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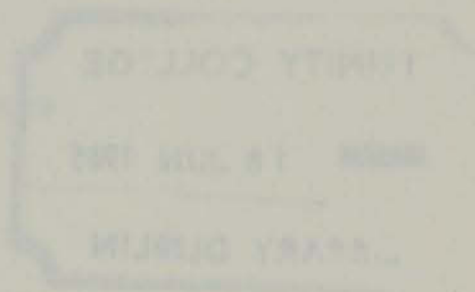
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IRISH-AMERICAN TRADE, 1660-1783

BY
MICHAEL J. O'NEILL



Irish-American Trade, 1660-1783

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts

Department of Modern History

Trinity College, Dublin

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Irish-American Trade, 1800-1850

IRISH-AMERICAN TRADE, 1660-1783

by

Thomas Michael Truxes

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor in Philosophy

Department of Modern History

Trinity College, Dublin

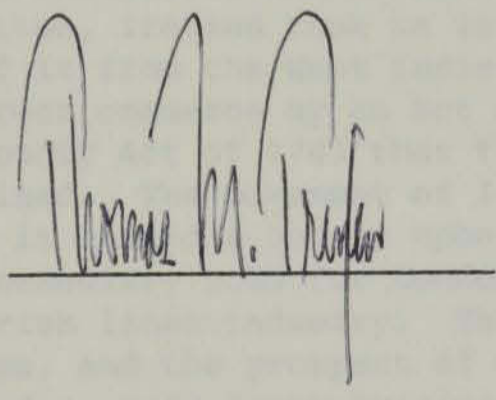
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Irish-American trade was a critical element in North Atlantic commerce in the years between 1750 and 1800. Although Ireland was prohibited by an English Act of 1705 from exporting goods directly from Ireland, she was permitted to ship provisions and raw materials to colonial markets. In spite of the discrimination which the English Navigation Acts, traditional commerce had a virtual monopoly over the Irish economy. Because of her capacity to produce wool, flax, and other raw materials and the abundance of her ports, Ireland became the principal supplier of salted beef and butter to the West Indies in the eighteenth century. She remained a supplier of provisions to the islands and on the North American coast until the outbreak of the American Revolution. After the war, in the nineteenth century, Ireland had emerged as a major supplier of American tobacco and sugar, wool, and other raw materials.

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Thomas M. Griffin

Irish-American trade was of particular significance in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore. In each of these towns, the annual Glasgow fair was among the most important commercial activities. That trade, as well as the commerce in Irish industrial products, gave rise to vigorous competition of English and Irish merchants. In the middle years of the eighteenth century, Irish merchants had begun to possess a wealth and leadership in colonial markets. Irish-American partnerships, most of them rooted in the Irish linen manufacture, served to move Irish capital into the ports of North America. The commerce in Irish raw materials was a direct outcome of the close links between merchants in Ireland and North America. That activity gave Irish-American trade lasting significance in the cultural development of the American nation. Finally, the trade was intimately linked to the story of the American Revolution. Ireland, which had long given Ireland's raw materials to the colonies, emerged as a source of supply to both sides during the war for American independence. It was, in fact, the political climate generated by the American Revolution which brought to an end the English restrictions upon Irish commerce in the North Atlantic.

SUMMARY

Irish-American trade was a critical element in North Atlantic commerce in the years between 1660 and 1783. Although Ireland was prevented by an English Act of 1663 from importing goods directly from America, she was permitted to ship provisions and servants to colonial markets. In spite of the discrimination under the English Navigation Acts, transatlantic commerce had a stimulating effect upon the Irish economy. Because of her capacity to produce agricultural surpluses and the convenience of her ports, Ireland became the largest supplier of salted beef and butter to the West Indies in the period before the turn of the eighteenth century. She remained a source of high quality provisions to markets in the islands and on the North American mainland until the outbreak of the American Revolution. Before the close of the seventeenth century, Ireland had emerged as a significant market for American tobacco and sugar, goods carried through ports in England. In a trade that expanded Irish contact with ports on the North American continent, Irish linen was given direct access to the plantation market in 1705. By an alteration of the Acts of Navigation in 1731, the British Parliament allowed the importation of non-enumerated colonial articles directly into Ireland, thus establishing a direct two-way North American commerce.

In the period between 1731 and 1775, the mainland American colonies became Ireland's principal source of imported flaxseed, an article vital to the prosperity of the Irish linen industry. During the same years, although at first intermittently, Ireland grew into an important market for North American wheat and flour. American staves, lumber, and ships, articles that supported Irish industrial and commercial development, also found good markets. In addition, Ireland took in large quantities of plantation rum, nearly all of it from the West Indies. Although linen had been permitted in the direct commerce by an Act of 1705, it was not until passage of the Linen Bounty Act of 1743 that the full potential of the American market was realized. The movement of low-priced Irish linen through English ports, where it earned a bounty upon re-shipment to the plantations, fostered an intermediary role for London merchants, many of them closely linked to the Irish linen industry. The clearance of accounts through English firms, and the prospect of earning sterling bills of exchange against London, made Irish-American commerce attractive to merchants in the ports of the middle colonies.

Irish-American trade was of particular significance in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore. In each of those towns, the annual flaxseed commerce was among the most important wintertime commercial activities. That trade, as well as the commerce in Irish indentured servants, gave rise to vigorous communities of expatriate Irish merchants. By the middle years of the eighteenth century, Irish merchants had risen to positions of wealth and leadership in colonial America. Irish-American partnerships, most of them rooted in the Irish linen manufacture, served to move Irish capital into the ports of North America. The commerce in Irish servants was a direct outcome of the close links between merchants in Ireland and North America. That activity gave Irish-American trade lasting significance in the cultural development of the American nation. Finally, the trade was intimately linked to the story of the American Revolution. Ireland, which had been given favoured treatment under the terms of the colonial non-importation agreements of the 1760s, served as a source of supply to both sides during the War for American Independence. It was, in fact, the political climate generated by the American Revolution which brought an end to British restrictions upon Irish commerce in the North Atlantic.

PREFACE

Since the late 1950s, formal economic planning in Ireland has recognized the central role of export marketing. It is not immediately apparent to observers of the modern Irish economy, however, that overseas trade has long functioned as a critical element in the nation's struggle to achieve comprehensive development. Within the last two decades, revisionist economic historians, largely taking their lead from Professor L. M. Cullen, have begun to re-examine issues touching trade, industrialization, and finance. Among their discoveries are signs of considerable vitality in the Irish economy during the period between the Restoration and the Act of Union, and the relationship between that vitality and overseas trade. The commercial links between Ireland and the British colonies in North America during the period between 1660 and 1783 is a particularly fruitful area within which to continue such a re-assessment. In addition to suggesting a larger role for Ireland in the North Atlantic economy, the topic has much to say about the functioning of ports and their hinterlands in New England and the middle colonies. A close-up look at Irish-American trade provides insight into the nature and extent of economic integration within the British Empire.

Ireland's transatlantic commerce has been a neglected topic. Professor F. G. James' pathbreaking article, "Irish-Colonial Trade in the Eighteenth Century" [William and Mary Quarterly, XX (April 1963)], is the one piece of historical writing devoted to the topic. Except for studies of Irish eighteenth-century transatlantic migration, the most important of them by R. J. Dickson and Audrey Lockhart, and a chapter on the flaxseed trade in Philip L. White's history of a leading New York mercantile family [The Beekmans of New York in Politics and Commerce, 1647-1877 (New York, 1956)], no full length works have dealt with the topic. Most typically, the trade between Ireland and the American colonies has been either overlooked completely or dismissed as insignificant by leading scholars of colonial economic history.

This study had its inception in research I completed within the MBA program at Syracuse University. My project, under the supervision of

Michael J. Thomas, presently of Furness College, University of Lancaster, examined the relationship between modern Irish economic development planning and overseas trade. Instead of trade and commerce, graduate business school led to the study of history at Trinity College [Hartford, Connecticut], where I became interested in seventeenth and eighteenth-century economic history. My thesis advisor, Professor Glenn Weaver, aware of my interest in the overseas commerce of Ireland, recalled sketchy references to Irish trade among manuscripts he had consulted in his study of the mercantile career of Jonathan Trumbull, governor of Connecticut during the Revolutionary War. Out of that suggestion evolved a study of Connecticut's flaxseed export in the period between 1750 and 1775. My research revealed a more extensive commercial relationship between Ireland and the British plantations than had been suggested by the literature on eighteenth-century overseas trade. There was, likewise, a clear link between the unexplored aspects of Irish-American commerce and the pioneering work of Professor L. M. Cullen at Trinity College, Dublin. It is now a decade later.

