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Irish Migration and Settlement in Newfoundland: The Formative Phase, 1697-1732

JOHN MANNION

SETTLEMENTS ALONG THE EAST COAST of Newfoundland, from Renews to Greenspond, were almost entirely English in origin in 1700. There were some Irish present, but they were few. By 1750, however, the Irish accounted for roughly 40 percent of the total population of an expanded "English Shore". Over the next century or more people of Irish ancestry rarely comprised less than 40 percent of the Island's population, and in some censuses they outnumbered the English. Newfoundland's contemporary population is derived primarily from these two ethnic groups.

Much has been written on the Irish in Newfoundland, particularly for the turbulent nineteenth century, but the seminal decades in the early eighteenth century have been largely ignored. This essay examines the origins and early development of Irish migration, beginning in 1697 when Father Beaudoin describes the plight of Irish servants in Conception Bay and a regiment from Ireland was established in the newly constructed Fort William in St. John's. It ends in 1732, when the first census distinguishing Irish from English was recorded.[1] The article focuses on the processes of recruitment and transportation from the homeland, the social composition of the early migrant stream, links with the Irish export trade in salted provisions, the distribution of activity in Newfoundland, ethnic identity, and adaptation to a novel physical, economic and cultural environment across the Atlantic.

The migrations to Newfoundland between 1697 and 1732 had no precedent or equivalent in Irish experience. These moves were overwhelmingly seasonal or temporary in character; only a tiny fraction of those involved actually settled permanently in Newfoundland. There are some structural similarities between the

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transatlantic trips and harvest migrations within Ireland, or more especially to Britain, but the Newfoundland route differed dramatically in several ways. Firstly, it involved ocean voyages exceeding 3500 miles out and home, a vast distance when compared to seasonal migrations within the British Isles or indeed within Europe. On arrival Irish newcomers were introduced to a technology and work routine unknown in their homeland: the catching and curing of cod. Those staying the winter faced weather that was harsher than anything witnessed in western Europe. The overwintering Irish were usually employed cutting timber in the nearby forest and hauling it out over the ice and snow on frozen ground to the settlements. Vast quantities were required for fuel and for construction, since virtually all shoreline structures were made of wood. There was little in the Irish or indeed European experience to prepare newcomers for this encounter with Newfoundland's winter forest, or the overwhelming use of wood in creating a novel cultural landscape.

From the beginning the vast majority of migrants from Ireland were young male servants who came to work for English masters. Almost all were Roman Catholic. Some spoke Irish only, or poor English. Their employers were Protestants, primarily Anglicans. People of Protestant English descent were present in the Irish homeland, largely a consequence of conquest and plantation in the seventeenth century. In southeast Ireland, from whence most migrants came, the Protestants were concentrated in the ports and towns, but were also prominent amongst the big farmer class and dominated rural landlord demesnes. Between 1700 and 1730, however, Catholics accounted for 80 percent to 90 percent of the total population in the Irish homeland. During the first third of the eighteenth century in Newfoundland, this ethno-religious ratio was reversed. A small Catholic Irish minority operated in an Anglican English culture area. Among the salient themes in the cultural geography of the English Shore are the relationships between these two groups. Any examination of the origins of the Irish experience in Newfoundland must include a profile of the host society.

THE ENGLISH SHORE

In the winter of 1700 roughly 4000 inhabitants occupied some fifty coves and harbours along the east coast of Newfoundland (Figure 1).[2] Beyond this zone, to the north, and along the south coast, were the French. Both French and English settlements were established through the course of the seventeenth century, particularly after 1650. The process of colonization and the formation of permanent settlement was more sluggish in Newfoundland than in any other colony of European derivation in North America. After more than a century of exploitation the two largest settlements, Bonavista and Carbonear, had only 350 and 345 inhabitants respectively. All other communities had fewer than 300 persons. A quarter had 50 to 100, and close to one half had fewer than 50 persons. The English Shore, moreover, was

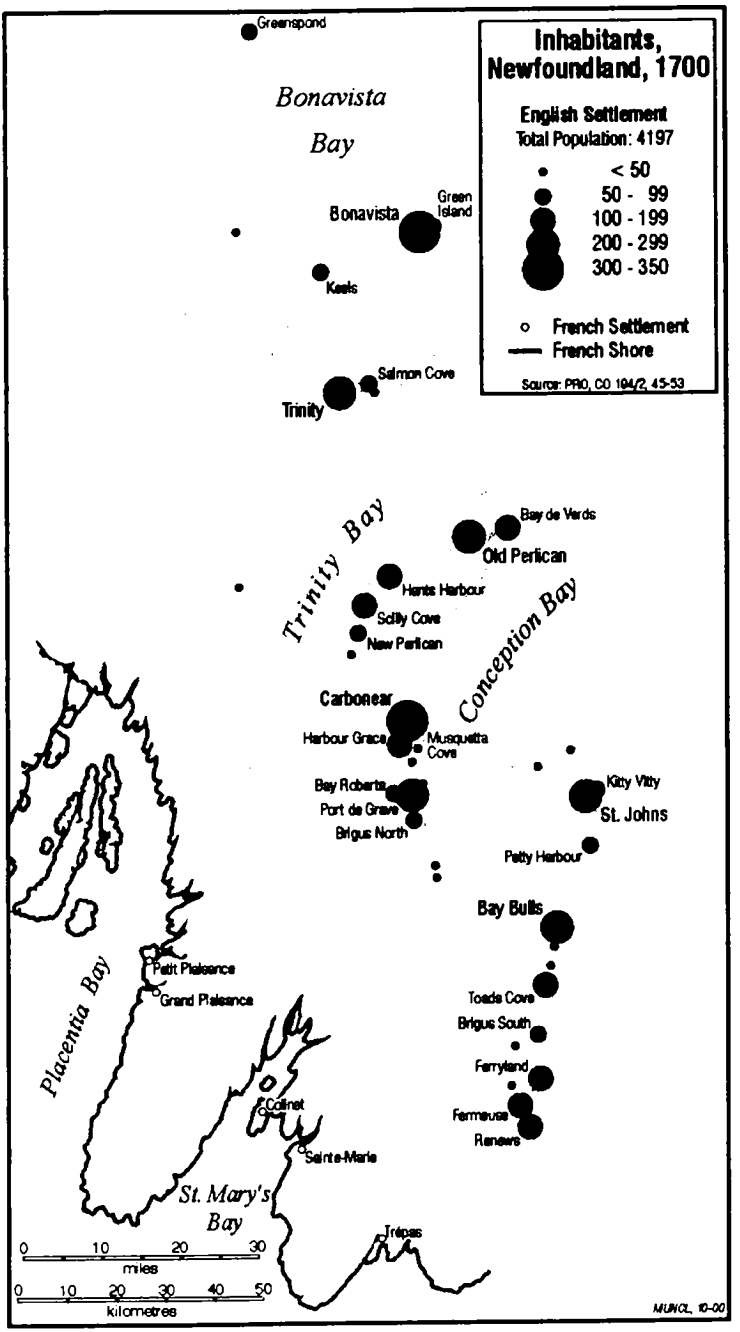
Greenspond
Bonavista Bay
Bonavista
Green Island
Keels
Salmon Cove
Trinity
Inhabitants, Newfoundland, 1700
English Settlement
Total Population: 4197
< 50
50 - 99
100 - 199
200 - 299
300 - 350
French Settlement
French Shore
Source: PRO, CO 194/2, 45-53
Trinity Bay
Bay de Verds
Old Perlican
Hants Harbour
Scilly Cove
New Perlican
Conception Bay
Carbonear
Harbour Grace
Musquetta Cove
Bay Roberts
Port de Grave
Brigus North
Kitty Vitty
St. Johns
Petty Harbour
Bay Bulls
Toads Cove
Brigus South
Ferryland
Fermeuse
Renews
Placentia Bay
Petit Plaisance
Grand Plaisance
Colinet
Sainte-Marie
St. Mary's Bay
Trepas
0 10 20 30
miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
kilometres
MUNCL, 10-00

Figure 1.

amongst the most isolated in British America; New England was the nearest neighbour, the French colonies apart.

At the social core of these fledgling English communities were the planters. They were householders and operators of fishing properties or "rooms", with stages for landing fish. By 1700 there were roughly 300 planters, more than half with wives and children.[3] Apart from a small number of artisans, agents for merchants based overseas, and independent traders, the rest of the winter population was composed of servants. They accounted for 70 percent to 75 percent of the total population. Almost all were temporary migrants from the southwest of England and were, overwhelmingly, single young men.

Newfoundland was dominated by a transatlantic migratory fishery in 1700. The population more than doubled in the spring with the arrival of the fishing ships primarily from Devonshire in the English West Country. More than 170 fishing ships arrived, bringing more than 5000 men. Just under 400 of these were byeboatmen — essentially migratory planters — who had rooms and boats and operated independently of the fishing ships' crews. Servants arriving to work for the planters were not clearly distinguished at this time. Through the summer some 50 sack ships arrived with supplies to barter or purchase cod for the European markets. Captain Fairborne lists the ports of origin — not always the same as the ports of departure — for all but 10 of the 220 British and Irish vessels recorded arriving at Newfoundland in 1700. American ships were not included.

British links with Newfoundland were intensely regional in 1700. Close to 90 percent of all ships arriving belonged to ports from Bristol around to London in the far south of England. A further 5 percent came from the Channel Islands. Within southern England, particular ports and localities were prominent. A quarter of the fleet came from north Devon and Bristol, a quarter from south Devon, and 15 percent from ports in Dorset, centered at Poole, and east to Southampton. Half the ships belonged to three ports. London led, with 22 percent, the core of the sack or trading fleet. Bideford in north Devon and Topsham (Exeter) in south Devon accounted for 27 percent of all vessels, almost all of them fishing ships.

Virtually all fishing was conducted within two to three miles of the settlements. Fishing ships were anchored in the harbours, their crews deployed in boats or shallops inshore. Each boat had three to five fishermen, with usually two men ashore processing and storing the fish. Just over half of all boats were operated by fishing ships' crews in 1700, a further 6 percent by the byeboatmen, and 43 percent by the planters. Together they caught and cured 312,000 quintals of cod, down from the previous year but still a substantial harvest. Data on voyages to market are incomplete for 1700 but, in 1698, 65 percent of all vessels at Newfoundland sailed directly to southern Europe with cod, and a further 24 percent returned to England with some cod, cod oil, and passengers.[4] It was a major harvest migration that included not only men prosecuting the ship fishery but byeboatmen, and planters' servants some of whom had spent the previous winter in Newfoundland.

IRISH MIGRATION

Between 1675 and 1700 Ireland established a regular export trade in salted provisions — pork, beef, and butter — to victual the English fishery at Newfoundland. A harsh physical environment and the near-total commitment of capital and labour to the staple summer cod fishery meant this large Atlantic island had little agriculture. During the first century of exploitation England itself supplied most of the foodstuffs required, but the growth of a year-round population and the emergence of Ireland as a major source of provisions in the burgeoning Atlantic economy resulted in its incorporation into the English-Newfoundland trade.[5]

Ireland had some distinct advantages in the development of this commerce. Its ports, particularly those on the south coast, were close to the route taken by most of the English ships sailing to Newfoundland. A moist temperate climate produced superb grasslands for a pastoral economy focusing on fatstock (cattle and pigs) and dairying. Prior to the Cattle Acts (1663, 1667, 1681) Irish livestock were exported in large numbers to England, causing problems for local producers there. Cattle, hogs and sheep imports were proscribed under the acts, with salt provisions. These restrictions actually boosted the embryonic Irish salt provisions trade to continental Europe and to the transatlantic colonies. Instead of sending young lean cattle to England for fattening, they were raised to maturity at home. Females were kept as cows to increase butter production and hogs were fed on the by-products of commercial dairying.

