New Orleans having previous experiences with and expectations of wide “familial” connectivities, both as sites of mutual economic interest *and* sentimental feeling. In a new setting, they immediately looked to familiar blood relatives to satisfy these needs.

It is evident in the surviving correspondence of Irish New Orleanians that they and their Old World families continued to care about one another’s personal lives post-migration. Settlers kept in touch with their fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters in Ireland as often as they could. These letters equally acted as sites for emotional expression as they did information transfer. Elizabeth Blair, the mother of Newry-born

¹² Ibid., 103-166.

¹³ See especially David Cressy, “Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England,” *Past & Present* 113 (November 1986): 45-46; 51-52; 65-67. Also, Naomi Tadmor, “‘Family’ and ‘friend’ in *Pamela*: a case study in the history of the family in eighteenth-century England,” *Social History* 14, no. 3 (1989): 289-306; Michael Mascuch, “Social Mobility and Middling Self-Identity: the Ethos of British Autobiographers, 1600-1750,” *Social History* 2 (1995): 45-61; Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

¹⁴ For overlapping kin and commercial networks in the British Isles, see Richard Grassby, “Love, Property and Kinship: the Courtship of Philip Williams, Levant Merchant, 1617-50,” *English Historical Review* 113 (April 1998): 335-350; Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Julian Hoppit, *Risk and Failure in English Business, 1700-1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation*; Cullen, “The Irish Merchant Community of Bordeaux, La Rochelle and Cognac,” 51-63.

James Blair, for example, asked often about her son's health while he was working in the Gulf of Mexico. She reminded him that American sicknesses were among her "greatest fear[s]." Anne Blair, too, wrote that her anxieties over her brother's potential illnesses left her unable to "refrain from tears." The Irish Blairs also expressed "great pleasure" on hearing of James's New World successes and rarely forgot to encourage him to write more frequently.¹⁵ Sligo-born Daniel Clark, Jr.'s Old World family, in a similar manner, kept their American relation intimately acquainted with news from home. His sister Jane expected that Clark, Jr. would enjoy details about her married life, her husband's rigorous workload, and her children's upbringing in England. Both her and her mother's letters kept the Irishman updated on aspects of family life that he likely would have participated in, had he not emigrated.¹⁶ This correspondence, as well as stories told by those associates who hand-delivered notes, allowed consanguineous kin to maintain emotive relationships across the Atlantic Ocean.¹⁷

Another significant number of Irish merchants experienced the transoceanic crossing alongside family members. When combined with those immigrants who moved at the request of already transplanted relatives, this created a setting wherein kin based most early socializations. Irish New Orleanians involved in trade especially moved overseas with related male merchants. Oliver Pollock, for example, emigrated from Ireland to Carlisle, Pennsylvania in 1760, and he did so with his father and brothers,

¹⁵ Elizabeth Blair to James Blair, Newry, 29 October 1774; 1 January 1777, Blair Family Letters. Anne Blair to James Blair, Newry, 28 October 1774, Ibid.

¹⁶ Jane Green to Daniel Clark, Jr., Liverpool, 3 May 1806, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1677-1678. Mary Clark to Daniel Clark, Germantown, 30 March 1803, Ibid., 1678.

¹⁷ To ensure that letters made it to their addressees and to avoid costly official mail services, merchants usually asked familiar traders, sailors and ship captains to deliver their letters personally. Extant correspondence indicates that family members enjoyed entertaining these visitors and expected further news from them. Anne Blair to James Blair, Newry, n.d., Blair Family Letters. Elizabeth Blair to James Blair, Newry, 5 May 1774, Ibid. Jane Green to Daniel Clark, Jr., Liverpool, 3 May 1806, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1677-1678.

John and James, so as to benefit from frontier land grants.¹⁸ George Pollock, again, arrived in New York City around 1780 on the same ship as siblings Carlisle and Hugh.¹⁹ Irish merchants even moved within North America accompanied by blood relations. Belfast-born George Cochran, for instance, traveled from Fort Pitt to Spanish Natchez in 1788, and he did so with brother Robert. Samuel Watson, meanwhile, relocated to New Orleans with sibling James in the late 1700s, although the latter again had moved to New York by 1800.²⁰

Many other Irish New Orleanians joined family members already established on the Gulf Coast and, once settled, sometimes sought to bring additional relatives to the region. Successful Irish merchants seem to have pushed for the emigration of educated nephews from Ireland. And, in Louisiana, they offered professional promotion and domestic hospitality to their kin.²¹ These relations, as discussed, based the early experiences of migrants like Daniels Clark, Sr. and Jr., Maurice and William Conway, Bartholomew and Patrick Macnamara, and Andrew Todd.²² Many of these men attained high degrees of social and material success, and they sought to share this newfound standing with family members settled overseas. One way to encourage the chain-migration of relatives was through inheritance. It is likely that George and Robert Cochran moved to the Gulf Coast after receiving land and other properties from the estates of a previously settled father and older brother. George similarly would encourage the relocation of a nephew settled in Pennsylvania, by leaving him these same

¹⁸ James, *Oliver Pollock*, 1.

¹⁹ Zygmunt, "Portraiture and Politics," 17.

²⁰ Will of George Cochran, 1804, Probate Records for Adams County. Will of Samuel Watson, 24 July 1800, *Ibid.*

²¹ Daniel Clark, Jr., for example, frequently visited his uncle at his Clarksville plantation and New Orleans home. Col. Daniel Clark to Gen. Wilkinson, New Orleans, 6 June 1788, in Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times*, 606-607.

²² See pages 65-69.

possessions in his will.²³ Other Irish merchants pushed for the migration of relatives not involved in trade. Sarah Cochran, for example, eventually moved to Louisiana to be near her two sons George and Robert. She brought with her two additional children, James and Hugh.²⁴ Daniel Clark, Jr., meanwhile, relocated his father and mother Mary from Ireland to New Orleans in 1802. While absent on business on their arrival, he directed business partners Richard Relf and Beverly Chew to move them north to a homestead he selected for them in Germantown, Pennsylvania.²⁵ Mary Clark lived on this land—and was visited by her son there—at least until his death in 1813.²⁶

Nuclear family ties thus remained very important to Irish socialization in the first years post-migration. These individuals kept in regular contact with one another via the written word. Indeed, some of the most detailed commentaries on immigrant life in early Louisiana are those expressed in letters between kin.²⁷ Ardkeen-native Hugh Quin, Jr., for example, kept a journal of his transoceanic travels to New Orleans in 1817 and his encounters with local residents. The manuscript specifically was written for his Irish father, as noted on its title page: “Journal of Hugh Quin, Jun’r/ Written for and dedicated to his only Parent and best of Fathers H. Quin Sen’r.”²⁸ Family thus impacted the ways that even solitary travelers approached New Orleans, and they did so as an audience, informing the interests migrants took in new places and people. Many Irish

²³ Will of George Cochran, 1804, Probate Records for Adams County. George Cochran’s succession notes that he passes on to nephew certain properties that he received from his father and his brother. Records indicate that the brothers had a widowed aunt (Jane Little) who stayed in Pennsylvania after their 1780s relocation. Robert Cochran Papers, 1838-1858, Natchez Trace Collection, University of Texas Libraries.

²⁴ Will of George Cochran, 1804, Probate Records for Adams County.

²⁵ Daniel Clark to Relf & Chew, 18 February 1802, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 1, 894.

²⁶ Succession of Daniel Clark, Jr., 1813. General Index of All Successions...(1805-1846), Louisiana Court of Probates, County Court (Orleans), NOPL (microfilm).

²⁷ Mathias O’Conway to Isabel O’Madden, Philadelphia, 4 April 1808, Correspondence...of the family of O’Conway. Anne Blair to James Blair, Newry, n.d., Blair Family Letters. Elizabeth Blair to James Blair, Newry, 5 May 1774, Ibid.

²⁸ Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 1817, Quin Papers.

merchants expected to see blood-relatives again, either in Europe or the Americas. Given the extent to which commercially-invested persons moved to transact business, it was a quite reasonable anticipation. Kinship, as a result, remained an important relationship for Irish New Orleanians. At the start of their emigrations, many expected to socialize with family. Over time and across space, these intimacies became less regular. Yet, the bonds of familiarity believed to exist between blood-relatives retained their importance throughout migrants' lives.

Consanguineous relations, in fact, figured largely as recipients of immigrant merchants' postmortem properties. Samuel Watson named his brother James as his universal heir in his 1800 will. The latter then lived in New York.²⁹ Dublin-born merchant Maurice Stackpoole, meanwhile, split his Natchez estate evenly between wife Juliana Robinson and brother Pierre Stackpoole. Pierre, he noted to his executor, resided in "Chapelrod near Dublin the Kingdom of Ireland."³⁰ Gulf Coast traders James Ferguson and Alexander McConnell, too, bestowed properties to Old World kin. Portions of their estates went to two Derry-area nephews and three Irish brothers respectively.³¹ Most often, these transmissions occurred after an estate auction in New Orleans. The value of Louisiana estates thus could transfer to Ireland without requiring overseas travel. A few Irish merchants, however, used their wills to try to force the emigrations of their families. Artry-native James Ferguson requested that his plantation, household furnishings and enslaved properties *not* be publically sold. Rather, he stipulated that one of his nephews move to the Gulf Coast to claim their bequest: "con la condición de que uno de dos venga aquí para recibirla, dentro del

²⁹ Will of Samuel Watson, 24 July 1800, Probate Records for Adams County.

³⁰ Will of Maurice Stackpoole, ca. 1802, *Ibid.*

³¹ Will of James Ferguson, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 34, 21 April 1799, NONA. Will of Alexander McConnell, Acts of Narcisse Broutin, vol. 3, 30 July 1801, NONA.

espacio de dos años después de mi fallecimiento [on the condition that one of the two of them come here to receive these properties, within two years of my death].”³²

Irish merchants, when possible, left much of their estate to relatives connected to them in American trade. In his 1804 will, for example, George Cochran bestowed a majority of his possessions on brother Robert. The Irishman acknowledged that his sibling retained with him a “connexion in trade” and that he thus deserved “in a high degree...whatever property I possess.” George further noted that his “claims of consanguinity” with Robert ensured him that his sibling would parcel out portions of his estate to any family members in need at the time of his death.³³ This included the brother’s mother and two other siblings, who did not receive specific bequests. Montreal trader Isaac Todd took similar control of his Irish nephew Andrews’ estate in 1796.³⁴ And Maurice Conway left his extensive New Orleans holdings to “sobrino” William, who he also charged with providing for any blood-relatives in economic distress in “el Reino de Irlanda [the kingdom of Ireland].”³⁵

Blood-relatives, in fact, featured as often as property-recipients in Irish-New Orleanians’ wills as did these settlers’ offspring. I thus far have located fourteen merchant successions (**Figure 3.1**) in area archives.³⁶ Family members are specified as beneficiaries in these records thirteen times, or in eight individual wills. These included transfers to parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, nieces and nephews, and they compared to five wills that noted bequests to children.³⁷ This suggests that these immigrants were

³² Will of James Ferguson, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 34, 21 April 1799, NONA.

³³ Will of George Cochran, 1804, Probate Records for Adams County.

³⁴ Will of Andrew Todd, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 28, 25 November 1796, NONA.

³⁵ Will of Mauricio Conway, Acts of Francisco Broutin, vol. 15, 28 May 1793, NONA.

³⁶ The fourteen wills assessed here are: Daniel Clark, Jr., George Cochran, Maurice Conway, James Ferguson, John Joyce, Patrick Macnamara, Alexander McConnell, Charles Norwood, Henry Nugent, George Pollock, Maurice Stackpoole, Andrew Todd, William Vousdan and Samuel Watson.

³⁷ Patrick Macnamara had one legitimate daughter, Catherine Macnamara. George Pollock had five children by his wife Catherine Yates. After her death, he had two additional children by Maria

Table 3.1. Beneficiaries in Irish-New Orleans Merchant Successions (by No. of Wills), 1780-1820

<i>Relationship:</i>		
Parent		2
Sibling		4
Uncle, Aunt		2
Nephew, Niece		4
Cousin		1
Spouse		4
In-Law		0
Children		5
Commercial Tie		1
Spiritual Kin		1
Friend		3
TOTAL		14

Gathered NONA and HNF. These numbers are based on statistics gathered from 14 individual Irish-New Orleans merchant successions.

emotionally connected to a wide array of relatives across space and time. They understood—as the wills of George Cochran and Maurice Conway indicate—that the natural family was a continued source of economic support, and they expected its members to enjoy experiencing geographically distinct settings with them through their

Errera, but he did not bestow any property upon these offspring. “Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara,” January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records. Will of George Pollock, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 41, 27 August 1804, NONA. This noted, a large number of merchants were unmarried. George Cochran, James Ferguson, Alexander McConnell, Andrew Todd and Samuel Watson all died bachelors. The nuptials of other traders, including Maurice Stackpoole and John Joyce, did not result in any children. Daniel Clark, Jr., while a bachelor, left property to two natural daughters. The Dublin-born James Fletcher, meanwhile, left bequests to both his four legitimate children by Anne Catherine Hepp and his natural son by free woman of color Jeannette Navarre. Charles Norwood similarly never married his children’s mother. After his death, the Irishman’s two natural daughters by free woman of color Elizabeth Boulard sued for rights to his estate. Their legal arguments rested on the fact that their father did not have any legitimate children or a prior spouse, and he thus had no forced heirs. See “Peter Fletcher” (1789), SRC, vol. 3. “Peter Fletcher (1807), Ibid., vol. 7. “Inventory of the Estate of James Fletcher,” 1819, Probate Records for Adams County. Inventory of Charles Norwood, 1818, Estate Inventories.

letters. A select few Irish-Louisiana merchants were able to live near their kin and to thus undergo their initial American adjustments alongside relatives, at least for a period.

Despite settlers' emotional attachment to their consanguineous relations, these persons did not play a particularly active role in their routine or ritual activities in early New Orleans. It was rare, for example, for Irishmen's kin to attend nuptials and baptisms. They also were not often called upon to act as executors or children's custodians in final successions.³⁸ This points to the reality that a majority of Irish merchants lived spatially removed from their families and that those relatives who initially emigrated together did not always remain settled in the same geographies. Consanguineous relations, as a result, were often unavailable to participate in these key events. Immigrants thus turned to alternative social networks, much as in their professional lives. The bonds they made with in-laws, friends and mercantile contacts were outward expanding, yet they were shaped by the same expectations of intimacy that informed their familial relationships.

Affinal Kin

Many Irish merchants connected to the wider social networks of early America initially through marriage. Again, only a few of these usually young Irishmen traveled already having spouses. William Conway and Elizabeth Gubbins, who registered a preexisting marriage at New Orleans's St. Louis Cathedral in 1781, were exceptional.³⁹ The Dublin-born Antony Patrick Walsh, meanwhile, left his wife with her Irish family while working overseas. A letter from Walsh's father-in-law cited "sea sickness" and a

³⁸ An exception was in those instances when two relatives were in business in with one another. See the examples of George Cochran, Maurice Conway and Andrew Todd. Will of George Cochran, 1804, Probate Records for Adams County. Will of Mauricio Conway, Acts of Francis Broutin, vol. 15, 28 May 1793, NONA. Will of Andrew Todd, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 28, November 25, 1796, NONA.

³⁹ "William Conway" (1796), SRC, vol. 6.

“racked constitution” as reasons for this unfavorable separation.⁴⁰ More Irishmen ended up marrying once settled in Louisiana. Such patterns would have mirrored nuptial habits in Great Britain, where young men delayed marriage until they secured a profession or saved for an independent household.⁴¹ For immigrants, this meant that most of the women residing near them when they reached marriage age were not Irish. Many Irish merchants who wed in New Orleans bound themselves to American-born wives. Sacramental records for the Roman Catholic Church indicate that sixteen out of thirty-three total Irish-born merchants married persons native to North America (**Figure 3.2**). These included nine women born in Louisiana, whose surnames suggest Francophone ancestries: Celeste Labranche, Jeanne Verloin, Marie Nivet, Catherine Deslisle Dupart, Margaret Dessilet, Louisa Gentilly, and Rose Delerie Chauvin.⁴² Three other settlers married West Floridian wives. John Joyce and William Vousdan met their spouses while trading out of Mobile.⁴³ Daniel Clark, Sr., in a related way, wed Jane Hoops while residing and working in her native Pennsylvania in 1758.⁴⁴

Irish New Orleanians’ marital habits point to several aspects of their early socialization. These included the influence of geography, women’s residency habits and commercial contacts on their private networking. First, immigrants usually wed women who lived near them. This generally overlapped with the settlement that commercially

⁴⁰ Richard Geoghegan to Anthony Patrick Walsh, Bellavista, 11 November 1791, Walsh Papers. Walsh’s father-in-law pleaded with his “son” to return to Ireland and to there maintain his troubled wife. For more on the transoceanic separation of families, see Cressy, *Coming Over*, 263-291; Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*, 210-239; Alison Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

⁴¹ See footnote 10.

⁴² These women married the following Irish merchants respectively: William Brown, Moses Duffy, John Fitzpatrick, Bartholomew Macnamara, Patrick Macnamara, Patrick Norris and John O’Brien. “Edward Obrien” (1808), SRC, vol. 8. “William Brown” (1809), *Ibid.*, vol. 9. “Moses Duffy” (1818); “Adelaida Norris” (1819), *Ibid.*, vol. 13. “Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara,” January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records. Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 22.

⁴³ Will of John Joyce, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 36, 24 March 1800, NONA. William Vousdan to Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Natchez, 14 March 1795, ND. Proceedings between Guillermo Vousdan and Hannah Lum, Natchez, 28 April 1795, *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Roberts and Tull, “Adam Hoops, Thomas Barclay, and the House in Morrisville,” 17-22.

occupied a merchant at that time, and it accounts for the high volume of marriages to Louisiana females occurring in New Orleans. It also resulted in a significant number of interfaith unions between Protestant Irishmen and those majority Catholic women who resided in the French and Spanish empires. This included the nuptials of nominally Presbyterian Oliver Pollock to Margaret O'Brien, the Irish-born daughter of a Catholic merchant working in the Caribbean.⁴⁵ Second, women—including Irishwomen—in early America often lived with or near their families, at least until wedded.⁴⁶ Elizabeth and

Table 3.2. Nativities of Irish-New Orleans Merchant Spouses (by No. of Persons), 1780-1820

<i>Spouses' Nativity:</i>		
Ireland		3
Europe, Non-Irish		0
Louisiana		9
West Florida		3
Pennsylvania		2
New York		1
Other, East Coast		2
Other, West Coast		1
Caribbean		2
<i>Unmarried</i>		8
<i>Unknown Status</i>		2
TOTAL		33

Gathered from SRC, vols. 1-14.

⁴⁵ See Cummins, "Oliver Pollock and the Creation of an American Identity," 201, 206. Also, James, *Oliver Pollock*, 4; 339; Horace Edwin Hayden, *A biographical sketch of Oliver Pollock, esquire, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, United States commercial agent at New Orleans and Havana, 1776-1784* (Harrisburg, PA: Lanes, Hart, Printer & Binder, 1883).

⁴⁶ For more on single women in early America, see Karin Wulf, *Not All Wives: Women of Colonial Philadelphia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000); Lee Virginia Chambers-Schiller, *Liberty, a Better Husband: Single Women in America, The Generations of 1780-1840* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

Mary White, for example, moved to the Gulf Coast from Ireland in the company of their parents.⁴⁷ Charlotte, Eugenia and Maria O'Brien, the children of Irish natives, migrated from the Carolinas to West Florida to New Orleans as a family unit.⁴⁸ Anne Catherine Hepp, the Philadelphia-born future wife of James Fletcher, too, settled along the Gulf Coast with her parents circa 1788.⁴⁹ Margaret Desilet, the wife of Patrick Macnamara whose example began this chapter, lived near her five locally-born siblings in Louisiana.⁵⁰ A marriage with any of these women brought with it access to their immediate families. These connections were extensive, and they especially helped the majority of Irish merchants who wedded females with fathers and brothers invested in overseas trade. Yet, such relations as much resulted from intimate professional bonds as created them. And the participation of in-laws in immigrants' ritual lives underlines that these relationships were at least as sentimental as they were useful.

As the preceding chapter shows, the intricacies of commerce, especially transoceanic trade, resulted in intimate networks of merchants, suppliers and buyers who trusted one another and looked towards their mutual interests. This, as already argued, in part ensured the success of interlinked businesses. But it also resulted in frequented networks of professional activity that inspired emotional attachments. Trade contacts often wrote to one another in terms of endearment. The Marquis de Casa Calvo, for example, entitled all of his letters to Irish merchant Antonio Patrick Walsh "Amigo mio!" ["my dear friend"].⁵¹ George Cochran similarly wrote to his "best friend" and fellow trader Andrew Jackson in October 1791, ending with a notation "saluting Mrs.

⁴⁷ "Elizabeth White" (1810), SRC, vol. 6.

⁴⁸ "Carlota Obrien" (1787); "Eugenia Obrien" (1788); "Maria Obrien" (1789), *Ibid.*, vol. 4. The sisters and their husbands all witnessed each other's marriages.

⁴⁹ The Hepp family was in New Orleans no later than 1795, when Anne's brother Samuel was born. "Samuel Hepp," (1831), *Ibid.*, vol. 19.

⁵⁰ "Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara," January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records.

⁵¹ Casa Calvo to Antonio Patrick Walsh, New Orleans, 20 June 1800; 28 November 1801; 12 December 1801, Walsh Papers.

Jackson.”⁵² Daniel Clark, Jr., too, included specific personal remembrances in his correspondence to partner Daniel Coxe, like the request to “[r]emember me respectfully to Mrs. Coxe.”⁵³ He expressively reminded his associate that he “would give [his] heart’s blood to relieve you” in trouble.⁵⁴ Such rhetorical flourishes were, in part, utilitarian. It comforted merchants to know that their associates sought to give their business preferential treatment, whether they actually did or not. Emotional overtures, furthermore, were useful in extending loan payments beyond agreed terms, and Irish traders and their contacts were not beyond using this language to avoid court.⁵⁵ Yet, there is a marked difference in the ways Irish New Orleanians wrote to their regular trade associates and to less familiar business contacts. This extended not only to personal comments on family life but included intimate terms of address.⁵⁶ Migrants often started letters to persons in their regular mercantile networks with “Dear Friend,” whereas correspondence to new suppliers and buyers (and associates held in bad graces) commenced with the more formal “Dear Sir.”⁵⁷

⁵² George Cochran to Andrew Jackson, Natchez, 21 October 1791, in *The Papers of Andrew Jackson, 1770-1803*, ed. Sam B. Smith and Harriet Chappel Owsley, vol. 1 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980), 32-33.

⁵³ Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 9 February 1809, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1789-1790. Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, Washington, 12 January 1808, *Ibid.*, 1792.

⁵⁴ Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 20 December 1811, *Ibid.*, 1788-1789. Clark made this remark after his associates Relf & Chew shipped poor quality cotton to their mutual supplier in London.

⁵⁵ Henry Cruger, a merchant in New York, for example, angrily wrote to Philadelphia associates Reed & Forde in July 1794: “But Gentlemen, what is become of the promised Payments?...Notwithstanding all this ill Treatment, I am yet willing to listen to your Solicitations provided my friends suffer nothing by delaying to institute a Suit against you instantly.” Henry Cruger to Reed & Forde, New York, 25 July 1794, Reed and Forde Papers.

⁵⁶ Maunsell White to Joshua Clibborn, New Orleans, 23 June 1822, Maunsell White Papers. Daniel Clark to Thomas Dromgoole, Philadelphia, 20 May 1761, Clark Letters Book. Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 22 October 1793, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. Mary Coxe to Peggy Coxe, unknown, 12 January 1802, *Ibid.* Lamb & Checkley to Reed & Forde, Savannah, 28 January 1789; 20 February 1789, Reed and Forde Papers.

⁵⁷ Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 24 August 1807, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. Oliver Pollock to John Watson, 7 August 1804, Pollock Papers. Peter Vaudors to Antonio Patrick Walsh, Letters Heights, 27 [unknown] 1799, Walsh Papers. Clark & Coxe, New Orleans, 15 August 1793,

Irish merchants who moved to early New Orleans quickly expanded their professional networks. As they did so, they developed similarly more intimate ties with regular contacts. Indeed, given that immigrants and their associates were in frequent contact, it is not surprising that they would have socialized together and that such interactions led to the nuptials of young traders and the daughters of their elder commercial associates. Several eventual Louisianans met their wives after working with or in proximity to their fathers. The Sligo-born Daniel Clark, Sr. first encountered his future father-in-law Adam Hoops while working on the frontier trade out of Carlisle, Pennsylvania in the 1750s. The two men were veterans of the French and Indian War, and they entrepreneurially used their contacts to work postbellum as major suppliers of army provisions.⁵⁸ After both men moved to Philadelphia, Clark, Sr. married Hoops' daughter Jane in 1758. Their professional associations became more direct after this union. In the 1760s, Hoops introduced the familiar and newly familial Irishman to his suppliers in Great Britain and joined with him on several shipments of flaxseed to Sligo.⁵⁹ He even bailed out Clark, Sr. when he was in financial trouble. In 1769, he deeded some Carlisle properties to his son-in-law, "for love and affection and 5 shillings." These the latter promptly sold to pay off his creditors.⁶⁰ Oliver Pollock, too, seems to have met his future wife while trading out of Havana in the 1760s. Irishwoman Margaret O'Brien's father also was a prominent local merchant, and they shared familiarities with several common contacts, including Governor-General Alejandro

Daniel W. Coxe Papers. James Beatley to Standish Forde, Green Castle, 4 October 1788, Reed and Forde Papers.

⁵⁸ Roberts and Tull, "Adam Hoops, Thomas Barclay, and the House in Morrisville," 10-12.

⁵⁹ Invoice of the "Brigatine Sally in Common with Adam Hoops, Thomas Dromgoole, Stephen & Jos. Shewit, William Henderson & Daniel Clark," 1761, Clark Letters Book.

⁶⁰ Merri Lou Scribner Schaumann, *A History and Genealogy of Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, 1751-1835* (Dover, PA: M.L. Schaumann, 1987), 148-149.

O'Reilly.⁶¹ Ultimately, when Pollock moved to New Orleans in 1768, he brought his new spouse—and likely his father-in-law's commercial contacts—with him.⁶²

Frequent commercial contact also introduced other eventual Louisianans to their wives. George Pollock, for example, met father-in-law Richard Yates while working in New York City. Not only did the Irishman marry daughter Catherine in 1787, but George's older brother Carlisle—also a prominent East Coast exporter—married another one of Yates' children in 1792. Hugh Pollock, a younger brother, similarly wed a family friend of the New Yorkers, Martha Anthony, in 1795. She was the daughter of their professional associate and a Philadelphia trader, Joseph Anthony.⁶³ William Vousdan, meanwhile, met the woman who claimed to be his first spouse while filling the role of executor of her merchant-husband's succession in Mobile, West Florida in the 1770s. A priest eventually annulled this union, finding no proof of a claimed informal ceremony.⁶⁴ Vousdan then moved to Natchez in the 1790s, where he began to buy frontier products to sell to transoceanic ships departing from New Orleans. In these activities, he met Anthony Hutchins, an ex-British-army officer and area planter whose several sons-in-law also worked in the export trade. The Dublin-born merchant soon thereafter married Hutchins' daughter, Elizabeth Celeste, in 1795.⁶⁵

⁶¹ James Hunter to Oliver Pollock, St. Kitts, 19 August 1767, Pollock Papers. William Mercer to Oliver Pollock, 26 October 1767, *Ibid.* Invoice for the firm of Hodge, McCulloch and Bayard, 27 October 1767, *Ibid.* Oliver Pollock to Captain General of Cuba, 22 June 1796. *Papeles de Cuba*, Archivo General de Indias (Seville). Oliver Pollock to Luis de las Casas, 14 July 1796, *Ibid.* Also, Linda K Salvucci, "Atlantic Intersections: Early American Commerce and the Rise of the Spanish West Indies (Cuba)," *Business History Review* 79, no. 4 (2005): 781-809.

⁶² James, *Oliver Pollock*, 4-7; Light T. Cummins, "Oliver Pollock's Plantations: an Early Anglo Landowner on the Lower Mississippi, 1769-1824," *Louisiana History* 29 (Winter 1988): 35-48.

⁶³ Zygmunt, "Portraiture and Politics," 21; Mann, *Republic of Debtors*, 245.

⁶⁴ In 1795, Hannah Lum filed suit with Spanish Governor Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, wanting recognition of her marriage to William Vousdan. The Irishman claimed this union never happened, nor could it. They never received a license from the British colonial government. Furthermore, he wrote, Lum likely was Anabaptist while he and his family were Roman Catholics. Proceedings between Guillermo Vousdan and Hannah Lum, Natchez, 28 April 1795, ND.

⁶⁵ Vousdan is credited with being one of the first area traders to ship Natchez cotton to London. See "Elizabeth Maria Celest Hutchins," *The Arkansas Family Historian* 14, no. 2 (1976): 71.

Thus, in many instances, the limited networks of transoceanic trade resulted in personal relationships for Irish merchants settled in early New Orleans. Many of these socializations retained professional implications even after marriage. It was, for example, only after wedding their daughters that the fathers-in-law of Daniel Clark, Sr. and George Pollock invited their now Irish kinsmen into their firms as junior partners.⁶⁶ Clark, Sr.'s new commercial connections to his brothers-in-law post-1760 proved to be especially beneficial to his profession. His contacts with James Mease—a partner in the firm Mease & Caldwell—and Thomas Barclay even maintained through the commercial career of his nephew, Daniel Clark, Jr. The latter traded with these European and East Coast suppliers via the firm Relf & Chew at least until 1802.⁶⁷

It is important to note that Irish merchants from 1780 to 1820 moved to the Gulf Coast to benefit from expanding regional trade. As a result of their interests and new arrivals, a large portion of the New Orleanians with whom they interacted were individuals also invested in local commercial exchange. And—after surrounding themselves with suppliers and buyers—it is not surprising that new immigrants found wives exactly in this population, without ulterior motives. Transoceanic trade, however, did carry with it high risks and a need to protect investments via conscious professional networking. Irish merchants certainly used language and developed affinal relations with associates in ways that suggest such bonds also were personal. Sacramental records

Hutchins' children and sons-in-law included planters and traders John Hutchins, Abner Green and Cato West. Ethan A. Grant, "Anthony Hutchins, a Pioneer of the Old Southwest," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 74 (Spring 1996): 405-422.

⁶⁶ Daniel Clark to Daniel Mildred, Philadelphia, 13 November 1760, Clark Letters Book. Daniel Clark to William Neale, Philadelphia, 14 January 1761, *Ibid.* Zygmunt, "Portraiture and Politics," 17-20.

⁶⁷ Letter of Daniel Clark, Sr. to John Ormsby, 27 June 1761, Philadelphia, Clark Letters Book. Receipt of Daniel Clark, in *Barr v. Craig*, March 1792, Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Priscilla H. Roberts and Richard S. Roberts, *Thomas Barclay (1728-1793): Consul in France, Diplomat in Barbary* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2008), 40-42. Daniel Clark, Jr. to Chew & Relf, London, 7 October 1802, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1781.

further show that immigrants incorporated in-laws they met through business into their personal lives. And they suggest that Irishmen wanted them there.

Marriages, births and baptisms were crucial public rituals in the Old and New Worlds. Such ceremonies acted as “rites of passage” which identified individuals and their communities, and they included audiences, like godparents and witnesses, who were expected to play dynamic roles in the lives of celebrants and their families.⁶⁸ Sacramental records, in this way, identified Irish Louisianans as participants in specific Christian communities and as members of unique familial and congenial networks.⁶⁹ They predominantly survive for the Roman Catholic Church. These records are important in assessing immigrants’ sociability because they capture moments when merchants and their wives were able to *choose* those individuals they wanted involved in their social lives. Sometimes these decisions were used to cultivate familial patronage. William Conway, for example, invited Governor Ésteban Miró to serve as godfather to his son, Joseph Stephen, in 1789.⁷⁰ James Fletcher similarly requested imperial secretary Carlos Tessier and Adelaida de Reggio, the wife of an army treasurer, to sponsor his twin girls’ baptism in 1797.⁷¹ Asking a member of the local elite to serve as a godparent could strategically bolster the trade of a merchant. It also provided for the social and material future of Irishmen’s children, especially as spiritual kin often felt

⁶⁸ Anthropologist Barbara Myerhoff suggests that one of the paradoxes of “ritual” is that, while such acts celebrate an individual and his or her achievements, they also clearly place this person within traditions governed by communities at large. She notes: “rites of passage announce our separateness and individuality to us and at the same time remind us most firmly and vividly that we belong to our group and cannot conceive of an existence apart from it.” Barbara Myerhoff, “Rites of Passage: Process and Paradox,” in *Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual*, ed. Victor Turner (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1982), 109-135.

⁶⁹ See Will Coster, *Baptism and Spiritual Kinship in Early Modern England* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002); Joseph H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in early Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Louis Haas, “Il Mio Buono Compare: Choosing Godparents and the Use of Baptismal Kinship in Renaissance Florence,” *Journal of Social History* 29 (Winter 1995): 341-356.

⁷⁰ “José Estevan” (1789), SRC, vol. 3.

⁷¹ “Adelaida Fletcher” (1797); “Felicite Fletcher” (1797), *Ibid.*, vol. 6.

responsible for leaving goods to each other in wills. George Cochran, for example, bequeathed one enslaved person each to goddaughters Lucy Potter and Maria Evans in 1804.⁷² This was despite the fact that neither woman resided near his Natchez estate.

Most celebrants, however, invited individuals emotionally important to them to join in their religious ceremonies. These especially included in-laws and, as will be discussed, friends. Sacramental records for the marriages and baptism of Irish merchants and their children reveal seventy-nine different witnesses (**Figure 3.3**). Only seven such persons were blood-relatives of an immigrant. The kinsmen of merchants' spouses, however, did factor large in these rituals. Twenty-three such individuals participated as baptismal sponsors or nuptial witnesses. Such patterns attest to the fact that immediate family members were expected to participate in these sorts of

Table 3.3. Participants in Irish-New Orleans Merchant Sacramental Rituals, 1780-1820

<i>Relationship:</i>	
Parent	0
Sibling	0
Uncle, Aunt	3
Nephew, Niece	2
Cousin	2
In-Law	23
Children	1
Commercial Tie	9
Spiritual Kin	4
Friend	35
TOTAL	79

Gathered from SCR, vols. 1-14, and NONA.

⁷² Will of George Cochran, 1804, Probate Records for Adams County. Lucy Potter lived in Virginia with her father, Ebenezer Potter.

life-marker activities and that it was women's relatives (as opposed to Irishmen's) who typically lived near enough to attend ceremonies. Patrick Macnamara, for example, may wanted and selected his uncle Bartholomew to serve as godparent for daughter Catherine in 1777. But it was the spouse of his wife's sister, James Enoul de Livaudais, who enacted the role as proxy.⁷³ St. Claire Pollock, the child of George Pollock and Catherine Yates, meanwhile, was sponsored by elite New Yorker and army quarter-master Morris Dyckman in 1792 and also by Catherine's relatives, namely her father Richard Yates and an unspecified kinswoman Mrs. Adolph Yates.⁷⁴ Such a connection promised the second-generation Irish child access to the social perks of being attached to a prosperous patron but also the emotional attention of his extended family.

Irish merchants' in-laws also involved themselves regularly in their weddings. Fathers- and brothers-in-law witnessed marital contacts as representatives for female relations. Jean Baptiste Chauvin Desilet and M. Huchet de Kernion, the brother and brother-in-law of Margaret Chauvin Desilet, for example, both signed her 1796 marriage contract with Patrick Macnamara. In doing so, they confirmed their interest and attention to Margaret's future happiness and to her independent financial security.⁷⁵ Such concerns, however, were more than material, and actual wedding ceremonies were witnessed quite often by blood-relatives of immigrants' wives. The 1809 marriage of Irishman William Brown and Louisianan Celeste Labranche was attended by the "bride's

⁷³ "Catalina Charlota Magnimara" (1777), SRC, vol. 3.

⁷⁴ "Concerning 'an Amiable Child,'" *The Christian Advocate*, vol. 75 (1900), 961.

⁷⁵ Marriage contract of Patrick Macnamara and Margarita Chauvin Desilet, Acts of Andres Almonaster y Roxas, vol. 7, 21 May 1776, NONA. Participation in notarial acts, especially those that guaranteed the property rights of women, would have been an entirely new experience for Irish immigrants who came from a tradition of common law. It is interesting the extent to which they took to an unfamiliar civil law tradition to protect their newfound properties in Louisiana. For more on local civil law, particularly as applied to slavery, see Vernon V. Palmer, *Through the Codes Darkly: Slave Law and the Civil Law in Louisiana* (Clark, NJ: The Lawbook Exchange, 2012).

uncles,” as noted by the priest of New Orleans’s St. Louis Cathedral.⁷⁶ Similarly, the nuptials and first baptism celebrated by Moses Duffy and Jeanne Verloin were witnessed by the latter’s kin. These included “P. Verloin Degruy” and Joseph Verloin de Gruy.⁷⁷ William Conway, too, obtained regular support from his wife’s Louisiana family during his own and his children’s spiritual ceremonies in the late 1790s.⁷⁸

Affinal family members thus filled an important emotive role for Irish Louisianans that their kinsmen would have done, had they lived in closer proximity. Their presence physically showed that they would be there for their own children, their in-laws and any future offspring. Ironically, for those individuals already joined to settlers in commerce, it expressed in a personal sense the very sorts of attachment, trust and investment that made transoceanic trade possible. Sacramental rituals, however, rarely produced direct professional benefits in-and-of themselves. Rather, as Irishmen and their wives carefully chose and invited witnesses to participate, they often confirmed relationships that already existed or that were expected to develop over time.

The fact that migrants’ in-laws cared about them is further attested to in succession records. Some Irish traders looked to affinal kin to help them settle their final estates, as did Patrick Macnamara in 1791 when he selected brother-in-law Francois Baptiste Desilet as an executor.⁷⁹ Others received particular endowments in wills. Adam Hoops, for example, specifically mentioned son-in-law Daniel Clark, Sr. in an early draft of his testament. He noted that his bequest to the Irishman and his early business

⁷⁶ “William Brown” (1809), SRC, vol. 9.

⁷⁷ “Moses Duffy” (1818); “Louis William Duffy” (1819), SRC, vol. 13. “William Duffy” (1821), *Ibid.*, vol. 14.

⁷⁸ See “Jose Estevan Conway” (1789), *Ibid.*, 4. Also, see the example of George Pollock and the Louisiana-based family of his second partner. “Marcella Pollock” (1818); “Petronella Pollock” (1817), *Ibid.*, vols. 12, 13.

⁷⁹ “Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara,” January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records. Andres Almonaster y Rojas was Macnamara’s other selected executor. The latter’s family repeatedly appeared in the Irishman’s transactions. Andres was assigned as alternative curator for his daughter in 1788. His father, Miguel, also witnessed Patrick’s marriage.

partner was the “one thousand pounds” he lent him in 1770, which executors should not expect to be repaid.⁸⁰ In-laws thus, much as in trade, allowed Irish merchants an initial site wherein to expand their personal socializations beyond consanguineous kin. The fact that they had encountered many of these persons also in their professional lives, where the development of “fictive families” was necessary, certainly made this process easier for many immigrants. It also, however, points to the ways that limited trade networks prepared commercially-linked associates to develop sentiment-based friendships. Over time, this is exactly what Irish-New Orleans merchants did. And, by the end of their lives, it was their professional contacts that would fulfill some of their most important personal roles.

Non-Related Associates

The longer immigrants lived and worked in Louisiana, the more likely they were to incorporate non-related individuals into their private lives. This, again much as in commerce, was in part based on availabilities and resulted in the diversification of settler sociabilities. For those Irishmen who had many offspring, for example, it could be difficult to find enough family members (consanguineous or affinal) to provide each child with at least two baptismal sponsors. It thus was not unusual to incorporate other persons known familiarly, or friends, into these roles. Irish merchants did just this, inviting at least thirty-five New Orleanians who were neither kin nor direct commercial associates to join in their sacramental rituals (**Figure 3.3**). The names of these witnesses attest to migrants’ widening interactions to include persons of many origins. The 1791 nuptials of Patrick Macnamara’s daughter Catherine, for example, were witnessed by County Tyrone-born priest Constantine McKenna, Francophones Rennato

⁸⁰ Will of Adam Hoops, 1771; Office of the Recorder of Wills, Philadelphia City Hall. Roberts and Tull, “Adams Hoops, Thomas Barclay, and the House in Morrisville,” 20.

de Kernion and Pedro Lavergne, and Spanish militia captain Antonio Argote.⁸¹ The baptisms and marriages of Arthur McClasky and Sarah McKeever's children, too, were attended by persons with ethnically-diverse surnames: Charles Felix Visinier, John Brandt, Elizabeth Barbarin and Harriot Zacherie.⁸² For the most part, the ways in which Irish merchants encountered these Louisianans are unknown. Their inclusion in ceremonies celebrating important life-markers indicates the willingness of immigrants to become emotionally involved in populations beyond shared nativity or language. An interest in commerce, however, does seem to have grounded many of these relations.

Many elites in late colonial and early national New Orleans had careers dependent upon the success of regional trade or gained financial security in this trade. These individuals represent a number of those non-related participants in Irish merchants' sacramental records. City administrators especially had a vested interest in ensuring that local markets—like those providing foodstuffs—were regularly stocked. And several officials granted Irish settlers with regular trade in Pennsylvania and on the Ohio River special contracts to import grains. Oliver Pollock, for example, gained his foothold in New Orleans after receiving permission to engage in this (illicit) trade from Spanish governor Alejandro O'Reilly after 1769.⁸³ The Coleraine-native recalled that the contract produced a “confidential intimacy...with the Governor and all the Spanish officers” in Louisiana.⁸⁴ He and his wife made this professional “intimacy” personal by inviting administrators to join in their sacramental celebrations. They asked Bernardo

⁸¹ “Catherine Macnema” (1791), SRC, vol. 5.

⁸² “Charles Lewis McClosky” (1821); “Anabella McClosky” (1820), *Ibid.*, vol. 14.

⁸³ John Hunter to Oliver Pollock, St. Kitts, 19 August 1767, Pollock Papers. Also, Cummins, “Oliver Pollock and the Creation of an American Identity,” in Smith and Hilton, *Nexus of Empire*, 201-206.

⁸⁴ Deposition of Oliver Pollock, 8 June 1808; 10 June 1808, in Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times*, 581-586.

Ottero, a royal accountant, to serve as godparent of daughter Lucetta in 1782.⁸⁵ Similarly, the couple asked Ottero's relative and the wife of a large-scale regional planter to witness the 1776 baptism of son Jerret.⁸⁶ There is no evidence that Oliver Pollock worked with the latter person himself, a descendent of ancestrally French, Spanish officer Claude Joseph Dubreuil de Villars. But they certainly would have met one another along the Mississippi River, where they both participated in the export trade.⁸⁷

Members of commercial networks also, while a minority, appeared in these rituals. They especially represented those persons with whom Irish merchants worked early after settlement. Oliver Pollocks' oldest children, for example, were baptized with David Hodge and Patrick Morgan as their sponsors.⁸⁸ These British-born traders worked in the peltries trade along the Gulf Coast after the 1760s. Hodge sat on the West Florida Council until 1769 and regularly exchanged with the Irishman via the company of Hodge, McCulloch and Bayard in early New Orleans and in Philadelphia. He additionally recommended further commercial contacts to the Irishman.⁸⁹ Patrick Morgan worked with several of Pollock's other professional associates—including John Fitzpatrick, James Mather and Evan Jones—in colonial Louisiana after the 1760s.⁹⁰ Scotsman John Turnbull relatedly sponsored associate James Fletcher's child in 1798.⁹¹

⁸⁵ "Lucetta Pollock" (1782), SRC, vol. 3.

⁸⁶ "Jerret Pollock" (1776), *Ibid*, vol. 3. Jerret's sponsors also included local "citizen" Guillermo Hiorm.

⁸⁷ Succession of Claude Joseph Dubreuil de Villars, 17 October 1757. Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana, 1734-1764, LSM. Arthur, *Old Families of Louisiana* (New Orleans: Harmason, 1931), 105-111.

⁸⁸ "Carlos Pollock" (1774); "Christina Pollock" (1775), SRC, vol. 3.

⁸⁹ David Hodge to Oliver Pollock, Pensacola, 14 February 1775; 25 March 1775, Pollock Papers. Invoice of Hodge, McCulloch & Bayard, 27 October 1767, Pollock Papers. Bradley, *Interim Appointment*, 376.

⁹⁰ John Fitzpatrick to Patrick Morgan, Manchac, 18 February 1778, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 286. Bernard Lintot v. James McIntosh, 23 December 1793, in McBee, *The Natchez Court Records*, 204. Robin Fabel, *The Economy of British West Florida, 1763-1783* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988), 109.

⁹¹ "Adelaida Fletcher" (1797), SRC, vol. 6.

And Patrick Norris witnessed the marriage of his contact Moses Duffy and Jeanne Verloin in 1818.⁹² In these sacramental moments, it was not the regularity of commercial overlap that was remarkable. Irish traders, again, more often chose family members and friends to participate in these events, if available. Yet, the inclusion of frequent professional associates speaks to the desire of some Irish merchants to merge their work and private lives in intimate ways soon after emigrating. Settlers expected commercial contacts whom they invited to fill spiritual roles to be interested in their social, material, familial and emotional futures as well as those of their children. As Irish Louisianans invested themselves more in local markets over time, the expectation that professional associates would offer sources of private socialization became more pronounced.

Participants in mutual commercial networks maintained the same expectations for each other as did families in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These included sharing business, monetary loans and emotional support (or at least understanding) in troubling times. And Irishmen often filled these roles in ways that produced little professional benefit. William Vousdan, for example, boarded with the sister of a Mobile trade associate in the 1770s.⁹³ Similarly, Beverly Chew regularly dined with the family of partner Daniel Clark, Jr.'s sister, Jane Green, whenever he traveled to Liverpool on business.⁹⁴ In both instances, commerce produced an initial connection to non-local family members but subsequent stays were entirely personal. Contemporaries remembered that Irishmen acted in these ways because of sentimental feelings. Daniel Clark, Jr., for example, turned to partner Daniel Coxe and his wife for advice on a marriage proposal in 1809.⁹⁵ The Irishman also was known to treat his young partner

⁹² "Moses Duffy" (1818), *Ibid.*, vol. 13.

⁹³ Proceedings between Guillermo Vousdan and Hannah Lum, Natchez, 28 April 1795, ND.

⁹⁴ Jane Green to Daniel Clark, Liverpool, 3 May 1806, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1677-1678.

⁹⁵ Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, Washington, D.C., 9 February 1809, *Ibid.*, 1790.

Richard Relf “like a son.” He allowed the Philadelphian to reside with him in New Orleans, and Relf remained at Clark, Jr.’s bedside during his illness and ultimate death in 1813.⁹⁶ Clearly, having an emotionally-invested friend with whom to do business was a perk for the Irishman, who established his own partnership with Chew & Relf in the 1800s. He also recommended their firm to Daniel Coxe and to those suppliers he inherited from his uncle in Great Britain.⁹⁷

Professional contacts that helped one another out in business saw these favors repaid in their private lives. Daniel Clark, Jr., again, became acquainted with New Jersey native and merchant Samuel Davis in 1798. This was after two of his ships, the *Delaware* and *General Washington*, were seized by Great Britain during its naval war with France.⁹⁸ The latter vessel was owned by Daniel Coxe, Clark, Jr.’s partner, and represented a major loss to the firm. The Irishman sought to re-stabilize Clark & Coxe by reestablishing Davis’s trade through a new and silent partnership. Because the firm also bought and supplied goods through Clark, Jr.’s networks, the move benefited him and his Philadelphia-based associate as well. Davis, however, believed the decision also to be based on shared interpersonal sentiment, and it quite likely was. The Irishman, in fact, heavily relied on the American and his family for a private matter. This was the birth of his illegitimate daughter Myra, whose mother was a married New Orleanian.⁹⁹ Davis arranged for the secluded lying-in of Zulime Carrière on his brother-in-law Pierre Baron

⁹⁶ Testimony of Jean Canon, April 24, 1834; Testimony of Pierre Baron Boisfontaine, 3 May 1835, *Ibid.*, 1675; 1847-1851. Alexander, *Notorious Woman*, 55.

⁹⁷ Clark & Coxe to unknown, New Orleans, 15 August 1793, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. Articles of Agreement between Daniel Clark, Beverly Chew and Richard Relf, 1801, *Ibid.* Daniel Clark to Messrs. Chew & Relf, Liverpool, 7 October 1802, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1781-1782. Daniel Clark to Messrs. Chew & Relf, London, 13 October 1802, 1782-1783.

⁹⁸ Deposition of Samuel B. Davis, 10 July 1849, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1379-1387. Alexander, *Notorious Woman*, 15.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* Myra’s mother, Zulime Carrière, was married to a French café owner, Jerome DesGranges in New Orleans with whom Daniel Clark, Jr. socialized professionally. DesGranges returned to France in 1801 to settle some affairs, and while he was gone was accused of bigamy. It was during this period that Clark and Carrière are believed to have begun an intimacy and had their first

Table 3.4. Non-Inheriting Administrators* in Irish-New Orleans Wills (by No. of Wills), 1780-1820

<i>Relationship:</i>	
Parent	0
Sibling	1
Uncle, Aunt	1
Nephew, Niece	1
Cousin	0
Spouse	5
In-Law	0
Children	0
Commercial Tie	12
Spiritual Kin	0
Friend	10
TOTAL	30

Gathered from NONA. These numbers are based on statistics gathered from 14 individual Irish-New Orleans merchant successions.

* This includes executors, curators and witnesses.

Boisfontaine's plantation.¹⁰⁰ He then allowed Clark, Jr. to maintain his professional reputation in the city by raising Myra with his own children, first in rural Louisiana and in Philadelphia after 1807, and by managing the money the Irish merchant sent to him for his daughter's education.¹⁰¹ It was a lasting investment that only emotionally-based friends would entrust to each other. It also was one wherein business and personal social interests seamlessly informed one another. Irish traders spent a good deal of their

child, Caroline. Carrière, however, publically claimed the girls to be the legitimate offspring of her husband, despite his absence. Myra later claimed that her father and mother contracted a secret marriage, and thus she was entitled to Clark's estate. Alexander, *Notorious Woman*, 14-18.

¹⁰⁰ Testimony of Pierre Baron Boisfontaine, 3 May 1835, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1675; 1847-1851.

¹⁰¹ Alexander, *Notorious Woman*, 18. Clark and his commercial associates also provided for the education of daughter Caroline at "Mrs. Baizely's boarding school in Philadelphia." Deposition of Daniel W. Coxe, 21 May 1835; 6 January 1841, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1502-1522.

time in New Orleans surrounded by and communicating with their mercantile associates, and it is unsurprising that they turned to them in times of need. Ultimately, they entrusted these same individuals with securing for their families their final legacies.

Irish merchants bestowed on members of their commercial networks a great deal of responsibility in their wills. Of an identified thirty individuals assigned the tasks of estate executors, curators to minor children and notarial witnesses in these documents, between one-third and one-half (or twelve individuals) were frequent professional associates (**Table 3.4**). Furthermore, of the fourteen extant Irish wills located, twelve recognized commercial contacts in these roles. Successions were important to early property-holders. They acknowledged debts and arranged for their repayment. They pointed out specific or extended legacies that the deceased wished to give to persons both in and beyond immediate family.¹⁰² They also arranged for the upbringing of children and assigned individuals responsible for their care, should both parents predecease the maturity of their offspring. As such, those contacts Irish merchants entrusted with following through with these issues needed to be efficient at getting tasks done and invested in the continued welfare of estate survivors. The latter implied a degree of emotional concern. The frequent inclusion of professional contacts in these records speaks both to their connectedness and to the sense of personal attachment and responsibility that many merchants felt for each other, particularly after having shared a lifetime of investment in risky transoceanic commerce.

¹⁰² James Ferguson, for example, left to his “buen amigo” Nathaniel Baltheth the specific bequest of his clothing. Irishmen like Samuel Watson and Andrew Todd also identified non-local kinsmen as their universal heirs in their wills. Their estates would not necessarily have gone to these men otherwise. Will of James Ferguson, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 34, 21 April 1799, NONA. Will of Samuel Watson, 24 July 1800, Probate Records for Adams County. Will of Andrew Todd, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 28, 25 November 1796, NONA. Louisiana civil law guaranteed partible inheritance, whereby no legitimate child could be deprived a portion of their parents’ estate. Natural children, or those conceived outside of wedlock, had no such legal reliance, especially after the Louisiana Code of 1808. Alexander, *Notorious Woman*, 173-174. Also, Carole Shammas, Marylynn Salmon and Michel Dahlin, eds., *Inheritance in America, from Colonial Times to the Present* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987).