I am grateful to the many people who have assisted me in my study of Irish-American trade. I was invariably provided gracious assistance by librarians and their staffs in Ireland, Great Britain, and the United States. Among them, I wish to give special thanks to William Crawford of the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. Mr. C. H. Martin of Isaac Andrews & Sons Ltd., Belfast, generously allowed me access to the firm's private manuscript collection. The coaching in computer word-processing that I received from Nicholas Kip of Phillips Academy, Andover [Massachusetts], saved me months of work and dramatically increased my control of the text. Professor L. M. Cullen, my patient mentor, has been encouraging and supportive from the outset. In his criticism of my work, he has shared his considerable knowledge of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Ireland, as well as his broad grasp of the larger historical context. My sons, Patrick [five] and Emmet [one], have helped me maintain a sense of humour and perspective in the face of mountains of work and closing deadlines. To my wife, An-Ming, goes my greatest thanks. Without her confidence, her honest and insightful criticism, and her willingness to endlessly type and proof-read, this project would never have been completed. It is for these reasons, and because she is so true a friend, that this work is dedicated to her.

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February 1985

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CONVENTIONS

1. In the following text, the presentation of monetary units conforms to the example below:

£20:14:6 [twenty pounds, fourteen shillings, and six pence]

£20: = twenty pounds
:14: = fourteen shillings
:6 = six pence

2. Quotations from manuscript sources and contemporary printed works used in this text are faithful to original spelling and punctuation. Only in cases where there might be a distortion of meaning has punctuation been modified.

INTRODUCTION

Before 1731, Ireland's trade with the British plantations in America was confined to the export of provisions, horses, linens, and servants. By a revision in the British Acts of Navigation in that year, a two-way commerce was established that became a model of intercolonial trade within the first British Empire. Although narrow in scope, compared to the plantation commerce of the Mother Country, it employed trading patterns, financial mechanisms, and mercantile services that were fully integrated into the imperial system. Ireland's proximity to Great Britain fostered tight controls, however. In spite of its restrictive and oftentimes short-sighted character, British navigation legislation structured activity that was appropriate to the level of economic development in Ireland and North America. From the third quarter of the seventeenth century, for example, the West Indian sugar islands found their principal source of salted beef and butter in the agricultural surpluses of Ireland. The trade in Irish salted provisions depended heavily on English intermediaries, most of whom were associated with the London sugar interest. And North American flaxseed, an article traded almost exclusively to Ireland, was perhaps the most important of the goods produced in New England and the middle colonies for shipment direct to the British Isles. That trade, likewise, benefitted from the involvement of merchants in Great Britain, typically linked to the Irish linen industry. In its turn, the flaxseed commerce gave rise to low-cost shipping opportunities directly from Ireland to the American continent that fostered large-scale emigration.

That Ireland and the British plantations shared a common colonial status was not widely perceived. To contemporaries on both sides of the Atlantic, eighteenth-century Ireland's place in the imperial scheme of things was uncertain and often muddled. One view, expressed on the floor of the Irish House of Commons in 1776, was blind to the reality of her colonial status: Ireland was, according to the speaker, "an ancient kingdom, great in its own growth, entrenched behind an ancient constitution, co-equal and coeval with England."¹ The other extreme,

equally blind, but considerably more popular, held that Ireland was the long-standing victim of British commercial legislation designed to bring ruin to her agriculture, manufactures, and trade. "The whole kingdom does not fit out so many merchant ships as belong to any one of the considerable ports of England or America. Industry does but crawl through the land," wrote a critic of British policy in Ireland in the 1770s.² In reality, Ireland experienced periods of vigorous economic growth in the years between 1660 and 1783, although her economic life was subordinate to a larger imperial design. In the English mercantilist frame of reference, her trade and commerce, like that of the plantations across the sea, was to be directed in such a way as to bring the greatest good to the Mother Country, in order that Ireland might reap the benefits of membership in the Empire. "For as the Wealth and People of England increase, and the American Plantations improve, our Manufacture will feel the Benefit," argued an Irish pamphleteer in 1749.³

In many important ways, there was little to distinguish mercantile life in Ireland from that in British America. Merchants in both places shared a common language, common navigation laws, common financial mechanisms [particularly with regard to a common dependence upon London], and a common set of service institutions that kept ships and cargoes moving along their chosen paths. To an experienced eighteenth-century sea captain, other than the fact that Ireland contained ports vastly larger than anything to be found in North America, the most striking difference between the two sides of the Atlantic was the greater vigilance of Irish customs officers. For most merchants, Irish-American commerce was not a self-contained activity, but rather one element of a complex set of relationships rooted in the trading environment of the North Atlantic. But even to contemporaries without the benefit of hindsight, the trade was distinctive. Its special character was most evident in the ports of Philadelphia and New York during the flaxseed trading season when, for a few weeks each winter, commerce with Ireland was the focus of attention. The establishment of well-developed Irish merchant communities in the leading colonial port-towns suggests the vitality and significance of the trade.

The sugar islands of the British West Indies and the mainland colonies of North America provided two distinct zones of activity for Irish-colonial commerce. In the first, the Caribbean, the trade focused on the exchange of Irish salted provisions for sugar and other island produce, most of which was carried to London and the English outports. Throughout the period, markets in the islands were of considerable importance to Irish economic development. From the outset of trade in

the mid-seventeenth century, Ireland exported large quantities of salted beef, butter, pork, and herrings to the English Caribbean, along with an array of other articles, such as pickled tongues, bread, cheese, beer, and candles. In fact, Irish agriculture and its associated provisioning industries benefitted more directly from demand in the islands than did their counterparts in England. Merchants in London and the English outports managed most of this trade, however, along with the huge sugar re-export to Ireland. Although the commerce to the West Indies began to meet stiff competition from the mainland colonies about the turn of the eighteenth century, Irish provisions remained a significant element in the foodstuffs import of the English Caribbean, particularly salted beef and butter from the Cork region. In addition to her provisions export, Ireland shipped large quantities of low-priced linens to the islands to clothe the black slave population.

Trade with the North American continent, the second zone of activity, reached its full flower after 1731. It consisted of a large export of Irish linens, along with a lesser trade in salted beef, butter, and pork, in exchange for flaxseed, staves, lumber, wheat and flour. The American mainland provided the principal vent outside the British Isles for Ireland's huge production of low-priced coarse linens. After 1743, those cloths typically moved through English ports to collect a bounty upon their re-exportation to the plantations. The indirect linen trade utilized channels of distribution that benefitted from the adequate financing and convenient shipping available through English intermediaries. With passage of the Act of 1731 that opened Irish ports to trade in unenumerated colonial goods, North America quickly emerged as Ireland's principal source of imported flaxseed, an article that became indispensable to the Irish linen industry. The flaxseed trade was encouraged by Irish legislation authorizing payment of a :5: [sterling] bounty on each hogshead of imported foreign seed. Concentrated between the months of November and February, this activity accounted for nearly all of the shipping that moved directly from the North American mainland to Ireland. In addition to its principal lading, the annual flaxseed fleet carried barrel staves, lumber, and iron, as well as significant quantities of wheat and flour, particularly in years of crisis. Westbound flaxseed ships transported large numbers of passengers, convicts, and indentured servants to the ports of the middle colonies in one of history's great overseas migrations.

From the perspective of Ireland, trade with the plantations in America offered immediate access to an expanding transatlantic economy. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the rapid growth

of Ireland's provisioning capacity, largely fed by demand from the Caribbean, was among the chief stimulants to the development of her principal seaports and market towns. During the same years, the nation's huge import of tobacco, brought in through England after 1685, helped to draw vast numbers of Irish into a market-oriented economy. After the middle of the eighteenth century, the substantial exportation of low-priced linens to the American market allowed Ireland to participate in the rapidly growing market for manufactured goods within the British Empire that marked a preliminary stage of the Industrial Revolution. The direct connexion of Irish-colonial trade to sources of English capital and credit likewise stimulated development in Ireland. As an outcome of the role of English financing in both the provisions and linen exports, Irish commercial interests in London were dramatically strengthened. Among the great London banking houses of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were firms with a distinct Irish character, a number of them with links to the West Indies and the American continent. Partly as a result of intimate connexions with the English capital, financial and banking services in Dublin reached a higher stage of development than anywhere in the Empire outside of London.

From the perspective of the American colonies, the relationship between the Irish linen and provisioning industries and London financing made commerce with Ireland particularly attractive. The trade provided colonial merchants a convenient means of earning sterling bills of exchange with which to fund imports of British manufactures for a market growing in size as well as purchasing power. This was particularly true after passage of the Sugar Act by the British Parliament in the mid-1760s which reduced earnings in the mainland's West Indian trade, the principal activity carried on from ports in New England and the middle colonies. Little that was produced outside the southern plantation colonies was saleable in the British Isles other than flaxseed, staves, lumber, ships, pot ashes, and wheat and flour, all of which found good markets in Ireland. The Irish import that had the most dramatic effect upon the colonial economy was low-priced linen cloth. The article was distributed throughout the American plantations, particularly after the mid-1740s, where it discouraged the development of a domestic linen manufacture capable of meeting the growing demands of an expanding economy. The import allowed the focus of colonial resources on agriculture, the most productive activity in a land of abundant, cheap, and fertile land.

