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Old World Antecedents, New World Adaptations: Inistioge (Co. Kilkenny) Immigrants in Newfoundland

JOHN MANNION

IRELAND SENT more emigrants to North America than any other European nation in the first half of the nineteenth century. This migration is now the subject of a considerable literature. Among the more neglected aspects in this literature are the social origins of the emigrants, the source areas in the homeland, the social composition of migrant streams, and the degree to which values or traditions from home were reproduced, modified, or discarded in new settings. Such questions demand a detailed knowledge of the society and economy in Ireland prior to and during the migration interval, and of conditions in the receiving areas overseas. A balanced treatment of area of origin and transatlantic destinations is, however, still rare. Studies tend to focus either on Ireland and the factors influencing emigration or, more frequently, on the patterns of immigration and adjustment in North America with little reference to Irish precedent. "Ideally, scholars of the Irish diaspora should be experts on the Irish background," writes David Doyle. "Few of us are, as the literature of either subject is heavily taxing to its specialists."¹

Part of the problem is scale. The distinctive movement from Ulster excepted, most serious studies of Irish emigration are island-wide and are based on generalized quantitative data. It is extremely difficult to assess in any detail the myriad Irish responses overseas from so broad a perspective. Scholars working at this scale rarely follow the emigrants to their New World destinations.

Particularly in the past quarter century, studies of the Irish immigrant experience in North America have been conducted largely along thematic lines, or at a local scale. These approaches do permit a more detailed examination of homeland antecedents, of cultural continuity and change. Yet surprisingly few scholars have probed the Irish background. Rarely, for example, are immigrants traced to their particular places of origin (except by genealogists), the complex circumstances surrounding their decision to leave considered, or their behavior in the New World examined with specific reference to their experiences in the Old. Even when it is recognized that emigration was geographically and socially selective, scholars in North America still tend towards a generalized statement of conditions in Ireland at the time of migration and view the immigrants as a single homogeneous group.

There is an increasing awareness of the lacuna. Interest in homeland heritage as a major factor in shaping the patterns of European immigrant life in North America is widespread. Apart from the rich literature on migration, transfer, and adaptation in French and English colonies in the seventeenth century, there is some impressive writing on antecedent communities and the persistence of Old World mores among nineteenth century immigrant groups, urban as well as rural.² Much of this literature deals with groups from continental Europe arriving after 1850. Irish migration began much earlier, and data on origins are generally poorer. A detailed examination of the emigrant background in pre-famine Ireland can be a daunting task.

One way of simplifying the problem is to restrict a study of the homeland to a small area. Transatlantic migration in the early nineteenth century was profoundly regional, indeed local in character. Channels of movement were often established, linking particular places in Ireland with quite specific destinations in North America. These localized migrations could continue for more than a generation. They probably provide the best basis for the study of cultural transfer and social change in a new setting.

The present essay examines the migration of a small group from a single parish in Ireland — Inistioge (pronounced *Inisteeg*), Co. Kilkenny — to a common destination in Newfoundland. Most studies of Irish emigrants depend on quantitative data to examine the broad flow; this paper is an attempt at a more qualitative analysis, focusing on families and individual migrants. It examines their background in greater detail than has been attempted, as far as I am aware, for any group of Irish emigrants before; considers the parish in the context of a broader migration basin; and describes the course and character of the migrant stream. Finally, patterns of adaptation in the new areas of settlement across the Atlantic are considered in the context of Inistioge tradition.³

The Migration

Between 1784 and 1844, ninety-four persons from the parish of Inistioge were recorded as living in Newfoundland (Appendix 1). These, of course, constitute only a fraction of the total migration from the parish to the island, but precisely how small a fraction we will probably never know. Surviving data on specific places of origin in the homeland, though superior to those for any other colony in Canada during this period, are very incomplete. It is unlikely that the 5,500 immigrants recorded by town or parish of origin, and the additional 2,000 by county only, represent more than 20% of the total Irish settling in Newfoundland. The data on origins, moreover, are biased in favor of St. John's. This is owing largely to the survival of the Catholic marriage registers for that parish from 1800, local newspapers from 1810, and special nominal lists typical of an emerging central place. From 1800 onwards the vast majority of immigrants from Ireland disembarked at St. John's. Some 60% of those recorded by place of origin lived there. Yet only 40% of the total Irish population on the island lived in the town in 1814, slightly less than that in 1831 and in 1836.⁴ By contrast, 89% or eighty-four of the ninety-four Inistioge immigrants resided in St. John's and vicinity, the remainder in nearby Conception Bay. Certainly there were settlers from Inistioge outside these areas, but the surviving data still suggest a marked preference for a common destination in Newfoundland.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of this migration was its longevity. People from the parish were still trickling into St. John's in the 1840s, some sixty years after the first Inistioge immigrant was recorded there in 1784. Migration from Inistioge to Newfoundland has even deeper roots. The parish is located six to eight miles upriver from the port of New Ross (or Ross), on the tidal limits of the river Nore. New Ross was a centre of labor recruitment for the migratory cod fishery since the early eighteenth century. Initially this enterprise was entirely organized by shipowners and sea captains from the English West Country. Each spring their ships called in to ports on Ireland's south coast, including New Ross, en route to Newfoundland, for passengers and salt provisions. This practice persisted for more than a century. But by 1740 some Protestant shipowners in New Ross had developed their own Newfoundland trade, employing local mariners and fishermen.⁵ In the spring of 1745, for example, James Napper despatched his vessel *Ross Merchant*, 100 tons burthen, to St. John's under the captaincy of Higate Allen, a fellow Protestant from the town, and twelve crew. She took on board 100 barrels of port, 100 barrels of beef, three tons of bread, one half ton of oatmeal, one half ton of butter, 100 barrels of ale and 104 passengers to prosecute the summer fishery. Although it is unlikely that servants were recruited this early in Inistioge, the fishery was known there. In 1747 three associates of the Inistioge highwayman James Freney, about to be apprehended, made their escape from the area. One went north to take

shipping for New England and was captured; the other two secured passage to Newfoundland.⁶

The Irish Newfoundland trade expanded rapidly following the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763. It was centered at Waterford, but the smaller port of New Ross continued to be involved, both independently and through Waterford. North of New Ross, the river basins of the Barrow and the Nore became important sources of provisions and passengers (Fig. 1). These navigable rivers were arteries of commerce since the Middle Ages. The rising volume of traffic and the need for more or larger boats resulted in a considerable investment of capital to improve navigation beyond the tidal limits. While the Barrow became an important waterway, the Nore did not. Impediments to navigation between Inistioge and Thomastown proved too costly to remove, and the proposed canal to Kilkenny was never completed.⁷ In 1790 the cost of freight from New Ross by boat still more than doubled beyond Inistioge.

Road traffic increased instead. A bridge was built at Inistioge in the 1760s, linking two roads running along the valley of the Nore from New Ross to Thomastown.⁸ Another bridge was built at New Ross before the end of the century.

Inistioge had good connections by road and river with the port of New Ross before migration to Newfoundland began. Links overland with the great port of Waterford were, by contrast, circuitous and difficult. Migrants from Inistioge followed the main routes of transportation and communication (Fig. 1). New Ross was their primary gathering place. The journey, whether by boat, on horseback, by horse and car, or on foot, took no more than three to four hours. Other parishes along the Nore corridor, at least as far as Thomastown, participated in this migration. New Ross was also the gathering place for migrants from the Barrow valley, notably the river port of Graiguenamanagh, and from parishes and towns east and west of the port, up to distances of eight to ten miles. From here migrants could proceed directly downstream on lighters with their sea chests to Passage, where most passenger vessels bound for Newfoundland anchored. But local shipping from the quay of New Ross to St. John's was also available each spring.

The small Protestant merchant community in New Ross dominated the transatlantic passenger and provisions trade from the port for close to a century. More than a dozen merchant families were involved; in terms of Newfoundland migration the most important were the Koughs and their kinsmen, the Elmeses and Goffs. All had family members located in St. John's to help handle the traffic. When John and Margaret Ryan of Inistioge secured passages from New Ross to St. John's in 1831 through Edward Kough and Company, this merchant family had by then more than six decades of experience in Newfoundland commerce. Thomas Kough, founder of the firm, was a tallow chandler when admitted freeman of the town in 1736. He was

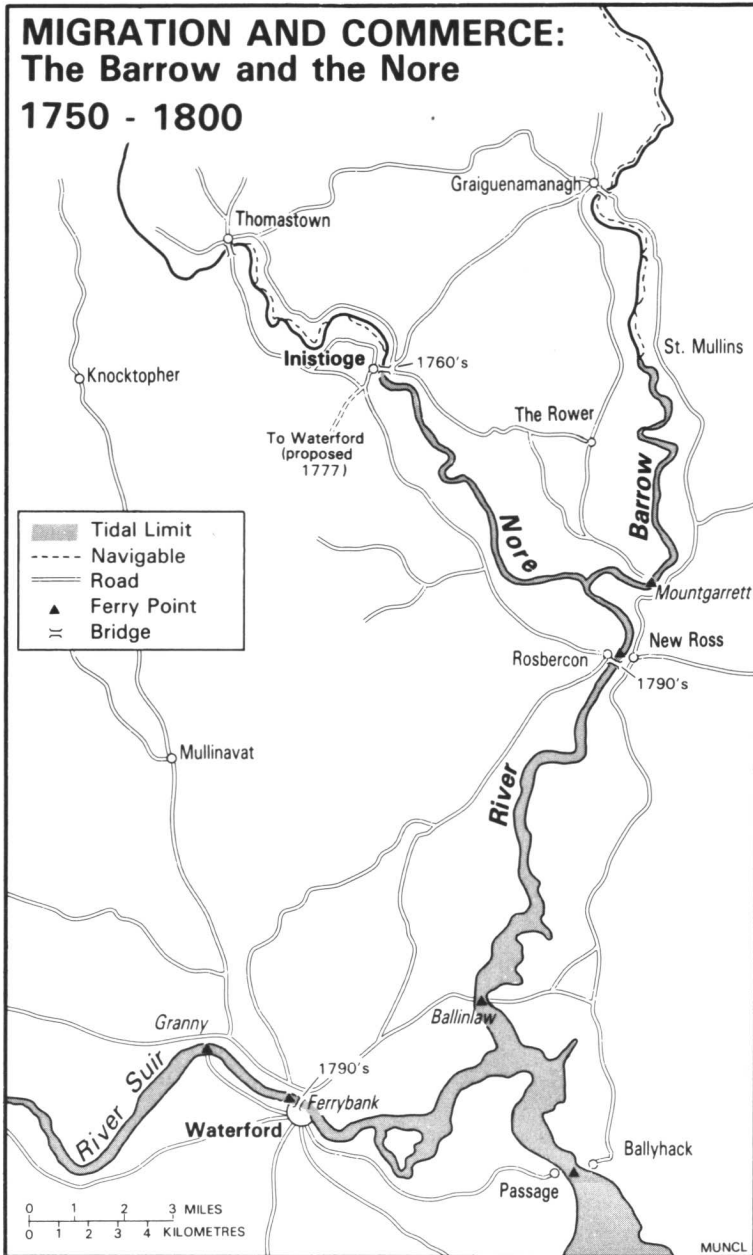


Fig. 1

linked in local trade to the Elmes family, long-established tallow chandlers and merchants.⁹ Elliott Elmes first entered the Newfoundland trade as a sea captain; by 1755 he had established a mercantile business in St. John's, probably the first native of New Ross to do so.¹⁰ Kough followed Elmes into the trade. Records of the family's enterprise bring out the distinctive nature of Newfoundland migration. It was composed mainly of young men going to work in the cod fishery and was closely linked to the salt provisions trade. Kough began with a single ship which sailed from New Ross each spring carrying passengers and provisions under the captaincy of his son. The vessel returned in the fall with passengers, cod oil, and sometimes fish.¹¹ By 1775 the Koughs had added a second vessel; they operated a fleet of five ships in the next decade.

Servants were recruited in New Ross and its hinterland according to specific Newfoundland needs. In the fall of 1777, for example, Kough secured a contract from the military in St. John's to supply artisans and laborers for work on fort construction there. Through the winter the firm in New Ross proceeded to recruit the required personnel. An advertisement was placed in the *Kilkenny newspaper* for "100 stout laborers, a few masons and carpenters for one summer only in St. John's."¹² Artisans were promised £13 for the seven months, plus food, accommodation and passage out and home; mature laborers £7; and "stout lads" between fifteen and twenty years of age, £6. Wages were promised in cash. Each man was given a guinea in advance for clothes and other essential supplies. The Koughs were responsible for all costs of recruitment, including loss through desertion. While their vessel lay windbound at Passage ready to sail, several migrants absconded, to the company's "great detriment." It was wartime, Koughs had decided to sail before the convoy, and the prospect of capture on the Atlantic frightened some men. The vessel arrived in St. John's on May 7 with fifty-one artisans and laborers. Koughs were paid £3.15.0 for each passenger landed and were reimbursed for cash advanced in Ireland.

Arrangements such as these typified migration from New Ross to Newfoundland for close to a century. Merchants, planters, master craftsmen, dealers or retailers, and other employers based in Newfoundland sent back specific requests for personnel each fall through agents and sea captains. In New Ross the mobilization of labor went hand in hand with the assembling of salt provisions and other supplies for the fishery. As a major victualling house, Koughs had a large number of suppliers in the port and hinterland and a local market for Newfoundland produce. This network was used by the firm for the recruitment of personnel. The task was facilitated by the return each fall of passengers. News of Newfoundland conditions was circulated orally by returning migrants year after year, stirring interest locally in a transatlantic venture.

For a variety of reasons, seasonal or temporary migrations from New Ross to Newfoundland were largely replaced by emigration during and after the Napoleonic Wars. Marriage records in St. John's suggest that a considerable majority of Inistioge immigrants, for example, arrived in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. This parish migration was part of a general exodus from the southeast. It peaked around 1815. Ten vessels departed New Ross for St. John's that spring. Most carried passengers, and generally in greater numbers per vessel than before. Two Kough vessels arrived at the company's wharf in St. John's in May with as many as 512 persons aboard. Late in September these newcomers were asked to pay their fares at the company's counting house before October 30 "or their notes will be returned to Ireland."¹³ As in the eighteenth century, few passengers paid their fares prior to departure.¹⁴

Some detail on the organization of this emigrant traffic survives for 1825. By this time the Koughs had abandoned the use of their own vessels in Newfoundland commerce and acted as agents in New Ross for British firms. A Greenock vessel arrived in port from Liverpool in mid-February to take on passengers for St. John's. With the assistance of the captain, a native of New Ross, Edward Kough proceeded to recruit locally and to collect provisions for the voyage. He was confident he could fill the vessel. By March 25, fifty-five migrants had been engaged. Those paying in cash were charged 5 guineas, and a guinea extra for cabin accommodation. Those travelling by "bail" were billed for £6.10.0. Despite the local demand for passages, especially by young men, and the high reputation of the captain in the trade, Kough had difficulty recruiting a full quota. Passengers preferred a larger, sturdier vessel. Kough had the captain "touch it up" since "appearances counted a lot" in attracting emigrants. On hearing that passage from Waterford was a guinea less for cash, Kough lowered the fares. He compensated by using bacon offal, oatmeal, and potatoes in place of expensive salt pork and bread on the voyage. The vessel sailed early in April with eighty passengers at an average cost of £6.15.0 each, provisions included. Only 12% of these emigrants had paid in cash prior to departure.

Payment of passages several months after arrival was a salient feature of Irish Newfoundland migration. It was usually guaranteed by parties on both sides of the Atlantic. In the homeland these "securities" were relatives or friends with some property or local middleman acting as labour brokers for a commission. In Newfoundland they were normally potential employers in the eighteenth century, increasingly friends and relatives from home thereafter. Bail notes were carried by the captains to St. John's and were held by the shipowners or their agents there until payment was made. Whenever it was not, the notes were returned to New Ross for collection from homeland securities.

The migration of John and Mary Ryan of Inistioge typified the system. In November, 1830, a company in St. John's dispatched a vessel laden with cod and oil to Edward Kough with an order for passengers in the spring. Kough promised to send out as many as he could recruit and advertised locally in March. Fares were set at £4; under new regulations, passengers could bring their own provisions. Among the emigrants were John and Mary Ryan. Payment of their fares had been guaranteed in St. John's the previous fall, and by Thomas Innes, a leading trader in Inistioge. There were difficulties with this voyage. After unloading 1,000 quintals of cod at Kough's premises, the vessel proceeded to Swansea for a cargo of culm. It was delayed there, and a number of passengers, anxious to arrive in Newfoundland in time for the start of the fishing season, switched to another vessel. Some passengers committed to Kough had problems procuring provisions. And the British captain was, in Kough's view, "a good seaman" but "not fit to command a vessel in the passenger trade." He did not have a proper "system" and there was chaos on the quay just prior to departure. On May 8 the vessel finally sailed for St. John's with only thirty-eight passengers. The Ryans' fare was due in the fall. Payment was not forthcoming, the bail notes were returned, and Kough approached Thomas Innes in Inistioge for collection.¹⁵

Innes was part of a largely Protestant network of agents involved in the passenger and provisions trade in the hinterland of New Ross. His father, a Scottish immigrant, had moved from New Ross to Thomastown late in the eighteenth century to engage in milling and in 1799 married the daughter of Thomas Long, an Inistioge clothier and agent for the Tighe estate at Woodstock. He settled in the town, joining Long in the local cloth trade. Thomas Innes was born in the town and by 1830 was probably the leading trader there. He had close links with the Koughs and with other Protestant merchants in New Ross.¹⁶ One of the principal traders in Thomastown in the early nineteenth century was Sydenham Davis, whose family had interests in an extensive trading premises on the quay at Thomastown since the eighteenth century, and in mills and other property along the Nore down to Inistioge.¹⁷ The network of contacts derived from these enterprises placed Davis, like Innes, in a strategic position to prosecute the provisions trade with New Ross and act as an inland broker in the emigrant trade. In 1818, for example, Davis was Thomastown agent for a Bristol vessel, the *St. Domingo*, which arrived in Ross in February seeking passengers. Samuel Drapes, a provisions merchant in Ross, acted as recruiting agent in the port. Drapes and Davis advertised the vessel in the Kilkenny newspaper, urging potential passengers "to send in their names and engage their berths in time, so that they would have comfortable accommodation fitted up for them." The vessel left Ross in May for St. John's with passengers and provisions.¹⁸ Drapes had already dispatched another English vessel with eighty passengers to St. John's that spring. The *St. Domingo* took passengers from New Ross

to St. John's each season over the next three years, and in 1822 took emigrants directly to Prince Edward Island, advertised as being "handy for Newfoundland." By this time Drapes was dead and management of the vessel had passed to Sandham Elly and his brother-in-law, William Graves. The latter was also a native of Thomastown; he had moved with his father to New Ross in 1806. Graves became the leading shipowner in the local emigrant traffic to Canada in the nineteenth century. Like the Koughs, the firm had a network of mainly Protestant agents along the Barrow and the Nore.¹⁹

Potential migrants from Inistioge were offered a wider range of shipping from New Ross to St. John's after 1810, and a wider choice of locations across the Atlantic after 1815. Shipowners and merchants from the port and hinterland followed Kough's example and established bases in St. John's. They included the partnership of Thomas Joyce and Edward Hay, Nicholas Hanrahan, Patrick Gleeson, Laurence O'Brien, James MacBraire, Drapes, and Thomas Beck of Thomastown, a major merchant in the Irish passenger trade. Others, such as Howletts and Kielys, acted as agents in Ross for British and Waterford houses. With the growth of the timber trade after 1815, New Ross also became the focus of migration to mainland Canada. Some of the local merchants engaged in the Newfoundland trade were involved and sometimes St. John's was a stopover point for ships going on to mainland ports. Inistioge emigrants settled in Cape Breton, Halifax, Maine, and Boston, part of a migration corridor extending across the Atlantic from the valley of the Nore. They also went north, on the timber ships from New Ross to Quebec, and pushed west to Upper Canada.²⁰

Data are thin, but there is little evidence of migration from Inistioge to other places overseas in the early nineteenth century. Witnesses for an inquiry into emigration from the parish during the period 1833-5, for example, cited "America and Newfoundland" as the principal destinations.²¹ This pattern of movement across the Atlantic was replicated in adjoining parishes along the upper Nore. Emigrants from the Rower went to "Newfoundland and Canada," those from Thomastown to "Upper Canada." When compared to the exodus which followed later in the century, migration from these parishes was modest. Fr. Carroll of Inistioge stated that "very few" had emigrated from his parish between 1833 and 1835; the local Protestant minister, Rev. Pack, estimated a mere forty to fifty had done so. According to Sydenham Davis, only forty persons departed the more populous parish of Thomastown in these years, thirty of them Protestants. A good many tenants, he reported, were willing to abandon their small holdings "if given the means to move." The leading local landlord in Inistioge, William Tighe, had provided some assistance to a few families to emigrate. Others, according to Rev. Pack, "paid their passage from their earnings;" whether this was prior to departure is not clear. The migration included single young men

"hoping to better their situation abroad" and farm tenants whose leases had expired.

There is little precise information on the timing of migration from Inistioge to Newfoundland. It can be inferred, however, from evidence on emigrants' dates of birth and marriage, or their first reference to residency on the island. Most Irish migrants departed for Newfoundland between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five.²² Women usually married in their early twenties, often a year or two after arriving, men in their mid to late twenties. It is clear that the Inistioge migration and the establishment of permanent family settlement extended from the 1780s to the 1840s; all surviving records suggest that arrivals were concentrated in the first two decades of the nineteenth century (Appendix 1). Of the sixty-three marriages involving an Inistioge immigrant, fifty-two occurred between 1805 and 1830, and they were distributed evenly over this interval. Marriage data indicating origins prior to 1803 are sparse, however, and it is possible that a number of Inistioge immigrants were present in Newfoundland in the late eighteenth century. Permanent Irish settlement had begun to expand noticeably in the Avalon Peninsula after around 1780, as reflected in the creation of four Catholic parishes with resident priests. In the parish of St. John's, for example, 142 marriages and 637 baptisms were performed between 1784 and 1789; the numbers probably increased over the next decade.²³

Migration and Kinship

The initiation of permanent Irish settlement depended on the migration of females from the southeast. More than one-third of the immigrants recorded from Inistioge were women. Marriage data suggest that the timing of female departures from Inistioge was roughly coincident with that of Inistioge men. This was not, however, a migration of married couples, even less one of married couples with children. Only one man, Michael Breen, can be confirmed as being married in Inistioge prior to departure. He had one child born in Ireland (Appendix 1). Even allowing for the obvious limitations of immigrant marriages as the main source on origins, it is clear that the nuclear family was unimportant in the social composition of the migrant stream to Newfoundland. Irish migration continued to be primarily a movement of youthful male labor to a staple-producing colonial frontier. From a sample of 1,200 migrants departing Waterford harbor for St. John's, 92% were adult males in 1807, 82% in 1810, and 81% in 1825.²⁴ Only 2½% of the 871 passengers arriving in St. John's in 1810 were children. And even as late as 1830, there were twice as many males as females in Newfoundland.