Traders often left behind large amounts of debt, especially as contemporary economies relied on credit. Irishmen's commercial associates were those persons best placed to determine who and how debtors would be repaid, while retaining some financial capital for surviving relatives. Patrick Macnamara, for example, died in 1788 owing sums ranging from 0.5 to 2,000 piastres to the suppliers and middlemen he exchanged goods with along the Gulf Coast. These included merchants Francisco Reaño, Jean-Baptiste Macarty, "los hermanos Monsanto," Arthur Strother, James Mather, David Hodge, Maurice Conway, Louis Toutant Beauregard and William Surniray. Louisiana doctors Robert Bass and Joseph Montagu also laid claim to a portion of his estate.¹⁰³ Balancing such competing claims would be difficult to an untrained accountant. Therefore, Macnamara—who actually was survived by his wife and her neighboring siblings—appointed prominent trader Andres Almonaster y Roxas to administer his succession. Newry-native George Pollock similarly appointed a merchant-based group of executors to manage his estate, which just had declared bankruptcy and would again soon, in a 1802 version of his will. These included Virginian Beverly Chew, Louisianan Daniel Urquhart and Englishman William Donaldson.¹⁰⁴

Despite the usefulness of money-savvy merchants in balancing personal books, it is clear that Irish settlers also understood their executors as persons with whom they were emotionally connected. James Ferguson, for example, requested that merchants Charles Norwood, William Stephen and Alexander Milne serve as his estate executors in his 1799 last will and testament. He identified these men as "mis fieles amigos ["my

¹⁰³ Receipt of Franco. Reaño, 30 January 1791, in "Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara," January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records. Receipt of "los hermanos Monsanto," July 1784, Ibid. Receipt of Mather & Strother, 12 October 1787, Ibid. Receipt of M. Conway, 16 July 1790, Ibid. Receipt of Mr. Beauregard, 27 August 1789, Ibid. Receipt of Marie Fitzgerald, 15 January 1787, Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Will of George Pollock, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 41, 27 August 1802, NONA.

faithful friends]” in his appointment.¹⁰⁵ John Joyce similarly nominated “worthy friend John Turnbull of Baton Rouge” as his executor. Scotsman Turnbull was the Irishman’s professional partner along the Gulf Coast. He would be needed in this role to ensure the private finances of Joyce’s surviving wife and children. Fortunately, the two men’s families already socialized on the Louisiana frontier, and thus an interest in the Turnbull and Joyce relatives’ mutual betterment was well established.¹⁰⁶ Daniel Clark, Jr. similarly looked to friends and business partners Richard Relf and Beverly Chew to manage his estate and to provide for the financial needs of his illegitimate children.¹⁰⁷

In a situation wherein blood-relatives who might have filled these roles were absent, Irish immigrants looked to alternative socializations whose feelings of mutual investment mirrored those identified with the family. They found them in their specific and trust-based professional networks. Merchants developed emotional attachments to the persons with whom they traded. These were expressed in sentimental titles, shared residences, assistance offered in difficult commercial and personal moments, and assumed responsibilities in successions. Sometimes these professional networks resulted in recognized kinship, such as when a merchant wed the female relative of one of his associates. At other moments, which are much more elusive in the archives, these relationships were based entirely on emotion and proven social reputation. It is clear, however, that as Irish traders developed and diversified their professional networks over time, they also incorporated more varied groups of local residents into their social lives.

¹⁰⁵ Will of James Ferguson, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 34, 21 April 1799, NONA.

¹⁰⁶ John Turnbull only survived his Irish partner by three months. Both men’s widows attended the appraisal of their firm, which included a commonly shared “principal house, raised about three feet high, mud walls between stakes, about forty-seven feet long by twenty feet wide.” “Inventory and estimation...of the deceased Turnbull and Joyce,” 5 May 1800, Archives of the Spanish Government of West Florida.

¹⁰⁷ Olographic will of Daniel Clark, 20 May 1811, in *City of New Orleans v. James T. Christmas*, May 1889, Supreme Court of the United States. In a missing deathbed will, Clark popularly was believed to have left his entire estate to daughter Myra, with annuities to his mother and to his first illegitimate daughter Caroline DesGrange. The executors of this will were commercial associates and friends of Samuel Davis, namely Mrrs. Bellechasse, Pitot and De La Croix. Will of Daniel Clark, 13 July 1813, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 1, 14-16.

Such relationships could depend on an individual immigrant's language skills or commercial familiarities. John Joyce, for example, primarily worked with Anglophones, and his final will nodded to persons primarily of English, Scottish and Irish heritages.¹⁰⁸ Antonio Patrick Walsh, meanwhile, worked mostly in the Iberian empire, and it was his Spanish professional associates who addressed him emotionally as "Amigo mio! [my friend!]"¹⁰⁹ Other immigrants, such as Oliver Pollock, developed intimacies across local, regional and imperial boundaries to their commercial benefit. Some individuals may have used diverse social networking insincerely for professional gain, but surviving records indicate that they were a minority. Instead, Irish merchants increasingly understood that their professional networks operated like families. They then looked to these same individuals to fill the emotive functions of family, as well as the useful.

Commerce essentially shaped the personal lives of Irish merchants residing in early New Orleans. These individuals arrived along the Gulf Coast coming from regions heavily invested in transoceanic trade, and they hoped to benefit from it directly post-migration. To achieve success in a risky business, however, they found it necessary to form wide-reaching commercial networks within limited groups of associates they trusted to look to their interests. Such professional webs, ironically, shared many of the same basic characteristics that immigrants sought in their social intimacies. And, over time and across the space that separated them from relatives, they turned to commercial networks for personal satisfaction. Such relationships were not grounded in any sought, shared ethnic, religious or geographical heritages. Rather, it was common investments in transoceanic trade that brought both new and native New Orleanians together in

¹⁰⁸ Joyce's will included partner John Turnbull as executor, wife Constance Rochon as "Guardian to all the children," and was witnessed by John Jay, James Proffitt, Charles Norwood, David Ross, James Carrick, William Conway and Charles Proffitt. Norwood and Conway also were Irish-born merchants along the Gulf Coast. Will of John Joyce, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 36, 24 March 1800, NONA. Also, see "Turnbull and Joyce Account Books," 1795-1798, Turnbull-Allain Papers.

¹⁰⁹ Casa Calvo to Antonio Patrick Walsh, New Orleans, 20 June 1800; 28 November 1801; 12 December 1801, Walsh Papers.

public and private ways. The spaces created by the exchange of material things in this period were essentially cosmopolitan. Indeed, and as the next chapters will show, buyers and sellers in Europe and the Americas increasingly demanded commodities that rarely originated locally. This required merchants to expand their professional networks even further, while still attempting to maintain the familiarity that made them safe. Trade socially and culturally informed the experiences of these Irish immigrants, and it helped them adjust to their new homes through materials that mostly were incredibly familiar.

The Things

Chapter 4:
A Taste for the New World:
Irish Foodways

“Bread...milk...sugar & wine...meat...onions...brandy.”¹ These were the groceries purchased by Irish-New Orleanian Matthias O’Conway on May 20, 1793. Together, they formed a major portion of his and his family’s diet, which the Galway-born language instructor rebought about every three days. O’Conway also acquired other foods in Louisiana on a less regular basis. They included: butter, potatoes, cucumbers, oranges, watermelon, cheese, eggs, chocolate, coffee and pecans.² Many of these items, especially the fruits and vegetables, grew in local orchards and garden patches. The citrus the Irishman bought in 1793 almost certainly came from the levee “orange groves” he labeled for his mother on a mailed city map.³ This noted, and given the primarily Gulf Coast provenance of O’Conway’s food purchases, the similarities between his American diet and that of eaters in Ireland is remarkable. Old World consumers bought and ingested mostly wheat, meat and dairy products, with a variety of seasonal vegetables. Irish New Orleanians, too, maintained these general habits.⁴ Late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Irish eaters additionally spent surplus incomes on costly food imports, such as coffee, tea and spirits. Here again, the O’Conway accounts indicate that even modest migrant households in Louisiana bought these edible luxury goods abroad.

¹ Mathias O’Conway, New Orleans account books, 15 May 1793, Correspondence...of the family of O’Conway.

² Ibid., 12 January 1793; 24 April 1793; 15 June 1793; 20 June 1793; 12 July 1793.

³ Mathias O’Conway, map of New Orleans, ca. 1793, Ibid. Also, Lake Douglas, *Public Spaces, Private Gardens: a History of Design Landscape in New Orleans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), 101-106.

⁴ See, for example, inventory of Jean Dominguez, 1822, 1822, Estate Inventories. Inventory of John McCall, 1816, Ibid. Inventory of John McGoubrick, 1817, Ibid.

It is quickly apparent that not only *could* Matthias O’Conway consume the same foods in early New Orleans as in contemporary Ireland. He and his fellow settlers—when they ate English potatoes, made aqua vitae and toasted with Madeira—largely *did*.

Food and food-related items were the most intimate and universal ways that Irish New Orleanians experienced their immigrations. The purchase and use of groceries, after all, was a necessary part of settlers’ existence. Scholars like Sara Pennell, however, also contend that food decisions encapsulated ideas relating to “diet, commodification, economic policy, moral engagement and social strategy.”⁵ Foodways thus revealed the moods and behaviors of eaters as much as they did their kitchen contents and state of nutrition. They offer an intimate lens into Irish immigrants’ experiences of transition between the Old and New Worlds.

A study of food cultures is especially apt for the volatile consumer world that emerged after European-American contact in 1492. Over the course of the eighteenth century, Ireland experienced a shift from local subsistence eating to import grocery retailing in tandem with New Orleans. Residents of both geographical spaces initially relied on foodstuffs naturally found nearby and on regional producers to meet dietary needs. Mutual investments in post-Columbian transoceanic exchange, however, introduced the same range of new edibles to local buyers, and they did so in volumes (and thus at such reduced expense) that even non-elites could afford imported foods. This trade resulted in households on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean that were *not* nutritionally self-sufficient and transformed populations that had once been producers into consumers with a shared transatlantic diet.⁶ This transition made material cultures relating to food in these two distinct settings incredibly similar. Irishmen and women

⁵ Sara Pennell, “The Material Culture of Food in Early Modern England, c. 1650-1750,” in *The Familiar Past?: archaeologies of later historical Britain*, ed. Sarah Tarlow and Susie West (London: Routledge, 1999), 36. Also, Sara Pennell, “‘Pots and Pans History’: the Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England,” *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 3 (1998): 201-216.

⁶ Olive Jones, “Commercial Foods, 1740-1820,” *Historical Archaeology* 27, no. 2 (1993): 25.

who moved to New Orleans between 1780 and 1820 recognized that the exchange of edibles between the Old and New Worlds lubricated their experiences of settlement in many ways. Immigrants, for one, traveled on the same routes and in the same ships as groceries, even Irish foods.⁷ They also encountered in their new homes markets that circulated many of the same ingestibles popular in Europe. These included foods like citrus and potatoes, the latter of which was native to the Americas but so often grown and consumed in Ireland as to be associated with its residents.⁸ New Irish New Orleanians, in fact, rarely commented upon the novelty of their Gulf Coast diets. Rather, they expressed awe at the frequency with which edibles familiar to themselves and to their correspondents could be found in Louisiana. Ultimately, these immigrants made clear that they had their first encounters with American edibles well before moving overseas and that they rarely had to adjust their diets post-migration. A shared material world relating to foods thus crucially linked the social and cultural lives of these Irish natives as they crossed the Atlantic Ocean and settled in early New Orleans.

The Traditional Irish Diet: *Local Production*

The traditional Irish diet derived from local availabilities. Gaelic Ireland, which extended from the twelfth to the mid-sixteenth centuries, maintained a subsistence and barter economy. This was encouraged by a scarcity of island coinage and limited external trade. It also forcefully united the producing and consuming aspects of

⁷ Mandelblatt, "A Transatlantic Commodity," 18-27; Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, 147-169.

⁸ Thomas U. Sadleir, ed., *An Irish Peer on the Continent (1801-1803): Being a Narrative of the Tour of Stephen, 2nd Earl Mount Cashell, through France, Italy, etc., as Related by Catherine Wilmont* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1920), 80-81. In 1705, Englishman John Dunton remembered of his visit to western Ireland that gardens there were "full of their dearly beloved potatoes." John Dunton, "The life and errors of John Dunton by the late citizen of London written in solitude (1705)," in *The stranger in Ireland: from the reigns of Elizabeth to the Great Famine*, ed. Constantia Elizabeth Maxwell (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), 122.

nutrition for all but the most elite Irish households.⁹ Island residents gathered and cooked with produce native to their landscapes, including sorrel, garlic, watercress, onions and leeks. They similarly used nearby terrain to grow most of their grains and to raise animals for meat, milk, butter and hides.¹⁰ Colonization did little to initially change these habits. Rather, Ireland after the Tudor settlement (around 1541) maintained a purposefully Malthusian edible culture, which was intended to sustain island populations during frequent periods of want. This concern was real enough even in the 1700s, as the British Isles suffered three bad harvests between 1750 and 1800. Irish residents themselves experienced twelve seasons of dearth in the eighteenth century, including a significant famine from 1740 to 1741.¹¹ The reliability of foodways thus was of paramount importance to a majority of islanders.¹² As a result and until access to external sources was improved, most Irish eaters depended on local cultivation and husbandry to supply their diets.

Diversification and Sophistication in the Eighteenth Century

Irish self-sufficiency in food-sourcing persisted until the early 1700s and was even encouraged by British administrators for a period. The latter support related to Ireland's role as a British colony and to the all-too-substantiated belief that civic obedience correlated to a population's full stomachs. This again was affirmed by

⁹ See Katharine Simms, "Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 108 (1978): 67.

¹⁰ A.T. Lucas, "Irish Food Before the Potato," *Gwerin* 3 (1960): 8-10; 14-36. Lucas points out that a standard measurement in Gaelic Ireland was that of loaves of "man-baking" and "woman-baking." Similarly an imperial official in 1655 recognized the Irish dependence on local produce: "The Irish, who raise their Contribution [taxes] out of Corn, live themselves on the roots and fruits of their Gardens, and on the milk of their Cows, Goats and Sheep." Vincent Gookin, *The great case of transplantation in Ireland discussed; or, Certain considerations wherein the many great inconveniences in the transplanting the native of Ireland generally out of the three provinces of Leinster, Ulster and Munster, into the province of Connaught, are shown* (London: I.C., 1655), 2.

¹¹ James Kelly, "Scarcity and Poor Relief in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: the Subsistence Crisis of 1782-4," *Irish Historical Studies* 28 (May 1992): 38-62. Jack Cecil Drummond, *The Englishman's Food: a History of Five Centuries of English Diet* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969), 185-186.

¹² Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 163.

imperial experiences. Thirty food riots occurred in Dublin between 1772 and 1794. Each seriously contested the fragile balance of power between urban (often colonial) elites and Gaelic or Old English laborers.¹³ The 1798 Rebellion, led by nationalist and socially middling United Irishmen, also found some of its most mobilizing arguments in food-based rhetoric. The 1796 pamphlet *The Cry of the Poor for Bread*, which helped garner popular support for the uprising, particularly chastised the “Lords of manors, and other men of landed property” for having “monopolized to yourselves the land, its vegetation and its game, the fish of the rivers and the fowls of the heaven.”¹⁴ Such criticisms demanded open access for all islanders to local foods. The Irish Parliament, responding to such concerns, carefully monitored the relationships between popular edibles and prices. This is evident in efforts to regulate the loaf-weight of bread, likely a universal staple of contemporary Irish diets.¹⁵ Civic leaders also promoted the development of nutritious and easily obtainable foods by island residents. English physician’s Theophilus Lobb’s 1763 *Advice to the Poor with Regard to Diet*, for example, touted meals heavy in locally-grown grains and greens, with only small selections of costly meats and limited alcohol, for poor Britons.¹⁶ Lobb, like many of his contemporaries, also promoted incorporating wild produce into rural diets. This included the native cardoon, or wild thistle, which he recommended served fried. Such greens were lauded

¹³ Kevin Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty, Radicalism and the Construction of Irish Identity* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), 92. Also, John Bohstedt, *The Politics of Provisions: Food Riots, Moral Economy, and Market Transition in England, c. 1500-1850* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010). Bohstedt especially places food riots in the rights-focused rhetoric of the eighteenth century. He suggests that not only were these conflicts the results of changing labor situations, which resulted in “masterless men.” They also rested upon moral convictions that “necessity knows no law.”

¹⁴ *The Cry of the Poor for Bread*, 1796. Rebellion Papers, NAI.

¹⁵ See Eoin Magennis, “Regulating the Market: Parliament, Corn and Bread in Eighteenth-Century Ireland,” in *The Laws and Other Legalities of Ireland, 1689-1850*, ed. Michael Brown and Seán Patrick Donland (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 209-231. Similar legislations operated in England from 1756-1758, 1772-1774 and 1795-1800. See Drummond, *The Englishman’s Food*, 185-186.

¹⁶ Theophilus Lobb, *Advice to the Poor with Regard to Diet* (London: J. William, 1763). Also, Henry Phillips, *History of Cultivated Vegetables; comprising their Botanical, Medicinal, Edible, and Chemical Qualities* (London: Henry Colburn & Company, 1822); George Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (London: George Strahan, 1724).

for their high nutritional contents, easy access, and ultimate reliability even in years that saw crop failures.

Beyond preventing food shortages, British involvement in Irish nutrition also spoke to imperial anxieties. This resulted in a desire to encourage the cultivation of non-native foods. New English settlers between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries brought with them to Ireland a desire to domesticate the island's landscape and native populations.¹⁷ Edward Spenser especially argued that this needed to be done through material conquest. His *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596) reminded readers that there was a "tyme England was verye like to Irland," thus suggesting that the difference between colonizers and colonized was one of degrees and not essences. He, like Sir John Davies in 1612, blamed the English political and social hierarchy for failing to "[r]educe that savage nation to better government and civility," goals he believed required shifts in Irish language, clothing and diet to favor British habits.¹⁸ One way imperial settlers hoped to do this was through horticulture and, more particularly, by importing garden seeds from England and the European continent.¹⁹ These included peas, Dutch cabbage, "Spanish onions," asparagus, turnips, radishes, English cucumbers,

¹⁷ Historians still debate whether Ireland might between be understood as a British kingdom or British colony during this period. The island did maintain a separate parliament until the Act of Union of 1801; but native Irishmen and women also were subjected to much of the imperial racial thinking characterizing conquest in other colonial sites, such as the Americas. See Jane Ohlmeyer, *Political Thought in Seventeenth Century Ireland: Kingdom or Colony?* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Canny, *Kingdom and Colony*. Also, Toby Barnard, *Irish Protestant ascents and descents* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 35-83.

¹⁸ Edmund Spenser, *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596), ed. W.L. Renwick (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 1. Sir John Davies, *A discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued* (1612), in *Ireland under Elizabeth and James the First*, ed. Henry Morley (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1890). This belief that the Irish could be civilized by English standards was quite different than opinions emerging immediately after the 1649 Cromwellian conquest of Ireland. See Sir John Temple, *The History of the General Rebellion in Ireland, raised upon the three and twentieth day of October, 1641* (Cork: Phineas and George Bagnell, 1641). Also, Kathleen M. Noonan, "'Martyrs in Flames': Sir John Temple and the Conception of the Irish in English Martyrologies," *Albion* 36 (Summer 2004): 223-255; Kathleen M. Noonan, "'The Cruel Pressure of an Enraged, Barbarous People': Irish and English Identity in Seventeenth-Century Policy and Propaganda," *The Historical Journal* 41 (March 1998): 151-177.

¹⁹ Toby Barnard, "Gardening, Diet and 'Improvement' in Late Seventeenth-Century Ireland," *Journal of Garden History* 10 (1990): 71-77.

Table 4.1. Select Plants Cultivated in Ireland, relating to Fruits, Vegetables and Herbs, 1755

<i>Source: Receipt of Seeds Bought from Daniel Bullen by William Balfour, February 1755</i>
asparagus beans beets cabbage cardoon carrot cauliflower celery cucumber endive garlic hysop leeks lettuce marigold marjoram onions parsley parsnip peas purslane radish shallots sorrel spinach thyme turnips watercress

From L.A. Clarkson and E. Margaret Crawford, *Feast and Famine: Food and Nutrition in Ireland, 1500-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 49.

Sicilian cauliflowers, beans, parsnips and artichokes (**Table 4.1**).²⁰ Potato cultivation additionally was introduced and encouraged in Ireland during this period, but the focus remained on foodstuffs that had familiar Old World origins.

Such efforts resulted in more than uniform British diets. Contemporary English commentators also deemed acts of organized gardening crucial to settling presumed wild Irish populations in permanent and defined spaces. Eighteenth-century almanacs laid

²⁰ “Seeds brought from Daniel Bullen, Dublin, by William Balfour, Townley Hall, Drogheda, February 1755,” in Clarkson and Crawford, *Feast and Famine*, 49. Barnard, “Gardening, Diet and ‘Improvement,’” 75; Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 286-289.

out rigorous agricultural regimes, which carefully detailed when seeds might be sowed and tended.²¹ They thus encouraged Irishmen and women to invest themselves in planting communities long-term and under English guidance.²² Popular commentaries like Henry Phillips' *History of Cultivated Vegetables* (1820) similarly touted green diets for the mild manners, and thus imperial stability, they were believed to induce in Irish eaters.²³ These writers, as a result, began to open Irish diets to their first contact with non-native foods, and they unintentionally did so in ways extending beyond the British Empire. As islanders sowed imported foreign seeds into their existing gardens, however, they initially muted the impact of these edibles' newness by incorporating them into traditional agricultural regimes.

Thus, whether the result of tradition or imperial initiatives, eighteenth-century Irishmen and women at all economic levels retained diets heavily tied to local, regional and island-wide production. Historians L.A. Clarkson and Margaret Crawford have confirmed these trends statistically through their extended survey of Irish estate records, commercial receipts and recipe books (**Table 4.2**). They found that islanders consumed large quantities of grains and proteins (meats, fish and animal-resultant products) and also an array of fruits and vegetables, all categories of foodstuffs that had long been staples of Irish nutrition. A more focused look at these individual dietary groups, however, reveals that Irish eaters in the eighteenth century began to satisfy traditional foodways in new fashions that spoke to changing market conditions.

²¹ James H. Murphy, *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, vol. 4 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 198-203.

²² Historians argue that the concept of the plantation, as would be standard in the American South, began in early modern Ireland after the Tudor and especially Cromwellian conquests. See Nicholas Canny, "The Irish background to Penn's experiment," in *The World of William Penn*, ed. Richard Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 139-156. Nicholas Canny, *Reshaping Ireland, 1550-1700: Colonization and its Consequences* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011); Games, "Beyond the Atlantic," 675-692. For a challenge to this model, see Audrey Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2013).

²³ Henry Phillips also promoted the long-term health benefits of vegetable-heavy diets. See Phillips, *History of Cultivated Vegetables*. For contemporary perceptions of the Irish, see footnote 22.

Bread was a major culinary purchase by Irishmen and women, requiring about one-quarter of their annual incomes. It also became a foodstuff used by island residents to express minor financial successes during the eighteenth century. Extant estate records indicate that grain was bought in many forms in Ireland, including as meal, loaves, rolls, malt and animal fodder. Yet, there also is considerable evidence for Irish consumers buying more finished breads in the 1700s. Initially, these loaves were made of common grains, such as barley, oats and rye. But costlier wheaten flours increasingly appeared in estate records after 1750, and reliance on large amounts of bought bread continued into the nineteenth century. The receipt books of Jenico Preston, the Twelfth Viscount of Gormanston, for example, reveal that this elite consumer purchased at least two eight-pound loaves daily during the 1820s. The cereal fed a large household that included Lord Gormanston, his family and ten domestic servants, and it overall allocated about one pound of finished grain-items per resident per day.²⁴ This shift

Table 4.2. Percentage Expenditure on Food and Drink, England and Ireland, by Upper and Middling Society

<i>Category</i>		<i>England, 1688</i>	<i>Ireland, 1674-1828</i>
Meat		15.0	31.0
Fish, poultry, eggs		10.0	14.0
Milk, butter, cheese		13.0	7.0
Fruit, vegetables		9.0	4.0
Salt, oil, spices*		6.0	10.0
Beer, ale, whiskey		16.0	3.0
Wines, spirits		9.0	6.0
Bread, cakes		23.0	25.0

From Clarkson and Crawford, *Feast and Famine*, 35.

* Includes tea, coffee, sugar and other groceries.

²⁴ "To W. Mason, Bread and Biscuit Baker," 8 May 8 1820. Food vouchers from confectioners, bakers, grocers, tea merchants and fish mongers, 1760-1932, Gormanston Papers, 1605-1932, NLI. "Board Wages," ca. 1820, Ibid.

towards high-end flours and baked loaves was contemporaneous with a rise in many Irish incomes to attain moderate surpluses.²⁵ Opportunities to select refined new grains over their familiar counterparts were not missed by islanders with the financial means, especially those of middling social standing. This shift in consumer patterns in the eighteenth century is marked by the appearance of printed, rather than handwritten, “cwt [hundredweights]...flour” on receipts issued by grain mills.²⁶ Tellingly acreage cultivated with cheaper barely and rye across the British Isles decreased to less than 25% by the late eighteenth century.²⁷ As Irish eaters attained increased access to finer, more costly and socially meaningful grain commodities, they expected similar opportunities in other aspects of their diets. This resulted in demands for expanded foodways.

Meats and items related to animal husbandry occupied another significant portion of Irish incomes. They too were costly edibles whose regular consumption spoke to social status. Islanders may not have eaten red meats often, as only two of five Irish households purchased the edible with any regularity in the 1700s.²⁸ But they did eat island livestock and fish in expanding varieties. The eighteenth-century cookbooks of Dunleary householder Mary Cannon, for example, reveal the numerous meats available to natives. Cannon passed on to her children instructions “[t]o Bake a Pigg in a Pan,” “[t]o Rague a Breast of Veales,” “[t]o Force a Legg of Lamb” and “[t]o Make Alamode

²⁵ Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, iii.

²⁶ “Bought at the Mills of Naul,” 1 August 1795, food vouchers, Gormanston Papers. L.M. Cullen, “Eighteenth-Century Flour Milling in Ireland,” *Irish Economic and Social History* 4 (1977): 18.

²⁷ Drummond, *The Englishman’s Food*, 176. A.T. Lucas also argues that, as early as the fifteenth century, “wheaten bread was regarded as a greater delicacy” on the island. Lucas, “Irish Food Before the Potato,” 11; Drummond, *The Englishman’s Food*, 176.

²⁸ Red meat was consumed with more irregularity in Ireland than Clarkson and Crawford’s statistics suggest. Jonathan Swift’s *A Modest Proposal*, for example, which suggested eating human children in lieu of “a want of venison,” satirically recognized that meats were limited in eighteenth-century Irish diets. Recent work, in fact, argues that only two of five island residents ate red meat with any regularity between 1750 and 1800. Irish-raised mutton and beef were the most popular animals consumed by contemporary island families. This was a major shift from Gaelic foodways, which favored pork. Clarkson and Crawford, *Feast and Famine*, 36-41. Lucas, “Irish Food Before the Potato,” 14-15; Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 240-241.

Beef.”²⁹ Her recipes also suggest the incorporation of local fishing industries into island diets, and they included details “[t]o Stew Oysters,” “Pott Eales,” and “Make a Lobster Pottage.”³⁰ The households of Ireland’s gentry, like that of Dublin Lord Chancellor Robert Jocelyn, paralleled the culinary varieties of the Cannon household on a larger scale. An intended first course in a 1747 dinner hosted by this politician, for example, featured dishes with crawfish, lobster, scallops, duck, chickens, pigeons, lamb, badger, beef, frogs, rabbits and pork.³¹ Some of these items originated from Jocelyn’s estate and others would have been bought from specialized merchants. The latter included retailers such as Moore’s Cheese Ware-House in Dublin (**Figure 4.3**). In such shops, islanders would have been able to select among a variety of edibles, including in this instance cheddar, “Irish Toasting” and Gloucester cheeses.³² Most meats and animal products that Irish households consumed in the eighteenth century remained locally sourced, especially as the island’s salted meat export economy rose to prominence.³³ Yet, through these and other traditional foods, islanders diversified their diets in familiar ways.

Fruits and vegetables represented a smaller portion of Irish food expenditures, or about 4%. Yet, they too illustrate the role of a growing consumer culture on island diets in the 1700s. Much as with breads and meats, Irish foodways expanded to include a wider variety of produce accessible in new ways. Contemporary recipes indicate that native greens remained important in island dishes. Mary Cannon’s “To Stew a Hind Quarter of Lamb,” for example, included directions to add to the boiled meat “Spinage

²⁹ Marjorie Quarton, ed., *Mary Cannon’s Commonplace Book: an Irish Kitchen in the 1700s* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2010), 36; 21; 39; 17. Patrick Cannon was described as a “gentleman of the City of Dublin” and came from a once elite family. But he and wife Mary lived in a modest country home in the small seaport of Dunleary.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 3; 5; 11.

³¹ Especially entries relating to “Lambe Ears Ragoued,” “fricease of frogs,” “Frickndoes of Lambe,” and “Ducks all Dolfind.” Robert Jocelyn, dinner books, 1 July 1747. The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Print Ephemera, Winterthur Museum & Country Estate.

³² Receipt of Moore’s Cheese Ware-House, 1795, food vouchers, Gormanston Papers.

³³ See Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*; Dickson, *Old World Colony*, 366-410.

and Sorrell, a good Handfull of each, and six Shallots cut Grossly.”³⁴ Evidence also suggests, however, that Irish eaters incorporated British seeds into their green diets. In an 1828 dinner prepared by schoolmaster Humphrey O’Sullivan for the parish priest, the Irishman remembered that “[w]e had boiled leg of mutton with carrots and turnips; we had roast goose with green pease and pudding...and spent the night till eleven o’clock merry, happy, lighthearted, joyous, pleasant and gay.”³⁵ British imperialists especially, as discussed, promoted the cultivation of turnips and peas in Ireland after the 1500s. The O’Sullivan example clearly illustrates that they not only were added to Irish diets post-colonization but also were seamlessly integrated into traditional recipes. Such instances suggest that Irish eaters consumed more fruits and vegetables than extant account books indicate. For elites, this underrepresentation primarily is explained by the fashion of maintaining well-tended orchards, garden and hot houses on larger landed estates.³⁶ More modest island residents, however, did not cultivate extremely diverse vegetable patches. Their ability to consume a variety of greens was made possible by widened access and lowered retail prices. This reflected social and cultural shifts that, by the late 1700s, found more islanders in urban centers and identified them as consumers of food, rather than its producers.

The Emergence of a Food Consumer Culture

The final result of the expansion and diversification of traditional Irish diets, as initiated by British imperialism and extended by rising island incomes, was the island’s inclusion in a transatlantic world of culinary exchange. This is best illustrated by the example of the potato. Potatoes were native to South America and imported into Europe

³⁴ Quarton, *Mary Cannon’s Commonplace Book*, 40.

³⁵ Michael McGrath, ed., *The diary of Humphrey O’Sullivan* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1936), 32.

³⁶ Barnard, “Gardening, Diet and ‘Improvement.’”

in the later 1550s as a result of the Columbian Exchange, which circulated new edible commodities and “new eating habits, new cooking techniques, new drinks” between the Old and New Worlds.³⁷ Unlike other American edibles, which maintained a prestige associated with their distant origins, this root did not retain its sense of foreignness for long. Rather, British administrators touted it as a substitute for grains in low-income households, especially given its caloric parallels to cereals. It was grown in Ireland no later than 1606.³⁸ The potato exemplifies the ways in which efforts at domestic development encouraged encounters with transoceanic edibles quite early. It also underlines the extent to which many non-local foods ingrained into island diets during the eighteenth century and, indeed, became synonymous with traditional island meals. Commentator Hely Dutton noted in 1824, for example, that “partiality [for the potato] is entertained by every immediate rank to the palace [in Ireland], no table being without them.”³⁹ Margaret Moore, the second Lady Mount Cashell, even was offered potatoes for breakfast while touring France from 1801 to 1803. Her hostess, Moore’s husband recalled, believed them to be “the principall Food of the Irish.”⁴⁰ The apparent comfort with which Irishmen and women consumed American potatoes would extend to other edibles before 1800, as islanders increasingly encountered and then incorporated other foreign foods into their culinary culture.

³⁷ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 50. Also, Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange*; Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land, Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

³⁸ Clarkson and Crawford, *Feast and Famine*, 59-87; W.D. Davidson, “The history of the potato and its progress in Ireland,” *Journal of the Department of Agriculture* 34 (1937): 286. K.H. Connell first identified the potato as the reason for Ireland’s high population growth during the eighteenth century and for its eventual collapse during the Great Famine of 1845. Connell, *The Population of Ireland*, 1-26.

³⁹ Hely Dutton, *Statistical survey of County Galway, with observations on the means of improvement, etc.* (Dublin: University Press, 1824), 350.

⁴⁰ Sadleir, *An Irish Peer on the Continent*, 80-81.

Irish Food Exports and Imports: *The Growth of Consumption and Connection*

Ireland between 1780 and 1820 was well immersed in a transoceanic consumer setting. Non-local trade congregated Irishmen and women in towns and port cities, where their artisanal, commercial and retailing skills professionally benefitted.⁴¹ It also, however, resulted in a culinary environment wherein many islanders were removed from the terrain needed to self-produce the breads, meats and fresh greens that founded their diets. As a result, a significant number began to buy their food through intermediaries, including street vendors, specialized agriculturalists and merchant-grocers. Elite urban families regularly sent domestics out in search of groceries. Middling- and low-income city-dwellers, however, relied on peddlers and market stands to balance their diets, and these retailers became a regular and quite visible sight in Irish cities.

Eighteenth-century writers, for example, often noted the noise of street criers who sold breads, meats and greens door-to-door. Jonathan Swift composed several verses paralleling these persons' rhythmic sales pitches in the 1730s: "Ripe 'sparagrass/ Fit for lad or lass.../ O' tis pretty picking/ With a tender chicken." A similar rhyme mimicked Dublin fish peddlers: "Herrings/ Be not sparing/ Leave off swearing/ Buy my herring."⁴² These remarks aimed to expose street criers' provincialism and their contributions to unsavory urban landscapes. Yet, they also highlighted the new role of Irish eaters as consumers, rather than as producers, of food.

Contemporary sketches further emphasize the regular presence of these Irish vendors and their key role in making a wide variety of locally-raised products available to urban eaters (**Figures 4.1 and 4.2**). The 1780s broadsheet *The Dublin Cries* satisfied a popular artistic niche for eighteenth-century Irish and British audiences, namely images

⁴¹ See pages 28-35.

⁴² "Dean Swift's Cries of Dublin," *Dublin Historical Record* 40, no. 3 (1987): 177.



Figure 4.1. *The Dublin Cries* (detail), ca. 1780. The Royal Academy of Music, London.

of daily city life.⁴³ The print depicted a woman peddling “[p]ipeing hot...Dumpling Cakes,” It also, however, highlighted the remove that even Irish consumers in small settlements had from the cultivation of their grain products. As noted earlier, estate receipts reveal the expanded purchase of finished breads by members of the Irish gentry in the mid-eighteenth century.⁴⁴ City directories relatedly suggest that a shift towards specialized bakers impacted wider island populations, as they too increased in number. The small town of Coleraine housed at least one baker in the 1770s, and Armagh boasted

⁴³ William Hogarth would be the first contemporary to popularize this theme, with his morality tales set in urban London. But Frances Wheatley’s *Cries of London*, displayed at the Royal Academy from 1792 to 1795, significantly contributed to the popularity of “criers” imagery. See especially W. Roberts, *F. Wheatley, R.A., his Life and Works, with a Catalogue of his Engraved Pictures* (London: Otto, 1910); Mark Hallett, *Hogarth* (London: Phaidon Press, 2000). Also, George William Panter, “Eighteenth Century Dublin Street Cries,” *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 14, no. 1 (1924): 68-86. William Laffan, ed., *The Cries of Dublin, Drawn from the Life of Hugh Douglas Hamilton* (Dublin: Churchill House Press, 2003).

⁴⁴ See, for example, “To W. Mason, Bread and Biscuit Baker,” 8 May 1820, food vouchers, Gormanston Papers.

six. The 1760 *Dublin Directory*, meanwhile, catalogued twenty-four bakers, including one woman.⁴⁵ Weekly markets also supplied grains and greens to Irish eaters. Hugh Douglas Hamilton's circa 1760 "A Green Stall at the Root Market" emphasizes the vital role that peripheral agriculturalists (even those of low-income, as his seller's dress suggests) played in feeding Dublin inhabitants. His sketch also reveals the large number of fresh foods available for purchase at these stalls. In this instance, buyers could select both among and between wheat, artichokes, spinach, garlic, onions and turnips. This allowed for culinary choices based on the qualities of certain foods—and indeed between those items offered by competing food vendors—and on personal tastes for favored edibles. Contemporary publications in Great Britain expected that new shoppers would need help navigating these markets. As a result, popular works like the 1745 cookbook *The Accomplish'd Housewife* included notes on how "[t]o Know Whether Lamb be Good



Figure 4.2. Hugh Douglas Hamilton, *A Green Stall at the Root Market*, ca. 1760. From William Laffan, ed., *The Cries of Dublin, Drawn from the Life of Hugh Douglas Hamilton* (Dublin: Churchill House Press, 2003).

⁴⁵ Clarkson and Crawford, *Feast and Famine*, 42. "Plate 14. A Baker," in Laffan, *The Cries of Dublin*, 83.

or Bad.” It instructed female shoppers to “case Your Eye on the Vein in the Neck; if it be turning yellowish...it is about taining.”⁴⁶ Mathematical manuals suggesting fair food-prices and shopping tips, too, spoke to the widening of island buyers to include schooled as well as unschooled consumers like servants.⁴⁷ These changes encouraged a wide variety of Irish consumers to make complicated decisions relating to their diets, which extended well beyond concerns of scarcity. In the process, culinary retailers transformed foodways into a material language accessible to even modest island eaters.⁴⁸

The popular works of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century writers and artists like Jonathan Swift, the publishers of the *Dublin Cries*, and Hugh Douglas Hamilton emphasize that Irish residents imagined their edibles—even the act of sale itself (**Figure 4.2**)—as having increased visibility. Culinary transactions less regularly took place in private homes. Instead, they were public negotiations that involved separate producers and consumers who operated with a great degree of choice in shaping their nutrition. Economic changes in the 1700s allowed many Irishmen and women to first make these shifts in familiar ways, by expanding access to and the varieties of island breads, meats and greens that they traditionally bought and ate. Yet, the same transoceanic trade that expanded incomes and removed islanders from agriculture also depended on sending Irish edibles overseas. And returning ships introduced residents to

⁴⁶ *The Accomplish'd Housewife; or, The Gentlewoman's Companion* (London: J. Newbery, 1745), 161. Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (London: W. Strahan, 1747); Claire Walsh, “Shopping at First Hand? Mistresses, Servants and Shopping for the Household in Early-Modern England,” in *Buying for the Home: Shopping for the Domestic from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, ed. David Hussy and Margaret Ponsonby (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 13-26.

⁴⁷ Toby Barnard, “Hamilton’s ‘Cries of Dublin’; the Society and Economy of Mid-Eighteenth Century Dublin,” in Laffan, *The Cries of Dublin*, 28.

⁴⁸ Foods and food-related items were used previously in Ireland to express socio-economic rank. This is especially evident in Gaelic traditions of guesting and feasting, wherein political, religious and educational persons were given open access to the best products in hosts’ kitchens. Such traditions, however, required surplus funds; and a rise in disposable incomes did much to widen participation in these Irish activities. Simms, “Guesting and Feasting,” 67-100. Also, McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*.

groceries and culinary trends that were not native to Ireland and were valued for their foreignness. Food thus became an important site of Irish contact with the outside world.

A major way that Ireland participated in transoceanic material exchange was through the provisions trade. Irish beef satisfied the culinary demands of England's expanding middling and upper social orders during the seventeenth century. It did so with such frequency, in fact, that the British Parliament passed strict Cattle Acts in 1681, prohibiting the inter-island livestock trade in an effort to reduce competition for English workers in animal husbandry. Also affected by this legislation were Irish-produced exports of butter and salted herring.⁴⁹ Settlement in the West Indies again resulted in rising demands for the transatlantic sale of Irish beef and pork. These needs expanded as tobacco economies switched to land-intensive sugar monocultures and as colonizers imported larger populations of enslaved Africans to the region. They also crossed imperial boundaries. In 1674, Jean-Charles de Baas, the governor-general of the *îles françaises de l'Amérique*, reported to France that salted beef was "the most important commodity of all" when it came to feeding and stabilizing enslaved laborers. Historian Bertie Mandelblatt has traced the French-Caribbean foodstuff back to Ireland.⁵⁰ The 1685 *Code noir* further secured this American market, by requiring that all slaves over age 10 in Francophone colonies be provided with "2 livres de boeuf salé, ou 3 livres de poisson [2 pounds of salt beef, or 3 pounds of fish]" weekly.⁵¹ Salted pork similarly provisioned widespread groups of non-Irish eaters. And, in 1780 alone, island

⁴⁹ "An Act prohibiting the Importation of Cattle from Ireland," *Statutes of the Realm*, ii Charles II, 1680. Also, Woodward, "The Anglo-Irish Livestock Trade," 489-523; Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, 8-10.

⁵⁰ Mandelblatt, "A Transatlantic Commodity," 19.

⁵¹ *Code noir, ou Edit servand reglement pour le gouvernement et l'administration de la justice et de la police des isles francoises de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1685). Library of Congress.

merchants exported 49,301 barrels of the consumable to Great Britain, 100 barrels to France, 4,302 barrels to Spain and 49,206 barrels to the British American colonies.⁵²

This outgoing trade was apparent to contemporary residents of Ireland. Swift's *A Modest Proposal* recognized as much when he suggested that a search for alternative meats would allow "the addition of some thousand carcasses in our exportation of barrel'd beef: [and] the propagation of swine's flesh...too frequent at our tables." His proposed turn to "well grown, fat yearly child[ren]" in lieu of such exports sardonically nodded to the latter's acknowledged importance in the eighteenth-century Irish economy.⁵³ Travelers to seaside settlements like Cork and Waterford, too, noted the prominent place of salted meat shipments in harbors.⁵⁴ Exports of Irish foods made visible the material networks that bound Irish producers to non-local buyers, sellers and consumers and did so on a large scale by the late 1700s. By 1780, in fact, customs reports reveal regular Irish imports and exports with Great Britain, the "East Country" (or Asia), Holland, France, Spain, and "the Plantations." By 1820, they expanded to include regular sales with Africa, Asia, Portugal, Gibraltar, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Prussia, many small British islands, Canada, the Caribbean, New England, New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and the city of New Orleans.⁵⁵

Ireland also participated in a consumer revolution in the eighteenth century that linked its residents as buyers to populations across the Atlantic Ocean. Expanding commerce brought with it rising incomes for island residents of varying social rankings, from artisans to merchants. Official records show that many of these sums were spent

⁵² "Pork in Barrels," *Abstracts of Irish exports and imports, in 24 vols., for the period 1764-1823*, vol. 1780, NLI. Also, Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, 178-179; Dickson, *Old World Colony*, 372.

⁵³ Jonathan Swift, *A Modest Proposal, for preventing the children of poor people in Ireland, from being a burden on their parents or country, and for making them beneficial to the publick*, 2nd ed. (London: W. Bickerton, 1730).

⁵⁴ See, for example, Patrick Lattin, *Diary*, 18 March 1797, Mansfield Papers.

⁵⁵ *Abstracts of Irish exports and imports*, vols. 1780; 1820.

Table 4.3. Yearly Import of Muscovado Sugar in Hundredweights, from England to Ireland*

	<i>Belfast</i>	<i>Cork</i>	<i>Dublin</i>	<i>Limerick</i>	<i>Newry</i>	<i>Waterford</i>
1771	731,934	650,038	2,273,810	316,631	159,720	344,223
1780	527,753	407,735	2,280,578	136,290	195,069	430,053
1790	8,884	372,626	607,270	101,540	122,582	192,529
1800	447,986	481,653	718,857	230,692	214,805	437,154
1810	79,976	448,562	571,313	188,186	214,805	437,154
1820	---	---	---	---	---	---

Gathered from *Abstracts of Irish exports and imports, in 24 vols., for the period 1764-1823*, NLI.

* The records for 1771 and 1780 refer to Great Britain (England, Scotland and Wales).

on non-local foods, fabrics, garments, lumbers, metal wares, medicines, alcohols and crafted luxuries.⁵⁶ The large-scale import of some goods, such as West Indian-grown sugars, highlight the fact that non-necessary purchases were increasingly commonplace in even moderate Irish households. In 1780, for example, Dublin residents imported 607,270 hundredweights (or 68,014,240 pounds) of muscovado sugar from England alone (**Table 4.3**). Given that average contemporary sugar consumption per capita was about 21.4 pounds, the city could have supplied three million island buyers with their yearly sweetening allotments.⁵⁷ This was at a time when Ireland's entire population included not more than four million persons.⁵⁸ Historians also have found evidence that such widening consumerisms extended to smaller cities and rural towns. Spending on hardware (used in new furniture), for example, increased dramatically in northern

⁵⁶ *Abstracts of Irish exports and imports*.

⁵⁷ These numbers *only* include muscovado sugar (not sugar loaf or sugar candies). They also do not include any sugars imported from the non-British Americas, such as the French West Indies. For more on sugar usage in the British Isles, see Carole Shammas, "Changes in English and Anglo-American Consumption from 1550 to 1800," in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, 178-185. Jan De Vries suggests that an "industrious revolution" pre-dated the major social and cultural changes of the early modern consumer revolution. By this, he means that contemporary families spent more because they had more money but also reorganized and reallocated household finances in ways that allowed for surplus spending. See Jan De Vries, "The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution," *The Journal of Economic History* 54 (June 1994): 255-258.

⁵⁸ Connell, *The Population of Ireland*, 4-5.

communities in the 1770s and 1780s. Newry residents upped purchases from £3,336 to £16,341 during this timeframe. Londonderry buyers increased demands from £1,872 to £18,438.⁵⁹ These locales, too, were inundated with foreign products like sugar, which were avidly described in circulating trade cards, receipt heads and newspaper accounts and shown in shop windows. Indeed, as shoppers browsed among American tobaccos, English cheeses, Spanish wines, French textiles and Asian teas, they emphasized their activity in a “world of goods” that allowed them access to non-local commodities with a widened degree of consumer choice.⁶⁰

Contact with transoceanic consumerisms focused on foods. Ireland’s economy, in fact, significantly relied on this commerce. Salt, for instance, was not a native island resource, and Irish traders would have looked to the salt fields of Spain, Portugal and southwestern France to preserve their intended exports of beef, pork and fish.⁶¹ Ships also imported back to Ireland large quantities of groceries demanded by island eaters for their taste and exoticism. Susan Flavin has identified a variety of non-British edibles entering Ireland via the English port of Bristol before 1600. Prominent were almonds, currants, raisins, sugar and spices.⁶² Late-eighteenth-century Dublin advertisements indicate that demands for these and other foreign groceries maintained. The 1795 receipt-head for “Moore’s Cheese Ware-House” listed Asian spices (cinnamon, cloves,

⁵⁹ W.H. Crawford, “A Ballymena Business in the Late Eighteenth Century,” in *An Uncommon Bookman: Essays in Memory of J.R.R. Adams*, ed. John Gray and Wesley McCann (Belfast: Linen Hall Library, 1996), 25.

⁶⁰ See especially Gormanston Papers. Also, Fitzgerald, “Early Irish Trade-Cards,” 115-132; Foster, “Going Shopping in 18th-century Dublin,” 33-61; T.H. Breen, “‘Baubles of Britain’: the American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century,” *Past and Present* 119 (May 1988): 73-104.

⁶¹ Mandelblatt, “A Transatlantic Commodity,” 27; Mark Kurlansky, *Salt: a World History* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2002).

⁶² From 1594 to 1595, for example, Ireland re-imported 148 pounds of almonds, 528 pounds of currants and 871 pounds of sugar through Bristol. From 1600 to 1601, the island similarly attained 1,810 pounds of Great Raisins, 224 pounds of Malagra Raisins and 392 pounds of “Raisins of the Sun,” and 728 pounds of Rotta Raisins. In 1573, this trade brought 238 pounds of Cumin, 1,386 pounds of liquorice and 15,680 pounds of salt. Susan Flavin, “Consumption and Material Culture in Sixteenth-Century Ireland” (PhD diss., University of Bristol, 2011), 185-195.

SUNDRY ARTICLES SOLD AT					
MOORE'S Cheefe Ware-Houfe,					
No. 44, ESSEX-STREET, DUBLIN:					
CHEESE.	FISH.	TEA S.	SPICES.	SUNDRIES.	DELICACIES FOR THE TABLE.
Cheshire	Ruff and Zetland Ling	Fine London Green	Mace	Saltpetre	Sauce Royal
Gloucester	Red Herrings	Ditto Hyfon	Cinnamon	Basket Salt	Sauce Piquant
Berkley Hundred	Smoaked and	Ditto Bloom	Cloves	Split Peas	Devonshire Sauce
North Wiltshire	Pickled Salmon	Single	Nutmegs	Spanifh On ions	Sauce a L'Espagnole
Truckles ditto	Dutch Pickled Herrings	Plain Green	Allpice	Irifh ditto	Zoobiddy Match
Cheddar	Cod Sounds	Congo	Whole Ginger	Chocolate	Cherokee Sauce
Dolphin	Waterford Sprats	Bohea, &c.	Ground ditto	Cocoa	Effence of Anchovies
Dutch	Pickled Oyfters		Black Pepper	Plantation Coffee	Quin Sauce
Pine	Anchovies	DRY FRUIT.	White ditto	Slane Flour	Cavice
Parmazan	Sturgeon	Mufcadel	Cayan ditto	Common Barley	Lemon Pickle
Irifh Toafting Cheefe, &c.	Collared Eels, &c.	Jar & Cask Raifins	Carraway Seeds	Rice	India Sov
ALS in Wood and Bottle.		Curranfs	Durham Muftard	Liquorice Ball	Camp Vingar
Cattle Bellingham		French Plums	Patent ditto	Sugar Candy	Elder ditto
Taunton	Brawn	Smyrna & Common	PICKLES.	Capillaire	Tarragon ditto
Burton	Irifh	Figs	Truffles in Oil	Sweet Oil	Bengal Currie Powder
Biddeford	Yorkshire	Jordan and Bitter	Olives	Vermacelli	Wef India Pickles
Liverpool	Westmorland } Hams.	Almonds	Caqers	Macarone	White and Brown
Dorchefter Beer	Westphalia	Citron &c.	Gherikas	Dutch Starch	Mufrooms
London Porter	Bacoa	Almonds in Shell	Walnuts	Irifh ditto	Portable Soup of Beef
Bristol Beer	Hung Beef	FRUIT	Onions	Slate and	Mutton ditto
Andrews's Pale Butt	Beuf de Chaffe	IN BRANDY,	India Pickles	Powder Blue	Mufroom Powder
Dantzick Spruce Beer	Ox Tongues, &c.		Mufhroom ditto	Smalt ditto	Simolins
Effence of Spruce			Bourdeaux Vinegar, &c.	English Sacks	Piftatis Nuts
American Spruce Beer.	Refined and Raw		MINE R A L	Sackcloth	Patens Cacao
C I D E R.	SUGARS.	Peaches	WATERS,	Kendal Coals	Cavear
In Wood and Bottle.	Houffekeepers Lump	NeGarines	Pyrmont	Knife Bricks	Corsch and Castip
Golden Pippin	East India Sugar	Dates	Spa	Tapioca	
Red Streak	Jamaica, and	Green Gages	Seltzer	Whiting	
Sweet Herefordshire	Common Brown, &c.	Yellow Plums, &c.	Bristol, &c.		
Rough ditto					
Common ditto					
Squath Perry					
Worcefterhire ditto.					

SHE returns her most grateful thanks to her numerous Friends for their kind Protection, hopes from the Quality of her Goods, and endeavours to give Satisfaction, to merit a Continuance of those Favours the has already to amply experienced.

J. MEHAIN, Printer, Bookfeller, and Stationer, No. 49, Essex-Street, Corner of Crampton-Court.

Figure 4.3. Receipt for Moore's Cheese Ware-House, 1795.
Food vouchers, Gormanston Papers, NLI.

(curry, black pepper), "French plums," Spanish almonds, sugar, chocolate, "Plantation coffee" and English cheeses Cheshire, Northern Wiltshire) among available edibles (Figure 4.3). Mediterranean and West Indian imports such as lemons, limes and oranges also frequented contemporary notices, taking the shape of fresh fruits, juices and dried candies.⁶³ American-edibles, too, were widely available to Irish buyers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These included popular commodities like coffee, sugar and tobacco. In 1800, island retailers imported 284 barrels, 154,995 barrels and 3,104,060 pounds of each item respectively through Great Britain alone.⁶⁴

⁶³ In 1771, Ireland imported 1,953 gallons of lime, lemons and orange juice direct from Spain and another 100 gallons through England. These numbers rose to 2,179 Spanish gallons in 1780. In 1800, the island imported a total of 3,222 gallons of juice via England; and they attained another 14,518 "hd" of Spanish lemons and oranges. *Abstracts of Irish exports and imports*, vols. 1771, 1780, 1790, 1800. Also, see "2 mellon molder[s]." "An Acct. of Furniture Delivd to Mrs. Johnsten House keeper to James Alexander Esqr.," 7 January 1779, PRONI.