Irish-American trade also played a peripheral role in the story of the American Revolution. Among the terms of the Sugar Act of 1764, for example, was a clause eliminating the drawback on low-priced foreign

linens re-exported from ports in Great Britain to the plantations. What was a clear advantage for Irish linens was viewed as a grievance in America. For the most part, however, Irish commercial interests found favour on the colonial side of the struggle. The American cause was, likewise, encouraged at the Irish end, particularly by Presbyterian elements in the North. During the non-importation boycotts that accompanied the Stamp Act crisis of 1765-66 and the Townshend Duties controversy of 1767-70, linens and provisions sent directly from Ireland were the only articles allowed to be landed from the British Isles in the ports of New England and the middle colonies. Irish trade finally lost its privileged status in the non-importation and non-exportation agreements passed by the First Continental Congress in response to the Intolerable Acts of 1774. After the outbreak of armed hostilities in 1775, Irish exports experienced considerable stimulation from both the legitimate demands of the British military, as well as the clandestine needs of the Continental Army. The American War also provided the occasion for a re-alignment of Ireland's political and economic relationship with Great Britain. When commerce with the United States of America was initiated in 1783, Ireland's transatlantic trade was freer than it had been at any time since 1662.

Chapter One

TRADE BEFORE 1731

"Ireland lieth Commodiously for the Trade of the new American world; which we see every day to Grow and Flourish."

Sir William Petty, 1672¹

The seventy years after the Restoration mark the period of formation in the Irish-American trade. Although the principal phase of commercial activity between Ireland and the British plantations took place between 1731 and 1783, the structure of the commerce took shape before 1731. It had two principal points of focus in English America: the West Indian islands and the colonies of the North American mainland. The most important of these in the years before 1731 was the English Caribbean, a region dependent upon external sources of provisions after the conversion to a sugar monoculture in the middle decades of the seventeenth century. In part a result of Irish participation in the settlement of the West Indies after the 1630s, Irish merchant families, many of them well represented later in London, played a large role in the commerce of Barbados and the Leeward Islands. Demand in the Caribbean absorbed part of Irish agricultural surpluses in the years after the Restoration. The early significance of the North American mainland for Irish commerce rested entirely on the importation of Chesapeake tobacco, an article for which Ireland provided a substantial market in terms of per capita consumption. There was only intermittent trade in other articles before 1700. The opening of the American market to the direct export of low-priced Irish linens after 1705 and the large-scale emigration of the 1710s and later, however, laid the basis of wider contact between Ireland and the mainland colonies in the post-1731 period.

Ireland and America were natural trading partners; but their trade was defined by the terms of navigation legislation not determined in either place. To English mercantilists, Ireland was a dangerous rival whose desire to share equally in the plantation commerce would "rob this kingdom in great measure of this flourishing trade."² To Irish advocates of a larger role in the Atlantic, Ireland was the victim of narrow and petty mercantile interests that sought nothing so much as the removal of a competitor.³ With time, the limitations imposed by the Acts of Trade and Navigation became symbols of the bungling and destructiveness

of English policy toward Ireland. "Nor could it have been foreseen that Ireland, excluded from almost all direct intercourse with them [the American plantations], should have been nearly undone by the contest," wrote Hely Hutchinson at the time of the American Revolution.⁴ In truth, the period between 1660 and 1731 was a time of considerable vitality in Ireland's plantation commerce. English navigation legislation, which encouraged Irish specialization in agriculture-based exports, did little serious damage to the Irish economy, in spite of the inconvenience it brought to individual merchants.⁵ The rhetoric of a later age, looking for dramatic proof of victimization, ignored the fact that Ireland emerged as a major producer of provisions and linen for export during these years and that her seaports grew to be important centres of Atlantic trade.

I.

English navigation legislation between 1660 and 1731 attempted to reconcile the mercantilist ambitions of the Mother Country with Irish demands for some measure of participation in the plantation trade. Although the Navigation Act of 1660⁶ was not discriminatory against Ireland, it was amended in 1663 by a law⁷ that attempted to maintain the status quo with regard to Irish exports to the colonies, while sharply curtailing imports by requiring that certain enumerated plantation articles be landed in the Mother Country before shipment to Ireland. But contradictory language in the text of the Act and the bonds prescribed by it, along with half-hearted enforcement, rendered the Act ineffectual. To eliminate the ambiguity of the Staple Act, the English Parliament⁸ passed an Act in 1671⁸ specifying that the enumerated plantation goods be landed at ports in England, Wales, Berwick-upon-Tweed and nowhere else. The Act of 1671 ended the legal flow of sugar and tobacco into Ireland directly from America. But for reasons which remain unclear, the Act was not renewed by the English Parliament at its expiration in 1680, allowing Irish-colonial commerce to once again operate under the terms of the Act of 1660 until 1685, when Parliament reinstated the prohibitions against Irish transatlantic trade.⁹ Continued haphazard enforcement by Irish revenue officers and the radically changed constitutional relationship between Ireland and England after 1691 inspired passage of an Act of 1696.¹⁰ The new law reached beyond the enumerated articles to a complete prohibition of inward trade from America. The Linen Act 1705,¹¹ which allowed the carriage of low-priced Irish linens directly to the colonies, was the only significant modification of the Acts of Trade and Navigation affecting

Ireland's plantation trade in the period between 1696 and 1731.

The Navigation Act of 1660 treated England, Ireland, and the American Plantations as equals with respect to trade in the Atlantic. Restoration legislation made no distinction between their ships and seamen, nor did it offer advantages to one that were not available to all. Whereas Scotland was prevented from full participation in transatlantic commerce, ports in Ireland were open to imports of the enumerated plantation articles, principally tobacco and sugar, on the same footing as those in England. The bonds that were required of westbound vessels to ensure that they would return home with their plantation cargoes intended that "the same Commodities shall be by the said Ship brought to some Port of England, Ireland, Wales, or to the Town of Berwick upon Tweed," and shall there be unloaded and put on Shore.¹² The favourable treatment accorded to the Irish under the Act of 1660 largely stemmed from the English perception that Ireland, like the plantations in America, was more a colony of the Mother Country than a rival nation.¹³ But even as the navigation bill moved through Parliament on its way toward passage, there was considerable ambivalence about Ireland within the upper ranks of government. In July 1660, Lord Robartes, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, was instructed to be wary of any actions, "most especially as to our foreign plantations," that the Irish might take contrary to the commercial interests of the Mother Country. "You shall in all things endeavour to advance and improve the trade of that our kingdom [Ireland]," he was told "so far as it shall not be a prejudice to this our kingdom of England."¹⁴

By an Act of 1663, the Staple Act, the English Parliament radically altered Ireland's status in the plantation trade.¹⁵ Whereas the rivalry inherent in the relationship between the two nations had been ignored in the liberal terms of the Act of 1660, the new legislation provided a narrow definition of England's self-interest. Ireland was neither a full partner with England in the emerging Empire nor was she simply a colony.¹⁶ In overseas commerce, Ireland and England were competitor nations; and in the extreme view, Ireland was, perhaps, England's greatest rival.¹⁷ The Act of 1663 formalized the mercantilist position that, as a rival, Ireland ought to be prevented from enjoying parity with the Mother Country in the Atlantic. According to its terms, Ireland's exports to America were to be limited to shipments of servants, horses, and "all Sorts of Victuals of the Growth or Production of Ireland."¹⁸ The restriction upon her westbound commerce did little damage, however, as Irish salted provisions were already a leading outward cargo to the West Indies from the British

Isles. The Act of 1663, in fact, acknowledged the importance of Irish beef, butter, and herrings to the planters of the English Caribbean, just then converting to a sugar monoculture dependent upon imported foodstuffs. The difficulties for Irish trade arose on the return leg of the plantation commerce. The Staple Act sought to prevent the landing in Ireland of tobacco and sugar directly from the plantations, as well as other articles enumerated in the Act of 1660.