The character of migration from Ireland to Newfoundland seems more akin to that of indentured servants to America and the West Indies prior to 1775 than of Irish migration to mainland North America after 1815. A detailed study of migration to the colonies from southern England in the

years just prior to the American Revolution reveals, for example, that the vast majority of migrants were in their prime, that males outnumbered females seven to one, and that fully 90% of those between the ages of twenty to twenty-four travelled alone.²⁵ Although much work remains to be done before any definite statement on the social composition of general Irish migration across the Atlantic can be made, initial studies suggest that (in contrast to the particular case of Newfoundland) the nuclear family was important. Elliott has produced some compelling evidence that it was the characteristic unit of migration among Protestants from north Tipperary to the Canadas between 1815 and 1855. More than 90% of the Irish arriving at Quebec in 1817 claimed to be members of family; and Toner has suggested that two-thirds of those landing in St. John, New Brunswick, came with kin. Several authors acknowledge a migration of unrelated individuals and some suggest that they may have been dominant in the first half of the century.²⁶ They are usually characterized as being less well off than family emigrants, were mainly young men, more mobile, and sought work on the resource frontiers of northeastern North America. In the first years of the century males were twice as numerous as females entering New York, for example; most were young men. Three decades later males still outnumbered females by almost three to two, and fewer than 10% of Irish emigrants entering the harbor were children.

The preponderance of males does not necessarily mean it was a migration dominated by unrelated individuals. Single young men could have kin on board or, if unaccompanied, could be moving to join relatives already settled abroad. The precise nature and extent of kinship among Irish emigrants in the early nineteenth century is notoriously difficult to document. It requires detailed work at the local and individual level, with passenger lists, parish registers and other nominal data. Research at this scale on Irish migrations is still in its infancy. Data are sparse, particularly for the first decades of the century.

There were forty-nine different surnames recorded among ninety-three Inistioge immigrants in Newfoundland. Just under half of these names occur once only, thirteen twice, and seven three times. There were four Codys, four Delaneys, four Murphys, and six immigrants named White (Appendix 1). The diversity of surnames suggests that members of patrilineally extended families, at least, were not a significant part of this migration. One cannot assume, however, that bearers of a common surname were kin. This is particularly true when the name is numerous in the homeland. And when kin ties do exist between some members of a numerous surname group, they are often difficult to establish; all but three of the top twenty surnames in Inistioge reappear in Newfoundland.²⁷ With a few exceptions, the leading surnames in Inistioge were also the most numerous across the Atlantic. In

such cases, kinship can sometimes be established if there was a rare or distinctive forename.

Daniel and Patrick Bergin (Appendix 1) were both born in 1813, Daniel in the town of Inistioge, the son of William, and Patrick, the son of Daniel, in the townland of Bohilla, two miles to the southwest. At this time there were at least seven Bergin households in the parish: two in the town, probably two in Bohilla (or one of these in Ballyduff), and three in Coolnamuck, two miles southeast of the town (Fig. 2). Two Bergin families lived in Pleberstown beside Ballyduff, but in the parish of Thomastown. There were by 1813 eight other Bergin families in Thomastown, concentrated in or near the town.²⁸

Daniel was a distinctive Bergin forename in Bohilla, where the family operated a tiny farm. It was recorded there over three successive generations up to 1829. The only other example of this first name among the more than forty male Bergins recorded in both parishes between 1780 and 1830 was Daniel of the town of Inistioge, son of William, a farm laborer. William, moreover, was a strong Bohilla Bergin name, but it was not restricted to these two places. Although the Inistioge data are still insufficient to demonstrate the degree of kinship between the emigrants Daniel and Patrick, they were related. Both men were tailors on Water St., St. John's.

The Bergins ranked among the twenty most numerous surnames in the parish of Inistioge in the early nineteenth century. It is too numerous and scattered to suggest that all bearers of the name constituted an extended family; this is especially the case when one considers also the distribution of the surname in the contiguous parish of Thomastown. Most Inistioge surnames were much more limited, however, and relationships usually less difficult to establish.

Mary and Bridget Reddy were among the early Inistioge women marrying in St. John's. Since Mary witnessed Bridget's marriage in 1811, they were most likely kin. This is reinforced by evidence from Inistioge. The surname there was very rare. Prior to 1830 there is evidence of only one family or household in the parish. They lived in the town. All Reddy children baptized up to 1829 were the children of James, a farm laborer. Three of the godmothers were Reddys, but their relationship to James is not known. Late in the 1820s two other Reddy men married and started families. Only one Reddy household was recorded in 1829, however, the same one in 1831, and one again in 1850. Mary and Bridget, the emigrants, born in the 1780s, were likely sisters, members of the only Reddy family in the parish at that time.

It is frequently stated in the scholarly literature that extended families rarely crossed the ocean. Certainly few have been documented in the Irish literature, although most authors refer to the importance of "relatives" in the Atlantic migration. This is equally true of emigrants from Britain and the continent. According to Bailyn, no more than 3% of some 9,000 British

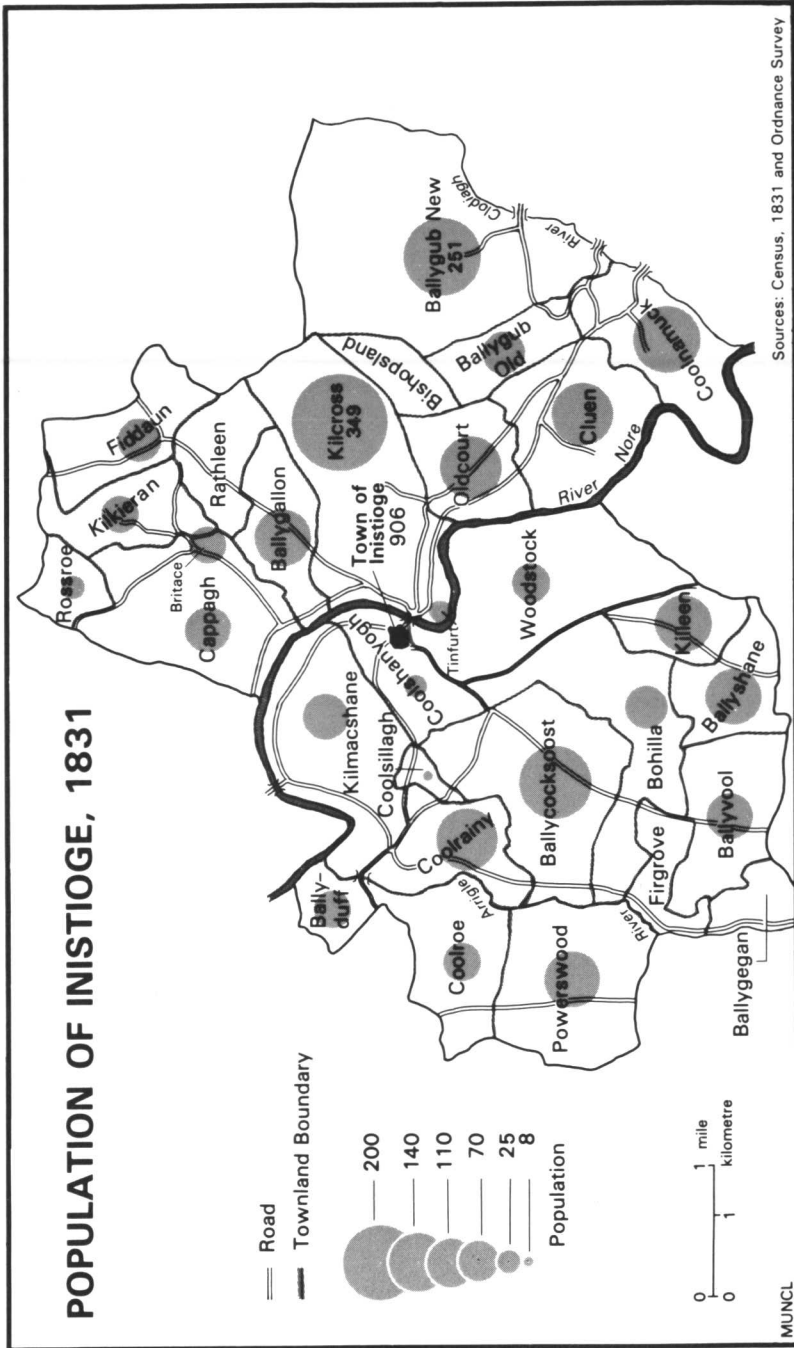


Fig. 2

emigrants travelling to America between 1768 and 1772 were members of extended families. Brunger's study of 280 Irish immigrant households in Peterborough, Ontario, in 1825, yielded a figure of 10%. Especially in the case of a migration dominated by young adult males to a staple-producing frontier, such as at Newfoundland, a movement of kin groups would appear even less likely than that of nuclear families. Extended family links among emigrants are, as noted, difficult to document and certainly difficult to quantify. Nothing less than a full reconstitution of an emigrant's family over three generations in the homeland is required to measure the extent to which other close kin also crossed the ocean. Irish data, particularly for the Catholic poor prior to 1830, are usually inadequate for such detailed work. This is true even for Inistioge, where nominal data are above average.

The Protestant Dyers are the best documented family among Inistioge emigrants to Newfoundland (Fig. 3). Whether this accounts for the fact that the family supplied more kin than any other emigrant family recorded remains an open question. Three Dyer brothers, a sister, and two spouses, Catherine Prenderghast and John Hatchett, all from Inistioge, settled in Newfoundland. The Dyers, moreover, were nephews of John Flood of Inistioge, a Protestant who had settled in St. John's in 1784 and acted as a pathfinder for the Dyers and probably other emigrants from the parish. John Hatchett, also a Protestant, had a relative who settled in St. John's. The other Dyer spouse from Inistioge, Catherine Prenderghast, was a Catholic; her relative Michael Prenderghast lived beside Dyers and Hatchetts in Logy Bay, north of St. John's.

Data on kin ties, if no more precise, are at least not as scarce among the immigrants. The surname White, for example, was too popular and diffuse in Inistioge to establish kinship among the six emigrants bearing that name. From St. John's sources, however, it appears that all were related. Catherine acted as a godmother to Bridget's son; Bridget witnessed the marriage of Ellen, and Bridget's husband the marriage of Mary. Following Mary's early demise, Margaret married her husband, Robert Hennessey of Mountgarrett, near Inistioge. Shortly thereafter the Hennesseys agreed to take care of Thomas White's infant son, and he is buried with the Hennesseys in Belvedere, St. John's. Since ties of blood were important among the immigrants in selecting marriage witnesses, godparents, foster parents, and certainly place of burial, it is likely all six Whites were kin.

The Inistioge immigrants generally came from families with deep roots in the parish and the townlands around it. Most could trace their ancestry back over several generations there. Only a handful of surnames may be considered intrusive at the time of the migrations: Ayers, Breen, Cunningham, Doherty, Ellis, Hearn, and Williams (Appendix 1). Some of these names were long-established in parishes nearby. Inistioge emigrants left a community where the extended family was socially prominent and settled in places where



Fig. 3 Patrick Dyer, Family Tree

it was not. The Dyers were exceptional, and even they had more kin in the homeland. It is likely that most Inistioge immigrants had no more than one or two close relatives from home. The nature of the Newfoundland economy, and particularly the role of the Irish in it, continued to discourage the migration of nuclear families or other kin. Servants were still recruited on contract, with passages advanced by prospective employers, often of English origin. Increasingly after 1800 Irish migrants were recruited by kin and neighbors resident in Newfoundland. John Flood's enlisting of his nephew William Dyer, a young watchmaker, to work "in his business" in St. John's probably typified the mode of migration from Inistioge in its final stage. There is no evidence that Flood, a pioneer settler, had any kin from home initially; he probably arrived in St. John's under the auspices of his Protestant neighbours in New Ross, the Koughs and the Elmeses. Inistioge migration in the late 18th century was almost certainly dominated by young men, unencumbered by kin, working in a male-dominated migratory cod fishery. Thereafter it shifted gradually to a movement that included relatives, some of them women, associated with the rise of a family fishery and permanent settlement.

Appendix 1 lists all Inistioge immigrants with known relatives from home. They were a minority. Further research will undoubtedly uncover more linkages and expand the number with kin. But it is likely that a considerable proportion of Inistioge immigrants, especially the men, lived out their lives in Newfoundland without the company and social support of relatives from home. This may stand in sharp contrast with the Irish immigrant experience in mainland North America.²⁹

Emigration and the Marriage Field

Marriages in Inistioge reveal the intensely local nature of social life. Prospective spouses rarely lived more than six miles apart. Data for Inistioge survive sporadically only from 1827 onwards, as migration to Newfoundland waned, but those for the contiguous parish of Thomastown survive for the migration interval (Fig. 4). Men were married in the home parish of the women. Fully two-thirds of these men were residents of the parish and most of the remainder came from contiguous parishes, with Inistioge foremost, or from slightly more distant and more populous centres such as Ballyhale, Callan, Kilkenny, and Gowran. These were all market towns on the main roads, with close commercial ties to Thomastown. Inistioge's marriage field was governed also by factors of distance and commerce. Rarely did spouses come from beyond bordering parishes.

Migration changed this social geography. Some immigrants married endogamously across the Atlantic (Fig. 5), but most of the spouses of Inistioge immigrants came from further afield, notably from parishes along the Barrow and the Suir, prominent sources of Irish migration. They also came from

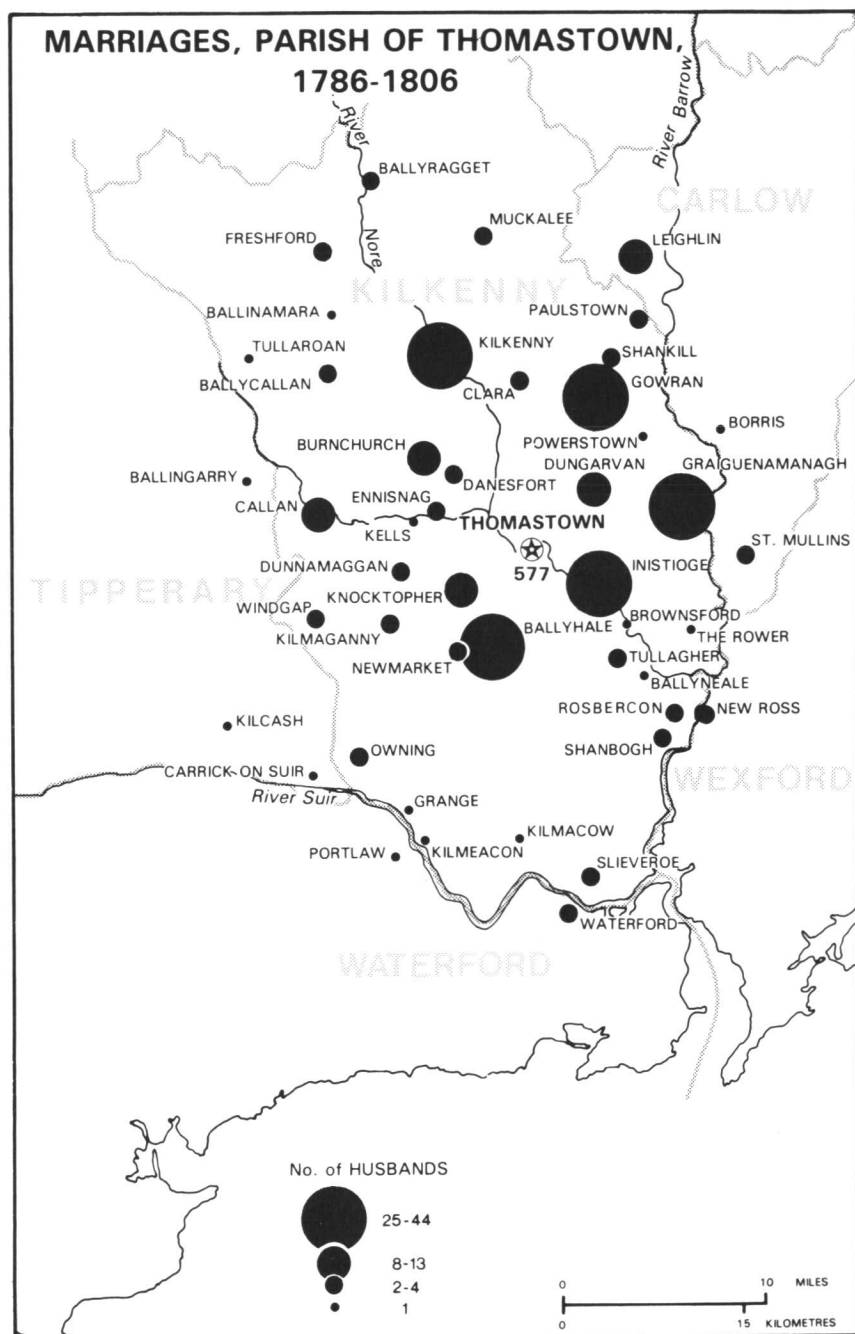


Fig. 4

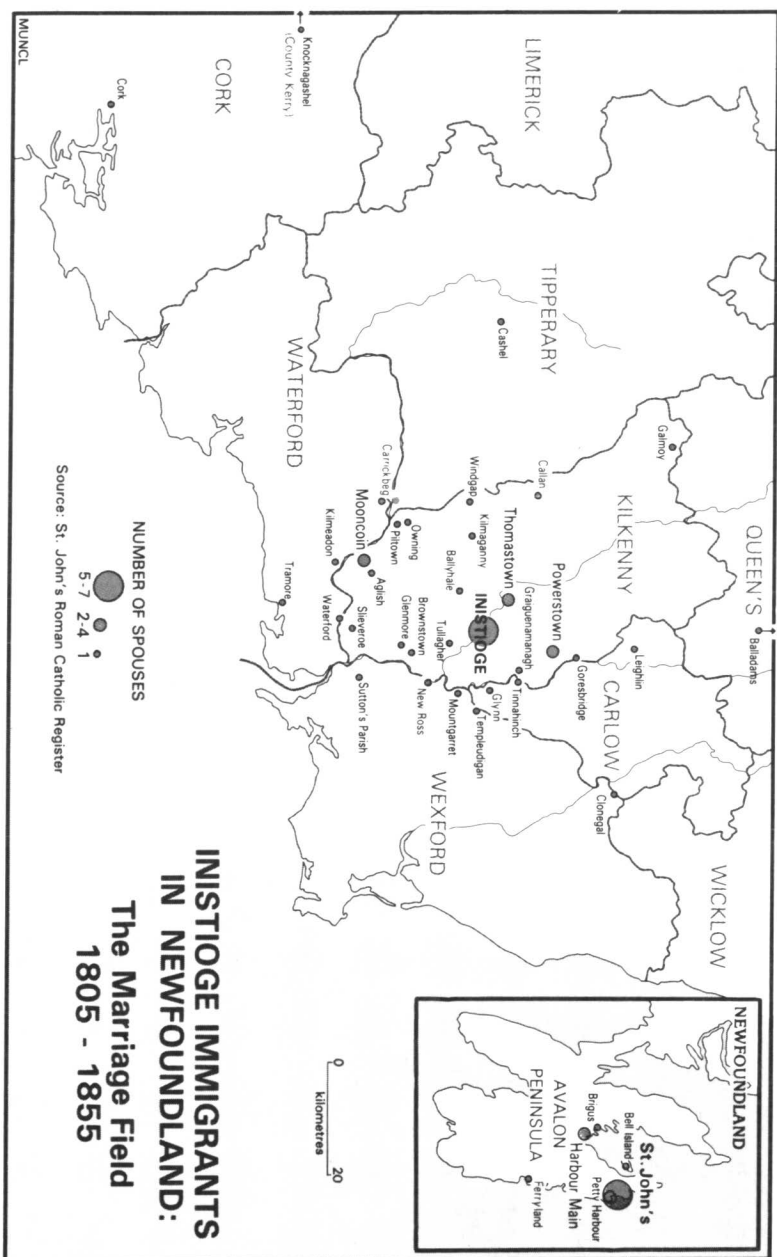


Fig. 5

places rarely if ever heard of in Inistioge: Clonegal, Balladams, and Knocknagashel. Stranger still to Inistioge ears were Ferryland, Petty Harbour, Brigus, and Harbour Main.

Almost all Inistioge immigrants arrived unmarried. Their ultimate goal was to marry and establish independent households. Colonial marriages were crucial in forging a new cultural identity among the Irish settlers. They brought together people from different localities, bearing different traditions, to a degree without precedent in the homeland. Folk beliefs, dialects, ways of doing things specific to Leighlin, Mooncoin, or Petty Harbour mingled with those of Inistioge. Many distinctive homeland traits were lost in the homogenizing process. A common culture gradually emerged, still essentially Irish but far less local than before.

Attachment to homeland places was still evident within this assimilating norm. Five marriages in St. John's were between immigrants from Inistioge and were augmented by one or possibly two couples married in the parish prior to moving across the Atlantic. At least five other spouses came from parishes bordering Inistioge. The women in all of these colonial marriages may well have moved with a marriage partner from home in mind. Some endogamous marriages involved near neighbors. Catherine Prenderghast and Michael Dyer both came from the town of Inistioge; Bridget Reddy, also from the town, married John Holden, raised on a farm just outside it. The selection of spouses by Inistioge immigrants generally revealed a strong regional bias within the Irish homeland. Fully two-thirds of the immigrants chose partners from south Kilkenny and parishes adjacent. Admittedly this was the heartland of the Irish migration basis (Fig. 6), but areas outside the county, in southwest Wexford, southeast Tipperary, southeast Cork, and county Waterford, were largely avoided, as were the large port towns.