⁶⁴ *Abstracts of Irish exports and imports*, vol. 1780.

Evidence also indicates that less demanded colonial edibles made an impact on Irish foodways. The 1798 inventory of Annaritta Cust recorded the presence of “Two Turkeys” alongside “Two Old Ducks,” “Three Hens” and “One Hog” on her rural County Armagh estate. The fact that appraisers described many of the Irishwoman’s goods as “Broken,” “old” and “containing a variety of Rubbish” suggest her modest social standing.⁶⁵ It also indicates that American fowl were familiar to many Irish eaters, even those living rurally.

Access to these culinary imports was widespread in Ireland. The sketches of Hugh Douglas Hamilton, for instance, included more than depictions of marketers selling native greens. They also showed women—often of low social origins—peddling bags of imported oranges and lemons to urban residents.⁶⁶ Contemporary recipes, furthermore, regularly included non-local groceries in their ingredients. Mary Cannon’s cookbook recorded directions on how “[t]o Make Almond Cake,” a dessert that *expected* access to significant amounts of Mediterranean almonds in the small town of Dunleary and at least “half a pound of Refined Sugar sifted” from the Americas. She similarly recorded recipes for “Orange Pudding,” “Excellent Lemmon Creams” and “Chocolette Crame,” which all required foreign food imports.⁶⁷ Eliza Adams, the rural relative of a Dublin merchant, relatedly penned a recipe “to preserve Apricocks” in a 1742 letter to a friend. Her note that “in the Country [apricots] are not ripe yet” indicates that enough Irish eaters had added this fruit to their diets to begin cultivating it domestically.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Inventory of the Goods Chattels and Effects of the late Mrs. Annaritta Cust of Armagh, Taken by John Nobles, 1798, PRONI. For turkey in fine dining, see Robert Jocelyn, dinner books, 1 July 1747, Downs Collection. The Irishman offered “Turkey Doebe wth. Stewd Lettess” as a first course for his party of twelve lords.

⁶⁶ “Plate 16. Oranges and Lemons,” in Laffan, *The Cries of Dublin*, 86-87. In contemporary Ireland, orange vendors were largely composed of Irish immigrants and the sale of the fruit was known as “the Irish harvest.”

⁶⁷ Quarton, *Mary Cannon’s Commonplace Book*, 53; 87, 88; 92.

⁶⁸ Eliza Adams to [unknown], Ballykillcavan, 1 August 1742. Transcript copies of letters [of] William Cope, merchant, of Dublin, 1742-1797, NLI.

Islanders also regularly interacted with non-Irish foods in alehouses, taverns, inns and coffeehouses, and these encounters took the form of beverages. The travel diaries of elite Irishmen like Patrick Lattin reveal a dependence on such institutions when away from home, such as when traveling to visit family or to market.⁶⁹ Single men like bachelors and students similarly relied on these spaces for daily meals and a sociability eased by porter, sherry, claret and Madeira wines.⁷⁰ French and Spanish wines especially were demanded in the eighteenth century, and one Irish wine merchant remarked in 1797 that “port wine can be Bought Now in Dublin at a lower rate” than it could be imported. This recognized an overstock resulting from retailers overstocking the imported product.⁷¹ This eagerness is not surprising, given that the value of European wines increased in the late 1700s. Historian David Hancock, in fact, suggests that, by 1775, the visible consumption of such beverages directly was associated with “having money.”⁷² Indeed, Dublin supplier and retailers George Thompson noted in a 1796 letter that “there are so many different palates for claret that I should not be surprised if some should find fault.”⁷³ This comment reveals that Irish eaters not only increasingly incorporated foreign groceries into their diets. They also consumed these

⁶⁹ Patrick Lattin, Diary, 9 November 1797; December 1797; 19 April 1798, Mansfield Papers.

⁷⁰ Irish activist Wolfe Tone roused much popular support for the 1798 Rebellion over drinks at Irish inns: “After this discussion, we returned to the inn, where we supped, and, after divers *loyal* and *constitutional* toasts, retired to bed at a very late house.” *Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone, written by Himself*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1827), 252. William Drennan to Martha McTier, Dublin, 8 December 1803; in *The Drennan-McTier Letters, 1802-1819*, ed. Jean Agnew (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1999), 173. Also, Máiríe Kennedy, “Politics, Coffee and the News’: the Dublin Book Trade in the Eighteenth Century,” *Dublin Historical Record* 58, no. 1 (2005): 76-85; Powell, *The Politics of Consumption*, 7-28; David W. Conroy, *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1995).

⁷¹ George Thompson to [John Ekenhead], Dublin, 3 January 1797. Letter-Book of George Thompson, Merchant of Dublin, 1793-1802, NLI. See contemporary adverts for a “very large quantity” of “Port in Pipes, Quarter Casks and Bottle,” “Sherry” and “Fine flavoured old Rum.” Receipt of “De Joncourt,” ca. 1790, food vouchers, Gormanston Papers. Also, David Hancock, *Oceans of Wine: Madeira and the Emergence of American Trade and Taste* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

⁷² Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*, 282.

⁷³ George Thompson to Anthony Thompson, Dublin, 15 December 1796, Letter-Book of George Thompson.

products in ways that emphasized *taste*, a crucial indicator of status in the volatile social world of eighteenth-century Europe.⁷⁴ For Thompson, this was evident in the popular desire to have refined wine “palates,” which showed knowledge of the import’s potential faults and significant experience with its flavors. Other Irish consumers looked to refined serving wares to associate their imbibing of certain imported beverages with a desired or attained social standing. Products like Asian tea and American coffee, for example, were not expensive enough in Ireland to prohibit their purchases in Ireland.⁷⁵ Yet, the porcelain and silver cups, saucers, pots and spoons with which they were served remained costly associated goods. Island eaters displayed and used these utensils to materially link their access to imported foods with new public rituals indicating wealth.⁷⁶ Irishmen and women also hinted at their status in the ways they prepared these foods.

The Development of a Cosmopolitan Irish Palate

As residents of Ireland incorporated new groceries into their diets in the late 1700s and early 1800s, they also began to prepare island-cultivated foods in new ways.

⁷⁴ With rising incomes in the eighteenth-century, expressions of relied less upon the mere ownership of expensive material items and more upon a knowledge of their correct uses. See Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: the History of Manners*, vol. 1 (New York: Urizen Books, 1978); Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain, 1660-1800* (London: Longman Press, 2000); Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800* (New York: Routledge, 2002). Also, Hunt, *The Middling Sort*; Hunter, *Purchasing Identity*.

⁷⁵ English contemporaries noted of sugar, which was popularized as a additive to these drinks, that it was astonishing “the common people...should be obliged to use, as part of their daily diet, two articles imported from opposite sides of the earth.” Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), 116. Also, Shammas, “Changes in English and Anglo-American Consumption,” 178-185.

⁷⁶ Once island residents began to brew these beverages at home ca. 1750, they required instruments that both insulated hot drinks and protected furniture. Decorated ware to hold milk, cream, sugar and tea leaves soon joined these serving pieces, and rituals surrounding their use began to, as one contemporary noted, “[provide] the rich with an opportunity to display their magnificence in the matter of tea-pots, cups, and so on, which are always of most elegant design.” Comte de Rochefoucauld, 1784, in *Eighteenth-Century English Porcelain in the Collection of the Indianapolis Museum of Art* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 184. Also, Beth Carver Wees, ed., *English, Irish & Scottish Silver at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1997); 267-272; Philippa Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England: a Social History and Catalogue of the National Collection, 1480-1660* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1990); John Teahan, *Irish silver from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1982); John D. Davis, *Pewter at Colonial Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, VA, 2003).

Traditionally, Irish meats were cooked simply, as boils, roasts and pottages. Greens, meanwhile, were placed under baking meats to catch drippings, boiled, fried with onions and garlic, stewed with ale, and roasted with butter.⁷⁷ Yet, as Irish merchants and food-items moved abroad, they brought back to Ireland visiting chefs, cookbooks and news of non-local culinary trends.⁷⁸ Some such influences are evident in recipe names. Mary Cannon's early-eighteenth-century cookbook, for instance, included recipes "[t]o Make Bread" and "[t]o Make French Bread." Bakers distinguished the latter in its enriching inclusion of eggs.⁷⁹ French cookery, in fact, enjoyed a long association with luxury in the British Isles, where it contributed to a move from shared dishes to more particularized forms of culinary consumption focused on separate and individualized plates. The adoption of multi-course meals *à la française*, however, required knowledgeable preparations of diverse ingredients, a wide variety of kitchen tools and long periods of time, and thus originally were confined to island elites.⁸⁰ During his mid-eighteenth-century dinner parties, for instance, the Lord Chancellor served "Mushrooms fricasad," "Turkey Doabe," "Friccase of frogs," "Lambs Ears Ragoued" and "Ducks alle Dolfind."⁸¹ Foreign contact and a developed Irish press, however, allowed details of these culinary habits to inform the diets of even rural islanders. Mary Cannon, whose cookbooks

⁷⁷ Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 184; 181. Also, McGrath, *The diary of Humphrey O'Sullivan*, 32.

⁷⁸ Swift noted in the 1740s: "I am not ignorant that it hath been a long Time, since the Custom began among People of Quality to keep Men Cooks, and generally of the *French Nation*." Jonathan Swift, *Directions to Servants, in General* (London: R. Dodsley, 1745), 36.

⁷⁹ Quarton, *Mary Cannon's Commonplace Book*, 58-59.

⁸⁰ Susan Pinkard, for instance, points out that a *coulis de jambon* took several hours, whereas an English-styled gravy only required minutes. See Susan Pinkard, *A Revolution in Taste: the Rise of French Cuisine, 1650-1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Also, Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

⁸¹ Robert Jocelyn, dinner books, 1 July 1747; 20 July [1747]; 16 September 1749, Downs Collection.

targeted these preparers, included recipes that nodded to foreign influences, among them “[t]o Make a Frycasey.”⁸²

Foreign cuisine was appealing to modest cooks in the eighteenth century for the same reasons contemporary Irish elites pursued it, namely its association with wealthy consumerisms. In 1745, for instance, Jonathan Swift mockingly suggested to Irish cooks that “[i]f a Lump of Soot falls into the Soup, and you cannot conveniently get it out, stir it well in, and it will give the Soup a high *French* taste.”⁸³ More seriously, a 1767 edition of *Faulkner’s Dublin Journal* recorded the habit of island-based “French Cooks stuffing Irish Potatoes with Garlick, to give them a high taste.”⁸⁴ Much like George Thompson, whose sophisticated taste in wine enhanced his professional standing, these journalists recognized the importance of informed choice in buying and eating groceries associated with elite living. This conspicuous performance became especially important in the mid- to late-1700s when imperial commercial and military efforts increased the number of middling families who had the funds to buy, but perhaps not the experiences to properly consume, imported luxuries.⁸⁵ Complicated preparations forcefully and publicly linked social orders that were in flux to global foods that were markers of refinement.

In colonial and heavily mercantile Ireland, foreign edibles regularly connected the island to a larger realm of other transoceanic spaces. It is clear that future Irish-New Orleanians were used to consuming native, continental and American groceries well before their emigrations. The fact that so many of these individuals represented up-and-coming mercantile social orders only further accented their ability—and even their motivation—to engage edible markets with a large degree of choice. Foodways travelled

⁸² A majority of Mary Cannon’s recipes followed Ireland’s traditions of simple culinary preparations. Quarton, *Mary Cannon’s Commonplace Book*, 43.

⁸³ Swift, *Directions to Servants*, 41.

⁸⁴ Powell, *The Politics of Consumption*, 31; Pinkard, *A Revolution in Taste*, 35-43; 143-151. My emphasis.

⁸⁵ See footnote 78.

with migrants to late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Louisiana. There, they encountered in abundance more than elements of their traditional diets and many of the American edibles they had become familiar with in Ireland. They found a population also invested in transoceanic commerce and in the specific circulation of local and foreign groceries. Irishmen and women arrived in New Orleans acquainted with a culinary scene extending beyond their native home. This familiarity, and the Gulf Coast's own expansive consumerisms, made food a site of cultural cohesion for settlers.

Food in Eighteenth-Century Louisiana: *Imperial Origins*

The culinary histories of Ireland and New Orleans developed along similar chronologies, and ultimately ended with both spaces heavily invested in the transoceanic circulation of foods. Initially in Louisiana, much as in Ireland, eating habits focused on avoiding starvation. When Bienville established his city along the Mississippi River and near the Gulf Coast in 1718, he did so in the midst of a major communication reform in the French Empire. Distance proved an immediate problem for Versailles, as King Louis XV's ministers struggled to read through colonial requests, process memoirs on new settlements, and finally send material aid overseas.⁸⁶ This expansive bureaucracy left many Europeans in early New Orleans lacking reliable edibles. Supplies were even rarer after 1729, when Louisiana's final failure to produce a major cash crop diminished its imperial standing (and supply distributions) to a place far below that of the West Indian plantations. This tenuous situation was only aggravated by the fact that New Orleans was populated with military and urban settlers who lacked agricultural backgrounds and

⁸⁶ Kenneth J. Banks, *Chasing Empire Across the Sea: Communications and the State in the French Atlantic, 1713-1763* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002). Banks suggests that it was not so much the distance that French information and ships needed to travel that resulted in communication breakdown. It was metropolitan politics and confusion over unfamiliar colonial situations that stalled imperial projects.

thus were not equipped to grow their own foods.⁸⁷ As a result, and to provide reliable nourishment for themselves in frequent times of dearth, colonists turned to their landscape and to their native neighbors to supply their diets.

This resulted, as in early modern Ireland, in initial food cultures heavily dependent on local availabilities. Early Europeans living on the Gulf Coast ate diets high in regional produce, wild game and area fishes. Maize founded many settlers' meals, especially after failed attempts to cultivate wheat near Biloxi, Mobile and even immediately on Bayou St. Jean.⁸⁸ This crop—together with squash and beans—constituted the basis of eighteenth-century Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw cookery. Commentators acknowledged its cultivation by new farmers in the 1730s—alongside regional rice, pumpkins and watermelon—confirming the direct sharing of food knowledge between colonists and their native neighbors.⁸⁹

Regional fauna also found its way into French colonial diets along the Gulf Coast. Settlers regularly consumed salted buffalo meat until the 1750s, when domestic cattle and swine herds finally were established in the region.⁹⁰ The *boeuf sauvage*, in fact, was

⁸⁷ For more on early settlers, especially soldiers, slaves and deported engagés, see Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire*, 230.

⁸⁸ Daniel H. Usner, Jr., "Food Marketing and Interethnic Exchange in the 18th-Century Lower Mississippi Valley," *Food and Foodways* 1 (1986): 282.

⁸⁹ Antoine-Simon Le Page du Pratz, *The History of Louisiana, or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina: Containing a Description of the Countries that lie on both Sides of the River Mississippi* (London: T. Becket, 1774), 201-208. Caillot, "Relation du Voyage de la Louisiane ou Nouvelle France fait par le Sr. Caillot en l'année 1730," 112, 117, 175. The Historic New Orleans Collection. Shannon Lee Dawdy, "A Wild Taste: Food and Colonialism in Eighteenth-Century Louisiana," *Ethnohistory* 57, no. 3 (2010): 393-396; Kristen J. Gremillon, "Archaeobotany at Old Mobile," *Historical Archaeology* 36, no. 1 (2002): 117-128; Elizabeth M. Scott and Shannon Lee Dawdy, "Colonial and Creole Diets in Eighteenth-Century New Orleans," in *French Colonial Archaeology: a View from the South*, ed. K. Kelly and M. Hardy (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010), 97-116. French New Orleanians were able to obtain some wheat from the Illinois Country in the mid-1700s; but supplies were limited by season (and usually available only for six months out of the year) and by damages caused by their Mississippian freightage. See Cécile Vidal, "Antoine Bienvenu, 'Illinois Planter and Mississippi Trader: The Structure of Exchange between Lower and Upper Louisiana,'" in *French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World*, ed. Bradley G. Bond (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 111-133.

⁹⁰ See especially Christopher Morris, "How to Prepare Buffalo, and Other Things the French Taught Indians about Nature," in Bond, *French Colonial Louisiana*, 32-33; Dawdy, "A Wild Taste,"

a frequent enough consumable in early Louisiana that the governing Superior Council included it in its first 1722 attempts at price-fixing legislation relating to foods. Other animal-products identified as basic edibles in this law were domesticated beef, deer, poultry and eggs.⁹¹ To attain these foods, early New Orleanians relied on indigenous and African-born hunters and fishers who bartered their yields in unofficial markets. The result was an interactive, unmonitored “frontier exchange economy” that brought the city’s many populations into social, cultural, material and spatial contact.”⁹² The early settlement, however, much like in pre-1700 Ireland, lacked the reliable infrastructure to develop these exchanges beyond subsistence levels. This again resulted in colonial diets that were necessarily creole, or locally-based.

Despite their lack of access to imported ingredients that would allow them to duplicate French cuisine along the Gulf Coast, early New Orleanians of European-descent found ways to maintain their culinary heritage. This extended beyond French settlers lecturing their indigenous neighbors on the correct ways to hunt and to cook American bison, as did Antoine-Simon Le Page du Pratz in the 1720s.⁹³ Rather, as Shannon Dawdy argues, colonists quickly utilized Old World cooking styles in their preparations of New World foods. Contemporaries, for example, noted that Louisiana redfish made a “good bouillabaisse” and that even dog meat could be transformed into “a

407-408. The shift to cattle and pork consumption additionally was aided by shifting culinary tastes for fresh meat. Early attempts to domesticate buffalo failed; and thus the ability to drive herds of cattle and swine to urban centers like New Orleans (where they might be slaughtered immediately before sale) benefited the animals’ marketability. For more on Louisiana cattle ranching in the 1700s, see Andrew Sluyter, *Black Ranching Frontiers: African Cattle Herders of the Atlantic World, 1500-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 61-79.

⁹¹ Minutes of the Council of the Colony, 17 July 1722, in Usner, “Food Marketing,” 283.

⁹² Usner, *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves*. Many indigenous groups, particularly those who depended on the peltry trade with the French, relocated to more rivine or colonized areas that eased access to European backwoodsmen.

⁹³ Morris, “How to Prepare Buffalo,” 34-36.

very pretty and superb pâté” by knowledgeable chefs.⁹⁴ Colonists did, however, prove unwilling to compromise on one part of their diet. Locals eaters went out of their way to procure wheaten flours for cooking, rather than making do with readily available maize and rice found along the Gulf Coast.⁹⁵ They also threatened revolt, as did soldier Braude *dit* Dominique in 1745, when served with spoiled or otherwise unsatisfactory grains.⁹⁶

French colonists in Louisiana eventually reproduced familiar food commodities by bringing garden seeds with them to the Lower Mississippi Valley. Narrative sources reveal that many common European fruits and vegetables were grown in and around New Orleans no later than the 1750s (**Table 4.4**). Ursuline novice Marie Madeleine Hachard, for example, wrote home to her French father both about the unfamiliar greens she encountered along the Gulf Coast and about the figs, grapes, nuts, peas and potatoes she ate regularly in 1728. Jean-Francois-Benjamin Dumont de Montigny noted the cultivation of olives, apples, pears, peaches and citrus gardens in the lower Mississippi Valley by no later than 1753. These foods figured largely in Mediterranean cooking and thrived in the moist Louisiana climate.

The Growth of Consumption and Connection in Louisiana

The transfer of Louisiana to Spain in 1763 brought with it an active imperial presence and more direct access to non-local foods. It thus allowed New Orleans diets to become much more akin to those of Ireland. Spanish officials’ investment in large-scale

⁹⁴ Letter of Marie Madeleine Hachard to her father, 1728, in Dawdy, “A Wild Taste,” 399. Caillot, “Voyage...1730,” *Ibid.*, 402.

⁹⁵ John Hunter to Oliver Pollock, St. Kitts, 19 August 1767, Pollock Papers. Vidal, “Antoine Bienvenu,” 111-133; Dawdy, “A Wild Taste,” 391; Bruce Tyler, “The Mississippi River Trade, 1784-1788,” *Louisiana History* 2 (Autumn 1961): 429-445; C. Richard Arena, “Philadelphia-Spanish New Orleans Trade in the 1790s,” *Louisiana History* 2 (Autumn 1961): 429-445.

⁹⁶ French colonial officials in New Orleans executed Braude in 1745 for refusing to eat his bread rations. “Information contre Bradue *dit* Dominique,” 15 July 1745, Records of the Superior Council. Also, Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Michael LaCombe, *A Political Gastronomy: Food and Authority in the English Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2012); Rachel B. Herrmann, “The ‘tragical historie’: Cannibalism and Abundance in Colonial Jamestown,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 68 (January 2011): 47-74.

**Table 4.4. Plant Availabilities in Early New Orleans,
relating to Fruits, Vegetables and Herbs, 1728, 1753, 1830**

<i>Source: Hachard, Relation du voyage des dames religieuses Ursulines, 1728.</i>	<i>Source: Dumont de Montigny, Historical Memoir on Louisiana, 1753.</i>	<i>Source: Advertisement for Wm. Smith's Garden Seed Store, Louisiana Courier, 29 November 1830.</i>
almond apple beans blackberry cashew chestnut figs grape lemon melon orange peach pea pecan pineapple pomegranate potato pumpkin rice sweet potato walnut watermelon	apple artichoke beans broccoli cabbage cauliflower celery chervil citrus corn cress fig garlic grape hops horseradish indigo lettuce melon mulberry mushroom (wild) okra olive onion parsley peach pear peanut pecan persimmon pomegranate potato pumpkin radish rice sorrel spinach squash strawberry sweet potato tarragon tobacco turnip	artichoke asparagus beans beets broccoli cabbage carrot cauliflower celery chervil cress cucumber eggplant endive leek lettuce melon mushroom mustard okra onion parsley pea pepper pumpkin radish rocquette salsify spinach squash turnip

Gathered from Emily Clark, *Voices from an Early American Convent: Marie Madeleine Hachard and the New Orleans Ursulines, 1727-1760* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007), 39-41, 81; Lake Douglas, *Public Spaces, Private Gardens: a History of Designed Landscape in New Orleans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), 205-207, 219-222.

transoceanic trade obviated many Gulf Coast settlers' need to barter locally for daily meals. The Spanish Cabildo, much like the British imperial administration in Ireland, sought to secure dependable edibles for New Orleanians at the same time that they also used foodways to assert their control over local populations. They, for example, organized the first institutional market in the city in 1784.⁹⁷ Vendors there would have sold many of the same foods as did peddlers in Ireland in the 1770s, including fresh beef, pork, turkeys, rice, beans, corn, English peas, potatoes and fish.⁹⁸ The new requirement to rent stalls, furthermore, would have limited the activities of indigenous and African, especially enslaved African, producers in organized culinary exchange. This focused local foodways back towards those edibles that were sanctioned by European officials. For Spanish settlers, who especially associated foods with their health and imperial identity, this involved the available purchase and eating of salads, white breads, olives, oils, wines and citrus fruits that characterized their Old World diets. There also was some hope, as in Ireland, that the importation of European foods would aid in the colonization and conversion of locals.⁹⁹

As New Orleans merchants began to connect to more and more non-local markets in the 1780s, city eaters not only used foreign exchanges to access new edibles like tea and coffee. They continued to enjoy the artichokes, cabbage, onions, potatoes, sorrel and watercress grown from European seeds and roots that had been available since the French colonial era, as attested to by Dumont de Montigny. The local

⁹⁷ Records and Deliberation of the New Orleans Cabildo, 10 September 1784, in Usner, "Food Marketing," 299-300.

⁹⁸ Proclamation by Bernardo Galvez Fixing Prices, 15 July 1777, in Usner, *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves*, 208-209.

⁹⁹ Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*, 55; 156-186. Similar efforts at material acclimation and colonialism were practiced by the French in the North American interior. White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*.

cultivation of additional varieties of Old World produce, like arugula, asparagus and cucumbers, continued during the late colonial and early national eras.¹⁰⁰

New Orleans, like contemporary Ireland, thus maintained cosmopolitan habits and cultures relating to foods well into the nineteenth century. New arrivées in the city, such as French Commissioner Pierre Clément de Laussat in 1803, recognized that many urban settlers relied on regional hunting grounds and waterways for meat consumption. These sources yielded “greatly prized” redfish, eel, sea perch and soft-shell turtles. Laussat also noted the presence of thriving fig, peach, plum, orange and apple trees along the Gulf Coast, which were familiar to him from Europe.¹⁰¹ English-native and United-States resident Benjamin H.B. Latrobe noted a similar juxtaposition of native foods and locally-grown edibles of foreign origins in New Orleans’s unofficial levee markets in 1818. Among those items he catalogued were: “[i]nnumerable wild ducks, oysters, poultry of all kinds, fish, bananas, piles of oranges, sugar cane, sweet & Irish potatoes, corn in the Ear & husked, apples, carrots & all sorts of other roots, [and] eggs.”¹⁰² Louisiana residents added to these diets foods directly imported from overseas in the late 1700s. The plethora of coffee mills, tea tables, porcelain teapots and costly silver “tea spoons” noted in estate inventories confirm the popularity of taking these hot foreign beverages locally.¹⁰³ New Orleanians thus had contact with a wide variety of native, locally-produced and foreign foods in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

¹⁰⁰ See pages 126-128; 131-132.

¹⁰¹ Pierre Clement de Laussat, *Memoirs of My Life to My Son During the Years 1803 and After, which I spent in Public Service in Louisiana as Commissioner of the French Government for the Retrocession to France of That Colony and for Its Transfer to the United States*, ed. Robert D. Bush (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 49-50.

¹⁰² Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans*, ed. Samuel Wilson, Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 22.

¹⁰³ Inventory of Ham Winn, 1815, Estate Inventories. Inventory of John Watkins, 1812, Ibid. Inventory of Andrew Cunningham, 1811, Ibid. Inventory of John Hill, 1810, Ibid. Inventory of Edwin Lorrain, 1819, Ibid. Inventory of “Dorothy O’Brien, wife Sanderson,” 1815, Ibid. Inventory of John A. Foote, 1814, Ibid. Inventory of Daniel McGlade, 1814, Ibid. Inventory of John Kelly, 1820, Ibid.

centuries. This access, founded on the city's involvement in overseas commerce, introduced city dwellers to the element of choice within their diets.

As soon as Louisianans moved from subsistence economies to transoceanic trade, they joined a consumer revolution that shaped other spaces linked to their exchange networks, including Ireland. The same material items from both the Old and New Worlds not only flowed between the many nodes of this interconnected commercial Atlantic World. Access to a multiplicity of commodities in these settings mutually transformed their residents from producers into consumers, especially in relation to diets. Sales of food in early New Orleans were as public and diversified as they were in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Ireland. Extant account books, for example, indicate that many Louisianans obtained basic groceries—including bread, meat and vegetables—from peddlers who regularly sold items door-to-door. These persons also sold edible luxuries, like chocolate and tea.¹⁰⁴ Benjamin Latrobe, writing in 1819, still believed “the whole of the retail trade in dry goods was carried on in this way.”¹⁰⁵ Groceries and specialized food shops, however, also were quite visible in New Orleans. Addresses from the 1811 City Directory indicate that bakers, butchers and grocers worked in shops located at least every few blocks in the densely populated parts of town **(Figure 4.4)**. Residents could find hotels, cafés and taverns that served foods with similar frequency.¹⁰⁶ These popular establishments specialized in carrying large quantities of diverse edibles for buyers. Their placement of Old and New World foods alongside each other reveals the expansive palates (and consumer demands) of frequent

¹⁰⁴ Mathias O'Conway, New Orleans account books, 1793, Correspondence...of the family of O'Conway.

¹⁰⁵ Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans*, 101. These peddlers might represent a shop, but most often they were salesmen who had access to produce but financially were unable to purchase retail spaces. Usner, “Food Marketing,” 300.

¹⁰⁶ Laussat noted of these Louisiana establishments that “colonist[s] enjoyed numerous noisy festivities: eating, have a drink glass in hand, harmonizing in song, and spending whole nights at frenzied card games.” Laussat, *Memoirs of My Life*, 49-50. Also, Conroy, *In Public Houses*; Kennedy, “Politics, Coffee and the News,” 76-85.

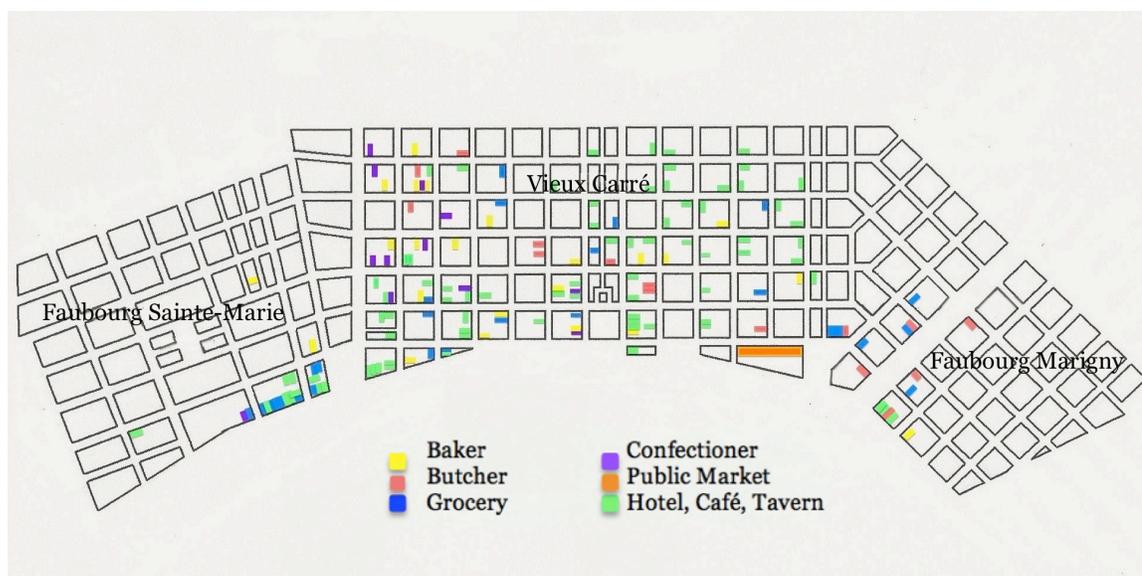


Figure 4.4. Sites of New Orleans Food Retail. New Orleans City Directory, 1811, NOPL.

patrons. Shoppers at François Menier’s grocery in 1818, for example, could select from local cornmeal and wild cherries, Louisiana sugar, French oils, Spanish wines, Caribbean rums and South American coffees and chocolates, among other global groceries.¹⁰⁷ Ham Winn’s tavern on Gravois Street offered dishes with American oats, corn meal, ham and manioc juice while also serving French wines.¹⁰⁸ Customers at these and similar establishments made dietary decisions based on their own tastes, the quality of products and these items’ special significance, rather than on need or even availability. In doing so, they normalized local and foreign edibles in New Orleans diets and they guaranteed that regional producers and overseas traders would continue to make them accessible.

¹⁰⁷ Among the items listed in the Saint-Domingue native’s shop were “neuf Bouteilles de meal common,” “douze Bouteilles de merise,” “environ deux cents livres de Sucre de pays,” “douze flacons d’huile de provence,” “quatre vingt huit Bouteilles de vin Rouge,” “environ vingt deux galons de Rhum,” “environ quinze galons de tafia,” “environ quatre vingt livres de café,” and “vingt huit livre de chocolate.” Inventory of Francois Menier, 1818, Estate Inventories. Also, inventory of William Perry, 1815, Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Appraisers of Ham Winn’s postmortem estate noted the presence of a “Quantity of Oats,” “6 Barrels corn meal spoiled,” “1 ½ Hogshead of Hams,” a “Quantity of Corn, say 45 Barrels,” “2 Demijohns Claret,” and other food-items. Inventory of Ham Winn, 1815, Ibid.

The foodways of Ireland and Louisiana were influenced by the individual investments of their residents in material exchanges that crossed regional, imperial and oceanic boundaries. Merchants in both geographies, for example, engaged this commercial setting as major food exporters, of salted meats and sugar respectively.¹⁰⁹ After the 1780s and as overseas trade brought added income to both populations, Irish and New Orleans inhabitants also increasingly encountered this world of foods as consumers. These two conjoined spaces offered their residents expanded access to foods originating overseas, which regularly were incorporated into traditional diets. They also did so with such frequency that the prices of non-local edibles were ever more reasonable and more non-elite eaters could buy them. Contemporary Britons, in short, expected to include some foreign food products in their diets. New settlers in Louisiana, meanwhile, anticipated having access to familiar diets of wheat and meats but also expected to consume other American foods—like coffees and teas—that were popular in Europe.

It was in this connected and transoceanic culinary environment that Irishmen and women migrated. These travelers quickly realized that the overseas exchange of ingestibles in and out of Ireland shaped their experience of relocation to Louisiana in intimate ways. Many immigrants contributed to the routes in which such connections were made when they moved from Ireland to the Gulf Coast in ships also carrying food commodities. Salted Irish meats not only satisfied eaters overseas in England and in the West Indies but also provided appropriate provisions for the transatlantic passage and were used to feed sailors, enslaved persons, merchants and settlers traveling abroad.¹¹⁰ Ardkeen-native Hugh Quin, Jr., for example, specifically inventoried “Irish” hams in the

¹⁰⁹ See receipt of Oliver Pollock, 3 June 1766, Coxe Family Papers. Daniel Clark to Daniel Coxe, New Orleans, 19 August 1807; 1 September 1807; 7 December 1810, Daniel W. Coxe Papers. George Pollock v. His Creditors, 5 March 1808, Superior Court Records. For Louisiana sugar, Richard Follett, *The Sugar Masters: Planters and Slaves in Louisiana's Cane World, 1820-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005); Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon*, 193-194.

¹¹⁰ Mandelblatt, “A Transatlantic Commodity,” 18-47; Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, 147-169.

cargo of his migratory vessel in 1817. These were located alongside other familiar edibles, including beef, ham, biscuit, oatmeal, barley, peas, potatoes, sugar, coffee, black and green tea, and porter.¹¹¹ Notices for sailings in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Irish newspapers confirmed the frequency of this trend. The vessel *Edward Downes*, which sailed from Belfast to New Orleans several times in 1820, issued regular calls for “passengers, provisions and linen cloth,” indicating the continued transport of foodstuffs alongside immigrants between Ireland and the early Gulf Coast.¹¹²

Irish Immigrant Experiences of Food in Louisiana

Once settled in Louisiana, Irish immigrants developed dietary habits that mirrored Old World foodways yet did little to distinguish them from their New World, Euro-descended neighbors. This especially is apparent in the surviving account books of Irish settler Mathias O’Conway.¹¹³ O’Conway was a native of Galway in western Ireland and initially worked as a lawyer in Dublin. After some legal trouble relating to his republican political sentiments in the mid-1780s, he fled to Pennsylvania, where he labored as a frontier tradesman and schoolmaster before relocating again to Spanish New Orleans in 1788.¹¹⁴ O’Conway, who settled with his wife and infant daughter, earned a modest income as a linguist and private language instructor along the Gulf Coast. This

¹¹¹ Quin’s total list included: “5 Tierces Beef, 5 Barrels Pork, 7 Cumberland hams, 3 Irish Do., 3 ½ Doz. Ducks, 2 ½ Doz. Chickens, 20 cut Biscuit, 1 Barrel Flour, 1 Barrel Oatmeal, ½ do. Barley, ½ Do. Pease, 56 pounds Rice, 400 Eggs packed in Salt, 5 £ sterling wroth of Vegetables, 6 Hogs, 1 Barrel brown Sugar weighing 2 cwt., 1 loaf white Do., 2 Gallons Molasses, 6 lbs Black Tea, 4 lbs green Do., 75 lbs raw coffee...6 pots Mustard, 1 lb black pepper, 5 Gallons Vinegar, 6 jars pickles, 9 Bushels Fowl’s Boxes, 1 Barrel Flower, 155 Hampers Potatoes, and a few Barrels of Porter in Bottles.” Hugh Quin, Jr., *Journal*, 15 September 1817, Quin Papers.

¹¹² See documents relating to the “Edward Downes,” 18 January 1820; 26 November 1820. *Documenting Ireland: Parliament, People and Migration* (<http://www.dippam.ac.uk>).

¹¹³ Mathias O’Conway, *New Orleans account books, Correspondence...of the family of O’Conway*.

¹¹⁴ For brief autobiographies of O’Conway, see Mathias O’Conway to Isabel O’Madden, Philadelphia, 4 April 1808, *Correspondence...of the family of O’Conway*. Mathias O’Conway to Cato B.M. O’Maddon, Philadelphia, n.d., *O’Conway Papers*. Also, Lawrence F. Flick, “Mathias James O’Conway: Philologist, Lexicographer and Interpreter of Languages,” *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* 10 (September 1899): 258.

standing is attested by his pupils, who included the children of local elites and city administrators.¹¹⁵ In 1789, the Irishman kept detailed registers of his household expenses, with the most regularly noted food costs occurring between June and August. These records are inflected by the seasonality of diets, which included more produce in warm months, yet they provide a reliable window into the general food-habits of immigrants shortly after moving to Louisiana.

The overall expense patterns of the O’Conway family on food in early New Orleans aligned with those of contemporary Irish residents (**Tables 4.2 and 4.5**). Breads and red meats, for example, remained among O’Conway’s largest monthly expenses, at 18% and 16% respectively. These compared to 25% and 31% respectively in Ireland from 1674 to 1828. The slightly lower American expenditures may relate to this Irish Louisianan’s more modest estate, especially when compared to the elite estate papers that survive in Irish archives and inform island statistics.¹¹⁶ They also ironically reflect the reticence of some Irish producers to sell livestock at home for low costs, when there existed a substantial demand for meats overseas.¹¹⁷ Mathias O’Conway and his family spent transatlantically comparable sums on most other edibles in New Orleans, including fish, poultry and eggs, as well as fruits and vegetables. The only noticeable exception is in their purchase and eating of costly imported groceries, which registered at 23% of total food expenditures in New Orleans versus 10% in contemporary Ireland. This did not reflect an effort by the Irishman to consume familiar and distinct European edibles in the Americas. Rather, much as in Ireland, *American* food products—like

¹¹⁵ These included the daughter of merchant Francois Merieult, the Governor’s children and the Contador’s son. Mathias O’Conway, New Orleans account books, June 1793; November 1793, Correspondence...of the family of O’Conway.

¹¹⁶ The 1922 fire at the Public Records Office in Dublin destroyed many of the middling and low-income records not held in private hands. This sways island archives towards high-end buyers.

¹¹⁷ Clarkson and Crawford, for example, argue that residents of Ireland exported many more pigs than they ate domestically in the eighteenth century. The reverse was true for cattle. Clarkson and Crawford, *Feast and Famine*, 40.

coffee, chocolate and sugar—dominated this category of culinary consumption. And their increased purchase may reflect their wider availability along the Gulf Coast at reasonable prices than it does any effort to alter diets post-migration.

A closer look at these 1789 account books confirms that the continuities apparent in Irish and Irish-New Orleans diets outweighed their differences. An examination of the recurrence of food-purchases removes the variable of cost, and it reveals instead the frequency with which the O’Conway’s family expected to see certain edibles on their table (**Table 4.6**). These rates then can be compared to both Old and New World dietary patterns. From this perspective, bread again assumed the highest importance in socially middling migrant diets. O’Conway bought finished wheaten loaves on average every 2.1 days. This frequency increased to almost every day in the months of July and August, or when the Irishman recorded his most detailed expenditures. Meat and fish intakes, meanwhile, each averaged once and twice a week. This suggests that the Irish family

**Table 4.5. Expenditure on Food and Drink,
O’Conway Family in New Orleans, June to August 1789**

<i>Category</i>	<i>June</i>	<i>July</i>	<i>August</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>% Total</i>
Meat	2.2.3	9.2.4	4.1.3	5.2.0	16
Fish, poultry, eggs	1.2.0	1.3.4	1.2.7	1.2.7	5
Milk, butter, cheese	2.1.3	5.2.1	5.3.1	4.2.2	13
Fruit, vegetables	2.2.3	3.0.2	2.1.4	2.2.6	7
Salt, oil, spices*	9.0.2	10.1.1	5.2.4	8.1.2	23
Beer, ale, whiskey	0.0.0	3.2.5	2.1.0	1.2.5	5
Wines, spirits	3.1.4	5.3.0	5.0.5	4.3.0	13
Bread, cakes	2.3.3	9.3.1	6.2.2	6.1.5	18
TOTAL	--	--	--	35.2.3	100 %

Gathered from Matthias O’Conway, New Orleans account books, 1789.
Correspondence and miscellaneous papers of the family of O’Conway
in the United States of America, early 19th century, NLI.

* Includes tea, coffee, sugar and other groceries.

**Table 4.6. Purchase Frequency of Food and Drink,
O'Conway Family in New Orleans, June to August 1789**

<i>Category:</i>	<i>June</i>	<i>July</i>	<i>August</i>	<i>Average</i>
Bread	3.7 days	1.3 days	1.3 days	2.1 days
Beef	6 days	1.8 days	2.8 days	3.6 days
Pork, bacon	15 days	5.2 days	7.8 days	9.3 days
Fowl, eggs	15 days	7.8 days	7.8 days	10.2 days
Fish	--	--	6.2 days	6.2 days
Milk, btrr, cheese	5 days	1.3 days	1.3 days	2.5 days
Apples	--	--	10.3 days	10.3 days
Citrus	--	31 days	--	31 days
Watermelon	30 days	10.3 days	31 days	23.8 days
Beans	30 days	7.8 days	31 days	23 days
Cucumbers	10 days	3.4 days	7.8 days	7.1 days
Carrots	30 days	--	--	30 days
Cabbage, salads	--	15 days	31 days	23.25 days
Potatoes	6 days	2.1 days	3.4 days	3.8 days
Tomato	--	15.6 days	--	15.6 days
Pumpkin	--	--	31 days	31 days
Sugar	6 days	1.6 days	2.4 days	3.3 days
Chocolate	--	--	--	--
Nuts, raisins	15 days	--	31 days	23 days
Coffee	--	1.9 days	6.2 days	4.1 days
Tea	--	--	15.5 days	15.5 days
Beer	--	7.8 days	3.4 days	5.6 days
Madeira, wine	30 days	31 days	3.1 days	21.37 days
Spirits	4.3 days	3.1 days	3.9 days	3.8 days

Gathered from Matthias O'Conway, New Orleans account books, 1789,
Correspondence...of the family of O'Conway.

purchased and ate fresh, locally-produced meats in 1789, rather than the salted varieties that would have lasted longer and did not require such frequent re-buying. Mathias O’Conway also acquired fresh fruits and vegetables with some recurrence in Louisiana, including apples (every 10.3 days), cucumbers (every 7.1 days) and potatoes (every 3.8 days). This produce, again, was common in Old World diets as well as grown regularly in orchards and private gardens along the Gulf Coast. The Irishman’s accounts finally indicate that consumer habits relating to foreign groceries did not dominate his family’s diet but were consumed at rates parallel to those of the Old World. Popular sugar and coffee were purchased about every 3.3 and 4.1 days, or with less regularity than bread and meats.¹¹⁸ Other culinary imports—like nuts, raisins, tea and non-local wines—were treated as luxuries. Their costliness required a significant portion of O’Conway’s income.¹¹⁹ In turn, they were bought only every two or three weeks.

Ultimately, the account books of Mathias O’Conway do not indicate that the Irishman and his family shifted their dietary habits significantly once moving to and within the New World. Nor do they suggest that they had difficulty maintaining familiar foodways abroad. Rather, commercial settings like New Orleans from 1780 to 1820 allowed for dietary continuities among immigrants. Foods from the city’s hinterlands—including fresh meats, fish, fruits and vegetables—anchored the O’Conway’s newly settled diet, much as they would have in Ireland. The semi-weekly buying of import

¹¹⁸ New Orleans residents likely acquired these commodities through commercial exchange in Saint-Domingue, at least until the revolutions of the 1790s. Ann Laura Stoler, in fact, suggests that Louisiana might accurately be described as a “colony of a colony,” much like the Carolina lowlands was of Barbados. Ann Laura Stoler, “Intimidations of Empire: Predicaments of the Tactile and Unseen,” in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 1-22. Also, Michel-Rolph Trouillot, “Motion in the System: Coffee, Color, and Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Saint-Domingue,” *Review* 5 (Winter 1982): 331-388; Thomas Fiehrer, “Saint-Domingue/Haiti: Louisiana’s Caribbean Connection,” *Louisiana History* 30 (Fall 1988): 109-141.

¹¹⁹ O’Conway, for example, spent three piastres on one pound of chocolate on May 10, 1789. A bottle of “French brandy” cost him four piastres on June 15. His basic grocery costs for several days generally amounted to between two and six piastres during this same period. Mathias O’Conway, New Orleans account books, 10 May 1789; 15 June 1789; 28 May 1789; 16 June 1789; 29 June 1789; 4 July 1789; 6 July 1789, Correspondence...of the family of O’Conway.

groceries like sugar and coffee likewise aligned the family with European habits, which associated the intake of such foods with fashionable living by the 1780s.¹²⁰ Mathias O’Conway purchased some edibles that appeared infrequently in the Old World, like garbanzo beans, pumpkins and watermelon.¹²¹ He did so, however, in ways that would have mirrored the accumulation patterns (favoring local produce) and general dietary structure (the frequent taking of a range of fresh greens) of his Irish life. There was no large-scale culinary dislocation for this Gulf Coast settler and his immigrant family.

Records suggesting the diets of other Irish settlers in late-eighteenth-century Louisiana confirm the general trends apparent in the 1789 account books of Mathias O’Conway. The nearby plantation of John Fitzpatrick, for instance, included evidence of local production and culinary importation in 1791.¹²² The Irishman owned at his death “a grindstone with iron handles,” probably used to crush grain for baking. His inventory also catalogued an array of domestic animals that provided him and his enslaved possessions with meats and dairy. These included forty-five cows, twenty-eight heifers, forty-seven hogs and thirty-six piglets.¹²³ Alongside these local foods, the Waterford-native accumulated edibles with non-Louisiana provenances. Fitzpatrick, for example, registered “[t]wo barrels of English potatos,” which likely grew in his nearby fields but originated with British seeds. Appraisers more directly recorded several utensils used to serve imported coffee, including “[t]wo coffee pots,” “one sugar bowl,” “three coffee cups and saucers” and a “copper coffee pot,” in his postmortem household.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*; Mark Pendergrast, *Uncommon Grounds: the History of Coffee and How it Transformed our World* (New York: Basic Books, 1999); Teahan, *Irish silver*; Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England*.

¹²¹ Mathias O’Conway, New Orleans account books, 6 July 1789, 7 July 1789, 12 July 1789, 14 July 1789, 21 July 1789, 28 July 1789, 4 August 1789, Correspondence...of the family of O’Conway.

¹²² Succession of John Fitzpatrick, 4 May 1791, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 425-432.

¹²³ Another cereal noted in Fitzpatrick’s inventory was “[f]ifty barrels of corn, mostly on the cob.” This grain likely was intended for animal consumption. *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

Irish immigrants also experienced continuity in the way they gained access to foodstuffs in the late eighteenth century. Urban Irish settlers in Louisiana were less likely to produce food for themselves than their rural counterparts, but they easily could buy supplies of flours, meats and dairy-items locally from peddlers and specialized grocers. Irishwoman Eliza Kerr was part of the retail supply chain that made this possible. She was a regular presence at the grocery owned by her Venetian-born husband, Jean Dominguez. There, the Italian stocked foods that included in 1822 “one half barrel of bad flour” and a “half Keg of Butter.” The couple displayed these mundane, domestically-produced items alongside imported oils, spices, pickled produce and spirits.¹²⁵ Cork-native John McCall also operated an urban shop, where he sold local orange juice with foreign whiskey, brandy, claret and porter.¹²⁶ The perishable nature of most food-items made them rare in estate inventories, but the serving pieces that do appear in these records are reliable evidence of the consumption of specific foods. And, indeed, immigrants purchased the same silver serving wares—like “eight small spoons for coffee”—for their drinking rituals as did shoppers in Ireland *and* their non-Irish neighbors in early New Orleans. Their presence in even modest settlers’ estates, like that of cooper Francis Riley, emphasize that the purchase of imported drinks was widespread among settlers.¹²⁷ These spoons were used to stir sugar into the hundreds of pounds of coffee that Irish merchants like William Murray and John McGoubriick stocked in their

¹²⁵ Inventory of Jean Dominguez, 1822, Estate Inventories.

¹²⁶ Inventory of John McCall, 1816, Estate Inventories. The transoceanic sale of alcohol was not a new business for the Irish, who established commercial networks in France and Spain that dated back to the sixteenth century. See L.M. Cullen, “The Irish Merchant Communities of Bordeaux, La Rochelle and Cognac in the Eighteenth Century,” 51-63; in *Négoce et industrie en France et en Irlande aux XVIIIe et XIX siècles: actes du Colloque franco-irlandaise d’histoire*, ed. L.M. Cullen and P. Butel (Paris, 1980); Hugh Kearney, “The Irish Wine Trade, 1614-1615,” *Irish Historical Studies* 9 (1955): 400-442. Mary Ann Lyons, *Franco-Irish Relations, 1500-1610: Politics, Migration and Trade* (Suffolk, 2003).

¹²⁷ Succession of John Fitzpatrick, 4 May 1791, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 425-432. Inventory of Francis Riley, 1815, Estate Inventories. Also, inventory of John Kelly, 1820, *Ibid*. Inventory of Waters Clark, 1815, *Ibid*.

local groceries during the 1810s.¹²⁸ They also spoke to the retention of social rituals relating to specific foods, such as the tea service, across the Atlantic Ocean.

While there was continuity in those foods Irish immigrants ate in the Old and New Worlds, there remained one difference in the Americas that surprised new settlers. This, as noted by Irish and other European writers, was the abundance of food that was available. Journals and correspondence describe Louisiana as a fertile landscape rich in wildlife, fishes, fruits and vegetables available for local eaters. New residents commented especially about how well popular edibles imported into Ireland grew in and near New Orleans. All writers were impressed by the ready availability of the orange. Frenchman Pierre Clement de Laussat, for example, noted that “there still remained orange groves” around the old French fort of La Balize upon his arrival in Louisiana. Again, as he traveled upriver, the visitor admired plantations “with magnificent lanes of orange trees loaded with abundant blossoms as well as with fruit in every stage of ripening.”¹²⁹ Irish settlers, too, read frequent advertisements in local newspapers for retailed citrus juices.¹³⁰ And travelers like Hugh Quin, Jr., who toured around the city in 1817, specifically wrote of the “large Oranges” encountered on the breakfast tables of elite New Orleanians. He noted: “[t]here are generally some orange trees growing about every house.”¹³¹ No correspondence included a description of this fruit, and immigrants must have assumed readers were familiar with the largely imported edible in Ireland.¹³²

¹²⁸ Inventory of William Murray, 1813, Ibid. Inventory of John McGoubriick, 1817, Ibid. Also, inventory of John McCall, 1816, Ibid.

¹²⁹ Laussat, *Memoirs of My Life*, 14; 23.

¹³⁰ See adverts for “Jus d’Orange a vendre sur l’habitation du Mr. Jos. Wiltz.” *Le Moniteur de la Louisiane*, 14 February 1810; 11 April 1810. Howard-Tilton Library, Tulane University (microfilm).

¹³¹ Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 26 November 1817, Quin Papers. Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans*, 17. Mathias O’Conway, map of New Orleans, ca. 1793, Correspondence...of the family of O’Conway.

¹³² A contrast to the orange would be the sweet potato, of which Irish New Orleanians described in detail for their Old World family members and friends. Hugh Quin, Jr. noted: “The potatoes resemble in some measure our parsnips, but [are] much longer, and when cooked tasted to me like the Irish potatoes when frosted.” Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 26 November 1817, Quin Papers.

Newspapers between 1780 and 1820, as well as correspondence, confirm food as an important site of continuity between Irish immigrants' Old and New World residences. Settlers like Hugh Quin, Jr. celebrated in family accounts their first purchase of "fresh [wheaten] breads" and familiar citrus fruits upon arriving in Louisiana.¹³³ Immigrants to other American locales, too, sent home letters that included information on local foods, notably price listings.¹³⁴ These details were usually included to give a sense of the cost of life in foreign settings. They emphasized, however, for Irish readers the availability of foreign foods overseas. Promotional notices especially touted the potential of familiar diets in the Americas to encourage further emigration. The Belfast-printed *The Irishman*, for example, listed for newspaper readers in Ireland the prices of several edibles available in the American interior—or New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio and Missouri—in 1820.¹³⁵ These included beef, pork, bacon, poultry, turkeys, cheese, flour, potatoes and whiskey. The article stressed the low living costs of families "advantageously settled" in the New World. Yet, it crucially assured potential emigrants that the foods they knew in Ireland were waiting for them abroad. In noting that items like "wheat can scarcely be surpassed," promoters stressed the abundance of familiar edibles in the Americas rather than the possibility of new culinary encounters.