The Act of 1663 brought cries of protest from Irish merchants.¹⁹ At their urging, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Duke of Ormond, who faced the constant admonition of the Parliament in London that English interests should not be endangered by the development of Irish commerce,²⁰ sought the intercession of the King to limit its impact upon Ireland. In 1667, he asked "that Irishmen may have liberty to trade with all those islands, &c., as they had before the Act was passed." His argument suggested the importance of the plantation trade to the Irish economy, which was just beginning to feel the restrictive hand of English commercial policy. "This trade does not bring us in ready money," he told the King, "but it does take off the manufactures of Ireland, to which the people must addict themselves, now that the cattle trade is stopped."²¹ However, the possible adverse consequences were greatly reduced by the fact that, though the 1663 Act prohibited exports to Ireland, it failed to alter the bond provisions in the 1660 Act. According to the wording of bonds taken out under the Act of 1660, the enumerated plantation goods, namely sugar, tobacco, cotton, ginger, and certain dyeing materials, were to be landed in "the Kingdom of England or Ireland, or Principality of Wales, or Town of Berwick upon Tweed," and nowhere else.²² The Act of 1663 eliminated Ireland from the list of places at which such goods could be landed; but the bonds, which continued to be issued under the 1660 Act including the word 'Ireland,' were generally honored by collectors of the customs. Although the Staple Act provided for harsh treatment of English customs officials who violated its terms, little could be done to control the movement of ships between Ireland and America. The text of neither Act provided a clear guide to interpretation and there was little incentive in Ireland to press for sharper definition.²³

The English Parliament rectified the defect in the Staple Act with legislation in 1671 that eliminated the confusion in the bonds and explicitly prohibited the landing of enumerated articles in Ireland.²⁴ The faction in Parliament that promoted the revised Act, which included men such as Sir George Downing, an inveterate mercantilist, originally sought a modification of the legislation of 1660 and 1663 that would have

eliminated Ireland altogether from transatlantic trade.²⁵ In addition to prohibiting the landing of enumerated plantation goods directly from America, the original text of the bill, as it was sent to the House of Lords, contained clauses "which would have wholly excluded a Supply of Provisions [to the West Indies] not onely from Ireland, but New England & other places allsoe." The legislation was so deftly manoeuvred through the House of Commons that the Gentlemen Planters, representing the interests of Barbados, although in daily attendance, were not alerted to the impending destruction of Irish-West Indian trade until the bill reached the House of Lords.²⁶ At first, the planters saw the cut-off of the direct sugar trade to Ireland as presaging a reduction of imports from Ireland, "from whome wee have all our Provisions and wth out which wee cannot subsist," wrote the governor of Barbados in 1675.²⁷ The Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, likewise complained bitterly. Ireland's plantation trade had "setled a considerable Trade thither of Beef, Butter, and Tallow, and other commodities wth w^{ch} this country abounds," he wrote. In his view, the decay of Irish trade was largely a consequence of the Act of 1671;²⁸ but there is little evidence to support so extreme a position. As in the instance of the Act of 1663, evasion continued, largely with the tacit approval of the Farmers of the Irish Revenue and the Irish customs house officers, although on a reduced scale. Between 1678 and 1681, at least one hundred vessels in Irish-colonial commerce were seized for violations of the Acts of Trade and Navigation, about twenty-five of them on warrants issued by the English Admiralty.²⁹

The Act of 1671 expired in 1680 and was not renewed, creating considerable confusion in the administration of trade between Ireland the American plantations. The reasons for non-renewal are uncertain; however, it is likely that the unsettled political climate in England in 1680, the year of the Popish Plot, temporarily discouraged the advocates of an aggressive mercantilist policy from further alienating Irish and West Indian interests.³⁰ But, in spite of the unexpected return to the pre-1663 condition, Ireland's transatlantic commerce was complicated by discrepancies in the interpretation of a previously unrelated piece of navigation legislation. An Act of 1673 specified that duties were to be collected in the colonies upon the exportation of the enumerated articles, unless a bond was taken out guaranteeing to ship them to England "and to no other place."³¹ Because the Act of 1671 had excluded Ireland from direct trade in the enumerated commodities, the terms of the Act of 1673 had not been intended to apply to her. But with the Act of 1671 no longer in force as of 1680, the liberal bonds issued

under the Navigation Act of 1660 once again encompassed Irish transatlantic commerce.³² With the expiration of the Act of 1671, all ships should have paid the plantation duties, because there was now no law requiring that ships return to England and to no other place. In February 1681, the Privy Council decreed that customs officers were at liberty to accept bonds that specified only England in addition to bonds under the terms of the 1660 Act.³³ Thus, merchants who wished to ship goods to Ireland had the option of avoiding the payment of plantation duties by entering into bonds to land the goods in England, or of being obliged to pay the duties if the bonds were those defined in the 1660 Act.

Just as the Privy Council reached its ad hoc solution to the problem relating to the plantation duties, a controversy arose which profoundly affected the legal status of Irish trade in the Atlantic. Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of the colony of Maryland, and the Commissioners of the Custom in England fell into a heated dispute over whether vessels loading tobacco in Maryland for carriage directly to Ireland were liable to pay the plantation duty.³⁴ It was Lord Baltimore's position that they were not because the bonds that had been issued under the Navigation Act of 1660 had allowed the landing of plantation goods directly in Ireland. But the proprietor of Maryland was ignorant of the Order in Council of February 1681 requiring customs officers to insist on bonds for voyages to England only, where goods were shipped without payment of the plantation duties. When Nicholas Babcock, the Surveyor and Comptroller of the Customs in Maryland, requested Lord Baltimore's help in securing payment of the plantation duty from the captain of a vessel loading tobacco for shipment to Ireland, the proprietor refused to interfere to force compliance and instructed Babcock to do likewise. Although he had been unaware of the action of the Privy Council at the outset of the dispute, Lord Baltimore antagonized authorities in England by becoming increasingly obstructive in defence of what he construed to be his prerogatives. At the height of the controversy, however, he faced the choice of paying the overdue plantation duties or risk losing his proprietary charter. Although the dispute regarding the payment of the plantation duties was settled, the issue did not die down. The animosity between Maryland and the Mother Country, which reached its climax with the murder of Babcock's unpopular successor, Christopher Rousby, was the immediate cause of new legislation, one of the principal goals of which was curtailment of Irish transatlantic commerce.³⁵

In 1685, the English Parliament passed an Act that reinstated the

terms of the Act of 1671, requiring that ships carrying enumerated plantation goods unlade first in England before going on to Ireland.³⁶ The new legislation was enacted in spite of a compromise struck between the Commissioners of the Irish Revenue and the government in London to collect one half the duty in Ireland for remittance to the English Exchequer.³⁷ After five years of an expanding two-way commerce with America, "the merchants in this country are much dejected at the revival of the act prohibiting them to trade directly to the Plantations," wrote Sir John Perceval in July 1685.³⁸ As one merchant in Cork told his correspondent in Dublin, "twill ruin the Irish trade if our shipments actually go thither & discharge ere they come hither."³⁹ By the estimate of English customs officials, the additional cost of unloading tobacco in England to meet the terms of the Act would add at least 1/2 d. per pound to its price in Ireland.⁴⁰ The Commissioners of the Irish Revenue complained vigorously against the discriminatory character of the Act of 1685, arguing that the half-duty collected in Ireland upon the enumerated commodities in the final six months of 1685 had been more than the entire sum collected over the previous ten years in all the other plantations. It was plain from the English response to the assault from Ireland, however, that the Act of 1685 was not a revenue measure. It had been passed to protect English commerce from Irish competition, supported by interests in the English outports which saw Ireland as their most immediate threat in the rich Atlantic commerce.⁴¹ But in the decade after passage of the Act, a time of political and economic dislocation in Ireland, there was considerable circumvention of its terms, as there had been of earlier attempts by the English Parliament to put an end to Ireland's colonial commerce.⁴²

In 1696, the English Parliament brought a full stop to legal two-way trade between Ireland and the American colonies. By the 1690s, there was considerable dismay among English mercantilists over the inability of their government to enforce what they viewed as the clear intent of the Acts of Trade. "Among the many rivals of our Trade and Navigation," wrote an anonymous pamphleteer in 1698, "I have often thought Ireland to be the most Dangerous, and that which led me into this Opinion, was the practice of the two last Reigns, [of] encouraging the Irish more than their English Subjects in Trade and Navigation."⁴³ By the terms of an Act passed by the English Parliament in 1696, no goods of any kind could thereafter be landed in Ireland from the American plantations.⁴⁴ Before 1696, the prohibitions of the navigation laws had focused entirely upon the enumerated commodities. The new Act, passed in the glow of the Williamite victory of 1691, was the most significant and fundamental

alteration of the navigation laws touching Ireland since 1663. It excluded all direct importation from the plantations, not just the trade in the enumerated commodities. The Act of 1696 also put an end to the confusion surrounding the bonds taken out to guarantee the return of plantation goods to the Mother Country. Although it had been Parliament's intention that the bonds issued under the Acts of 1671 and 1685 did not include the word 'Ireland,' the issue remained unsettled and some collectors continued to accept bonds which included Ireland as a final destination.⁴⁵ The language of the Act of 1696 was without ambiguity: "the Word Ireland [is] to be left out of the Condition of all such Bonds."⁴⁶