Beginning around 1675, English ships, *en route* to the fishery, called in yearly to Irish ports to collect provisions. By 1698 more than 40 vessels did so. The Irish migrations were intimately connected with this commerce. As the English fishery expanded, particularly the planter sector, and the demand for labour increased, English shipowners and shipmasters began to recruit Irish servants using the trading networks already established through the salt provisions trade. Fares outbound cost up to £3, and £2 home, with provisions usually supplied by the shipowners. In 1697 the profit from transporting 50 passengers out was £100.[6] Passengers were considered another commodity to augment the gains of a transatlantic voyage.

Few Irish were recorded in Newfoundland prior to 1720. Detailed nominal lists of boatkeepers between 1675 and 1684 and in 1708 do include surnames popular in southeast Ireland — Aylward, Buckley, Cullen, Dunn, Fortune, Green, Hurley, Kent, Roach, Strange, White, for example — but all were English, a reminder of the need for caution when using surnames as a guide to ethnicity in early Newfoundland.[7] Servants dominated the population of Newfoundland both in summer and winter, but their names were rarely recorded. Almost all Irish were servants up to 1732. James Story was the first commodore to comment in some detail on Irish traffic:

> The trade of Irish to Newfoundland is all sorts of frises, linen cloath, bandle cloath, hats, shoes, stockings, beefe, porke, bread, butter, cheese & all sorts of small merchandise, their returns for it are fish. They likewise bring over a great many women passengers which they sell for servants and a little after their coming they marry among the fishermen that live there with the planters, and being extremely poor, contract such debts as they are not able to pay. If course be not speedily taken for the preservation [prevention] of such passengers coming over, the country will be ruined.[8]

Story's assessment of the extent of Ireland's Newfoundland trade is exaggerated, but it does highlight a process, whereby Irish women moved to marry male servants, that led to settlement formation in the subsequent century.

Most early references to the Irish in Newfoundland were made in the context of conflict between the English and the French. Colonial officials in London and St. John's were concerned about possible Catholic Irish disloyalty. In the winter of 1697, near the end of King William's war, French forces from Plaisance plundered English settlements in Conception Bay; some thirty Irish servants deserted and joined the enemy. Father Baudoin, who accompanied the expedition, reported that eight Irish servants absconded at Brigus. He claimed they had been treated like slaves by their English masters. One Irishman abandoned the English on Carbonear Island, walked across the ice-filled harbour and through the woods for three days without food. He met up with the French near Hearts Content in Trinity Bay and informed them about the state of English defences. Three other Irish deserters were captured with a French soldier and were taken to Carbonear. The English agreed to exchange their French prisoner for an Englishman, but requested three English for each Irishman. As the French prepared to return to Plaisance from Trinity Bay, a further twenty Irish joined them.

The Irish in St. John's were also suspected of collusion with the French. Thomas Joyce arrived in St. John's from Ireland in 1698 to work for Francis Joyce, probably a kinsman. At a hearing held in Fort William, the garrison headquarters, in 1700, Thomas testified with Henry Neal, another of Joyce's servants, that two French deserters planned to steal a shallop from their master James Benger at the end of the season and return to Plaisance. They offered passage to anybody interested in absconding, including soldiers in the fort. The commander of the garrison ordered that "if officers of the [harbour] guard came upon tippling houses where all does not appear right they can simply break up the gathering", and "that the same regard be had to houses where French or Irish have been or are entertained".[9] Captain Richards reported "ye taking up of several French and Irish papists disaffected to His Majesty's service residing here as spyes, corrupting and debauching His Majesties servants and other [of] his subjects to desert their service and bring in a French power". These "treacherous designs" included "not only ye servants of this harbour, but his Majesties servants in ye fort".

British officials were not alone in positing a link between Irish Catholic disloyalty and French objectives in Newfoundland. Following the resumption of war in

1702 leading inhabitants in St. John's petitioned that "noe one hyres or entertaines any foreigner of Roman Catholic thought ... Subject of Her Majtie without leave".[10] An English engineer at Fort William, John Roope, reported that the French at Plaisance "have intelligence from hence [St. John's] every 3 or 4 days" and "the Irish that are here do contribute to it". Early in 1705 the French captured St. John's. They took 150 prisoners to Plaisance, including some of the best fishermen in St. John's, and enlisted them as servants in the fishery.

> at the end of the fishing season [the French] sent several of the youths to Canada, some for France... others are still at Placentia who are said to have entered in the French service, all the Irish are certainly entered.[11]

A few years later two English planters from St. John's, taken prisoners to Plaisance, reported

> There hath been several times People carry'd from St. John's and other places in Newfoundland to Placentia and made servants, and thereby engage them so much to their interest that at this time there is not less than 40 or 50 English and Irish that have declared themselves subjects to the King of France and have several times taken up arms against the English.[12]

Reports of disaffection and disloyalty extended even to the soldiers in the garrison. One of the two regiments appointed to Fort William in 1697 was raised in Ireland. To what extent the new penal legislation passed in Ireland denying Catholics among other things the right to bear arms and serve in the British forces applied to Newfoundland at this juncture is not clear but there were Catholic Irish names among the lists of soldiers at Fort William.[13] They petitioned against an English officer, Lieutenant Lilburne, their paymaster, who tried to control the issuance of provisions and charge exorbitant prices. In his defence, Lilburne complained about the machinations of the "Irish cabal".[14] An Irish soldier, Denis Murphy, deserted Fort William and joined the French at Plaisance in 1702; a petition from the commander of frigates in St. John's, and from leading inhabitants in the town, warned of further desertions because of conditions in the garrison, and officer tyranny.[15] Officials blamed the capture of St. John's by the French early in 1705 on Irish disloyalty and desertion; but the Irish presence was almost certainly too paltry to justify such conclusions.

Disaffection or disloyalty was not an exclusively Irish phenomenon in Newfoundland during the wars. Social and economic deprivation among servants in the fishery and soldiers in the garrison were more important than ethnicity, religion, or political allegiance. While the French, the English, and even the embryonic Irish formed distinct homogenous groups, there was some mobility and ethnic intermingling typical of most European groups on the colonial frontier. The two French de-

serters — also referred to as prisoners — who worked for James Benger in St. John's informed the Joyces and Henry Neal in 1701 that their reason for planning a return to Plaisance was that there was "much better plate" on offer in that fishery. Southmayd and Collins, the two St. John's planters taken prisoners to Plaisance, affirmed that the main reason the 40 to 50 English and Irish deserters remained at Plaisance was that their French masters "engage them so much to their interest".

Migrants from the English Shore were established as planters at Plaisance before 1698. A stone mason, born in Ireland in 1668, worked on the fortifications there and married in 1696 a woman who was taken prisoner in St. John's. He established a fishing room at Petite Grève (modern Jerseyside) and they had a daughter born there in 1698.[16] Jean Bermony, called L'Irlandais, is one of the first Irish planters recorded in Newfoundland. A comment on Nicole Chirais, his wife, indicates "she was married previously and has another daughter of the first bed". Her name suggests she was the widow of a French settler. While ethnically mixed households such as this were rare, Newfoundland's maritime frontier was not composed of mutually exclusive ethnic shores.

PATTERNS OF MIGRATION 1698

Seasonal migration across the Atlantic returned to normal in spring, 1698, following the Treaty of Ryswick. Considering the devastation inflicted on the English Shore during the war, it was a surprisingly swift revival, particularly the more vulnerable migratory ship fishery. The total volume of migration equaled pre-war figures, and remained stable over the first three years of an uneasy peace.

Table 1. Migrations to Newfoundland: The English Shore, 1698-1700[17]

	SHIPS' COMPANY	*PERCENT OF TOTAL*	*PASSENGERS*	*TOTAL*
1698	4352	83%	916	5268
1699	5120	91%	520*	5640
1700	4690	93%	396*	5086

*called "byeboatmen".
Sources: CO 194/1, 273-277; CO 195/2, 322; CO 194/2, 45-53.

Migrants and mariners were recorded arriving at 28 harbours along the English Shore in 1698. More than one-quarter of all arrivals were concentrated in St. John's, by far the largest summer settlement on the island. Over 10 percent made for Carbonear; like St. John's it was a fortified harbour, an important consideration

for shipowners and merchants amidst the insecurity following the conflict. Bay Bulls, Ferryland, Trinity, Bonavista and Fermeuse were next in rank, with 250 to 350 arrivals. These were also among the leading winter settlements in 1700.

Vessels arriving from Ireland were recorded in detail in 1698. Of the 252 ships entering Newfoundland that season, 41 docked from Irish ports. More than half of these craft were specialist traders with few if any fishermen or shoremen aboard. Eighteen of the vessels had no fishing boats. One ship employed only six crew, ten had eight to ten, and eight ships had eleven to fifteen men. Sixteen of these nineteen sail had no fishing boats employed in Newfoundland waters. They arrived with salt provisions from Ireland which were sold or bartered for cod caught largely by the resident planters and their servants. The remaining six ships with modest crews deployed one to three shallops each, catching small amounts of cod to supplement locally purchased cargoes.

Several English vessels calling in to Irish ports for provisions were engaged in the ship fishery and carried substantial crews. The *Victory* of Bideford, for example, cleared Youghal for Cape Broyle with 55 persons on board. Using 10 shallops, they caught and cured 2000 quintals of cod and purchased a further 1300 quintals to complete their cargo. Few vessels exceeded or equaled this quantity in 1698. Eight other English fishing ships cleared Irish ports, each with 30 to 40 hands. There are no data on the ethnic origins of the mariners and migrants clearing Irish ports for the fishery in 1698 but almost certainly the great majority at least on the 32 English vessels were English. Nine of 41 ships were Irish; there is no evidence of English financial involvement and voyage profiles reveal little contact with English ports. Most, if not all, of the captains were Irish and it is likely that their crews and passengers were recruited primarily in the Irish ports and hinterlands.

Dublin was the leading centre in the Irish-Newfoundland trade in 1698. More than 200 crew and a handful of passengers departed Dublin on 13 vessels that season: 5 of them were locally owned, the remainder came from English ports (Table 2). Half of the migrants and mariners clearing the Irish capital for the fishery in 1698 were on four fishing ships belonging to Bideford and Barnstaple in north Devon. These connections evolved from established patterns of commerce across the Irish Sea. Prior to the passing of the Cattle Acts, noted above, Dublin had close ties with north Devon and the "north channel" ports as far as Bristol through the wool and cattle export trades. The traffic in wool was terminated only in 1699. Beginning around 1670, the composition, direction and organization of Dublin's traffic with the Bristol Channel changed. Instead of importing Irish livestock and salted provisions, vessels from Bideford, Barnstaple, and Bristol sailed to Dublin to collect victuals for the Newfoundland fishery, for other colonial destinations and for feeding mariners on Atlantic voyages. Whereas Dublin shippers likely conducted the older commerce in livestock and livestock products largely on local account, or jointly with English importing houses, the new transatlantic trade in provisions was

primarily on the account of English shipowners with Dublin merchants operating as agents on commissions.

Outside north Devon, all the vessels clearing Dublin for Newfoundland in 1698 were in the sack trade. Their crews ranged from eight to sixteen men. While the 4 north Devon fishing ships had 22 shallops and 111 men, the remaining nine vessels had 108 crew but only 6 shallops, 4 belonging to 2 vessels from Dublin, and 2 employed by the ship from London (Table 2). A considerable number of vessels were engaged in a 'mixed' fishery in 1698; the distinction between fishing ships and sack ships was sometimes blurred. Mariners fished, and fishing ships' captains traded, exchanging goods for cod caught by planters and others to complete their cargoes. The *Betty* of Dublin provides an example of a sack ship that was also engaged in catching and curing fish. It arrived at New Perlican in Trinity Bay under the command of Pearse Smith with salt provisions, a crew of fifteen, and three passengers. Three shallops were deployed there by Smith, and the crews caught and cured 170 quintals of cod to supplement 500 quintals purchased locally. The vessel then proceeded to the market at Cadiz.