Ultimately, it was the common participation of late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Ireland and Louisiana in a transoceanic world of food that made

Other visitors to the city sketched in the memoirs encounters with local crawfish, which they described as an "amphibious lobster." Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans*, 84.

¹³³ Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 16 November 1817; 20 November 1817; 26 November 1817, Quin Papers.

¹³⁴ For example, James Horner to Thomas Horner, George Town, 10 December 1804, PRONI. James Horner to Thomas Horner, near Easton, 30 October 1807, *Ibid.* These also, of course, were common communications among Irish merchants. William Cramsie to Samuel Watt, Kingston, 18 August 1825. Watt Family Correspondence, 1790-1850, PRONI.

¹³⁵ "Emigration to the United States of America," *The Irishman*, 21 July 1820. Linen Hall Library, Belfast.

such promotions a migratory reality. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, consumers on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean demanded diets high in grains and fresh meats. They also were used to eating fruits and vegetables that they did not grow or that did not necessarily originate in their local landscape. Both, finally, frequently consumed new and costly imports—like coffee and sugar—and they did so with serving pieces that mutually spoke to financial success. These transoceanic overlaps suggest that historians should not confine their inquiries to one side of the Atlantic Ocean when it comes to the culture of early Irish immigration. Rather, it is important to link these settings (as they were in contemporary times) and to ask how pre-migratory encounters with the non-local prepared settlers for their eventual experiences abroad. The example of food suggests quite a bit.

Irish immigrants encountered, bought and consumed many familiar foods in early New Orleans. They also purchased and ate new foods in recognizable ratios and styles. They were able to do this because both Ireland and Louisiana were connected to a transoceanic commercial world that made the many materials of its diverse hubs available to buyers around the globe. Foods moved in this setting frequently, with relative ease, and cheaply. Edibles also were necessary commodities that buyers could choose among but not omit from their lives. As a result, they offered a unique site of regular engagement with the consumer revolution that was shaping the Old and New Worlds in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Diet, in turn, became an important and potentially reassuring site of continuity for Irish immigrants who moved to a space so differing in language, climate and geography from their native land.

Chapter 5:
The Threads that Bind:
Irish Linens

On March 20, 1791, John Fitzpatrick died at his plantation-home in Manchac, a small outpost located about forty miles from New Orleans. The Waterford-native, like many Irish immigrants, previously operated as an active trader in the region. His commercial networks linked French, Spanish, British and indigenous consumers on the frontier and in New Orleans with equally varied circulations of peltries, foods, tobacco, finished textiles and enslaved bodies.¹ The Irishman's postmortem estate reveals a similar investment in items originating both from local markets and transoceanic trade. Fitzpatrick, for example, owned "[f]ifty barrels of corn, mostly on the cob" at his death, which probably came from further up the Mississippi River. He similarly possessed a set of "cypress pirogue[s]" and a "used cypress table" made in Louisiana. Even the metal and silverware noted in the Irishman's 1791 inventory likely were manufactured by local artisans, who by then were well established in and around New Orleans.² In contrast, the textiles owned by John Fitzpatrick reveal transatlantic consumer habits, attesting to the sartorial connections he maintained to the Old World. The Irishman's inventory

¹ John Fitzpatrick emigrated from Waterford, Ireland to New Orleans, Louisiana in 1768. The colony officially was claimed by Spain during this period; but it did not come under its jurisdiction until 1769, when General Alejandro O'Reilly formally established political control. It was at this time that imperial officials sought to solidify local loyalties by expelling residents of non-Spanish-descent (or not married to a person with such ties). Among those requested to leave was Irish merchant, John Fitzpatrick, who moved to the English-side of the river. After 1783, of course, this property would again revert to Spanish control; and Fitzpatrick again would become a resident of the Iberian empire. See Dalrymple, *The Merchant of Manchac*; Usner, *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves*, 122.

² Succession of John Fitzpatrick, 4 May 1791, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 425; 427; 430. For more on contemporary metalworkers, especially of African-descent, see Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: the Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon*.

notes many textiles whose names speak to European origins, such as “Russian material” and “Holland cloth.”³ It also points to the Irishman’s awareness of and effort to follow trends in male dress as they changed abroad. He, for example, owned a “coat and sleeveless vest of fine material in a stained pearl color.” These garments formed part of the three-piece-suit then favored by Old World men. Fitzpatrick also accommodated recent shifts in male dress from breeches, or knee-length pants, to long trousers, of which he owned eight pairs.⁴ Central to his wardrobe, finally, was a basic assortment of shirts, pants, kerchiefs and stockings, which were made of imported linens that potentially originated in Ireland.⁵ The Irishman thus continued to wear European-inspired dress while residing along the Louisiana bayou, regularly buying, mending and laundering the same fabrics and garments as did his Irish contemporaries.

At first glance, these items might seem evidence of John Fitzpatrick’s unwillingness to engage the realities of his relocation, as clothes appropriate to a cold, rainy Irish climate hardly could be expected to suit the semi-tropical setting of the Gulf Coast. The garments then fashionable in his homeland, however, were made of light and sweat-absorbent fabrics, which included Irish linens. And these and similar colonial-inspired textiles popular in the Old World were exactly those that made life bearable in humid New World environments, like that to which Fitzpatrick relocated in the late 1700s. Thus, in their dress, much as with diets, Irish immigrants to early New Orleans experienced not disruption but continuity.

Irish settlers who traveled to Louisiana between 1780 and 1820 did so during an era of intense economic and sartorial change in Great Britain. First, producers in England, Scotland and Ireland realized vastly increased continental and colonial

³ Succession of John Fitzpatrick, 4 May 1791, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 425-426.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 426; 429. These pants association with sociability, not work, is apparent in their noted “good condition.” Aileen Ribeiro, *The Gallery of Fashion* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2000), 162; Mairead Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1989), 123.

⁵ See advertisements for “toiles d’Irlande.” *Le Moniteur*, 4 February 1806; 5 March 1806.

demands for their commodities. Food items, like salted meats, initially offered islanders contact with foreign markets and consumerisms.⁶ But the eighteenth century also was, as one historian notes, the “heyday of European linens” and Ireland was a major export center for such high-quality cloths.⁷ The production and sale of this textile involved all rungs of the Irish social ladder, from small-scale flax agriculturalists to middling bleachers to financially successful transoceanic merchants. Island involvement only increased as the trade in Irish linen rose from 1.4 million yards exported in 1712 to 45.6 million yards in 1792. Commerce retained these high levels until 1821.⁸

Ironically, the demand for Irish linen resulted from distinctly non-European cultural encounters. Colonial settlement in India and eastern Asia brought Britons into contact with the lightweight, colorful cottons made in these regions, which were well suited to their hot and humid climates. Firms such as the East India Company began to mass-market these textiles in Great Britain in the late 1600s and by 1700 they had amassed quite a following.⁹ Irish consumers, like their English contemporaries, appreciated cottons for their lightness, their color-fastness (and thus vibrancy), their allowance for flexible movement, and their ability to be laundered. The last especially was crucial in Enlightenment ideas regarding cleanliness, which promoted the washing of clothes rather than bodies.¹⁰ The popularity of foreign cottons inspired the ire of domestic textile makers in Great Britain. As a result, in 1700, Parliament banned the

⁶ Woodward, “The Anglo-Irish Livestock Trade,” 489-523; Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, 147-169; Mandelblatt, “A Transatlantic Commodity,” 18-47.

⁷ DuPlessis, “Transatlantic Textiles,” 137.

⁸ Collins, “Matters material and luxurious,” 107.

⁹ The East India Company imported 250,000 cotton pieces to England in 1664. By 1684, this increased to more than 1 million pieces per annum. Low prices maintained a wide consumerism. Beverly Lemire, “Transforming Consumer Custom: Linen, Cotton and the English Market, 1660-1800,” in Collins and Ollerenshaw, *The European Linen Industry*, 191.

¹⁰ See especially Kathleen Brown, *Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

import of calicoes into England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.¹¹ Irish linen makers filled the ensuing void with their own traditional and lightweight fabrics. Additionally, while cottons remained illegal, technologies related to cloth dying and patterning were brought in from the East and then incorporated into linen production.¹² These new linens served as visual and tactile alternatives to more fashionable cottons until the latter again were legalized in the 1770s.

Irish-New Orleanians immigrated to the Gulf Coast at the exact moment that colonial-inspired fabrics and dress—especially those suited for warmer climates—were popularized in Europe. They thus brought with them experiences buying and wearing clothes made of light cottons and linens. This included a sense of masculine fashion governed by the ability of men to actively participate in professional life and the expectation that the garments they donned could be laundered and regularly replaced. Furthermore, settlers of all incomes would have understood their sartorial choices as essential to the assertion of specific attained and desired social, cultural, political and gendered identities. They would have been comfortable using the type, quality, quantity, tailoring and clean-ability of clothes to suggest economic successes.¹³ The reasons that Irishmen and women maintained Old World sartorial styles were not entirely consistent

¹¹ “An Act for granting to His Majesty several Duties upon Low Wines or Spirits...and the Duty of Fifteen per Cent upon Muslins,” Acts of Parliament in the reign of William III, Chapter 11.10. Beverly Lemire, *Fashion’s Favourite: the Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Chloe Wigston Smith, “‘Callico Madams’: Servants, Consumption and the Calico Crisis,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 31 (Spring 2007): 29-55.

¹² See Beverly Lemire and Giorgio Riello, “East & West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe,” *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 4 (2008): 893-900; Frances Little, “Cotton Printing in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,” *The Bulletin of the Needle & Bobbin Club* 22 (1938): 15-23; Peter C. Floud, “The Origins of English Calico Printing,” *Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colourists* 76 (1960): 275-281.

¹³ For more on contemporary fashion, see Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715-1789* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1984); Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the ‘Ancien Regime’*, trans. Jean Birrell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); John Styles, *Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Alison Laurie, *The Language of Clothes* (New York, 1981); Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: the Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

across the Atlantic Ocean, as this chapter reveals. Yet, dress and clothes, especially Irish linens, offered them another familiar way to adjust their lives to the New World.

Cloth and Clothing in Georgian Ireland: A Popular Consumable

Clothing was a crucial social marker and cultural identifier in Georgian Ireland. Rising incomes, themselves often reliant on the linen trade, made fashion a material phenomenon accessible to large numbers of island shoppers.¹⁴ Retailers, in response, quickly expanded shop inventories to include a variety of dress-related items at numerous price points. A 1729 promotion in *The Dublin Weekly Journal*, for instance, noted the wide sale of “all sorts of Cloaths, Druggets, German Sarges, Sagathees, and Nightgowns...at very reasonable Rates.”¹⁵ Henry Hickman, a Cork draper, similarly advertised in 1776 for numerous textiles. Stocks included “Superfine, refine and middling English and Irish clothes,” “French and Dutch corded and India jean fustians,” “Velvets,” “Satinets,” “calamancos,” silks, “Pekins” and “Russia drab.”¹⁶ These fabrics filled wardrobes that frequently turned over and similarly expanded in breadth. Irish consumers only expected articles of clothing, if well maintained, to last two or three years.¹⁷ This meant that buyers, as the basic level of need, replaced several garments every year. Such fluctuations were made possible, again, by the increasing availabilities of fabrics, a related decrease in their prices and the growth of the ready-made and secondhand consumer sectors, which allowed larger numbers of dressers access to more

¹⁴ Again, by 1790, at least 30% of all Irish residents earned moderate annual allowance of 5 to 20 pounds. Cotton and linen shirts would have averaged from between 1s. 6d. and 2s. 3d. per item. Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*; Lemire, “Transforming Consumer Custom,” 193.

¹⁵ *The Dublin Weekly Journal*, 23 August 1729.

¹⁶ Advertisement, March 1776, in Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, 143.

¹⁷ John Styles estimates that modest English dressers bought at least two shirts, two stockings and one pair of shoes each year. Outer ware, meanwhile, only lasted three years. Styles, *Dress of the People*, 72; 222-223.

garments, albeit in less tailored styles.¹⁸ Irish shoppers responded by accumulating larger wardrobes. Annaritta Cust, a landowner in Armagh, possessed in 1798 eleven linen shirts, fourteen shifts, eleven pairs of stays, sixteen waistcoats, five pairs of breeches, four cloaks, thirty-two gowns, forty petticoats, twenty-nine handkerchiefs, fourteen pairs of stockings and three nightcaps. The masculine dress listed in Cust's estate likely was worn by one of her servants, for whom a "Livery Coat" also is noted. The Irishwoman herself dressed in the gowns, of which about half were made of costly silk.¹⁹ James Alexander, the first Earl of Carleton, similarly packed up in a single travel trunk in 1778 a large and diverse selection of wearables. These included "3 dozen & 6 white waistcoats, 5 dozen shirts appearing new; three dozen & eight very old shirts bound up in a piece of Calico," four dozen handkerchiefs, a bundle of cotton stockings, one Shawl, and indienne dressing gown and several other "Middling" and "Coarse" shirts.²⁰ Scholars estimate that Europeans in the late 1700s and early 1800s owned twenty to forty linen shirts at any moment.²¹ Irish records support this trend, including a 1793 inventory that catalogued "48 Shirts new & old," "37 Hankerchiefs [sic]" and "16 Neckcloths."²² Historian Brenda Collins estimates that members of the island's middling gentry individually owned at least twenty-six linen shirts at a time by the 1740s.²³

¹⁸ Styles similarly notes that the mean total value of English retailers' inventories dropped from £488 to £113 after 1740. Styles, *Dress of the People*, 138. For contemporary textile prices, see Carole Shammas, "The Decline of Textile Prices in England and British America Prior to Industrialization," *The Economic History Review* 47, no. 3 (1994): 483-501; Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675-1791* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 150. For the ready-made trade, see Beverly Lemire, "Developing Consumerism and the Ready-made Clothing Trade in Britain, 1750-1800," *Textile History* 15, no. 1 (1984): 21-44.

¹⁹ Annaritta Cust, for example, owned "One black Silk Gown and Petticoat," and "One purple [Silk Gown]." Inventory of the Goods of the late Mrs. Annaritta Cust, 1798, PRONI.

²⁰ "Packed up in a large chest No 1," 10 February 1778. Account book of James Alexander, first Earl of Carleton, including inventories of clothing, furniture, etc., 1788, PRONI.

²¹ Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 170-171.

²² "Inventory of My Linnens, taken by my housekeeper beginning of July 1793," 1793-1799, PRONI.

²³ Records relating to Nicholas Peacock, middling member of the Limerick gentry, ca. 1740, in Collins, "Matters material and luxurious," 115.

Such a rich consumer setting supported the specialization of Irish producers and retailers into fields like drapers, glovers, hatters, hosiers, embroiderers and shoemakers, even in small towns. These spreading suppliers, in turn, widened access to local and imported popular cloths. And, much as with groceries, they reorganized island shopping decisions around concepts of choice, rather than availabilities. Also, because even modest buyers could afford some wardrobe variety, the link between social status and dress relied on *thoughtful* choices resulting from a *knowledge* of current fashions.²⁴ Irish buyers gathered information relating to fashionable dress from a variety of sources, including published accounts, personal correspondence, storefronts and print advertisements.²⁵ For much of the eighteenth century, these circulated sartorial styles were shaped by two factors: protection from the elements and the elite wardrobes of the British and French courts.

Early Fashions

Fabrics dictated fashion in early- and mid-eighteenth-century Ireland. This especially related to cloth quantities and pricings. Court dress in Dublin, where the Irish parliament met until the Act of Union in 1801, favored fine satins, poplins, damasks, woolen stuffs and velvets for much of the period.²⁶ These fabrics were thickly woven, which provided warmth in Irish winters. Many also employed coarser weft threads,

²⁴ See Foster, "Going Shopping in 18th-century Dublin," 33-61; Breen, "Baubles of Britain"; Neil McKendrick, "The commercialization of fashion," in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, eds. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb (London: Europa Publications, 1982), 35-99.

²⁵ For example, "Fashions for the Present Month," May 1795; "Remarks on Fashion," September 1795; "General Observations on the most Approved Fashions for the Season," May 1809; "General Observations on Fashion and Dress," April 1811, in *Walker's Hibernian Magazine: or, Compendium of Entertaining Knowledge*, NLI. Also, Lemire, "Developing Consumerism," 23-28; Jennifer M. Jones, "Repackaging Rousseau: Femininity and Fashion in Old Regime France," *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 4 (1994): 949-954; Máire Kennedy, "The Distribution of a Locally-Produced French Periodical in Provincial Ireland: the *Magazin à la Mode*, 1777,1778," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 9 (1994): 83-98; Fitzgerald, "Early Irish Trade-Cards," 115-132.

²⁶ Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, 92; 105; Styles, *Dress of the People*, 32; Ribeiro, *The Gallery of Fashion*.

which resulted in ridged surfaces and gave the textile a noticeable luster. Such satin weaves required high-end fibers, like silk, and skilled construction techniques, as artisans had to memorize complicated weaving patterns that skipped and included various warp threads.²⁷ As a result, these textiles retained high prices. This was despite the fact that poplins of high-quality were produced in Ireland by the families of French Huguenots who settled on the island in the 1600s and early 1700s.²⁸ Contemporary commentators noted the fashionable *cloths* worn by local elites at gatherings, rather than their specific cuts, styles or accessories. Mary Delany, the English-born wife of the Dean of Down, noted at a 1751 ball that she was “clad in the purple and white silk I bought when last year in England.” The host, the Duchess of Dorset, however, clearly stole the show with a gown of “blue paduasoy [Italian silk] embroidered very richly with gold” that was much admired by middling and aristocratic guests alike.²⁹ Such fine silks could cost more than ten times the price of other textiles. At the start of the eighteenth century, historians have documented wholesale prices of woolen broadcloths from 5s. to 10s.6d. per ell, serges from 1s.6d. to 4s.6d., camlets from 1s. to 5s. and Holland linens from 2s. to 4s. Gold and silver silk brocades, meanwhile, registered much higher at 50s., fine velvets at 16s. to 26s. and wrought satins at 3s. to 4s.³⁰

It was not just, however, that these fabrics were expensive. Contemporary Irish styles required a great deal of them to make a single garment. European clothes during much of the eighteenth century focused on aggrandized silhouettes. This included creating long vertical lines with male clothing and accentuating small waists, wide hoops

²⁷ Conrad Gill, *The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 154.

²⁸ See Alicia St. Leger, *Silver, Sails and Silk: Huguenots in Cork, 1685-1850* (Cork: Cork Civic Trust, 1991); Mairead Dunlevy, *Pomp and Poverty: a history of silk in Ireland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

²⁹ Mary Delany to Anne Dewes, Delville, 2 November 1751, in *Letters from Georgian Ireland: the Correspondence of Mary Delany, 1731-68*, ed. Angélique Day (Belfast: Friar's Bush Press, 1991), 48.

³⁰ See Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660-1730* (London: Methuen, 1989), 286.

and tall hair with women's attire.³¹ Stiffening agents helped create sartorial breadth, but garments still required much cloth to cover these shapes. In the early 1700s, male dress, as seen on the right in Alexis Chataignier's circa 1790 cartoon reflection (**Figure 5.1**), was inspired by a fitted version of the modest three-piece suit. The three-piece-suit originated as tradesmen's ware in England in the late seventeenth century. It then was picked up by British monarch Charles II, who sought humble attire in an effort to distance his reign from the sumptuous spending of royal courts before the English Civil War.³² The suit's elements included fitted breeches, vest and collarless coat, the last of which usually matched the ensemble's bottoms. A new effort by elite consumers in Great



Figure 5.1. Alexis Chataignier, “Ah! What Antiques!” “Oh! What New Follies,” ca. 1790-1800. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

³¹ Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, 92-105; Ribeiro, *The Gallery of Fashion*, 98; Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 41-43; Madeleine Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

³² David Kutcha, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 77-90.

Britain in the 1700s to distinguish themselves by means other than sumptuary legislation caused these garments to develop exaggerated—and more difficult to copy—shapes.³³ Men's coats expanded to reach just below their wearer's knees, as seen in Chataignier's stereotypical sketch. Tailors then used stiffeners such as buckram and carefully constructed pleats to bend the garment away at the hips, thus creating a full skirt yet personalized and costly fit. Similarly shaped, excess fabrics also appeared at wrists, where cuffs extended as far upwards as wearer's elbows.³⁴ The suit became less formal and more free-flowing over the course of the eighteenth century. But, until after the French Revolution, its formal rendering required ample yards of costly fabrics.

Women's fashion, too, in this period took to wide silhouettes. For court dress, tailors and seamstresses sculpted a female look defined by its small waists and wide bottoms; and they did so by draping high-end silks and woolens over whalebone hoops and, in less formal settings, quilted skirts.³⁵ Women's dress, as again apparent in Chataignier's cartoon, focused on the popular mantua in the early 1700s, namely a two-piece ensemble made up of a robe that opened in the front to reveal a usually coordinating but separated petticoat.³⁶ Notably, the mantua was a dress patronized by elite, middling *and* modest consumers in the British Isles. Contemporary retailers determined its value based on the quality of cloths from which it was composed.³⁷ Here again, it was the quantities of high-end fabric needed for court dress that rapidly inflated prices. The *robe volante* (or "sack dress") was the first fluid female garb to come into

³³ English monarchs introduced new sumptuary laws into the House of Commons until 1662. But Parliament proved unwilling to pass such legislation after 1604. *Ibid.*, 27-38.

³⁴ For further examples, see Avril Hart and Susan North, *Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Fashion in Detail* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1998), 82-85.

³⁵ Ribeiro, *The Gallery of Fashion*, 98; Lemire, *Fashion's Favorite*, 9; Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, 105.

³⁶ For further examples, Hart and North, *Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Fashion*, 34; 36; 40; 54; 56; 94.

³⁷ Lemire, "Developing Consumerism," 23.

style in the 1720s, which involved ample quantities of free flowing cloth, that extended downward from pleats at the shoulders out and around wide hoops. The circumference of these and later hoop skirts alone, dress historian Madeleine Delpierre estimates, required more than three ells of fabric.³⁸ This garment later transformed into the more precisely fit *robe à la française*, which dominated women's fashion in Europe from the 1730s to the 1760s.³⁹ It retained the same billowness of the *robe volante*, particularly along the back, where pleats draped folded fabrics from the neck. Such extra yards are visible under the female *antiquiée*'s left arm in the Chataignier sketch. But the upper robe retained a more tailored look along the bodice that was accentuated with stays. Indeed, such dresses were distinguished in their fine fit, which could not have been accomplished without the personal services of a tailor or seamstress, and showed money spent. Ribbons, lace and other accessories, too, would have revealed the additional expenses that elite dressers used to sartorially express wealth and stay up with altered fashions without re-purchasing new wardrobes. Such subtle additions would have been appreciated by buyers on a budget, as gowns might require over twenty ells of costly satins, poplins and velvets to create.⁴⁰

Elite Irish consumers absorbed imperial and continental fashions—and related material meanings—into their wardrobes with vigor. This is evident in visual and textual island sources dating to the early and mid-1700s. Philip Hussey's *An Interior with Members of an Irish Family* (ca. 1750s) (**Image 5.2**) reveals the high-end cloths and dress available to island families of financial means but not necessarily gentile heritage. The latter is attested to in that this husband, wife and their children were painted in a

³⁸ Delpierre, *Dress in France*, 9-12; 92; Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 41-43.

³⁹ The *robe à la française* notably was adopted into the popular *robe à l'anglaise* at mid-century and in the British Isles (and in the 1770s elsewhere). Essentially, the garment maintained its same shape. But its back pleating was flattened until the hips, with the result that it did not billow out until this point. Delpierre, *Dress in France*, 95; Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 43.

⁴⁰ A gown worn in the 1784 French court, for example, "contained not less than twenty-three ells of fabric and was enormously heavy." Delpierre, *Dress in France*, 92.



Figure 5.2. Philip Hussey, *An Interior with Members of an Irish Family*, ca. 1750s. Courtesy of the National Gallery of Ireland.

room having certain costly decorative pieces but not an overabundance of them. Such settings were typical of the homes of politicians, merchants and small landowners near Fitzwilliam and Merrion squares.⁴¹ Hussey portrayed his subjects in their sartorial finery. For the woman, this entailed an open-robe dress (*à la française* or *à l'anglaise*) with matching petticoat, all made of shiny satin. She accessorizes with pleats along her front, likely over stays, and lace at her elbows. She then creates added volume along her skirt through the means of a quilted petticoat. The fashion for similar wide shapes in Ireland is confirmed by contemporary newspaper notices, which occasionally asked women *not* to don hoops when attending events that were expected to be crowded.⁴² The Irishman in Hussey's painting, meanwhile, wears a matching suit of greyish broadcloth, an expensive woolen. He also accessorizes with lace at his wrists, a linen kerchief at his

⁴¹ See Dudley, "St. Stephen's Green," 157-179; Maurice Craig, *Dublin, 1660-1860: a social and architectural history* (Dublin: Figgis, 1969).

⁴² Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, 106.

neck and silk stockings. While his coat does not seem to be stiffened, it features a fashionable long length. The garment's tailored cut away at the waist additionally provides the illusion of a broad silhouette.⁴³

Irish consumers, as evident in the Irish couple shown by Philip Hussey, thus linked the value of garments to long lengths of expensive textiles. Anglo-supporter Pole Cosby of County Laois, for example, bought for a special occasion in 1723 “sixteen yards of the most extraordinary fine thick crimson Genoa Velvet which made me a coat, the westcoat and two pair of Britches.”⁴⁴ A 1777 newspaper notice on full dress similarly and directly associated social rank with the wearing of excess cloth: “[the popular gown] consists of a close body, without pleats or robins; and a train descending from the waist, two and a half, or three yards long, and containing two breadths of silk. The Queen’s train is...borne by a page.”⁴⁵ Not all Irish dressers—as elite wearers’ intended—could afford the quantity, quality and tailoring of textiles required by such garments. Shifts in consumer styles after midcentury, however, allowed more modest Irishmen and women the ability to follow and participate in European sartorial fashions.

Expanding the Domestic Linen Industry

In the early eighteenth century, woolen manufacturers in England pushed to end Great Britain’s trade in foreign fabrics, like the French silks and lush velvets used so lavishly by elite dressers at that time. The result of this action was expanded support for the purchase and use of domestic textiles. Among them were Irish linens.⁴⁶ Flax, whose

⁴³ For additional visual examples, Philip Hussey, *The Bateson Family*, 1762. Ulster Museum, Belfast. Allan Ramsey, *Emily Fitzgerald, Marchioness of Kildare*, c. 1765. National Portrait Gallery, London.

⁴⁴ Pole Cosby, 1723, in Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, 92. All spelling is original.

⁴⁵ “The Lady’s full Dress according to the present Fashion at Court,” January 1777, *Walker’s Hibernian Magazine*.

⁴⁶ See especially violence surrounding the 1719 rebellion at Spitalfields, England. Peter Linebaugh, *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Penguin Press, 1991), 19-21; Lemire, *Fashion’s Favourite*, 35-37. For more on Irish nationalism in

fibrous stalks make up linen, thrived in Ireland, especially in the North. The island's soggy climate allowed flax plenty of moisture to grow, and it aided agriculturalists in the necessary process of retting their fields, wherein the outer stalks of uprooted plants were soaked, left to rot and then beaten away to reveal the softer inner fibers that formed cloth.⁴⁷ Indeed, officials as early as 1609 noted that Irish linen yarns were "finer and more plentiful there than in all the rest of the kingdom."⁴⁸ British ministers thus sought to expand the island's inter-imperial trade and to decrease England's costly dependence on linen imports from Germany and Holland. Thomas Wentworth, the First Earl of Strafford, first encouraged production for non-local markets in the early 1600s, when he imported spinning wheels and larger looms into Ireland. The latter technology aimed to replace traditional, narrow Irish "bundle" weaves (of 12") with the wider cloths (of 22") demanded by overseas buyers.⁴⁹ Over the next 150 years, the British Parliament passed legislation promoting the growth of Ireland's linen industry. These included laws in 1696 allowing the free import of plain linens into England, in 1709 providing bounties for the harvesting of kelp (used in bleaching), and in 1715 supporting the free export of linen cloths from Ireland to the British colonies. Additionally, island administrators created their own Board of Trustees to monitor the quality of textiles made for export in 1711. And cities such as Dublin began to open their own linen halls, which focused only

dress, see Helen Burke, "Putting on Irish 'Stuff': the Politics of Anglo-Irish Cross-Dressing," in *The Clothes that Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, ed. Jessica Munns and Penny Richards (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 233-24; Christian Huck, "Clothes Make the Irish: Irish Dressing and the Question of Identity," *Irish Studies Review* 11, no. 3 (2003): 273-284.

⁴⁷ For more on the process of linen production, see Gill, *Irish Linen Industry*; William Crawford, *The Impact of the Domestic Linen Industry in Ulster* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2005); Kathleen Curtis Wilson, *Irish People, Irish Linen* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011), 21.

⁴⁸ "Motives and Reasons to induce the City of London to undertake the Plantation in the North of Ireland," May 25, 1609; in *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls, Chancery, Ireland, of the Reign of King Charles I*, ed. James Morrin, vol. 1 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1863), 618.

⁴⁹ Gill, *The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry*, 6; Marilyn Cohen, *The Warp of Ulster's Past: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Irish Linen Industry, 1700-1920* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), 8.

on this trade, in the late 1720s.⁵⁰ Such changes increased the production of Irish linens thirty fold from 1712 to 1792. By 1800, scholars estimate that at least half of island-made cloths went to foreign consumers.⁵¹

The growth in the linen trade impacted and connected all levels of Irish society. The refinement of flax into cloth—or at least thread—was a domestic industry traditionally used by island families to supplement income. Men, women and children could tend small flax fields with high rewards, and they provided much of the tedious, un- or semi-skilled labor needed to weed, pull, ret, dry, beat and finally spin plant fibers into softened threads.⁵² Irish families sometimes wove their own flax products into linen cloth, although usually only for home use. A majority outsourced much of their thread to skilled, local weavers or even jobbers, who then retailed finished brown fabrics or bleached white fabrics at regional markets. An average farmer or rural peddler could only drive his livestock and cart about five to ten miles to sell his product. It thus is not surprising that more and more Irish markets sprang up in the 1700s, offering commercial attachments to even rural and small-town producers and consumers. Belfast, Lisburn and Ballymena, in flax-filled County Antrim, averaged between £1,000 and 2,000 in weekly sales in 1784. Another 39 island towns sold at least £100 weekly in brown linen products.⁵³ Transimperial and transoceanic merchants and their agents funneled the items bought in these markets into larger export hubs, like Belfast, Derry, Newry, Sligo, Dublin, Cork and Waterford. From there, Irish traders sold or transported

⁵⁰ Crawford, *The Impact of the Domestic Linen Industry*; Wilson, *Irish People, Irish Linen*.

⁵¹ Collins, "Matters material and luxurious," 107. Also, "Yearly Export of Plain Linen in Yards," *Abstracts of Irish exports and imports*.

⁵² William Hincks, "Plate 4. [...] representing the common Method of Beetling, Scutching and Hackling the Flax," 1781. Victoria and Albert Museum. Hincks, "Plate 6. Representing Spinning Reeling with the Clock Reel and Boiling the Yarn," 1781, *Ibid.* Brenda Collins, "Proto-industrialization and pre-Famine emigration," *Social History* 7 (May 1982): 127-146; Crawford, *The Impact of the Domestic Linen Industry*; Jane Gray, "Gender and Plebian Culture in Ulster," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24 (Autumn 1993): 251-270.

⁵³ "Course of Trade in Open Markets," in Gill, *Rise of Irish Linen Industry*, 336-338.

and sold finished textiles overseas. Interestingly, these merchants often bought flax seeds from foreign markets such as Holland, Pennsylvania and New York, which they imported to Ireland to regrow crops and to restart the linen process. This was because flax seeds matured faster than its fibers. To harvest the crop's seeds for replanting, island farmers would need to settle for an ultimately inferior quality fabric.⁵⁴ Such textiles were available in high volumes from nearby Scotland, and they clearly did *not* fit imperial or overseas demands for better quality Irish cloths. The result of this was that even small-scale producers in Ireland were invested in and dependent upon non-local trade.⁵⁵ Several future New Orleanians traced their commercial origins to the transoceanic exchange of Old World commodities for New World flax seeds. Daniel Clark, Sr. and his Sligo-born father-in-law, again, sent Pennsylvania seeds to Ireland during the 1760s, or when both men resided in Philadelphia. They intended to fill their returning ships with indentured servants.⁵⁶

Irish Linen and the Clean Body

Ireland's expanding trade in linens occurred contemporaneously with two major changes in British dress. These related to shifting views of bodily cleanliness, as inspired by new Enlightenment ideologies, and the introduction of cotton fabrics from the colonial East.⁵⁷ Philosophical publications in late seventeenth and early eighteenth

⁵⁴ Adrienne Wilson, "Flax Seed, Fibre and Cloth: Pennsylvania's Domestic Linen Manufacture and its Irish Connection, 1700-1830," in Collins and Ollerenshaw, *The European Linen Industry*, 139-158; Wilson, *Irish People, Irish Linen*, 14; Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, 193-211; Gill, *Rise of Irish Linen Industry*; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 198-199; Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise*.

⁵⁵ See Jane Gray, "The Irish and Scottish Linen Industries in the Eighteenth Century: an Incorporated Comparison," in *The Warp of Ulster's Past*, ed. Marilyn Cohen (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), 37-70.

⁵⁶ Daniel Clark, Sr. to Holliday, Dunbar & Co., Philadelphia, 14 January 1761, Clark Letters Book. Daniel Clark, Sr. to Thomas Dromgoole, Philadelphia, 15 May 1761, *Ibid.* Also, Thomas M. Truxes, ed., *Letterbook of Greg & Cunningham, 1756-1757: Merchants of New York and Belfast* (Oxford, 2001).

⁵⁷ High-quality linens also featured large in domestic furnishings in Ireland and the Americas. Irish cloths were used as towels, sheets, bed coverings, mosquito nettings, napkins and tablecloths.

centuries saw an inextricable link between a person's interior and exterior disposition. John Locke, in fact, began his *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1692) by reaffirming this assumed truth: "A Sound Mind in a sound Body, is a short, but full description of a Happy State in this World: He that has these Two, has little more to wish for; and he that wants either of them, is but little the better for any thing else."⁵⁸ The pages that followed linked the intellectual and moral schooling of young men with their physical health and hygiene. These included details on washing boys' feet, cleaning their stockings and serving them brown bread with butter and cheese for their morning meals.⁵⁹ Rising urbanization and widespread disease made Europeans after 1500 conscious of dirt as an infectious substance, and many associated the latter's spread with the medium of water. This meant that, as Old World residents were increasingly conscientious about cleanliness, they also were more skeptical of using water for their bodily washing.⁶⁰ Linen offered Irishmen and women, and their British and continental counterparts, a surrogate for bathing. In particular, lightweight linen cloths soaked up sweat, which contemporaries believed contained toxins and was dangerous to reabsorb through the skin.⁶¹ They also were easy to launder and cheap to buy. These two factors were codependent, as the ability to wash depended on having other garments to wear during such cleanings. Popular silken and woolen fabrics, in contrast, offered water resistance, with the unwanted effect that bodily excretions remained on the skin and

These linen uses will not be discussed here. See Wilson, *Irish People, Irish Linen*; Roche, *Culture of Clothing*, 153; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and their Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Knopf, 2001), 277-305.

⁵⁸ John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (London: A. and J. Churchill, 1693), 1. Also, John Wesley, *Sermon 88 on Dress*, December 1786; Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1888), 103; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile; ou, De l'éducation* (Amsterdam: Jean Néaulme, 1762).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 4-13.

⁶⁰ Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 17-25; Roche, *Culture of Clothing*, 178; Wilson, *Irish People, Irish Linen*.

⁶¹ Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 26. Such beliefs also related to humoral theories, which related drastic external changes in diet, exercise, climate, temperature and physical setting to alterations in internal health.



Figure 5.3. Lady Clapham Doll, with undergarments and full mantua dress, ca. 1700. © Victoria and Albert Museum.

were not expunged and expelled as they were with more absorbent, if less luxurious, linens. These textiles also were hard to launder and lost their valued tailored shape in cleaning. The wearing of linens *under* such cloths offered a barrier between the skin and finer outerwear, thus preventing the latter from contact with bodily odors and fluids.

In the wake of these developments, linens gained prominence as a sort of second, washable skin that kept wearers in good health. They most commonly were used in undershirts and shifts worn by dressers of all social orders (**Figure 5.3**). Indeed, the Lord and Lady Clapham dolls retailed in fashionable dress to buyers in late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century Great Britain emphasize that, even under formal silk mantuas and petticoats, elites shared a basic reliance on linens in their wardrobe.⁶² This noted, linen undergarments did retain certain associations with gentility that Europeans

⁶² See record of “Lady Clapham,” Victoria and Albert Museum (<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O41517/lady-clapham-doll-unknown/>). Michael Snodin and John Styles, ed. *Design and the Decorative Arts: Britain, 1500-1800* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2001), 114.

keenly understood. These primarily related to the whiteness and visible cleanliness of these textiles as they appeared at wearers' necks and wrists. Such spaces of perceptibility also are apparent along Lady Clapham's bust and elbows. It is important to note the whiteness of the doll's shift, a characteristic that spoke just as much to elite expectations for their linens as it did the fact that these toys were not used for child's play.⁶³ Especially in a post-1492, Atlantic World, wherein darker skins were associated with subjected people presumed to be socially and culturally inferior, brighter and lighter white cloths—attained via bleaching—signified high standards of civility.⁶⁴ Whitened cloths also separated elite dressers from laborers who wore linen shirts, the latter of

Table 5.1. “Gibbs Gent’s Washing List” Patterns for Jenico Preston, 12th Viscount of Gormanston, April to May 1825

<i>Item Given Out</i>	<i>No., April 20</i>	<i>No., May 9</i>	<i>No., May 16</i>	<i>Average, Rate Use*</i>
<i>Shirts</i>	6	7	7	2 days
<i>Collars</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Cravats</i>	2	6	4	2.5 days
<i>Handkerchiefs</i>	4	3	4	4 days
<i>Small Clothes</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Jackets</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Pantaloons</i>	1	--	--	--
<i>Drawers</i>	--	--	--	--
<i>Waistcoats</i>	3	4	2	4 days
<i>Under ditto</i>	--	--	1	3.5 days
<i>Silk Stockings</i>	1	--	--	--
<i>Cotton ditto</i>	3	3	2	5 days
<i>Gaiters</i>	--	1	--	10 days
<i>Night Caps</i>	1	1	1	13.5 days

* per item

Gathered from clothing and haberdashery vouchers, 1729-1932, Gormanston Papers, NLI.

⁶³ For more on laundering in the early modern world, Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 109-114.

⁶⁴ Europeans not only perceived of Africans and indigenous Americans as having darker skin tones. Many thought such tones were environmentally conditioned and that even Europeans who spent too much time near the Equator would eventually develop darker complexions. Sexual contact with foreigners, too, was believed to result in darker skin tones. See David Bindman, *From Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007); Joyce E. Chaplin, “Natural Philosophy and an Early Racial Idiom in Norm America: Comparing English and Indian Bodies,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (January 1997): 229-252.

which visibly displayed sweat in yellow, grey and brownish tones. They distinguished them as being both able to afford quality bleached garments and their laundering. The number of undershirts and shifts owned by Irish buyers alone suggest that they bought into eighteenth-century sartorial ideas.⁶⁵ The 1825 “Washing List” of landowner Jenico Preston, in particular, shows that many Irishmen used—and thus laundered—more linen shirts between washings than he did any other garment (**Table 5.1**). The Viscount of Gormanston changed shirts at least once daily in May. This rate of use was at least double that of his outer garments, such as waistcoats and pantaloons which were cleaned only once or twice a week. It almost certainly indicates Preston’s knowledge that wearing white linens was key to asserting his positioning in a fluid social and cultural imperial setting.

Irish Linens, East Indian Cottons

Irish linens also came to prominence at the same time that textiles from Great Britain’s eastern colonies gained popularity in the metropole. Most notable among these fabrics were thin white muslins and printed calicoes. These cloths, like linens, were lightweight and thus accommodated (at least in unprinted forms) the aforementioned changes in hygiene.⁶⁶ Cottons also, however, were easily dyable, retained their colors well in washing, and arrived in Europe with a variety of exotic, complicated stripes, checks, florals and other printed patterns. It was this new and brightly colored aesthetic that attracted most buyers in the Old World, at least until western settlers copied the technologies to replicate these designs on other fabrics.⁶⁷ Cottons also were affordable; and their fashionability made ever-changing sartorial styles accessible for the first time

⁶⁵ See footnotes 22 and 23.

⁶⁶ Despite the fact that bleached linens or white cottons provided a similarly desired look for undershirts and shifts, the former remained the preferred fabrics during the eighteenth century. This was because linen was more durable than cottons and thus better able to sustain multiple washings. See Wilson, *Irish People, Irish Linen* 42; Styles, *Dress of the People*, 130.

⁶⁷ Lemire and Riello, “East & West,” 892-900.

to modest earners in Great Britain. Commentaries that lamented the widening of conspicuous consumerisms relating to dress acknowledge this shift. Newspapers especially criticized persons whom they believed dressed in a way inappropriate to their stations, such as female domestic servants who visually competed with their mistresses and urban youths who spent all their time and money amassing stylish wardrobes.⁶⁸

Linens substituted for much desired colonial cottons until 1774, when the British Parliament lifted its ban on importing eastern textiles. As a result, the Irish fabrics not only appeared as white undergarments and thus high-quality means to personal hygiene but also became associated with non-local styles and fashionable external garments. This was the case especially once island producers mastered the art of textile printing and colorful fabric dyeing after midcentury. Even after cotton textiles were reintroduced into Irish markets, island retailers continued to benefit from linen's association with cotton cloth and its exotic designs. In 1796, for example, Dublin linen-draper Mary Geoghegan advertised the sale of both "White and Printed Linens" and lawns and "Strip'd, figur'd and cross barr'd" cambrics.⁶⁹ Buyers would have used such cloths for the gowns, waistcoats, overcoats and even pantaloons that they wore on a daily basis. Irish retailers also marketed linens-cum-cottons as accessories in the late 1700s, including caps, ruffles, and hand and neckerchiefs.⁷⁰ A 1786 advertisement for "New and elegant

⁶⁸ In a 1777 commentary, English traveler Thomas Campbell noted that at homes in southern Ireland "[t]he butler wears English cloth, as well as the master and his sons." Thomas Campbell, *A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland, in a Series of Letters to John Watkins, M.D.* (London: W. Strahan, 1777), 365. "Remarks on Fashion. With an Engraving of Three Figures, Sketched from Nature," September 1795, *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*. Also, Smith, "Calico Madams," 31-35; Styles, *Dress of the People*, 182-183; John Styles, "Involuntary Consumers? Servants and their Clothes in Eighteenth-Century England," *Textile History* 33, no. 1 (2002): 9-21; Peter McNeil, "That Doubtful Gender': Macaroni Dress and Male Sexualities," *Fashion Theory* 3, no. 4 (1999): 411-447. For more on the luxury debates, see Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds., *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

⁶⁹ Receipt of "Mary Geoghegan, Linen Draper," 1796. Clothing and haberdashery vouchers, 1729-1932, Gormanston Papers, NLI.

⁷⁰ Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, 127; Robert S. DuPlessis, "Cotton Consumption in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century North Atlantic," in *The Spinning World: a Global History of*

Linen Drapery just Arrived” listed stocks of “Lawn and Muslin Cravats” and “Cambrick and Muslin Ruffles,” as well as ready-made shirts, waistcoats, cloaks, shifts, night and morning caps, petticoats, pockets, and stockings. The fact that such goods were “all made up in the neatest and newest Fashion,” yet available at “[t]he lowest ready Money Price,” points to the ways that light linens and cottons contributed to, as Beverly Lemire contends, a “demand for cheap and fashionable clothing.”⁷¹ Such associations between cost, popular accessibility and similarities with exotic colonial cloths allowed linens to retain a large consumer base despite the competition of imports in the late 1700s. Indeed, although British dressers increasingly bought cottons after 1774, Irish linens actually maintained consistently lower pricings and more stable supplies until the nineteenth century.⁷² Calicoes, madras and muslins eventually overran the buying of Irish lawns and diapers in 1820, after the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812 disrupted Ireland’s supplies of seeds and buyers and after England formalized its own industries for the mass weaving of cotton cloths.⁷³ During the 1700s, however, linens were at the center of Old World discussions relating to clean, accessible and stylish dress.

New Neoclassical Styles

Fashions in late-eighteenth-century Ireland were far simpler than their sartorial predecessors. By the 1770s, wide hoops and starched coat skirts had disappeared from European dress. They were replaced with lighter garments that celebrated wearers’

Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850, ed. Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 234.

⁷¹ Receipt of “Philip Bayly, Linen-Draper,” 1786, clothing vouchers, Gormanston Papers. Also, Lemire, “Developing Consumerism,” 41.

⁷² Robert DuPlessis, for example, has found that in Kingston, Jamaica in 1770, the price of a cotton check shirt cost three times as much as its linen equivalent. DuPlessis, “Cotton Consumption,” 243. Also, Lemire, “Transforming Consumer Custom,” 192-193; 202-203. An exception to this trend occurred in the 1760s, when high prices followed the scarcity of linens resulting from the Seven Year’s War and several losses in Ireland’s flax crop.

⁷³ Lemire, “Transforming Consumer Custom,” 207; Douglas Farnie, “Cotton, 1780-1914,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. David Jenkins (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2:721-760.

natural silhouettes and allowed for heightened degrees of mobility.⁷⁴ Male dress from 1780 to 1820 maintained its three essential components, but it did this while embracing cheaper fabrics and more muted colors. Consumers rarely bought velvet suits anymore, except for court appearances. Men of all social orders instead, as apparent in Chataignier's cartoon (**Figure 5.1**), turned to linen and cotton vests, sometimes dyed, and accessorized with neckerchiefs made of the same lightweight and often bleached cloths. These fashions also are apparent in the portrait of Anglo-Irishman James Gandon, who appears with the Dublin skyline (**Figure 5.4**). This middling architect's vest likely is composed of silk. Yet, high-quality linens are visible in the kerchief at his neckline and in the shirt ruffles that peek at his wrists. The popularity of such elements in masculine Irish dress is evident in a 1794 poem submitted to *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*, "On the present Fashion of Knotting the Neck Handkerchief behind":

You wou'd-be bucks, why tie the knot,
In that *improper* hidden spot,
If you a public good will do,
The knot you'll bring to *proper* view [...].⁷⁵

Such musings again indicated that the key to sartorial status was not just the ownership of certain articles of dress but their appropriate use. Indeed, it seems that the proper wearing of minimal accessories (or the proper tying of a neckerchief) became more crucial as masculine wardrobes overall were less flamboyant. Elite consumers, like James Alexander, the first Earl of Carleton, also incorporated modest fabrics in their wardrobes in the late 1700s. In travel trunks packed in 1778, for example, this Irishman noted "2 Green striped waistcoats of India stuff," "1 pair of Black Cloth Breeches &

⁷⁴ One exception occurred in the Napoleonic court. The French emperor did not favor thin muslin styles among female attendants and pushed them to re-embrace hoops. Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, "The Empress of Fashion: What Joséphine Wore," in *Joséphine and the Arts of Empire*, ed. Eleanor P. DeLorme (Los Angeles: J.P. Getty Museum, 2005), 157-175.

⁷⁵ "On the present Fashion of Knotting the Neck Handkerchief behind," February 1794, *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*. For masculine dress, see Ribeiro, *The Gallery of Fashion*; Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*.



Figure 5.4. William Cuming and Tilly Kettle, *Portrait of James Gandon, English Architect*, ca. 1786-1796. National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 5.5. Mallery, *Lady Pamela Fitzgerald with her Daughter*, ca. 1800. National Gallery of Ireland.

Waistcoat” and several “India Dressing Gowns.”⁷⁶ These *indiennes* quite likely were made of linen or of cotton-linen mixes, which were readily available in this period and often marketed under the former name.⁷⁷ After the 1780s, men’s wear increasingly nodded to military and modest working styles with the popularity of such garments as the frock coat, or the informal outerwear with turned down collar visible in Chataignier’s sketch and James Gandon’s portrait.⁷⁸ By the 1800s, even the simple but tailored nankeen breeches apparent in the former cartoon gave way to linen, cotton and woolen pantaloons and full-length, more loosened trousers.

⁷⁶ “Packed up in a large chest No 1 Feb. 10th 1778”; “A List of Cloathes taken this 11th March 1778”; Account book of James Alexander.

⁷⁷ Samuel Touchet, for instance, reported that the Lancashire textile industry mixed linen threads into many of their cotton productions. Often “cloths,” a term usually reserved for cottons, also disguised linens. Lemire, “Transforming Consumer Custom,” 198-199.

⁷⁸ Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, 123; Ribeiro, *The Gallery of Fashion*, 192.

Such fashions were informed by neoclassicism, which touted a return to simple silhouettes. Yet, they also sought inspiration in republican ideas favoring freethinking and politically active men, who were not slaves to fashion.⁷⁹ Elite men turned to these sartorial styles to assert the naturalness of their governmental, social and economic leadership in Europe. Middling dressers, however, professionally depended upon this dress, which allowed them the physical mobility to engage in trades like those occurring along busy waterfronts. They also were conscious that clothes suggested to others the appropriateness of their spending habits. This was crucial, given contemporary concerns of bankruptcy due to profligacy.⁸⁰ It especially would have impacted the sartorial choices of Irish merchants, whose professions depended on garnering financial trust and responsibly managing complex webs of transoceanic credit.⁸¹ Modest clothing allowed these men to visually emit such traits to potential sellers and buyers, whose investments ironically allowed traders material access to achieve higher social standings. As these dressers used colonial fabrics to style themselves as reliable professionals and thus achieve their own economic successes, they assumed wardrobes suited to the active lives of many colonial settlers. This not only was because settlers in places such as the Gulf Coast had early sartorial histories influenced by an active military presence and needs for

⁷⁹ Newspaper articles not only offered fashion advice for Irish buyers. They shared criticism of men and women's extravagance in dress, often at the expense of dependent family members. See "Diary of a Lady of Fashion in Dublin; or a Sketch of High Life," June 1789, *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*. "On seeing a young Lady dressed in the extreme of Fashion," December 1803, *Ibid*. "Comparison of Style in the Epistolary Correspondence of Men or Fashion of the present Day," June 1808, *Ibid*. See also J.C. Flugel's concept of the "great masculine renunciation." J.C. Flugel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930).

⁸⁰ A contemporary American text, for example, noted: "Expensiveness in apparel, therefore, is almost as great a folly as men can commit; for it our dress be beyond your estate, the only esteem you acquire in that of a prodigal." *A Father's Gift to his Son, on his Becoming an Apprentice* (New York: Samuel Wood & Son, 1821), 31. Benjamin Franklin similarly noted that "The most trifling actions that affect a man's credit, are to be regarded....[i]f [your creditor] sees you at a billiard table, or hears your voice at a tavern, when you should be at work, he sends for his money the next day." Benjamin Franklin, *The Way to Wealth: Advice to a Young Tradesman* (Blackburn: T. Rogerson, 1812), 13. Also, Ambrose Rigge, *A Brief and Serious Warning to such as are concerned in Commerce and Trading, Who go under the Profession of Truth, to keep within the Bounds thereof, in Righteousness, Justice and Honesty towards all Men* (London: Mary Hinde, 1771).

⁸¹ Finn, *The Character of Credit*; Mann, *Republic of Debtors*.

frontier laborers. Dressers in both settings, as will be discussed, used clothes and transoceanic consumerisms to assert social and cultural identities more of their choosing, rather than related to inherited rank.

Women's fashions in Ireland, too, were founded on colonial fabrics and on styles suited for warmer climates in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Printed linens and cottons made their way into some garments, like formal open-front robes and petticoats before the 1770s.⁸² After this time, however, women amassed wardrobes that imitated forms of undress, or more casual and simpler domestic wear, and that employed more affordable fabrics. The *folie nouvelle* in Chataignier's sketch characterized late-eighteenth-century dress in Europe, which focused less on widening silhouettes and more on exposing the natural female shape. Writers in *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* described these trends to Irishwomen in the early 1800s, suggesting that stylish shoppers buy garments with "the bosoms of...dresses...cut square and rather low, the backs inclining higher, the sleeves universally short, the trains of a moderate length."⁸³ Residents of Ireland recognized the classical origins of high-waisted, low cut and light flowing dresses they called "Grecian frock[s]." Publications emphasized again, however, that it was the type and qualities of fabrics that made these garments. They suggested cheaper but still "fine cambric[s]," "blue or grey crape[s]," "sprig muslin[s]," linen "lace[s]" and chintzes as appropriate and fashionable textiles for female sartorial expression.⁸⁴ The use of bleached versions of these fabrics in Irishwomen's

⁸² The *polonaise*, in particular, was a popular female garment in the 1770s. It featured a fitted back bodice and a buttoned-down front that opened to feature an ankle-length petticoat. This overskirt had an attached cord and could be raised to form two or three decorative puffs. Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, 126.