Except for one important modification, the Act of 1696 established the parameters for Irish transatlantic commerce until the Act of 1731⁴⁷ opened Irish ports to the importation of non-enumerated colonial goods. Although evasion "by the Artifice and Cunning of ill-disposed Persons" was never wholly eliminated, it was drastically reduced after 1696.⁴⁸ In the period before 1731, the most common means of circumvention entailed abuses of the clauses in the Act that allowed vessels in peril from stress of weather to put into Irish ports.⁴⁹ But the scale of evasion never approached that of the period before 1696, when English oversight of Irish enforcement was limited and incentives in Ireland to violate the Acts of Trade were great. Until the appointment of special English officials empowered to make seizures, it is probable that Ireland's transatlantic commerce was tacitly encouraged by Irish customs officials for whom the trade meant increased revenues.⁵⁰ The most important modification of the laws touching Ireland's transatlantic commerce after 1696 was passage of the Linen Act of 1705, which opened the colonial market to linens sent directly from Ireland.⁵¹ The Linen Act was passed by the English Parliament over strong opposition from interests tied to the colonial re-export trade in cheap German linens. The new legislation had the strong support of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Duke of Ormond, however, who used it as part of his scheme to consolidate Tory control of the parliament in Dublin. In spite of the alignment of powerful elements in the English economy against any weakening of the Acts of Navigation as they applied to Ireland, the Linen Act moved through both houses of Parliament with relative ease and became law in June 1705.⁵² Between the passage of the Linen Act and 1731, there was increasingly greater commercial contact between Ireland and the American colonies, encouraged partly by direct linen exports, partly by the sharp rise in emigration at the close of the War of the Spanish Succession.

II.

The West Indian islands were the most valued of England's colonial possessions in America, particularly in the years before 1731.⁵³ There was an Irish presence in the Caribbean from the earliest days of settlement, as large numbers of indentured servants left Ireland to find employment on the tobacco plantations of the Leeward Islands. Even before the 1650s, economic development in the Caribbean began to influence the direction of development in Ireland, especially in the ports along her Atlantic coast. With the rise of the sugar industry in the middle decades of the seventeenth century, West Indian demand for food and clothing, along with a wide variety of other articles, induced investment in the ports of the South of Ireland, as well as in the seaports of the Mother Country and the mainland North American colonies. In addition, the demand for Irish provisions was greatly expanded by the meteoric growth of the sugar industry. Before 1690, Ireland dominated the provisioning trade to the West Indies and was the most important source of outward cargoes to the islands. Until the eve of the eighteenth century, her trade to the West Indies was better organized and more efficient than that carried on from the American mainland. During the period from 1688 to 1720, however, Irish merchants faced increased competition from that quarter.

The migration of Irish indentured servants to the West Indies in the seventeenth century was the first commercial contact between Ireland and the New World. Demand for white servants was strongest before the collapse of tobacco prices in 1638, but the trade flourished until the 1660s, when large numbers of enslaved blacks supplanted white indentured servants as the principal labour force in the English islands.⁵⁴ Although significant forced migration of Irish Catholics to the West Indies took place at the close of the Cromwellian Wars, there appears to have been more genuine enthusiasm for migration to the islands among the poor in Ireland than in England or Scotland.⁵⁵ At Kinsale, Youghal, Cork, and Galway, the trade was encouraged by local involvement in the gathering of servants and the outfitting of servant ships. In addition to servants, those ports sent out small quantities of pork, grain, and even livestock, in a trade that laid the foundations of Ireland's extensive transatlantic provisioning commerce. Some servants were shipped on Irish account aboard Dutch shipping; but the bulk of the trade appears to have been initiated by English merchants who found in Ireland a rich mine of indentures.⁵⁶ By mid-century, large numbers of Irish had been settled throughout the English Caribbean. In 1643, it was

reported by one visitor to the West Indies that at least 20,000 Irish catholics lived at St. Christopher. Although the figure is exaggerated, it suggests that the Irish emigration was large.⁵⁷ At Montserrat, where Irish Catholics contributed to the turbulent politics of the 1660s, they constituted an overwhelming majority of the population before the eclipse of white labour.⁵⁸

There was significant Irish involvement in the production and marketing of West Indian tobacco. Although it was the principal West Indian staple before the rise of sugar, Caribbee tobacco, particularly that from Barbados, was of poor quality and returned little profit compared to the produce of the Chesapeake. The leaf grown on Montserrat, an island dominated by expatriate Irish settlers, had the reputation of being the finest in the islands, as well as the best graded.⁵⁹ Small quantities of Leeward Island tobacco were shipped direct to Ireland through the 1660s and into the 1670s, perhaps even later, in return for servants and provisions.⁶⁰ But that trade, as well as the more important tobacco commerce with London and the English outports failed to develop against competition from the North American mainland.⁶¹ Even on St. Christopher and Montserrat, West Indian tobacco agriculture, ill-suited to growing conditions in the Caribbean, brought only poverty in its wake. During the tobacco age, the typical planter in the Leeward Islands was a small man with few acres, few connexions at home, and little access to capital or credit. A large proportion were former indentured servants. Many of these marginal planters clung tenaciously to tobacco cultivation, in spite of the limited appeal of Caribbean tobacco in the markets at home.⁶² On Montserrat, where it had acquired monetary status by an Act of 1667, tobacco continued to be grown through the last quarter of the seventeenth century. By 1690, the article had ceased to be a West Indian staple.⁶³

The widespread shift to sugar production during the middle decades of the seventeenth century was the main stimulant to Ireland's West Indian provisions commerce. By 1660, a sugar monoculture based upon slave labour had largely displaced the initially self-sufficient economies of the English islands. In this sweeping transformation, a partial subsistence agriculture, characterized by independent poor white farmers producing small quantities of a few staples, evolved into a highly commercialized plantation agriculture, dominated by an increasingly powerful planter class dependent upon large gangs of slave labour. High profits in the sugar industry, which saw their peak in the 1650s, depended upon the maximization of acreage that could be put into cane. As sugar grew to dominate West Indian agriculture, land available

for food production was dramatically reduced, leaving only small plots upon which to cultivate quick-growing tropical produce for slave consumption. Even food for slaves had to be imported and carefully rationed on the smallest of the islands. On Barbados, the first of the English islands to experience the rapid changeover to sugar, as food became increasingly scarce, provisions prices rose dramatically. By 1670, the island had become dependent upon imported provisions from Ireland and North America.⁶⁴ With the economic transformation of the English islands, men became "so intent upon planting sugar that they had rather buy foode at very dear rates than produce it by labour, soe infinite is the profit of sugar workes after once accomplished."⁶⁵

Only a small proportion of the provisions imported into the English Caribbean were for consumption by the majority black slave population. Most slaves lived at a near starvation level, except in Jamaica, where they were given marginal land on which to grow their own corn and yams. Elsewhere, slaves depended upon meager rations doled out by their masters.⁶⁶ Under favourable circumstances, "Negroes were allowed each man two Macquerels a week, and every woman one; which were given out to them on Saturday in the evening after they had their allowance of Plantines, which was every one a large bunch, or two little ones, to serve them for a weeks provision," wrote a visiting Englishman in 1650.⁶⁷ Unlike the planters of the French islands, who were required to provide daily allotments of meat for their slaves, many in the English islands seldom fed their slaves meat above two or three times a year, and then under less than wholesome circumstances.⁶⁸ In some places in the English West Indies, the only meat that slaves were given was taken from the carcasses of diseased cattle and horses.⁶⁹ Imported beef and pork were not a part of their diet.

Except for the salted fish landed from Ireland and New England, nearly all the provisions brought into the English Caribbean islands were for the consumption of the three social classes above slaves: white indentured servants, small planters, and large planters. The diet of the best fed servants included small amounts of Irish salted beef and butter, salt-fish, and flour landed from North America. In addition, they were given casava bread, plantains, roasted or fried, and cold cornmeal mush [loblolly], all tropical articles. Although the smaller planters fared little better, they hung tenaciously to the dietary symbols of the British Isles, particularly beef and beer, however inappropriate to tropical conditions. The large planters, with plenty of income and an intense desire to be viewed as firmly at the top of the social scale, were ostentatious in matters of diet. They spent lavishly for expensive

imported food and drink, attempting to live more like English country squires than tropical planters.⁷⁰ High grades of salted beef, pickled tongues, and cured salmon were among the articles from home that filled the planter's larder.⁷¹

Ireland was the principal external source of provision to the sugar islands from about 1670 until the 1720s. "It beeing from thence wee feed so many mouths as must be used in the Managem^t of the Sugaries," wrote the governor of Barbados in 1675.⁷² Her shipments of salted beef and pork were cheaper and better than those from other European suppliers or the North American mainland.⁷³ Irish beef, most of it from the Cork region, was the largest single West Indian import well into the eighteenth century. Vast quantities of barrelled beef, pork, butter, and cheese were packaged for the West Indies in the Irish provisioning ports, giving rise to a level of development in that industry matched nowhere else in Atlantic trading world.⁷⁴ In addition to the relatively advanced state of Ireland's slaughtering and packing industry, and the geographical advantages she enjoyed in the production of cattle and swine, her trade with the English islands was encouraged by the efficient use of shipping. Vessels on their way to the West Indies could conveniently stop at ports in the South of Ireland to load provisions for the island markets, and return with sugar to London and the English outports.⁷⁵ Ships employed in the Irish-West Indian commerce were not huge, but were decidedly larger than the vessels engaged in the island commerce from the North American mainland.⁷⁶ As a result, economies of scale in transport were achieved. In her island trade, Ireland's comparative advantage lay in her ability to organize her resources into sophisticated food-producing and packaging industries that effectively complemented the West Indian sugar industry, the most aggressively expansive sector of the colonial economy.