Table 2. Migrants and Mariners, Ireland to Newfoundland, 1698

DEPARTED FROM	*MEN (SHIPS)*	*HOME PORTS*
Dublin	219 (13)	Barnstaple 65 (2), *Dublin* 64 (5), Bideford, 46 (2), Liverpool 18 (2), Bristol 16 (1), London 10 (1)
Youghal	158 (6)	Bideford 122 (3), Topsham 28 (2), *Youghal* 8 (1)
Cork	151 (8)	Bristol 52 (3), London 40 (1), *Cork* 30 (2), Topsham 21 (1), Dartmouth 8 (1)
Waterford	100 (5)	Bideford 66 (3), Topsham 22 (1), London 12 (1)
Kinsale	52 (2)	Bideford 38 (1), Portsmouth 14 (1)
Belfast	35 (2)	London 19 (1), *Belfast* 16 (1)
Ireland	32 (2)	Bristol 24 (1), Bideford 8 (1)
Galway	19 (2)	London 11 (1), Bristol 8 (1)
Sligo	16 (1)	Bristol 16 (1)
	782 (41)	

Source: CO 194/1, 273-277

Another Dublin sack ship, the *Eagle*, captained by Robert Martin, followed a somewhat different path and had a much more modest fishery. He first sailed south to the continent from Dublin with a crew of fifteen to collect a cargo of wine and brandy for Carbonear in Conception Bay. Martin purchased 1200 quintals of cod there and employed a single shallop fishing inshore while waiting to load. The crew caught 40 quintals of cod, a tiny supplement to the cargo for the market in the Canaries or Cadiz.

Ventures such as these had some precedent. Between 1681 and 1684, John Goulding of Dublin made at least 3 trips to Conception Bay with fishing crews of 24, 25, and 26 men. Another Dublin vessel employed twenty men at Carbonear. Pearse Smith also made at least three voyages from Dublin. He was in Carbonear in 1697, in New Perlican as noted in 1698, and in Bonavista in 1699. Robert Martin also returned in 1699, anchoring in Harbour Grace. Apart from the suggestion of some commitment and continuity in Dublin's Newfoundland fishery, the evidence also suggests that it was largely autonomous.[18] It represents the beginnings of seasonal migrations between Ireland and Newfoundland which were organized by Irish merchants and shipowners, independent of England. Pearse Smith did leave four of his men to spend the winter in Newfoundland in 1698. One is reminded of Father Baudoin's reference in 1697 to Irish servants overwintering in Conception Bay and Trinity Bay.

Dublin was Ireland's leading port, second in size only to London in the British Isles. It dominated Anglo-Irish trade, which extended from Liverpool and the Lancashire ports around to London. Dublin also developed a substantial commerce in salt provisions after 1670, focusing on continental European and colonial markets. The capital's English-Newfoundland commerce was largely an adaptation and deflection westwards of its Irish Sea trade.

Although Dublin was larger than all the ports on Munster's south coast combined, south Munster was from the outset the foremost region in the Irish-Newfoundland trade. The south coast was closer to the main shipping lane between southern England and Newfoundland than was Dublin. Munster, moreover, had developed a sophisticated pastoral economy geared to the exploitation of salt provisions to victual the rising Atlantic economy. Considering the close links between south Munster and the West Country prior to the Cattle Acts, the extension of this axis across the Atlantic to incorporate the fishery is unsurprising. In 1698 all but 4 of the 68 passengers, and over half of the 714 crew departing Ireland did so from south Munster's 4 leading ports: Cork, Waterford, Youghal, and Kinsale (Table 2). The great majority were on ships from Devon, north and south, with some substantial crews from Bristol and London.

Bideford was the leading port in south Munster's Newfoundland commerce. Three of her sail cleared Youghal with 55, 39 and 28 passengers and crew, another departed Waterford with 40 on board, and a fifth left Kinsale with 35 men. Exeter had long been an important centre in south Devon for the Irish wool trade, particu-

larly from the south Munster ports. South Devon's Irish-Newfoundland trade, and that from neighbouring Dorset, was still insignificant in the 1690s. War and the threat of conflict hindered shipping in the English Channel. Only 5 vessels called in to Irish ports from south Devon in 1698, and cleared for the fishery with 80 crew. Four of these vessels belonged to Topsham, the outport of Exeter. Three carried crews of 22, 21 and 16 and employed 8 boats in Newfoundland. More striking was a ship from London departing Cork with 10 passengers and 30 crew. They operated four boats at Bay Bulls.

As in Dublin, shipowners and shipmasters in the south Munster ports developed a small, largely independent commerce with Newfoundland in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. They played a seminal role in introducing Irish migrants and mariners to the fishery. John Adams, captain of a sack ship from Cork, serves as an example. He arrived at Bay de Verde, Conception Bay, in 1698 with provisions, a crew of ten men, and twelve passengers. Adams had no boats and purchased his entire cargo of cod, totalling 1200 quintals, locally. Collecting and loading a shipment of fish could be accomplished by a ten-man crew. Almost certainly the passengers were hired for the summer by local planters. They remained behind that fall after Adams sailed with his freight to the market at Bilbao (Table 3).

Adams was back in Bay de Verde from Cork on the same vessel the following season, this time with a crew of twenty men. There are no comparable data on boats deployed, the amount of cod made by ships' crews, the quantities purchased, or the number of men left to overwinter, but it seems unlikely that Adams would take all twenty crew to Leghorn in Italy with his cargo of fish. This raises a crucial question of exactly how large crews on trading vessels were employed while in Newfoundland. How mobile or flexible were the mariners? Did some switch to other trading vessels at the fishery, did some return home as passengers, did others overwinter and work for the planters?

Only one captain of an Irish vessel, Nicholas Young of Cork, returned home directly from the fishery in 1698. He had arrived at Carbonear from Cork with a cargo of salt and salt provisions (Table 3). Although the eight-man crew had a boat, no catch is recorded. Young returned directly to Cork, apparently in ballast, with his crew. His was the only vessel of the 41 clearing Irish ports for the fishery that season to return directly to Ireland. By contrast, over 60 ships returned directly to England, including 7 from the West Country that had called in to Ireland that spring. Almost all made for home ports, bringing cod, cod oil, and over 4000 passengers and crew. The lack of traffic to the Irish ports reflects the low demand for Newfoundland produce there at this time, and insufficient numbers of servants returning to justify any English vessel calling in on their homeward voyages.

Table 3. Irish Ships in Newfoundland, 1698

SHIP	*TONS*	*CAPTAIN*	*CREW*	*OF*	*LADED*	*CARGO*	*TO*	*FISHING BOATS*	*QUINTALS COD MADE*	*QUINTALS PUCHASED*	*TO*	*MEN LEFT IN NFLD*
Chichester	90	Rob:t Agnew	16	Belfast	Belfast	Provisions	St. John's	-	-	-	Lisbon	1
Freinds Adventure	40	Lewis Lepetit	9	Dublin	Dublin	Provisions	St. John's	-	-	600	Canaries	-
Eagle [Gally]	80	Rob:t Martin	16	Dublin	Dublin and Tuscare(?)	Wine & Brandy	Carbinear	1	40	1200	Cadiz or Canaries	-
Sam:l [Gally]	35	James Roy	8	Dublin	Dublin	Provisions	Trinity Hr.	-	-	500	Alicante	-
Expedition	45	John Crocker	13	Dublin	Dublin	Provisions	Bonavista	-	-	650	Cadiz	-
Betty	90	Pearse Smith	15 (3)	Dublin	Dublin	Provisions	New Perlican	3	170	500	Cadiz	4
Speedwell	50	John Farmer	8	Youghal	Youghal	Provisions	Old Perlican	1	30	600	Bilboa	-
Dragon	120	Nich:s Young	8	Cork	Cork	Salt & Provisions	Carbinear	1	-	-	Cork	-
St. Jacobs ?	100	John Adams	10 (12)	Cork	Cork	Provisions	Bay de Verde	-	-	1200	Bilboa	12
9 ships			103 (15) passengers					6	240	5250		17

Source: CO 194/1, 273-277).

MIGRANT STREAMS

Vessels clearing Ireland for Newfoundland in 1698 anchored all along the English Shore (Table 4). Within this general transatlantic flow distinctive trade routes and channels of migration occurred. They were rooted in localized patterns of commerce between England and Ireland, outlined above, and more especially between England and Newfoundland.[19] All 43 vessels from Bideford and Barnstaple in 1698, for example, were based in 9 settlements between Toads Cove and Renews on the southern fringe of the English Shore (Figure 1). In the context of Irish migration and colonization, this trade route was seminal, forging links between south Munster and the south Avalon. Following the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and the ceding by France of its extensive south coast fishery to England, the north Devon fishing fleet expanded west past Trepassey into St. Mary's and particularly Placentia Bay. Captain Percy's comments in 1720 are instructive:

> There are not above ten French residents in St. Peter's, St. Lawrence and Placentia... who are supplied with craft and servants from England, but here are brought over every year by the Bristol, Bideford and Barnstable ships great numbers of Irish Roman Catholic servants who all settle to the southwards in our plantations.[20]

Similar linkages were generated by South Devon shipowners between the Munster ports and areas to the north of the Bideford zone in Newfoundland. Ships from Topsham and Dartmouth called in to Cork, Youghal and Waterford in 1698, then proceeded to the three adjacent harbours of Bay Bulls, Petty Harbour and St. John's, and to Carbonear (Table 4). From these small beginnings an important migration route was formed, particularly to St. John's, as south Devon merchants turned increasingly to the south coast of Ireland for passengers as well as provisions. Two of the leading houses in the Irish-Newfoundland trade through the eighteenth century, Newmans and Holdsworths of Dartmouth, were established in St. John's by 1700. Robert Newman arrived there via Cork in 1698 with provisions and a crew of eight. They operated 2 shallops and made 250 quintals of fish. It is likely that Newman's small crew came from Dartmouth, but the company's link with the Munster ports soon expanded to include Irish passengers to St. John's and later to their headquarters at St. Laurence on Newfoundland's south coast.[21]

Bristol was important in generating Irish links with Conception Bay. Six of the port's eight vessels arriving via Ireland in 1698 were located there, principally at Carbonear. Bristol was second only to London in English transoceanic commerce in the seventeenth century. It rivalled the metropolis in transatlantic trade, and was the foremost port trading with Ireland. As such it had contacts with virtually all the major ports in Ireland, a fact reflected in the relatively diffuse geography of its Irish-Newfoundland commerce (Table 4). Like the north Devon ports, however, Bristol had especially close ties with Munster. At least three Bristol ships called in

Table 4. Transatlantic Migration: Ships clearing Ireland for Newfoundland, 1698

INTO	*FROM*	*OF*	*TONS*	*BOATS*	*SHIPS COMPANY*	*PASSENGERS*	*TOTAL PERSONS*	
Renews	Youghal	Bideford	100	5	28	-	28	
	Dublin	Barnstaple	100	6	31	-	31	(59)
Fermeuse	Waterford	Bideford	130	7	36	4	40	
Aquaforte	Dublin	Bideford	90	6	31	-	31	
Ferryland	Dublin	Bideford	70	3	15	-	15	
	Waterford	Bideford	50	3	12	-	12	(27)
Capelin Bay	Youghal	Bideford	140	7	33	6	39	
	Dublin	Barnstaple	150	7	34	-	34	(73)
Cape Broyle	Youghal	Bideford	200	10	55	-	55	
	Waterford	Bideford	180	8	14	-	14	(69)
Isle of Spear & Toad's Cove	Kinsale	Bideford	130	7	38	-	38	
Bay Bulls	Cork	Topsham	75	3	21	-	21	
	Cork	London	300	4	30	10	40	(61)
Petty Hr.	Youghal	Topsham	60	-	12	-	12	
St. John's	Cork	Dartmouth	60	-	8	-	8	
	Kinsale	Portsmouth	120	-	14	-	14	
	Dublin	Dublin	40	-	9	-	9	
	Belfast	London	260	-	18	1	19	
	Dublin	Liverpool	60	-	10	-	10	
	Belfast	Belfast	90	-	16	-	16	(76)
Brigus	Dublin	London	100	2	10	-	10	
Harbour Grace	Dublin	Bristol	100	-	16	-	16	
Carbonear	Dublin	Dublin	80	1	16	-	16	
	Cork	Cork	120	-	8	-	8	
	Sligo	Bristol	120	-	16	-	16	
	Youghal	Topsham	60	2	12	4	16	
	Cork	Bristol	30	-	6	-	6	
	Galway	Bristol	50	2	8	-	8	
	Waterford	Topsham	90	3	14	8	22	
	Cork	Bristol	100	-	16	-	16	
	Dublin	Liverpool	40	-	8	-	8	(116)
Bay de Verde	Cork	Bristol	60	4	10	20	30	
	Cork	Cork	100	-	10	12	22	(52)
Old Perlican	Waterford	London	70	1	12	-	12	
New Perlican	Dublin	Dublin	90	3	15	3	18	
	Galway	London (?)	70	-	11	-	11	(29)
Trinity	Dublin	Dublin	30	-	8	-	8	
Bonavista	Ireland	Bristol	150	4	24	-	24	
	Dublin	Dublin	45	-	13	-	13	(37)
Barrow Hr.	Ireland	Bristol	70	-	8	-	8	
TOTAL	41			99	714	68	782	

Source: CO 194/1, 273-277

to Cork, unsurprising in view of the vast traffic in salt provisions between these two ports and the Caribbean at this time. Newfoundland was a minor adjunct to Bristol's Atlantic commerce. One vessel arrived at Bay de Verde in Conception Bay via Cork with ten crew and twenty passengers. They operated 4 shallops there, and made 1200 quintals of fish, a substantial catch.