⁸³ "General Observations on Fashion and Dress," April 1811, *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*. Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Marie Antoinette*, 1783. Also, Caroline Weber, *Queen of Fashion: What Marie Antoinette wore to the Revolution* (New York: Holt, 2006), 145-152.

⁸⁴ "General Observations on the most Approved Fashions for the Season," May 1809; "Fashions for the present Month. An Evening Dress," May 1795, *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*. In the late 1700s, similarly, Madame de Chastenay in France noted that "[a] light muslin gown with a bow of

dress, as in Mallery's portrait of *Lady Pamela Fitzgerald*, spoke to women's wealth and access to laundering (**Figure 5.5**). It also identified them as pure and virtuous, key traits expected for feminine participation in emerging republican discourse.⁸⁵

The painting of Lady Fitzgerald, however, makes clear one obvious feature of the shift in women's fashion towards light cotton and linen fabrics: its inappropriateness in most European climates. Fitzgerald adjusted by posing for her portrait with a velvet shawl or coat. The accessory was common to a majority of images featuring European women in lighter dress, including Chataignier's sketch.⁸⁶ Estate inventories confirm that this habit extended in practice to female Irish dressers. County Armagh resident Annaritta Cust, for example, was not remiss in collecting alongside her many flannel, muslin, linen, cotton and stuff dresses an added "Two Black Satin Cloackes" and "One Satin embroidered Coat" to keep her warm in Irish winters.⁸⁷ This assorted outerwear indicates that many new fashions in Ireland were not popular because they were practical but because they were associated with the exotic.

Other trends in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries indicate islanders' fascination with foreign, especially colonial, styles in dress. These included accessorizing the head with turbans (mixed with gold foil, diamonds and pearls) and decorating the hair with ostrich feathers.⁸⁸ Irishwomen incorporated these trends into

ribbon formed an exquisite outfit." See *Mémoires de Madame de Chastenay, 1771-1815*, in Chrisman-Campbell, "The Empress of Fashion."

⁸⁵ For more on the impact of republicanism on European women's dress, see Jennifer M. Jones, *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion and Commercial Culture in Old Regime France* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 214-218; Joan Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001); Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

⁸⁶ Chrisman-Campbell, "The Empress of Fashion," 167.

⁸⁷ Inventory of the Goods of the late Mrs. Annaritta Cust, 1798, PRONI.

⁸⁸ A 1795 article called for women to employ a "[t]urban of light blue crape: *bandeau* of gold foil, set with diamonds and pearls: the head hair turned up, mixed with the turban, and the ends returned in ringlets." An alternative was to display "One black ostrich feather in the front." See "Fashions for the Present Month. An Evening Dress," May 1795, *Walker's Hibernian Magazine*. Also, promotions for "Spanish turbans" in "General Observations on Fashion and Dress," April 1811, *Ibid*.

their linen-use, which extended its existing association with the foreign via cottons. And, when they wore it as gowns or accessories (such as kerchiefs along the bust or wrapped in the hair), they did so because it allowed them access to exotic styles at reasonable costs.⁸⁹ In effect, dressing with popular lightweight clothes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries connected Irish consumers with colonial cultures via the things they wore, without having to leave home.

Just as warm-weather fashions became popular in Ireland, expanding numbers of island residents departed for lives in imperial settings more suited to this garb. The Irish Louisianans who moved to the Gulf Coast benefitted from such shifts in fashion that favored colonial cloths and colonial dress. They brought with them a desire for lightweight textiles appropriate to their new geographies. They also arrived in the Lower Mississippi Valley very familiar with using fashion to assert hoped for and attained consumer identities. Irish linens followed immigrants across the Atlantic Ocean and easily could be located in the retail shops of late colonial and early national New Orleans.⁹⁰ Irishmen and women who settled in Louisiana in this period, thus, not only encountered a familiar fabric in their new home. They quickly realized that fashionable dress along the Gulf Coast was much like that of contemporary Ireland.

Irish Immigration and the Linen Trade

The trade relating to transatlantic linens grounded many Irish New Orleanians' migratory experiences from the moment they left Ireland. Immigrant merchants, as previously suggested, relied on familiar relations to establish themselves in commerce. Old World neighbors provided them with initial suppliers and buyers, many of whom circulated flaxseed and finished linen across the Atlantic Ocean. Daniel Clark, Sr.

⁸⁹ Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 227-228.

⁹⁰ Again, see references to "toile d'irlande." *Le Moniteur*, 4 February 1806; 5 March 1806. Inventory of "Jean-Marie Henry, marchand," 1806, Estate Inventories.

shipped flaxseed from Philadelphia to western Ireland in the 1760s. Yet, one of his earliest customers was his mother, Eleanor Clark, who ordered four hogsheads of seed on her “Account and Risque” likely for resale.⁹¹ James Blair, an irregular commercial agent in New Orleans who settled in St. Eustatius, similarly supplied the retail shops of his family members and friends in Northern Ireland with re-marketable flaxseed after his migration in the 1770s.⁹² The Newry native’s mother, on at least one occasion, sent her son boxes of linen to sell abroad.⁹³

Transoceanic demands for Irish cloths informed the experiences of even non-mercantile immigrants. It was not uncommon, as with groceries, for Irishmen and women to travel overseas on vessels also carrying marketable textiles. John Moore, for instance, journeyed from Philadelphia to Londonderry in 1764. Encountering a particularly rough oceanic storm, the Irishman noted that his ship’s captain “ordered all the flax seed in the cabin to be hove over board.”⁹⁴ Beyond this unusual activity, the seed’s presence alongside Irish travelers otherwise seems to have been so routine that it warranted little commentary.⁹⁵

Many Irish immigrants benefitted from their continued access to island linens more directly. These cloths provided settlers with direct sites of material continuity and with sources of financial capital in the Americas. Irishmen and women brought very

⁹¹ “Invoice of four hogsheads best Antigua rum & 4 hogds. Flaxseed shipped by Daniel Clark on board the Polly...for Sligoe,” 20 February 1761, Clark Letters Book. Also, Daniel Clark to William Neale, Philadelphia, 16 October 1760, Ibid. Daniel Clark to Richard Heartly, Philadelphia, 29 October 1760, Ibid. Daniel Clark to William Neale, Philadelphia, 15 November 1760, Ibid. Daniel Clark to Edward Cochran, Philadelphia, 23 November 1761, Ibid.

⁹² In the early 1770s, James Blair seems to have asked home about his contacts’ material needs. His sister, Anne, then noted that “Flaxseed is the only thing to send over.” Anne Blair to James Blair, Newry, n.d., Blair Family Letters. Elizabeth Blair to James Blair, Newry, 5 May 1774, Ibid.

⁹³ Elizabeth Blair to James Blair, Newry, 29 October 1774, Ibid. The Watt family also traded extensively in Irish textiles between Dublin, Liverpool and Barbados. Watt Family Correspondence. Robert McClorg to his parents, County Londonderry, 1800, PRONI.

⁹⁴ John Moore, Journal, 4 February 1764. Journal kept by John Moore of Carrickfergus, 1760-1770, PRONI.

⁹⁵ See, for example, records relating to “William and Henry” (1819) and “Edward Downes,” (1820). *Documenting Ireland: Parliament, People and Migration* (<http://www.dippam.ac.uk>).

little with them when they relocated. Packing lists suggest a norm of one trunk and one small hand package per traveler.⁹⁶ Ship records, however, catalogue “wearing apparel” and textiles frequently in these limited allotments. This suggests that Irish travelers viewed these goods as essential enough to their New World futures to take the place of other moveable possessions. Some migrants clearly brought Irish linens with them to their new homes in an effort to extend familiar ways of dressing. James Blair, for example, asked that his family sew and send him linen shirts in the late 1770s.⁹⁷ His sister Anne added to one of these packages “a Pair of ruffles of my own work,” which she instructed her sibling to attach at his wrist with buttons and at his collar with pins.⁹⁸ Thomas Clark, a native of Londonderry and a visitor in New Orleans, similarly wrote home in 1818 to request that his mother and sister might send “shirts for me” from Ireland.⁹⁹ This was despite the fact that the Louisiana city already boasted its own wide and varied population of textile retailers.¹⁰⁰ These efforts likely indicate the sustained reliance of Irish bachelors on the handiwork of female relatives. They additionally emphasize that material associations were frequent enough to allow them to exist. It is unclear if Irishmen sought such material continuities for habit, cost-efficiency or comfort, and they seem to only have represented a minority of linen exports in the early Americas. Yet, the appeal of handcrafted linens was enticing enough for some to be used in promotional literature. An 1820 article in *The Irishman* noted that emigrant women

⁹⁶ Packing Lists, 1800-1804, Ibid.

⁹⁷ Anne Blair noted of these shirts in 1774: “We wont get them washed. We are at a loss for the measure and have made them large as the surest way.” Anne Blair to James Blair, Newry, 11 April 1774, Blair Family Letters. Also, Elizabeth Blair to James Blair, Newry, 5 May 1774, Ibid.

⁹⁸ Anne Blair to James Blair, Newry, 28 October 1774, Ibid.

⁹⁹ Thomas Clark to Mary Clark, New Orleans, [December] 1818, PRONI.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, inventory of “Jean-Marie Henry, marchand,” 1806, Estate Inventories. Inventory of Cornelius O’Flaherty, dit J. Tobins, 1819, Ibid. Inventory of Robert Sanders Lett, 1818, Ibid. The city’s 1811 directory, too, included 23 persons identified as tailors. See entries for “Francois Cibilot,” “C.M. Carian,” “Etienne Dalcour,” “Antoine Hebrard,” “James Hopkins,” “James Hotz” and “John P. Ibad.” New Orleans City Directory, 1811. NOPL.

living on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers “almost all grow some flax” for domestic use.¹⁰¹ Such notices emphasized for Irish readers that social, cultural and *material* life in the Americas was not all that different than in Ireland.

Most immigrants, however, showed a keen awareness of linens’ growing demand among non-Irish consumers. They thus used limited luggage holds to export island-made fabrics to buyers overseas. An associate of New York City migrant A.T. Stewart, for example, recalled that the Irishman “invested his legacy of £600 in linens and laces” in Ireland, which returned “more than he paid in Belfast” in the 1780s.¹⁰² It was this initial transoceanic import that funded Stewart’s North American merchant house and his eventual post-migratory lifestyle. The unidentified author of *Hibernicus* similarly noted his transport of “three boxes of Irish linen, forty pieces in each, two bales of woollen cloths, one bale of Irish blankets, and two large cases of hardware” to Quebec in the early 1800s. The linens, he warned his readers, were “[t]he only property I could dispose of to any advantage” in the New World.¹⁰³ He then used the money attained therein to transport his family by wagon to western Pennsylvania. Irish immigrants also privately shared similar advice with one another, like one settler who wrote to his friend in 1795: “You cant lose any thing by bringing over Indented Servants, Linins or Irish flannals, and these are the only articles I would recommend.”¹⁰⁴ Many settlers took this counsel, adding cloths to those few packages they transported with them transatlantically.

Future Irish Louisianans, too, found markets for their own and their associates’ imported linens along the American frontier. Those immigrants who engaged the

¹⁰¹ “Emigration to the United States of America,” 21 July 1820, *The Irishman*. David Crockett confirmed this trend along the early nineteenth century frontier, where his Irish wife Polly “had a good wheel, and knowed exactly how to use it. She was also a good weaver, as most of the Irish are...and being very industrious with her wheel, she had, in little or no time, a fine web of cloth.” *A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett, of the State of Tennessee* (New York: Nafis & Cornish, 1845), 68.

¹⁰² John McKee to Mr. Rankin, New York, 18 October 1903, PRONI.

¹⁰³ *Hibernicus*, 153-154.

¹⁰⁴ Silas Weir to James Robinson, Philadelphia, 21 November 1795, PRONI.

peltries trade after the 1760s in Pennsylvania and along the Gulf Coast often offered their indigenous counterparts imported cloths.¹⁰⁵ John Fitzpatrick, for example, specifically ordered from England in 1769 “good Blankets proper for making Blankett Coats with either black or blue strips only.”¹⁰⁶ Such textiles, archeologists confirm, satisfied particular desires by indigenous chieftains in the Mississippi River Valley.¹⁰⁷ A 1761 ledger of Daniel Clark, Sr. for “Indian Goods” indicates that frontier retailers not only offered woolens but also high quantities and qualities of “Calicoes” (40 pieces) and “Irish Linnens” (30 pieces) to selective, demanding and knowledgeable Native American buyers.¹⁰⁸ The adoption of British-made, lightweight shirts into the latter’s regular garb in the 1700s ensured that even those future Louisianans who “dressed in [the] fashion” of their indigenous customers experienced linen as a site of transoceanic familiarity.¹⁰⁹

Irish Linen in New Orleans

There is no parallel evidence that indicates Irish immigrants transported large cargos of linens into early New Orleans for resale.¹¹⁰ It is clear, nonetheless, that the

¹⁰⁵ Timothy Shannon, in particular, identifies imported cloths (usually offered from the bolt rather than as finished garments) as composing 66.5% of the British North American indigenous trade. See Timothy J. Shannon, “Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53 (January 1996): 21; 36.

¹⁰⁶ John Fitzpatrick to John Stephenson, New Orleans, 22 April 1769, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 46.

¹⁰⁷ Margaret Kimball Brown, “An Eighteenth Century Trade Coat,” *Plains Anthropologist* 16, no. 52 (1971): 128-133; Diana DiPaolo Loren, “Social Skins: Orthodoxies and Practices of Dressing in the early Colonial Lower Mississippi Valley,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (2001): 172-189.

¹⁰⁸ Daniel Clark to Msrs. Neale & Pigou, Philadelphia, 12 November 1761, Clark Letters Book. Also noted in Clark’s order were “15 Pr. fine blue Stroud,” “half thicks,” “20 P. French match Coat letter’d,” “10 Pr. Flesh Color duffals for Match Coats,” “Brass Iron harps,” “Bed lace to be very Good Colors and Lively,” “Beads,” “silk handks.,” and “Gunpowder.”

¹⁰⁹ Mathias O’Conway spent three months living among indigenous tribes in Pennsylvania, before moving to New Orleans. The eventual linguist “dressed in their fashion and learned to chatter three of their languages.” Mathias O’Conway to Cato B.M. O’Maddon, Philadelphia, n.d., O’Conway Papers. See Fowkes Tobin, “Wampum Belts and Tomahawks,” 681-713; Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 81-109; Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

¹¹⁰ Archives do suggest, however, that much Irish linen was available in Louisiana. And small allotments of cloth imported by travelers eventually amounted to large quantities. See footnote 91.

textile was a widely available and popular choice among city shoppers between 1780 and 1820. Much as in Europe, imperial powers in North America imposed strict limitations on the import and use of cotton textiles during the late seventeenth and for much of the eighteenth century. France, for example, banned the import of *indiennes* in 1686 and confirmed such protectionist measures with prohibitions on the wearing and use of cotton cloths in its empire in 1692. Philip V of Spain similarly restricted calico imports from his colonies in 1718 and, responding to domestic attempts to overhaul this market, extended his ban to European-spun cottons in 1728.¹¹¹ Such restrictions made limited impacts in practice, but theoretically they resulted in the same demands and consumer voids in the New World that allowed for linens' rise in the Old World. In Louisiana, imperial legislation during French governance further forbade the growing of hemp and flax. As a result, and as Sophie White argues, residents of early New Orleans relied entirely on imported textiles and garments to clothe themselves.¹¹² Cottons did appear in Gulf Coast retail shops in the eighteenth century, rising from 21.03% of total inventoried textile values from 1730 to 1739 to 30.36% from 1760 to 1769. Yet, lower-cost linens remained the more frequently sold textile in New Orleans in this same period, rising from 59.16% of total inventoried textile values to 59.57%.¹¹³ Such rates, Robert DuPlessis contends, allied Louisiana dressers with Caribbean sartorial habits more than with those of continental British North Americans. He suggests that these similarities spoke to shared southern investments in large populations of enslaved laborers, who were provided low-quality and particularly Scottish-made osnaburgs (or linens) as clothing

¹¹¹ Marta Valentin Vincente, *Clothing the Spanish Empire: Families and the Calico Trade in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 10-11.

¹¹² White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, 61-64; White, "Geographies of Slave Consumption," 237.

¹¹³ DuPlessis, "Cottons Consumption," 230-231. DuPlessis notes that cotton could cost as much as 3 times as much as equivalent linen, because it was the more exotic textile. *Ibid.*, 243.

allotments.¹¹⁴ Estate records, however, indicate a more diverse linen-consuming population in New Orleans. A 1752 memorandum from the local Ursuline convent, for example, emphasizes the nun's reliance on flax-based fabrics to clothe indigent orphans. Among the stocks reserved for these dressers were 94 linen skirts and over 150 variously-sized shifts, probably also made of the imported cloth.¹¹⁵ Marianne Chauvin, a paying boarder and the great-granddaughter of an indigenous convert, inherited similarly composed but better quality garments from her mother in 1747. These included two linen *mantelets* (sleeveless shawls) and two white linen petticoats.¹¹⁶ Britannies, crapes, gauzes, platillas, ticking and other cloths made of linen or of linen-mixes similarly appear in city estates.¹¹⁷ The 1806 shop inventory of Jean Marie Henry confirms that some of these textiles had Irish origins, or that they were "toile d'Irlande." It also identifies the higher retail price associated with this cloth, which spoke to a finer quality. Henry, at his death, stocked fourteen pieces of Irish linen in his Vieux Carré store, valued at eighteen piastres each. This was much more than the twenty-four pieces of cotton he retailed at just over three piastres each.¹¹⁸

Linen remained a popular choice for Louisiana garments until the early 1800s. And, much as in Ireland, it was only the commercial disruptions of the War of 1812 (especially its Atlantic Ocean blockades) that allowed cotton to finally surpass the textile

¹¹⁴ DuPlessis particularly identifies cotton as associated with "Euro-American residents." Ibid., 236.

¹¹⁵ "Memorandum of the linens and clothing of the orphan girls," 6 April 1752, in White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, 164-165.

¹¹⁶ White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, 165.

¹¹⁷ For example, inventory of Louis Ardax, 1810, Estate Inventories. Inventory of Jean Pierre Bernard, 1810, Ibid. Inventory of Pierre Boivin, 1812, Ibid. Inventory of Emilie Bronne, 1813, Ibid. Inventory of Philippe Ferret, 1813, Ibid. Inventory of Jérôme Folicon, 1813, Ibid. Inventory of "Julianne Elisabeth Fongravier, Widow Mercier," 1810, Ibid. Inventory of Eugene Fortier, 1819, Ibid. Inventory of Louis Fremont, 1810], Ibid. Inventory of John Hoskins, 1818, Ibid. Inventory of Isabelle LaChaise, 1810, Ibid. Inventory of "Sebastien Lagiasco, dit Baptiste Roux," 1810, Ibid. Inventory of Robert Senders Lett, 1818, Ibid. Inventory of Celeste MacDonald, 1813, Ibid. Inventory of Marie Jeanne Mazan, 1811, Ibid. Inventory of Marguerite Montplaisir, 1811, Ibid. Inventory of Elizabeth Pillard, 1813, Ibid. Inventory of Jean Saupin, 1816, Ibid. Inventory of Paul Similien, 1814, Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Inventory of "Jean-Marie Henry, marchand," 1806, Ibid.

in frequency of consumption.¹¹⁹ The reopening of trade after 1815 and the subsequent development of textile factories in England allowed cotton by midcentury to become king across the American South.¹²⁰ The reason for linen's recurrence in earlier New Orleanians' wardrobes was varied and complex, and it spoke to both the geographically specific and transoceanic orientations of the Gulf Coast city. Louisianans' willingness to purchase and wear imported linens particularly was shaped by environment, cleanliness and cost, and popular interest in imported European fashion.

New arrivées in New Orleans almost all commented on its humid temperatures, soggy ground and swarms of nightly insects. "Mud, mud, mud" was one English immigrant's description in 1819.¹²¹ Other visitors complained of the "sudden transitions" between hot and cold, wet and dry on the Gulf Coast and identified them as factors to which "the unhealthiness of this country is attributed."¹²² These conditions proved ideal for the often unfamiliar mosquito, whose frequent attacks were not neutralized with swatting.¹²³ One way writers proposed acting against "wetting...clothes" in frequent damp weather and "troublesome" insects via textiles.¹²⁴ In his popular publication *The History of Jamaica* (1774), Edward Long proposed using lightweight cottons to combat West Indian heat: "the loose, cool, easy dress of the Eastern nations...is much easier and

¹¹⁹ Duplessis, "Cotton Consumption in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century North Atlantic," 243; Lemire, "Transforming Consumer Culture," 200-207.

¹²⁰ Clark, *New Orleans*, 105; 202-203; Marilyn Brown, *Degas and the Business of Art: a Cotton Office in New Orleans* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); Robert Gudmestad, *Steamboats and the Rise of the Cotton Kingdom* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011).

¹²¹ Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans*, 67. Hugh Quin, Jr. similarly noted his explorations of Louisiana bayous "up to the ankles in mud." Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 18 November 1817, Quin Papers.

¹²² Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 17 November 1817, Quin Papers.

¹²³ Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 21 November 1817, *Ibid.* Also, Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans*, 139-144.

¹²⁴ Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans*, 15; 139.

better fitted for use in a hot climate, than the English dress, which is close and tight.”¹²⁵ The maintenance of European fashion, he further elaborated, resulted in “men loaded, and half melting under a ponderous coat and waistcoat, richly bedaubed with gold lace or embroidery...[and] scarcely able to bear them.”¹²⁶ These habits, Long argued, were frivolous and unhealthy. Quick-drying linens offered New Orleanians an alternative and approved way to stay cool and remove sweat from their bodies. Moreover, light fabrics could be used to deter dreaded mosquitos. New settlers in the city were quick to record locals’ habits of writing, working and sleeping under *moustiquaires*—a gauze draping made of linen or cotton threads—to avoid insects.¹²⁷ Benjamin Latrobe, furthermore, noted that New Orleanians extended these cloths’ repellent uses to their wardrobes, using “light boots, loose pantaloons, and thin gloves” as a “best defense” against bugs.¹²⁸ Linens, like cottons, featured in some of protection. They thus helped New Orleanians comfortably reside in their specific geographic setting. Indeed, shared hot and humid environments likely contributed to more of the city’s sartorial similarities with the West Indies than did economies mutually based on enslaved labor.¹²⁹

Gulf Coast residents also valued linen garments for their washability and affordable prices. The latter again was key for buyers, as the ability to launder garments depended on having several changes of clothes. New Orleans housed a significant number of women, especially free women of color, who labored as urban laundresses starting in its colonial era.¹³⁰ Their employment seems to have been extensive. Surviving

¹²⁵ Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica; or, General Survey of the Antient and Modern State of That Island*, vol. 2 (London: T. Lowndes, 1774), 520.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 520-521.

¹²⁷ Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 21 November 1817, Quin Papers; Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans*, 144.

¹²⁸ Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans*, 144.

¹²⁹ See footnote 112.

¹³⁰ See, for example, the estates of Maymi William Monsanto and Marie Joseph Macarty, who were free women of color and laundresses in early New Orleans. Inventory of Maymi Monsanto, 1817,

account books of socially middling settlers, like teachers, indicate bi-weekly payments to such women for the care and cleaning of clothes.¹³¹ Criminal proceedings from the era identify cotton and linens as those textiles particularly singled out for washing. We know this because wet, washable garments left out to dry unattended were easy targets for theft.¹³² Sartorial cleanliness seems to have been expected by most New Orleans inhabitants. Well-off slave-owners who paid high prices for enslaved “bonne laundress” were not alone in their willingness to spend surplus sums on their washing.¹³³ Modest backwoodsmen and laborers, too, requested laundry clauses in their labor contracts. Jean Saguinguara, the guide of merchant Pierre Chabot, requested that the latter pay him a wage of 205 lives *and* “his laundry costs” after a 1739 venture from Kaskaskia to New Orleans. Sophie White suggests that this example reveals the penetrability of current ideas relating clean clothing to bodily health in early Louisiana, as Saguinguara was the Illinois-born son of an indigenous female convert.¹³⁴ Similarly in 1739, a local resident named Forcade contracted to work as a cooper for Antoine Aufrere just north of New Orleans. Among his stipulations was access to “lodging, board and laundry, at the expense of said Aufrere.”¹³⁵

Estates Inventories. Inventory of Marie Joseph Macarty, 1832, *Ibid.* Kimberly S. Hanger, *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in New Orleans, 1769-1803* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 58-60.

¹³¹ See notes that “[p]aid Negress washing.” Mathias O’Conway, New Orleans account books, 20 May 1793; 1 June 1793; 20 July 1793; 10 August 1793; 16 August 1793; 10 September, 1793, Correspondence...of the family of O’Conway

¹³² Sophie White identifies textiles and garments as 82% of commodities stolen during the French colonial period. White, “Wearing three or four handkerchiefs,” 531. George Tesson, similarly, filed for the theft of “a whole chest of soiled clothes, a bar of soap” from a laundress. See “Declaration of burglary and theft of ‘soiled clothes’,” 17 February 1747, in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 17 (April 1934), 381.

¹³³ The enslaved woman Manette was recorded as being sold for \$2,500 in 1819. Contanza, meanwhile, was sold for 400 piastres in 1797, despite the fact that she had left her previous owner’s house for several days without permission. Postmortem sales from the Dotrange Estate, Acts of Marc Lafitte, vol. 14, 25 February 1819, NONA. Sale from Joseph Labie to Pedro Dulcido Barran, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 29, 27 April 1797, NONA.

¹³⁴ White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, 176-184; 191-200.

¹³⁵ “Contract of Employment as Cooper,” 29 January 1739, in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 6 (April 1923), 295. Also “Agreement between Louis Cezards (Cesaire) Le Breton, and Jean Baptiste

Residents of the Louisiana city certainly collected large enough quantities of linen shirts to allow for their frequent changing (and assumed laundering). In 1738, for example, Louise Le Roy, a widow with two children, reported the theft of “a trunk containing 17 shirts, 15 of which were cut of linen” from her home.¹³⁶ Jean Joseph Louis Rousset, a native of Saint-Domingue and recent Gulf Coast settler, similarly recorded in 1811 his ownership of “quatorze chemise [fourteen shirts],” likely of linen.¹³⁷ Further comments and purchase patterns suggest that city residents personalized associations of clean linen garments, interior health and even high-end sartorial displays. Benjamin Latrobe noted in 1819, for example, that in order to prepare for a birthday celebration he and fellow guests wore “[a] general shave and clean shirts.”¹³⁸ The high cost associated with platillas in local retail shops (11 piastres per ell), meanwhile, certainly related to the cloth’s distinct selling feature, its unusually bright and highly bleached appearance.¹³⁹

Early Louisianans also consumed linen cloth because of its fashionability in the Old World. New Orleanians lived on the fringes of the French empire after the 1729 Natchez Rebellion. Yet, they remained highly interested and materially invested in European—especially French—sartorial styles even in this peripheral setting. Residents commissioned and purchased expensive gowns from Parisian silk merchants during the 1750s.¹⁴⁰ Visual representations also allied New Orleans dressers with Europeans. An etching entitled *La Creole*, completed by R. White between 1750 and 1770, for example, showed a fair-skinned woman dressed in a heavy *robe à la française* composed of silk. Featuring a tight bodice, this New Orleanian clearly wore some sort of stays, and her

Goudau as Overseer on his Plantation,” 11 May 1744, *Ibid.*, 590-592. “Contract between Judice and Dallemand for Reinne, his stepson, the latter to serve as mason, slater and carpenter,” 23 July 1743, *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 11 (October 1928), 640.

¹³⁶ “Report of a theft in a residence,” 24 February 1738, *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Inventory of John Joseph Louis Rousset, 1811, *Estate Inventories*.

¹³⁸ Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans*, 6.

¹³⁹ Inventory of Paul Similien, 1814, *Estate Inventories*.

¹⁴⁰ White, “This Gown...was Much Admired,” 86-88.

petticoats extended out around hoops to emphasize the wide silhouette popular in France.¹⁴¹ Similarly, a circa 1720 French-made depiction of lower Mississippi Valley trade featured Frenchmen donning powdered wigs, silk waistcoats and jackets, the last of which stiffened outwards at the waist *à la* current styles.¹⁴² These images both were made with Old World audiences in mind and the fact that the latter displayed indigenous traders with scant clothing and feathered headdresses attests to certain degrees of stereotype and expectation.¹⁴³ New World records, however, affirm that Louisiana settlers *did* dress like contemporaries in France, Spain and Great Britain, even to their own physical discomfort. Diana DiPaolo Loren, for example, has identified estates with cut-away coats, embroidered vests, lace shirts with ruffles, and powdered wigs in the Spanish town of Los Adaes, just west of Natchitoches, in the 1750s.¹⁴⁴

Estate inventories also indicate that New Orleanians bought into Old World sartorial trends favoring light cottons and linens during the late 1700s and early 1800s. Appraisers of the 1809 estate of Louis Fremont, for example, noted the deceased's ownership of ten plain linen shirts, eleven percale shirts, six pairs of buff-colored nankin pantaloons and seven wool vests, among other garments.¹⁴⁵ These clothes would have helped him create a simplified (i.e. unstiffened, neutral-colored) version of the three-piece-suit. Anglophone doctor Thomas Pratt, too, owned “[o]ne coat, one pantaloons, a Waistcoat and one hat” in 1820.¹⁴⁶ The ensemble frequently was ornamented with silk, cotton or linen handkerchiefs tied around the neck. Louis Fremont owned at least

¹⁴¹ R. White, *La Creole, 1750-1770*. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

¹⁴² François Gerard Jollain, Jr., *Le Commerce que les Indiens du Mexique font avec les Français au Port de Missisipi*, ca. 1720. The Historic New Orleans Collection.

¹⁴³ See page 236.

¹⁴⁴ Diana DiPaolo Loren, “Colonial Dress at the Spanish Presidio of Los Adaes,” *Southern Studies* 7, no. 1 (1996): 48.

¹⁴⁵ Inventory of Louis Fremont, 1809, Estate Inventories.

¹⁴⁶ Inventory of Thomas Pratt, 1820, Estate Inventories.

twenty-three of such masculine accessories in 1809, a similar collection to many of his contemporaries.¹⁴⁷

Visual sources confirm that masculine styles in late colonial and early national New Orleans paralleled those of the Old World, including fashions in Ireland. José Francisco Xavier de Salazar y Mendoza, for example, painted *Portrait of a Gentleman* in New Orleans in 1797, and he depicted his subject in garments quite similar to those of European portraits (**Figure 5.7**).¹⁴⁸ His figure's simple coat and double-breasted vest especially mirrored that of Anglo-Irish architect *James Gandon* in style, if not directly textile (**Figure 5.4**). Both men also heavily relied on bleached linen undergarments to indicate status. These are apparent, again, in the elaborately tied neck kerchiefs, in the ruffles visible at both men's wrists and—in Salazar y Mendoza's painting—a thickly-woven linen vest ornamented with exaggerated lapels.

Louisiana women, too, dressed in the fashions of contemporary Europe. This included dresses, skirts and accessories made of lightweight linens and cottons. Emilie Bronne, a Francophone resident of the Faubourg Marigny documented “deux chemises de toile [two linen chemises]” alongside petticoats and vests of cotton-linen mixes in her 1813 estate.¹⁴⁹ Julianne Elisabeth Fongravier, a Saint-Domingue native and the widow of Antoine Mercier, similarly left in her 1810 postmortem inventory six chemises, nine skirts of *indiennes* and twenty-four handkerchiefs showing various degrees of wear.¹⁵⁰ Even Marie Jeanne Mazan, a free woman of color and urban property-holder, shared in

¹⁴⁷ Inventory of Louis Fremond, 1810, Estate Inventories. Also, inventory of Mathene Luquin, 1811, Ibid. Inventory of Pierre Boivin, 1812, Ibid. Inventory of Robert Sanders Lett, 1818, Ibid. Inventory of Philippe Ferret, 1814), Ibid. Inventory of John Hoskins, 1818, Ibid. Inventory of Louis Ardax, 1810, Ibid. Inventory of Jean Joseph Louis Rousset, 1811, Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Salazar y Mendoza was a successful artist in late-eighteenth-century New Orleans, who was commissioned by numerous city elites for individual and familial portraits. The latter included Captain Julien Vienne, Clara de la Motte, and the Montegut families. It is unlikely his images employed stock bodies.

¹⁴⁹ Inventory of Emilie Bronne, 1813, Estate Inventories.

¹⁵⁰ Inventory of “Julianne Eilzabeth Fongravier, veuve de Antoine Mercier,” 1810, Ibid.

these sartorial styles by owning eighteen lighter chemises and seventy petticoats of cottonade, gingham, muslin and cotton.¹⁵¹ It is likely she intended at least some of these garments for sale.

Contemporary images again confirm that these wardrobes looked much like their Old World counterparts. This is particularly evident in Benjamin Henry Latrobe's *Market Folks, New Orleans*, completed during his visit to the Gulf Coast city in 1819 (**Figure 5.6**). The sketch depicts a female indigenous retailer, dressed in the blue woolens common in frontier trade, in its foreground. Women retailers and shoppers in its background, however, don the high-waisted, free-flowing and weightless gowns fashionable in Europe in the early nineteenth century. The third person from the right—an elite woman adored with ostrich feathers on her head—wears a white cotton or linen gown similar to that of Lady Pamela Fitzgerald in Mallory's painting (**Figure 5.5**).



Figure 5.6. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *Market Folks, New Orleans*, 1819.
Courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society.

¹⁵¹ Inventory of Marie Jeanne Mazan, 1811, *Ibid*.

Meanwhile, the seller or shopper in pink dons a cotton, or indienne, gown made with a high waistband printed with bright florals, and a kerchief at her neckline. These linen and cotton handkerchiefs are visible on the Afro-descended women at the left, tied in headdress styles imported from Africa.¹⁵² Such *tignons* associated with Louisiana's first sumptuary law in 1786, which required that women of color—free or enslaved—wear hair coverings so as to mitigate their sartorial attention.¹⁵³ By 1800, however, European dressers understood the *tignon* much like the turban, namely as exotic accessories. Old World dressers even specifically asked Louisiana relations to send them the popular kerchief “worned by the ladies there in New Orleans on their heads in winter” for them to incorporate into their own colonial-inspired fashions.¹⁵⁴

These records suggest a certain irony to contemporary Gulf Coast fashions in clothes. This is that, although lightweight linen- and cotton-based styles had their origins in the colonies and indeed were appropriate to their climates, regional residents did *not* purchase and wear these textiles exclusively for their ease, accessibility and comfort. Rather, as earlier archival records indicate, Gulf Coast residents put a great deal of effort into following Old World sartorial trends, even when midcentury fashions touted silk, satin and woolen fabrics that must have been uncomfortable. As a result, colonial and early national New Orleanians carefully followed European styles that coincidentally and conspicuously looked to the colonies for inspiration. This resulted in

¹⁵² Steeve O. Buckridge, *The Language of Dress: Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica, 1760-1890* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2004).

¹⁵³ Esteban Miró, *Bando de buen gobierno*, 2 June 1786. Actas III, minutes, Articles 3, 6, 9, 10, NOPL. For a translation, see Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana: The Spanish Dominion*, vol. III (New Orleans: James A. Gresham, 1879). For more on sumptuary legislation in the Americas, see Rebecca Earle, “‘Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!!’ Race, Clothing and Identity in the Americas (17th-19th centuries),” *History Workshop Journal* 52 (2001): 175-195; Tamara J. Walker, “‘He outfitted his family in notable decency’: Slavery, Honour and Dress in Eighteenth-Century Lima, Peru,” *Slavery and Abolition* 30, no. 3 (2009): 383-402; Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Alan Hunt, *Governance and the Consuming Passions: a History of Sumptuary Law* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).

¹⁵⁴ Mary Clark to Daniel Clark, Jr., Germantown, 9 July 1803, in *Transcript of Record, Gaines v. The City of New Orleans*, vol. 2, 1677-1678.

a transatlantic consumerism favoring bleached and colorful printed linens.¹⁵⁵ When these cloths were not available, Europeans substituted domestic textiles like Irish linens that similarly took well to dyes and could project a colonial feel in dress. They then exported these fabrics and finished garments to eager consumers in early American cities, such as New Orleans. Irish immigrants who moved to Louisiana at this time thus did so during a moment of particularly high sartorial connectivity. Dress subsequently offered them experiences of familiarity, as well as physical comfort, along the Gulf Coast.

The Sartorial World of Irish New Orleans: *Irish Dressers*

In New Orleans between 1780 and 1820, Irishmen and women encountered native-born populations equally interested in and aware of the impact of their fashion decisions. These dressers also, however, wanted to feel comfortable despite local heat and humidity. Lightweight linens allowed them to do so while also satisfying a desire to follow European sartorial trends, and they were imported into the city with regularity in this timeframe. Irish settlers in Louisiana, as a result, found themselves in a locally- and Atlantic-informed sartorial setting that not only allowed but *encouraged* them to dress like Old World family members and friends. This, estate records indicate, they did with a comfort and sense of style that paralleled that of their new neighbors.

Archival evidence particularly points to continuities in dress as experienced by *Irishmen* in the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Lower Mississippi Valley. Unfortunately, at this point, no detailed records relating to Irishwomen's dress have

¹⁵⁵ Visitors to contemporary New Orleans especially commented on the vibrant (or sometimes gaudy) colors of regional dress. On the levee, for example, Benjamin Henry Latrobe noted "women dressed in the most flaring yellow and scarlet gowns." Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans*, 22. Estate inventories relatedly noted the popularity of color in female dress, especially with hand and neckerchiefs. Inventory of "Camille Carbonara de Spinola, widow Baron de Brenner," 1813, Estate Inventories. Inventory of Marie Jeanne Mazan, 1811, *Ibid.* Inventory of Marguerite Montplaisir, 1811, *Ibid.* Inventory of Genevieve Prevost, 1811, *Ibid.*

been identified.¹⁵⁶ Male settlers clearly maintained an attachment to the three-piece-suit that followed them across the Atlantic Ocean, notably its simplified version. This spoke to many immigrants' involvement in mercantile, and thus credit-reliant professions. These immigrants—like their counterparts elsewhere in the Old and New Worlds—turned to simple cuts and unobtrusive fabrics to publically identify themselves as reliable men who worked to advance their own businesses and those within their networks.¹⁵⁷ This included planters and traders, who had surplus sums to spend on luxury fabrics but usually amassed simpler wardrobes. The 1788 garments of County Clare-born planter Patrick Macnamara focused on a “caz du lano y Algod [coat of wool and cotton],” “doze paires de medias de Hilo [twelve pairs of linen stockings],” “cinco Chupas y chelecot [five jackets and vest],” and “veinte y quarto camisas [twenty-four shirts].”¹⁵⁸ Appraisers in 1791 similarly noted John Fitzpatrick's ownership of “two pairs cheap cotton pants, torn,” “three striped cotton vests, slightly used,” “four pairs of patched trousers,” “four Holland cloth shirts, used,” “a waistcoat, and a ragged old vest of a dark color,” in addition to his one silken suit.¹⁵⁹ William Brown, meanwhile, reported a set of clothing stolen in 1801, which was composed of eight linen shirts, one waist coat, two short suit coats, and a popular, military-styled outer coat (or *surtout*).¹⁶⁰ The essentials of male dress—lightweight pants, vests and slightly heavier coats—remained unchanged for a majority of Irish settlers into the nineteenth century. Daniel McGlade, for example, inventoried in 1814 “Eight Pre. Light Pantaloons,” “Seven Cravats,” “Thirteen Vests,”

¹⁵⁶ I have only recovered a handful of estate inventories relating to Irishwomen's separate property. And none of these records include any descriptions of Irishwomen's clothes. Indeed, the rare Irishwoman who had her properties appraised after her death tended to either own real estate, enslaved Africans or African-Americans, or manage a business separate from her husband. Inventory of Eliza Cahil, 1823, *Estate Inventories*. Inventory of “Marie Caughey, wife of William Wells, 1831, *Ibid*. Inventory of Mary Carroll, 1833, *Ibid*. Inventory of Elizabeth Kelly, 1840, *Ibid*.

¹⁵⁷ See pages 189-193.

¹⁵⁸ “Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara,” January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records.

¹⁵⁹ Succession of John Fitzpatrick, 4 May 1791, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 425-432.

¹⁶⁰ William Brown v. Lewis Evans, 1801, Circuit Court Records for Adams County.



Figure 5.7. Jose Francisco Xavier de Salazar y Mendoza, *Portrait of a Gentleman*, 1797.
© The Historic New Orleans Collection.



Figure 5.8. Gilbert Stuart, *George Pollock*, 1793-1794. Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

“Five Shirts,” “Three Coats” “Four Pair thick Pantaloons” and one “Military Coat.”¹⁶¹ And Dingle-native James Rice Fitzgerald owned in 1815 four cotton vests, five *indienne* vests, several pairs of nankeen pantaloons and a woolen coat.¹⁶²

The aforementioned commodities all share certain traits. First, they confirm the widespread appeal of the three-piece-suit among settlers. Second, they emphasize immigrants’ continued investment in transatlantic fashions favoring lightweight linens and cottons. Third, they suggest that many Irish New Orleanians, like their European and American counterparts, avoided flashy colors and patterns so as to visually identify as responsible businessmen. The effect of such choices would have appeared much as eventual Gulf Coast settler George Pollock in the 1790s (**Figure 5.8**). Gilbert Stuart

¹⁶¹ Inventory of Daniel McGlade, 1814, Estate Inventories.

¹⁶² Inventory of James Rice Fitzgerald, 1815, Ibid.

painted the Newry-native in New York from 1793 to 1794, or prior to his final move.¹⁶³ The Irishman's depicted dress, which emphasizes simplicity yet tastefulness, however, epitomized that documented in Louisiana successions. Pollock appears in a well-tailored and dark corded coat, with a linen or cotton waistcoat visible behind its gilded buttons. He wears a white linen undershirt visible at the wrists and a carefully tied linen or cotton kerchief at his neck. The textile composing his bottoms is unclear, but its dark color completes a muted look. George Pollock's portrait certainly impressed on potential professional associates the assumption that he would not squander entrusted monies. It also identified him, especially when compared with portraits painted in other locales, as a man capable of traveling anywhere comfortably and remaining in fashion. Indeed, Stuart's portrait is materially styled identical to Salazar y Mendoza's *Portrait of a Gentleman* (**Figure 5.7**). This emphasizes the spatial flexibility of dress during the period in which Irish immigrants like Pollock moved.

Underneath most Irish-New Orleanians experiences buying and wearing fabrics in Louisiana remained linen cloth. New settlers owned shirts made of this or surrogate fabrics in large quantities. Patrick Macnamara's 1789 estate, again, maintained twenty-four.¹⁶⁴ Appraisers also documented these garments as having the most consistent wear in immigrant wardrobes. The linen shirts owned by Robert Sanders Lett in 1818 were noted as being "veille [old]" but more specifically well worn.¹⁶⁵ James Rice Fitzgerald, in similar manner, maintained a supply of twenty undershirts in both good and bad

¹⁶³ See Zygmunt, "Portraiture and Politics"; Ellen G. Miles, *American Paintings of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 183-184.

¹⁶⁴ See "Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara," January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records. Succession of John Fitzpatrick, 4 May 1791, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 425-432. William Brown v. Lewis Evans, 1801, Circuit Court Records for Adams County. Inventory of Daniel McGlade, 1814, Estate Inventories.

¹⁶⁵ Inventory of Robert Sanders Lett, 1818, *Ibid*.

conditions, “tant bonne que mauvaise” in 1815.¹⁶⁶ This suggests that the Irishman gradually replaced his linens as they wore out, and it implies that he and his compatriots would have shopped locally for new supplies.

Furthermore, the ownership of numerous white shirts by settlers indicates that Irish-New Orleanians endorsed contemporary views correlating bodily health and social status with the cleanliness of laundered garments. Mathias O’Conway ordered his family’s clothes washed about every two weeks in 1793.¹⁶⁷ Other Irishmen and women likely requested that such work be done by enslaved or hired domestics, much as visiting seaman and trader Samuel Pile did in 1817.¹⁶⁸ These individuals likely understood such clothes much as did contemporary Robert McClorg in Philadelphia, namely as crucial public identifiers. The Irishman paid ten dollars a month for his northern boarding, “without washing or mending.” He noted in an 1800 letter home that the latter garment services cost him the same high sum but that it was necessary for him to “go as a gentleman almost every day” to obtain recommendations as a schoolteacher.¹⁶⁹ The fashionable simplicity and cleanliness of Irishmen’s garments in early New Orleans were intended to procure and attest to professional successes in corresponding ways.

Irish Retailers, Irish Merchants

Immigrants also experienced sartorial fashions along the early Gulf Coast as suppliers, and Irishmen and women would have visited shops similar to those owned by their compatriots to resupply their wardrobe needs. It was the particular responsibility

¹⁶⁶ Inventory of James Rice Fitzgerald, 1815, Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Mathias O’Conway, New Orleans account books, 20 May 1793; 1 June 1793; 20 July 1793; 10 August 1793; 16 August 1793; 10 September 1793, Correspondence...of the family of O’Conway.

¹⁶⁸ Pile particularly noted: “Jacob, the old black fellow that I have frequently spoken to you of as belonging to Uncle, &c., has a wife who washes my clothes.” Samuel Pile to Rebecca Pile, New Orleans, 30 April 1817, Pile Papers. And, indeed, plenty of Irish slaveholders did possess persons particularly noted as domestics, who might have been expected to do laundry work. For example, see enslaved women “Annrieta” and “Celeste” owned by Patrick Macnamara. “Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara,” January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records.

¹⁶⁹ Robert McClorg to his parents, County Londonderry, 1800, PRONI.

of retailers to keep up with interlocked European fashions and Louisiana demands in dress. Irish settlers did so fluidly. This is evident in the estate inventory of James Fletcher, dated 1819.¹⁷⁰ The Dublin-born Fletcher operated as a transoceanic trader through New Orleans, but he also maintained a retail shop near Natchez. He stocked this venue with domestic utensils, textiles and wearable accessories. The last included combs, gilt buttons and buckles, watch chains, high-end gloves, ribbons and shawls. The Irishman also had little trouble importing to this frontier settlement cloths with global origins. He, for example, retailed “Coarse Cotton,” “India Calico Chintz,” “Brown Holland,” “Bombaine[s],” “Bed Turking,” “Shirting Muslin,” “White Flannel,” an English-made imitation “Calico,” “White Linen,” “Silk Florentine,” “Britanias” and 134 yards of “Irish Linen,” among other textiles.¹⁷¹ The coarse cotton perhaps originated locally by this time, as the plantations surrounding Natchez embraced cotton agriculture during the late 1790s.¹⁷² The rest of the fabrics were made in Europe, in the Far East, or in Europe in imitation of the decorative styles of the Far East. Yet, Fletcher not only offered popular transoceanic textiles to settlers in the regions around New Orleans. His pricing indicates that he was keenly aware of the quality of these fabrics and the appropriate sums that consumers might spend on them. The Irishman generally priced English-made cotton calicos between two and three dollars a yard. Better-quality and more

¹⁷⁰ “Inventory of the Estate of James Fletcher,” 1819, Probate Records for Adams County. Fletcher’s estate also documented his sale of other domestic items, including a variety of knives and eating utensils.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. For more on regional attachments to imported fabrics, see White, “Geographies of Consumption,” *Winterthur Portfolio*.

¹⁷² See, for example, Daniel Clark, Jr. v. Ebenezer Rees, 1800, Circuit Court Records for Adams County. Also, Richard Campanella, *Bienville’s Dilemma: a Historical Geography of New Orleans* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 2008); Dorris Clayton James, *Antebellum Natchez* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968); Adam Rothman, *Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 47-54.

durable Irish linens cost consumers from four-and-a-half to eight-and-a-half dollars per yard. High-end linen lawns, finally, were valued at seven or eight dollars a yard.¹⁷³

Irish sellers in New Orleans expressed parallel and equally informed investments in local and non-local textiles and finished garments. Robert Sanders Lett retailed cloths from his shop on Royal Street near its intersection with Toulouse Street until his death in 1818. Among the goods appraisers noted in this property were plain linens appropriate for undergarments, patterned cottons for female gowns, English-made nankeens for male trousers, and fine lace of knotted linen or silk which would add visible ornament to the aforementioned garments.¹⁷⁴ These fabrics indicated that Lett, during his lifetime, consciously stocked colorful cloths for female shoppers, more neutral fabrics for male dressers, and plenty of materials for white shirts and shifts. Immigrant Cornelius O’Flaherty, meanwhile, focused his local retailing efforts on ready-made garments. His 1819 inventory included such current fashions as “eight muslin Robes” (similar to those in Latrobe’s *Market Folks*), numerous cotton shawls, and “[t]wenty three waist coats,” likely composed of imported linen fabrics (**Figure 6.6**).¹⁷⁵ As retailers, these migrants catered to the demands of nearby consumers, which did not overwhelmingly included Irish natives. Debts amassed at James Fletcher’s store, for example, were held by buyers of English, Scottish, Irish, Anglophone American and Spanish heritages.¹⁷⁶ The textiles imported and sold by these retailers continued to mirror those purchased in Ireland, yet were satisfying to a local and diverse population of Lower Mississippi Valley buyers who could have shopped elsewhere.

¹⁷³ “Inventory of the Estate of James Fletcher,” 1809, Probate Records for Adams County.

¹⁷⁴ Inventory of Robert Sanders Lett, 1818, Estate Inventories.

¹⁷⁵ Inventory of Cornelius O’Flaherty, 1819, *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁶ “Inventory of the Estate of James Fletcher,” 1809, Probate Records for Adams County. These included William P. Ferguson, Isaac Dunbar, and R. Fletcher. Also, see his transactions with the firm of Turnbull & Joyce. Correspondence with James Fletcher, 1798-1803, Turnbull-Allain Papers.

Those Irish merchants who imported linens and other European cloths to Louisiana emphasized the overlap existing between Old and New World sartorial trends in this period. Men like Daniel Clark, Sr., John Fitzpatrick, Patrick Foley, Mathias O'Conway and Thomas Valentin Dalton all introduced significant quantities of textiles to the American frontier during their activities in the peltries trade starting in the 1760s and extending to the 1780s.¹⁷⁷ Others, like Oliver Pollock and Daniel Clark, Jr., imported clothes as demanded by Irish and non-Irish Louisianans into the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁸ These men epitomized the familiarity with which their non-mercantile immigrant neighbors approached their wardrobes along the early Gulf Coast. Their commercial activities, like those of other regional merchants, provided the same textiles, the same garments and the same fashions to Irish Louisianans that they would have known in contemporary Ireland. These same actions made them available to migrants through familiar (i.e. Irish) hands and thus likely from recognized sources in Europe.

Ultimately, these linkages allowed Irishmen and women to experience textiles and their wardrobes as a site of profound continuity between the Old and New Worlds. Fashion was more fickle than foods, and, as a result, it was not necessarily common for sartorial styles popular in Europe to reach the Americas while still in vogue. As a result, a truly transoceanic culture of clothing was a rarity. Immigrants who moved from Ireland to New Orleans between 1780 and 1820 did so during one such infrequent moment of overlap, caused by the rising demands for Asian cottons and Asian-styled garments and by a reliance on island linens to fill these needs. These demands traveled with settlers to Louisiana, where residents already used to wearing light linens and cottons enjoyed the accidental occasion of setting, not just following, sartorial trends.

¹⁷⁷ See pages 39-42.

¹⁷⁸ Oliver Pollock to John Miller, New Orleans, 11 October 1788, Coxe Family Papers. Receipts of Oliver Pollock, 11 October 1785; 26 February 1789; 18 March 1789; ca. 1790, Ibid. Reed & Forde to Daniel Coxe, 6 July 1794, Philadelphia, Reed and Forde Papers.

We will not know how much Irish New Orleanians might have independently adjusted their dress to suit the heat and humidity of the Gulf Coast had contemporary styles not been appropriate to the clime. Earlier examples suggest little. Their specific period of migration, instead, alleviated the potential of such uncomfortable sartorial encounters. Irishmen and women may have adjusted, in language, their reasons for sporting sweat-absorbing, bug-repelling textiles like linens in early Louisiana. But, in practice, they experienced dress overseas as a site of sustained material habit.