The shortage of marriageable women from Ireland resulted in a dramatic extension of the traditional Inistioge male marriage field. Ten of the eleven Newfoundlanders marrying Inistioge immigrants were women. All were Irish, but by no means exclusively of Kilkenny descent. Some were daughters of substantial 18th century Irish planters resident outside St. John's. They included Connors and French in Petty Harbour, Kennedy and Keating in Harbour Main, Bowdren on Bell Island, Whalen in Brigus, and Walsh in Ferryland. Most of these marriages resulted in matrilocal residence in the outharbors and probably drew Inistioge immigrants away from their local roots more rapidly than in St. John's, where collective memories of home places could be reinforced through continuing immigration.

One in three residents in St. John's was of English birth or descent, and the ration was much higher in Conception Bay. There is no record, however, of Inistioge immigrants — even the Protestants — marrying English neighbors. This conforms with patterns reported for Irish immigrants elsewhere. Research in this area is still in its infancy, but from a handful

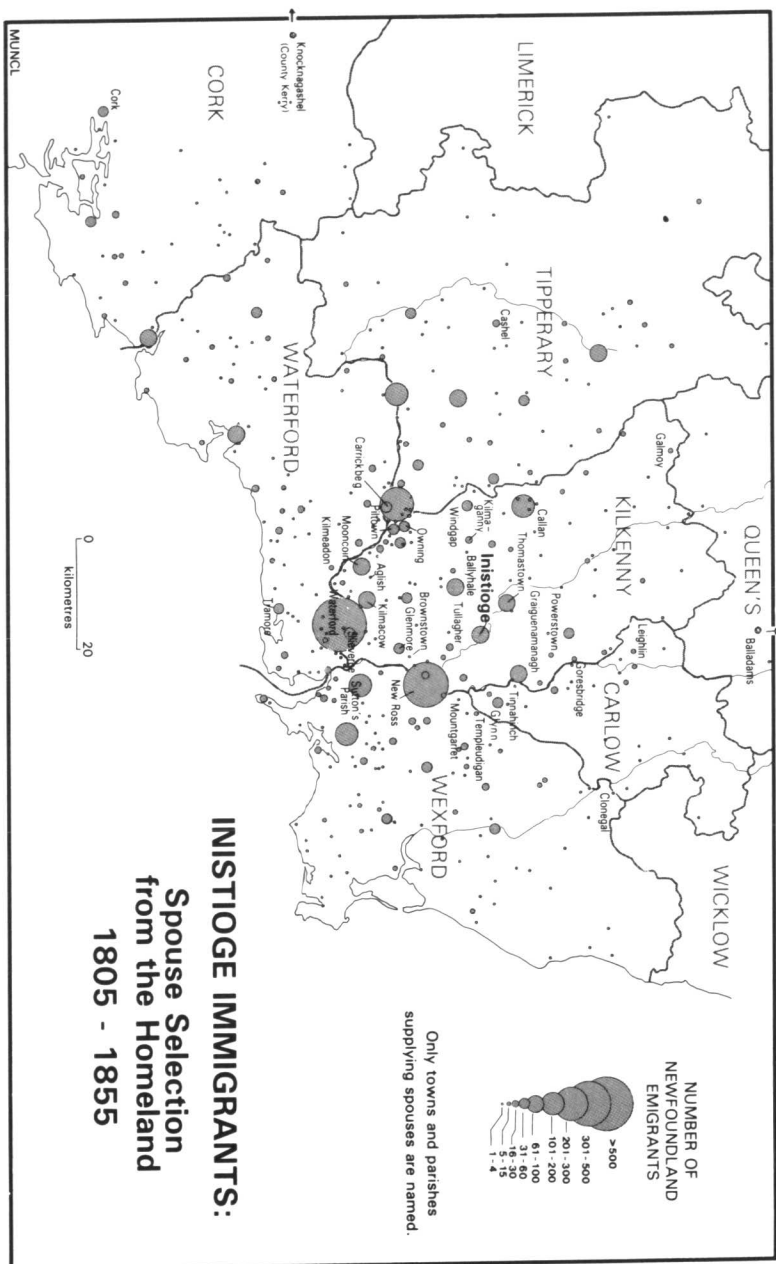


Fig. 6

of quantitative studies available, it appears that spouse selection, especially amongst the Catholic Irish, was ethnocentric.³⁰

A sense of home was also manifest in the selection of godparents and marriage witnesses. The names of over 320 sponsors survive. At least seventy of these were kin or neighbors from home. Virtually every family had at least one sponsor from Inistioge or nearby and some had several sponsors with Inistioge connections. Bartholomew Knox of Killeen, for example, was godfather in 1810 to the daughter of Martin Delaney, who likely came from the adjoining townland of Ballyshane. In 1821 Knox was sponsor for the daughter of Brigid White, his wife for the daughter of Mary White. Mary White in turn was godmother to Bartholomew's son, and Mary's husband to Bartholomew's daughter. A similarly dense network of sponsorships linking immigrants from Inistioge was found among other families, notably the Dyers and Prenderghasts, Lawlors and Lanigans, Holdens, Reddys, Delaneys, and Whites. Spouses of immigrants from Inistioge or townlands adjacent were also drawn into the social circle. James Morrissey, a publican from Lismore, Co. Waterford, married to the daughter of a cooper from Columbkille, was godfather to the sons of Bartholomew Knox, William Dalton, and Nicholas Walsh.

The majority of sponsors, however, had no known Inistioge connections. They were typically near-neighbors or fellow workers in St. John's. Matthew Leary, a baker from Taghmon, Co. Wexford, was godfather to the eldest son of Edmund Cullen of Kilcross, also a baker on Water Street. Not one of James Cody's ten sponsors came from Inistioge. As in the case of spouse selection, sponsorships revealed an immigrant group with strikingly altered social connections compared to home. Nostalgia for home places — what Italian immigrants called *campanilismo*, the Irish *duchas* — inevitably faded with the passage of time. Inistioge culture could not endure on mere memory of a distant homeland. It was replaced with a new, immanent space occupied by a more culturally diverse people. Although not entirely shattered, Old World localism was diminished by migration and virtually erased with the passing of the immigrants.

Kinship and Descent: The Formation of Homogeneous Neighborhoods

One of the salient features of European settlement in the New World was the creation of colonies along ethnoreligious lines. Sometimes these communities were fashioned through serial migration around a core of kin and neighbors from the homeland. Inistioge migration and settlement was far less clannish, but consanguineous communities were recreated across the Atlantic. The most distinctive of these was in Logy Bay, a few miles north of St. John's. Just prior to 1820 Michael Dyer abandoned his trading premises in St. John's and settled there with his wife and young family on a wooded

patch of stony soil. Here he commenced the arduous task of hacking out a farm from the wilderness. Dyer was one of the first pioneers in what became an important immigrant Irish colony. He was joined by two of his affinal kin, John Hatchett, a Protestant from Killeen, and Michael Prenderghast, from the town of Inistioge. They settled on lots beside Dyer. Shortly thereafter, three other immigrants from Inistioge set up farms just to the north: Michael Breen from Clonamery, with his wife and son; James Edwards, another Protestant from Killeen; and William Dyer, younger brother of Michael. A distinct colony of kin and neighbors from Inistioge occupied a continuous strip of land along the western fringe of Logy Bay (Fig. 7). Like other settlers, these Inistioge immigrants also prosecuted the local cod fishery. At least four households — Prenderghasts, Hatchetts, the two Dyers — established fishing “rooms” in a separate cove one mile from their farms.

This Inistioge colony soon began to burgeon. Thirty children were baptized in the second generation, the majority marrying and remaining in Logy Bay. Michael Dyer had seven sons and two daughters. He divided his farm and fishing premises among four or possibly five sons. Two sons built houses nearby, two others apparently shared the ancestral house. A fifth son resided with his unmarried uncle, William Dyer. John Hatchett had four sons and two daughters. Only one son married and he worked the ancestral farm with his three brothers. There were seven Prenderghast children, four of them sons. One inherited. The Breen farm was also bequeathed undivided to a son (Fig. 8). Down on the shore, the transmission of fishing properties followed closely this pattern of farm transfers. In the second generation, two Dyer crews, each comprising at least two married brothers, owned stages, part of their father’s old premises. Prenderghasts and Hatchetts also fished out of Dyer’s Cove (Fig. 9) and the Murphys, who had Inistioge connections, were based close by. The juxtaposition of houses and properties among Inistioge offspring one mile inland was replicated out on the coast.

The dilution of kin ties implicit in migration was a temporary phenomenon for most Inistioge immigrants. Colonial marriages ensured new webs of kinship, sometimes more elaborate than was customary at home. Michael Dyer, for example, had more kin in Newfoundland by 1840 than in Inistioge (Fig. 3). Apart from his own large family, his near neighbors the Hatchetts, Prenderghasts, and his brother, there were eight Flood cousins resident in St. John’s. Close to forty Dyers were born in the third generation. At least nine sons established households within and around the ancestral farm in Logy Bay (Fig. 10). By this time only one Dyer family resided in Inistioge. Partible inheritance there was traditionally restricted. Two of Patrick Dyer’s six sons, William and Daniel, settled in Inistioge in the 18th century (Fig. 3). The others left to join the army or navy, and did not return. One became a watchmaker in the town of Carlow. This pattern of limited

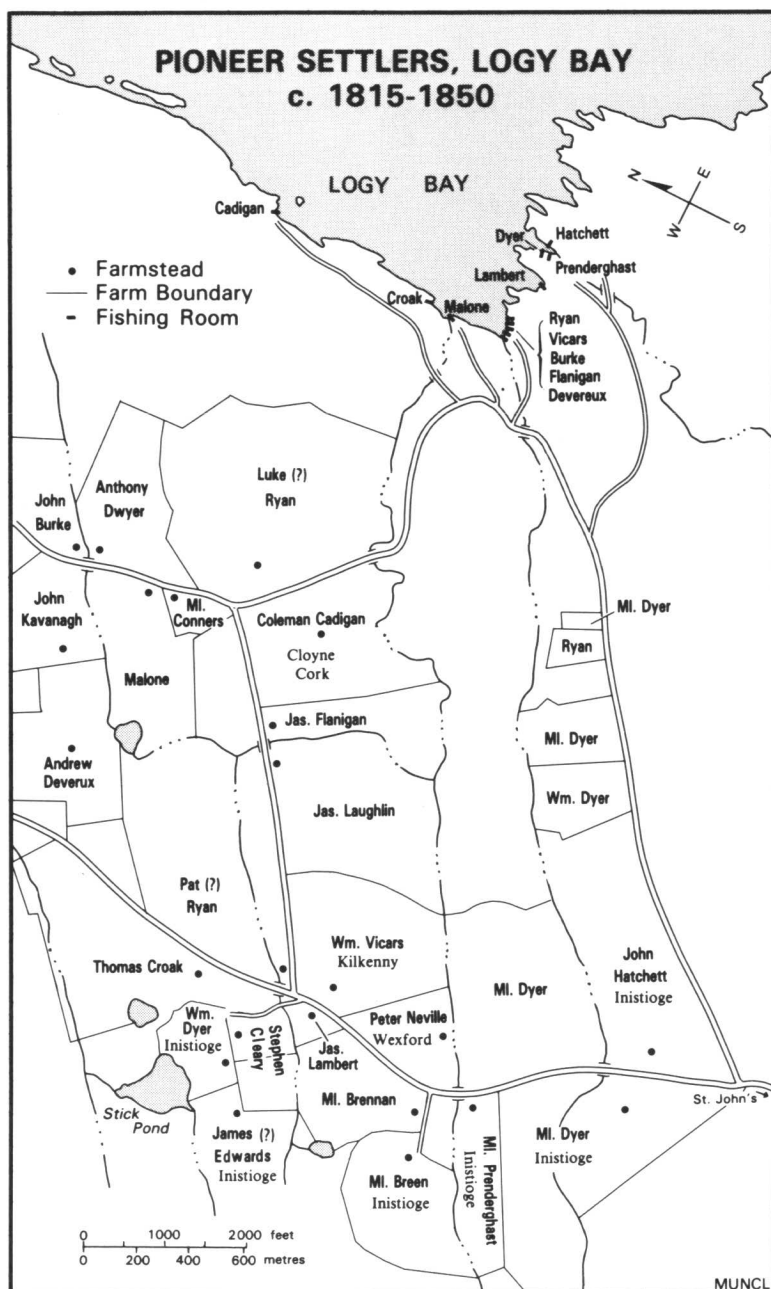


Fig. 7

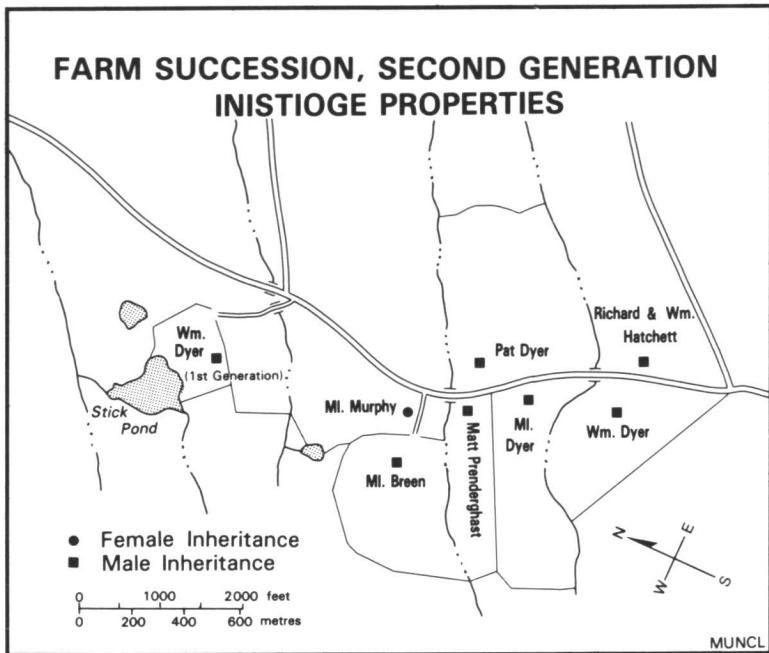


Fig. 8

inheritance typified middle class Protestants anxious to preserve their properties and status. Only one son, William, had children born in Inistioge. Faced with a serious decline in opportunity locally after 1800, and particularly after 1815, four of these offspring followed their uncle to St. John's. One, Daniel, eventually returned, and with his two other brothers, Patrick and George, procured a share of the family patrimony. But in striking contrast to their kin across the Atlantic, of the next generation only one son, Gwynne, married and remained in the parish.

The proliferation of Dyers from a single progenitor was replicated in many settlements in rural Newfoundland. Although poor in quality, land was essentially unlimited and free, worth little more than the time invested in clearing it. These settlements were bordered by a bounteous sea, theoretically accessible to all. With limited alternative sources of employment locally, large kin-group clusters developed, sometimes dominated by a single surname. They resembled closely those hamlets created mainly in marginal lands in prefamine Ireland, in an era of rapid population increase and limited outmigration. Whereas Ireland's population declined dramatically after 1850, Newfoundland's continued to burgeon. The Dyer family profiles actually reflect in microcosm broad demographic trends on both sides of the Atlantic.

There is little evidence, however, of large patrilocal clusters in prefamine Inistioge. Rarely were there more than four closely related families bearing a

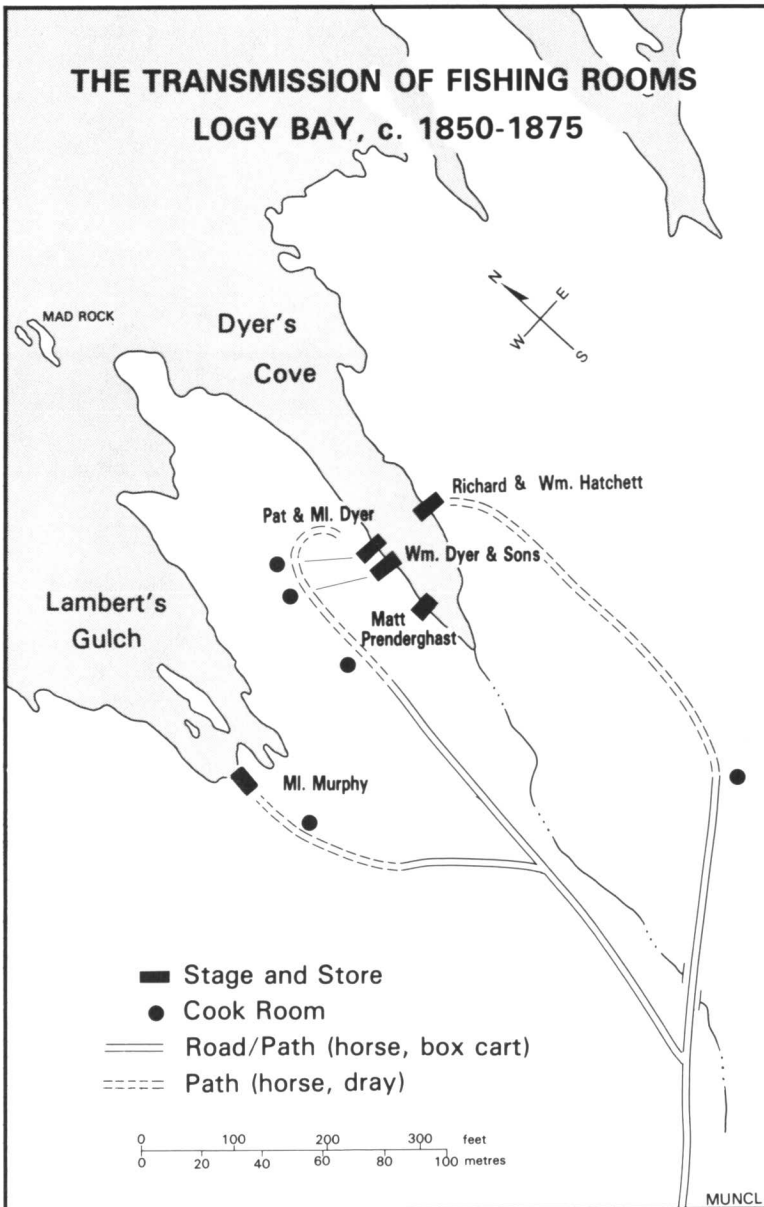


Fig. 9

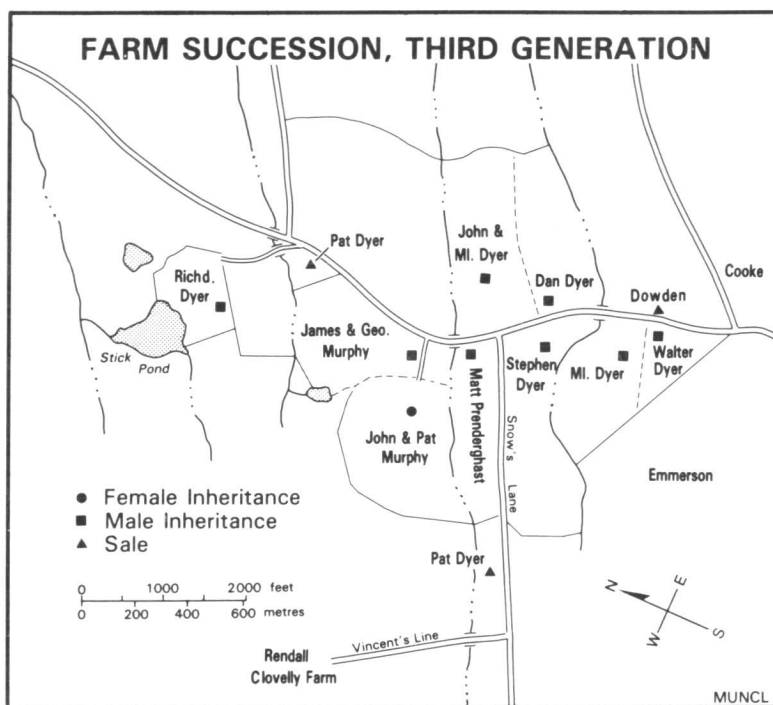


Fig. 10

common surname in a townland there. One of the best documented townlands — and an important source for Newfoundland migrants — is Killeen, just south of the town. Killeen, and Ballyshane adjoining, were historically part of the “towne and liberties of Inistioge” which in turn was part of the medieval monastic lands acquired by William Sweet from the Butlers in 1703. At that time the townland was entirely Catholic and the Knox family were head tenants there. In the 1740s Sweet’s grandson, Sir William Fownes, built Woodstone, one of the finest demesnes in Kilkenny. A considerable number of Protestant artisans and other personnel were imported from Britain to build and maintain this lavish estate. Several were rewarded with tenancies in the remodelled town; others were given small freehold grants at low rents in Killeen, adjoining the estate. At least four families recorded as freeholders there in 1769 — Ebbs, James, Miller, and Parker — had already split their small holdings among kin.³¹ These tenants paid their rent through labor on the estate. Since settlers were not solely dependent on agriculture, one would expect extensive partitioning of properties as exemplified by the Dyers in Logy Bay. Figure 11 illustrates the basic settlement pattern around 1825.³² At that time the population of the townland was nearing its peak. More than twenty families resided in Killeen and along its borders. (The locations of several

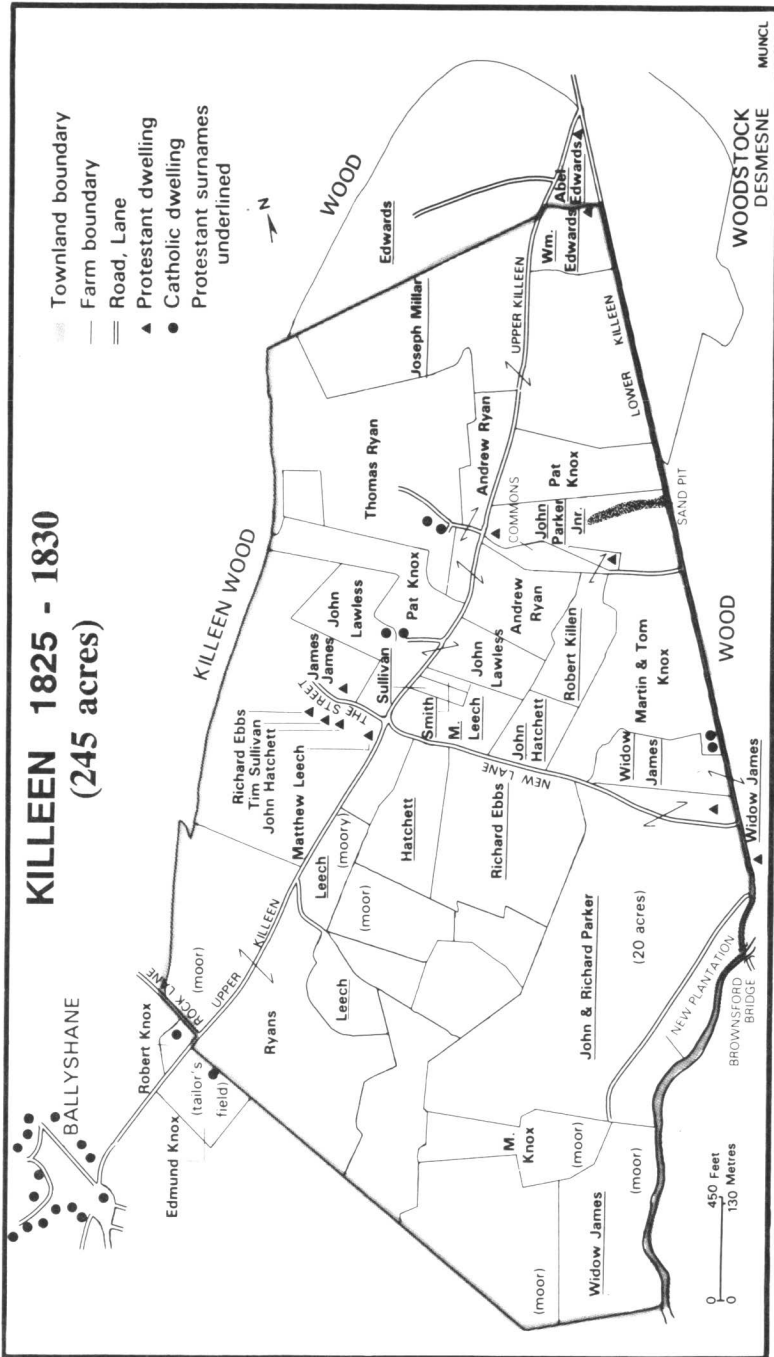


Fig. 11

could not be determined and their dwellings are not shown on the map.) A few families probably shared houses. There were five families of Knoxes, three Parkers, two families each of Edwards, Hatchett, James, Ryan, and Lecky, and single households of Ebbs, Killen, Leech, Miller, Smith, Sullivan, and Lawless. Clearly there had been subdivision and subletting, and some related families held land in partnerships. Subdivision amongst sons, however, was not ubiquitous. Detailed data do not exist, but there was a continuing exodus of young men from Killeen. Some set up homes in Woodstock demesne, others in nearby townlands. A good number relocated in the town. Two Miller sons procured a large Protestant farm across the river, in Coolnamuck. An Ebbs relocated in the Rower. Two or three Hatchetts, an Edwards, probably an Ebbs, and one or two Knoxes moved to Newfoundland. Most likely there were others, and some Killeen migrants had possibly settled on the mainland of British North America by 1830. These migrations helped prevent overcrowding and protected the family economy of Killeen.