Irish trade to the West Indies was not fully dominated by the London sugar interest until the early years of the eighteenth century. Merchants in Ireland, particularly those with strong links to the English capital, maintained considerable initiative in the deployment of outward cargoes and the return of muscavado sugars to London and the outports until at least the 1730s.⁷⁷ Although their importance to the organization of trade was weakened after 1663, the independence of Irish provisioners was more seriously circumscribed by the increasing inflexibility of arrangements between London merchants and their West Indian correspondents. With the maturing of the London commission agency in the final years of the seventeenth century, there were fewer opportunities for Irish merchants to risk their own resources in the

islands. Even without the restrictions of the Navigation Acts, no Irish port could rival London's capacity to channel capital and credit into the sugar industry.⁷⁸ As London increasingly monopolized the sugar trade, Irish interests that were already well established in the counting houses and plantations of the West Indies, became more conspicuous among the city's leading West Indian merchants. Among the Irish houses in London whose roots lay in Caribbean trade were the Blakes, Lynches, Kirwans, Frenches, and Skerretts.⁷⁹

Expatriate Irish merchants were an important stabilizing influence in the West Indies. In some places, notably at Montserrat and St. Christopher, they dominated commerce with the British Isles until at least the turn of the eighteenth century and were still in control of a significant share of trade at the time of the American Revolution.⁸⁰ Even at Barbados, an island with a less conspicuous Irish presence, Irish mercantile families, such as the Blakes of Galway, were established before the mid-1670s.⁸¹ Trade between the West Indies and Ireland was quite unlike that between the islands and the American mainland, in which North American merchants had few settled correspondents in the Caribbean ports. The commerce with Ireland was typically carried on by houses in the English islands with close family ties in the Irish provisioning towns and London, one the source of the most important outward cargoes to the West Indies and the other the focus of the sugar trade. Unlike their North American rivals, who moved from island to island in small vessels loaded with an unpredictable miscellany of goods, the Irish merchants in the Caribbean disposed of relatively large and homogeneous cargoes.⁸² In spite of the tendency of the island markets to easily glut, they appear to have been particularly adept at maximizing the conversion of Irish provisions into muscavado. In concert with correspondents in England and Ireland, Irish merchants in the Caribbean had considerable control over the supply of shipping space available for the return of sugars to London and the English outports.

Ship accounts kept aboard the brig Owner's Goodwill of Dublin on a seventeen month voyage to the sugar islands in 1723 and 1724 shed some light on Ireland's West Indian trade. In late May 1723, the vessel departed from Dublin carrying a mixed assortment of provisions, along with candles and shoes, "on the Acc^t & Risque" of Richard Grattan, a merchant in the Irish capital. A month later, she was in the Madeira Islands exchanging beef, butter, herrings, cheese, and tongues for wine. After a stay of twelve days, the Owners Goodwill set out for Barbados, where she arrived early in August to find markets glutted and prices low. The stop at Barbados was brief, after which the vessel moved on to

Martinique and Montserrat, where small amounts of provisions were sold. On 26 August, her captain, Patrick Doran, entered the bulk of his cargo at St. Christopher and set up a store at which to exchange provisions for sugar. Before sending his brig on a supplementary voyage to Philadelphia and back to St. Christopher, Doran shipped two loadings of sugar to Liverpool aboard other vessels. On its run to the North American mainland, the Owner's Goodwill carried West Indian goods, as well as Irish provisions and shoes. She returned in late April with freightings of flour and lumber on the account of Philadelphia merchants. In a spring and summer spent gathering sugar and fighting illness, Doran took in over 71,000 pounds of sugar, filling 51 hogsheads, in addition to the 27,000 pounds that he had earlier shipped. The sugar loaded aboard the Owner's Goodwill was collected in numerous small purchases from 28 planters and merchants, who typically paid for their Irish goods in pounds of sugar, rather than money of account. By the eve of his departure from St. Christopher for Liverpool in late August, Patrick Doran had collected £111:19:1 in debts owing to his Dublin principal, Richard Grattan, and placed the money in the hands of George Skerrett, a prominent Irish merchant on the island.⁸³

By 1720, competition from North American merchants had displaced Ireland as the leading exporter of foodstuffs to the West Indian Islands.⁸⁴ Even so, she remained the largest supplier of salted beef and butter, as well as the principal source of outward cargoes from the British Isles until the American Revolution. Improvement in the competitive position of the North American mainland vis a vis Ireland came as urban centres such as Philadelphia and New York began to develop specialized production and distribution facilities for the island markets. As mainland merchants became less haphazard and more systematic in their approach to the Caribbean trade, they began to compete more favourably with the Irish, who had long enjoyed the advantages of well-organized and specialized production in the salted-provisions industry. Although the mainland never achieved a level of specialization comparable to Ireland, it did enjoy geographical advantages in the West Indian commerce.⁸⁵ In addition, the variety of articles landed in the British Caribbean from New England and the middle colonies grew with the expanding market, whereas the range of goods that could be had from Ireland was restricted by Acts of Navigation. As the slave population of the West Indies grew to gigantic proportions after the turn of the eighteenth century, the market for high quality salted provisions, one in which the Irish remained pre-eminent, represented a diminishing share of total provisions sales.

III.

The period before 1731 was one of preliminary activity in Ireland's two-way trade with the North American mainland. Although direct voyages to the West Indies remained the backbone of Irish transatlantic commerce, the years between the mid-seventeenth century and the opening of Ireland to unenumerated colonial goods saw increasing contact between Irish and North American merchants seeking a greater share of transatlantic commerce. Before about 1700, there were few sustained commercial links between the two places. The direct tobacco trade from mainland America, which had shown promising signs in the 1670s and 1680s, was unable to progress much beyond an infant stage before strict enforcement of the Acts of Navigation in the mid-1680s handed the Irish market over to English middlemen. Only with the heavy Irish migration to New England and the middle colonies between 1713 and 1729 did a tentative commerce begin to develop that foreshadowed post-1731 trade. In addition to their human cargoes, the emigrant ships carried an assortment of Irish goods, notably salted provisions and linen cloth, articles which found ready markets in the rising urban centres of the mainland. Although the return of colonial articles direct to Ireland was prohibited by the terms of the Acts of Navigation, American lumber and staves, as well as re-exported West Indian goods, began to find their way into Irish ports aboard these ships.

Characteristic of these years were the supplemental voyages of ships in Ireland's West Indian trade to ports in continental North America. With the exception of some of Ireland's North American tobacco trade in the late seventeenth century and most of her emigrant commerce in the second and third decades of the eighteenth century, voyages to the American mainland were typically part of a flow of commerce, rather than wholly distinct mercantile ventures. Until the 1690s, a large number of West Indian voyages included a leg from one of the islands to Virginia or Maryland to take on tobacco as a supplementary lading for the return home.⁸⁶ With the levelling off of Irish demand for tobacco in the last decade of the seventeenth century, ships from Ireland operating in the Caribbean began to call at ports to the north of the Chesapeake to pick up freights for sale in the West Indies, where Irish trading interests were well represented. Although these vessels carried mostly West Indian articles on their runs to the mainland, there are signs that small quantities of Irish linens and woollens, shoes, candles, and salted provisions began to enter Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Freight revenues from supplemental voyages enhanced the profitability of

transatlantic trade, thus encouraging further trade and stimulating investment.⁸⁷

Before the turn of the eighteenth century, Ireland's trade with the North American continent was without an overriding design. Although most activity focused on the carriage of tobacco to Irish and, after 1685, English ports, there was a tentative commerce in other articles as well. In 1672, for example, John Hull of Boston, a merchant with experience in the direct tobacco trade with Ireland, shipped logwood from Massachusetts to Dublin, hoping to exchange it for linen and woollen cloths. The illegality of the commerce was not lost upon Hull, who cautioned the master of his ketch Friendship to feign ignorance of the Acts of Navigation: "For want of Speach with you I remaine Ignorant," he wrote.⁸⁸ In the same year, Andrew Blake and Peter Kirwan of Galway shipped goods valued in Ireland at £321:19:0 on consignment to three Boston merchants, William Bickham, Dominick Bodkin, and William Middlecutt. Scattered evidence suggests that periodic encounters of this kind were not unusual in colonial ports and, as we have seen, usually bore some connexion to either the Irish or North American trade in the West Indies.⁸⁹