Chapter 6:
Consuming Bodies:
Irish Slave-Ownership

William Holmes was feeling a bit isolated. In a letter to his Irish family dated April 1777, he admonished them for their lack of correspondence: “I have Not Received a Letter from you since The one That you Dated 14th of May 1775---Which Makes Me very uneasy for I have sent 4 or five letters sinse But got No answer.”¹ Holmes, a native of County Armagh, apparently did not take this silence to mean homeland disinterest in his new life along the Gulf Coast. He quickly rededicated his short letter to recounting his recent American successes. The Irishman wrote that he now labored for George Galphin, a prominent Scots-Irish planter and deerskin trader living in Georgia.² As he proceeded to describe his occupational status, he did so in terms relating to slavery: “I have a hundred slaves worken under Me.”³ This remark might not seem unusual to scholars of the American South, who are used to anecdotes correlating human-chattel property with economic success and higher social status.⁴ William Holmes, however, wrote to an audience that was neither Southern nor American. What, we are then compelled to wonder, would his Irish family have made of this slave-based boast?

¹ William Holmes to William Holmes, Sr., Silver Bluerbluff, 23 April 23 1777. Boyle, Norris and Holmes Papers, 1773-1821, PRONI. All spelling is original.

² Irish immigrants especially were involved in the colonial Gulf Coast’s deerskin trade. See Wright, *The McGillivray and McIntosh Traders*; Cashin, *Lachlan McGillivray*.

³ William Holmes to William Holmes, Sr., Silver Bluerbluff, 23 April 23 1777, Holmes Papers.

⁴ See Frank J. Byrne, *Becoming Bourgeois, Merchant Culture in the South, 1820-1865* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006); Tom Downey, *Planting a Capitalist South: Masters, Merchants and Manufacturers in the Southern Interior, 1790-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006); Maurie D. McInnis, *The Politics of Taste in Antebellum Charleston* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Jeffrey Robert Young, *Domesticating Slavery: the Master Class in Georgia and South Carolina, 1670-1837* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

The previous two chapters argue that consumerisms relating to food and cloth allowed immigrants the ability to reconcile their New and Old World experiences and combat feelings of dislocation resulting from changed geographies. Their encounters with enslaved black bodies, conversely, emphasized the social, cultural and spatial divides. This may help explain why William Holmes was one of the few Irish settlers to write home about slave-ownership.⁵ In describing his American encounters with human-chattel, he seems to have highlighted the very distance he hoped his letters would bridge. This chapter explores Irish New Orleanians' experiences of American slavery and the ways it distanced them from their Old World past and marked their adjustment to their New World homes.

Irish-enslaved encounters were transatlantic material phenomena. They remain, however, experiences undervalued in most social, cultural and ethnic studies histories.⁶ To a degree, this is because imperial legislation limited Irish residents from domestically importing African slaves for most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁷ The 1773 Somerset trial confirmed that slavery in Great Britain was an illegal consumer act when

⁵ This chapter primarily focuses on Irish-enslaved encounters in early New Orleans. I have, however, read considerable correspondence from settlers in other American locales, namely Philadelphia and the Caribbean. While further research is needed, there is much to suggest that the examples documented here also characterized the experiences of other Irish colonial experiences. See Moore Family Papers. Cunningham and Clarke Manuscripts.

⁶ Most work on Irish-African encounters focuses either on Irish experiences abroad or on abolitionist sentiments and their effect on the rhetoric of homeland/Catholic emancipation. Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery*; Murphy, *American Slavery, Irish Freedom*. American historians recognize this encounter primarily within nineteenth-century "whiteness" studies. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*; Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*. Few such scholars effectively use material culture resources. African-American historians, in contrast, have turned to materiality in an effort to examine otherwise undocumented enslaved lives. Most have not, however, dealt with the reality that slaves themselves historically were treated as commodities. See Patricia Samford, "African-American Slavery and Material Culture," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53 (January 1996): 87-114; Roderick A. McDonald, *The Economy and Material Culture of Slaves: Goods and Chattels on the Sugar Plantations of Jamaica and Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993); John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: the Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). A notable exception is the work on Stephanie Smallwood. Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: a Middle Passage from African to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007)

⁷ Nini Rodgers argues that Irish slaving activities effectively were banned by the contract of the Royal Africa Company in 1671. Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, 95.

it described the habit as neither “allowed [n]or approved by the law of England.”⁸ Officially, there should have been no slaves in Ireland when Holmes penned his letter from America in 1777. Many scholars, as a result, have focused their studies on the island’s political, social and economic contact with slavery abroad.⁹ Africans, however, *were* present in contemporary Ireland. Historian W.A. Hart estimates an island population of about 2,000 or 3,000 individuals in the 1700s. Contemporary notices citing “[a] Negro Boy and Slave” or “[a] black Servant Maid...[the] Property of Mrs Heylinger” further indicate that some of these persons were enslaved, even after the Somerset ruling.¹⁰ This community was much smaller than in neighboring England, where there lived as many as 20,000 Africans.¹¹ Yet, Irishmen and women regularly encountered representations of black bodies in paintings, domestic furnishings and the popular press. These sources depicted slaves as consumable products with specific social and cultural meanings, and they resulted in certain expectations—not based on interpersonal encounters—concerning the purchase, use and sale of human-chattel. When Irishmen and women crossed the Atlantic Ocean, they brought these stereotypes with them to a new slaveholding setting.

⁸ *Proceedings in the Court of King’s Bench*, 1772. Granville Sharp Papers, New York Historical Society. Also, David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 471-478. Ireland finally would be able to import slaves directly following the 1780 repeal of the Navigation Acts. Also, it is important to note that the Somerset trial actually dealt with the forced removal of colonial slaves to Great Britain, not (as it often is interpreted) with the issue of slavery itself.

⁹ Nini Rodger’s *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery* remains a pivotal text, in that it was the first study to recognize Irish ties to African slavery. Most of the book, however, focuses on contacts outside of Ireland.

¹⁰ W.A. Hart identifies 160 references to specifically enslaved Africans in Ireland. Only two of these notices advertised Africans for sale. W.A. Hart, “Africans in eighteenth-century Ireland,” *Irish Historical Studies* 33 (May 2002): 21. *Dublin Journal*, August 1783, August 1756), in *Ibid.*, 24.

¹¹ See David Bindman, “A Voluptuous Alliance between Africa and Europe: Hogarth’s Africans,” in *The Other Hogarth: Aesthetics of Difference*, ed. Bernadette Fort and Angela Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 260-269; Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony*; Catherine Molineux, “Pleasures of the Smoke: ‘Black Virginians’ in Georgian London’s Tobacco Shops,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64 (April 2007): 327-376; Kathleen Chater, *Untold Histories: Black people in England and Wales during the British slave trade, c. 1660-1807* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2009); Sofía Muñoz-Valdivieso, “Africans in Britain at the Time of Abolition: Fictional Recreations,” *EnterText* 7 (Autumn 2007): 196-213.

Black bodies thus were not unfamiliar to Irish immigrants when they encountered them in early New Orleans. Yet, the opportunity to actually own enslaved persons *was* new for most Irish consumers. Slaves were unique possessions that had the distinct power to challenge their commodification, and this trait would have been foreign to most new Louisianans. It did not, however, deter significant numbers of Irish settlers from buying enslaved persons, an act that drew them into a new material landscape with no counterpart in Ireland. The move from imagined black bodies to their post-migratory ownership could have been a site of extreme dislocation for Irish New Orleanians. And, indeed, the reconciliation of Old and New World materialities would not be as easy for black bodies as easy as it was for food and fashion. Many immigrants, however, amassed enslaved estates quickly and of such size as to belie any discomfort they may have felt. This transition was not accomplished through market similarities. Irishmen and women did, however, apply familiar material languages relating to luxury and foreign consumerism to enslaved bodies in ways that made these new purchase-ables fit into old molds. A perception of slaves-as-objects thus allowed immigrants already connected to transatlantic consumerisms a comfortable way to adjust to the real acts of buying and employing enslaved persons. This objectification was challenged time-and-time again as settlers lived, traded, formed relationships and worked alongside these laborers in New Orleans. Overall, while the shift to Irish slave-ownership did require a great deal of adaptation, this potentially traumatic transition was much eased by settlers' transoceanic material connections. This chapter explores this complex and subtle phenomenon.

Black Bodies in Ireland: *Consumer Implications*

Treating human bodies as consumer items can be quite contentious among scholars. It thus is important to clarify this chapter's understanding of enslaved bodies. To study slaves as things is not to subscribe to "social death" theories, which argue that

the Middle Passage entirely objectified captured Africans.¹² It also is not to ignore the many acts of agency that enslaved and free blacks used to challenge racial commodification.¹³ Instead, it is to consider enslaved properties the way consumers in the Atlantic World did. Hopeful owners encountered slave markets much like other commercial spaces, and they came to auctions with specific ideas about the types, prices and desired uses of the human-chattel they perused. Slaves also, like marketable products, retained many values.¹⁴ Financially, they were long-term labor investments, potential collateral for loans, and among the highest appraised “moveables” in postmortem estates. Culturally, they and their representations spoke to owners’ social standing, taste, profession and geography.¹⁵ To examine enslaved persons as objects is to focus on the meanings that potential buyers wrote onto black bodies, rather than on the actions of such bodies themselves. It also is to recognize the inseparable link between the act of consuming black bodies and that of consuming the items on which their images appeared and into which their labor was invested. The material values ascribed to enslaved Africans, like those of any commodity, were fashionable and subject to change. For future Irish Louisianans, they took root in seventeenth-century imperialism.

Black Slaves, Irish Servants

Ireland was heavily implicated in transatlantic slavery, but the island’s early modern encounters with a trade “in the slaves and souls of men” were more intimate.¹⁶

¹² Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: a Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982); Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*.

¹³ For such rebellions as relate to New Orleans, Johnson, *Soul by Soul*; White, “Wearing three or four handkerchiefs,” 528-549. Also, Vincent Brown, “Social Death and Political Life in the Study of Slavery,” *American Historical Review* 114 (December 2009): 1231-1249.

¹⁴ Here I employ the notions of “inherent” and “attached” values. Prown, “Mind in Matter,” 3.

¹⁵ Enslaved mortgages were the major “currency” fueling the American slave trade. See Bonnie Martin, “Slavery’s Invisible Engine: Mortgaging Human Property,” *Journal of Southern History* 76 (2010): 1-50. For more the material meaning of southern slave-ownership, see footnote 4.

¹⁶ For the Irish provisioning of transatlantic slavery, see pages 137-139.

They began with indentured servitude.¹⁷ High demands for labor in the seventeenth-century British Empire caused metropolitan officials to seek colonial workers from their own crowded domains. Among those enlisted for contracts were volunteer agrarians and tradesmen, transported convicts, and political prisoners from the English Civil War and Cromwell's 1649 invasion of Ireland.¹⁸ Indenture provided a common means of transoceanic travel, and historians have estimated that as many as 75% of European migrants to early Virginia and Maryland arrived as contract laborers.¹⁹ Such workers had limited service periods and certain legal protections. Some even became landowners, politicians and labor-investors in their own right, after their terms were completed.²⁰ Yet, indentured servitude, as John Donoghue argues, also was experienced as "an outright form of temporal chattel slavery that existed in tandem with the permanent enslavement of Africans and Native Americans."²¹ And residents of Ireland were sensitive to comparisons between their countrymen's temporary labor abroad and lifelong African enslavement. Service, they firmly believed, was not slavery.

¹⁷ Revelations 18:13, in John Donoghue, "Out of the Land of Bondage': the English Revolution and the Atlantic Origins of Abolition," *American Historical Review* 115 (October 2010): 944. Nini Rodgers reveals that Ireland's relationship with slavery extends back to its Viking period and that the isle's Catholic patron, Saint Patrick, was central in ameliorating early conditions of enslavement. Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, 7-26.

¹⁸ For more on indentured service in the early Americas, see Hilary Beckles, "'Black men in white skins': the Formation of a White Proletariat in West Indian Slave Society," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 15, no. 1 (1986): 5-21; Hilary Beckles, "A 'riotous and unruly lot': Irish Indentured Servants Freeman in the English West Indies, 1644-1713," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 47 (October 1990): 503-522; Donald H. Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630-1730* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997); Donoghue, "'Out of the Land of Bondage.'"

¹⁹ Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery and Servitude in Colonial North America: a Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 8. Also, David Galenson, *White Servitude in Colonial America: an Economic Analysis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 216-218.

²⁰ Elodie Peyrol-Kleiber, "Bryan O'Daly: Being an Irish Catholic Servant in Maryland, 17th Century" paper presented at the American Conference for Irish Studies Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, March 2012. Also, Russell Menard, "From Servant to Freeholder: Status, Mobility and Property Accumulation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 30 (January 1973): 37-64.

²¹ Donoghue, "'Out of the Land of Bondage,'" 948. Donoghue tellingly notes that the contemporary term used to describe indentured servitude was "bond slavery." *Ibid.*, 951.

These anxieties precipitated many metropolitans' first contact with black bodies, and they came in the form of published chapbooks. Chapbooks were small manuals of sixteen to thirty-two pages that were cheaply constructed and intended for low-income readers.²² They had wide circulations, which made them ideal for both proponents and antagonists of colonial indentures. Both groups used these texts to carefully represent and to distinguish between appropriate European and African experiences in the Americas. Proponent John Hammond, for instance, characterized British Chesapeake service as lax: "The labor servants are put to is not so hard nor of such continuance as Husbandmen, nor Handicraftmen are kept at in England." His *Leah and Rachel, or the Two Fruitfull Sisters* (1655) further suggested that motivated servants might obtain a "competent estate" before completing their contractual terms. Such descriptions distinguished indentured service from an arguably more grueling and less rewarded service in Great Britain.²³ Hammond also separated European labor experiences from the negative depictions of African slavery then available in Old World texts.²⁴ Anti-indenture authors, who wrote (or claimed to write) based on firsthand knowledge, emphasized these latter overlaps. In *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account of his Fourteen Years Transportation* (ca. 1670), London-born convict James Revel stylized his indentured experiences as slavery. He detailed a crowded transatlantic

²² Named for the chapmen (or itinerant merchants) who sold them, these books dealt with popular devotional, bawdy and historical topics. See Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen & Company, 1981), 260. Also, Lori Humphrey Newcomb, "What is a Chapbook?," in *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. Matt Dimmock and Andrew Hatfield (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 57-72.

²³ John Hammond, *Leah and Rachel, or the Two Fruitfull Sisters Virginia and Maryland: their Present Condition, Impartially stated and related* (London: T. Mabb, 1655), 9; 11. Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1721) described indentured servitude as an opportune fate for criminal Britons. Daniel Defoe, *The Fortunes & Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders* (New York: Signet Classic, 1996).

²⁴ Anti-slavery and slaves' rights campaigns appeared among English and Irish Quaker communities after the 1650s. See George Fox, "To Friends beyond the sea, that have Black and Indian slaves," in *The Works of George Fox* (Philadelphia, Marcus T. Gould, 1831), 144-156; George Keith, *An exhortation and caution to Friends concerning the buying and selling of Negroes* (New York: William Bradford, 1693).

voyage, dehumanizing servant sales—wherein “[s]ome view’d our limbs turning us round/ [e]xamining like horses if we were sound”—and difficult work in American tobacco fields.²⁵

Historically, there was much overlap in the lived experiences of indentured and enslaved laborers in the early Americas. It thus is not surprising that ex-servant authors like Revel set their colonial tales alongside black bodies: “My fellow slaves were five transports more,/ With eighteen negroes, which is twenty four.”²⁶ Yet, metropolitan sympathy, as least for Africans, was not the object of such publications. Rather, they purposefully encouraged division. Whether chapbook authors favored or denounced indentured service, they neatly separated British and African workers in their writings. Charles Bayley, the author of *A True and Faithful Warning unto the People and Inhabitants of Bristol* (1663), characterized his colonial labor as “beyond the manner of the slaves, for mine was often night and day.” James Revel likewise sought to shock homeland audiences by pointing out *only* the lowly status of British-American laborers: “Some, who in England had liv’d fine and brave,/ Were like horses made to trudge and slave.”²⁷ The result of this textual segregation was two-fold. First, it suggested that indenture did not necessarily result in workers’ creolization, or a replacement or mixing of Old World values with New World habits.²⁸ This made chapbook characters relatable

²⁵ James Revel, *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon’s Sorrowful Account of His Fourteen Years Transportation, at Virginia, in America* (York: C. Crowshaw, ca. 1800), 3-5. Also, John Melville Jennings, introduction to “The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon’s Sorrowful Account of His Fourteen Years Transportation at Virginia in America,” by James Revel, *The Virginia Magazine of History of Biography* 56 (April 1948): 180-194.

²⁶ Revel, *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon’s Sorrowful Account*, 5. For more on shared indentured and enslaved experiences, see Betty Wood, “Leaving Together,” “Working Together,” “Socializing Together,” “Conspiring Together” (Wiles Lectures, Queen’s University, Belfast, 2011).

²⁷ Charles Bayley, *A True and Faithful Warning unto the People and Inhabitants of Bristol* (London: Charles Bayley, 1663), 9; Revel, *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon’s Sorrowful Account*, 8.

²⁸ See Jeffrey H. Richard. “Barefoot Folks with Tawny Cheeks: Creolism in the Literary Chesapeake, 1680-1750,” in *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas: Empires, Texts, Identities*, eds.

and empathetic with readers in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Second, it reflected and confirmed expanding contemporary opinions that there were different types of service appropriate to white and black bodies, which might be separated along racial lines. John Hammond argued that the colonial lives of Europeans were not comparable to slavery. He inadvertently identified the potential overlap as unacceptable for readers. Bayley and Revel, meanwhile, argued that intense colonial labor-systems were wrong when they included Britons, but not wrong in-and-of themselves. Indeed, none of these texts can be considered abolitionist. Rather, they all were based on the assumed belief that persons of African descent were appropriately and therefore acceptably subservient.²⁹ Readers in Ireland encountered these and similar publications during the 1700s, and, through them, future immigrants confirmed popular views that imperialism involved encounters with black bodies.³⁰ Chapbooks supported an appropriate link between such bodies and foreign production-consumption networks. These views became visually manifest and assumed a more object-focused significance in contemporary paintings and prints.

Irish Images of the Black Body

Seventeenth-century Irish art was inspired by English trends, and many of the island's visual motifs originated in London court culture. These included paintings wherein black bodies operated as pictorial accessories for centralized European subjects. Africans first appeared in metropolitan art, especially in servile roles such as musicians

Ralph Bauer and José Antonio Mazzotti (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2009), 135-161.

²⁹ For more on eighteenth-century theories of race, see Bindman, *From Ape to Apollo*; Susan Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640-1700* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

³⁰ All aforementioned texts initially were published in England, and Revel's narrative was not popularized until the mid-1700s (after *Moll Flanders*). Ireland did not have copyright laws before the 1801 Act of Union. Thus, books published in England readily were available for Irish readers and often cheaper. Máire Kennedy, "Politicks, Coffee and News': the Dublin Book Trade in the Eighteenth Century," *Dublin Historical Record* 58, no. 1 (2005): 76-85.



Figure 6.1. Anthony Van Dyck, *Henriette de Lorraine*, 1634. Kenwood House, London, Iveagh Bequest.

and royal attendants, in medieval and Elizabethan imagery.³¹ It was Anthony Van Dyck's 1634 painting of *Henriette de Lorraine*, however, that popularized black bodies in early modern portraiture (**Figure 6.1**). Van Dyck's image itself had no direct connection to Ireland, but its widespread reputation—especially after it was added to the royal collection of Charles I—created a model soon exported to the island.³² Henrietta was living in exile as a widow in Brussels in the 1630s, when she commissioned her portrait. Historians argue that she included a black page in this composition in a purposeful effort

³¹ See David Bindman, "The Black Presence in British Art: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, ed. David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., vol. 3 (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 235-249. A notable exception to this servile stereotype was the figure of Balthazar in Magi imagery, who medieval and early modern artists commonly depicted as an Ethiopian.

³² The portrait of *Henriette de Lorraine* was purchased by Englishman Endymion Porter in 1634, or soon after its completion, and brought to King Charles I as a gift. The English monarch long admired the Dutch painter, whom he knighted in 1632, had paint several of his own portraits and granted formal papers as a denizen in 1638. Bindman, "The Black Presence in British Art," 250.

to show that—while separated from her ancestral estate—she still commanded material wealth.³³ This added to another of Henrietta’s intended projections, namely her suitability for remarriage. Enslaved attendants were particularly meaningful possessions to these ends for contemporary British buyers. England was in the midst of wresting control of the slave trade from the Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese in the seventeenth century. Black bodies thus remained rare and expensive metropolitan imports. Indeed, only 16 percent of all enslaved transatlantic Africans were sold in the 1600s.³⁴ The ability to own human-chattel thus suggested both commercial pull and financial means. Africans, like the child appearing in *Henriette de Lorraine*, became indicators of conspicuous consumption in a period wherein fashion was reserved for high-end buyers. They eventually would also visually and materially symbolize these same values in Ireland.

Black bodies, however, signified more than wealth for elite Britons. Their appearance in paintings also addressed owners’ imperial identities. In Ireland, this involved both local and non-local alliances. Locally, the following of English artistic trends spoke to political or—as some scholars argue—colonial sympathies.³⁵ A limited number of Irish-made and -subjected portraits survive from the 1600s and early 1700s. Island families, however, also purchased, received and displayed imported images that depicted Africans.³⁶ William Hogarth’s prints, for instance, became quite popular in

³³ For more on Van Dyck’s painting, see Bindman, “The Black Presence,” 253; Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony*, 30-31; David Dabydeen, *Hogarth’s Blacks: Images of Blacks in Eighteenth Century English Art* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1987), 30-36. Molineux also suggests that historians have read too much colonialism into this mid-century British portraiture.

³⁴ Herbert Klein and Jacob Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 103-139.

³⁵ See especially Powell, *The Politics of Consumption*; Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*; Canny, *Kingdom and Colony*; Ohlmeyer, *Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ireland*.

³⁶ Ireland had few developed institutions supporting homeland artists in the seventeenth century. As a result, many contemporary painters travelled to London, Italy and the Netherlands to pursue their careers. Some later were commissioned for portraits by Irish elites; but this latter group also supported popular, non-Irish artists. See Peter Murray and Lorenza Fattor, eds., *Portraits &*

Ireland after the 1730s, and his moralizing scenes regularly included enslaved pages.³⁷ Portraits that included black bodies also made their way to private collections in Ireland, such as John Smith's circa 1689 mezzotint of *Frederick de Schomborg*, a British commander in the 1688 military battles against the Irish Jacobites (**Figure 6.2**). Again, the most avid and financially available patrons of this and related works were local Anglo- and Anglo-Irish elites. Their ownership of distinctly politicized portraits, including that of *de Schomborg*, distinguished these buyers as British imperialists separate from Ireland's non-governing majorities. The latter included the island's Catholic and Presbyterian populations.

Portraits like Van Dyck's *Henriette de Lorraine* and Smith's *Frederick de Schomborg* also supported visions of empire that extended beyond Ireland, and these too engaged complex ideas relating to colonial mastery. The ownership of enslaved Africans or of their visual foils suggested personal investment in the ideals of Protestant (especially Anglican) evangelism, politeness and worldly benevolence that justified non-local British expansionism. It also indicated homeland expectations for non-Europeans' roles as subjected peoples overseas.³⁸ These meanings are apparent in the seventeenth-century portraits of *Frederick de Schomborg* by John Smith and the English-made *Portrait of Elizabeth Murray* (**Figure 6.3**). Both paintings feature African pages, standing next to their European owner and admiring the more centralized figure. Each attendant also offers his owner a form of tribute. This is faithful service to the Duke de

People: Art in Seventeenth-Century Ireland (Cork: Crawford Art Gallery, 2010); Fintan Cullen, *The Irish Face: Redefining the Irish Portrait* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2004).

³⁷ See Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, 179. For more on Hogarth, see Bindman, "A Voluptuous Alliance," 260-269; Catherine Molineux, "Hogarth's Fashionable Slaves: Moral Corruption in Eighteenth-Century London," *English Literary History* 72 (Summer 2005): 495-520.

³⁸ Ideas of religion and worldly social improvement were quite linked in the British imperial imagination. See Carla Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006). For alternative spiritualities and their relationship with empire, see Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000).

Schomberg and the fruits and flora of nature to the Duchess of Dystart. The earlier *Portrait of Elizabeth Murray* (ca. 1651) emphasizes England's consumer relationship with its colonies. In particular, painter Peter Lely matched the pearl earrings worn by the African page with those decorating the duchess's bodice.³⁹ This mutual materiality did not imply equality between Europe and Africa. Instead, Helen Watson argues that Lely's painting referenced continental motifs of Nature honoring Civilization, here through the means of botany and mineral reserves.⁴⁰ It is clear, furthermore, that the interaction that occurs between white and black bodies in these two portraits happens on



Figure 6.2. John Smith, after Sir Geoffrey Kneller, *Frederick de Schomberg, First Duke of Schomberg*, ca. 1689. Mezzotint. © National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 6.3. Peter Lely, *Portrait of Elizabeth Murray, Duchess of Dysart*, ca. 1651. © Victoria and Albert Museum.

³⁹ Pearls were particularly attractive import items in seventeenth-century Britain; and they were variously used to emphasize wealth, modesty/purity, spirituality and (conversely) inappropriate consumerisms. See Molly Warsh, "Adorning Empire: A History of the Early Modern Pearl Trade, 1492-1688" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2009).

⁴⁰ Helen Watson and David Bindman, "Court and City: Fantasies of Domination," in *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, 154-155.

British terms. The page in *Frederick de Schomberg*, for instance, has no apparent African retentions.⁴¹ Instead, he is dressed entirely in European styles, assumedly by the request and through the material beneficence of his master. Such a change might have been culturally disruptive, but this imagined black body—like his Lely counterpart—seems to appreciate his colonial refinement. His innocent gaze at de Schomberg not only recognizes the latter’s appropriate authority; it mitigates accusations of exploitation leveled at some acts of slave-ownership.⁴² It thus promotes a mutually beneficial image of British imperialism, wherein Africans offered exportable commodities and services to Europeans in exchange for their gracious civilizing influence.

Ultimately, the portraits of Helen Murray and Frederick de Schomberg identified black bodies as luxury commodities and as imperial signifiers. And, despite efforts to give enslaved images distinct personalities, these bodies clearly operated as much as visual ornaments as did glamorized flowers, pearls, rich textiles and gilt armor. Indeed, there is evidence that many images of enslaved attendants were based on circulated sketches, rather than real persons, and that some “masters” depicted with their enslaved properties never actually owned slaves.⁴³ Black bodies in elite portraiture thus operated as luxury accessories meant to refocus attention on and redefine central subjects in ways that emphasized social, cultural and political identities. Now, as pointed out, the persons who bought these paintings in contemporary Ireland primarily came from a small population of Anglo-Irish elites. Ownership of such visual representations thus was

⁴¹ Some scholars have pointed to the individualization of African faces in seventeenth-century European portraiture as a sign of intimacy between owner and enslaved. David Bindman, however, argues that stock images of black bodies often were copied in multiple portraits, as occurred in the case of the *Frederick de Schomberg*. See Bindman, “The Black Presence,” 262. For more on the reciprocal relationships between African and European in such paintings, see Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony*, 36-38.

⁴² Again, while British abolitionism would be popularized in the late 1700s, there were anti-slavery texts circulating in seventeenth-century Ireland and England. See page 225, footnote 24.

⁴³ David Bindman, for example, argues that there is no evidence that Henriette of Lorraine ever owned an African attendant. Bindman, “The Black Presence,” 253.

limited. Yet, tropes associated with enslaved bodies spread beyond this small circle, especially those associations with surplus spending and colonial material subjugation. As more Irish consumers attained access to non-necessary spending, they increasingly encountered and appealed to traditional imageries and expectations relating to Africans and African-Americans.

Commercial Encounters with Black Bodies

Ireland, as shown in prior chapters, experienced significant economic and consumer growth in the 1700s. In particular, after the 1731 revisions to the Navigation Acts, the island's export networks expanded to include more buyers and sellers in Africa, North America and the Caribbean.⁴⁴ It similarly was during this time that Irish merchants redeveloped their commerce, especially in food products, with retailers in the British ports of London, Liverpool and Bristol. A major and transient population in all these cities was enslaved Africans on their way to the Americas. Irish merchants, seeing an opportunity, thus began to supply many slave-vessels leaving English ports with provisions for the Middle Passage. As a result of this exchange, awareness of the trade in human-chattel expanded in Ireland.⁴⁵ This was furthered by the fact that many ships that departed from England stopped in southern Irish ports, like Cork, to restock before crossing the Atlantic Ocean. Enslaved cargos rarely left ships during these sojourns, but printed notices for run-aways attest that some did. These adverts—and perhaps some of

⁴⁴ Thomas Truxes argues that transatlantic trade also expanded in contemporary Ireland because the island experienced a period of relative political and military peace during this period. See Thomas Truxes, *Irish-American Trade, 1660-1783* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 2-3. Also, Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, 95-115; James, "Irish Colonial Trade," 574-584; R.C. Nash, "Irish Atlantic Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 42 (July 1985): 329-356.

⁴⁵ See David Richardson, Suzanne Schwarz and Anthony Tibbles, eds., *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007); Woodward, "The Anglo-Irish Livestock Trade," 489-523.



Figure 6.4. *Field Marshal Sir Henry Seymour Conway*, ca. 1770. Derby Porcelain. © Irish Linen Centre & Lisburn Museum.



the escaped cargos—would have been viewed by non-elite Irishmen and women.⁴⁶ As black bodies became more visible in eighteenth-century Ireland, ideas concerning slave-ownership also gained added awareness. They did so through material culture.

Expanded trade inspired an Irish consumer revolution in the 1700s, wherein middling buyers benefitted from the wider choices and competitive low prices of transoceanic markets.⁴⁷ As consumers looked to the inherited, luxury motifs of earlier generations to signify newfound wealth, they also particularly and popularly appealed to black bodies. Evidence of this habit is apparent in a circa 1770 porcelain figurine of *Field Marshal Sir Henry Seymour Conway*, which was made in central England but commonly decorated middling Irish households (**Figure 6.4**).⁴⁸ Conway was a member of the Anglo-Irish gentry and a British military officer. Yet, he also unabashedly

⁴⁶ Hart, “Africans in eighteenth-century Ireland,” 19-32.

⁴⁷ T.H. Breen argues that Irish luxury consumption increased by 50% in the eighteenth century. New groups of Irish urban scholars (particularly focused on Georgian Dublin architecture) have similarly found that more Irish material lives were shaped by ideas of wealth and comfort during this time than ever previously. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*, 22. Casey, *The Eighteenth-Century Dublin Town House*; McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*.

⁴⁸ For more on this figurine, see Gilbert Bradley, *Derby Porcelain, 1750-1798* (London: Heneage, 1990); Peter Bradshaw, *Derby Porcelain Figures, 1750-1848* (London: Faber & Faber, 1990).

advocated for the freedom of speech to the English Parliament. His activism was contemporary with Ireland's own popular politicization, which culminated in the island's 1798 Rebellion against British rule. Many versions of the Irishman's figure were reproduced in porcelain in the late 1700s. All depicted an African's profile on an accompanying coat-of-arms. Historically, medieval crusaders added images of Saracens, or light-skinned, long-haired Muslims, to their family crests. Visually, such motifs acknowledged their providential service.⁴⁹ The black body on Henry Seymour Conway's ensignia likely originated in this tradition. Indeed, as a commandant in the recent Seven Years War, the Irishman certainly may have understood himself in a similar manner, namely as serving Great Britain's own Protestant mission. Yet, it is important to note physical changes in his black body's profile to include the racialized profile of a dark-skinned, Slave Coast African.⁵⁰ Much as in earlier portraits, this representation did not speak to any actual effort by Conway to buy, employ or trade in slaves. Nevertheless, it remained a property—and indeed was incorporated into a property, the cherub's scroll—that identified its owner's status much like other commodities. Traditionally, the image spoke to the Irishman's inclusion in an established elite with associated visual imageries. It also, however, highlighted Conway as a modern consumer, who used enslaved bodies to signify his colonial involvement. Indeed, images of Africans increasingly appeared alongside new and fashionable goods targeted at expanding ranks of middling Irish buyers. The ownership of these bodies, at least in visual form, celebrated new wealth and the ability it conferred on consumers to participate in a transoceanic world of goods.

⁴⁹ For more medieval references to the Saracen, see William Leaf, "Saracen and Crusader Heraldry in Joinville's History of Saint-Louis," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2 (1983): 208-214; Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

⁵⁰ An example of a North African "Saracen" featured in *Field Marshall Sir Henry Seymour Conway's* porcelain figure can be seen in the ca. 1775 figurine held at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Eighteenth-century Irishmen and women understood black bodies as references to non-local, non-necessary property accumulation. Urban retailers also referenced enslaved persons to sell fashionable items that themselves had colonial origins. Catherine Molineux has found that tobacconists in Georgian London used African figures, often dressed in tobacco-leaf skirts, to advertise for the “pleasures of the smoke” brought over from Virginia.⁵¹ Dublin retailers similarly sought to benefit from the association of black bodies with exotic consumption to promote Irish purchases of imported items. An example of the resultant adverts is apparent in a 1798 receipt head

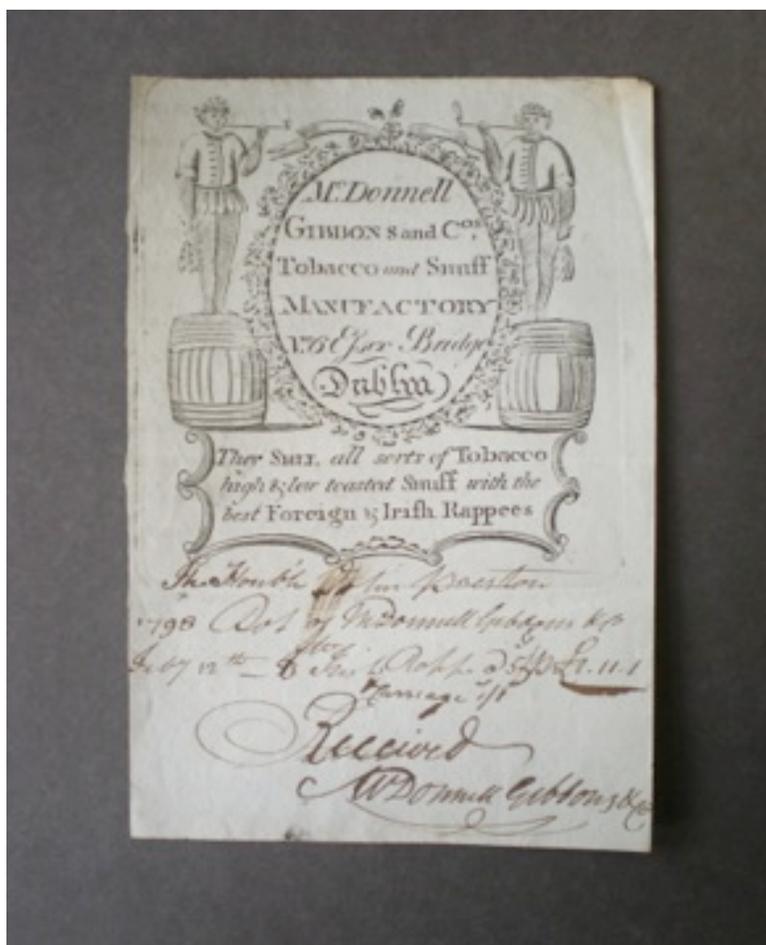


Figure 6.5. Receipt for McDonnell Gibbons and Cos. Tobacco and Snuff Manufactory, 1798. Food vouchers. Gormanston Papers. NLI.

⁵¹ Molineux, “Pleasures of the Smoke,” 327-376; Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony*, 146-177.

for the “Tobacco and Snuff Manufactory” of McDonnell, Gibbons & Company (**Figure 6.5**). This notice dissociated Africans from the act of slave-ownership and also from the harsh realities of their productive experiences in American agriculture. Rather, it reaffirmed more limited links between black bodies and acts of consumerism. Here, the enslaved Africans appear united with the finished product of their labor by wearing and smoking tobacco leaves. Yet, such acts did not ask that Irish buyers identify with these enslaved persons as co-smokers. Island retailers instead sought to improve tobacco sales by advertising the crop next to another consumable (black bodies) already associated with luxury spending. Tobacco, in turn, verified associations between slave-ownership and imperial fashions, albeit apart from their less attractive extraction.⁵²

Irish Attitudes Towards Slavery

Residents of eighteenth-century Ireland were not unaware of the hardships of African and African-American slavery. Black bodies were working bodies, and many imported commodities depended upon this labor. West Indian travel texts, letters from friends and family members, and popular Irish stories—like Maria Edgeworth’s “The Grateful Negro” (1804)—detailed the potential for physical and emotional enslaved abuse when working for certain masters.⁵³ Ireland also was not immune to abolitionist sentiments in the late eighteenth century.⁵⁴ Sugar boycotts influenced many Irish

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Maria Edgeworth’s short-story celebrates the “good” British-West Indian master, whose kindness to his enslaved properties is rewarded by their childish loyalty (and their warning of an upcoming island rebellion). See Maria Edgeworth, “The Grateful Negro,” in *Popular Tales*, vol. 3 (London: McMillan, 1807), 171-210. Elizabeth Kim argues that Edgeworth’s story reveals a popular awareness of several Jamaican-focused, contemporary narratives. These included Bryan Edwards, *History of the West Indies* (1793). See Elizabeth S. Kim, “Maria Edgeworth’s *The Grateful Negro*: a Site for Rewriting Rebellion,” *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 16, no. 1 (2003): 1-24.

⁵⁴ Some scholars have suggested that the abolitionist imagery produced by Josiah Wedgwood, featuring a kneeling African and the phrase “Am I Not a Man and a Brother?,” also circulated in Ireland. While it is likely that some of these items did make it into Irish households, I have not found evidence to suggest that contemporaries bought them in any large-scale way; nor do many such figures

consumerisms after 1791. Olaudah Equiano even toured the island for several months in late 1791 and early 1792. He was there to promote the Dublin print-edition of his enslavement-to-emancipation autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (1789).⁵⁵ These appeals made concerted efforts to humanize, rather than commodify, enslaved persons.⁵⁶

In Ireland, however, anti-slavery rhetoric often was subsumed by causes not related to material acts of slave-ownership. Instead, enslaved debates focused on Ireland's own efforts to attain social, political and economic emancipation. The Ulster-born William Drennan, for example, compared English imperialism in eighteenth-century Ireland directly to unjust slavery. Abolition, he argued in his circa 1785 serial publication *Letters of Orellana, an Irish Helot*, would only come through rebellion, or when the enslaved masses rose against tyrannical elites.⁵⁷ Other popular appeals to Irish freedom more directly referenced black bodies and their colonial-consumer meanings. William Hinck's *Hibernia Attended by Her Brave Volunteers* (1780) visualized personifications of Ireland, North America and Africa under the shared banner of "Free Trade" (**Figure 6.6**). This print, while promoting liberty, clearly intended the youthful Hibernia to be the primary beneficiary of mercantilist trade, and it did little to question the limited roles that Africans and indigenous Americans played as providers in this

appear to have survived to the present. Kevin Whelan, *Fellowship of Freedom: the United Irishmen and 1798* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), 25. Also, Maurie D. McNinnis, *Slaves Waiting for Sale: Abolitionist Art and the American Slave Trade* (Chicago: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

⁵⁵ See Nini Rodgers, *Equiano and Anti-Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Belfast* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2000).

⁵⁶ For the overlap of abolition and contemporary humanism, see Brown, *Moral Capital*.

⁵⁷ William Drennan, *Letters of Orellana, an Irish Helot to The Seven Northern Counties not represented in the National Assembly of Delegates, held at Dublin, October, 1784* (Dublin: J. Chambers and T. Heery, ca. 1785), 9; William Drennan was a Presbyterian doctor originally from Ulster, who was crucial in forming the 1783 United Irishmen movement. While in Dublin in 1794, he was arrested for seditious libel. Nini Rodgers points out that the title of Drennan's *Orellana* alluded to the popular novel *Oroonoka: or, the royal slave* (1688), which described the plights of an African prince in slavery. Rodgers, *Equiano and Anti-Slavery*, 8.



Figure 7.6. William Hincks, *Hibernia Attended by Her Brave Volunteers Exhibiting Her Commercial Freedom*, 1780. Courtesy of NLI.

exchange.⁵⁸ Hinck’s portrayals of indigenous Americans and Africans, in fact, appear much like the awed and gift-bearing enslaved attendants of Smith’s *Frederick de Schomberg* and Lely’s *Portrait of Elizabeth Murray* (**Figures 7.2 and 7.3**). And, in this example, non-whites are again primarily associated with foreign commodities and with the latter’s related ability to be owned. These individuals suggest no visual agency, except in their acts of giving. Hincks, in fact, likely would have agreed with William Drennan, who argued that politically-enslaved Irishmen were distinguished from economically-enslaved Africans in their ability to rebel: “I have called you *slaves*, and you are so in every acceptance of the term, except in having a *capability* of being

⁵⁸ For more on contemporary British mercantilism, see Hugh Kearney, “The Political Background to English Mercantilism, 1695-1700,” *Economic History Review* 11 (1959): 484-496; David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

freemen.”⁵⁹ Black bodies, he implied, lacked the power to question their enslavement. This inaction, in turn, justified their appropriate subjugation within imperial consumer networks. Much as in chapbook literature, these popular works suggested that there existed a clear and un-crossable line separating external powers’ inappropriate enslavement of white bodies and appropriate enslavement of black bodies.

Most Irishmen and women did not experience or understand slave-ownership as a phenomenon that involved the actual selling and buying of human bodies. Slaves instead served as metonymies for owners’ desired and attained wealth and for their real and imagined colonial encounters. This resulted in a dislocation between actual and expected slave-ownership in eighteenth century Ireland. It is highlighted by the example of James Richardson, a “negro boy” employed in County Tyrone during the 1750s.⁶⁰ After seventeen years of labor in Maryland, the African-born Richardson sued for emancipation, claiming that he previously worked as a domestic servant in Ireland and that he immigrated to the Americas as the result of seven-years criminal transportation (as opposed to a slave sale). His new owner claimed otherwise. It is interesting that Richardson based his claims to freedom on his social and economic *experiences* in Ireland, which he compared to servitude. In Europe, he learned to read and write, and he was given leisure time to socialize and travel alone. Despite these activities, which did not characterize expectations of slavery in the Americas, the brother-in-law of Richardson’s deceased Irish master confirmed that the African was bought, purchased and understood to be a slave. Clearly, James Richardson’s daily experiences in Ireland did not much differ from those of his white servant counterparts. And, given his encounters with the racialized social and labor systems of American slavery, it is obvious

⁵⁹ Drennan, *Letters of Orellana*, 11.

⁶⁰ John Pemberton to James Greer, Philadelphia, 14 December 1771, PRONI. Also, James Pollock to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 10 March 1772, Ibid. This dispute is laid out in letters between a Philadelphia Quaker arguing on the part of James Richardson and the latter’s supposed master’s brother-in-law.

why he either was confused about or sought to benefit from confusion about his non-racially-distinct lifestyle in Europe.⁶¹ To a large degree, Richardson's experiences with a loose form of Old World slavery resulted from the fact that actual slave-ownership was an oddity in Ireland and that African-descended persons constituted a minority population in Ireland at most. His value, then, was not in any expectation of productive labor but in his owner's visible ability to afford his purchase and subsequent upkeep.

Irishmen and women brought their consumer-focused understandings of slave-ownership with them to early New Orleans—a setting heavily populated with Afro-descended persons and quite dependent upon enslaved laborers for asserting their social, cultural and economic identities. There, they eagerly bought into local habits of purchasing, amassing and selling human-chattel. Immigrants quickly would realize, however, that their stereotypical understandings of black bodies did not quite translate to breathing, thinking persons employed in large-scale productive work.

Slavery in New Orleans: *Origins*

Black bodies were neither rare nor unpopular commodities in early New Orleans. The size of the city's enslaved and free Afro-descended populations, as well as locals' dependence on enslaved labor for local farming and commerce, further made encounters with human-chattel frequent occurrences even for non-slave-owning locals. Africans first entered Louisiana in large numbers in the 1720s while the colony was managed by John Law's Company of the Indies. Early officials hoped to develop a Gulf Coast settlement that rivaled the Chesapeake in terms of tobacco production and decreased French reliance on British imports. They turned to enslaved Africans to provide a much-needed labor force. These working bodies filled a void only partially satisfied by

⁶¹ Ibid. Also, Molineux, *Faces of Perfect Ebony*, 18-25; 200-218.

European *engagés* (indentured servants) during the colony's foundational years.⁶² The Louisiana slave trade temporarily ended in the 1730s, after the 1729 Natchez rebellion quashed tobacco's expansion into the hinterlands and a disappointed Company of the Indies returned the colony to royal control in 1731. This joint-stock corporation had transported most of New Orleans' initial enslaved residents directly from Senegambia, in west African.⁶³ The local trade in black bodies restarted with the colony's transition to Spanish sovereignty in the 1760s and reached new heights in the 1780s. Slave-ownership initially was encouraged by liberal Spanish economic policies, which allowed for the import of enslaved persons from non-imperial ports and for the payment of such purchases in silver bullion.⁶⁴ The trade grew further in the 1790s with the expansion of local sugar industries. These changes finally transformed Louisiana into a socially-, culturally- and economically-invested "slave society."⁶⁵ Recent scholarship suggests that between 11,000 and 13,000 enslaved Africans and African-Americans arrived in New Orleans during the period from 1763 to 1796.⁶⁶ Further, by 1791, such laborers constituted about 30% (1,604 persons) of a total city population of 5,497 individuals.⁶⁷ The growth in Louisiana slavery coincided exactly with the period during which many Irishmen and women settled along the Gulf Coast. Seeking to benefit from the same

⁶² Ira Berlin, in fact, points out that transported Europeans (mostly poor urbanites, soldiers and a few elites with *letters de cache*) only were actively pursued by colonial officials before the vast importation of African slaves in the 1720s. For more on the development of slavery in early Louisiana, see Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon*; Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*; Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*.

⁶³ Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 8-11; 28-55.

⁶⁴ Most of these individuals were born in Africa but arrived in New Orleans via Caribbean ports, especially those in Jamaica, Dominica and Cuba. These economic leniencies were curtailed in the late 1790s, or after enslaved rebellions in the Caribbean (particularly in Saint-Domingue) made buyers more conscientious of their properties' potentially revolutionary personal histories. Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon*, 147-209.

⁶⁵ Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 195-216.

⁶⁶ Jean-Pierre Leglaunec, "Slave Migrations in Spanish and Early American Louisiana: New Sources and New Estimates," *Louisiana History* 46 (Spring 2005): 202.

⁶⁷ Census of New Orleans, 1791, NOPL.

transatlantic commercial networks that brought human-chattel to New Orleans, immigrants necessarily encountered enslaved black bodies. And, through such means as legal records and newspaper accounts, they learned to do so on distinctly local terms.

The Value of Enslaved Bodies in Louisiana

In late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Louisiana, enslaved Africans and African-Americans served many purposes. First, they were valued as agricultural, artisanal and domestic laborers and thus a crucial means to production. Indigo and sugar were New Orleans's main plantation exports during the late 1700s, and both intensive crops required large and continuous labor supplies.⁶⁸ Ironically, it was through the type and the quality of their work that many enslaved persons distinguished and thus humanized their economic activities. This, however, occurred at the same time that the laboring abilities of their black bodies were associated with certain monetary values, or prices. The enslaved Theodore was described in a 1791 estate inventory as "a laborer and a handy man, who [could] also skillfully work with carpenter's instruments." These specific skills justified his financial appraisal at 400 piastres, which was significantly higher than the 250 average of many of the enslaved properties appraised with him.⁶⁹

Such moments of enslaved individualization further were countered by these laborers' classification as "real property" in Louisiana notarial and estate records.⁷⁰ Buyers and sellers of human-chattel had to complete the same legal paperwork for slave trades that they did for sales of real-estate. Such documents, from their initiation, thus

⁶⁸ See Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon*, 128-129; Holmes, "Indigo in Colonial Louisiana and the Floridas," 329-349. Louisiana remained a major center of indigo production until 1794, when crop blight decimated its production. At this time, many planters turned to sugar agriculture.

⁶⁹ Estate inventory of John Fitzpatrick, 9 May 1791. Translated for Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's *Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1718-1820* (<http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave/>). Thomas Ingersoll estimates the average cost of a seasoned slave in New Orleans to have been \$257 in 1771 and \$561 in 1787. Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon*, 184.

⁷⁰ Louisiana civil law dictated that slaves were "real," rather than personal property. This meant that all commercial processes involving human-chattel had to be registered with local notaries. Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, 228, footnote 33.

ingrained associations between black bodies and objects, particularly pricey properties. Locals also often found that language relating to human-chattel either replaced or was located among other familiar consumables in these legal records. Plantation appraisers, in particular, frequently noted black bodies alongside the farm tools, processing equipment, textiles, foods and livestock they listed in postmortem estates. Assessors of Eugene Fortier's sugar plantation in 1819 directly juxtaposed their survey of the late Louisianan's enslaved properties with the other items necessary to make his *sucrerie* profitable. Their appraisal of "George agé d'environ quarante cinq ans, négre de champ" for 1,000 piastres followed evaluations for boiling pots, twelve cows, two bulls and significant amounts of land.⁷¹ An 1805 inventory of the Metairie Road plantation of Spaniard Carlos Ximenes similarly nestled appraisals for "23 Negro Slaves Male & Female" (\$11,500) with accountings of "50 Do[zen] Beans in the Pods" (\$70), "3 Pair Oxen" (\$150) and "Sundry Farming Utensils" (\$120).⁷² These documents registered black bodies somewhere between farm implements and domesticated animals. Similar spatial and verbal concurrences are visible in many Louisiana estate papers dating to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁷³ These records taught their readers—a large group that included notaries, lawyers, appraisers, the deceased's relatives and inheritors, executors, business partners and estate debtors—to comprehend black bodies as valuable units of rural production. Slaves were bought, sold and used like plantation tools, and these records confirmed their comparison to hoes and shovels.

Such perceptions of black bodies as laboring objects were not confined to plantations. Rather, the habit of slave-ownership extended to include artisans, retailers

⁷¹ Inventory of Eugene Fortier, 1819, Estate Inventories.

⁷² Inventory of Carlos Ximenes, 1805, Ibid.

⁷³ See "Geo. Cochrane dec'd appraisal, rec'd. 30th Aug. 1804," Probate Records for Adams County. Succession of John Fitzpatrick, 9 May 1791, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 425-432.

and traders in late-eighteenth-century New Orleans.⁷⁴ These consumers similarly perceived of their enslaved properties as productive units. Scotsman and Gulf Coast merchant David Ross, for example, operated both a rural plantation and a tannery on the corner of Rampart and Conti streets in New Orleans's Vieux Carré. He employed in the latter profession-based setting several skilled, enslaved laborers until his death in 1813. These included "a Negro slave named Charles, by trade a saddler," "a slave named [Orson], also a saddler," "a slave named George, a carpenter," and "Harry, a Blacksmith."⁷⁵ Craftsmen's enslaved properties not only produced items to be sold, much like their rural counterparts; they also offered a means to future consumerism, by laboring in acts of commercial exchange themselves. These views characterized expectations for black bodies owned by retailers and merchants. And man of these masters in early New Orleans used enslaved men and women to peddle goods door-to-door and to represent their wares in markets.⁷⁶ Contemporary residents of the city confirmed their presence in account transactions.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ During the city's early colonial period, most African slaves were sold on consignment to elite New Orleanians of French-ancestry or were used on the King's Plantation. Shannon Dawdy, in fact, notes that that only 15% of urban New Orleans slaves lived in artisan households in 1732. It wasn't until the commercial boom of the 1780s that human-chattel became available enough (especially through the means of credit) to sell to wider audiences. Buyers included members of new socially middling populations in New Orleans. Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire*, 177; Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon*.

⁷⁵ Inventory of David Ross, 1813, Estate Inventories.

⁷⁶ Relatedly employed urban workers and retailers amounted to about 25% of Louisiana's total enslaved populations. Within this number, craftsmen accounted for roughly 9% regional slaves. Individuals laboring in industry formed another 14%. Enslaved persons employed in transportation or in industry accounted for an additional 14% of total laborers. Ariela J. Gross, *Double Character: Slavery and Mastery in the Antebellum Southern Courtroom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 200, footnote 32.

⁷⁷ Mathias O'Conway, for example, recorded his food purchases as coming from the "Catalon's negress." Mathias O'Conway, New Orleans account books, 12 October 1793 Correspondence...of the family of O'Conway. It is possible that he may have been contracting with prominent local Catalon Marcos Tio and his life-partner Victoire Wiltz, a free woman of color. Yet, notarial records also indicate the Tio owned enslaved properties in the late 1790s. It is as likely that he would have sent such persons to do his peddling. Sale from Juan B. Olivier to Marcos Tio, Acts of Francisco Broutin, vol. 46, 20 June 1797, NONA. For more on Tio and Wiltz, see Emily Clark, *The Strange History of the American Quadroon: Free Women of Color in the Revolutionary Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 118.