The patterns of farm succession and settlement in Killeen resembled those in Logy Bay. The nuclear family was pivotal in both places and inheritance was strongly patrilineal. It was influenced by the number of sons anxious to inherit and the capacity of locally exploitable resources, on and off the farm, to support a family. Apart from the strikingly expansionist Dyer clan, the splitting of properties was actually more restrained amongst Inistioge descendants in Logy Bay than it was in pre-famine Killeen. Both the Hatchetts and Prenderghasts had several sons in the second generation in Logy Bay, yet neither farm was ever divided. James Edwards had no sons. His daughters moved away and this farm, like Hatchetts', was sold. The unmarried William Dyer had illegitimate sons, but eventually bequeathed his farm to Richard Dyer, a grandnephew. Breens' farm was inherited by their only son, born in Inistioge. He passed it on to his daughter. She married Michael Murphy, a latecomer to Logy Bay. They split the farm between two of their four sons. The other two sons came to inherit Brennan's farm, adjoining, acquired by Murphy's first marriage to a Brennan heir. This small cluster of Murphys was more representative of patrilineally extended family settlements in the homeland than was the larger agglomeration of Dyers.

The evolving pattern of farm settlement in Logy Bay was strongly rooted in homeland precedent. In the second and third generations some farmsteads contained "double houses" occupied by a pair of married brothers, or parents and a married son, who usually worked the land or fished the sea in partnership. Houses in Killeen and elsewhere in Inistioge were sometimes scattered in pairs, reflecting subdivision and joint farm arrangements. Some subtle differences emerged. In Logy Bay each farmstead was placed within the boundaries of a small, compact lot. Dwellings were accordingly slightly more scattered than in Killeen, and certainly more than

in Ballyshane (Fig. 11). Conversely, farm properties in these Inistioge townlands were more fragmented, following the principle that each family had shares of soils of differing quality. This meticulous division of land, a product of generations of property transmission and population pressure, was unimportant in Logy Bay where farm settlement was recent and land was abundant and free.

Killeen was an important source for Newfoundland migrants, but its settlement history was hardly typical of rural Inistioge. It was largely a British colony of 18th century derivation with special landholding privileges. The Protestant freeholders were closely allied to the estate economy. Settlement and inheritance practices were watched over by the landlord and his agents who lived nearby. Houses were built under landlord auspices; farm properties could be rearranged at his command. Ballyshane differed culturally from Killeen. It was Irish-speaking at the time of the migrations and its population was entirely Catholic, with deep roots in the townland and in the parish. The leading surname in 1815 was Malone, with four to five families. They had been head tenants in Ballyshane more than a century before. There were three Walshes — a member of this clan was head tenant in 1773 — three Delaneys, two Prenderghasts and single families of Cody, McGrath, and Hennessey. All farmhouses in the townland were grouped around an open space or "street." Families with common surnames were generally propinquitous, forming small cells of patrilineally extended kin. Among Inistioge descendants across the Atlantic, the Murphys in Logy Bay were comparable. Like all hamlets, Ballyshane was institutionally simple. Its cultural landscape was dominated by family farmsteads. There were a few cottier families with humbler housing and, by 1830, a few public structures: the school, forge, carpenter's shop, limekiln, and well.

Ballyshane was a surprisingly stable place in an era of demographic growth. Between 1815 and 1835 the number of farm holdings, if not families, remained virtually the same. As in Killeen, surplus sons relocated elsewhere. The McGraths, Pat Hennessey, and some of the Delaneys of St. John's, for example, came from there. They left a society that was homogeneous, cohesive, and intensely traditional. Landholding in Ballyshane at the time of the migrations was more archaic than in neighboring Killeen. The hand of the modernizing landlord was less evident. Most farms consisted of eight acres or low multiples of that figure. Traditionally the entire townland had been leased to a head tenant and shares were regulated informally by the community through custom and consensus. Endogamous marriages over the generations linked families with different surnames in a complex maze of kinship. Viewed bilaterally, most people in Ballyshane were members of a large, extended family. It was not, however, a community frozen in time. Farming was gradually becoming more family-centered and more commercial. Livestock were still grazed in common on the moorlands, but improved

ground was enclosed and worked by the family or, less frequently, by two families jointly. This resembled arrangements in Logy Bay. Increasingly, rents were negotiated by the family and paid directly to the landlord rather than by kin groups or by a head tenant.

In the early 19th century, a handful of landless families lived in Ballyshane. They included Dowling, Egan, Mullins, Harnett, and the Knoxes. All of these were newcomers and, as far as can be determined, none succeeded in acquiring a farm. These deflected families, transient in Ballyshane, foreshadowed something of the emigrant experience across the Atlantic. The two Knoxes, for example, cleared ground on the moorland edge of Ballyshane, a mere half mile from their ancestral abode in Killeen (Fig. 11). Both married (one to a woman from Ballyshane), built cabins, and raised families. By around 1840 Robert, a cottier, had abandoned his tiny plot and moved overseas with his family. Edmund, a tailor, followed a decade or so later. Homesteading on the moor was a common response to overcrowding on the farms in prefamine Inistioge. It could be the first short step of a longer journey, and it prepared people for the more arduous task of colonizing a distant frontier. Transatlantic migration was a dramatic extension of local moves.

Whether they came from long-established farms, as in the hamlet of Ballyshane, from intrusive colonies like Killeen, or from bog-edge cabins, relocation across the Atlantic transformed traditional social relationships to a degree unprecedented even among relocated residents at home. The Inistioge immigrants in Logy Bay settled beside immigrants from five Irish counties. Their children married the children of these immigrants or found spouses of similar background in St. John's. There is no evidence in Logy Bay or elsewhere, of any marriages between the descendants of Inistioge immigrants, nor is there any continuous tradition of Inistioge connections, even in Logy Bay. Three of the five Inistioge surnames disappeared in Logy Bay in the 19th century; they have now virtually vanished from local memory. A smaller Inistioge immigrant cluster was formed in Petty Harbour, just south of St. John's. It included three male Codys, all married, three Mackeys, two of them women, and Mary Delaney, who married Nicholas Edmunds. By 1900 both the Mackey and Edmunds names had disappeared and only one Cody family resided in Petty Harbour. Outmigration and the lack of male heirs depleted the stock of Inistioge surnames, as in Logy Bay.³³

Recent literature has stressed the importance of Old World neighborhoods in choosing precisely where to settle in the New World. Logy Bay and Petty Harbour had many analogues in immigrant North America. Tenements in the cities filled up with people from a particular parish across the Atlantic; entire streets came to be dominated by acquaintances, friends, and relatives from home. Kin and neighbors from Europe also settled side by side on the farming frontier. Here they could preserve or recreate some

sense of a homeland community. These localized channels of migration, and the transplanted neighborhoods that they spawned, were found among almost every European ethnic group settling in North America.³⁴ A pathfinder or pioneering family established a base; friends and kin followed through a system of information diffusion and remittances for fares. Most students of Irish migration allude to these transatlantic networks but, as already noted, there is little research thus far on them. This is particularly the case in America. The pioneering work of Elliott on Protestant migration from north Tipperary to Upper Canada has been supplemented by some preliminary work elsewhere in British North America: from the parish of Schull in Cork to Williamstown in Miramichi, and from the Cooley peninsula in Louth to Sydney ward in St. John, New Brunswick, to take two examples.³⁵

Serial migration was undoubtedly important in the formation of Irish settlements in North America. In Newfoundland, however, clustering by parish of origin was limited and rare. It is clear that a migration axis existed between Inistioge and St. John's, where the great majority of immigrants settled. Generally, Inistioge immigrants were jumbled with people from other parishes and towns in south Kilkenny, from other counties in southeast Ireland, and with the English. St. John's town was one mile long and extended a quarter of a mile back from the harbor. Most Inistioge immigrants resident there were probably physically closer than had been the case at home. There is little or no evidence of residential propinquity by parish of origin. Inistioge immigrants arrived over a considerable interval and were scattered across the town. There was far less opportunity for later arrivals to settle beside relatives or friends in a congested port. Most immigrants were surrounded by people with whom they had no previous acquaintance, many from parishes they had never heard of, or barely knew. Integration into the larger Catholic Irish community was rapid. The blend is reflected in spouse selection, and even more in the choosing of marriage witnesses and godparents. Some interaction among Inistioge immigrants was sustained for a while, but it faded in the face of new social realities. It was of little significance to the next generation.

Integration and assimilation were the norm for immigrants from Ireland. In every large harbor, people from four or more counties were gathered, and as in St. John's, there were usually English settlers as well.³⁶ There was, of course, less mixing by county, less still by country, in smaller harbors and coves. Small settlements were often exclusively Irish. Even in St. John's there was little intermarriage with the English. With the exception of a few residents of Protestant origin, none of the second generation of Inistioge descendants married non-Irish, as far as is known.

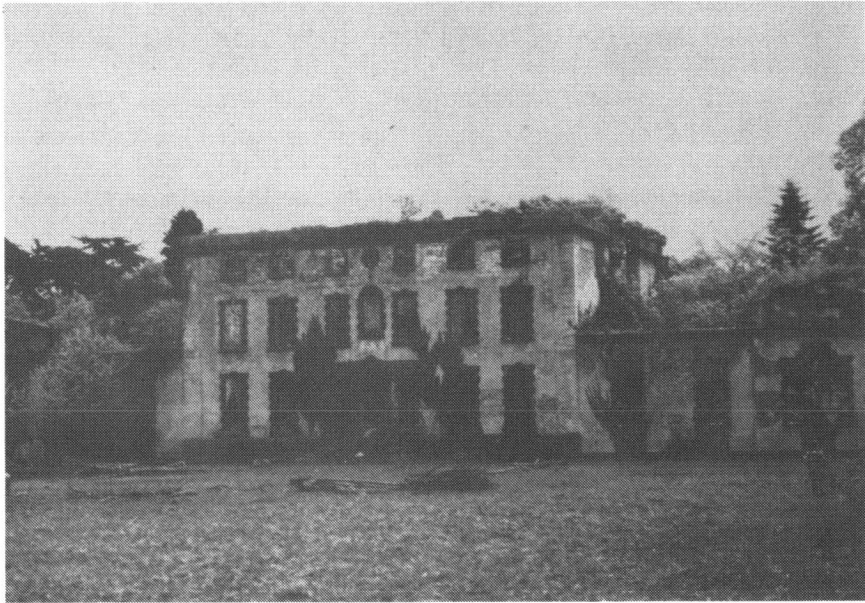
Ethnicity and religion were paramount in shaping the cultural character of Newfoundland communities. A growing sense of Irishness replaced the parochialisms of home. It is unlikely that the Irish immigrant experience in

Newfoundland was exceptional. Since the Irish almost everywhere on the mainland derived from a less restricted area in Ireland, greater mixing was probable. Toner has shown the diversity of source areas for the New Brunswick Irish, particularly in the port of St. John. Only in Miramichi was there a relatively homogeneous group of Irish, largely from the southeast and from Newfoundland itself. It was an extension of the Waterford-Newfoundland migration corridor. Roughly one-third of the immigrants in Shannon, Quebec, also came from the southeast, another third from the southwest and west, and the remainder largely from northern Ireland. Even where a substantial number of Irish are known to have come from common parishes, such as the assisted emigration from north Cork to Peterborough, Upper Canada, Brunger has shown that bunching by parish in the new setting did occur but was not widespread. The first crucial question is not on the relationship between Irish and non-Irish, but how immigrants from different parishes, counties, and regions interacted across the Atlantic and merged to form a new cultural identity.

The Social and Economic Background of the Inistioge Emigrants

Inistioge was a populous and socially complex place at the time of the Newfoundland migrations. It included, in roughly descending order, landlords, middlemen or head tenants, big farmers, traders in the town, medium farmers, shopkeepers and publicans, artisans, small farmers, cottiers, and laborers. A handful of people owned the parish in the 18th century. They were all Protestants, of New English planter background, and replaced old Catholic Norman proprietors — Butlers of Kilcash, Fitzgeralds, Dobbins, Archers, Stranges, Powers, and the Earl of Ormonde. The northern portion of the parish was appropriated by the Deanes, who were absentees, the west by the Robbinses, who lived in Ballyduff and Firgrove, and most of the rest by Stephen Sweet whose descendants were by far the most visible and influential landlords in the area. They owned the town, the demesne at Woodstock, the townlands of Killeen, Ballyshane, and, across the river, Tinfert, Kilcross, Oldcourt, Gluen, Coolnamuck, and Ballygub (Fig. 2). These lands were purchased by Sweet, a former captain in the Williamite army. His grandson, Sir William Fownes, built an elaborate mansion at Woodstock, high on a hill overlooking the town and the river (Plate 1). A modern estate economy was introduced to Inistioge. Fownes rebuilt the town, replacing the maze of old lanes and buildings with two to three story structures around a square. Commerce was revitalized and a more specialized society evolved.

Probably half of the Inistioge immigrants came from families who were tenants at Woodstock. A good number from these families worked on the estate, some for wages, others to help pay the rent. The estate records reveal the wide range of artisans and crafts involved: quarrymen, stonecutters, stonemasons, lime burners, plasterers, painters, sawyers, nailers, carpenters,



Pl. 1 Woodstock

glaziers, slaters, thatchers, gardeners, farm servants, nurserymen, carters, drovers, boatmen, and fishermen. Women worked as domestics or in the dairy and the gardens. In July, 1779, seventy-four men and thirty-six boys worked at Woodstock; seventy-eight men and forty-two boys were recorded in March, 1788. During this period, close to 100 men, women, and boys also worked in the woods, cutting and hauling timber for local construction and for export, and collecting bark for the tanneries. The numbers employed increased during construction phases on the estate. In January, 1806, over 300 were hired, comprising 218 men, twenty-nine women and thirty-six boys, with twelve sawyers, seven carpenters, three masons, and two thatchers.³⁷

Much of this estate labor was seasonal or temporary in character. Specialized artisans and laborers could move on to work in the town or for the big farmers, and farmers could return to their farms. A small number of estate personnel procured work year-round. There were gatekeepers, gamekeepers, park-keepers, wood rangers, nurserymen, farriers, curriers, coachmen, footmen, porters, butlers, rent collectors, process servers, a land steward, and a head agent. Many of these combined work at Woodstock with independent enterprises. Several of these were Protestants, some ancestors to Newfoundland emigrants. John Gwynne was an estate agent in the town. He was also appointed poundkeeper by the corporation. In 1724 Gwynne had a large premises inside the walls, strategically placed by the river. There was a large slated house, a malt house, a granary with three floors,

a yard, and a garden. Outside the walls, Gwynne had another garden and four acres of intervale land by the river.³⁸ His son George succeeded. Patrick Dyer married the daughter of George Gwynne (Fig. 3).

Stephen and Henry Gwynne, probably sons of George, apparently moved to Cork. This migration paved the way for Patrick Dyer to succeed to Gwynne's position and property in Inistioge. In 1765 he leased from Fownes a dwelling house, malt house, and brewery on the square, with a barn, stable, and granary at the rear (Fig. 12), together with a three acre field by the river just north of the town. The lease was for three lives or thirty-one years at £10 a year renewable.³⁹ Dyer rented a further twelve acres by the river at £18 a year. Most if not all of these lands were formerly held by Gwynne. Like the Gwynnes he combined his work as estate agent with other activities, including farming and trade. In 1768 Dyer linked up with his neighbor Henry Hayden, a local trader and estate agent for Fownes, to receive a contract worth £1,000 for canal construction on the Nore. Such contracts highlighted the privileged status of middle class Protestants in estate towns like Inistioge. Patrick Dyer was the leading tenant, out of a list of fifty, in the town in 1774. He could generate enough income and had sufficient connections to establish his sons in military careers and see his daughter marry Francis Warden Flood, Protestant rector of Inistioge and first cousin of Henry Flood, M.P., one of Kilkenny's leading families.

Following service in the British navy, William Dyer, eldest son of Patrick, returned to Inistioge. He married Rebecca Flood, daughter of a large freehold farmer in Ballygub, and took over his father's business in the town. Tighe renewed the 1765 lease in 1794. By now there were two slated houses facing the square (Pl. 2); evidently the malt house and brewery had been converted to a dwelling. In an era of rapidly rising land values and shorter leases the terms were extremely favorable: £10 a year, as in 1765, for ninety-nine years. This same rent is recorded between 1817 and 1833, and in 1850. Dyer's other major holding was the farm in Tinfort, once held by George Gwynne. It was leased at £50 a year. The total annual rent in 1816 was £83, by far the highest in the town and environs. William Dyer was a leading citizen in Inistioge. His brother Daniel was chief constable of the barony and also lived in Inistioge. The Dyers who moved to Logy Bay were raised in relative comfort, living either in a Georgian house on the square or in the villa across the river, at Tinfort (Pl. 3). Like others of their class, they moved to protect or restore their social status.

This status was under threat by the end of the century. Inistioge avoided the sectarian excesses of 1798, but there were attacks on Protestant households and the small community had to flee at the height of the crisis.⁴⁰ Dyer by then had a large young family. Local trade was passing into the hands of a growing and more assertive Catholic middle class. By 1817 William Dyer was in economic difficulty. He owed £260 rent for Tinfort, and it had

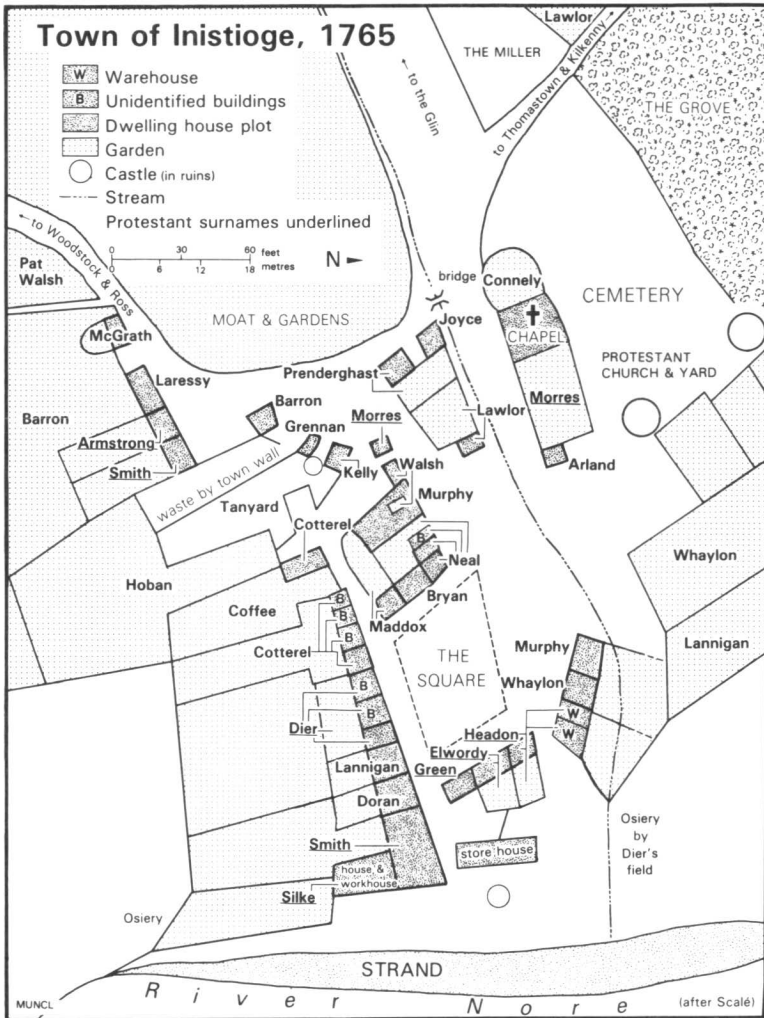


Fig. 12

increased to £335 by 1824 when Tighe cancelled the debt. The Dyers managed to hold on to the ancestral property; in the 1830s it was shared by three sons of William and their families. Most of the rest of the family by this time were in Logy Bay, reflecting the limited opportunities for Protestants in the parish and region. This was a marked contrast to the state of affairs in the previous century.