Although not listed in 1698, Bristol had especially close ties to Waterford, its largest Irish neighbour in the southeast, and the principal port of embarkation for Irish passengers to Newfoundland through the eighteenth century. In spring 1697, merchants and officials in Bideford, Barnstaple and Bristol arranged that their vessels bound for Newfoundland sail in convoy from Milford Haven and "stop with ye said ships in ye River of Waterford forty eight hours only for taking aboard their bread and provisions that are ready to be shipt".[22] Bristol was the only port in southwest England with a substantial expatriate Irish trading community. They had close Munster connections, particularly with Waterford and Cork, and they were involved in Bristol's extensive Atlantic commerce, including its Irish and Irish-Newfoundland trades. Carbonear and Harbour Grace became important foci, with Harbour Main, and Irish servants began to replace the English in these parts of western Conception Bay after 1720.

The channelization of commerce and migration to the fishery was not exclusively a product of southwest English localism. Vessels belonging to Dublin, for example, focused almost entirely on the area between St. John's and Bonavista (Table 4). All five Dublin ships did so in 1698; over the next two seasons the seven ships recorded from Dublin were located in St. John's and Conception Bay. Only those vessels belonging to north Devon and calling in to Dublin anchored to the "southwards". This pattern had some precedent. Between 1679 and 1684 ten of the eleven ships arriving from Dublin were located in St. John's and north of there, notably at Carbonear.[23]

Dublin's contribution to Irish migration was, however, peripheral. Most vessels were traders employing sailors only, some of whom fished. Dublin's trade to Newfoundland declined after 1730; that from south Munster, by contrast, expanded. Tiny towns such as New Ross and Youghal outstripped Dublin, and Waterford emerged as the pivotal port for labour recruitment in southeast Ireland. Vessels from virtually every port in the English fishery called in to Waterford Harbour or quay to collect passengers and provisions, scattering the Irish all along the English Shore. Bideford was especially prominent in forging links between Waterford and the south Avalon. Eleven vessels were recorded clearing Waterford between 1698-1701 for the fishery. Four anchored at Ferryland, one at Cape Broyle, and one at Renews.

English captains were sometimes employed by Irish shipowners. In 1700, Peter Fewings, likely of Bideford, took the *Waterford Galley*, a fishing ship of 200 tons, with a crew of 70 men, from Waterford to Ferryland. They had a stage or fishing room there, and operated twelve shallops. It was a substantial venture. The ves-

sel is recorded as belonging to Waterford and it is likely that most of the crew came from there. Fewings repeated the Waterford-Ferryland voyage in 1701, this time employing 5 boats and 36 men. He was joined there by the *Fidelity* of Waterford, under the command of Jenkins Richards, with three boats and seventeen men.[24] North Devon shipmasters extended Waterford's links along the south coast and into Placentia Bay after 1713. One is witnessing, at the turn of the century, the beginnings of a major migration corridor spanning the Atlantic, one that led to Irish servants from the southeast forming the majority in most coves and harbours between St. John's and Little Placentia by 1750.

DISRUPTION AND RECOVERY, 1702-1732

The rapid recovery of England's Newfoundland fishery in 1698 was followed by its virtual collapse in 1702, with the resumption of war. Indeed, the very threat of conflict seemed sufficient to reduce the fishing fleet, from around 170 ships in 1700 to 75 in 1701. Over the next few years no more than 25 ships cleared English ports annually for the ship fishery. Cod catches also plummeted, from more than 370,000 quintals in 1699 to 75,000 three seasons later. The bulk of it was now produced by the planters. Their boats had accounted for only 34 percent of the total deployed in 1699, 56 percent in 1701, and, assuming the figure is accurate, fully 90 percent in 1702. Numbers fluctuated, but the fishing ship sector did recover and employed generally around one-third of all boats during Queen Anne's War (1702-1713).[25]

Data on ships and men arriving in Newfoundland from Ireland between 1702 and 1713 are extremely sparse. Almost certainly the number of fishing ships calling in en route from the West Country dropped sharply. Vessels travelled in convoys and usually sailed directly from southern England to Newfoundland.[26] Convoyed traffic was cumbersome and slow; calling in to Irish ports added to the hazards of the Atlantic crossing in wartime. Irish-Newfoundland commerce, however, did not disappear. Replies to enquires from the Board of Trade in London, and miscellaneous comments, confirm that Ireland continued as a source for salt provisions through the war.[27] Indeed some commodores suggested Irish salt provisions were primary. "The inhabitants have most part of their salt provisions from Ireland" Sir Nicholas Trevanion reported in 1712, "the fresh provisions as bread, pease, and necessarys, from New England, and Pennsylvania". Commodore Josias Crowe noted the previous season that the planters "vent" their fish "to the sack ships...or to merchants and factors residing among them...from Great Britain, Ireland and New England. Their Provisions they have in part from Great Britain and Ireland, the remainder from New England, New York, Pennsilvania".

The supply of English labour to prosecute the fishery was also affected during the war. A report from the various outports in southwest England, in spring 1703 for example, revealed that only 49 ships were intended for Newfoundland that season,

5 each from Bideford and Barnstaple, 30 from south Devon, mainly Exeter, 6 from Poole, and 1 from Fowey (with 2 of unknown origin). There was "difficulty getting men by reason of the Queen's Service"; they were needed by the British in fighting Queen Anne's War.[28] Whether the shortage of English manpower for the fishery resulted in an increase in recruitment in Irish ports is not known but it is highly unlikely. Bristol and the north Devon ports, primary sources for the Irish trade prior to the renewed conflict, experienced a dramatic drop in their fishery. Shipping links between Ireland and Newfoundland suffered as a consequence, further restricting the opportunity for Irish labour to engage in the trade.

The Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 was followed by a modest if uneven recovery of the West Country ship fishery, with fleets sometimes exceeding 100 sail a year. Poole in Dorset became prominent, particularly in the sack trade. English expansion was accompanied by some growth in Irish-Newfoundland commerce in the decade or so after the war. "The trade is carried on from Britain with all manner of craft for the fishery clothing and provisions", Archibald Cumings reported in 1715 "...annually with many ships from Ireland with provisions".

Cumings was among the most informed observers on the state of trade for the period. He was established as a merchant in St. John's in 1698, became agent for prizes during the war, was a customs official and a consultant on French fishing rights at the end of the conflict.[29] His detailed census of shipping by settlement in 1715 apparently exists for the "southwards" only, from Bay Bulls to the newly acquired St. Peter's (St. Pierre). Of the 92 vessels recorded, only 4 were Irish, all from Dublin. Two English ships were listed as calling in to Irish ports. One sailed from Bideford via Waterford for Fermeuse with craft and provisions under the command of Joseph Denner with 27 men. They operated 5 shallops and caught 400 quintals of cod. It represented a resumption or a continuation of the north Devon ship fishery; Denner was recorded on the Irish route in 1698 and 1699. A second ship from Lyme arrived via Ireland at Ferryland, also with provisions, and sixteen crew. This represented a relatively new line of traffic out of Dorset. Something of the flexibility in patterns of shipping, if not labour recruitment, is suggested by Miles King, master of a Dublin vessel. He sailed from Bideford to Fermeuse with fishing gear and sixteen men. Their harvest from 3 boats was only 50 quintals of fish and 2 hogsheads of oil. King's vessel sailed to Ilfracombe, east of Bideford; the two English vessels sailed directly to their home ports of Bideford and Lyme. Whereas in 1698 only one ship, owned in Cork, arrived from Newfoundland, at least five did so in 1715. Two belonged to London, and one each to Bristol, Bideford and Cork. The reasons for English ships sailing from Newfoundland to Ireland at this time are not clear. There was virtually no market for cod or oil in Irish ports, and there are no references to passengers returning from the fishery. It was illegal to take salt provisions, livestock, or wool directly to England; apart from tallow, the Munster ports in particular had few staples to offer southern England. Vessels could however take on salt provisions for continental ports.

Captain Percy's observations on Irish migration in 1720 are seminal. They are supported by other sources. Governor Gledhill, who had arrived in Placentia in 1719, reported that the domestic increase in cod production in that harbour over the next five years and district was "in part owing to the great quantity of Irish papists and non-jurors...who yearly come out and settle here." Planters in neighbouring St. Mary's petitioned Gledhill in 1724 to send round some troops "to quell the insurrection of some hundreds of Irish" after the fishing fleet had departed that fall.[30]

Complaints about excessive numbers of Irish servants without masters or contracts trapped in the severity of a Newfoundland winter persisted for a century. The Irish "passengers" worked primarily for the planters. It is interesting that "passengers" were not reported as a separate category alongside fishing ships' crews and byeboatmen in the annual returns until 1719. Slightly more than 1000 passengers were recorded, but the number doubled over the next decade.[31] A substantial number by then were Irish. Lord Vere Beauclerk, writing from St. John's in 1728, noted that fishing ships' masters brought out "Irishmen who are generally Roman Catholic and remain here, that the number is already very great and may in time be of ill consequence". A year later he informed the Lords of Trade:

> I must not omitt acquainting you that the Merchants of Bristol concerned in this Trade did last winter, as I am credibly informed, sign a petition, praying that the Irish Roman Catholics might not be suffered to come over here in such numbers, justly fearing the ill consequences would unavoidably follow...but the person entrusted with it never delivered it being owner of a ship who constantly every year practises that business... The ships that come directly from Great Britain to Newfoundland are victualled and provisioned with their necessaries of British produce but most of these go first to Ireland where they load with provisions and take in the Irish passengers that are such an annoyance to this country.[32]

In contrast to merchant labour recruitment in southwest England which was local, intimate, measured and based on more than a century of tradition, recruitment by English shipowners and shipmasters in the Irish ports was less orderly. English shipmasters depended largely on Irish provisions merchants to enlist servants, sometimes at short notice:

> The Admirals indeed tell us they do demand the proper Certificates from the Masters of the ships, but by what I have been able to observe only such as hope to be Admirals furnish themselves as the Act directs, the others hire upon the spot as many as they find they shall have occasion for, great numbers of Irish Roman Catholics coming over here every year for that purpose, they are already so numerous that in some places there remains during the Winter, nine of these Irish to one English man...The Inhabitants in general employ none but these Irish Roman Catholics.[33]

Beauclerk noted this traffic was legal, the shipmasters "being empowered to bring servants from Ireland as well as provisions". Some English captains crowded their vessels with labourers "for the lucre of their passages". Irish overwintering was attributed to overspending on luxury items, notably drink, on servant debt, and the consequent lack of passage fares home on the expiry of summer contracts, and on the irregularity of direct shipping to Ireland. Not all Irish servants lacked the fare, and there is even evidence of competition amongst ship masters for passages. An incident in October 1730 is instructive on the process and organization of return migration. Daniel Callaghan, a cooper based in St. John's, was approached by several Irish servants there to secure passages for them to Waterford. Michael Gill, a New England merchant, agreed to provide passages for 30 men at £1.7.0 each. The contract was signed on behalf of the servants by Callaghan, who was assisted by John Murray, a fellow Irish migrant in St. John's. Conflict arose when Peter Shank arrived in a sloop from Ferryland in search of passengers for the *Samuel and Dove*, a vessel under the command of Thomas Tavernor bound for Ireland that fall. Shank was assisted by Walter Brett, a pilot, employed as a broker because he was Irish and well known in St. John's. Brett's orders were "to agree with as many of his countrymen as he could to proceed on [Tavernor's] ship to Ireland". They succeeded in enticing aboard the sloop 25 of Gill's passengers, "with their sea chests and necessaries". William Keen, a merchant and magistrate in St. John's, supported his fellow New Englander, citing the signed agreement as binding. Discovery of stolen goods in three of the "trunks" aboard Shank's sloop led Keen to remove fifteen sea chests and Shank departed with only ten passengers.[34] The incident suggests a recruitment role for Irish middlemen of some status in Newfoundland who were either literate or culturally connected to the servants. Artisans in the Irish ports were later recorded as recruitment agents for the merchants there.