Between 1700 and 1731, commercial contact with the North American continent became increasingly regular, fostered by both emigration and the expanding mainland market for Irish linen. The years after 1705 saw growing North American imports of low-priced Irish linens in colonial ports from Portsmouth [New Hampshire] to Charlestown [South Carolina]. A significant share of this activity was carried on directly with port-towns in the North of Ireland, by-passing Dublin.⁹⁰ "Considering the excessive price of labour in New England," wrote one observer in 1719, commenting on the rising level of Irish linen imports, "the merchant could afford what was imported cheaper than what was made in the province."⁹¹ In addition to linens and woollens, Irish imports to the mainland included salted provisions, wheat, oatmeal, bread, candles, soap, shoes, and assorted metal tools.⁹² During the same period, merchants in Ireland began to take a participatory interest in the trades carried on from the mainland colonies to the West Indies and Southern Europe. For example, in May 1716, the Dublin partnership of Thomas Kirkpatrick and John Porter chartered a vessel at Boston to carry fish from Marblehead [Massachusetts], a growing centre of that activity, to Bilbao.⁹³ Irish involvement in the mainland's commerce with the sugar islands increased as North of Ireland merchants became adept at drawing the output of the North American mainland into their own trade. Although the West Indies remained the prime marketplace for Irish output in the

British colonies, by 1731 the structure of Ireland's transatlantic trade only partly resembled that at the turn of the century.

Tobacco was Ireland's leading import until about the second decade of the eighteenth century. By the 1660s, demand for the article had cut across all social classes. The growth of tobacco consumption among the poor accounts for the extraordinary expansion of imports, which doubled between the mid-1660s and mid-1680s.⁹⁴ William Petty noted the pervasiveness of the phenomenon among the Irish peasantry; "tobacco taken in short Pipes seldom burnt, seems the pleasure of their Lives, together with Sneezing: Insomuch that 2/7 of their Expence in Food is Tobacco," he wrote in 1672.⁹⁵ Until the Act of 1685 effectively prohibited direct trade, a considerable share of Ireland's tobacco import came immediately from Virginia, Maryland, and the West Indies. Galway, Cork, Kinsale, Dublin, Belfast and Derry all shared in this trade; but the main centres of activity were ports in the West and South of Ireland, places with early and well-established links to the West Indies. When encouraged by prices at home, Irish provisioning vessels unloaded their principal cargoes in the island markets and then set out for Virginia, Maryland and, even, Massachusetts to take in tobacco.⁹⁶ Although this commerce had been formally banned between 1671 and 1680 by the Navigation Acts, significant quantities of the article were landed that bypassed weak customs enforcement. After 1685, however, nearly all of Ireland's tobacco entered via England. In the early years of the eighteenth century, Irish merchants in the provisioning and linen trades were still active in the tobacco commerce, landing their cargoes in England rather than at their home ports.⁹⁷

The tobacco trade was Ireland's first important commercial link to the North American continent. In the mid-1660s, the correspondence of merchants in the tobacco commerce began to tie Protestant interests in the emerging ports of the American mainland to co-religionists in Ireland.⁹⁸ There is nothing extraordinary in the charter party of ketch Recovery of Boston made in 1670 for a voyage to "Virginia or Mariland or Both of them and from thence into the Kingdome of Ireland and from thence to England and from thence to Boston againe."⁹⁹ Merchants in the Massachusetts port, through which much of this activity was channelled, began to place agents in Dublin to supervise the sale of cargoes coming in from Virginia no later than the mid-1670s. Likewise, Irish merchants began to appear in Boston.¹⁰⁰ Although technically illegal between 1671 and 1680, direct tobacco exports to Ireland appears to have flourished in New England, where customs officials were

frustrated by a lack of local support in the enforcement of the Acts of Navigation. In 1680, for example, Edward Randolph, collector of the king's revenue in Massachusetts, was unable to win a prosecution against two New England merchants who loaded tobacco from their sloops outside the jurisdiction of the Castle in Boston harbour onto a Dublin vessel bound for home.¹⁰¹ Although the extent and structure of the tobacco trade with the American mainland before and after 1685 cannot be measured accurately, it is safe to assert that, by the end of the seventeenth century, a considerable share of activity bypassed the West Indies. The fragmentary shipping returns for Maryland in the late 1680s and early 1690s, which show vessels from the North of Ireland ports of Belfast, Derry, Coleraine, and Donaghadee carrying loadings of 60 to 160 hogsheads of tobacco from the Chesapeake to ports in England, suggest that Irish ships arriving in North America entered as often from the British Isles as from the West Indies.¹⁰²

Far more than tobacco, the emigrant trade to the mainland of North America between 1713 and 1729 foreshadowed Irish-American commerce after 1731. Although some passenger shipping moved directly from Ireland to North America in the period from early colonial settlement to the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, a substantial share of the Irish passenger trade was carried on from English ports.¹⁰³ In two extraordinary bursts of activity, one between 1714 and 1720 and the other between 1724 and 1728, high demand for labour in the colonies and economic difficulty in Ireland conspired to encourage large numbers of Irish to migrate across the Atlantic.¹⁰⁴ In both instances, Presbyterians from the North of Ireland made up the single largest departing group. New England took the greatest number in the period between 1714 and 1720, as Irish Presbyterians were initially welcomed by the region's predominantly Puritan population. By 1720, however, antagonism between the two groups, largely an outcome of New England's declining economic fortunes, developed into open hostility and the restriction of further Irish immigration. The flow of traffic then turned decisively toward the middle colonies, where, except among Quakers, there had been relatively little Irish immigration before the 1720s. The vast majority of the 15,000 Irish who arrived in North America in that decade entered through the colony of Pennsylvania, establishing it as the centre of Irish emigration until the outbreak of the American Revolution.¹⁰⁵ It was in the heavy migration of 1724-1728 that an embryonic Irish merchant community began to form at Philadelphia.

Irish emigration in the two decades before 1731 stimulated trade. More than anything else, commercial contact was encouraged by high

profits from the sale of indentures in the labour-starved mainland colonies. The trade in Irish servants could render "a better Account than any other Employment I can follow," wrote a New England merchant to his Irish correspondent during these years.¹⁰⁶ Even though the Navigation Acts frustrated the evolution of an orderly two-way commerce, there is good evidence that some of the ships carrying passengers to North America returned to Ireland loaded with colonial goods. Lumber, staves, bark, rum, and whale fins were among the articles shipped to Ireland in exchange for servants, convicts, and mixed cargoes of Irish goods, such as beef, butter, bread, candles, and linen.¹⁰⁷ Some of this trade was initiated in the American colonies. In 1717, for example, Archibald MacPhaedris of Portsmouth [New Hampshire] announced to his correspondent in Belfast that he was "Sending severall Vessells to Cork, Belfast, Dublin and Waterford for Bringing over Servants & Good farmers."¹⁰⁸ But MacPhaedris, an American merchant with kinship ties to the North of Ireland, was atypical. Most activity in the passenger, servant, and convict trades of the pre-1731 period was directed from the Irish end. Although emigrant vessels were dispatched from ports throughout Ireland, merchants in Dublin and the ports of the North of Ireland played the predominant role.¹⁰⁹

Merchant letters and ship accounts relating to the voyage of the brig William & Susanna of Salem [Massachusetts] from New England to Ireland and back in 1713 and 1714 provide insight into the trade of the period before 1731. The 40-ton vessel was owned in partnership by Philip English of Salem, an important figure in the witch trial episode of the 1690s, and George Cabot of Boston, then rapidly accumulating his substantial mercantile fortune. Under William English, son of one of the owners, the small brig departed Salem in December 1713 to trade West Indian goods along the New England coast before calling at Guilford [Connecticut] in February 1714 to take on a cargo for Ireland. The captain and crew spent three months at Guilford, where they gathered a cargo of barrel staves and lumber, largely bartered for rum and molasses, and prepared the ship for the transatlantic crossing. In April 1714, the William & Susanna set out for Ireland with a lading of 50,000 staves. Six weeks later, she was in Cork, where her cargo was immediately sold and most of the proceeds laid out on a shipload of servants and convicts for the return home. Customs officials at Cork allowed the captain to enter his lading unmolested, in spite of the technical violation of the Acts of Navigation. While at Cork, William English incurred considerable expense gathering his human cargo. The men and women passengers taken aboard the brig were provided with food, clothing and shoes; but other

expenses, such as the cost of handcuffs and the wages of armed guards, were also charged against proceeds from the sale of the staves and lumber. After only a month in the Irish port, the brig departed for home. On the return crossing, the young captain was struck down with smallpox and died before reaching New England. In September 1714, the William & Susanna entered Salem harbour with twenty-nine servants and a small quantity of Irish provisions.¹¹⁰

IV.