Many more New Orleanians encountered black bodies in roles of domestic work—about 30%—and thus separated from large-scale productive economies. Expectations for these bodies still remained tied to production but they included additional significance in the realm of consumerism. Enslaved domestics crafted spaces for their owners to identify less as makers and more as buyers, they substantiated financial values that allowed for more and future purchases, and they were identified as consumables themselves. Slave-owners, first, used black bodies in their households to complete a variety of tasks, including washing, cleaning, cooking, childcare, shopping and transporting persons and things.⁷⁸ These all were essential tasks within the home. Historians such as Kathleen Brown have shown that enslaved involvement in these necessary but menial tasks created a social and cultural space that allowed owners *not* to engage them.⁷⁹ This explains why enslaved laborers who engaged in owners' dirty work still fetched such high prices. Charles, the Jamaican-born property of Louis Trepagnier, for example, was sold at the cost of \$900 in 1811. This value resulted from the enslaved man's skill as a "cuisinier," or cook.⁸⁰ The twenty-three year old Constanza similarly sold for 430 piastres in 1795 because of her skills as a laundress, ironer, cook and seamstress, despite a personal streak of rebelliousness apparent in several attempts to run away.⁸¹

⁷⁸ See, for example, inventory of "Marie Eléonore Destrehan, Widow Macarty," 1816, Estate Inventories. Inventory of Dominick A. Hall, 1821, Ibid. Inventory of Paul Similien, 1814, Ibid. Inventory of Ham Winn, 1815, Ibid. Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, 89-99; Mark M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock: Time, Slavery and Freedom in the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 134; Elizabeth Fox Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

⁷⁹ Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1996); Barbara Bush, "White 'Ladies', Coloured 'Favourites' and Black 'Wenches': Some Considerations on Sex, Race and Class Factors in Social Relations in White Creole Society in the British Caribbean," *Slavery and Abolition* 2, no. 3 (1981): 245-262.

⁸⁰ Act of sale from Louis Trepagnier, 13 January 1811. Translated for Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1718-1820 (<http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave/>).

⁸¹ Sale from Rafael Ramos to Joseph Labie, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 25, 17 December 1795, NONA.

These black bodies, through their labor and the values ascribed to them, allowed slave-owning women the space to act as ladies and slave-owning men the space to publicly and privately work and socialize as gentlemen. They again did so during a period of transatlantic social flux, when polite activities assumed a greater role in asserting privileged standing than did money alone.⁸² The ownership of black bodies thus aided many aspiring elites in acting with appropriate authority in the New World.

In a related way, enslaved bodies in early Louisiana were valued for their ability to create future opportunities for owners' consumerism. They, as already suggested, allowed slaveholders to identify as consumers rather than laborers. Enslaved men and women, at work and at home, also regularly produced items of value that could be sold for a profit. Yet, their bodies themselves offered a final site of great financial worth. And New Orleanians often used enslaved persons as a form of collateral for large-scale purchases, like real estate and even more slaves.⁸³

Gulf Coast residents, finally, crucially understood black bodies to be consumables in-and-of themselves. Such perceptions are apparent in contemporary periodicals, which located enslaved men and women in daily articles, commentaries and particularly commercial notices. In fact, it was these latter advertisements that provided readers with the clearest contexts within which to assign meaning to acts of slave-ownership.⁸⁴ They did so in ways that allowed both slaveholding and non-slaveholding consumers access to a material language focused on black bodies. Walter Johnson argues that the

⁸² See pages 144-145.

⁸³ Deposition of Peter Shilling, 19 September 1796, in McBee, *The Natchez Court Records*. Sale between Luis Forneret and Daniel Mortimer, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, 3 February 1795; 27 February 1795, NONA. Martin, "Slavery's Invisible Engine," 1-50.

⁸⁴ The New Orleans newspapers surveyed here include the *Le Moniteur* and *Louisiana Courier*. For more on enslaved representations in newspapers, see Judith Kelleher Schafer, "New Orleans Slavery in 1850 as Seen in Advertisements," *Journal of Southern History* 47 (February 1981): 33-56; Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 78-142; Billy G. Smith and Richard Wojtowicz, *Blacks Who Stole Themselves: Advertisements for Runaways in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-90* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989).

possession of specific enslaved properties allowed owners a means of social and cultural presentation, wherein they could—much as they did with other consumer decisions—“remake themselves in the images of the slaves they bought.”⁸⁵ Louisiana newspapers validate that black bodies were valued both for their specific and general traits as material possessions. A July 1810 advertisement from the *Louisiana Courier*, for instance, offered and thus assumed readers wanted information relating to the age, nativity, gender and occupational experience of black bodies available for sale (**Figure 6.7**). These details addressed slaves’ roles as laborers, and they again suggested the productive outputs to be expected from particular enslaved bodies. L.M. Sagory, for example, offered to sell individuals having skills as agriculturalists, cooks, blacksmiths, washers and domestic attendants. Now, it would be a stretch to suggest that such advertisements racialized these roles for contemporary New Orleans. City dwellers were accustomed to seeing non-enslaved persons of British-, Spanish- and African-descent also labor in workshops and at artisanal trades.⁸⁶ Yet, such notices did confirm expectations that the owners of black bodies would be removed from these and other daily tasks.

The placement of “For Sale” notices on newspaper pages also emphasized perceptions of enslaved persons as transoceanic luxury commodities in Louisiana. Advertisements for human-chattel appeared not in separate sections but were intermixed with notices relating to the purchase and sale of animals and inanimate things. These included real estate, imported textiles, livestock, books and lemon harvests. Furthermore, these announcements all shared a common visual structure. The aforementioned article in *Louisiana Courier*, for instance, looked just like the notice

⁸⁵ Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, 15.

⁸⁶ Mathias O’Conway hired Irishman Denis Finaghty to peddle goods for him in Louisiana during the 1790s. Matthias O’Conway, *New Orleans account books, 1789; Correspondence...of the family of O’Conway*.

For Sale,
 Received by the brig *Dart*, Capt. A. Driscoll, from Baltimore
 4 American NEGROES, field hands,
 1 do. do. Hostler,
 1 French do. good Cook,
 1 American do. good Blacksmith,
 1 Negro Woman, servant and washer with her three infants.
 1 African Negro Woman, three years since in America, with her mulatto infant.
 1 American Negro Woman, a good servant
 3 Negro Boys,
 To be sold on reasonable terms.
 Apply to
L. M. Sagory.

For Sale,
 Just Received per brig *Holkar* and *Adamson* from New-York,
 84 boxes Sweet Oil,
 20 qr. casks Sherry Wine,
 10 do. do. Malaga do.
 Apply to
L. M. Sagory.

Figure 6.7. Advertisements, in the *Louisiana Courier*, 16 July 1810.

appearing below it. Both began with a bold header, followed by details relating to the recent arrival of a loaded ship and that vessel's port-of-origins. Such information indicated that the mentioned commodities were new to New Orleans markets and thus potentially more up-to-date with external fashions. A select listing of available goods and the name of their local vendor rounded out both notices. Similarities aside, it is important to recognize that the second advertisement inventoried only nonliving luxuries, or "sweet oil" and imported wines.⁸⁷ Newspaper readers, however, would have taken in these two notices as they were drawn up in contemporary publications, side-by-side. And this proximity highlighted the shared retailability of imported foodstuffs *and* black bodies in New Orleans markets. Sherry and Madeira wines, of course, were not just normal consumables. They were luxury products sold locally at high prices. The inclusion of these imported wines on Louisiana dining tables indicated both financial means and an accounting for fashionable, transatlantic trends in personal consumer

⁸⁷ *Louisiana Courier*, 10 July 1810.

choices.⁸⁸ Shoppers perusing local papers likewise would have understood the purchase of black bodies as both an indicator of wealth and a potential justification for recognition as a fashionable buyer. The organization of newspapers confirmed popular beliefs that enslaved individuals fundamentally were defined by their marketability and that their physical bodies, like their labor, were commodities capable of being bought and sold.

Slave-Ownership in Irish New Orleans: *Representation to Reality*

Once Irish immigrants became Irish masters, they encountered the most distinct aspect of American slave-ownership. This was its dependence on commodities, i.e. human beings, that could and often did challenge their commodification. Attempts in New Orleans to balance or even undermine slaves-as-persons and slaves-as-a-means-of-production proved especially troubling for new settlers, who came from a setting where abolitionist discourse (even if used by advocates for causes not relating to African slavery) and patriarchal views of enslaved laborers were present. Old World residents, in short, still believed that slaves were essentially persons.

Some immigrants expressed in writings meant for Irish readers their consciousness of the sufferings of black bodies in Louisiana. Hugh Quin, Jr., a native of rural Adkeen, traveled through New Orleans in 1817, and he several times noted in the journal he kept for his father the presence of human-chattel in the city and on rural plantations. Quin sympathized with bondsmen's labor in difficult settings, such as sugar refining. He described dangerous sugar houses, "where the cane is bruised and the juice boiled" and acknowledged that almost all of these uncomfortable, hot facilities kept axes

⁸⁸ Marcus Wood argues that runaway advertisements in the antebellum South also had to deal with the contradiction between treating slaves as non-human properties and distinguishing runaways by their individual personalities and/or physical features. He claims that the standard print-depictions of runaways accompanying many of these notices allowed for a middle group. Wood, *Blind Memory*, 87.

with which they might sever the limbs of any black bodies caught in their moving gears.⁸⁹ The Irishman similarly let his “tears flow” for the experiences of enslaved men, women and children, who were “bought and sold as the cows and sheep in our Fair.”⁹⁰ Quin’s anti-slavery comments, however, were quite rare among Irish settlers in early Louisiana. And some of his later notes—such as his lamentation that elite men almost all “support[ed] Mulattoe or Quarteroon girls”—were more based on popular stereotypes that did not reflect New Orleans’s complex reality.⁹¹

Most Irish settlers, in fact, did not send abolitionist letters home to their Old World relations. Instead, they dealt with changing expectations of slave-ownership by applying familiar rhetoric and transoceanic consumerisms—especially relating to luxury imports—to their human chattel. They also exhibited an unexpected silence on the habit in correspondence to Ireland. This silence not only obscured the eagerness with which Irish New Orleanians adapted habits of slaveholding in Louisiana. It hid the difficulties many migrants experienced in adjusting Irish meanings relating to the possession of black bodies to the new consumer environment of the Gulf Coast.

Patterns of Immigrant Slaveholding

Irishmen and women took to slave-ownership in a major way in early New Orleans. At least one fifth of immigrants individually invested in human-chattel, and many more lived in households wherein co-residents (i.e. spouses, extended family members, boarders) owned slaves.⁹² These settlers accumulated variously sized enslaved

⁸⁹ Hugh Quin, Jr., Journal, 25 November 1817, Quin Papers.

⁹⁰ Ibid., December 2, 1817.

⁹¹ Quin indeed, only spent a limited amount of time in New Orleans. After a few weeks’ stay in the Gulf Coast city, the Irishman took a job as a private instructor in Natchez and journeyed upriver. Ibid., November 28, 1817. For more on representations of the “quadroon” in early New Orleans, see Clark, *The Strange History of the American Quadroon*.

⁹² These statistics are based off my research using Gwendolyn Midlo Hall’s *Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719-1820* webpage (<http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave/>) and NONA.

estates, and they used their human properties for many purposes. Some of the Gulf Coast's earliest Irish settlers, as noted in prior chapters, moved to the region in pursuit of English and Spanish land-grants following the Seven Years' and Revolutionary wars.⁹³ These settlers often became planters, and they turned to enslaved laborers to cultivate their crops. County Clare-native and agriculturalist Patrick Macnemara, for example, bought forty slaves in the Americas, who labored in his indigo fields three leagues from New Orleans.⁹⁴ Northern Irishman Oliver Pollock relatedly employed black bodies for indigo cultivation in the 1780s.⁹⁵ These landowners not only looked to their enslaved properties to complete routine acts of planting and picking on their rural estates. In many cases, they assigned such workers skilled tasks, including carting, carpentry, refining sugar, fixing farm utensils and shodding animals. Maurice Conway, a Limerick-born planter, for instance, employed several blacksmiths on his southern Louisiana plantation in the 1770s and 1780s. These enslaved men would have maintained agricultural tools, but they likely also worked in the Irishman's expanding tannery.⁹⁶ Cork-native John Joyce similarly maintained fifty slaves on a farm he owned near Baton Rouge. There, black bodies crucially aided his experimentation with large-scale agricultural production, including frequent shifts between tobacco, indigo and sugar.⁹⁷

Other major investors in early Louisiana slavery were Irish merchants and retailers. Many of these new settlers used existing commercial contacts to involve themselves directly in the transatlantic slave trade. The Daniels Clark, Sr. and Jr. of Sligo were among New Orleans's most regularly commissioned human-chattel importers

⁹³ Solano, "La colonización irlandesa de la Luisiana Española," 201-208; Smith and Hilton, *Nexus of Empire*.

⁹⁴ "Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara," January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records.

⁹⁵ Clark, *New Orleans...an Economic History*, 183.

⁹⁶ Sale from Pedro Chabert to Mauricio Conway, Acts of Andrew Almonester y Roxasa, vol. 4, 11 January 1774, NONA.

⁹⁷ "Inventory and estimation...of the deceased Turnbull and Joyce," 5 May 1800, Archives of the Spanish Government of West Florida. John Joyce, diary.

and sellers.⁹⁸ These Irishmen inserted themselves into 155 and 365 notarial acts respectively, which related to the transfer of black bodies in Louisiana. Roughly 229 of these slaves came through the Caribbean ports of Jamaica and Dominica. There, it is likely that the Clarks used their existing ties to major commercial firms in London, Liverpool and Ireland to connect with British suppliers.⁹⁹ The Clarks, however, referenced their own, wide commercial contacts to physically transport and then resell these black bodies even to non-Irish buyers in Louisiana.¹⁰⁰

Not all Irish settlers financially invested in slavery participated in its transatlantic exchange. A larger number of immigrant retailers purchased and sold black bodies locally when they perceived of specific opportunities for profit. These individuals also tended to maintain large, albeit frequently fluctuating enslaved estates. The Dublin-born James Fletcher, for instance, focused his mercantile efforts on the trade in groceries between Philadelphia and New Orleans during the 1790s. Local Spanish officials, concerned with providing enough grain for urban settlers, heavily monitored this trade, so Fletcher's participation in it put him in contact with many of the city's wealthiest and most socially prominent residents.¹⁰¹ The Irishman used these connections to route contemporary limitations on enslaved imports and to thus provide about 200 black bodies to local buyers facing high demands and low availability.¹⁰² Similar patterns characterized the enslaved accumulations of Antonio Patrick Walsh, who bought and

⁹⁸ Chambers, "Slave trade merchants of Spanish New Orleans," 335-346.

⁹⁹ See pages 75-76.

¹⁰⁰ For example, proceedings instituted by Don Patricio Morgan, 3 February 1790, Spanish Judiciary Records.

¹⁰¹ Arena, "Philadelphia-Spanish New Orleans Trade," 429-445.

¹⁰² Spanish officials banned the trade for a short period in the late 1790s, in an effort to keep rebellious Caribbean slaves out of Louisiana. See Peter J. Kastor and François Weil, eds., *Empires of the Imagination: Transatlantic Histories of the Louisiana Purchase* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 209. I thus far have only located 69 records relating to James Fletcher's enslaved sales.

**Table 6.1. Size of Irish Slaveholding Estates
in New Orleans, 1770-1820**

	<i>Households (No)</i>	<i>Slaves (No)</i>	<i>Estate Size^o</i>
Non-Slaveholding	22	--	--
Family Ownership*	18	--	--
Unspecified	253	--	--
Slaveholding			
1	11	11	S
2	4	8	S
3	7	21	S
4	6	24	S
5	8	40	S
6	8	48	S
7	3	21	S
8	--	--	S
9	2	18	M
10	--	--	M
11-20	10	147	M
21-30	5	139	M
31-40	1	31	M
41-50	3	130	M
51-60	1	59	L
61-70	1	61	L
71-80	1	72	L
81-90	1	81	L
91-100	--	--	L
100+	2	520	L
TOTAL	367	1,431	--

* This row indicates an immigrant whose non-Irish spouse owned enslaved properties.

^o This column is denotes enslaved estates as small (1-8 persons), medium (9-50 persons) and large (51-100+ persons).

Source: Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719-1820 (<http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave/>); also NONA. Small estates (1-8 slaves) characterized 56% of total Irish slave-owners; middle estates % (9-50 slaves) were 36; and large estates (51+ slaves) were 8%.

sold at least seventeen slaves in late-eighteenth-century New Orleans, and George Pollock, who provided locals with forty-two enslaved imports.¹⁰³

Such medium to large enslaved estates numerically contained most of the black bodies owned by Irish New Orleanians, or 1,258 of 1,431 total persons (**Table 6.1**). A majority of immigrant owners, however, actually maintained much smaller populations of human-chattel. Roughly seventy-four percent of Irish slaveholders, for example, owned from one to eight enslaved persons. Similarly, eighty percent of settlers bought twenty or fewer black bodies during their New Orleans tenure. These consumers were not primarily interested in retailing their human-chattel. Instead, they used them as laborers within workshops and households. This certainly was the case in the 1815 estate inventory of the Dingle-born John Rice Fitzgerald. Appraisers of the Irishman's estate catalogued several ells of fabric intended for resale and for use in making garments, sewing materials, and a fourteen-year-old boy named Francois.¹⁰⁴ The last they described as "un apprentisage chef [et] un cordonnier [an apprentice chef and a cobbler]." Fitzgerald during his life—and as indicated by many of his possessions—traded mostly in apparel, and it seems that he trained his young bondman to contribute to his retail shop. Francois's presence and training in the Irishman's profession reflected his owner's large-scale investment in the transoceanic textile trade, which required additional aid. His skill as a chef, meanwhile, identified Fitzgerald as a fashionable buyer, who might use his slave's output (food) *and* physical presence to embody his wealth and conspicuous consumerism. He did so in terms specific to the New World.

Espousing New Meanings

Surviving records confirm that these Irish immigrants bought into local understandings of slaveholding in the Lower Mississippi Valley, which ascribed value to

¹⁰³ Walsh Papers.

¹⁰⁴ Inventory of James Rice Fitzgerald, 1815, Estate Inventories.

enslaved individuals as producers and as a means to or embodiment of consumption. The aforementioned examples of Maurice Conway, John Joyce and Maunsel White show that many settlers did benefit from the labor of their human-chattel on rural plantations. The 1813 estate inventory of Francis Riley, a cooper who worked along the levee in New Orleans, emphasizes that hopes of professional advancement via slave-ownership also extended to urban Irish settlers and that they included more modest consumers. This Irishman maintained “one negro slave, named William Cowan” in his Decatur Street workshop.¹⁰⁵ Riley surely valued William Cowan for his mechanical talents and for his help making much demanded barrels for New Orleans’s busy import-export trades. Yet, it is unlikely that he would have purchased, rather than hired, an assistant unless he believed said slave’s productive output surpassed his expense. Cowan, after all, cost the Irishman \$450, which was three times more than the two-and-a-half year lease on the house and workshop wherein they lived.¹⁰⁶

Irish Louisianans also encountered and encouraged written associations between their enslaved properties and the other productive resources of their estates. Assessors of Patrick Macnemara’s indigo plantation in 1788, for example, catalogued the late Irishman’s enslaved properties directly after the contents of his toolshed (**Figure 6.8**). Their appraisal of “Rogue Pilato de hedad de quarenta y cinco anos [Roger Pilato, aged forty-five]” for 600 pesos, thus, followed evaluations relating to twenty large hoes, fifteen

¹⁰⁵ Inventory of Francis Riley, 1813, Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. The average New Orleans slave sold for 350 to 400 piastres in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Estate inventories from the period offer comparative prices for other consumer items. These included two mattresses (one straw- and one moss-filled), valued at 13 pesos, “fifty pounds coffee appraised ten dollars,” “[a] Secretary of mahogany wood, valued at Thirty dollars,” “twelve Silver watches valued, three dollars each,” “three cloth pantaloons and two old cloth coats, valued together...five dollars” and “two Irish linen pieces, common, valued 12 [dollars].” “Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara,” January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records. Inventory of Jean Forten, 1820, Estate Inventories. Inventory of Titus Wilcock, 1818, Ibid. Inventory of Edwin Lorrain, 1819, Ibid. Inventory of Ferdinand Knouff, 1816, Ibid. Inventory of Helen Haley, 1817, Ibid.

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1. No se repusieron por inventario
 para el Rey, para censo Mill
 que estimaron don Nicanor y
 sus hijos don Pedro — 2. 2.

2. No se inventaron los bienes
 que quedaron en el Rey que se
 estimaron don Nicanor en
 once pués — 11.

3. Negro
 No se repusieron por inventario en
 Negro nombrado Roque Pelayo
 de edad de quarenta y cinco
 años cuyo lo se estimaron en
 pués en sus bienes pués 600.

4. No se repusieron por inventario
 nombrado don de edad de

381-12

2650 241

que estimaron don Nicanor
 en don Nicanor y sus hijos
 de lo inventaron don de edad de
 inventario de edad de diez años
 que el Defunto y su esposa es-
 timaron al servicio de su hijo
 por don Nicanor que de ella le hizo
 201.

4. No se inventaron don de edad de diez
 y siete en su mayor y menor
 que estimaron don Nicanor en
 once y cinco pués todo — 85.

5. No se inventaron quates vayas
 con un Cruz que estimaron en
 pués en quarenta y ocho
 años

6. No se repusieron por inv. como

300-2

Figure 6.8. "Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara, Invento. y estimaron. des sus bienes," January 1788. Spanish Judiciary Records, 1763-1803, LSM.

spades, thirteen sickles and sixteen axes.¹⁰⁷ Macnemara's inventory eventually transitioned from the "negra" Francisca, listed with her "crias" or children, to record seventeen oxen and nine cows, of which many also were listed with their "crias" or calves.¹⁰⁸ The very language of such records furthered expectations of objectification. The Irishman's appraisers, for instance, used the Spanish word "cria," or "brood," to indicate both enslaved children and young livestock. The act of identifying these youths as ownable commodities, like cows, removed them from the humanizing ability to express sentimental family feelings. Such separations often occurred in Louisiana slavery, and it is unsurprising that migrants who might empathize with their human-chattel internalized this distancing language. John Fitzpatrick, for example, understood in 1769 the motives he believed might inspire the flight of a recently purchased enslaved woman and child. He noted: "[I] kept a close watch on them lest she should Abscond Being married to a black Silver Smith and not wanting to quit him."¹⁰⁹ At other times, however, the Waterford-native spoke of his enslaved encounters in less humane ways: "Swanson's black Cattle are all in the Kitchen. I say black Cattle, for the Wench has had 2 Children at a birth, both as black as the ace of spades."¹¹⁰ In doing so, he highlighted the productive aspects of enslaved black bodies (here, childbirth) but separated them from any sort of individualization or empathy.

Other Irish slave-owners in early New Orleans valued their human-chattel for its ability to publically identify them as socially successful consumers. Gender ratios are especially useful in fleshing out these populations. A high ratio of enslaved women in

¹⁰⁷ "Testamentaria de Dn. Patricio de Manemara," January 1788, Spanish Judiciary Records. This document listed Macnemara as owning "veinte Azada grandes," "diez y ocho lalas," "treze Hozes" and "siete Hachas."

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. Appraisers recorded "una Negra nomda. Franca. de hedad de treinta y cinco años con su cria," "otra de nomda. Anrrieta de hedad de diez años," "diez y siete Bulles," "quatro vacas con sus criaz" and "cinco vacas sin cria" in Macnemara's estate.

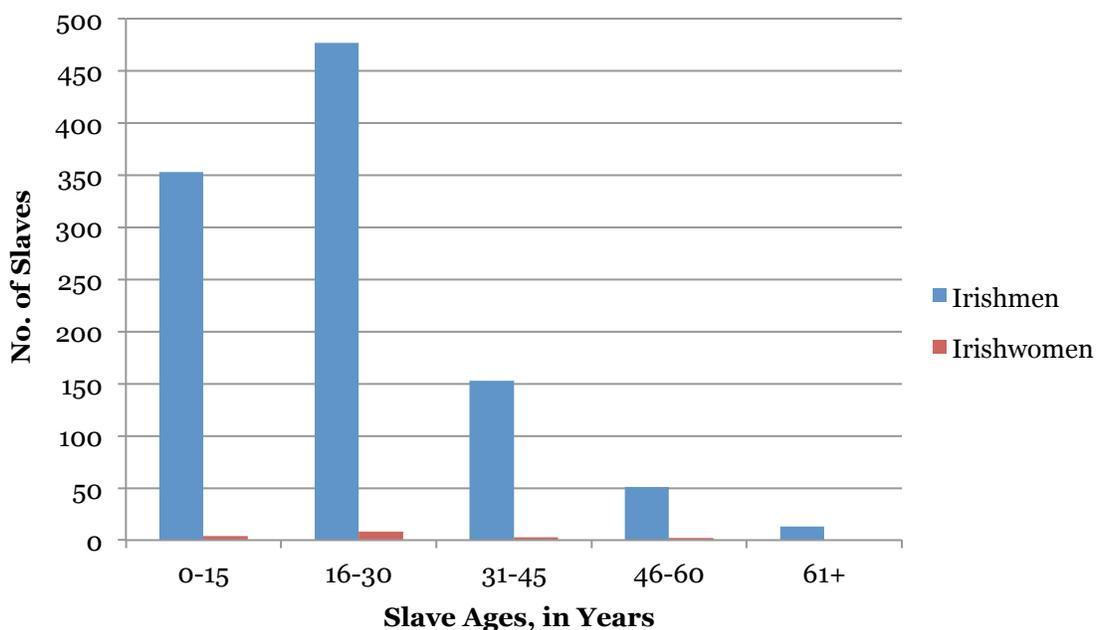
¹⁰⁹ John Fitzpatrick to Daniel Ward, New Orleans, 17 April 1769, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 45-46.

¹¹⁰ John Fitzpatrick to Daniel Hicky, Manchac, 9 December 1780, in Ibid., 371-372.

Irish estates often indicated buyers focused on accumulating domestic laborers and in performing conspicuous consumerism in their homes.¹¹¹ By contrast, the estates of immigrant planters, merchants and skilled artisans all retained much higher male to female enslaved purchase rates (about 3:1) (**Table 6.3**). Such buyers, such as textile merchant James Rice Fitzgerald and cooper Francis Riley, were the most likely to buy black bodies primarily for their productive capacities. Enslaved men offered their owners more physical strength than most of their female counterparts, and they could be used for jobs like carpentry without upsetting traditional gendered expectations for

Table 6.2. Age Breakdown of Irish-Owned Slaves in New Orleans, 1770-1820

Source: Hall's Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719-1820



Source: Hall's Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719-1820 (<http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave/>) and NONA. This table does not include references to the 366 enslaved persons whose ages were not indicated.

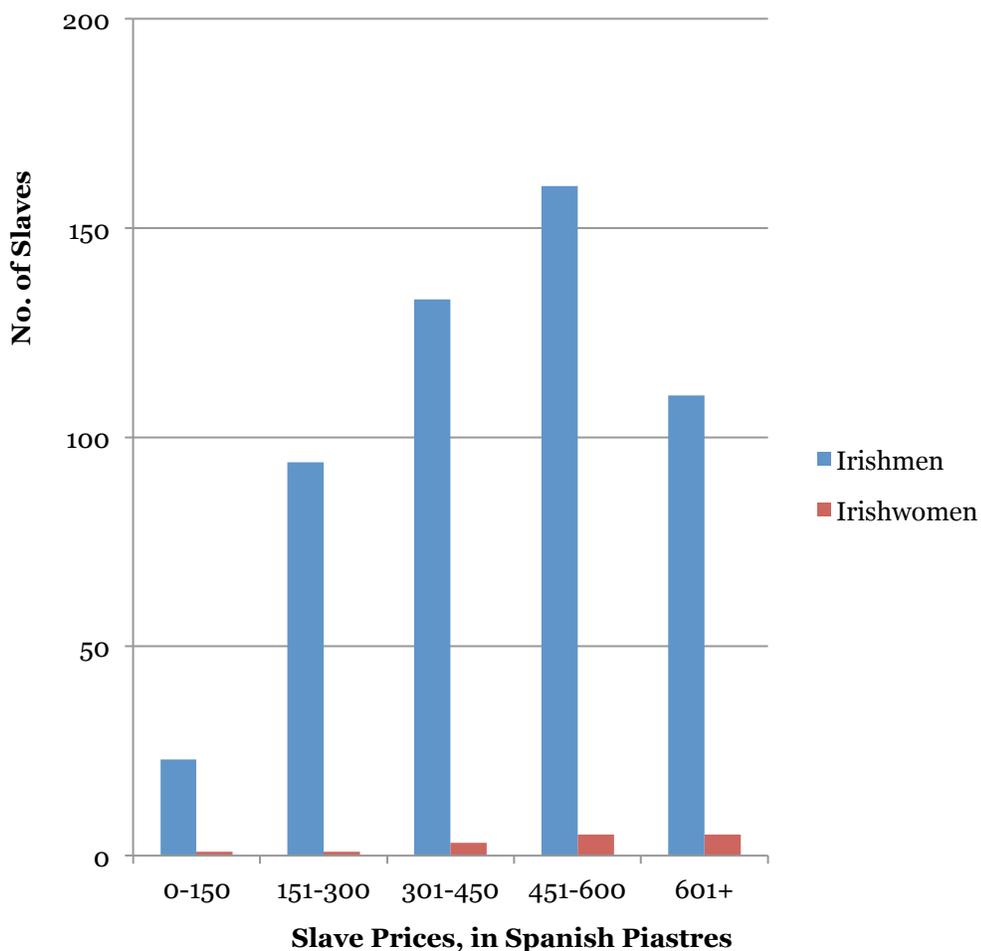
¹¹¹ For enslaved women as domestics, see Deborah G. White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999); Timothy J. Lockley, "Spheres of Influence: Working White and Black Women in Antebellum Savannah," in *Neither Lady Nor Slave: Working Women of the Old South*, ed. Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 102-120.

Table 6.3. Gender Breakdown of Irish-Owned Slaves in New Orleans, 1770-1820

Slave-Owner:	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Irishmen	774	60	509	40
Irishwomen	10	40	15	60
TOTAL	784	--	524	--

Source: Hall's Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719-1820 (<http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave/>) and NONA. This table does not include references to the 123 enslaved persons whose gender was not indicated.

Table 6.4. Cost Breakdown of Irish-Owned Slaves in New Orleans, 1770-1820



Source: Hall's Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719-1820 (<http://www.ibiblio.org/laslave/>) and NONA. This table does not include references to the 896 enslaved persons whose individual costs were not indicated.

these activities.¹¹² Indeed, those few Irishwomen who ran businesses apart from men similarly maintained estates showing a great need for masculine labor than did their non-professional female compatriots. Mary Fitzgerald, for instance, operated a tavern out of her New Orleans home in the 1790s. She did so apart from a first husband who still resided in Ireland and a second husband in Louisiana from whom she was separated.¹¹³ To fulfill the needs of her café and her adjacent living quarters, Fitzgerald owned and employed three enslaved men and three enslaved women.¹¹⁴

A majority of Irishwomen who personally owned human-chattel in early Louisiana, however, owned estates dominated by women. Enslaved women constituted sixty percent of these settlers' investments in black bodies.¹¹⁵ These enslaved purchases purposefully identified immigrant women as buyers rather than makers. An association of women with households and thus more conspicuous consumption was not a new phenomenon. Rather, much as with forms of fashion, contemporaries expected women to—and criticized them when they did—exhibit more taste than men.¹¹⁶ Irishwomen's purchase of enslaved women came out of this tradition and reflected not only personal but popular expectations that their material decisions would be based on ostentation. Elizabeth White, for instance, owned in 1820 three female attendants who lived and

¹¹² See especially Betty Wood, *Women's Work, Men's Work: the Informal Slave Economies of Lowcountry Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995).

¹¹³ By December 1795, Mary Fitzgerald had lived separately from her New Orleans husband, John Jely (or Healy) for eight years. She claimed that he circulated false reports concerning the death of her first husband in Ireland; and thus sought to have her second marriage to Jely invalidated. See Mary Fitzgerald to Bishop Luis Penalver y Cardenas, New Orleans, 24 December 1795, ND.

¹¹⁴ Sale between Robert Steel and Mary Fitzgerald, Acts of [Francisco] Broutin, 11 February 1789, NONA. Sale from Carlota Cowperthwait to Maria Fitzgerald, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 19, 1 October 1793; NONA. Sale from Santiago Jarreau to Maria Fitzgerald, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 42, 28 September 1802; NONA. Sale from Mary Fitzgerald to George Stacpoole, Acts of Pedro Pedesclaux, vol. 37, 11 August 1800, NONA. Sale between Mary Fitzgerald and James Penny, Acts of [Pedro] Pedesclaux, 4 February 1788, NONA.

¹¹⁵ I have located estate records relating to eight different Irishwomen who owned human-chattel. And only one such slave-holder, Sarah Winslow, owned more enslaved men than women.

¹¹⁶ Berg, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, 119-134; 165-206.

worked in her home—Cinthia (aged 15), Phoebe (aged 50) and Rhuby (aged 40).¹¹⁷ These enslaved women would have completed specific, productive domestic tasks, like cooking, cleaning and childcare. The sweating bodies of laboring women never replaced the pristine appearance of silver ware; but, again, their productivity left space for female Irish owners to remove themselves from the burden of household chores. The presence of black bodies in private homes announced this ability, even when they were not working, and also spoke to slaveholders' financial capabilities. This made black bodies luxury commodities and, subsequently, goods that many immigrants particularly sought. Their presence is confirmed in the surviving estates of Irishwomen. In her 1811 inventory, for example, Dorothy O'Brien registered a "Negro woman named Nancy, aged about twenty eight years, her son Joseph aged seven years, her daughter Feliciana aged one year" alongside two expensive mahogany tea tables, which also were used to perform a desired elite materiality.¹¹⁸ Through their high costs and spatial proximity, New Orleans appraisers suggested the joint-use of these commodities in performing desired and attained social statuses.

The estate records of Irish husband and wife, Francis Riley and Eliza Cahill Hays, offer further evidence of the ways immigrants used human chattel to identify themselves individually as producers and consumers in Louisiana. Riley, as previously discussed, left a postmortem material estate heavily indicative of his professional life. And, among his hoops, tools and nails, appraisers also noted his prior ownership of two slaves, "William Cowan, aged about twenty nine years" (who labored in Riley's cooperage) and "Grace, aged about fourteen years," both of whom the Irishman bequeathed to his

¹¹⁷ Sale from Elizabeth White, 18 April 1820, Archives of the Spanish Government of West Florida.

¹¹⁸ Inventory of "Dorothy O'Brien, wife Sanderson, 1815, Estate Inventories.

surviving spouse.¹¹⁹ These possessions primarily identified the Irishman as a producer for New Orleans' busy port, and they reflected his internalization of expectations for slaveholding within this specific social and cultural setting.

The Dublin-born Eliza Cahill Hays, however, demonstrated a different, yet equally astute consciousness of the proper social performances expected of slaveholding women in Louisiana. She quickly sold the human properties bequeathed to her by Riley in 1815. Hays then used the proceeds to purchase a residence in the up-and-coming Faubourg Sainte-Marie neighborhood and several domestic attendants. The latter included "one negro slave named Bill, aged about thirty years," "one negress named Sall, aged about fifty years" and "one negress named Mary, aged about thirty years."¹²⁰ This material transition defined Hays as a consumer, rather than a producer like her husband. Yet it is notable that, to express this identity locally, she found a need to switch her human-chattel properties. Several of these black bodies, in fact, were of comparable ages, which suggests that there were other factors like skill-sets that inspired their exchange. This further indicates that Hays was well aware of material expectations for slaveholding in contemporary New Orleans and that she understood that different enslaved bodies filled different roles and reflected different identities for owners. The Irishwoman acknowledged that, to further demonstrate those financial successes that inspired her move to the Faubourg Sainte-Marie, she needed to not only own costly human-chattel but to own certain kinds.¹²¹ These imperatives prompted her to trade out those properties that identified her husband professionally and to purchase enslaved bodies that identified her both as materially prominent and as a consumer in the

¹¹⁹ Inventory of Francis Riley, 1813, Estate Inventories.

¹²⁰ Inventory of Eliza Cahil, 1823, Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid. Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, 15-16.

domestic realm. In doing so, Hays, like many Irish settlers, referenced Gulf Coast expectations for slave-owning with a great deal of fluidity and comfort.

The Irishmen and women revealed in New Orleans archives clearly understood owning slaves as an essential element in communicating their status to fellow residents of the Gulf Coast. Black bodies not only attested to Irish owners' financial abilities and impressive consumptions. They also signaled their successes in their new home and thus justified their immigrations. Slaves and slaveholding habits, however, were not exhibited to family members and friends who remained in Ireland to similar effect.

Adaptive Problems, Written Silences

Irish migrants avidly engaged the slave trade in early New Orleans, but they rarely wrote home about it. This silence is especially odd given that transatlantic correspondence in this period focused exactly on such personal and material updates.¹²² Fathers, mothers, sons, daughters and friends inquired about each others' health and about their opportunities for advancement in the New World. Many Irish immigrants kept these letters frequent, as correspondents moving across the Atlantic Ocean sought to benefit from one another's knowledge and American experiences.¹²³ Immigrants were specific about the benefits they attained in New Orleans in their writings. In a 1793 message to his mother, for example, linguist Mathias O'Conway bragged about the elite Louisianans who hired him as a language instructor. He noted that no less renown

¹²² Pearsall, *Atlantic Families*.

¹²³ See, for example, Moore Family Papers. Cunningham and Clarke Manuscripts. Watt Family Correspondence. Also, Miller, et al., *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, 53-118. There is little evidence to suggest that this trend was particular to immigrants from Ireland and, instead, likely characterized many of the populations from common spaces who moved in large numbers overseas in the early Americas. See, especially discussions of German migration. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*; Aaron S. Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996)

persons than “the Gov[ernor’s] daughter, Baroness de Carondolet” employed his skills.¹²⁴ The Irishman similarly qualified his Gulf Coast successes in material terms relating to land-ownership. He described to his mother in 1793 the numerous “fruit trees” and the “pidgeon house” he built on his lot located just outside of the Vieux Carré.¹²⁵ He even wrote of other Irish settlers’ successes in this way. O’Conway instructed his relatives to inform the Ardtry family of William Dermady that the latter recently procured 450 acres, a house and husbandry implements to develop a plantation near New Orleans. This update clearly meant to let Dermady’s relatives know that he was doing well. Other correspondents, both in the Old and New Worlds, focused on the attainment of additional moveable commodities to signify American social and financial achievement. Elizabeth Blair, the Newry mother of merchant James Blair, wrote to her son about the opportunities afforded a mutual acquaintance in 1777. She did this in terms that associated success with the ownership of particular goods, herein naval investment: “James Ogleby is in Amerca making a fortune he is master of a 20 gun ship I forget her name.”¹²⁶ Indeed, as previous chapters have suggested, shared transatlantic material cultures allowed settlers to use things to describe changes in their post-migration lives in terms that their Irish relations mostly understood. Given that such correspondents did regularly qualify their lives via consumables, the absence of black bodies in these descriptions is all the more notable.

Since many of the aforementioned Irish immigrants did encounter and own enslaved bodies in the early Americas, their silence on this meaningful *and success-*

¹²⁴ Mathias O’Conway to Isabel O’Hogan, New Orleans, 17 October 1793, Correspondence...of the family of O’Conway.

¹²⁵ Ibid. As many Catholics were barred from owning real-estates (or even long-term leases in Ireland), it is likely that the purchase of a house and surrounding lands may have held particular meaning for them. For more on contemporary land practices in Ireland, see R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 211.

¹²⁶ Elizabeth Blair to James Blair, Newry, 12 July 1777, Blair Family Letters. All spelling is original.

indicating material habit was likely purposeful rather than accidental. O’Conway, for instance, described his friend’s accumulations for a Louisiana plantation, but he conspicuously excluded enslaved laborers in his description. This was despite the fact that they were probably the most costly and productive units on this rural estate.¹²⁷ Such omissions were not unique to Irish correspondence in Louisiana. James Blair, who sometimes traded out of New Orleans, owned approximately one hundred slaves on a St. Eustacius plantation when he corresponded with his mother in the 1770s. These laborers were responsible for many of the Irishman’s agricultural exports and again signified his New World financial gains. Blair, however, never wrote home about these possessions.¹²⁸ Irishmen and women who owned slaves along the early Gulf Coast, instead, used their silence as a way to deal with the humanity of their enslaved bodies at personal and transoceanic levels. Mathias O’Conway, like many of his Louisiana contemporaries, never recognized the enslaved persons he encountered in servile roles by their names. Rather, the woman who washed his clothes simply was labeled “negress,” and the woman from whom he regularly bought groceries was acknowledged only by her owner, “the Catalon.” These women were essentialized by role and race but never personalized by the Irish linguist.¹²⁹

Silence on habits of slaveholding in transoceanic Irish correspondence suggests that immigrants may not have written about their enslaved properties because they were not sure that their Old World relations understood the meanings these buy-ables locally conveyed. Irish New Orleanians simply owned too many black bodies to suggest that

¹²⁷ Mathias O’Conway to Isabel O’Hogan, New Orleans, 17 October 1793, Correspondence...of the family of O’Conway.

¹²⁸ See accounts of “Messrs. James & Lambert Blair to William Stevenson,” 15 June 1791; 16 June 1791; 5 September 1791; 13 January 1791, Blair Family Letters. For more on the Blair economy, see Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, 94.

¹²⁹ Mathias O’Conway, New Orleans account books, 12 October 1793, Correspondence...of the family of O’Conway. The O’Conway family also had regular contact with free people of color in New Orleans. Mathias O’Conway paid an unnamed “negress” several times for cooking services. He also sold the farm he owned just outside of the Vieux Carré to a free man of color. *Ibid.*, 10 August 1793.

they felt guilty about the consumer habit. And not enough residents of Ireland were abolitionists to cause discomfort. As already discussed, Old World consumers did not have contact with large populations of living black bodies. Yet, it was exactly the regular contact with human-chattel, understood as persons and as objects, that informed the social and cultural context of Gulf Coast slaveholding. The shift to this new setting proved troubling enough for Irish Louisianans living overseas. It would not be surprising if they did not expect less familiar relations in Ireland to understand.

These silences, in fact, emphasize the difficulties with which many immigrants adjusted to Louisiana slavery. Irish New Orleanians not only owned black bodies in an unfamiliar Gulf Coast context. They had to deal directly with their enslaved possessions as reactive persons, including expressions of grief following family sales, rebellion in running away and pride in workplace performance. John Fitzpatrick, for example, dealt directly with the efforts of one enslaved laborer named York to flee his Louisiana master in 1778. He ultimately suggested “a proper pair of Irons” as the only inhibitor.¹³⁰ As a result, Irish slave-owners—like their New World neighbors—had to make regular efforts to objectify and re-objectify their human-chattel.

The shift from migrant to master was not universally smooth for immigrants. Records, in fact, indicate that Irish settlers adjusted with both anxiety and frustration to the unfamiliar and socially and culturally tenuous consumerism. Daniel Clark, Sr., for example, wrote to his Irish contacts in the 1760s about his and other Americans’ fears of large-scale rebellion by black bodies. He used this dread of enslaved agency, however, to capitalize on new business ventures. Clark, Sr. particularly advocated for the import of more indentured servants to North America. Not only would the contracts negotiating

¹³⁰ John Fitzpatrick to Thomas O’Keefe, Spanish Manchac, 13 May 1778, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 291-292. Fitzpatrick soon also wrote to another associate about a different enslaved man’s hope for freedom: “Your Negroe boy seems well pleased With this part of the province and Talk no more about his being a Free Man.” John Fitzpatrick to William Weir, Spanish Manchac, September 16, 1778, *Ibid*, 307-308.

such transports significantly add to his income.¹³¹ They also, because Irish laborers were presumed less likely to rise in open revolt, were hopefully to alleviate some demographic pressures existing in the Americas.

Irish New Orleanians also and uncomfortably saw their efforts to racialize expectations for Afro-descended bodies upset by Louisiana's large population of free people of color and liberal opportunities for self-manumission under the Spanish regime.¹³² This meant that, just as often as Irish settlers convinced themselves that their enslaved properties were objects, there were dark-skinned individuals in New Orleans legally identified as persons. Irish planter Patrick Macnemara, for example, was confounded by the contradiction of race and status posed by free persons of color. He found himself the subject of a judicial suit in the 1770s due to his inability to properly pick out which black bodies in Spanish colonial Louisiana were objects and which were individuals. The Irishman encountered the free woman of color Marie Pechon and her son Francis sojourning in a slave-cabin near New Orleans in December 1776. The family had been traveling and was staying with acquaintances for the evening. An inebriated Macnemara perceived the pair's darkened skin color and, assuming them to be escaped maroons, attempted an arrest. He then beat and severely stabbed Francis, whom he believed was trying to escape.¹³³ In his defense before the Spanish Cabildo, an unrepentant Macnemara blamed the Pechons for their injuries, and he claimed they

¹³¹ Clark specifically noted indentured servants might "Strengthen and increase the Number of white People and to guard against the Terrors which all the Rest of our Colonies are exposed to from the Insurrection & Rebellion of Negroes which by far are the most Numerous...especially to the Southward of us." Daniel Clark, Sr. to Edward Cochran, Philadelphia, 5 December 1761, Clark Letters Book. Daniel Clark, Sr. to James Dromgoole, Philadelphia, 5 December 1761, Ibid. Daniel Clark, Sr. to Edward Cochran, Philadelphia, 23 November 1761, Ibid.

¹³² Spanish law, as dictated by the Siete Partidas, included opportunities for *coartación*. This allowed that enslaved persons might purchase their own freedom at a fair marketable price and without their owners' consent. Given that the urban economy of early New Orleans allowed many slaves the means to earn petty cash, individuals were able to self-manumit and to join an expanding free(d) New Orleans population. Jennifer Spear, *Race, Sex and Social Order in Early New Orleans* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 111-112.

¹³³ Pechon v. Macnemara, 9 December 1776, Spanish Judiciary Records.

should have been carrying freedom papers when away from home. Clearly, while a slaveholder himself, he struggled to reconcile enslaved black bodies as objects with free black bodies that equally shared his activities as a consumer in early New Orleans.

Macnemara's response was extreme in this instance, but many contemporary Irish immigrants shared his confusion and discomfort in adjusting to nuanced rules of slaveholding that involved real human bodies. Yet, these Irish settlers did share another experience which helped them transition to slave-owning as a material habit and to do so on local terms, despite their disconnects. This was their investment in the commercial networks in the Atlantic World, evident in their relationship to such less problematic commodities as food and textiles.

Irish New Orleanians may have been unprepared for owning enslaved persons in the New World, but they were quite familiar with circulations of native and foreign materials and with referencing these commodities in ways that expressed certain identities for owners. Many Irish traders who lived along the early Gulf Coast found themselves quickly engaged in commercial activities that related to black bodies, whether they bought, sold or traded in human-chattel or not. Merchants and retailers, first, regularly were requested to attain specific commodities for their customers on commission. And Irishmen focused on the frontier trade often worked as middlemen. They came to Louisiana with written requests from clients who wanted specific foods, textiles and even slaves and brought these items back to local shoppers.¹³⁴ Merchants, furthermore, were among the most well-connected of urban dwellers. Immigrants involved in trade thus were sought to advise for the slaveholding demands of friends, and

¹³⁴ Daniel Clark to William Neale, Philadelphia, 16 October 1768; 25 September 1768, Clark Letters Book. Coxe & Clark to Reed & Forde, New Orleans, 21 March 1793; 10 July 1793, Reed and Forde Papers. In 1768, John Stephenson inquired of Irish merchant John Fitzpatrick: "if in Case any of your friends has a Negro Man that they will sell, at a reasonable price, There is a Spanish Gentleman that will Take him." John Fitzpatrick to John Stephenson, New Orleans, 30 June 1768, in Dalrymple, *Merchant of Manchac*, 38-39. John Fitzpatrick to Peter Swanson, Manchac, 22 September 1771, *Ibid*, 110-111.

they were employed to spread the news about enslaved runaways in locales removed from the city. In a 1772 letter to associate Jesse Lum, for instance, John Fitzpatrick reassuringly noted that he inquired after the Natchez planter's "Negro...having sent Advertms. to Sundry parts on the Mississippi; where I thought He might have Got too."¹³⁵ In this way, enslaved black bodies fit a niche already used by many immigrant traders. This made the switch to treating black bodies also as commodities more familiar.

New settlers along the Gulf Coast also brought with them, as previous chapters indicate, a familiarity with commodities coming from non-local sources and with the use of these fashionable items to express themselves socially, culturally, economically and professionally. French cooking, silver spoons and high-end linens all were trends that traveled with Irishmen and women across the Atlantic Ocean. Both new and native New Orleanians associated the owning and knowledgeable use of these items with monetary means and high-end living. Enslaved black bodies, again, had the potential to step into this existing category of meaningful luxury consumption for Irishmen and women moving to and residing in the early American South. Thus, even though immigrants had to adjust to the altered meanings attached to black bodies in New Orleans, they still had the foundational material language needed to understand the purchase of enslaved persons. Until they adjusted to the complexities of local enslaved consumption, in short, bondsmen filled the same luxury-associated roles for shoppers as did imported foods and fine cloths.

Most of Irish immigrants' consumerisms in New Orleans between 1780 and 1820 were experienced as sites of continuity between their Old and New Worlds lives. Goods moved regularly between Europe and the Gulf Coast and fashions were equally transatlantic. Encounters with enslaved black bodies, however, proved an exception to this trend. And this spoke to the unique extractive environment of the early American

¹³⁵ John Fitzpatrick to Jesse Lum, Manchac, October 12, 1772, *Ibid*, 130-131.

South, which required cheap and large labor sources. Once Africans and African-Americans met these needs and expanded their demographic presence in the region, new slaveholders began to develop social and cultural institutions meant to separate the races and to deny the humanity of enslaved men and women. Irish Louisianans, coming from a setting with few black bodies and a mostly paternalistic understanding of Africa, did not easily adjust to such shifts. They responded with fear, confusion, frustration and silence to a slaveholding situation that emphasized their distance from their familiar native land. Ultimately, however, immigrants understood that to express their successes to new neighbors they would need to buy into systems of Gulf Coast slavery. After all, material advancement motivated a significant portion of these emigrations. These individuals thus eagerly transitioned to the role of master and they did so quite quickly. Treating actual enslaved persons like material items aligned Irishmen and women with local views of slaveholding and thus can be understood as a rare site of adaptation to early Louisiana. Yet, it also placed an unfamiliar commodity—the living, thinking black body—into consumer categories that immigrants knew quite well before their transoceanic travels. The phenomenon of slave-ownership reveals that Irish New Orleanians did not experience their transition from life in Ireland to life along the Gulf Coast as entirely smooth. It emphasizes, however, that material culture was an acknowledged and intimate site of this migratory adjustment. In the end, it aided many settlers in making sense of the familiar *and* unfamiliar aspects of their new homes.

Conclusion:
Material Matters

The docents at the Ulster American Folk Park near Omagh, Northern Ireland have an exercise that they employ with tour groups. They bring visitors into a restored, nineteenth-century cottage and place before them a single traveling case. They then ask their audience to imagine that they are Famine (or post-1845) immigrants and that this small bag represented the total of their luggage allotment. The group is instructed to ponder those items that they would bring with them to restart their lives in North America.¹ Most choose photographs or some other form of imagery. Others select local newspapers, so that they might remember the small details of their native towns. A clever few—with the postfacto knowledge that many travelers had trying times ahead—propose valuables that might be sold for profit overseas. All, however, assume that items left behind were permanently lost and that immigrants would have to begin their lives in the Americas without them. These intimate feelings of dislocation and dispossession are exactly those that docents intend to illicit.²

Material ruptures may have been more normal for the poor, rural Catholics who moved to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. But they did not, as this dissertation has shown, characterize the experiences of a majority of earlier immigrants. These included those Irishmen and women who relocated to colonial and early national New Orleans between 1780 and 1820. These individuals indeed saw their economic,

¹ See “Emigrant Journey Re-Enactment,” *Learning at the Ulster American Folk Park: Connecting with your Curriculum* (Castletown: National Museums Northern Ireland, ca. 2012).

² Patrick Fitzgerald, Director of the Centre for Migration Studies, phone interview, 20 July 2012.

social and cultural lives revolve around the transoceanic circulation of things, before and after their travels. Ireland's connection to imperial and transoceanic networks beginning in the 1500s brought non-local persons and commodities to the island. There, residents invested in trade and earned more money than they spent on conspicuous consumerisms, thereby adding the foreign to their professional and personal routines. The merchants, traders and retailers who moved *en masse* to early Louisiana especially did so. Along the Gulf Coast, immigrants encountered non-Irish settlers who enmeshed themselves in the same material networks that made Ireland so cosmopolitan. Inhabitants of both shores, in short, came from common and commodity-based hubs of the Atlantic World. In many cases, like groceries and cloths, Irish settlers found similar material markets in New Orleans and were able to maintain existing consumer habits uninhibited by their change in geography. At other moments, especially when encountering enslaved black bodies, immigrants were confused by unfamiliar possessions and their material meanings. They, however, adapted quickly and used prior experiences with goods as social and cultural identifiers to adjust. Things thus allowed Irish settlers a site of intimate—and familiar—encounter with their New World homes.