A small group of privileged Protestants held large freehold farms on long leases and at low rents in the parish through the 18th century. They



Pl. 2 The Square, Inistioge



Pl. 3 Tinfert House

included the Haydens of Ballycocksoost, the Rothes of Cappagh, the Dunstervilles of Coolnamuck, and the Floods of Ballygub. Richard Flood's farm was representative (Fig. 13). It was coterminous with the townland of Ballygub Old and comprised 154 plantation acres. This family claimed kinship to the distinguished Warden Floods of Burnchurch, who in the 18th century had established seats at Flood Hall, Farmley, and Paulstown, north of Inistioge. In 1745 Richard Flood married the daughter of Thomas Dunsterville. The latter held a farm of 480 statute acres beside Floods in Coolnamuck. Rebecca, wife of William Dyer, and John of St. John's, were almost certainly the offspring of Richard Flood.

Both Dunstervilles and Floods ran dairy farms. They were part of a network of commercial units sprinkled across south Kilkenny with close ties to New Ross and especially the port of Waterford and its vast overseas butter trade. Flood's farm was leased from Fownes for a mere £20 a year. The rent was usually paid in cash, sometimes supplemented with butter and corn. Scalé's map shows Flood's farmstead on the south side of the road to Ballygub New. Two cabins were recorded across the road, a third to the west. Their occupants were undertenants of Flood, probably farm laborers. Grouped around the buildings were small meadows and pastures intermingled with corn fields. To the north, in the upland, fields were much larger and still in rough pasture. The larger number of small fields in the lowland core suggests an intensive mixed-farm economy, with wheat, pigs, and cattle supplementing butter sales. Around this time Flood acquired extra land in Coolnamuck, probably part of the old Dunsterville leasehold, and his rent was raised to £95 per annum.

John Flood was brought up on a very substantial commercial farm. The decision to emigrate to Newfoundland around 1784 was hardly related to lack of local opportunity or to poverty. He may have opted for a cash settlement instead of a share of the farm, and moved across the Atlantic to launch an independent career. Big farmers were often unwilling to split economically viable units among sons. Landlord policy, moreover, could proscribe it. If so, these principles did not endure in Ballygub and Coolnamuck. Thomas Dunsterville had no male heirs and his large leasehold was sublet to farm tenants and cottiers. William Flood, likely brother of John and heir at Ballygub, had at least two farms let to undertenants in Coolnamuck in 1786. Two Flood sisters married Millers from Killeen in 1799 and they settled on Dunsterville's old farm. Richard Flood died at Ballygub in 1802; the farm there was divided between William and George Flood. The traditional farmstead was abandoned and two new farmhouses built across the road (Fig. 14). Around this time the northwest corner of the old farm was leased to another Protestant and in 1818 to the Lanigans. They improved and enclosed the heathy pastures and established two farmsteads there. A number of artisans and cottiers set up homes along the Ross road to the south.

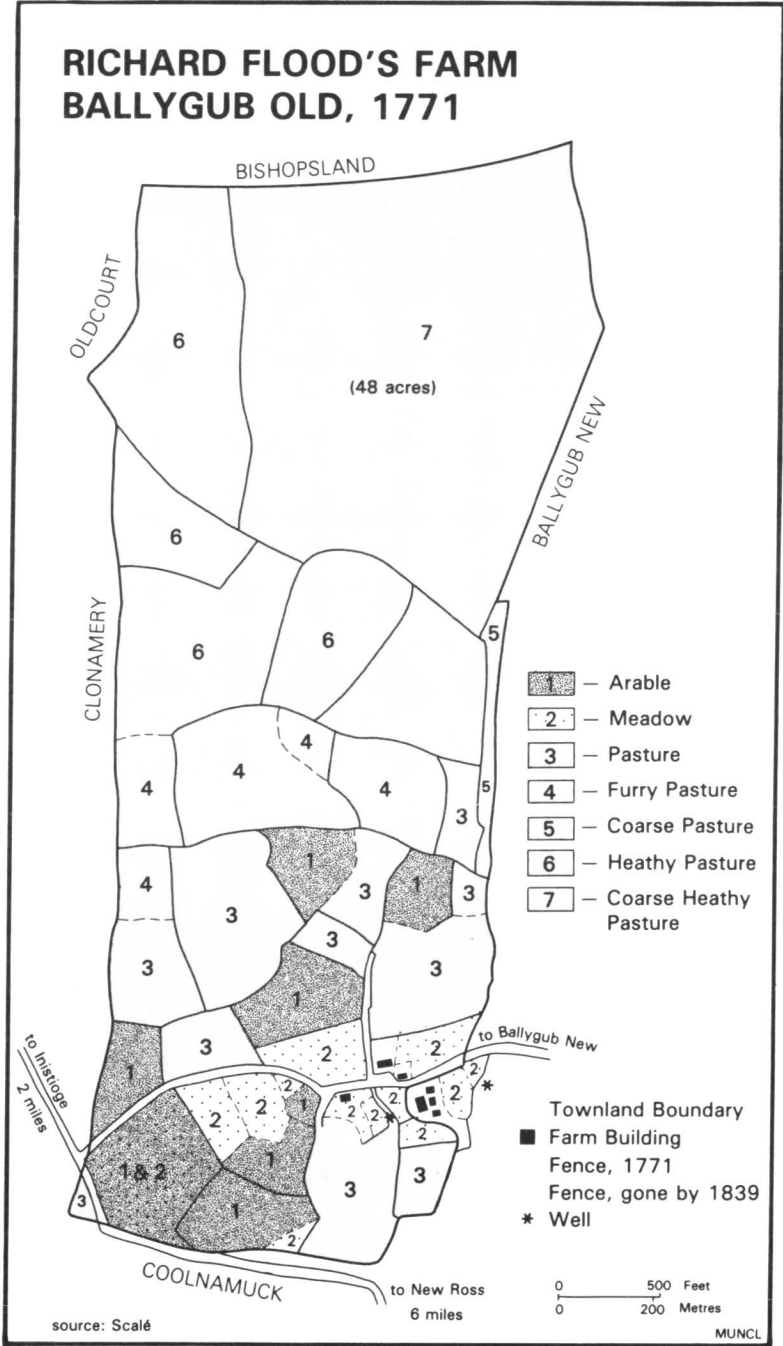


Fig. 13

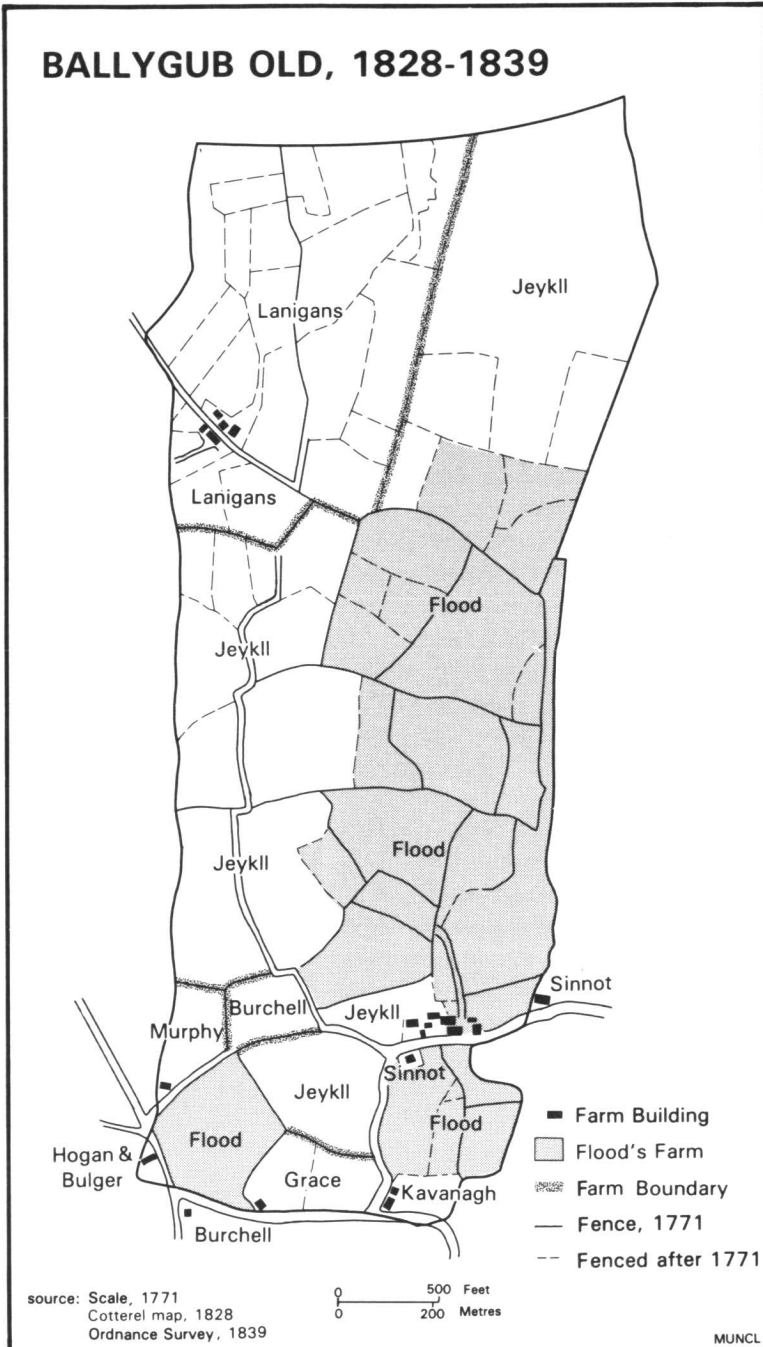


Fig. 14

A Flood daughter inherited one of the farms in Ballygub and married a Jekyll from Old Ross, introducing yet another new name to the townland. Like the Dyers, the Floods, though deeply in debt to the landlord, managed to retain most of their 18th century lands, albeit largely through the female line; but these family farms, undoubtedly more productive per acre, were much more modest in scale. Had John Flood returned in 1830 he would have seen many continuities in the cultural landscape, but he would also have been astonished at the number of new houses, holdings, fields, and roads, and the extent of improved land.

Second only to the landlords in social position were the Protestant middlemen who held more than one townland. They paid a chief rent to the landlords, then leased most of the land out in large units to head tenants and big farmers, reserving a substantial farm for themselves. The Gwynnes, Dyers, Dunstervilles, and Floods differed from middlemen only in scale. Middlemen flourished especially in lightly settled pastoral areas where landlords were not resident. They were rare in Inistioge. Most of the parish was densely settled, and families prosecuted a mixed-farm economy under the eye of resident landlords and their salaried agents. The only true middleman family in Inistioge in the 18th century were the Rothes of St. Mullins, originally from Butler's Grove, Kilkenny. They were introduced by the absentee Deanes to work and administer the confiscated Dobbyn lands in the north of the parish. In 1737 John Rothe was awarded a lease of 663 statute acres in Kilcullen for £50 a year. The lease was renewed in 1751 and 1793. The family also received the adjoining townland of Cappagh, around 730 acres, and the administration of five townlands to the east (Fig. 2). They established two large, contiguous farms in Cappagh and Kilcullen and built two houses, one in each townland (Pl. 4). The landlord mansions excepted, these were the most elaborate and substantial residences in Inistioge. Like the landlords, the Rothes were innovators, setting standards in house and farmstead design, in stone construction, in the layout of field and farm, in improving and cultivating the land, and in the promotion of local commerce.⁴² They invested in milling, malting, and brewing, reclaimed the wetlands, and exploited the local forest for bark and construction timbers. Like Patrick Dyer and Henry Hayden downriver, Michael Rothe of Cappagh secured a contract to improve navigation along his stretch of the Nore in 1775.

Patrick Ruth, who settled in St. John's around 1815, was likely descended from the Cappagh branch. The surname was not found elsewhere in the parish and the name Patrick was used by the Protestant Rothes in the 18th century. Patrick, the emigrant, may have been illegitimate, and raised in poor circumstances. His is an example of a rare name whose origins still cannot be pinpointed in the homeland.

The Cappagh Rothes had lost their middleman status by 1800. Increasingly the landlords, now resident nearby, leased farms directly to the



Pl. 4 Rothe's house, Kilcullen; malt-house on left



Pl. 5 Dalton's house, Ballycocksoost



Pl. 6 Cantwell farmhouse, Ballycorcoran

tenants, cutting out the middlemen and head tenants. With the press of population, Catholic tenant farmers competed for portions of Rothes' own farms. By 1829 John Rothe worked a farm of over 100 acres, still substantial but much reduced when compared to the family property in the previous century.

Head tenants constituted a strategic group in the landholding system in Inistioge. In negotiating a lease, a head tenant could represent a group of his kin, or a cluster of undertenants in a townland with whom he resided. There were seven head tenants in seven townlands on the Woodstock estate early in the 18th century. At least three were Catholic: Joyce in the town of Inistioge, and Knox and Malone in Killeen and Ballyshane. Flood and Smithwick were recorded at Tinfert and Kilcross; Wheeler and Dunsterville in Cluen and Coolnamuck. Sir William Fownes was himself listed as head tenant at "Woodstock House and Domain," paying a chief rent to the Earl of Arran. Ballygub, the remaining townland on the estate, did not have a head tenant named, but the place was being let "to a Protestant." In 1773 thirteen of the seventeen head tenants at Woodstock were Catholic. They serve as a reminder of the strength and continuity of a Catholic middle class in the parish. The vast majority of tenant farms in Inistioge at the time of the migration were in Catholic hands. A considerable portion of the land, moreover, was held by big farmers. Even as late as 1829 more than one-third of the parish was in farms of over seventy-five acres.

Some of these Catholic big farms had deep roots. The Daltons were major landholders in Inistioge for close to a century. In 1761 Walter Dalton worked a large farm in Ballycocksoost. His farmstead was located beside "White's Castle," a Norman tower house, suggesting continuity from late medieval times. It included a substantial stone dwelling, smaller than Rothes', but vernacular in style (Pl. 5). In 1761 John Robbins of Ballyduff leased 340 acres in Coolroebeag, two miles to the southwest, to Walter Dalton. The lease was for thirty-one years at £35 a year, a mere two shillings per acre. It was renewed in 1792 to Edmund Dalton and his undertenants for £60 a year. By this time it is likely that John Dalton, who married in 1787, lived in Ballycocksoost, William Dalton and family in Coolroebeag, and Edmund in Ballygub New, where he held another large farm.⁴³ The precise relationships between these Daltons have not been established, but all were kin. They rivalled the Rothes by 1790 as leading tenants in Inistioge. Most of this land was kept in the family name. In 1829 Daltons held two of the largest farms in the parish: 194 acres in Ballycocksoost and 180 acres in Ballygub New. A kinsman, Peter Dalton, had a substantial business in the town. He acquired over 100 acres in Pleberstown, leased to five tenants, sixty-four acres in Coolrainey, worked by four tenants, and the glebelands in Kilmacshane, just north of the town, held by the Anglican rector.

William Dalton of St. John's was born in Inistioge around 1790. The surname was rare. Apart from the households mentioned, and a Michael resident in Ballyduff from 1810 to 1815, there is no record of any other Dalton families in the parish. Like John Flood, William Dalton almost certainly came from a big farm background. In the 19th century the Daltons, like the Floods, partitioned their properties among heirs. Ballycocksoost was split into two farms. One, worked jointly by Walter and James Dalton, was valued at £42 in 1850, the other, held by Michael Dalton, at £79. This latter was the second largest farm in the parish. The largest was Edward Dalton's in Ballygub. It had been transmitted undivided and was valued at £111 in 1850. By contrast, two of the Daltons in Coolroebeag were by this time mere cottiers; a third held a farm there of fifty acres. There were three Daltons in the town. One was a large shopkeeper, the other two had modest properties valued at £5 and £6. The Daltons had managed to hold on to much of their 18th century tenancies and had acquired new property in the town. William Dalton's decision to leave Inistioge and acquire property across the Atlantic reduced the pressure to share out land at home. As in the case of John Flood, migration was partly a strategy of heirship.

Several other Inistioge immigrants came from fairly substantial Catholic farms. They include Patrick Cantwell of Powerswood, John Holden of Kilmacshane, Nicholas Molloy of Coolrainey, and Patrick Tobin of Britace. The Cantwells were major landholders. Three families farmed 380 acres along the Arrigle in 1829. Two of their farmsteads were in Ballycorcoran, in the southeast corner of Powerswood, the third across the stream in Ballyvoool (Fig. 2). Originally these lands may have been worked as a single Cantwell farm, but when Patrick Cantwell departed for St. John's around 1810 there were at least two families resident there. One of the farmhouses still stands (Pl. 6). More modest in scale than that of the Daltons, it was the prevailing style among better off farmers in the parish at the time of the migrations. Despite intense competition for land, Cantwells managed to preserve something of their big farmer status. In 1850 they had four farms of seventy-four, seventy-three, seventy-two, and twenty-nine acres. It was considerably less than their acreage in 1829, and there were two Cantwells who had only a cabin and garden each, leased from their kin.

The Holdens of Kilmacshane provide a striking example of property preservation through a stratagem of male outmigration. When John Holden emigrated to Newfoundland around 1805, there were two families working a large farm less than a mile west of Inistioge. Between 1810 and 1835, five sons and five daughters of these families married, the daughters exclusively to Kilmacshane farmers. One son took over Rothes' large farm in Kilcullen, just across the river; another settled in town; a third moved away with his family. Two sons succeeded. In 1829 there were two farmsteads side by side (Pls. 7, 8), and two properties of sixty-five and twenty-three acres. By 1850

only one Holden family remained in Kilmacshane, with a farm of seventy-four acres, valued at £43.

In 1829, however, Inistioge was primarily a place of small and middling farmers. Only thirty farms exceeded seventy-five acres and forty-two holdings were between fifty and seventy-five acres (Table 1). The medium farm of sixteen to fifty acres was of major significance. It accounted for nearly 30%

Table 1 FARM SIZE, PARISH OF INISTIOGE, 1829

Acres	1-5	6-15	16-30	31-50	51-75	76-100	101-150	+ 150	Total
No. of									
Holdings	208	95	95	63	42	12	11	7	533
%	39.1	17.8	17.8	11.8	7.9	2.2	2.1	1.3	100%

of all holdings and 34% of Inistioge's farmland. These farms depended entirely on family labor. When farm servants were hired on upper medium farms, it was usually on a seasonal basis. Most middling farms provided a relatively comfortable existence for the single family. The motivation to protect this status was strong. Only in the absence of reasonably attractive alternatives — another farm of comparable size in the neighborhood, a good trade, a shop, outmigration with a cash settlement — was subdivision among male heirs accepted, and then reluctantly. It implied a decline to smallholder status. Unless they could find other employment, the surplus sons of small farmers faced a grim future. Some tried to eke out a living on a portion of the parental holding, supplementing a meagre farm income with casual labor. A few apprenticed locally to an artisan and combined a simple craft with a tiny holding to support a family. Many were reduced to the ranks of humble cottiers and laborers.

The small and middling farms were nurseries for emigrants. As the population increased, and land became scarce and expensive, the promise of property across the Atlantic emerged as an attractive alternative. The problem for some was finding the means to move. A transatlantic passage was almost as costly as the yearly rent for a tiny holding. With its established system of prepaid passages, labor contracts, and local shipping, the Newfoundland fishery was accessible even to Inistioge's poor. The sons and daughters of small and middling farmers, part-time farmers, and even of cottiers and laborers, dominated the Newfoundland migrations. Their numbers had been increasing steadily since 1780. By 1829 almost 57% of landholders lived on properties below fifteen acres. These small holdings were largely a product of subdivision and subletting during a demographic surge.

Kilcross was the most populous townland in rural Inistioge in 1831 (Fig. 2). Fifty-two families resided there, in forty-nine houses, and worked 820 acres. In the mid 18th century Kilcross was divided into around nine holdings.

All the tenants were Catholic. The rent was only 1/6d an acre in 1753, raised to 2/2d in 1766 and 3/5d in 1773. Thirty percent was paid in cash, the remainder through labor in the woods. In 1774 the estate ledgers actually showed a balance of £30 in favor of the tenants. James Cotterel, a local surveyor, mapped the property of each family in 1811 for William Tighe. "This Townland," he reported, "was formerly demised in Bulk to a few families. Probably not more than 8 or 9 who by intermarriages and encouraging strangers by letting them ground have increased to 35. Each man at the marriage of a Son or Daughter partitioning his holding and giving a certain part thereof as a marriage portion."⁴⁴ In addition to the thirty-five houses there were some cabins put up by squatters. Most holdings were small: 6 acres (7), 6-15 (9), 26-40 (6), 40-70 (5). By 1816 there were forty-three tenancies, some held jointly, a few held by tenants living outside the townland. Over the next five years, eight of these lots were split further, introducing ten extra tenants.

Farming was the mainstay of the Kilcross economy, but access to the land was highly unequal. Only twenty-one of the forty-nine households were full-time farmers in 1831. Eleven houses depended on farm labor for a livelihood. There were seven families engaged in trades: three weavers (the only Protestants in the village), a tailor, a carpenter, a slater, and a blacksmith. Nine houses were occupied by widows, pensioners, and beggars. A good number of the farm houses, moreover, contained artisans and laborers. The parish priest also lived in the townland and held the largest farm there, leased to three undertenants. His substantial residence was located away from the village, on a site overlooking the Nore.

The village was composed of nine small clusters of three to six dwellings each, closely spaced along the road in lower Kilcross. There were 132 land divisions, some of them shared by up to eight farm families. Much of the upland in Upper Kilcross was grazed in common in the 18th century, with shares determined by the amount of land held by each household or partnership in the infield. Cotterel was very critical in his report to Tighe of this residual communal system of tenure. Industrious farmers were stymied by their less progressive partners; improved crop rotations and pastoral husbandry were difficult to introduce to the tiny, scattered plots; much land was wasted in paths, cartways, ditches, and other boundary markers; litigation over rights and access to ground was endemic; and rents were not paid regularly.