MIGRANTS AND SETTLERS, 1732

Governors, commodores, magistrates and other English officials exaggerated the numbers of Irish present in Newfoundland and the threat they posed to law and order. Both governors Clinton, in 1731, and Falkingham, in 1732, reiterated Beauclerk's observations on the great numbers of Irish passengers arriving annually and staying the winter but a census of 1732, the first to distinguish English and Irish in Newfoundland, records only 342 Irish that winter, less than 13 percent of the total population. They were augmented by the arrival of 728 passengers and 238 byeboatmen from Ireland that spring (Table 5).[35] With a mere fourteen Irish households, five of them headed by women, presumably widows, and sixteen children, the latter all in Placentia, the family-based population would fit into an Irish townland. Nominal lists from other sources, discussed below, suggest more families, but even if half the total were not recorded, the number of sedentary Irish in

Table 5. Irish in Newfoundland, 1732

	MASTERS	*MISTRESSES*	*HOUSES*	*MEN SERVANTS*	*PASSENGERS (SPRING)*	*BYEBOATMEN MASTERS*	*BYEBOATMEN SERVANTS*	*SHIPS CREWS*	*SHIPS*
Great & Little Placentia	4	4*	6**	50	128	-	-	114	5
St. Mary's	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-
Renews & Fermeuse	-	-	-	35	200	2	61	-	-
Ferryland	-	2	3	?	130	-	-	20	1
Bay Bulls, Tors Cove & Petty Hr.	4	7	4	170	-	8	79	12	1
St. John's, Quidi Vidi & Torbay	?	?	?	?	270	8	80	72	6
Harbour Grace & Bay Roberts	-	-	-	26	-	-	-	50	-
Carbonear & Musketa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Bay de Verde	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-
Old Perlican	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	1
Trinity & Bonaventure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	4
Bonavista & Bayleys Cove	1	1	1	21	-	-	-	7	1
Total Irish	9	14	14	324	728	18	220	322	23
Total Population	397	239	375	2485	3034	365	1916	3266	

Places with no Irish recorded: Trepassey, New Perlican, English Harbour. * 16 children ** includes 2 public houses

Source: CO 194/9, 221-224.

Newfoundland was still minuscule. Clearly the vast majority of Irish men servants, winter and summer, worked for English masters. No Irish female servants were recorded in Newfoundland in 1732.

Considering the comments of colonial officials on the growth of overwintering young Irishmen, the figures for 1732 are surprisingly low. There were seven times more English male servants present that winter. Only in the district of Bay Bulls were Irish servants numerous, and it is possible that the 166 recorded there referred also to Irish in St. John's and Ferryland, nearby. It is unlikely, however, that places such as Trepassey, Carbonear or even Trinity Bay were devoid of Irish male servants at this time. The arrival of almost 1000 Irish passengers and byeboatmen from Ireland in the spring substantially augmented the tiny Irish winter population. All passengers and most byeboatman were located in the southern half of the Avalon, between St. John's and Placentia, confirming governors' reports since 1720. Compared to the migration from southwest England, the Irish were still very much a minority. In addition to some 5300 passengers and byeboatmen, close to 3000 migrants arrived from England as crews on fishing ships in 1732. The number included mariners as well as fishermen and shoremen. These crews operated 369 boats, compared to 366 byeboats and 420 boats deployed by the inhabitants.

The Irish participated in all three sectors of the fishery. Governor Falkingham reported in 1732 that many English fishing ships bound for Newfoundland in the spring "touch in Ireland, and there take in their lading of provisions, and great numbers of Irish passengers, persons that know little more than tending of cattle, which is of bad consequence to the trade, such people seldom or never become to be seamen". It was a reiteration of official government policy on the ship fishery as a nursery for staffing the British navy. Falkingham also suggested, however, the existence of an Irish ship fishery and questioned its legality:

> Several fishing ships [came] directly from Ireland, without bringing with them proper certificates, as enjoyned by Act of Parliament, and as they were far advanced in their fishery (on my arrival) I did not think proper to molest them without acquainting your Grace and desiring your Grace's directions how to proceed for the future if they are esteemed aliens or strangers, I could not presume to determine. The Irish fishing ships at Little Placentia and several other westerne settlements, formerly belonging to the French, bring with them a number of Irish servants some of whom they leave the winter and by that means stake out the very best of the antient fishing rooms and by that pretence, claim a right and possess the same as their property.[36]

The Governor had arrived at Placentia from England on July 13 and spent ten days there before proceeding to St. John's. His comments on the fishery in Placentia Bay must be treated with some respect. Five of the 25 vessels arriving from Ireland that season were recorded there, with no fewer than 20 of the 25 boats deployed. Together they probably form the basis for Falkingham's observations on "Irish fishing ships" in the bay. There is no clear proof that they were Irish. North

Devon dominated the substantial ship fishery in Placentia district, and it is more likely that the vessels came from there, calling in to Irish ports for provisions and passengers en route. The legal status of English ships, or more precisely that of their captains, calling in to Irish ports was raised as early as 1702, and again in 1718. In both cases the focus was on whether such shipmasters could be appointed admirals of a harbour. The response in 1718 was that "fishing ships and byeboatkeepers getting provisions from GB and Ireland have the same status as vessels directly out from England".[37] This was not the case for vessels from New England.

Ships from Ireland were located in large harbours from Placentia to Bonavista Bay, with concentrations in Placentia, St. John's, Carbonear, and Trinity. Their ports of origin are not recorded in the census, but of six ships identified in other sources, five cleared from Waterford and one from Cork. Three ships belonged to Waterford, two to Bristol, and one was from London.[38] One of the Bristol craft sailed from Barnstaple to Waterford and on to Newfoundland with twenty crew; the others had crews of eight men or less, and were sack ships. It is a small sample, but likely representative. Of the 23 vessels arriving from Ireland where crew sizes were recorded in 1732, 2 had 7 men each, 2 had 12, and there was an average of 12 men on the 14 vessels at St. John's, Carbonear, and Trinity. Only in the latter harbour were any boats attached to these ships. By contrast, the 5 sail in Placentia had an average crew of 23, and the lone ship from Ireland at Ferryland carried 20 men.

THE DISTRICT OF PLACENTIA, 1730

Considerable detail on Irish servants' contracts survive for Placentia in 1730. Henry Osborn had been appointed first governor of the island the previous year with instructions to set up some form of civil administration. He appointed magistrates and constables from the ranks of the residents to administer justice and maintain law and order through the winter. The island was divided into six districts, extending from Bonavista to Placentia Bay. Prior to this, Placentia was administratively part of Nova Scotia. Great Placentia was a strategic garrison town and the centre of a substantial summer fishery. The fishermen there were being treated harshly by Samuel Gledhill, Lieutenant Governor since 1719. He controlled much of the cod and supply trades and interfered with masters' rights and access to fishing rooms. Part of Osborn's task was to settle the multitude of disputes over debt, property and wages at Great Placentia and dependent harbours. He appointed three magistrates for the district, with constables stationed at Great and Little Placentia, and at St. Mary's. Part of his report the following year focused on the plight of servants in Placentia Bay:

> At the latter end of the fishing season they [the masters] generally find some reason to differ with their servants that they may have a pretence not to pay them their wages, by which these poor reches for want of money to pay their passage home are oblidged to stay in the country the winter without any prospect of getting a subsistance, but what is yet more notorious, they sett up a number of boat-keepers who have no stock to begin upon but what they supply them in the spring of the year, and in the Falle, these masters of ships come upon these boatmens rooms, and seize all their fish by force for these necessaries, before any of their servants have received any part of their wages, or without considering which way they are to come by them by which means hundreds of these poor creatures are beging up and down, and come crying to the Commanders of the men of war as soon as they arrive for redress, but as I am very sencible of my own inability in giveing your Lordsps a just idea of these people's sufferings I have taken the liberty to inclose a few coppies of those petitions wch we always receive at the later end of the year...If commanders arbitrate, which is difficult since by that time offendors have often dispersed, & if commanders decisions do not favour Masters, the Masters ignore such decisions.[39]

A substantial number of the petitions from Placentia came from Irish servants. Some impression of how they participated in this pioneering transatlantic enterprise can be gleaned from their memorials. Irish servants were engaged in the West Country migratory ship fishery. Daniel Mahanney's memorial provides an example. He had "made a firm contract" in mid-May with Bartholomew Shapton, captain of a Bideford fishing ship at Placentia. Mahanney's wages for the season were set at £9. During the season, "being taken of a feavour" he lost time and Shapton refused to pay him his wages. Mahanney and some other Shapton servants also claimed that "they were used barbarously in the presence of the ship's carpenter" and asked the court for compensation.

A somewhat similar case involved another Irish servant on a West Country fishing ship stationed at Great Placentia. John Sullivan was shipped June 27, rather late in the season, to Captain William Fulford for £6 and his passage home. On July 22, Sullivan was "taken ill", a victim of the "convolution fitts" (epilepsy). He claimed Fulford forced him to sign a paper discharging him, and was refused his wages. Destitute and "not able to pay for my passage to any Christian country", Sullivan pleaded for some form of redress. Unfortunately, Osborn's enclosures do not contain the court's decisions on these or any other petitions at Placentia. Some tentative observations may be made. Neither Mahanney nor Sullivan were hired in Ireland to serve in the migratory ship fishery. They may have arrived that spring, or have spent the winter in Placentia or in some other Newfoundland district. Sullivan at least intended going home at the end of the season. Contracts apparently made no provision for payment of wages should a labourer lose time through sickness; it was a central feature of servant petitions at Placentia in 1730.

Most Irish servants worked for English planters, not only in Placentia and adjacent harbours, but also across the bay on the western shore. John Shave operated a

fishing room at Oderin. Amongst his servants was Patrick Hogan whose contract for the season was £9 and a pair of shoes. Shave was supplied by Thomas Salmon, a resident at Great Placentia since 1714. He was also one of the three newly appointed magistrates for the district. It was a poor fishery at Oderin and Shave was forced to declare bankruptcy. Salmon arrived and seized the season's catch. Hogan recorded that he begged Salmon "for God's sake" to at least leave him Shave's boat and goods since he had "nothing to subsist either for myself or my great charge of children...even as much as would pay my passage home". Although not recorded in the contract, the latter reference suggests Hogan was a seasonal or temporary migrant from Ireland and, in contrast to the vast majority of servants, who were young and single, he had offspring there to support.