The material thus truly mattered for Irish New Orleanians. It was a motive for migration and a way to publically and privately connect with neighbors overseas. Isolated comparisons of immigrants only with other Irishmen and women or only with Louisiana natives miss out on this narrative of transoceanic similarity. After all, Irish commercial and consumer experiences along the Gulf Coast looked quite a lot like those of their Old World compatriots and of native New Orleanians. By merging these histories, it again becomes clear the intense connectivities that linked these two settings. Irish and Louisiana residents looked so similar in their material networks because they shared them. This suggests that inquiries of retention and adjustment should not dominate migratory histories of this period. Rather, men like the Daniels Clark, Sr. and

Jr. traded with fellow Irishmen because they were informed and invested in their business, not because they shared an island origin. These same requirements linked immigrants to non-Irish merchants.³ Material culture provided sites of professional gain for many Irish New Orleanians in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They also offered appropriate and familiar sites of financial and economic performance and of social and cultural identity. Things, as a result, essentially informed these immigrants' experiences of settlement and encounter in the lower Mississippi Valley.

This dissertation has focused on the accessibility of certain commodities to Irish consumers in the Old and New Worlds. This, in part, is the result of archival limitations wherein Irish estate inventories are hard to come by and material records of the crossing rare.⁴ Yet, it makes clear that immigrants between 1780 and 1820 had the opportunities to purchase and use many of the same goods in Ireland and New Orleans. Postmortem appraisals additionally indicate that they did. It is harder, however, to get at what Irishmen and women *thought* about their consumer habits and their transoceanic transitions. Were immigrants, in fact, relieved to find familiar items overseas? Did they, especially commercially-informed traders, assume they would be there? Or did stories of an unfamiliar, frightening and wondrous New World popularized after 1492 continue to inform their expectations?⁵ Finally, were settlers truly invested or even interested in their fashionability along the Gulf Coast? And, if so, did they look to European or to Louisianan (who looked to Europe) elites as their stylish trend-setters? As this project progresses, it will incorporate a wider number of Irish and non-Irish inventories in an

³ See pages 57-63.

⁴ Thus far, the only immigrants I have been able to directly trace as they moved from Ireland to early New Orleans were those that left behind detailed journals. Yet, even these records leave little indication of the things travelers brought with them. See Hugh Quin, Jr., *Journal, 1817*, Quin Papers.

⁵ Charles Zika, *Exorcising Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Smith and Findlen, *Merchants and Marvels*; Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

effort to discern any truly unique aspects of Irish-New Orleans consumerism and get at the complex role of choice in their material accumulations. Surveyed records make clear, however, that immigrant material habits cannot properly be classified as ethnic before 1820. Rather, they were specifically transatlantic.

The importance of material networks to Irish Louisianans inspires new inquiries on the subject of transoceanic movement generally in the early Atlantic World. In particular, it invites scholars to revisit the question of how early encounters with the foreign influenced the expectations of travelers and the ways they adjusted to non-local settings. By 1700, Europeans had a century of contact—in the written word, in persons and in materials—with the Americas. Some items, like the potato, were so ingrained in Old World lives that their New World provenances were forgotten or ignored. Alison Games has done much to explore this topic as it relates to colonizing efforts. Her study of Great Britain's evolving imperial efforts from the East Indies to Jamestown to Ireland shows that politicians and military personnel were aware of foreign environments and even tried to learn from prior experiences of colonization.⁶ Material culture offers a key lens into this important inquiry on how globally connected this early world was, even after nation-building began in spaces like the early United States. It particularly allows for the inclusion of elites *and* middling Europeans into this narrative, as consumerism allowed all social levels the chance to introduce elements of the foreign into their public and private lives. Migratory and material networks surely overlapped for more than Irish New Orleanians. By teasing these instances out, we not only will be able to more accurately depict early immigration. They also will uncover the intimate mediums through which contemporaries identified themselves and their neighbors across geographies, empires and oceans.

⁶ Games, *The Web of Empire*.

Appendices:
APPENDIX A:
Irish Population of Early New Orleans, 1780-1820

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
Allen	John		--	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Allen	Thomas	Co. Limerick		<i>Cath</i>	--
Armstrong	Mary Ann	Antrim		<i>Cath</i>	--
Awalle	James		Margaret Bonyon	<i>Cath</i>	--
Bara	Mary		David Mullony	<i>Cath</i>	--
Barney	Michael			<i>Cath</i>	--
Barrett	Michael			<i>Cath</i>	--
Barrett	Thomas	merchant			Yes
Barrett	William	planter			--
Beard	Christoval				--
Bernard	Andrew				Yes
Blair	James	Newry, merchant			Yes
Bonner	John	Tyrone, soldier	Ann Hogan	<i>Cath</i>	--
Bouil	Thomas	Wexford	--	<i>Cath</i>	--
Bradley	Edward		--		Yes
Brenon	Brigitte	Co. Cavan	Thomas Smith	<i>Cath</i>	--

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
Brophy	Anna, Nancy		John Brophy	<i>Cath</i>	[Yes]
Brouton	Helen			<i>Cath</i>	--
Brown	Anna	Galway	George Foster	<i>Cath</i>	--
Brown	Harriet		Jean J. Rapp	<i>Cath</i>	[Yes]
Brown	William	Dublin, customs collector	Celeste E. Labranche	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Bryant, O'Brien	Christopher, Sr.	landowner			--
Bugs	Thomas			<i>Cath</i>	--
Burns	Daniel			<i>Cath</i>	--
Burry	Thomas		--	<i>Cath</i>	--
Butler	Martin	Co. Kilkenny	--	<i>Cath</i>	--
Byrne	Mailen, Marlen			<i>Cath</i>	--
Cahill Hays	Eliza	Dublin	Francis Riley, Nicholas Sinnot	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Callaghan	Daniel				Yes
Cambel	[male]				--
Campsey	Joseph	Woort	Mary McDonal	<i>Cath</i>	--
Cannon	Nicholas	Co. Monaghan		<i>Cath</i>	--
Care	Elizabeth		William Devize	<i>Cath</i>	--
Caris	Mary	Armagh		<i>Cath</i>	--
Carlom	Elizabeth		Philippe Carlom	<i>Cath</i>	--
Carr	Hugh			<i>Cath</i>	Yes

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
Carroll	James		Margaret Campbell	<i>Cath</i>	--
Carroll	Patrick		Susan Nunan	<i>Cath</i>	--
Casey	Thomas	Co. Cork	Isabel Glapion	<i>Cath</i>	--
Castillon	Michael		Mary Kerigan	<i>Cath</i>	--
Cathcart	James	navy			--
Caughway	Mary	Ballinakindi, tavern keeper	William Wells	<i>Cath</i>	No
Caushy	Mary		Del Fiory	<i>Cath</i>	--
Caveneugh	Paul	Limerick		<i>Cath</i>	--
Cecets	Peter			<i>Cath</i>	--
Clancy	William		Anne Tinnen	<i>Cath</i>	--
Clark	Daniel, Sr.	Sligo, merchant	Jane Hoops	<i>Presb.</i>	Yes
Clark	Daniel, Jr.	Sligo, merchant	--		Yes
Clark	George				--
Clark	Margaret		Claude Chabot	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Clark	[Robert]	Sligo			--
Clark	Thomas	Co. Derry			--
Cochran	George	Belfast, merchant	--		Yes
Cochran	Robert	Belfast, merchant			Yes
Cody	James		Margaret McGovan	<i>Cath</i>	--
Coghlan	Edward		Elizabeth Hays	<i>Cath</i>	--
Collins	Dyonisio			<i>Cath</i>	--

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
Collins	William P.	Co. Monaghan, carpenter			Yes
Connelin	Catherine	Sligo	Thomas Connelin	<i>Cath</i>	--
Connelin	Thomas		Catherine Connelin	<i>Cath</i>	--
Conner	Mary Anne		Andrew Coulter	<i>Cath</i>	--
Connors	Stephen			<i>Cath</i>	--
Conway	Maurice	Limerick, planter	Juana F. Macarty	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Conway	Patrick	Limerick			Yes
Conway	William		Elizabeth Gubbins	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Cook	Mary	Co. Sligo	James Fahey	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Coppin	Thomas Tolver		Christine Ovene	<i>Cath</i>	--
Cormack	Catherine	Kilkenny	John Cormack	<i>Cath</i>	--
Cormack	John	Kilkenny	Catherine Cormack	<i>Cath</i>	--
Corn	James			<i>Cath</i>	--
Coujil	Elizabeth L.		Francis O'Reily	<i>Cath</i>	--
Coushin	John				--
Crispin	Nicolas	Bara			--
Cuddy	Barney	Belfast	Fanny Cuddy	<i>Cath</i>	--
Cuddy	Fanny	Belfast	Barney Cuddy	<i>Cath</i>	--
Cula[n]ar	Charles Mack	sailor		<i>Cath</i>	--
Cullen	James	Co. Wexford			--
Cummins	Patrick	Ardee	Belle King	<i>Cath</i>	--

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
Cummins	William	stevedore			--
Curneen	William	Co. Sligo	Onees Gillon	<i>Cath</i>	--
Dalton	Thomas V.	trader, language instructor			Yes
Darard	Joseph		Constance Tixeran	<i>Cath</i>	--
Dempsey	Marie		Patrick Morgan		[Yes]
Dermady	William	Ardtry, farmer			--
Dixon	James		Angelica Catoire	<i>Cath</i>	--
Dollen	Marie			<i>Cath</i>	--
Dougherty	Catherine			<i>Cath</i>	--
Dougherty	John	distiller			--
Dougherty	M. Frances				--
Doyle	Edward	Dublin		<i>Cath</i>	--
Doylt	John			<i>Cath</i>	--
Duffy	Moses	merchant shoemaker	Jeanne Z. Verloin	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Duffy	S.J. James				--
Dunns	William	Dublin		<i>Cath</i>	--
Duny	Charles W.			<i>Cath</i>	--
Early	Hugh	laborer		<i>Cath</i>	--
Englis	Rhutisa	Belfast	Simon Paxton	<i>Cath</i>	--
Estern	John			<i>Cath</i>	--
Fahey	Brigitte	Co. Sligo	Henry McCaddon	<i>Cath</i>	No

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
Fahey	James	Co. Sligo	Mary Cook	<i>Cath</i>	No
Farrell	Mary	Limerick	Laurence Nowlan	<i>Cath</i>	--
Ferguson	James	Artry, merchant	--	<i>Pro.</i>	Yes
Fiory	Del		Mary Caushy	<i>Cath</i>	--
Fitzgerald	Catherine V.				--
Fitzgerald	David				Yes
Fitzgerald	James Rice	Dingle, merchant	Catherine Desaec		Yes
Fitzgerald	Mary	Limerick			Yes
Fitzwilliam	James	Co. Wexford	--	<i>Cath</i>	--
Fitzpatrick	John	Waterford, merchant	Marie J. Nivet	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Fitzpatrick	Jones				No
Fitzwilliam	Thomas	Co. Wexford, café owner	Anne Hennings	<i>Cath</i>	--
Flannery	Matthew				No
Fleggs	Elizabeth			<i>Cath</i>	--
Fletcher	James	Dublin, merchant	Anne Cath. Hepp		Yes
Foley	Daniel		Nancy Murphy	<i>Cath</i>	--
Foley	Edmond			<i>Cath</i>	--
Foley	Patrick		--		--
Foley	Patrick	Co. Clare, merchant	Martha Davis	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Foley	Patrick		Elizabeth Morgan		--
Foley	Rosabella		Wm Duane, Nich. Hoy	<i>Cath</i>	--

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
Ford	Thomas		Brigit Neil	<i>Cath</i>	--
Forman	Elizabeth	Derry			--
Forster	George	Dublin	Anne Brown	<i>Cath</i>	--
Fox	Alecia		John Fox	<i>Cath</i>	No
Fox	Patrick James	Co. Longford, hotelier	Elizabeth Macfader	<i>Cath</i>	--
Fox	William			<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Franché	Gregory			<i>Cath</i>	--
Gallagher	Catherine		James Gallagher	<i>Cath</i>	[Yes]
Gallagher	James	laborer	Catherine Gallagher	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Gallagher	John		Adelaide Beaumont	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Griffin	Mary Anne		J. McCullough, Greg Hagrane	<i>Cath</i>	[Yes]
Gubbins	Elizabeth	Knocklong	William Conway		[Yes]
Hanly	Peter		Ann Scot	<i>Cath</i>	--
Haotan	William		Elizabeth White	<i>Cath</i>	[Yes]
Harty	Daniel		--	<i>Cath</i>	No
Harty	Philip		--	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Harty	Simon	merchant	Susan Michel	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Hasset	Thomas	Waterford, vicar general	--	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Hatothorn	Maria		--	<i>Cath</i>	--
Hennoury	Elizabeth			<i>Cath</i>	--

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
Hetsy	John		Maria Hetsy	<i>Cath</i>	--
Hetsy	Maria		John Hetsy, John Sal	<i>Cath</i>	--
Hicky	Daniel	Ennis, planter, Indian commissioner	Martha Sriven		Yes
Hinde	Julia	Ashlohne	George Stackpoole	<i>Cath</i>	--
Hollinger	Adam				--
Hopkins	James		Mary LaMartis	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Howard	Charles	military		<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Hoy	Nicholas	bottler	Rosabella Foley	<i>Cath</i>	[Yes]
Huetes	Thomas			<i>Cath</i>	--
Hull	James F.	Bangor, minister		<i>Presb.</i>	--
Hunter	Charles	Dublin	Mary Hymel	<i>Cath</i>	--
Johnston	Sally		Thomas Johnston		[Yes]
Joyce	John	Cork, merchant	Constance Rochon		Yes
Kalagan	Mary		John Walker	<i>Cath</i>	[Yes]
Karrigan	Ann	Ennismascent	Peter Smith	<i>Cath</i>	[Yes]
Karrigan	John			<i>Cath</i>	--
Kelly	John	Co. Wexford	Elizabeth White	<i>Cath</i>	No
Kelly	John	grocer		<i>Cath</i>	--
Kelly	William	Drumcliff, grocer	Biddy McCleane	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Kennedy	Edward	Lisdowney	Catherine Rowney	<i>Cath</i>	--

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
Kennedy	[female]	boarding			--
Ker	Josiah Eliot	Newtownstewart, doctor	M. Laveau- Trudeau	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Kerigan	Mary		Michael Castillon	<i>Cath</i>	--
Kerr	David	court clerk		<i>Presb.</i>	Yes
Kerr	Eliza		John Dominigue	<i>Cath</i>	--
Kerr	Lewis	Dublin, lawyer	Isabel McPherson	<i>Angl.</i>	Yes
Kew	Margaret		Henry Michelsson	<i>Cath</i>	--
King	Belle	Co. Monaghan	T. Moghen, P. Cummins	<i>Cath</i>	--
Lennan	Michael	Co. Armagh	Josephine Marmillion	<i>Cath</i>	--
Lenus	Richard	cooper		<i>Cath</i>	--
Leonard	John		Helen O'Brien	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Leonard	Owen	Co. Leitrim	Catherine Kanny	<i>Cath</i>	--
Leslie	[Mrs. John]	Co. Antrim, [grocer]			[Yes]
Lett	Robert Sanders		Louise C. Mauricio		No
Loijklin	Brigitte		John Mitchell	<i>Cath</i>	--
Lomasny	James	Cork	Susan Nownan	<i>Cath</i>	--
Lonergan	Patrick	Waterford, priest	--	<i>Cath</i>	--
Lorten	[]			<i>Cath</i>	--
Loton	Mary Anne		Andrew Loton	<i>Cath</i>	--
Lou	Edmond			<i>Cath</i>	--
Low	Jacob		Mary Low	<i>Cath</i>	Yes

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
Lynd	John	Co. Tyrone, notary	Rose Ramos, Henra. Blanc	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Macarty	Jane			<i>Cath</i>	Yes
McCadon	Henry	Co. Sligo	Brigit Fahey	<i>Cath</i>	--
McCall	John	Cork	Margaret McCall		No
McCarre	James			<i>Cath</i>	--
McCarty	Mary	Co. Cavan	P. Ganon; Wm. McConnell	<i>Cath</i>	[Yes]
McCaslin	John			<i>Anab.</i>	--
M'Cauley	Hugh	Co. Sligo		<i>Cath</i>	--
McClasky	Arthur	Londonderry, merchant tailor	Sarah McKeever	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
McClasky	Charles			<i>Cath</i>	--
McClasky	[female]			<i>Cath</i>	--
McClelland	[male]			<i>Cath</i>	--
M'Clorey	Mary		William M'Clorey	<i>Cath</i>	--
McConnell	Alexander		--		--
McConnell	John			<i>Cath</i>	Yes
McConnell	Thomas		Zara Lund	<i>Cath</i>	--
McConnell	William	Longhala	Mary McCarty	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
M'Credy	James	Co. Tyrone	--	<i>Cath</i>	--
McCullough	Alexander				--
McDermott	William				--

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
McDolan	John	Downpatrick	--	<i>Cath</i>	--
McDonald	Mary		Joseph Campsey	<i>Cath</i>	--
McDonald	Patrick	drayman			--
MacDonough	James	Londonderry			--
Macfader	Elizabeth		Patrick Fox	<i>Cath</i>	--
McGarey	Patrick		Helen Murphy	<i>Cath</i>	--
McGee	Alice Juan Felix O'Hara	Dublin	Charlotte S. Dupart	<i>Cath</i>	--
McGillivray	John				--
McGlown	Gracy	Co. Leitrim	Thomas Riley	<i>Cath</i>	--
Macluni	John			<i>Cath</i>	--
McGoigle	Mary	Co. Sligo	Henry O'Brien	<i>Cath</i>	--
McGontrick	John	Ballymena		<i>Cath</i>	No
McGoubrick	John	Ballymena			--
McGovern	Hugh		--	<i>Cath</i>	--
McGovern	Michael			<i>Cath</i>	--
McGowan	Brigitte		Michael McGowan	<i>Cath</i>	--
McGowan	Michael		Brigit McGowan	<i>Cath</i>	--
McGraw	Elizabeth			<i>Cath</i>	--
McGreal	Catherine	Connaught	Patrick Forde	<i>Cath</i>	No
M'Guinegal	Mary		Henry M'Guinegal	<i>Cath</i>	--
McKenna	Constantine	Co. Tyrone, priest	--	<i>Cath</i>	--

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
McKensey	Michael	Dublin, hotelier	M. Josepha Federico	<i>Cath</i>	--
McKouner	James	Co. Monaghn	--	<i>Cath</i>	--
McLaughlin	Brigitte			<i>Cath</i>	No
McMannas	Anne	Co. Cavan	Philip Smith	<i>Cath</i>	No
McMannas	Michael	boarding			--
McMaster	Samuel	Belfast	Helen Ross	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
McMeal	Daniel			<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Macnamara, Magnemasa	Bartholomew	merchant	Catherine D. Dupard		Yes
Macnamara, Magnemasa	Patrick	Co. Clare, planter	Margaret Dessilet		Yes
McNee	Michael	Co. Leitrim		<i>Cath</i>	--
Madden	Patrick		--	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Maguire	Ann		Peter Maguire	<i>Cath</i>	--
Maguire	John	Dublin	Rose Devine	<i>Cath</i>	--
Maguire	Peter	laborer	Ann Maguire	<i>Cath</i>	--
Mahoney	Patrick				No
Manus	Anne Marie	Co. Cavan	[] Smith	<i>Cath</i>	--
Marefor	[female]			<i>Cath</i>	--
Martin	James	boarding	Marie McGraw	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Mary	John		--	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Matheu	Esther				--
Mathews	John			<i>Cath</i>	--

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
Meguy	[male]	teacher			--
Meguy	[male]	teacher			--
Missoi	Henry		--	<i>Cath</i>	--
Mitchell	John	sea captain	Brigitte Loijklin	<i>Cath</i>	--
Mitchell	Robert				Yes
Mitchell	Sarah		John Jeff. Ryan	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Monahan	James			<i>Cath</i>	--
Moore	Alexander	merchant		<i>Pro.</i>	Yes
Moore	Catherine	Co. Wicklow	John Tarliton	<i>Cath</i>	--
Moore	John	grocer		<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Morgan	Patrick	merchant	Mary Dempsey		Yes
Moring	Maria	Dublin		<i>Cath</i>	--
Morrison	Mary		John Kelly	<i>Cath</i>	[Yes]
Mortimer	Daniel	gentleman	Emily Zeringue	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Murphy	Anne		Thomas Murphy		--
Murphy	Edward	merchant			Yes
Murphy	James	laborer	Sarah Winslow		Yes
Murphy	Nancy		Daniel Foley	<i>Cath</i>	--
Murphy	Terence			<i>Cath</i>	--
Murphy	Thomas		Anne Murphy	<i>Cath</i>	--
Murray	John			<i>Cath</i>	Yes

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
Neil	Brigitte	Wicklow	Thomas Ford	<i>Cath</i>	--
Nolk	Patrick			<i>Cath</i>	--
Norris	Patrick	ironmonger	Louise Gentilly	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Norrys	Patrick	merchant	--	<i>Cath</i>	--
Nugent	Henry Paul	Dublin	Mary J. Ruotte	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
O'Brien	Helen		John Leonard	<i>Cath</i>	[Yes]
O'Brien	Henry	Limerick, grocer	Mary McGoigle	<i>Cath</i>	No
O'Brien	John	Co. Monaghan, grocer	--	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
O'Brien	John	Co. Cork	Julie O'Brien	<i>Cath</i>	--
O'Brien	John	Waterford, merchant	Rose D. Chauvin	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
O'Brien	Theotiste				No
O'Conway	Mathias	Galway, linguist	Rebecca Archer	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
O'Donnell	Hugh	Co. Donegal		<i>Cath</i>	--
O'Duhigg	Josephine	Delgany	Samuel Kelly	<i>Cath</i>	--
O'Fallon	James	Ashlone			--
O'Farrell	John Terence	Co. Longford		<i>Cath</i>	--
O'Farrell	Nicholas	Drogheda		<i>Cath</i>	--
O'Finaghtry	Dennis	peddler			--
O'Flagherty	Cornelius				No
O'Flinn	Brigitte	Galway	Patrick Garvey	<i>Cath</i>	--
O'Keefe	Thomas				Yes

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
O'Kelly	Bernaby	Co. Meath	Eleonor O'Sweeney	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
O'Konelly	Thomas	Dublin, soldier		<i>Cath</i>	--
O'Neal	John	Co. Limerick	--	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
O'Neil	John		Elizabeth Wagner	<i>Cath</i>	--
O'Nely	Julia			<i>Cath</i>	--
Onicard	Mary			<i>Cath</i>	--
O'Rely	Francis		Isabel Coujil	<i>Cath</i>	--
O'Rely	Francis		Mary O'Rely	<i>Cath</i>	--
O'Sweeney	Eleonor	Co. Meath	Bernardo O'Kelly	<i>Cath</i>	[Yes]
Paxton	Simon	Dublin	Rhutisa Englis	<i>Cath</i>	--
Pepper	John	shop assist.			--
Pheelan	William	Kilkenny, soap manu.	Azelie Glaption	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Pollock	Carlisle				Yes
Pollock	George	Newry, merchant	Cath. Yates, M. Errera	<i>Angl., Cath</i>	Yes
Pollock	Hamilton	overseer			--
Pollock	Oliver	Coleraine, merchant	Margaret O'Brien	<i>Presb., Cath</i>	Yes
Pollock	People	Newry			--
Pollock	Thomas R.	ship pilot	Ana Sarpy	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Pollock	Thomas S.	Belfast	Louise Lafite	<i>Cath</i>	--
Porter	Alexander	Co. Donegal, lawyer			Yes
Quays	Sarah	boarding			--

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
Quieco	John				--
Quinn	Hugh, Jr.	Arkeen, teacher		<i>Cath</i>	--
Reddy	James			<i>Cath</i>	--
Redmond	John			<i>Cath</i>	--
Reynolds	Catherine	Co. Leitrim	James Ryan	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Riley	Francis	Waterford, cooper	Eliza Cahill Hays		Yes
Riley	Owen	Co. Cavan	--	<i>Cath</i>	--
Riley	Thomas	Queen's Country, laborer	Gracey McGlown	<i>Cath</i>	--
Roe	Thomas	architect			--
Roque	Patrick			<i>Cath</i>	--
Roque	Thomas			<i>Cath</i>	--
Row	Peter			<i>Cath</i>	--
Rowland	Ellen			<i>Cath</i>	--
Rownan	James		--	<i>Cath</i>	--
Rowney	Catherine	Co. Leitrim	Edward Kennedy	<i>Cath</i>	--
Ryan	James	Dublin	Catherine Reynolds	<i>Cath</i>	[Yes]
Salmon	[male]	Dublin	--	<i>Cath</i>	--
Scoly	Cornelius		--	<i>Cath</i>	--
Scot	Ann		Peter Hanly	<i>Cath</i>	--
Shaw	John	navy			Yes
Shea	Peter	mason		<i>Cath</i>	--

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
Shean	William	Co. Limerick	--	<i>Cath</i>	--
Shendel	John			<i>Cath</i>	--
Sinnot	Nicholas	Waterford, carpenter	M. White, Eliza Hays	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Sinnot	Nicholas	gentleman	Anne Michel	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Smith	[male]	Cork		<i>Cath</i>	--
Smith	James	Belfast	Manuela Junco	<i>Cath</i>	--
Smith	John			<i>Cath</i>	--
Smith	Peter	Drumbless, grocer	Ann Karrigan	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Smith	Philip	Co. Cavan, cooper	Anne McMannas	<i>Cath</i>	No
Smith	Thomas	Co. Cavan, grocer	Brigit Brenon	<i>Cath</i>	--
Smolen	James		Mary Smolen	<i>Cath</i>	--
Smolen	Mary		James Smolen	<i>Cath</i>	--
Stackpoole	Maurice	[Dublin], merchant	Juliana Robinson		--
Staten	Alexander			<i>Cath</i>	--
Stee-Paul	George			<i>Cath</i>	--
Sweeny	John		--	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Temple	Thomas	Londonderry, [soldier]			--
Therni	Thomas	Drogheda	Mary Riley	<i>Cath</i>	--
Todd	Andrew	Coleraine, merchant	--	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Viere	Isabel			<i>Cath</i>	--
Vousdan	William	[Dublin], merchant	Hannah Lum, Eliz.	<i>Cath</i>	Yes

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse^o</i>	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves*</i>
			Hutchins		
Wale	Patrick	Drogheda	Angelique Mandeville	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Walker	James C.	Londonderry	K. Ennery, G. Cambe	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Walker	John	Co. Leitrim	Mary Kalagan	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Walker	Peter				Yes
Walsh	Anthony Patrick	Dublin, merchant	[] Geoghegan		Yes
Walsh	Edward	Co. Kilkenny, grocer	Julie Anne Carroll	<i>Cath</i>	--
Walsh	Michael				No
Walsh	Patrick	minister	--	<i>Presb.</i>	Yes
Walsh	William	grocer		<i>Cath</i>	--
Watson	Samuel	merchant	--	<i>Prot</i>	Yes
Waugh	John	Londonderry	Ignes Fournival		Yes
Weir	Delia Anne	Carrick	George W. Backus	<i>Cath</i>	--
Welch	Brigit		Andrew Schae	<i>Cath</i>	--
Wells	William	Templepatrick, grocer	Mary Caughway	<i>Cath</i>	--
Welshe	Ann	Boudon	--	<i>Cath</i>	--
West	Elizabeth			<i>Cath</i>	--
White	Elizabeth		William Haotan	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
White	Elizabeth		John Kelly	<i>Cath</i>	--
White	Gregory	priest	--	<i>Cath</i>	No
White	Mary	Dublin	Nicholas Sinnot	<i>Cath</i>	[Yes]

<i>Surname</i>	<i>Prim. Name</i>	<i>Nativity, Occupation</i>	<i>Spouse</i> ^o	<i>Relig.</i>	<i>Slaves</i> *
White	Mary			<i>Cath</i>	No
White	Maunsel	Limerick, planter	Elizabeth Delaronde	<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Wilson	George			<i>Cath</i>	Yes
Winslow	Sarah		James Murphy		Yes
Wogan	Mary	Co. Meath	Ursin Zeringue	<i>Cath</i>	--
Woodet	Laurette				--

^o Records marked “—” indicate unmarried individuals in this column.

* Records marked “[Yes]” indicate that said Irishman or woman’s spouse owned enslaved properties. Records marked “—” are unclear as relates to slave-ownership.

Gathered from Earl E. Woods and Charles E. Nolan, eds., *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese*, 19 vols. (New Orleans: Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1987-2003); NONA; *Estate Inventories of Orleans Parish Civil Courts*, NOPL.

**APPENDIX B:
Glossary of Select Textiles, 1780-1820**

- Bombazine*: a silk-worsted mix cloth, often twilled and thus slightly glossy. Black varieties often used for mourning wear. Originally from England.
- Britannias (Bretagnes)*: a high-quality, linen fabric of plain weave, made in Brittany, Saxony, Silesia and Perth. Especially used for shirts and sheeting for middling and high-end buyers in Spain and the Americas. Regularly sold in lengths of 7 ½ yards, sufficient for two shirts.
- Broad Cloth*: a densely-woven, sturdy woolen cloth with a velvet-like texture, originally made in Flanders but produced in England after the 1500s. Common for outer-garments, as its fine weave kept wearers warm and dry. Used in the indigenous trade. Popularized in military uniforms during the American Revolution.
- Brocade*: any cloth with a raised supplementary patterns, although often made on heavy satin and twill backgrounds. Initially a French fashion; but can refer to any elaborate pattern.
- Buckram*: a stiff cotton but especially linen fabric, used as a stiffening to line gowns, hats and the buttonholes in men's apparel (jackets, waistcoats, etc.) in the 1700s.
- Calico*: see "Indienne".
- Calimanco (Calamande)*: a worsted fabric with a glossy finish, like satin. Usually colorful. Sometimes striped, flowered or brocaded. Popular for quilting; but also used for waistcoats and breeches.
- Camlet (Camelot)*: a plain-weave cloth, made of wool and cotton/linen or of goat's hair and silk. Made in England, France, Holland and Flanders, with Brussels being finest. High-quality.
- Cambrie*: a soft, lightweight, white linen fabric made with plain weave. Originally from France. High quality. Used to make fine shirts, handkerchiefs, dresses, undergarments and linings.
- Canvas*: a heavy, strong cloth made in plain weave, from cotton, hemp or linen. Often used for tents, bagging and sails.
- Check*: a fabric of any fiber made plain weave, with colored warp and wefts that intersect at right angles to create a small square pattern.
- Chintz*: a plain-weave, glazed cloth of cotton or linen, with a brightly colored, repeating printed or painted surface. Originally from Asian colonies. Regularly features large floral designs. Often used for domestic furnishings.

Cotton: a natural fiber, woven fabric. Lightweight and absorbent of sweat, liquids, etc., thus making it suited to warmer climates. Also, dyes well and easily washable (even with dyes).

Cottonade: a heavy, coarse fabric, made from a mix of cotton and another cloth. Resembles wool and commonly used for work clothes, daily skirts, etc.

Crape: a lightweight, soft fabric made of silk, cotton or wool. Features a finely crinkled surface. Used for high-quality dresses, undergarments, morning wear and tablecloths.

Damask: a decorative fabric with satin weave and reversible front-back pattern. Usually made of linen, cotton and silk. High-quality; and popular Irish manufacture. Used for napkins, tablecloths and upholstery. Often monochrome, with design made in binding techniques.

Diaper: a soft, absorbent cotton, linen or wool cloth, made with twill weave. Usually patterned with diagonal lines that create small, linked diamond shapes. Used for fine housewares, like napkins, tablecloths and towelling.

Dimity: an inexpensive, sheer yet sturdy cotton-linen mixed cloth made with twill-weave. Often decorated with small checks or stripes printed in the same color as the backing. Used as daily dress in the shape of dresses, aprons, detachable pockets and infant clothes.

Drab (Drap): a thick, closely woven overcoating. Heavy and expensive.

Drugget: a cheap, coarse woolen fabric, which was felted or of plain weave. Used for wardrobe, especially coats, trousers, paddings and petticoats. Might be dyed, striped or flowered.

Durant: a glazed worsted of plain weave, that was finer than tammy and more durable. Produced in England by the late 1700s. Often used for gentlemen's clothes in the colonies.

Everlasting: a closely-woven, worsted cloth, that commonly was used to make ladies' shoes.

Flannel: a plain-weave fabric, usually of wool. Lightweight, as yarn twisted during spinning. Warm. Bleached, dyed or printed. Used for shirts, jackets and trousers.

Fustian: a sturdy fabric made from cotton weft and linen warp (later all cotton). Satin weave produces in twill surface on one side. Used for outerwear, such as coats and petticoats. Also for household furnishings, like curtains and pillowcases.

Gauze: a sheer, lightweight fabric, made of cotton, wool or silk twisted during weaving. Visible small openings. Woven in England during the 1700s. Used for veils and dresses.

- Gingham*: a lightweight cotton cloth with a check pattern, made in plain weave. Originally from southeast Asia, although produced in England by the mid-1700s. Popularized with checked patterning. Inexpensive but durable. For everyday use (breeches, dresses, kerchiefs, etc.).
- Grosgrain*: a stiff, plain-weave fabric usually made from silk warp and a heavier cotton weft, originally from France. Features narrow horizontal ridges. Used for ribbons, waistcoats, jackets, petticoats and as cheaper alternative to silk and twill. Rich hues, but little luster.
- Guineas*: a cheap, brightly colored Indian cotton, which was often striped or checked in design. Sold by Europeans to slave traders along the coast of Africa and as slave clothing in the Americas. Produced in Europe during the Industrial Revolution.
- Holland*: a finely woven, yet strong linen cloth, usually quality. First named for the country of manufacture; but also indicates foreign clothes bleached in Holland. Used for fine men's shirts and quality home furnishings (sheeting, blinds, etc.).
- Indienne*: a lightweight, printed or painted cotton calico, first produced in India but imitated in Europe by the late 1600s. Prohibited in Great Britain between 1686 and 1759.
- Kenting*: a fine, closely woven linen fabric. Often used for domestic use, like napkins, aprons and tablecloths. Also into handkerchiefs. Originally produced in Silesia but later in England. See also "lawn."
- Lace*: a handmade, porous cloth, made with knotted and needle-worked linen, silk, gold or silver threads. Made high quality in Ireland. Used to adorn fine clothes and domestic décor.
- Lawn*: a thin, high-quality white linen. Often embellished with hand-worked embroidery with white thread. Used for shirts, blouses, handkerchiefs, neckerchiefs, ruffles and aprons.
- Limbourg*: a cheap, usually blue or red, coarse woolen cloth developed for the indigenous trade in North America. Similar to English duffels.
- Linsey-Woolsey*: a coarse fabric made of a linen warp and woolen weft, named for its English origins. Used for heavier petticoats, waistcoats, blankets and various domestic furnishings.
- Linen*: a natural fiber based woven fabric, originating from the flax plant. Native to Europe. Especially grown in Ireland. Lightweight and often bleached/colored. Of varying qualities. Much like cotton, soaks up sweat, etc. and easily cleaned. Popularized for undergarments, bedding and everyday wear in warmer climates.
- Madras*: a strong, yet lightweight cotton fabric, with satin weave. Indian origins. Typically has striped or plaid designs. Used for shirts, dresses and aprons, especially in warm climates.

Merino: a soft, high-quality woolen or worsted fabric, originally from sheep raised in Spain. England procured and developed its own herds after 1786.

Mohair: a silk-like cloth, made from woven hair of Angora goat (Turkey). Durable and resilient, but noted for its great luster. Dyes easily and retains heat. High-end. Used for men's suits, petticoats and gowns.

Muslin: a fine, lightweight cotton, first made in India. Plain weave. Often bleached; but also dyed, patterned and embroidered. Cheap, particularly after advent of powered spinning in Europe. Used for clothing, accessories and domestic furnishings. Suited for hot, dry climes.

Nankeen: a plain weave, cotton cloth, noted for its dark yellow (buff) coloring. Originally from China, but produced and dyed in Manchester, England after the 1750s. Popularly used for men's waistcoats and especially trousers.

Osnaburg: a coarse, unbleached linen or hempen cloth, produced first in Osanbrück, Germany and later (ca. 1740) in Scotland. Commonly used for trousers, clothes lining and bagging, especially as work clothes for agriculturalists and enslaved farm hands.

Percale: a fine, smooth cotton fabric. Originally from India, where white or dyed blue. High thread count and thus very durable. Lightweight. Mostly used for sheets, dresses and shirts, although popularized for mourning wear after 1816. Occasionally printed.

Persians: a thin, flimsy, plain silk cloth. Often refers to English imitation of popular Asian silk. Used for linings in coats, petticoats and gowns during 1700s. Mostly out of use by 1830s.

Plain Cloth: any cloth made with plain weave.

Platilla: a very fine, well-bleached (very white) linen cloth. Originally made in Silesia, but later in France. Marketed to Spain, the Spanish West Indies and the Guinea coast. High-quality.

Poplin: a lightweight, usually silk-worsted fabric, made in plain weave. Coarse weft allows for ridged surface and noticeable luster. Offers shine of silk but more durable (and able to iron). Fine qualities especially produced in Dublin. Used for court dress and fine winter wear.

Ratteen: a coarse, thick woolen fabric, with a twill weave. Produced in France, Holland and Italy. Mostly used for linings but also for modest coats, waistcoats breeches and upholstery. See also "*drugget*."

Russet: a cheap, coarse cloth made of wool, often homespun. Dyed in subdued browns or greys. Popular in medieval England, especially for low-income dressers, religious folk, etc.

Saracenet : a soft, thin fabric, usually of silk, in a plain or twill weave. Used for undergarments in the early 1800s; but also for delicate formal dresses, robes, trains and even curtains.

Satin: a smooth, shiny cloth made from silk fibers with a satin weave. Fine warp threads stand out against coarser weft, which creates bright, reflective appearance. Originally from China. Heavy and used for quality ball gowns and household furnishings especially in early 1700s.

Serge: a durable, twill cloth made from wool or worsted. Employed in linings, interlinings, underclothes and outer garments.

Sheeting: a stout cotton or linen fabric, used on beds. Irish varieties often were of high-quality.

Siamoise: a lightweight, mixed cotton-linen cloth, mostly made in Rouen, France during the seventeenth century but meant to imitate popular Indian textiles. Inexpensive, yet sturdy, which made it popular for daily ware. Usually brightly patterned, with striped, checked and floral designs.

Silk: a strong, yet light and lustrous fabric produced from natural fibers from the caterpillar cocoons of silk moths. Popular for its ability to readily absorb dyes and associated with formal dress. Damages easily with soap and thus can be difficult to clean.

Stuff: any manufactured fabric, although usually a thickly woven cloth manufactured in England. Originally composed all wool but later linsey-woolsey. Qualities vary. Can be fine and used in court dress in place of silk. Or can be utilitarian and used in work clothes.

Tabby: a British classification for plain-weave cloth.

Taffeta: a silk or silk-cotton fabric, with lustrous surface and crisp, stiff feel. Originally from Persia. Usually employs slightly thicker weft threads than warp, which creates a visible rib. Striped, checked or dyed in solid colors. Used for summer dresses, suits, linings, trim, curtains, bedspreads and other domestic furnishings.

Tammy: a plain-weave woolen or wool-cotton cloth. Lightweight, durable and regularly glazed. Stiffness made popular for linings and undergarments. Also, used for dresses and petticoats by moderate buyers in 1700s and 1800s.

Ticken (Coutil): a strong, durable cotton, linen or hemp twill fabric. Used to make aprons used by skilled artisans (distillers, brewers, etc.) and for mattress and pillow covers.

Velvet: a fabric with a lush, dense pile surface, created by raised warp loops. Surface allows for great depth of color and thus a luxury fabric. Generally made of silk, but sometimes of linen.

Weave (plain): a simple weaving pattern, made by passing weft threads over, then under each warp thread. Threads equal in thickness. Examples include broad cloth, chintz, calico, cambric, grosgrain, linen, muslin and poplin.

Weave (twill): a basic weave pattern, made by passing weft threads over two or more warps then under one thread. Results in parallel, ribbed appearance. Durable and strong. Examples include broad cloth, diaper, herringbone, ratteen, serge and ticken.

Weave (satin): a fundamental weaving pattern, made by passing weft yarn over one warp, then under 4 to 12 yarns. Results in long weft threads and smooth, shiny surface. Easily snags. Examples include damask, fustian, madras and satin.

Woolens: a fabric made from spun animal hairs, particularly sheep. Especially popular for use in outerwear, as tightly-spun versions are water repellent. Popular in the indigenous trade.

Worsted: a lightweight cloth made of long-staple, combed wool fibers. Smooth, shiny and high-quality. Commonly used in petticoats and suits. Durable and wrinkle-free.

Gathered from Florence Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007). Sophie White, "Trading Identities: Cultures of Consumption in French Colonial Louisiana, 1699-1769" (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, 2000). Conservation & Art Materials Encyclopedia Online, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (http://cameo.mfa.org/wiki/Main_Page). They are specific to the time period examined in this dissertation.

**APPENDIX C:
Enslaved Ownership Trends in Irish New Orleans**

Breakdown of Enslaved Estates, by Age

<i>Slave-Owner</i>	0-15	16-30	31-45	46-60	61+	[?]	Total
John Allen	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Edward Bradley	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Eliza Cahill Hays	1	2	1	1	0	1	6
Daniel Callaghan	4	4	3	1	0	2	14
Hugh Carr	3	0	1	0	0	2	6
Daniel Clark, Sr.	18	21	1	1	0	114	155
Daniel Clark, Jr.	79	109	44	17	8	108	365
Margaret Clark	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
George Cochran	15	1	0	0	0	25	41
Robert Cochran	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Maurice Conway	6	8	4	0	0	1	19
William Conway	3	3	1	0	0	4	11
Thomas V. Dalton	0	0	0	1	2	6	9
Moses Duffy	2	6	1	0	0	0	9
James Ferguson	3	8	0	0	0	1	12
David Fitzgerald	0	20	0	0	0	0	2
J.R. Fitzgerald	5	3	3	0	0	2	13
Mary Fitzgerald	1	5	0	0	0	0	6
John Fitzpatrick	6	2	3	2	1	1	15
James Fletcher	8	31	7	4	1	21	72
Patrick Foley	2	21	3	0	0	4	30
William Fox	4	0	2	0	0	0	6
John Gallagher	0	3	2	0	0	2	7
Philip Harty	1	2	1	0	0	0	4
Simon Harty	3	7	3	1	0	0	14
Thomas Hasset	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
Daniel Hicky	4	2	0	0	0	0	6
James Hopkins	6	12	5	5	0	0	28
Charles Howard	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
John Joyce	8	13	4	0	0	0	25

<i>Slave-Owner</i>	0-15	16-30	31-45	46-60	61+	[?]	Total
William Kelly	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Josiah Ker	1	4	0	0	0	0	5
David Kerr	14	11	1	0	0	1	27
John Leonard	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Jacob Low	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
John Lynd	12	10	7	0	0	0	29
B. Macnamara	0	3	0	0	0	3	6
P. Macnamara	15	24	16	5	1	0	61
Patrick Madden	1	2	1	0	0	0	4
John Mary	1	2	1	0	0	0	4
Arthur McClasky	3	1	1	0	0	0	5
John McConnell	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Samuel McMaster	2	3	0	0	0	0	5
Daniel McMeal	0	2	1	0	0	1	4
Sarah Mitchell	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Daniel Mortimer	3	3	1	0	0	0	7
James Murphy	4	1	1	0	0	1	7
John Murray	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
Patrick Norris	4	6	0	2	0	0	12
Henry P. Nugent	0	2	0	0	0	1	3
John O'Brien	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
Thomas O'Keefe	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
John Oneal	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
William Pheelan	1	4	0	0	0	0	5
George Pollock	10	16	6	2	0	14	48
Oliver Pollock	10	10	4	0	0	17	41
Alexander Porter	12	15	3	0	0	1	31
Francis Riley	2	1	2	0	0	0	5
John Shaw	5	9	3	0	0	1	18
Nicholas Sinnot	0	5	0	0	0	0	5
Peter Smith	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Thomas Smith	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
William Vousdan	31	17	4	5	0	2	59
Patrick Wale	2	2	0	0	0	0	4

<i>Slave-Owner</i>	0-15	16-30	31-45	46-60	61+	[?]	Total
James C. Walker	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
John Walker	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
Peter Walker	0	4	0	0	0	2	6
Anthony P. Walsh	6	10	2	0	0	1	19
Samuel Watson	1	3	1	0	0	0	5
John Waugh	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Elizabeth White	1	0	1	1	0	0	3
Maunsel White	22	31	8	5	0	14	81
George Wilson	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Sarah Winslow	0	0	1	0	0	5	6
TOTAL	357	485	156	53	13	366	1,431

Breakdown of Enslaved Estates, by Gender

<i>Slave-Owner</i>	Male	Female	[?]	Total
John Allen	1	0	0	1
Edward Bradley	1	0	0	1
Eliza Cahill Hays	2	4	0	6
Daniel Callaghan	10	4	0	14
Hugh Carr	4	2	0	6
Daniel Clark, Sr.	105	31	19	155
Daniel Clark, Jr.	201	114	50	365
Margaret Clark	1	2	0	3
George Cochran	9	15	17	41
Robert Cochran	1	0	0	1
Maurice Conway	12	6	1	19
William Conway	6	4	1	11
Thomas V. Dalton	2	7	0	9
Moses Duffy	5	3	1	9
James Ferguson	7	5	0	12
David Fitzgerald	1	1	0	2
James Rice Fitzgerald	9	3	1	13

<i>Slave-Owner</i>		Male	Female	[?]		Total
Mary Fitzgerald		3	3	0		6
John Fitzpatrick		7	8	0		15
James Fletcher		39	29	4		72
Patrick Foley		22	8	0		30
William Fox		1	5	0		6
John Gallagher		2	5	0		7
Philip Harty		1	3	0		4
Simon Harty		5	9	0		14
Thomas Hasset		2	1	0		3
Daniel Hicky		3	3	0		6
James Hopkins		19	9	0		28
Charles Howard		0	1	0		1
John Joyce		15	9	1		25
William Kelly		1	0	0		1
Josiah Ker		3	2	0		5
David Kerr		16	11	1		27
John Leonard		0	0	1		1
Jacob Low		1	2	0		3
John Lynd		9	20	0		29
B. Macnamara		2	4	0		6
P. Macnamara		35	26	0		61
Patrick Madden		3	1	0		4
John Mary		2	2	0		4
Arthur McClasky		2	2	1		5
John McConnell		0	1	0		1
Samuel McMaster		3	2	0		5
Daniel McMeal		3	1	0		4
Sarah Mitchell		0	1	1		2
Daniel Mortimer		2	5	0		7
James Murphy		3	4	0		7
John Murray		2	0	0		2
Patrick Norris		9	3	0		12
Henry Paul Nugent		0	3	0		3
John O'Brien		4	0	0		4

<i>Slave-Owner</i>		Male	Female	[?]		Total
Thomas O'Keefe		0	1	0		1
John Oneal		2	1	0		3
William Pheelan		4	1	0		5
George Pollock		32	13	3		48
Oliver Pollock		15	11	15		41
Alexander Porter		20	10	1		31
Francis Riley		4	1	0		5
John Shaw		11	5	2		18
Nicholas Sinnott		4	1	0		5
Peter Smith		0	1	0		1
Thomas Smith		0	1	0		1
William Vousdan		27	30	2		59
Patrick Wale		2	2	0		4
James C. Walker		1	2	0		3
John Walker		3	2	0		5
Peter Walker		3	3	0		6
Anthony Patrick Walsh		13	6	0		19
Samuel Watson		2	3	0		5
John Waugh		2	0	0		2
Elizabeth White		0	3	0		3
Maunsel White		38	41	2		81
George Wilson		1	0	0		1
Sarah Winslow		4	2	0		6
TOTAL		784	524	123		1,431

Breakdown of Enslaved Estate, by Purchase Price (Piastres)

<i>Slave-Owner</i>		0-150	151-300	301-450	451-600	601+	[?]		Total
John Allen		0	0	0	0	1	0		1
Edward Bradley		0	0	0	0	1	0		1
Eliza Cahill Hays		1	0	1	0	1	3		6
Daniel Callaghan		1	1	1	4	1	6		14

<i>Slave-Owner</i>	0-150	151-300	301-450	451-600	601+	[?]	Total
Hugh Carr	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
Daniel Clark, Sr.	0	11	13	39	6	86	155
Daniel Clark, Jr.	4	6	16	14	13	312	365
Margaret Clark	0	0	0	2	1	0	3
George Cochran	0	0	12	0	0	29	41
Robert Cochran	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Maurice Conway	0	0	1	0	5	13	19
William Conway	0	0	1	0	0	10	11
T.V. Dalton	3	3	1	0	2	0	9
Moses Duffy	0	0	1	1	2	5	9
James Ferguson	0	0	1	3	6	2	12
David Fitzgerald	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
J. R. Fitzgerald	1	2	5	3	0	2	13
Mary Fitzgerald	0	0	2	1	1	2	6
John Fitzpatrick	3	6	2	0	0	4	15
James Fletcher	1	9	5	10	13	34	72
Patrick Foley	0	1	3	7	0	19	30
William Fox	0	0	1	0	0	5	6
John Gallagher	0	1	2	0	0	4	7
Philip Harty	0	0	0	1	1	2	4
Simon Harty	0	1	2	5	2	4	14
Thomas Hasset	0	0	1	0	0	2	3
Daniel Hicky	0	1	0	2	0	3	6
James Hopkins	0	2	4	5	4	13	28
Charles Howard	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
John Joyce	0	3	3	3	0	16	25
William Kelly	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Josiah Ker	0	0	0	2	3	0	5
David Kerr	0	1	4	1	3	18	27
John Leonard	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Jacob Low	0	1	0	0	0	2	3
John Lynd	0	2	2	4	9	12	29
B. Macnamara	0	1	0	0	0	5	6
P. Macnamara	4	9	8	5	0	35	61

<i>Slave-Owner</i>	0-150	151-300	301-450	451-600	601+	[?]	Total
Patrick Madden	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
John Mary	0	0	1	0	1	2	4
Arthur McClasky	0	0	0	3	0	2	5
John McConnell	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Sam. McMaster	0	0	1	0	1	3	5
Daniel McMeal	0	0	1	1	0	2	4
Sarah Mitchell	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Daniel Mortimer	0	4	1	0	0	2	7
James Murphy	0	0	3	2	2	0	7
John Murray	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Patrick Norris	0	0	5	4	1	2	12
Henry P. Nugent	0	0	1	1	1	0	3
John O'Brien	0	1	3	0	0	0	4
Thomas O'Keefe	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
John Oneal	0	2	0	0	1	0	3
William Pheelan	0	0	0	1	0	4	5
George Pollock	1	1	3	6	8	29	48
Oliver Pollock	1	9	5	3	1	22	41
Alexander Porter	0	0	4	8	3	16	31
Francis Riley	0	1	2	2	0	0	5
John Shaw	1	1	1	1	2	12	18
Nicholas Sinnot	0	2	1	1	0	1	5
Peter Smith	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Thomas Smith	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
William Vousdan	0	1	1	0	0	57	59
Patrick Wale	0	0	1	1	0	2	4
James C. Walker	0	0	0	2	1	0	3
John Walker	0	1	1	3	0	0	5
Peter Walker	1	1	1	0	1	2	6
Anthony Patrick Walsh	1	1	1	8	0	8	19
Samuel Watson	0	0	3	0	0	2	5
John Waugh	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Elizabeth White	0	0	0	1	2	0	3

<i>Slave-Owner</i>	0-150	151-300	301-450	451-600	601+	[?]		Total
Maunsel White	0	3	1	2	10	65		81
George Wilson	0	0	0	1	0	0		1
Sarah Winslow	0	1	0	1	0	4		6
TOTAL	24	95	136	165	115	896		1,431

Gathered from Hall's Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1719-1820
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Biography

Kristin Condotta is a native of Los Angeles, California. She completed her B.A. in History, with a minor in French, in May 2007 from the University of Dallas. In 2010, she received her M.A. in History from Tulane University. She will receive her Ph.D. in 2014.

Condotta worked on several archival projects for The Historic New Orleans Collection and the Louisiana State Museum while in New Orleans. She now lives in St. Louis with her husband, Seth Lee, and teaches at Washington University in St. Louis.