Kilcross was overcrowded by 1831. There was on average over seven people per household. A decade later the population had increased slightly, then dropped dramatically in the 1840s. This decline was largely a consequence of emigration. It affected all classes, including the larger farmers. At the beginning of the century James McDaniell held a farm of thirty-two acres in Kilcross at an annual rent of £8.8.0 per year. It was four-ninths of an

old 18th century farm. The remainder was held by Terrence Kavanagh in 1811. Their two farmsteads were side by side on Banshee Lane; similar land parcels, each divided into four- and five-ninth portions, were scattered through the townland in no fewer than nine different divisions. This arrangement was typical of Kilcross.

James McDaniell was dead by 1816 and the farm was held jointly by his widow, and by Patrick and James, likely sons. They owed nine months rent. In 1818 Patrick and James rented another holding at £1.10.0 a year with £11 arrears. Their debts on both leases mounted steadily to £58 by 1828. Tighe cancelled the debts on their giving up the ancestral farm. They were left with three acres at £1.10.0 each a year. Both were married and had children. The rental record implied they were going to "America" but both families were still on their small holding, with new debts, in 1833. In the meantime a third McDaniell, John, probably a brother of Patrick and James, acquired a farm of thirty-five acres near the old McDaniell holding at £8.14.0 per year. The arrears on this farm exceeded £23 in 1824. McDaniell did not erase the debt but paid his rent regularly over the next decade and the holding was still in the family's possession in 1850. Two others of the clan shared the three acre plot at mid-century, each occupying a cabin.

Another James McDaniell was born in Kilcross in 1818. He was almost certainly a son of one of the three McDaniell tenants described above; this James was brought up on a middling farm. The pressure on land in Kilcross intensified through his youth. By 1833 there were over fifty holdings in the townland. McDaniell moved to St. John's and settled beside a kinsman, yet another James McDaniell, a resident since as far back as 1790. This James had worked first as a stonemason in St. John's but in 1804 followed Kilcross custom and took up farming on the edge of town. So did the second James. There were five McDonnell (i.e., McDaniell) farms along and off Portugal Cove road at the end of the century. In Kilcross, by contrast, the surname had by then disappeared.

Laborers and artisans, or their offspring, also joined the Newfoundland migration. Edmund Cullen was born in Kilcross in 1823, one of at least nine children. The family was likely long settled in the townland. John Cullen was among the list of tenants in 1748 and a John held two acres in Kilcross in 1811, the third smallest holding recorded. He was an undertenant of Nicholas Cody, a farmer living in the village. Cullen's tiny property was actually split into three plots. Each was mixed in or "joined" with those of two other Cody undertenants, James Walsh, a farm laborer, and Mrs. Brophy, a poor widow. Their thatched cabins were part of a small cluster down "Foreigners Lane," probably named after the Protestant Ashes, three farmer-weaver families there. Cullen's holding comprised a cabin plot, a miniscule garden, and, away from the cluster, three-quarters of an acre of bog. The annual rent was less than £1. Cullen was a poor laborer, struggling

to survive. Demand for farm labor had dropped sharply in the depression which followed the war. Cullen had difficulty even paying his lowly rent. He was three years in arrears in 1818 and in 1824.

Although not mentioned in the rental until 1824, Edmund Cullen, likely a son of John, was married and living on this holding in 1811. By 1828 he had nine children baptized in Inistioge. There were seven persons in his household in 1831, including Edmund Jr., destined for St. John's. There is no precise information on the potential migrant's young life in Kilcross, but it was surely difficult. In 1850 the little holding, valued at 20/-, with a house worth 30/-, was in the possession of Edmund's widow. By then Edmund Jr. was in St. John's. Since the family had difficulty paying £1 rent, the cost of a transatlantic passage must have been prohibitive. Edmund was probably recruited as a young apprentice baker in St. John's, his fare across the Atlantic being prepaid. Paradoxically, the cottier Cullens managed to acquire most of John McDaniell's farm after the last of that line left for America.

Close to 30% of the 1025 males employed and living in Tighe townlands were cottiers and farm laborers in 1831. Like the Cullens, most held an acre or two on short leases. The Bergins, Breens, Clear, Cunningham, Doherty, Dwyer, Ellis, Hearn, the Phelans, Reddys, and Williams all came from tiny holdings and a laborer background. In 1829 the eight or nine Bergin families in Inistioge occupied a total of less than fifteen acres. Patrick, the immigrant, was raised on a two-acre plot in Bohilla. It was valued at a mere 11/- in 1850 and contained a cabin assessed at 14/-. Bergin's homestead, and those of several other cottiers, were located along the road skirting Firgrove demesne. This was a modest estate of 100 acres, occupied by the Robbins family. But the fine stone dwelling, extensive outbuildings, walled gardens, large fields, tree-lined avenue, and gate lodge stood in stark contrast to the humble houses and holdings of the cottiers and farm-laborer families around the estate's borders. Indeed the Bergins were socially a world apart from the Cantwells, whose large farms were located nearby.

Daniel Bergin was raised in similarly humble circumstances in the town. His father, also a farm laborer, had a small house and yard on Mill Street for which he paid 10/- rent a year. Yet in 1817 he was six years in arrears (the debt was cancelled by the landlord). Around the time Daniel departed for St. John's there were seven persons in this household, three of them laborers. Another Bergin family, also laborers, was located across the street.

Probably one in four Inistioge immigrants came from the town. Apart from Bergin, they included the Dyers, Prenderghasts, Lawlers, Reddys, Joyce, and possibly the Gallivans and Lanigans. Inistioge functioned as a service centre for the farm community. One in five persons in the parish lived there in 1821. Work was closely integrated with the agricultural economy, or with estate ventures at Woodstock. At least 16% of men resident in the town in

1821 were directly engaged in farming. A decade later 27% were so engaged: eleven farmers and fifty farm laborers. This agricultural tradition extended back into medieval times.

Despite its walls, charter, and venerable status as an incorporated borough, Inistioge was really only a village at the time of the migrations. Partly in response to a rapidly expanding commerce in local livestock products and grain in the 1750s, Fownes rebuilt it. A bridge was constructed across the Nore, and efforts made to improve navigation. New leases were drawn up; the total rent for the town trebled. A core group of around twenty traders, shopkeepers, publicans, and estate personnel was established in new houses on long leases around a Georgian square. Several were Protestant newcomers (Fig. 12). Fairs and markets, long endorsed by charter, were revitalized, but apart from a corn mill and, briefly, a tannery, there was little processing of local produce for external or even local trade. Pigs and some cattle were taken live to the ports for slaughter, depriving the village of numerous jobs related to the salt meat industry. Butter was salted and barrelled on the farm, then transported by road and river from the farms to the ports, sometimes by the dairymen themselves. In contrast to Thomastown and Graiuenamanagh, Inistioge had no quay or warehouse of substance. Food processing was confined to a miller, two bakers, and two butchers in 1831. There were, moreover, three or four mills in operation on other tributaries of the Nore before 1800. Increasingly during the time of the migrations, flour and meal were sent overland to Dublin, or by river and road to New Ross and Waterford.

Crafts in Inistioge were established largely in response to domestic needs: local construction, clothing, footwear, and barrels for the transportation of processed foodstuffs. In addition to the food processors noted, there were in Inistioge town fourteen coopers, eleven carpenters, two nailers, a sawyer, seven stonemasons, a painter, two slaters, eight shoemakers, four tailors, a hatter, a weaver, four blacksmiths, a road maker, and a boatman in 1831. Coopers, masons, and shoemakers were rarely found elsewhere in the parish, but other artisans, particularly blacksmiths, and also carpenters, weavers, tailors, and boatmen were represented. Close to one-quarter of all men employed in the parish in 1821 were artisans; 45% of them lived in the rural townlands. A highly commercialized and specialized agriculture had developed during the migration interval, resulting in the growth and diversification of crafts. Inistioge's economy, however, remained entirely preindustrial. Even the few small industries in the village in the 18th century — malting, brewing, tanning, the tuck mill — had disappeared.

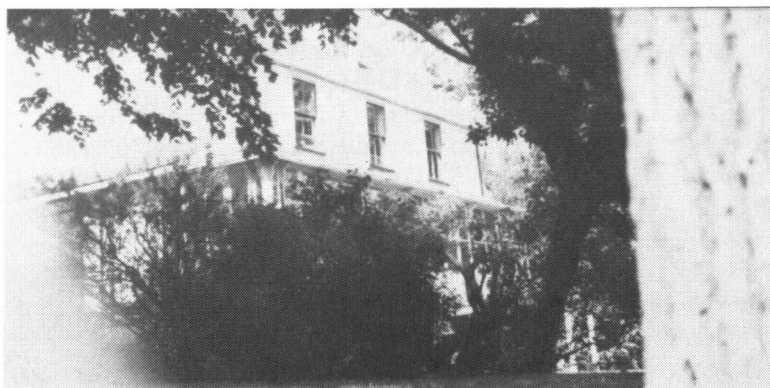
There is little information on the extent to which artisans, their offspring, apprentices, or others with expertise outside farming joined the Newfoundland migration. We do know that every stratum of village society in Inistioge, and probably every leading craft, was represented in the



Pl. 7 Holden farmhouse, Kilmacshane



Pl. 8 Holden farmhouse, Kilmacshane



Pl. 9 Retreat Cottage, St. John's

transatlantic flow. Some village migrants came from the ranks of the well-to-do and were familiar with a variety of work. The Dyers, as noted, were engaged in a range of occupations at the upper level: trade, estate administration, local government, watchmaking, and large-scale farming. In the 1780s Matthew Prenderghast, likely ancestor to the Logy Bay clan, was a clerk for Henry Hayden, a leading trader on the square. Others of the family were nurserymen and carpenters with close ties to Woodstock. Probably the most prominent family in the town in the 18th century were the Joyces. They were freemen and head tenants there, and held considerable farmland nearby. By the time of the migrations the Joyces, like the Knoxes, Malones, and other Catholic head tenants, had lost status. In 1831, two were farmers, one a carpenter, and one a cooper. All lived in the town. Nothing precise is known of the occupational background of Matthew Joyce, born before 1800; but, like Flood and Dyer, he entered trade in St. John's and was a leading citizen there. Like them, he could also carry with him at least the memory of a distinguished lineage to his new home.

Most artisans in Inistioge practiced humble crafts, and most immigrants with artisan antecedents were only a class above the farm laborer. In 1820, for example, the Bergins, Reddys, and Lawlors each paid a mere 10/- for their town properties. Honora Lawlor, born in the town in 1825, was the daughter of a shoemaker whose family had resided in the town for generations. There were eight persons in the Lawlor household in 1831, five of them females. Two men, including Honora's father, were shoemakers. On the eve of the famine, and about the time Honora moved to St. John's, John Lawlor lived on Church Street in "a medium building in bad repair." It had "a very narrow, confined yard," without a separate entrance. By 1850 the Lawlors had left these poor and crowded quarters for a fresh beginning overseas.

Coping with New Settings

Migration from Inistioge to Newfoundland meant a fundamental shift from an agrarian to a maritime world. Agricultural production pervaded everyday life in the homeland; the cod fishery was a novel and dominant force in shaping the lives of the immigrants. The sea, or rather its exploitation, could be a powerful solvent of Inistioge ways. At first glance the Newfoundland landscape, physical and cultural, must have appeared strange to emigrant eyes. Even in St. John's, almost all structures were built of wood, in striking contrast to the stone, slate, or thatch of home. Wooden wharves, fishing boats, and trading vessels lined the harbor, backed by a jumble of timber warehouses of various sizes. Beyond these were the retail stores and dwellings of the merchants and traders, interspersed with those of the artisans and fishermen. As late as 1830 there were still some cookrooms for the fishing servants along the waterfront. In settlements like Petty Harbour, huge fishing

flakes dwarfed the tiny timber houses of the settlers. Almost everywhere rock and scrub forest obtruded, and steep cliffs dominated the shore. The tiny gardens with their potato ridges and the small meadows and rough pastures with some familiar livestock were among the few landscape features evocative of home.

Inistioge skills appeared to be redundant in the strange new world of the cod fishery. Some, of course, were; but apart from catching and curing the cod, Inistioge immigrants were engaged in occupations long established at home. Like New Ross or Waterford, the mercantile port of St. John's focused on food exports, and many Old World urban crafts and services were replicated across the Atlantic. Inistioge immigrants found employment as petty traders, publicans, shopkeepers, bakers, coopers, carpenters, stonemasons, tailors, farmers, and as general laborers in the town and environs. Women performed domestic duties in and around the dwelling house similar to those of their kin in Inistioge. Two questions arise: to what extent were immigrant aspirations and occupations rooted in homeland precedent, and how successful were the immigrants in pursuit of material goals?

Inistioge immigrants fulfilled their primary objectives. They secured access to landed property, married, and started households. Most of those resident in St. John's remained tenants for their lifetimes, but on more favorable leases than in Inistioge. Those living in the outharbors were owners of their properties. Although impossible to quantify, we know that some immigrants did poorly and actually suffered a loss in living standards or status; others failed to improve their lot, and a number enhanced it.

As a pioneering immigrant from Inistioge with the longest record of residency in Newfoundland, John Flood's experience, if not exactly typical, is instructive. Unlike the great majority of Inistioge immigrants, Flood was Anglican, literate, and middle class. His overseas career reveals values characteristic of his cultural background and rank: he was pragmatic, profit-seeking, preoccupied with work and the accumulation of property, flexible, resilient, patriarchal, and committed to the preservation of an inherited status and its transmission to his offspring. A few years after his arrival in St. John's, Flood married Catherine Welsh, an illiterate widow. He was only twenty-one. Little is known of his wife's background, but the marriage was strategic. She had close ties to Samuel Jutsham of Dartmouth, a planter, trader, and mercantile agent long resident in St. John's. Jutsham was a witness to the marriage. Apart from acting as agent for two major Dartmouth firms, Newmans and Holdsworths, in St. John's, Jutsham traded on his own account and acquired considerable properties in St. John's and in outharbors nearby. These he leased to tenants, mainly Irish. In his will (1796) Jutsham left £100 to Catherine Flood. She and her husband were also named trustees

and executors of his estate and were bequeathed a considerable portion of it.⁴⁵

At the time of Flood's arrival and marriage, St. John's was expanding rapidly as a service centre for the cod fishery. The permanent population was increasing and the town had become the principal gathering place for migratory servants each spring and fall. As in every bustling port, one of the liveliest enterprises was that of the publican. The trade was completely dominated by the Irish. In 1794 Flood was recorded with a tavern in the west end of town on land leased from George Hutchings, a Devon planter.⁴⁶ There were four servants, one of them female, and two "dieters" (i.e., overwintering boarders) in Flood's household. Apart from the transient tavern trade, drink — mainly rum — and "sundries" were advanced on credit to local artisans, traders, sea captains, planters, and servants. Debts were usually due in the fall. If not paid, writs were issued. These were usually for small sums, although one Irish planter owed Flood £108 in 1803.⁴⁷ The debt was paid. Retailing drink in St. John's was a hazardous enterprise, highly sensitive to the oscillations of the cod fishery. By 1806 Flood was in difficulty. Unable to pay a debt of £123 to a Greenock merchant supplier, he was declared insolvent. A family friend was appointed to "settle his affairs, receive his rents, and pay his debts." Flood was forced to abandon the drink trade and for several years thereafter apparently worked as a cooper.⁴⁸ It was a lowly occupation for a man of his background.

Flood rebounded to become Inistioge's most successful immigrant in Newfoundland and one of St. John's wealthiest inhabitants. This was achieved largely through shrewd investments in the local land market. He steadily acquired interests in houses and premises in the town, which he leased to undertenants. Flood's insolvency did not affect properties acquired through his marriage from the Jutsham estate, and presumably these provided capital to expand. In 1810-20 John Flood shifted his interests from coopering to farming. When he first settled in St. John's, commercial farms did not exist. But as the permanent population of the town expanded, with increasing numbers of women and children, the demand for fresh vegetables and dairy produce grew. Flood was finally given an opportunity to apply some personal skills. In 1812 he had a grant of eleven acres three miles southwest of the town. It was small when compared to the ancestral holding in Ballygub, but the crops and livestock raised were familiar. Three years later Flood held twenty-one acres for which he paid 72/- quit rent annually to the crown.⁴⁹ Several other land parcels were acquired, cleared by servants for agriculture, and leased. One Flood farm was let at £50 a year.⁵⁰ Although described as a farmer in the 1820s, it is likely that John Flood continued to live in town. When he died there in 1840 his estate was valued at £8,000, with a rental income of £400 a year. This was three times the rental value of the townland

of Ballygub Old, once held by his father but shared by twelve tenants in 1850, and almost five times the value of his kinsmen's two holdings there.⁵¹

John Flood had preserved or restored the middle class status associated with the large Protestant freehold farms of 18th century Inistioge. It was a distinction much cherished by the family and descendants in St. John's. Described as a publican, cooper, and farmer between 1790 and 1830, Flood was styled thereafter Yeoman, Gentleman, Esq., and Mr. Obituaries emphasized his Inistioge origins — from "one of the first families of that part of the country" who "by honest industry had accumulated considerable property."⁵² This sense of class and material success was transmitted to his children and was sustained to the end of the century.

John Flood married three times (Appendix 1). As far as is known, no children survived from the first marriage. In 1810 he married Johanna Walsh of Ballyhale. They had three daughters. At the age of fifty-seven Flood married another Johanna Walsh, a native of Ferryland. She was 18. This union produced three sons and five daughters. Flood named his eldest son after his own father, Richard; the other two were named John and William George. These were the only four Flood male names known in Ballygub; and they reappeared amongst Flood's grandchildren in St. John's. Respect for lineage and family tradition was an important cultural trait among Inistioge immigrants, especially if they came from relatively well-to-do backgrounds. It was expressed in the names given children. Floods, Dyers, and Hatchetts, for example, all used the forename Rebecca, after Rebecca Gwynne of Inistioge and Rebecca Flood of Ballygub (Fig. 3).

Lineality was also expressed in the transmission of property. John Flood was survived by two sons and five daughters. Although the precise details of his will are not known, each child was bequeathed a share of the estate. They succeeded in preserving their middle class status in St. John's through the 19th century. William George became a barrister and member of the House of Assembly. He married the daughter of prosperous immigrants from Waterford and lived at Retreat Cottage, an elegant two-storey frame dwelling just north of the town (Pl. 9). Flood's eldest daughter married William Dryer of Exeter, an accountant, mercantile agent, and shopkeeper. They occupied part of the ancestral property. Another daughter married the newspaper editor and reform politician, R.J. Parsons. Two daughters became nuns. William Flood had no surviving children and the estate was transmitted through the female line.⁵³ Although split into several shares, Flood descendants retained their interests in the estate into the present century. Respect for the family name also endured. As late as 1930 the family of Charles Flood Parsons boasted about their kinship to Henry Flood, the parliamentarian, who died near Inistioge in 1791; so did Parsons' distant cousins, the Dyers of Logy Bay.⁵⁴

Whereas John Flood enhanced his economic position through migration, his Dyer kin did not. A decline, already evident in premigration Inistioge, was accelerated in Newfoundland. Normally Michael Dyer, the eldest son, would have inherited a major portion of the family estate. A Catholic marriage apparently precluded this.⁵⁵ Following family tradition, he established a shop in St. John's. It was demolished in the fire of 1816 and Dyer, probably lacking the capital to rebuild, or discouraged by the recession in trade, moved with his young family to farm in Logy Bay.⁵⁶ In this he was also following family tradition, but clearing the forest for farming had little precedent in Inistioge. Dyer appropriated over sixty acres of crown land, a very substantial holding by local standards. Parts of it were allotted to relatives arriving subsequently from Inistioge (Fig. 7). Michael Dyer's cleared land did not exceed twenty acres. It was tiny when compared to the ancestral holding in Tinfert, and immensely inferior in quality. William Dyer arrived in St. John's as a watchmaker — the most sophisticated craft reported amongst Inistioge immigrants — but ultimately joined his brother in Logy Bay, where he worked an even smaller farm.

The Inistioge colony in Logy Bay supplemented a meagre farm income with a commercial cod fishery. Each spring, having planted the home fields, they moved with their families down to the "rooms" by the shore, bringing with them livestock, poultry, and household effects. Small gardens were set and livestock released to graze in the woods. Through the summer, cod were caught inshore from small boats (Fig. 15). Catching, landing, and processing the fish was backbreaking, monotonous, and sometimes dangerous work, utterly without precedent in the homeland. Cod were "pewed" (i.e., pronged) onto the series of "galleries" or platforms up the cliff to the stages; here they were split, salted, stacked, and subsequently transferred on hand-barrows upslope to the stages (Pl. 10, Fig. 8). Equally novel to Inistioge immigrants was the physical environment of the bay. It was dominated by a steep scarp overlooking a jagged, rocky shore. The coast was broken into several headlands and coves. These coves, natural foci for the fishery, were frequently lashed by a heavy sea. Beyond the shore installations and tiny gardens were boulder-strewn barrens, marshes, and seemingly illimitable stretches of scrub forest. To the Dyers, Hatchetts, Prenderghasts, Edwards, and Breens, this landscape and work environment were a world away from the lush meadows, expansive corn fields, oak forests, gentle slopes, and tranquil waters of the Nore. Nowhere is this contrast more striking than in the comparison between Dyers' elegant town houses and villa in Inistioge and their crude summer tilts of wood, sod, and stone on the wild Newfoundland shore (Pls. 2, 3, 10, 11).