Irish servants working for Irish masters were treated equally harshly. Thomas Conner and Edward Power, planters at Little Placentia, hired John Power as a fishing servant for £14 plus his passage out, presumably from Waterford. Power cut his finger on a fishing hook in mid-July and "by their bad usage & cruelty forcing him to sea before he could get cured, he has lost the power of the sd finger and been obliged to have one joint cut off". Unable to continue, his masters stopped his wages. Disagreement sometimes led to violence. Another of Thomas Conner's servants, John Walsh, hired for the season at £15, was forced to quit the room for six days because his "boatmaster did beat and batter him, & threaten to kill him". He was denied his wages. Richard Power was also physically abused by his Irish master, Laurence Boggan, over winter work. There was even violence on board ship bound for the fishery. In a memorial to the court Bartholomew Roberts claimed he was hindered from "earning his bread" at Placentia because he was "mightily abused" on his passage out from Ireland by one John Power, and suffered a broken rib.

Most contracts refer to the summer only, and sometimes include an agreement whereby the masters provided passages home at season's end. They tend to confirm some governors' views that the Irish often arrived without a contract and depended on the local labour market for employment. Recruitment in Ireland, however, was recorded. Thomas Power, possibly a byeboatkeeper in Little Placentia, shipped Walter Mallowney in Waterford for a lowly £5 plus his passage out. He was probably a youngster with little or no experience of the fishery. Power advanced him 10 shillings of his wages to procure clothes suitable for the fishery prior to departure and "came along with him to this land". After eight days work at Little Placentia, Mallowney was dismissed by Power "having no manner or reason for turning me away only that he had too many hands". Mallowney claimed that Power also confiscated his clothes, valued at £1.16.0. "My earnest desire is that your Honour will be pleased to order a summons for him, for he is great and headstrong and would not mind me if I do not be justified whilst you are in the Harbour".

Contracts for winter work were difficult to procure and most servants, English and Irish, went home in the fall. Patrick Gill agreed to serve Thomas Conner for a

summer and a winter for £11 but "was obliged to give him [Conner] £1.10.0 to take him in among his winter crew the [winter] work being so very rare". Gill became sick in March and was forced to sign a paper to pay £4 to his master, "when he was a shiping of me, they writ what they pleas'd and would not give me a shiping paper, by reason I was illiterate". Conner also refused to pay Richard Whelan, who had served him "justly and honestly" apparently over two years, or perhaps for two summers and a winter. He claimed he was owed £28 in wages. Expectation of payments in cash through bills of exchange, and at two to three times the standard rates for unskilled or semi-skilled labourers in the homeland, was from the outset the principal motivation for Irish seasonal migrations across the Atlantic. Wages ranged from £5 to £15 for a season normally extending from May to October, and were based on experience and expertise. Despite the rates regularly cited in contracts, pure monetary payments to Irish servants were rarely substantial. There were deductions for transatlantic transport, and for provisions and other supplies advanced through the season. Osborn's observations in 1730, cited above, were typical of most commentaries on servants' wages in the early eighteenth century fishery. Unlike Ireland, where labour was relatively plentiful and cheap, wages in Newfoundland soared in seasons of labour scarcity.[40] The fishery was always in flux, be it sparsity versus abundance of cod or shifting prices, resulting in fluctuations in the influx of servants. They were so scarce in 1716, for example, that labourers earned £18 to £20 that season.[41] News of such rates circulated through the homelands over the winter, stimulating an increase in migration the ensuing spring.

Shortage of specie meant credit and barter dominated commercial exchange in early eighteenth-century Newfoundland. Amongst the several creditors in John Shave's bankrupt estate, for example, Patrick Power was deemed "First Receiver" of fish. He claimed other small creditors had been reimbursed, presumably in cod from the room at Oderin. Thomas Power, shipped for £8 to John Perry, a planter in nearby Paradise, was "part paid in green fish". As Power prepared to cure it the cod was forcibly taken from the room by a trader collecting an old debt due from Perry. In his memorial, Power requested that the fish be returned and that Perry pay him the balance of his wages, otherwise he had no means of going home and would be compelled "to submit to this poor wilderness". Another contract, between Maurice Power of Little Placentia and his servant Andrew Roper did not mention money at all. Roper was paid in cod oil. It was an important medium of remuneration partly because it was more readily transportable and saleable to traders than fish. Servants arriving back in English ports were paid by shipmasters or shipowners in cod oil which could then be traded locally. The appearance of cod oil amongst the regular import commodities at Waterford from 1730 may reflect the rise of Irish servants arriving home in the late fall.[42]

The Placentia petitions support census data and official reports on the presence of an Irish community in the district, concentrated at Little Placentia. Fishing rooms in Great Placentia, the old French capital and still a garrison town, were stra-

tegic and had been appropriated quickly by the English following the Treaty of Utrecht. They were also amongst the most expensive on the island. Colonel John Moody, head of the British military in the changeover of 1714, paid close to £1700 for thirteen French rooms. Chevalier's room at the north end of town, beside the harbour entrance, cost £226; Moody leased it for £137 a year, a sum that at least equalled the rent paid for a very large dairy farm in County Waterford.[43]

There were several Irish soldiers in the garrison but few Irish names appear in the lists of planters or masters of fishing ships at Great Placentia.[44] There was, as noted, a considerable Irish servant population there, employed by English masters. The Irish at Little Placentia, by contrast, were sufficiently established to be socially stratified, with masters, mistresses and children forming a sedentary core. They were greatly outnumbered by transient Irish servants, almost all single young men, probably without kin. The prominence of the surname Power amongst masters and servants, particularly in Little Placentia, may lead one to conclude that already the patrilineally extended family, a characteristic of both English and Irish Newfoundland settlement, had taken root. Power was by far the most prominent surname in County Waterford, and while some of the migrant Powers in Placentia may be kin, they were too recently established to allow for a second generation of adults and the maturing kingroup structures it implied.[45]

IRISH SACK SHIPS AND CREW

Links between the homeland and the expatriate Irish engaged in the fishery were reinforced from the outset by the arrival each summer of trading vessels owned in Ireland and manned by Irish sea captains and crew. Although their stay in Newfoundland harbours was of a much shorter duration than the seasonal servants, they may still be viewed as part of the migration. Irish-Newfoundland shipping commerce was closely connected to the migrations, particularly in the homeland, and particularly when Irish vessels and shipmasters were involved. Between 1727 and 1735 some thirty shipmasters from Ireland were recorded in Newfoundland.[46] This is far from a comprehensive record, but the sample is substantial enough to be representative. Close to twenty of the captains were based in Waterford, with two each in New Ross, Youghal, Cork, and Dublin. Since shipmasters were very much at the centre of the servant recruiting network, with the shipowning merchants engaged in the salt provisions export trade, it is likely that most Irish labourers were recruited in the port or harbour of Waterford, and parishes nearby, with the other ports operating as secondary centres.

Walter Drohan of Waterford exemplifies the kinds of links forged by Irish sea captains with the Irish in Newfoundland. In 1727 he took the *Mary* of Waterford to Croisic in France, with six crew. They took on a cargo of salt, wine and brandy there and proceeded to Little Placentia. Drohan's destination was almost certainly influ-

enced by the presence of Waterford planters and servants there. After he and his crew were seen storing 118 velts (136 gallons) of illicit French brandy in a cellar at Little Placentia, his vessel was seized and sent to Boston. Much to the chagrin of the naval commodore at Placentia, Drohan was acquitted there by an admiralty court.[47] Several of the godparents of Drohan's four children, baptized in Waterford, were members of merchant or mariner families engaged in the salt provisions export trade, including Newfoundland. His wife Catherine came from a family with close Newfoundland connections. A brother, Patrick Power, owned a substantial fishing room at Renews. Following his death the room was sold by Thomas Power, a mariner and kinsman, to Daniel Murphy of Waterford, merchant, for £100. The sale was contested by the four sisters of Patrick Power and their husbands, including Walter Drohan.

Almost all the Irish captains recorded in the Newfoundland trade between 1727 and 1735 operated sack ships like Walter Drohan's, normally with crews of six to eight men. Thomas Batt of New Ross was an exception. He departed Ross for Trepassey in 1727, on a 40-ton Ross vessel with 17 crew. Batt and his crew deployed 2 shallops at Trepassey that season, making 200 quintals of fish and a ton of train oil.[48] While not a fully-fledged fishing ship, Batt's voyage was pioneering in that it almost certainly involved mariners, fishermen and shoremen recruited in Ross. It is the earliest cod fishing venture recorded from the Wexford port. New Ross and its small hinterland were to emerge as amongst the most consistent sources of Irish migration to Newfoundland over the next century or more.

Because of its distance up river from Waterford harbour, and, compared to Waterford, its small size, the port of Ross did not attract many Newfoundland-bound vessels from southwest England. It helps explain the early development of a modest but relatively independent transatlantic fishing trade. It was largely operated by a tightly-knit community of Protestant shipowners and masters from Ross and its hinterland. Thomas Batt was typical. He was the son of a prominent Protestant merchant and shipowner whose family was apparently established in New Ross early in the seventeenth century. In 1690 Samuel Batt, the father or grandfather of Thomas, was recorded supplying over £444 of beer to the British navy at Plymouth. He also had a vessel trading with Virginia, the venture valued at £1100.[49]

The mingling of English and Irish in Newfoundland harbours had some precedent in homeland ports. We do not know to what extent sailors on Irish ships under Irish masters were Irish since mariners were rarely named and the admiralty simply reported crews as either "British" or "Foreign". Some Irish vessels did have a few foreign mariners and it is possible that Irish vessels clearing English ports for Newfoundland would include some English sailors. The movements of some Irish shipmasters can be traced, their residences and careers confirmed from sources such as church registers, corporation minutes, admissions to freeman status, admiralty passes, the registry of deeds, and colonial office records. Most of those trace-

able settled in their home ports, in this case Waterford, and a few graduated to merchant status. More relevant here are those who may have settled in Newfoundland.

John Blanch belonged to a Waterford mariner clan, with roots probably in south Devon. In 1727 he married Margaret Swain, a Catholic whose kinsman William Swain was a Waterford shipmaster and later a shipowner in the Newfoundland and West Indies provisions trade. In 1730, John Blanch "of Waterford, mariner", was captain of the "Placentia", a brig belonging to that harbour.[50] It sailed from Dartmouth to Newfoundland in the spring. There is no further record of John Blanch's voyages but, in 1744, a John Blanch is listed amongst the principal inhabitants of Placentia. Since the surname is extremely rare, it is possible that one is dealing with the same man. Through the eighteenth century, a number of Irish sea captains settled in Newfoundland; the Irish-Newfoundland trade also resulted in the relocation of some southwest English masters in Irish ports and a migration of mariners from southern Ireland to the West Country, particularly to Bristol.

A Distinct Subculture?

The young male servants who dominated the Irish presence in Newfoundland in the first third of the eighteenth century are difficult to characterize culturally. They left few personal records of their stay. Most were illiterate, virtually propertyless, and highly transient, spending perhaps no more than a season at the fishery. Like the mass of their fellow servants from England or France at this time, only a tiny percentage of their surnames survive in the archival record. Petitions outlining economic grievances at Placentia do yield some insights into their work routine, terms of employment and the harsh conditions under which they laboured. Although some glimpses of vernacular speech surface here and there, these petitions are written summaries of oral testimony transcribed by court officials. They lack the cultural content of later court records where social as well as economic injustices were adjudicated. There is no mention of ethnicity, religion or language in the Placentia memorials, the latter somewhat surprising considering that almost certainly some of these Irish servants had little or no English in 1730.