Migration and settlement in Logy Bay virtually erased Old World class distinctions. Families from different occupational and social backgrounds fused to form a relatively homogeneous, egalitarian community on the



Pl. 10 Tilts, Logy Bay



Pl. 11 Dyer's Cove, Logy Bay

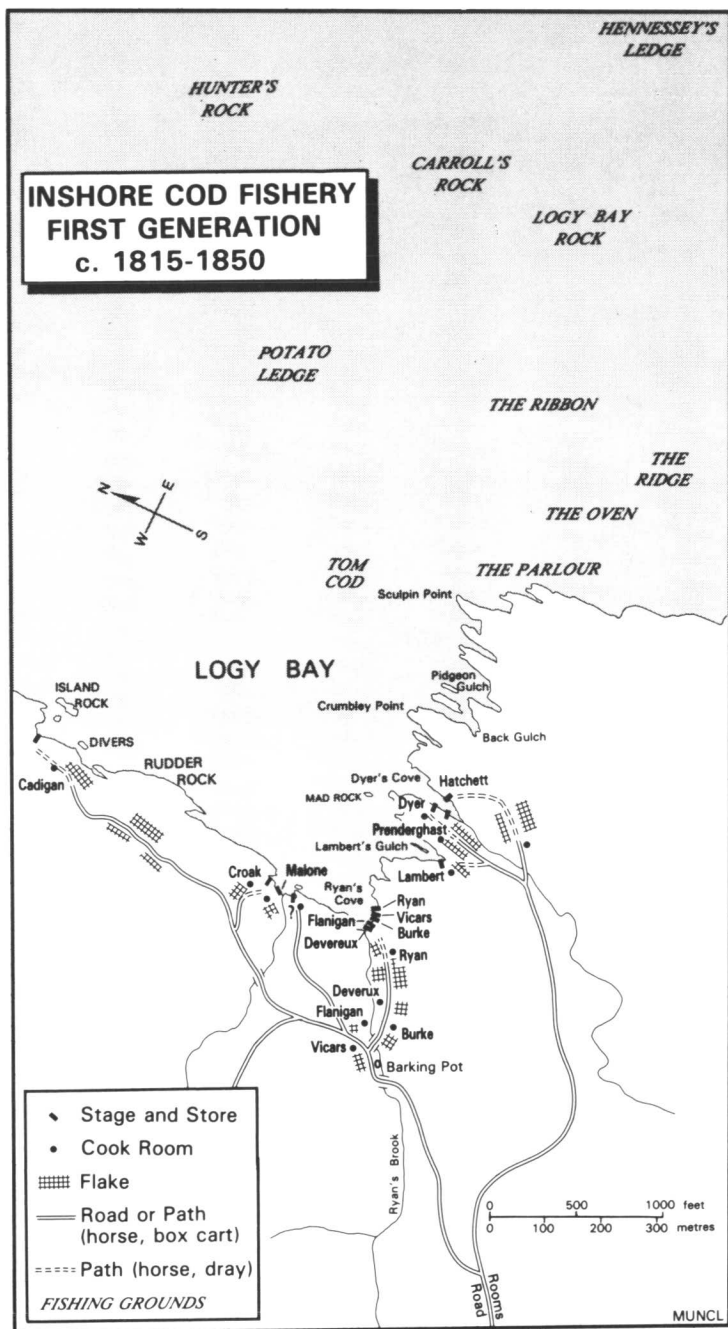


Fig. 15 Logy Bay Fishing Rooms

frontier. There were no landlords, middlemen, strong farmers, traders, artisans, cottiers, or landless laborers. All were fee-simple farmer-fishermen with lots ranging from twenty to sixty acres. No Inistioge pioneer, however, cleared more than twenty acres for agriculture, and some worked farms of ten acres or less. Although they amassed more acres than other immigrants, the Dyers suffered a sharp decline in social status, compounded by subdivision over subsequent generations. By contrast, Hatchett and Edwards managed to maintain or enhance slightly their living standards and social position through resettlement. The Edwards farm of twenty-eight acres in Logy Bay was the same size as that of his kin in Killeen. It was, of course, poorer in quality, and contained fewer improved acres, but the holding in Killeen was shared by two brothers, and a third Edwards was a landless laborer in the town. The Hatchetts' freehold was a mere twelve acres, again shared by two brothers paying a rent of £4 a year. It was the poorest farm in the townland in 1850. John Hatchett owned thirty-four acres in Logy Bay. Less than half of this land was cleared for crops but, like most Inistioge families, he also owned a fishing room. The family styled themselves planters, as did the Dyers, and called their home Mount Pleasant, suggesting social pretensions unthinkable in Killeen.

Transatlantic migration elevated the Breens from landless laborers to landowning farmers. Their house in Clonamery was probably similar in scale and design to the summer "tilts" in Logy Bay (Pl. 11). But within two decades the Breens had a fairly substantial one-storey farmhouse with a parlor, comparable to the dwellings of middling farmers in Inistioge. Materially, the Breens were not that inferior to their neighbors the Dyers and the Prenderghasts, quite in contrast to the social positions of these families in the homeland prior to migration.

St. John's offered better opportunities than rural areas for material advancement. Through hard work, persistence, some luck, and a careful husbanding of resources, immigrants from modest backgrounds in Inistioge established careers which led to upward social mobility. David Ellis was the son of an artisan or laborer from the town of Thomastown who relocated in Inistioge around 1810. The family had a cabin and two acres in Coolrainey on the main road skirting the demesne of Ballyduff, where the older Ellis probably worked. David was a stonemason, a craft he likely learned in Inistioge. Following the disastrous fire of 1846 in St. John's, stone and brick replaced timber as the main construction materials for principal buildings. A latecomer to the town, Ellis took advantage of these new opportunities to ply his trade. Two of his sons, born in St. John's, became stonemasons. The family was involved in the construction of some of the leading public buildings in the town, particularly those associated with the Irish Catholic community.⁵⁷ By the late nineteenth century they had established a major construction company and were one of the foremost employers in St. John's.

A son of the immigrant was elected mayor of St. John's. Similarly Daniel Bergin, son of a farm laborer on Mill Street, Inistioge, became a tailor and then a clothier, travelling from St. John's to Britain to purchase fabrics for his store.⁵⁸

Material progress such as Bergin's was rare. Most Inistioge immigrants in St. John's were poor on arrival and many remained poor. The fate of Bartholomew Knox is instructive. Formerly head tenants in Killeen and freemen of Inistioge, the family's social position had been undermined even before Bartholomew was born in the 1780s. By the time of his migration the ancestral holding in Killeen comprised only thirty-four acres, half of it moorland. The rent was £4 a year. This land was held jointly by two Knox households in 1815, and by three households a decade later. Bartholomew Knox became an artisan in St. John's, renting premises near the waterfront for £9 a year.⁵⁹ It seemed like a promising beginning, but the property was destroyed by fire in 1816 and, like Michael Dyer, Knox disappears from the lists of property holders in St. John's. The family was probably reduced to servant status. Two of Knox's sons married in St. John's. One was a laborer, the other a fisherman. Only three of their eight sons settled in the town. They too were laborers and fishermen. In Killeen, three out of nine sons born after Bartholomew departed inherited portions of the ancestral holding. Their farms and buildings were valued at £8.10.0, £7.10.0 and £3.10.0 in 1850. They were poor, but no poorer than their kin across the Atlantic. Continuing outmigration affirmed the lack of opportunity in both places.

For some immigrants, transatlantic migration led to misadventure and distress. John Holden came from a respectable farm background in Kilmacshane. He married a neighbor from Inistioge in St. John's in 1810. They had two daughters. Twelve years later Holden, a laborer, was found guilty of stealing money and was sentenced to death.⁶⁰ A reprieve was granted, yet Holden was convicted twice more of theft. The record suggests a poverty trap, one in which other Inistioge immigrants were ensnared. Michael Hearn, landless in Inistioge and a laborer in St. John's, was convicted of stealing from his employer. He was in jail when his wife was delivered of their second child. The husbands of two other Inistioge immigrants were also jailed: one, a laborer, for theft; the other, a publican, for dishonest statements related to his insolvency.⁶¹

A number of Inistioge migrants, failing to secure a niche in St. John's, moved on to the mainland. John Prenderghast arrived in the 1830s and became a mariner. In 1850 he moved with his wife and three children to Boston. Prenderghast worked there as a mariner and as a fisherman. A decade later his property was valued at a lowly \$20.⁶² One of his daughters was working as a servant. Despite the migrations, Prenderghast was no better off in 1860 than the Bergins or the Cullens in premigration Inistioge.

Against this record of distress and disappointment in urban settings must be placed that of those who did find economic security and a relatively comfortable existence. Sons of farm laborers, as already noted, became successful artisans in St. John's. Others established themselves in the fishery. Nicholas Walsh, like John Flood an early settler in the town, moved from servant to planter status and eventually acquired a schooner for the coasting trade.⁶³ No Inistioge immigrant, however, managed to attain mercantile or professional status nor came close to emulating the material advances of John Flood. Yet by Inistioge standards, some of the properties amassed by the immigrants, their affinal kin, and neighbors in St. John's and environs were substantial. Michael Cody's father-in-law, a planter in Petty Harbour, left an estate worth £500 in 1814. It was a model for the Codys and other incoming immigrants to aspire to. One year later Patrick Cantwell, a shoreman in St. John's, married the widow of an Irish planter there with an estate of £100. Just two years after his marriage in 1820, Patrick Grace, a fisherman in St. John's, also bequeathed a property worth £100 to his wife and infant son. Luke Ryan's farm and fishing room in Logy Bay, comparable in scale to Dyer's and Hatchett's, was valued at £150 in 1840.⁶⁴ The amount of credit extended to Inistioge and neighboring families in Logy Bay by Laurence O'Brien, a St. John's merchant from New Ross, suggests considerable commerce. Hatchetts mortgaged their fishing room to pay a debt of £133, Dyers their farm for £175, Laughlin a farm for £210, and Ryan a room and farm for £400.⁶⁵ All these debts were paid.

To what extent were immigrant occupations influenced by homeland precedent? Despite the difficulties posed by the physical environment, most of the immigrants attempted to work the land. Some had subsistence gardens only, some combined small-scale agriculture with another occupation, and a few farmed full time. It was one of the most striking transfers of Inistioge custom across the Atlantic. Once the land was cleared of wood and stone — not an entirely novel task as the Woodstock estate papers have revealed — the opportunity was there to introduce a wide range of homeland skills. Farming was not, however, a replica of Inistioge tradition. Among the major modifications was the mix of products sold. Milk replaced butter, fresh vegetables replaced grain, and commercial pig farming did not reappear in the New World. These shifts in emphasis implied the abandonment of a number of Old World practices.

Much more fundamental was the transition from Old World farming to the cod fishery. It involved a technology with little precedent in Inistioge. Most immigrants would have been familiar with the ancient salmon fishery on the Nore; a number had probably participated in it. This riverine fishery was conducted from small boats or "cots" using seines and other nets. References in estate papers to jack lines, fish casks, hoops, salt, deal boards for boat construction, bark for preserving nets, and tar are evocative of the

transatlantic fishery. The latter, however, involved a radically different technology.

Most Inistioge men in the cod fishery started as servants ashore, doing a variety of tasks, some novel, some familiar. From these shore bases they graduated to the boats, learning the technology of catching cod and bait and becoming familiar with the complex ecology of the fishing grounds. Inistioge immigrants worked initially for planters; their social and economic position was analogous to that of laborers on the big farms back home. Gradually they acquired sufficient capital and expertise to establish an independent fishery. It was organized around the nuclear family. Men caught and cleaned the fish; women and children helped dry and store them. Apart from traditional household duties, women also worked in the gardens and meadows and tended to livestock and poultry. This family economy came to resemble in scale and structure, if not in precise detail, the small and middling farm society in Inistioge. It was one of the most culturally diagnostic traits reproduced by the immigrants in Newfoundland, and one widely disseminated throughout Irish North America.

A substantial minority of Inistioge immigrants never fished or handled fish ashore. These were traders, artisans, and farmers. All the crafts pursued by the immigrants were long established in the homeland. Some, such as carpentry and coopering, popular in Inistioge, burgeoned in St. John's. Virtually all buildings were of timber, there was a construction boom, and the trade in cod and oil, dispatched in barrels overseas, was also expanding. Yet there is little evidence of Inistioge carpenters, coopers, or other artisans in demand in St. John's relocating there. Most migrants left while still young and chose to learn their craft in Newfoundland. They may have been influenced in their selection by Old World family tradition, but in Newfoundland they sometimes had to adapt to the special needs of a commercial cod fishery. Vessel construction and house carpentry, for example, were usually merged and the craft of the anchorsmith fused with that of the agricultural blacksmith.

Occupational flexibility was a characteristic of the colonial frontier. Inistioge immigrants were innovative and adaptable. John Flood came from a large farm but became a publican in St. John's, then a cooper, and finally a farmer and lessor. These pursuits would be familiar to Flood in the homeland but, agriculture apart, it is unlikely that he had any other practical experience prior to migration. Another early settler, Patrick Delaney, was recorded as a fisherman in St. John's in 1805 and as a carpenter the following year.⁶⁶ Compared to St. John's, apprenticeships in Inistioge were limited. Fewer than 6% of male servants in Tighe townlands in 1831 worked for artisans and traders. Although there were bakers, tailors, and clothiers in the town, it is unlikely that Edmund Cullen, Patrick or Daniel Bergin, sons of farm laborers, learned these crafts there.

Some prominent Inistioge skills were less transferable. Building with stone was ubiquitous in the homeland, but the stonemason had far less opportunity than the carpenter to ply his craft on the Newfoundland frontier. James McDaniell's shift from mason to farmer is significant. Yet David Ellis and his sons could carve out successful careers as stonemasons in the second half of the century. William Dyer arrived in St. John's as a watchmaker but, like McDaniell, switched to farming. Some Inistioge specialties were not transferable at all. They included those of the miller, cornbuyer, weaver, thatcher, slater, plasterer, painter, and certain estate personnel.

The most distinctive and enduring element of Inistioge tradition carried across the Atlantic was religion. There were two denominations in the homeland setting, Catholic and Anglican. Both were represented in the Newfoundland migration. Catholics formed the great majority in Inistioge: 88% in 1766, 90% in 1821, 92% in 1831. Catholicism was a deep-rooted and pervasive force in cultural life. The town itself was religious in origin, and the parish defined the territorial base of the local community. Originally there were two parishes, Inistioge and Clonamery, coterminous with two medieval manors established by the Normans. These were merged to form the early modern Catholic parish. Throughout the 18th century there were two chapels, one in Inistioge (Fig. 12) and one by the Clodiagh, not far from the medieval castle and chapel of Clonamery. Their presence bore witness to the depth and stability of Catholic culture. The chapel in town was rebuilt in 1792 and again in 1836. It was adjacent to the Anglican church, with a common cemetery, symbolizing the considerable harmony which existed between the two denominations. The Protestant population was small but durable: thirty-three families in 1731, thirty-four in 1766, forty-two in 1797, and forty-seven in 1831. Up until 1819 this tiny congregation used part of the medieval priory for worship.

Inistioge immigrants settling in St. John's were greeted by a familiar set of ecclesiastical structures. There was an Anglican church, established in the early 18th century, and a Catholic chapel, established in 1784. The Catholic parish of St. John's was more populous than Inistioge by 1800 and three times as populous by 1830. Most of this congregation lived in the town. Few Inistioge settlers were more than two hours travel time from the Catholic chapel, the focal point of Irish community life. It was an important meeting place for immigrants interested in maintaining homeland ties. Up until the 1830s the chapel in St. John's was the only place of regular worship and the prime location for the baptisms, marriages, and funerals which brought Inistioge immigrants together.

Certain elements of religious culture peculiar to Inistioge were not reproduced across the Atlantic or, if so, were soon discarded. They included the townland "patterns" (festivities on a local saint's day), practices at holy wells, reverence for local saints, local superstitions, and calendar customs.

These archaic beliefs and practices depended on intimate links with ancestral places and with the local natural world. Outside Inistioge, and especially overseas, they had little or no meaning. Some trace-elements could appear in Newfoundland, such as the use of Colum as a first name to honor a patron saint, but most characteristics of folk religion were rooted in a particular physical environment and could not be transplanted. Folk religion was, in any case, already in decline at the time of the Newfoundland migration. Standardized forms of Roman Catholic worship were introduced from the continent, emphasizing the parish priest, chapel, Sunday mass, and ancillary devotions. Southeast Ireland was the nuclear area for Tridentine reform. It found some expression in Inistioge in 1792 and 1836 with reconstruction of the chapel in the town.

Migration could accelerate the pace of that reform. It removed a complex web of Old World beliefs and customs, the particular inheritance of a parish community, and helped to clear the way for the creation of a more rigid, assertive, institutionalized church. Priests and people from three southeastern Irish dioceses mingled in St. John's. These immigrants were youthful, less constrained by tradition, and generally more open to new ideas. Vernacular religion was left behind, but the implementation of the full ultramontane model took time. As in the homeland, it depended on the material and spiritual support of a middle class. Such a group was responsible for the introduction of the institutional church in 1784, but their numbers remained modest for several decades. In a society dominated by young unmarried Irish males, priests preached against the transmission of Old World localisms — expressed for example in faction fights — just as they preached against “patterns” in the homeland. As family society expanded, the church assumed a more active role in directing the cultural character of immigrant life. Among the values established were education, discipline, loyalty to the crown, and the preservation of the status quo. Father Carroll's support for the established order in Inistioge in 1798 was echoed by Bishop O'Donel in St. John's a year later. The main objective was the creation of a homogeneous Irish Catholic subculture in Newfoundland. By the time the last Inistioge immigrant arrived in St. John's this had been largely achieved. In a society where almost all Protestants were of English birth or recent descent, Catholicism and Irishness, closely associated in the homeland, came to be perceived as virtually synonymous in Newfoundland. By 1850 the Catholic church had emerged as the leading ethnic institution on the island.

Inistioge immigrants had little difficulty in subscribing to this religious culture. A remarkably similar evolution in Catholic life occurred in both places during the migration interval. St. John's was just another Irish parish, separated by 2,000 miles of ocean. Virtually all of the devotional practices popular in the homeland, and many of the artifacts and landscape manifestations of the revitalized Irish church, were reproduced across the

Atlantic. Inistioge immigrants were involved in the struggle for Catholic emancipation and contributed to the Newfoundland fund for repeal of the Union. These campaigns were church-centered and, as in Ireland, the clergy played an important leadership role. Irish Catholic culture persisted into the present century in St. John's. It also appeared, in modified form, in other areas of Irish settlement in Newfoundland and the mainland in the 19th century.

Inistioge Anglicans had a different experience overseas. They constituted a small cultural minority in the homeland, and only a handful joined the Newfoundland migration. Moreover, there were few Irish Protestants to greet them in St. John's. One would have expected that their Anglican heritage might have led to assimilation with the English. This did not happen. One man was likely married prior to arrival, one remained single, and five Inistioge Protestants married Catholic Irish women in St. John's. Mixed marriages did not necessarily lead to religious conversion and assimilation by the majority culture. At least two of John Flood's wives were Catholic, yet he remained loyal to the Anglican tradition. This loyalty had facilitated an early rapport with the established English planters and merchants in the town and contributed to his commercial success. The religion of Flood's first wife is not known, but they were married in the Anglican church in 1787. Seven years later four members of their household were Protestant and four were Catholic in a town where only 20% of all households were mixed. Flood's two remaining marriages were celebrated in both the Catholic and Anglican churches. His sons were baptized Anglicans, his daughters Catholics. In defiance of established custom in a mixed marriage, Flood's third son, William George, was baptized in the Catholic as well as in the Anglican church. His Catholic godfather was Father Troy, a militant priest hostile to such marriages and particularly to the raising of children in another faith. Troy's was a provocative act, reflecting the rising tensions between the two denominations in 1833. The family of Flood's close friend, the Irish Protestant trader Graham Little, also married to a Catholic, was badly victimized by the Catholic clergy at this time. Flood resisted all proselytizing efforts. He was buried with both Catholic wives in the Anglican cemetery, just across from his home. The Anglican curate was appointed guardian of trusts established by Flood for his offspring, and the five executors and administrators of the estate were Protestant merchants.

The religious dichotomy within the Flood family, and some of the tensions it fostered, persisted. In an obituary to William George Flood in 1861, John McCoubrey, a Waterford Protestant and proprietor of the St. John's *Times*, lauded the fact that Flood, an Anglican, had opposed attempts at conversion despite being elected to the House of Assembly for a Catholic district.⁶⁹ But Flood, who had married a Catholic, was interred in Belvedere Cemetery. Two of his sisters were nuns and the Presentation convent inherited

part of the estate. Two other sisters married English Protestants; their children were raised as Catholics.

In Inistioge mixed marriages were rare. No member of the Flood, Dyer, Gwynne, or Dunsterville families, for example, married a Catholic, as far as is known. William Tighe claimed in 1801 that such a union was punished by the landlord doubling the rent.⁷⁰ The disinheritance of Michael Dyer was probably a consequence of his Catholic marriage. All of his children were baptized Catholics, as were the children of his Inistioge neighbor James Edwards and those of George Hatchett in St. John's. Assimilation by the majority Catholic culture was not entirely without precedent in Inistioge. Most of the Protestant families in Killeen, for example, had at least one member marry a Catholic, and convert. They included the Hatchetts and Edwards. Five of eleven Rothe marriages in the 18th century were to Catholics. But these cases were minor. Bolstered by the presence of the big house, a church, schools, and a resident minister, Inistioge's Anglicans, despite their small numbers, remained loyal to their heritage. This tenacity was exemplified overseas by John Flood, but he was not alone. Michael Dyer of Logy Bay remained an Anglican until just prior to his death. His brother William never converted, nor did their kin and neighbors, the Hatchetts. Some tension over religion persisted within this expatriate Inistioge community; but they worked together, and lived in harmony, as in Killeen. Part of their culture was deeply rooted in the Inistioge past. Like Inistioge immigrants elsewhere, they continued to be guided by homeland custom. Its influence, however, was greatly modified as memories of Inistioge faded and as they and their offspring struggled to adapt to a new world.

APPENDIX 1

INISTIOGE IMMIGRANTS IN NEWFOUNDLAND

IMMIGRANT	DATE OF MARRIAGE ¹	SPOUSE	FROM
Honora Ayres	6.1.1810	Patrick Malone	St. John's, NF
*Daniel Bergin (1813-)	6.7.1836	Margaret Phelan	Inistioge
*Ellen Bergin ²			
*Patrick Bergin (1813-)	11.8.37	Catherine Parrell	St. John's, NF
John Breen	12.3.40	Joanna Bowdren	Bellisle, NF
*Michael Breen (1827-94) ³	8.4.53	Ellen Conway	St. John's, NF
*Michael Breen		Catharine Millett	Inistioge
Anastasia Bryan ⁴	1.15.29	E. Malone	Balladams, Queen's County
Mary (1805-85)		William Brown	
Patrick Brown (1805-78)			
Pat Canfield	3.30.15	(Mrs.) Catherine Dower alias McDonnell	Piltown
John Clear	1.7.15	Ellen Ryan	Inistioge

IMMIGRANT	DATE OF MARRIAGE¹	SPOUSE	FROM
*James Cody	11.25.26	Margaret Kelly	Powerstown
*Mary Cody	12.30.16	Miles Mahon	Powerstown
*Michael Cody	5.7.6	Mary Connors	Petty Harbour, NF
*Patrick Cody (1785-1861)	11.6.22	Elizabeth French	Petty Harbour, NF
Bridget Conway	4.15.55	Charles Shaw (1797-1877)	Carrickbeg
Edward Cullen (1823-86)	1.11.49	Honora Kenny	St. John's, NF
Anty Cunningham	1.17.20	William McGrath	Inistioge
William Dalton	11.4.16	Margaret Cahill	Leighlin Bridge
Martin Delaney	11.27.8	Mary Brien	Thomastown
*Mary Delaney	11.21.24	Nicholas Edmonds	Wexford
*Mary Delaney			
Patrick Delaney	1.1.5	Elizabeth Kennedy	Harbour Main, NF
Ann Dogherty	9.16.8	James Maher	Galmoy
James Doyle	a. 11.26.8	Anastasia Walsh	Glenmore
James Doyle	?b.12.20.17	Bridget Clooney	Ross
Pat Doyle	11.13.11	Mary Poor	Tullaher
Michael Dwyer	7.23.17	Nelly Barry	Cork City
Daniel Dyer		Anne Coady	St. John's
*Frances Dyer		John Hatchett	Inistioge
*Michael Dyer	11.23.13	Cath. Prendergast	Inistioge
*William Dyer (1796-1880)			
James Edwards	6.9.34	Johanna Power	
David Ellis ⁵ (1815-1890)		Mary Keating	Harbour Main, NF
John Flood ⁶ (1766-1840)	a. 4.9.1787 b. 11.7.10 c. 6.2.19	Catherine Welsh Johanna Walsh Johanna Walsh	Ballyhale Ferryland, NF
Patrick Gall (1791-1881)	3.2.29	Cath. Whelan	Brigus, NF
*Elenor Gallivan			
*Mary Gallivan	5.14.25	James Shea	Glynn, Co. Carlow
*Peter Gallivan			
*Judith Grace (1791-1865)	2.14.14	Michael Grace (1780-1864)	Clonegal
*Patrick Grace (-1822)	1.4.20	Mary Whelan	Tinnahinch
*George Hatchett (1788-1853)		Elizabeth Grace	Callan
*John Hatchett (1780-1853)		Frances Dyer	Inistioge
Michael Hearn	11.25.23	Mary Kennedy	Waterford
Patrick Hennessey (1804-1869) ⁷			
John Holden	11.22.11	Bridget Reddy	Inistioge
Matthew Joyce	12.14.22	Cath. Fitzgerald	St. John's, NF
John Kavanagh (1785-1871)			
John Keefe (1780-1863)			

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IMMIGRANT	DATE OF MARRIAGE ¹	SPOUSE	FROM
Joseph Kelly	11.14.29	Mary Cuddihy	
*Bartholemew Knox	11.8.11	Nancy Doyle	Co. Wexford
*David Lannigan	a. 5.10.28 b. 6.3.33	Elizabeth McGee Ellen Larisy	Sutton's Parish
*Edmund Lannigan			
*Honora Lawlor (1825-1902)	a. 11.25.49 b. 12.1.55	Michael Power John Dawson	Thomastown Thomastown
*Mary Lawlor			
*Michael Lawlor			
*James McDonnell (1768-1827)		Anne Dower	
*James McDonnell (1819-85)			
Nancy McGrath	11.17.19	John Murphy	Graiguenaman- nagh
William McGrath	1.17.20	Anty Cunningham	Inistioge
Elizabeth Mackey			
*Martin Mackey			
*Mary Mackey	11.3.6	James Walsh	Mooncoin
Catharine Millett		Michael Breen	Inistioge
Patrick Millett	11.19.42	Catherine Holden	Owning
*Ann Molloy	1.18.30	Thomas McGrath	Windgap
*Nicholas Molloy	1.9.28	Mary Burke	Kilmaganny
Alice Murphy	a. 11.15.13 b. 1.1.23	Maddigan John Dalton	Slieverue Ratrish
John Murphy	10.12.25	Bridget Lawlor	Brownstown
Margaret Murphy	8.25.10	John Downey	Knocknagashel, Co. Kerry
Michael Murphy	11.13.51	Cath. Mulroney	Goresbridge
Margaret Phelan	6.7.36	Daniel Bergin	Inistioge
*Catharine Phelan (Whelan)	10.3.26	Wm. Drohan	Kilmeadon
*Judy Phelan			
*Catherine Prendergast	11.23.13	Michael Dyer	Inistioge
John Prendergast (1808-)	11.23.41	Mary Hurley (1810-1863)	Ireland
*Michael Prendergast	a. 11.25.26 b.	Catherine Mullins Margaret Grace (1803-92)	Ireland Kilkenny
*Bridget Reddy	11.22.11	John Holden	Inistioge
*Mary Reddy	11.24.05	Pat Cooney	Tipperary
Patrick Ruth	11.2.20	Margaret Sexton	Owning
Ellen Ryan	1.7.15	John Clear	Inistioge
*John Ryan ⁸			
*Margaret Ryan ⁸			
Patrick Tobin	4.15.28	Catherine Carroll	
Mary (1802-1881)		James Walsh (1792-1867)	Mooncoin
Nicholas Walsh	5.25.6	Bridget Keefe	Thomastown
William Walsh (-1825) ⁹			
*Bridget White	6.5.14	Dennis Kennedy	Aglish
*Catherine White			
*Ellen White	11.19.22	Richard Walsh	Tramore

IMMIGRANT	DATE OF MARRIAGE ¹	SPOUSE	FROM
*Margaret White	9.1.27	b. Robert Hennessey (1783-1851)	Mountgarrett
*Mary White	11.1.19	a. Robert Hennessey (1783-1851)	Mountgarrett
*Thomas White			
Ann Williams	11.23.30	John Dunn	Templeludigan
38 WOMEN, 56 MEN			
*Kinship			

Notes to Appendix

¹Roman Catholic Register, St. John's, unless otherwise noted.

²Where no sources are cited, evidence is indirect.

³Obituaries *Evening Telegram* Nov. 23, 1880, Aug. 23, Dec. 7, 1885, Apr. 14, 1894; *Harbour Grace Standard* July 12, 1871, Feb. 2, 1878, December 24, 1881; *Newfoundlander*, Oct. 23, 1863.

⁴Roman Catholic Register, Harbour Grace.

⁵*Newfoundland Patriot*, August 27, 1845. Repeal Fund. Headstone, Belvedere Cemetery, St. John's.

⁶Anglican Register, St. John's; headstone, Anglican Cemetery, St. John's.

⁷Headstone, Belvedere Cemetery.

⁸Edward Kough, merchant, New Ross, Letter Book, June 11, 1832.

⁹GN5/2/c/1 St. John's, PANL, March 16, 1825.

Notes to text

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Notes

¹See Doyle 328. A seminal statement on the need to examine European origins is made by Thistlethwaite.

²The best work on nineteenth century rural North America is on Scandinavian settlement in the midwest. For a review see Gjerde 295-305. An attempt at a synthesis of city groups is contained in Bodnar.

³A similar approach has been used in a recent major study of Protestant migration from north Tipperary; see Elliott, *Irish Migrants*. See also Brunger.

⁴c.o. 194/55/108; 83/25; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Foreign Parts (SPG), 1814, Series C, Box 1A/19; PL March 29, 1831; *Census of Newfoundland*, 1836. All primary data are at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (CNS), unless otherwise noted. The Irish (immigrants and descendants) numbered around 38,000 in 1836, or half the total population of the island.

⁵ADM 7/134 (February 3, 1739, January 2, 1741, March 27, 1742); /135:224 (March 20, July 6, 1744, April 5, 1745); c.o. 194/11/117.

⁶McEvoy 30, 44, 53.

⁷Ch September 13, 15, 1831; Delaney 138; FLJ October 16, December 10, 1792, June 22, July 16, August 5, 1796, August 12, 1801; Tighe 14-15, 465.

⁸See Taylor and Skinner.

⁹Minutes, New Ross Corporation, June 29, 1736, June 29, 1740, October 12, 1743, October 11, 1746, April 16, June 2, 1759, Tholsel, New Ross; RD 35-112 (1722), 277-486 (1769).

¹⁰GN2/1A/2/133; 3/49, 181, 190, 197; 4/7 (PANL); LV December 5, 1758; c.o. 194/15/17; 16/300; ADM 7/136 (October 24, 1763).

¹¹LV April 17, 1771, December 8, 1773, February 19, April 14, 1774, April 25, 1775, April 25, August 6, November 12, 1776; FLJ January 23, 1772, November 27, 1776; ADM 7/139 (September 30, 1773, October 22, 1774, October 25, 1776); Duff Papers, P1/3, March, 1775 (PANL); c.o. 194/6/126.

¹²GB2/1 (October 28, November 20, 25, 1777) (PANL); FLJ January 29, 1778. Each passenger's parish of origin was recorded on the printed shipping paper but these forms, apparently, do not survive.

¹³RG May 24, 26, September 28, 1815. Records of departures and arrivals come from the Waterford and St. John's newspapers and Lloyd's lists, unless stated otherwise.

¹⁴Edward Kough, New Ross, Letter Book, 1818-1834, P3/B/16, PANL. Edward Kough to James MacBraire Henderson, Liverpool, February 21, April 29, 1825; to John Boyd, St. John's, March 25, April 9, August 15, 1825; to John Bland, St. John's, April 9, 1825 (c.o. 194/71/ 289).

¹⁵PL November 19, 1830; M January 14, 1831, May 8, 1832; RG May 28, 1832; Edward Kough to Robert Hutton, Liverpool, January 29, March 14, March 30, April 12, 18, 1831; to Thomas Innes, Inistioge, June 11, 1832 (see note 14).

¹⁶Church of Ireland Registers, Parish of Inistioge, September 1799, February 1801, October 1819, March 1823, in Inistioge; Cemetery, Inistioge; FLJ January 27, 1808, November 6, 1830; Estate Papers, Woodstock, Accounts of William Tighe, May 13, August 18, December 20, 1813, January 3, 1814, National Library of Ireland (NLI), MS 9354; Manuscript Census of Inistioge, 1831, Estate Papers, Woodstock.

¹⁷FLJ, February 10, 1790, March 10, 1795, December 4, 1797, February 9, 1798, January 19, August 11, 1802, September 27, 1805; TAB, 1829; *Reports of Commissioners* 499.

¹⁸FLJ February 20, March 19, 1818; Ch March 2, May 18, 1818, May 5, 1819, March 25, April 26, 1820, May 3, 1821, March 29, 1822; M May 5, June 8, 1819, June 10, 1820; LV April 5, 1818; April 5, 1819, Edward Kough to William Goff, Newfoundland (see note 14).

¹⁹"A Memoir of the Graves Family, Abbeyville, Thomastown," MS, Thomastown, January, 1981; FLJ July 1, 1806; M March 26, 1828, March 9, 1831, March 8, 1832.

²⁰"A Memoir of the Graves Family," Punch, "Some Irish Immigrant Weddings in Nova Scotia" 54, 125, and "Irish Repealers at Halifax" 7; *Reports of Commissioners* 497-9; McCarron;

Edward Conway, Shannon, Quebec, private communication, 1989; McKenzie 121, 153. My thanks to Bruce Elliott for this last reference.

²¹*Reports of Commissioners* 497-9. The designation "America" included British North America. This inquiry came at a time when migration to Newfoundland from New Ross was in decline, being replaced by direct migration to mainland ports.

²²Of 100 male passengers whose ages were given on a vessel departing Passage for St. John's in spring, 1811, over two-thirds were between eighteen and twenty-five years old (c.o. 194/15/16).

²³Byrne 97.

²⁴GN2/1/A/21/157.

²⁵Bailyn 130-4.

²⁶Adams 108, 112, 118, 149; Mokyr and O Gráda; Brunger 270-1, 274-7, 280; Mageean, "Perspectives on Irish Migration Studies" and "Nineteenth-Century Irish Emigration;" Elliott, *Irish Migrants* 4-7, 22, 72-98 and "Emigration from South Leinster to Eastern Upper Canada;" Houston and Smyth; and Toner, "The Origins of the New Brunswick Irish."

²⁷Roman Catholic Registers, Parish of Inistioge, Baptisms, December 8, 1810-February 2, 1829. The register is incomplete for this period but 1,720 infants were recorded. Each baptismal entry contained the father's name, the mother's maiden name, the names of the godparents and the parents' townland address. Fathers' surnames only were used to establish frequencies, the result compared to rankings in the TAB, 1829, and the nominal census surviving for half of the parish in 1831. The leading surnames, in rank order, were: Murphy, Walsh, Cody, Kavanagh, Prenderghast, Kelly, Grace, Delaney, Keefe, and White.

²⁸Roman Catholic Registers, Parish of Thomastown, Baptisms, 1782-1813, Marriages 1786-1813.

²⁹One Irish immigrant in New Bandon, New Brunswick, for example, is said to have attracted over 170 kin from home between 1818 and 1825, and a Clareman in Lowell claimed he had sixty-one cousins in the city; see Spray; Albert Mitchell 218, 360. The most detailed examination of kinship and migration is in Elliott, *Irish Migrants*. See also the conclusions of Brunger, and of Houston and Smyth.

³⁰For a brief review of Irish endogamy in America see Burchell; see also Toner, "The Irish of New Brunswick at Mid Century;" see Elliott for Upper Canada.

³¹NLI MS 8801 (6), "List of Protestants willing to vote for Fownes' Friends, 1769." Hatchett was the only surname not repeated in 1769.

³²Based on a contemporary map of Killeen drawn for William Tighe, private ms, Inistioge. It is supplemented by estate rentals 1817-27 for Killeen, the TAB, 1829, the census of 1831, the Ordnance Survey, 1839, the Roman Catholic and Anglican parish registers, cemetery inscriptions, and local family tradition.

³³Most migration was to New England, particularly Boston; see Chafe. My thanks are due to Mr. Chafe for considerable background data on families with Inistioge antecedents moving to America.

³⁴The literature on group settlement resulting from chain migration in North America is extensive. In addition to authors already cited, the most relevant comparative readings for this Irish case study are: Handcock; Ommer; Åkerman; Rice; Ostergren, "A Community Transplanted" and "Prairie Bound;" Kamphoefner; and Lehr.

³⁵King; Murphy. See also references to Brunger, Spray, Toner, and Houston and Smyth above. Edward McCarron's doctoral research at the University of New Hampshire on migration from the Nore valley to Boston and Maine is particularly relevant, as is that of Brian C. Mitchell.

³⁶Mannion and Handcock.

³⁷Woodstock Estate Rentals, 1753-74, Fownes Papers, 1777-8, 1788-9, private ms, Inistioge; Tighe estate accounts, 1806, 1813-14, NLI MS 9354.

³⁸Corporation Records, Borough of Inistioge, D2685/9/1 (Oct. 7, 1724), Public Record

Office, Northern Ireland; Lease, Estate of Stephen Sweet, Esq., 1724; Fownes Papers, NLI MS 8801 (1731).

³⁹RD 123359 (1746), 159398 (1750), 513525 (1799); Lease, William Fownes to Patrick Dyer, October 18, 1765; Correspondence, Gwynne Dyer, Inistioge, to Patrick Dyer, Logy Bay, November 10, 1904-December 28, 1907; Patrick Dyer, "A Sketch of the Dyer Family." My thanks to Professor Howard Dyer, Memorial University, for this latter document. The plan of Inistioge is derived from an estate map prepared for Fownes by Bernard Scalé.

⁴⁰For the Dyers' involvement in the events leading up to and including 1798, see FLJ April 6, 1794, June 3, 1797, June 7, August 17, December 6, 1798.

⁴¹Details on both farms come from estate rentals and other sources already cited, plus RD 136563 (1743), 379387 (1786), 41799 (1789), 418147 (1789), 231159 (1791); Ossory Marriage Book, February 6, 1748; Inistioge Church of Ireland Registers, 1797-1835 and headstones.

⁴²RD 351372 (1783), 489240 (1794); FLJ June 2, 1791, April 7, 1794, August 2, 1796, August 19, 1801, January 28, 1803, August 16, 1806, October 1, 1808; Carrigan Notes, Ossory Wills, 1749, Vol. 114, p. 3, 1782, pp. 13-14, St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny; Burtchaell.

⁴³FLJ August 7, 1792, December 19, 1797; Thomastown Parish Registers, September 8, 1782-March 3, 1791; Inistioge Parish Registers, February 4, 1811-June 30, 1828; headstones, Kilmeinig cemetery.

⁴⁴List of tenants, Kilcross, April 14, 1748, Fownes Papers; "A Reference to a Map of the Lands of Kilcross" by James Cotterel, 1811; Tighe rentals, 1816-33.

⁴⁵St. John's Anglican Register, Marriages, April 7, 1787; headstone, Anglican Cemetery, St. John's; PANL GN 5/2/A/9 (December 17, 1798).

⁴⁶PANL GN1/13/4 (1795), Census of St. John's; Prowse 375, 381. Twenty-one of the twenty-six taverns in St. John's in 1795 were in Irish hands, increasing to thirty out of thirty-three in 1797.

⁴⁷PANL GN5/2/A/1/ 8, 15, 158 (1800), 29, 127, 142 (1801), 9, 44, 172 (1803), 6, 41 (1804), 123, 126 (1805), 85, 186 (1806), 32 (1805).

⁴⁸C.O. 194/45/ 229; Duckworth Papers 9/58 (1810-11), PANL; St. John's Anglican Register, Marriages, November 8, 1819. This downward spiral is also suggested by the fact that in 1806 Flood was just an ordinary member of the Benevolent Irish Society and a private in the St. John's volunteers, a local militia.

⁴⁹PANL GN2/1/A/24/ 3-9; 26/ 293-294, 311. Flood's was the largest of some fifty lots along what was later called the Waterford valley. In 1813 he advertised "The Bishop's Farm" in Riverhead for rent. It included a two-story dwelling house, a greenhouse, root cellar, cow house, and other outbuildings. RG October 15, 1813.

⁵⁰PANL GN5/2/A/1/ 124; GN 16/1/ 145, 341; C.O. 194/74/ 179; RG May 3, 1831, August 15, 1837; PL April 7, 1840; *Courier* October 8, 1845.

⁵¹PANL GN2/1/19 (March 18, 1840); RG March 24, 1840; Noad; Griffiths.

⁵²NF February 27, 1840; *Times* February 26, 1840; PL February 25, 1840.

⁵³Registry of Wills, vol. 3 (1874), 325; 6 (1895), 203, PANL.

⁵⁴*Newfoundland Weekly*, July 12, 1930; Dyer, "Sketch of the Dyer family" 2. Gwynne Dyer (1830-1910) of Berry Hill, Inistioge, also claimed the Gwynnes were related to the Sweets and — through Gwynnes — the Dyers to the Woodstock line (Fig. 3). No documentation has been found to confirm this, but Gwynne forenames — Stephen, Henry, and Sweet Gwynne — do suggest kinship to the Sweets.

⁵⁵Dyer's wife, Catharine Prenderghast, returned home to Inistioge shortly after her marriage; their first child was baptized there. According to family tradition, Michael Dyer was disinherited. R.C. Registers, Inistioge, baptisms, February 13, 1814; Gwynne Dyer to Patrick Dyer, November, 1904, January 27, 1905. Thanks are due to the late Rebecca Dyer Flanigan and Thomas Cadigan for detailed information on Inistioge families in Logy Bay, collected in 1967, and to Jim Cadigan for data collected in 1987.

⁵⁶GN5/2/A/1/ 1086; /2/1/28 (Nov. 14, 1816); GN3/2/0/D/ 133, 1839, 2A125, 1840, 2A177, 1841, 2A243, 1843, PANL; *Newfoundland Patriot* April 3, September 6, 1843; PL May 7, 1844. Frontier farming in Logy Bay is described in some detail in Mannion, *Irish Settlements* 39, 46-7, 61-2, 67, 83, 88.

⁵⁷Thomastown Parish Register 1783-1805; Inistioge Parish Register, 1811-13; TAB, 1829; Hutchinson 111; Baker 35.

⁵⁸*Newfoundland Patriot*, Jan. 25, Oct. 1843. The tailors of St. John's were, like the publicans, almost entirely Irish. It could have been an important craft in launching ordinary immigrants towards a profitable mercantile career. See Mannion, "Migration and Upward Mobility."

⁵⁹PANL GN2/1/28 (November 14, 1816); GN5/2/A/1 (November 21, 1816); R.C. Registers, St. John's, Baptisms, September 8, 1814, August 25, 1819, October 26, 1822, September 5, 1828, April 6, 1846-February 8, 1863; Headstones, Belvedere and Inistioge cemeteries; Hutchinson. Special thanks to Leo Knox, St. John's, for information on the family.

⁶⁰R.C. Registers, St. John's, November 22, 1810, April 3, 1811, October 30, 1814; PANL GN5/6/A/1 (September 23, October 9, 1822); GN5/2/A/1 (November 11-12, 1829); *Patriot*, May 21, 1840.

⁶¹PANL GN2/1/A (September 5, 1816); GN5/2/A/1 (October 14, 1828, October 9, 12, 28, 1829); R.C. Registers, Baptisms, St. John's, December 25, 1829.

⁶²R.C. Registers, St. John's, November 23, 1841, October 15, 1842, October 16, 1844, November 6, 1848; Chafe; Edward-Vincent Chafe, personal communication, 1989.

⁶³PANL GN5/1/A/1 (October 30, 1802); /2/1/A (February 4, 1811, October 25, 1812); GN16/1 (October 24, 1815); GN5/2/A/1 (November 8, 1816); RG January 27, 1814.

⁶⁴PANL GN5/2/A/9 (June 8, 1814, April 29, 1815, July 17, 1822, May 11, 1844).

⁶⁵Registry of Deeds, Logy Bay, August 16, 1850, September 21, 1852, June 6, 1816. Department of Justice, Confederation Building, St. John's.

⁶⁶PANL GN65/2/A/1 (November 6, 1802, March 1, 1806); c.o. 194/45/ 229; R.C. Registers, St. John's, Marriages, January 1, 1805, Baptisms, October 30, November 3, 1806.

⁶⁷Carrigan 103-31.

⁶⁸Whelan.

⁶⁹*Times* November 19, 1861.

⁷⁰Tighe 423.

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