Almost all recorded commentary on the Irish in Newfoundland during this period comes from the British. Most held positions in the colonial administration. Commentary from English planters, shipmasters and merchants who employed or otherwise engaged the Irish is rare. Official communications on the character of the Irish in Newfoundland are rooted in British perceptions of the Catholic Irish in Ireland at this time. The defeat of the Jacobite forces there, in 1690, resulted in the introduction of the Penal Laws, over the next two decades or so. These essentially precluded Catholics from owing land, the main source of Irish wealth and social status, the practice of law, or any participation in government. Catholics were also

denied the right to bear arms or serve in the military. The intention was to create in Ireland a Protestant state for a Protestant people.[51]

Most of the Penal laws had little relevance for the Irish poor, and even less for expatriate servants in English possessions across the Atlantic, such as Newfoundland. Indirectly, however, the repressive legislation did sharpen the ethnoreligious divide in that British officials emphasized ethnicity and religion as culturally diagnostic. Falkingham's summary of Newfoundland society was characteristic:

> I find in general the inhabitants of Newfoundland frequent the Church of England, but there are great numbers of Irish servants, Roman Catholicks, who are not allowed or permitted to Exercise their Religion.[52]

This depiction was reiterated by governors, commodores, magistrates and clergy over much of the eighteenth century and ethnoreligious composition was amongst the foundations of Newfoundland's nineteenth-century cultural geography. Only in 1779 was the phrase "liberty of conscience is permitted to all persons, except Papists" finally removed from the annual instructions to Newfoundland governors from the colonial office in London.[53] It was in contrast to the situation in Ireland, where discrimination did not focus on Catholic worship. Total prohibition would be impossible to implement over such a huge and hostile majority. The government made no serious attempt to do so after the war. Wexford, for example, had a stable, organized Catholic parish system with chapels, resident priests and regular worship in the early eighteenth century.[54]

In Newfoundland, the Catholic Irish were a small if sometimes disaffected minority, dispersed amidst a sea of Anglican English. Proscription of Catholic worship was not only possible but possibly seen as one strategy in limiting overwintering. Irish-Newfoundland families were forced to go to Louisbourg or Waterford for the celebration of marriages and baptisms. Only a small minority, however, was recorded doing so.[55] Society and settlement on a fishing frontier may have been more important than colonial policy in curtailing the establishment of an Irish Catholic mission. There were, as noted, few Irish families, and fewer communities, essential for the implantation of a formal church. Irish society was dominated by youthful, highly transient, unmarried, male servants, temporarily uprooted from home parishes and scattered over hundreds of miles of rugged coastline. Conditions were hardly conducive to missionary endeavour. Such an enterprise, moreover, required capital and resources, not least a clergy, and Catholic Ireland may not have been in a position to provide these in the early eighteenth century. Even the Church of England struggled in the harsh conditions of a maritime frontier.

The focus on religion by colonial officials to characterize the early Irish in Newfoundland was a legacy of European wars, with England at the centre of the conflict. Opposition to the Hanoverian succession by the exiled Stuarts continued

after Utrecht. They were supported by Catholic Ireland, France, and the Vatican. James II lived in France and had the power to appoint Irish bishops. This combination of circumstances exerted a powerful influence on Irish Protestant perspectives and on those in charge of governing the Island. Roman Catholicism became inextricably linked with native Irish identity. The language used by colonial authorities in Newfoundland to distinguish the Irish there reflected these evolving ethnic, religious and political conditions.

British officials instinctively linked Irish disaffection in eighteenth-century Newfoundland with religion, potential disloyalty, and collusion with Catholic France. In 1720, Captain Percy warned that should war with France resume, "the great number of Roman Catholic servants...would join the enemy" and could be a "direct means of loosing the country". More than a decade later, the magistrates in St. John's informed governor Clinton of

> the danger the country is in, and will be more exposed to in case of French war by bringing hither such a number of Irish Roman Catholics being 300 or more every year [to St. John's] that ¾ of the inhabitants on the S. and west part of the island are of that sort, and who, we have very good reason to think, will to a man join the French interest, as they have opportunity, which will soon be given them by the French from Cape Breton.[56]

Clinton noted in his report from St. John's two month's later:

> The Irish are grown so insolent, that they openly declare, they wish for nothing else, but the French to come over, and they will join them directly for there is not one but... has his fire-arms. They are very much supported by one Rowe at the Bay of Bulls, an English papist and master of a ship, who takes it upon him to determine everything in their favour (tho. no Admiral)...[57]

An Irish servant at Trinity, gaoled for theft, was reported by the magistrates there as "wishing there may be a war with France that he may joyn wth them and be found as good a warriour as the best".[58]

Reference to individual expressions of disloyalty were rare in Newfoundland after the war. All statements come from British officials and almost all refer to Catholic Irish servants without reference to specific places or purpose. One must question their validity. Jacobite traditions and pro-French sentiment did filter down from the Catholic Irish middle classes to the Irish poor and are recorded in Gaelic literature, poetry and song. There is little or no evidence, however, that the youthful Irish fishing servants in Newfoundland were politically aware in the first third of the eighteenth century or that they favoured the French. No records have surfaced to suggest, for example, that any Irish labourer absconded to the French fishery at Newfoundland in the decades after the treaty of Utrecht. Their objective was to se-

cure employment, and this remained overwhelmingly with English masters. Political loyalty was an unlikely issue.

Placentia provides interesting documentation on official concern over the increase in Irish migrants and the threat that they posed. In 1724, governor Gledhill ordered all inhabitants there to take the oaths of allegiance, abjuration and supremacy. The first was a straightforward test of loyalty to the British crown, the second a rejection of Jacobite Stuart claims to that throne, and the third a rejection of Catholicism.[59] Amongst those allegedly refusing to take the third oath was Thomas Salmon, formerly an armourer with the garrison, by then a publican and trader in Great Placentia. According to Richard Cox, a chaplain with the garrison since 1718, Salmon's wife and family were "reputed Papists". They never attended Anglican communion and only one member of the 27 in their household, "a nest of Papists", willingly took the oath. Cox and Gledhill accused the Salmons of "harbouring the Irish", portrayed as "papists, nonjurors, and rebells escaped from justice". They had even threatened the garrison.[60] Whatever the truth of these allegations, Salmon was appointed one of the first three magistrates for Placentia by Osborn, in 1729, and Gledhill was ordered to end his interference with the fishery there.

The chief cause of concern amongst colonial officials and of the pejorative language used to characterize the Irish was an increase in overwintering through the 1720s. Writing from St. John's following his first tour of duty in fall, 1729, Osborn offered a summary to the Duke of Newcastle and the Lords of Trade:

> The complaints of the Inhabitants against the disorders committed by the great number Irish Roman Catholicks who remain here in the winter is the only thing further I have to lay before your Lordps & hoping by the measures you may be pleased to recommend, they [the inhabitants] may be free from the insults of those people who very often plunder them if they can't or won't imploy them in the winter, and threaten with their being superior in number.[61]

No serious attempt was made to regulate Irish migrations to and from Newfoundland. Migrants were recruited in Irish ports in response to a demand for labour in the cod fishery, or at least rumours of a demand. Any effort by government to limit seasonal migration at source would be opposed or ignored by mercantile interests and would be extremely difficult to administer in any case. A fluctuating fishery led to surplus servants in poor seasons, and an increase in unemployed overwintering Irish with no legislation in place to offer relief. The invective from officials must be set in this context. In 1731, Osborn concluded that "it has now become a practice of the masters of ships to bring over here transported fellons instead of Irish servants". "The great number of men now there are Irish Romans", Governor Clinton reported in the fall, "and those the scum of that kingdom". Clinton was informed by the magistrates in St. John's that "those people from Ireland being all

Papists, brought from inland places and many from gaols [are] very ignorant and insolent, and naturally prejudiced against Englishmen and Protestants". In a rare reference to their economic background, Falkingham claimed that the Irish passengers "know little more than [the] tending of cattle, which is of bad consequence to the trade, such people seldom or never become to be seamen".[62] All this hyperbole had little effect; boatkeepers and merchants needed Irish labour, and within the space of two decades or so the Irish were almost as numerous in Newfoundland as the English. Together they accounted for the vast majority of year-round occupants on the island.

Notes

[1]L'abbé A. Gosselin, ed., *Les Normands au Canada* (Évereux, 1900), 54-63; Col. John Gibson, "Narrative of the Expedition to Newfoundland", 29 November 1697, Public Record Office, London (PRO), Colonial Office (CO) 195/2, 132-169; D.W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (Belleville, reprinted, 1972), 222. Governor Edward Falkingham, "Scheme of the Fishery, 1732", CO 194/9, 221-224.

[2]Captain Stafford Fairborne, "An Account of the Fishery", 11 October 1700, CO 194/2, 45-53. There were nine other places listed with inhabitants in 1701: Bauline [South], Bell Island, Bacon Cove, Cupids, Divells Cove, Vickerys Cove, Fox Island, Bonaventure, and Burnt Cove. Gooseberry Island and Barrow Harbour in Bonavista Bay are recorded with planters' boats, but no inhabitants. Captain John Graydon, "Abstract", 15 October 1701, CO 194/2, 167-175.

[3]The census of 1700 does not give a breakdown for the winter inhabitants but in 1701 there were 461 men, 166 women, 250 children and 2698 servants recorded. "Extracts", 1675-1731, CO 390/6, 10.

[4]Captain Norris, "Answers to the Heads of Enquiries", 13 November 1698, CO 194/1, 273-277.

[5]John Mannion, "Victualling a Fishery: Newfoundland Diet and the Origins of the Irish Provisions Trade, 1675-1700", *International Journal of Maritime History*, 12 (1) (2000), 1-60.

[6]Author and date unknown, CO 1/55, 1697, 249.

[7]CO 1/35, 1675, 126-132; CO 1/38, 1676, 239-240; CO 1/41, 1677, 158-166; CO 1/47, 1681, 113-121; CO 1/55, 1684, 239; CO 194/4, 1708, 253-257.

[8]Captain James Story, "Answers to Enquiries", 1 September 1681, CO 1/47, 115.

[9]Letter Book of Captain Michael Richards, Stowe MS 464, 1700-1703, 9, 22 March 1701, 129, 134, 146, 150-157, 216.

[10]Richards, Letter Book, 20 September 1702, 215; John Roope to Lord Commrs of Trade, 10 October 1703, CO 194/3, 6. See also Archibald Cummings, Letter from St. John's, 31 January 1705, CO 194/3, 424.

[11]John Roope, 1705, CO 194/3, 306-307.

[12]Allen Southmayd and John Collins, "Observations", 7 July 1709, CO 194/4, 399. In 1711 the French governor at Plaisance reported that "two Irishmen have deserted from the harbour of Ferryland on the English Coast, and are come to Plaisance the 8th of July, who

have told me of the arrival of the English Merchant ships at St. John's... They assure me not to have heard talk of any Preparation of Ships of War." Gerald S. Graham, ed., *The Walker Expedition to Quebec, 1711. Journal.* Champlain Society Publications 32 (New York, 1969), 241.

[13]Lieutenant William Lilburne, "Muster Roll", 29 August 1699, CO 194/2, 31; "Muster Roll", 29 August 1700, CO 194/2, 33. The list included: Hump. Haven or Heaven, Ensign; Lar. Nowland, Corporal; Corn. Mahane, David Cullen, Ger. Fitzjarold, Robert Hally, Pat Wallings or Wallens, and Robert Magrah, privates.

[14]Lilburne,"Muster Roll" (1700), 26. "... you will find how I have been yoused by the Irish caball which abounds very much in this land. My ensien [Humphrey Heaven] being one ..."

[15]9 October 1702, CO 194/22, 48; 2 September, 25 November 1704, CO 194/22, 27, 47.

[16]"Recensement général des habitants de Plaisance en l'Isle de Terre-Neuve en 1698", France, Archives des Colonies, G^1 /467, 1698. See John Mannion and Gordon Handcock, "The 17th Century Fishery", in R. Cole Harris, ed., *The Historical Atlas of Canada* 1, (Toronto, 1987), Plate 23.

[17]Norris, "Answers" (1698); Captain Andrew Leake, "Report ...", 26 October 1699, CO 195/2, 322; Fairborne, "Account" (1700). It is likely that mariners were included under the category "No of Shippes Company" and that "passengers" included planters' servants in 1698.

[18]Mannion, "Victualling", 49-51. Dublin's independent fishery is confirmed in the letters of Luke Hore, a Dublin merchant with vessels in the Newfoundland trade, to John Aylward of Waterford and Malaga in 1683.

[19]The most detailed reconstruction of the geography of English migration to Newfoundland is in W. Gordon Handcock, *Soe longe as there comes noe women: Origins of English Settlement in Newfoundland* (St. John's, 1989).

[20]Captain Francis Percy, "An Account of Newfoundland Trade...", 13 October 1720, CO 194/7, 5.

[21]John Mannion, "The Waterford Merchants and the Irish-Newfoundland Provisions Trade, 1770-1820" in L.M. Cullen and Paul Butel, eds., *Négoce et industrie en France et en Irelande aux XVIII et XIX siècles* (Paris, 1980), 27-43.

[22]Richard Usticke, Collector of Customs, Bideford, and John Hines, Mayor of Bristol, to Lords of Trade, March 12-25, April 13-20, 1697, CO 194/1, 107. See also John Mannion, "Waterford and the South of England: Spatial Patterns in Shipping Commerce, 1766-1777" *International Journal of Maritime History*, 6(2) (1994), 115-153.

[23]CO 195/2, 1699, 322-326; CO 195/2, 1700, 384-390; CO 390/6, 1701, 8-10; Mannion, "Victualling"16-17, 47-48, 60.

[24]CO 194/2, 1701, 124, 167. Richards may be from north Devon (Keith Matthews, Name Files, Maritime History Archive, Memorial University of Newfoundland). In 1710 a Jenkins Richards leased Halfway House, a rural tavern half way on the road between Waterford and its outharbour at Passage, the main point of departure for passengers to Newfoundland. Estate of Cornelius Henry Bolton, Public Record Office, Dublin, LEC 46: 35, 1857.

[25]Commodore Andrew Leake, "Scheme of the Fishery", 13 November 1702, CO 194/2, 278-279; Solomon Merrit, "An Account of the Fishery", 10 December 1703, CO

194/3, 26; Commodore Timothy Bridge, 1704, CO 194/3, 184; Roope, 1705, CO 194/3, 307; Commodore Jos. Underdown, 30 November 1706, CO 194/4, 31; Underdown, 28 November 1707, CO 194/4, 148; Commodore John Mitchell, 2 December 1708, CO 194/4, 261; Commodore Joseph Taylor, 18 November 1709, CO 194/4, 421; Archd Cuming, 15 December 1710, CO 194/4, 579; Captain Jos. Crowe, 31 October 1711, CO 194/5, 22-32; Sir Nicolas Trevanion, 29 October 1712, CO 194/5, 52-56; Commodore R. Leake, 27 September 1714, CO 194/5, 182-187.

[26]The south Devon fishing fleet, for example, was instructed in 1705 to be ready to sail directly to Newfoundland by mid March under convoy, and the sack fleet by 20 May. There is no reference to Ireland. A salt fleet did leave in convoy for Lisbon. "Instructions from London", 17 January 1705, CO 194/22, 58.

[27]William Smirk to England, 25 November 1702, CO 194/2, 289; Colin Campbell, Deposition, 27 July 1709, CO 194/4, 466; "An Account of Provisions at Fort William", 20 September 1706, CO 194/4, 23; 24 May, 28 June 1707, CO 194/4, 106, 150; John Roope, "Petition...", 1706, CO 194/3, 511; 1707, CO 194/4, 134; 9 December 1708, CO 195/5, 64; 1710, CO 195/5, 153; 31 October 1711, CO 194/5, 22-32; Commodore Josiah Crowe, "Responses"... 1711, CO 195/5, 23; Sir Nicholas Trevanion, "Responses" 29 October1712, CO 194/5, 52; Archibald Cumings to Lords of Trade, 11 December 1713, CO 194/5, 73; R. Seals to Lords of Trade, 27 September 1713, CO 194/5, 182; 4 February 1714, CO 194/5, 194; Archd Cuming, "A Representation of the Trade and Fishery...." 4 February 1715, CO 194/5, 194-198, 7 April 1715, CO 194/5 327.

[28]William Popple Jr. "Abstracts from letters from outports", 12 March 1708, CO 195/3, 1-19.

[29]Cumings to Lords of Trade (1713); Cumings, "Statement on Newfoundland", 4 February 1714, CO 194/5, 194; Cumings "Schedule of the Trade and Fishery" 10 October 1715, CO 194/5, 387-389. Captain Leake supported Cumings observations on the primary source areas of supply: "The sustenance which the inhabitants receive is chiefly beef, pork, bread, pease, butter, and cheese which is brought from Great Britain, Ireland and a great deal from New England as cows and sheep." R. Leake to Lords of Trade, 27 September 1714, CO 194/5, 182. Other observers claimed America, particularly New England, was the foremost source of foodstuffs during and after the war. See Captain Edward Falkingham, "Comments", 1715, CO 194/6, 28-32.

[30]Governor Samuel Gledhill to Lords of Trade, 3 October 1725, CO 194/8, 52.

[31]Captain Ogle, "Scheme of the Fishery", 16 October 1719, CO 194/6, 354-361; Captain F. Percy, "Comments", 8 October 1720, CO 194/7, 5-11; Commodore Saml. Atkins, 12 November 1722, CO 194/7, 100-110; Commodore T. Cayley, "Scheme", 2 January 1724, CO 194/7, 205-214; Captain E. Bowler, 25 March 1725, CO 194/7, 232-240; Bowler, "Scheme", 10 October 1725, CO 194/8, 2-14; Bowler, "Scheme", 13 October 1726, CO 194/8, 27-42; Bowler, "Scheme", 16 October 1727, CO 194/8, 151-164; Lord Vere Beauclerk, "Scheme", 14 October 1729, CO 194/8, 264-267; Governor Henry Osborn, 26 September 1730, CO 194/9, 48-56; Governor George Clinton, 1 October 1731, CO 194/9, 12-113; Captain Edward Falkingham, "Scheme", 4 October 1732, CO 194/9, 220-224. No passengers were recorded in 1728.

[32]Commodore Vere Beauclerk, Letter to Lords of Trade, 4 October 1728, CO 194/8, 203; Beauclerk "Account", 14 October 1729, CO 194/8, 262, 264.

[33]Beauclerk "Answers" to Lords of Trade, 20 September 1730, CO 194/9, 48-49.

[34]"Statement of Peter Shank of Poole Mariner", Poole, 11 February 1731, CO 194/9, 87; Daniel Callahan, "Answers", CO 194/9, 242; William Keen, "Deposition", CO 194/9, 241.

[35]Falkingham, "Scheme" (1732). There are anomalies in the returns, most notably the absence of Irish overwintering in St. John's and Ferryland, and the high numbers for Bay Bulls.

[36]Falkingham, "Report", 4 October, 1732, CO 194/9, 211-218.

[37]Captain Leake, "Answers to Queries", 13 November 1702, CO 194/2, 274; "Query", 13 January 1718, CO 194/6, 261; Captain Percy, "Response", 8 October 1720, CO 194/7, 5.

[38]Register of Passes, PRO, Admiralty (ADM), 7/78, 1732.

[39]Osborn, St. John's, to Popple, Board of Trade, London, 25 September 1730, CO 194/9,. 11. The petitions are in 21-33, dated either 16 May or 8 September, at Placentia.

[40]Liam Kennedy and Martin W. Dowling, "Prices and Wages in Ireland, 1700-1850", *Irish Economic and Social History*, 24 (1997), 62-104.

[41]"State of the Fishery", 19 December 1718, CO 194/6, 251. Regular emigration from Ireland to America began around this time. It included the Munster ports, Dublin, and Ulster. Audrey Lockhart, *Emigration from Ireland to the North American Colonies* (New York, 1976), 30-37; Thomas Truxes, *Irish American Trade, 1660-1783* (Cambridge, 1985), 13-23.

[42]Exports and Imports of Ireland, 1698-1784, PRO, Customs 15. My thanks to Thomas Truxes for data on cod and oil imports from Newfoundland.

[43]CO 194/6, 1714, 292. Moody declared Great Placentia to be the finest harbour he had ever seen.

[44]"Traders at Placentia", September 1714, CO 194/5, 140; "Shipmasters at Placentia", 1715, CO 194/5, 389; "Inhabitants at Placentia", 1 July, 1724, CO 194/8, 5; "Planters at Placentia", 1725, CO 194/8, 80; "Plan of Placentia", 1727, CO 194/8, 117-118; CO 194/9, 1732, 11. See also Falkingham, "Scheme" (1732).

[45]Jack Burtchaell, "A Typology of Settlement and Society in County Waterford c. 1850", in William Nolan and Thomas P. Power, eds., *Waterford: History and Society* (Dublin, 1992), 541-578.

[46]Register of Passes, February 1729-April 1736, ADM 7/77-80. Details on the social origins of ship masters come from a variety of sources, notably the Roman Catholic and Anglican parish registers for the city of Waterford, the Minutes of the Corporations for Waterford, New Ross and Youghal, and the Registry of Deeds, Dublin.

[47]Commodore John St. Lo, Letter, 20 September 1727, CO 194/8, 126-129; Baptisms, Holy Trinity Parish, City of Waterford, 23 June 1731; 15 January 1733; 19 March 1738; 3 April 1740.

[48]St. Lo, Letter, 20 September1727.

[49]Registry of Deeds, Dublin, Batts of New Ross and Taghmon, 44-61, 1724; 69-164, 1731; 98-61, 1739; 104-259, 1741; 113-504, 1744; Minutes, New Ross Corporation, Admissions of Freemen, New Ross, May, 1735. My thanks to Leopold Batt of Dublin for sharing his extensive knowledge of the Batt family genealogy. See also "Batt", The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints <www.familysearch.org>.

[50]Roman Catholic Register, Marriages, Trinity Parish, Waterford, 28 September 1727; Register of Passes, 13 May 1730, ADM 7/77; "Petition of Principal Traders, Inhabitants and Boatkeepers", District of Placentia, 2 August 1744, CO 194/24, 298.

[51]Maureen Wall, "The Age of the Penal Laws, 1691-1778", in T.W. Moody and F.X. Martin, eds., *The Course of Irish History* (Cork, 1984), 217-233. In her pioneering study, Wall concluded the Penal Laws were introduced to protect Protestant political and economic interests, and that those specifically aimed at the Catholic religion were anachronous by 1715. See also Gerald O'Brien, ed., *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century: Collected Essays of Maureen Wall* (Dublin, 1989).

[52]Falkingham, "Responses", 18 September 1732.

[53]"Account of Newfoundland", 1733, CO 194/9, 193.

[54]Patrick Corish, "Two Centuries of Catholicism in County Wexford, 1586-1786" in Kevin Whelan, ed., *Wexford: History and Society (Dublin, 1987)*, 222-247. The mass rock — an open air substitute for an altar — often interpreted as the symbol of the Penal Laws, had virtually disappeared in Wexford by 1750. It was a product of poverty, not political policy.

[55]The earliest entry is in the Roman Catholic register, St. Michael's parish, Waterford, Baptisms, 30 January 1734, Joanna, born 1722 in Newfoundland, daughter of Richard Lonergan and Mary Cooper. My thanks to Ken Donovan for data on Irish Catholics from Newfoundland at Louisbourg, Cape Breton.

[56]Magistrates, Letter from St. John's, 20 August 1731.

[57]Clinton, "Responses", 1 October 1731.

[58]Magistrates, Letter from Trinity, 20 August 1731.

[59]Gledhill, Letter, 3 October 1725. Mention has already been made of Gledhill's report on "the insurrection of some hundreds of Irish" at St. Mary's in late fall, 1724. Patrick Fagan, *Divided Loyalties: The Question of an Oath for Irish Catholics in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin, 1997).

[60]Gledhill, Letter, 3 October 1725.

[61]Osborne, Letter, 14 October 1729.

[62]Osborne, "Letter... ", 23 July 1731; Clinton, "Responses", 1 October, 1731; Magistrates, Letter from St.John's, 20 August 1731; Falkingham, "Responses", 4 October 1732.