Ireland's trade with the American plantations between 1660 and 1731 was characterized by persistent growth, interrupted only by war and its aftermath. During this period, Irish transatlantic commerce evolved through three distinct phases. The first of these, 1660-1688, was a time of considerable expansion in the salted-provisions export. The presence of well-established Irish mercantile interests in the Caribbean islands during the massive conversion to a sugar monoculture, along with an explosion of demand in Ireland for West Indian produce, particularly tobacco, contributed to the vitality of trade. Dislocation, setback, and strong recovery characterized the second period, 1688-1714. Although the plantation commerce was jolted by warfare and upheaval at home and widespread military conflict in Europe, Irish exports to America out-performed total Irish exports. The average value of exports to the plantations for the four years ending 1714, £90,760:, was more than twice the level of the similar period ending in 1686. The final phase, 1714-1731, witnessed a continued growth of the trade amid general economic difficulties in Ireland. It opened with a swell of commercial activity in Ireland upon the conclusion of the War of the Spanish Succession. But, in spite of the propitious signs that accompanied the Treaty of Utrecht, commerce languished in the post-war period, and, by the mid-1720s, Ireland had settled into one of its most serious economic crises of the eighteenth century. Against the backdrop of strained conditions in the domestic economy, however, Irish trade to the plantations achieved significant growth. The average value of exports to America during four years ending March 1731, £127,410:, was roughly 40 per cent greater than the level attained in the similar period ending in 1714.¹¹¹

The years from the Restoration to the Williamite Wars were ones of general expansion in Irish trade with the plantations, in spite of occasional wartime disruptions.¹¹² Although the American market never took off more than about 10 per cent of total Irish exports,¹¹³ transatlantic trade helped to compensate for a weakening of continental

markets for Irish agricultural surpluses in the 1670s and 1680s. Occasionally, demand in the English islands had a buoyant effect upon the Irish economy, particularly in the early to the mid-1660s, years of rapid growth in the West Indian sugar industry. But the positive impact of the plantation trade upon the Irish economy was moderated by too much dependence upon salted beef. Sagging beef prices reflected both an oversupply of livestock and excess capacity in the Irish provisioning industry at the time of the Cattle Acts.¹¹⁴ During the four years ending 25 December 1686, an average of 48 per cent of Ireland's beef export was shipped to the American plantations. About half of the annual export of 36,180 barrels was sent from Cork, with lesser amounts from Belfast, Dublin, Galway, Kinsale, Limerick and Youghal.¹¹⁵ None of those ports seriously rivalled the pre-eminence of Cork, which experienced dramatic growth as it reached out to consolidate the trade of a rich hinterland.¹¹⁶ At Barbados, which took about 40 per cent of the Irish beef carried to the English islands, the article represented a huge proportion of imports, although ships from Ireland constituted only about 12 per cent of inward entries.¹¹⁷

The period between 1688 to 1713 was a transitional phase in the development of Ireland's American commerce. Significant wartime dislocations between the late 1680s and the mid-1690s were followed by a few years of rapid recovery. Although the turn of the eighteenth century initiated a decade of stagnation for Irish commerce, there was expansion in Ireland's plantation trade, stimulated by growth in the West Indies.

Table 1.1: EXPORTS OF IRISH BEEF TO AMERICAN PLANTATIONS¹¹⁸
[in barrels]

	To America	TOTAL
1683	37,360 bbl.	73,250 bbl.
1686	36,420	85,540
1694	8,200	18,890
1696	15,750	36,320
1698	36,410	83,970

This second phase ended in 1713 with an upsurge in Atlantic trade brought on by the release of pent-up demand at the Treaty of Utrecht. At the outset of the period, Ireland's overseas commerce began to contract as a result of tight restrictions imposed upon shipping during the Anglo-French War, 1689-1697. But the trade faced domestic difficulties as well: the destruction and confusion brought on by the struggle between James II and William III, the insatiable victualling needs of the military, and a catastrophic outbreak of distemper among Irish livestock

herds in 1688. Thus, the period between 1688 and about 1695 saw a tightening in the export of reduced supplies. At one point, special licences were required in the West Indies export and, because of inadequate domestic reserves, a six month restriction was placed on the export of beef, butter, and pork in September of 1691. To add to the difficulties, traders had to face French privateers off the Irish coast in the course of the mid-1690s. With herds sufficiently rebuilt by 1696, however, Ireland once again entered the West Indian markets as an aggressive competitor, recapturing her pre-war level of exports no later than 1698. But the improvement in Irish trade after the Williamite Wars was followed by acute depression from 1701 to 1713. Economic recession, coupled with renewed Anglo-French fighting brought about near ruinous conditions for Ireland's provisioning industry. But, in spite of the generally sluggish trading conditions in Irish overseas trade, there was continued development in Irish provisions exports to America.¹¹⁹

The Treaty of Utrecht was followed by a surge of growth in the Irish-American trades. With peace, according to Arthur Dobbs, there was "a new force given to the circulation of trade after so long a stagnation." Exceptionally favourable conditions for overseas trade "occasioned a great demand for our provisions, raised our markets, and made our exports so large."¹²⁰ The expansion was short-lived, however, and was followed by a sharp contraction in the volume of trade. Again, Ireland's plantation trade escaped the full brunt of the economic crisis, making a comparatively good showing even during the worst years of the late 1720s. By the three year period ending in 1731, exports to America had doubled their 1698-1700 levels, although the overall performance of Irish exports was less impressive. The value of total Irish exports for 1698-1700 averaged about £887,740:.. By 1729-1731, the figure had risen to only £1,023,250:.. The American colonies, on the other hand, took an average export of £130,460: in 1729-1731, compared with a 1698-1700 level of £64,440:..¹²¹

Although Ireland's American trade held up remarkably well in the difficult conditions between 1660 and 1731, her relative position in the markets of the Caribbean had begun to weaken by the turn of the eighteenth century. In the period between 1660 and 1688, Irish salted beef was the most important article in the westbound Atlantic trade. No other product carried from London or the English outports matched the volume of the Irish export. Cargoes sent out from England to the West Indies tended to be mixed, mostly manufactured or dry goods, with only occasional loadings of provisions. Although the North American mainland's trade to the islands employed a greater number of ships than that from

Ireland, it was as yet too poorly organized to directly challenge the Irish salted-provisions export.¹²² But the disruptions in Ireland that accompanied the Williamite Wars coincided with the emergence of a more competitive North American provisioning commerce. Merchants from the rising urban centres of the mainland put down firm roots in the West Indies in the last decade of the seventeenth century.¹²³ The period between the mid-1680s and the Treaty of Utrecht opened with the volume of Irish exports to the Caribbean far ahead of that from the mainland. It ended with Pennsylvania, New York, Virginia, and Maryland having established a foothold in the supply of barrelled beef to the West Indies, cutting directly into the trade of Ireland. Competition with the mainland of North America ended what had been a near monopoly in salted provisions. But even with the inroads that had been made by colonial meatpackers by 1731, Ireland remained the leading producer of barrelled beef sold in West Indies.¹²⁴

In the period before 1731, Ireland typically experienced a deficit in her balance of trade with the English plantations in America. Her combined imports of sugar from the West Indies and of tobacco, largely from the mainland, exceeded exports, consisting mainly of provisions to the West Indies. However, the dual character of the commerce and the complex patterns of shipping that linked Ireland, the West Indies, and the mainland of North America limit the value of a conventional analysis. For the most part, Irish trade with the English Caribbean and North America consisted of distinct activities, although closely interrelated. In her direct commerce with the Caribbean, the balance of trade was decidedly in Ireland's favour. In its simplest form, that trade consisted of an exchange of Irish provisions for sugar, as well as lesser quantities of tobacco, cotton, indigo, and dye-woods. Although the scale of activity varied over time, usually increasing in magnitude, the structure of commerce in the mid-1680s is representative of the trade in the period before 1731. Irish imports of sugar directly from the West Indies and indirectly through England averaged about 13,000 hundredweight in the four years ending 25 December 1686. At :30: per hundredweight, the value of Ireland's annual sugar import in this period was about £19,650:.. All other plantation imports originating in the Caribbean, taken together, could not have added more than £7,000: to Ireland's expenditure in the islands, suggesting a valuation of Irish imports from the West Indies in the range of £27,000: in this four year period. The total value of Irish exports to the plantations in the islands and in mainland America during the same years was about £44,000: per annum, nearly all of which was directed to the islands in the mid-1680s.¹²⁵

In the last five years before the opening of Ireland to direct imports of non-enumerated colonial goods, sugar imports into Ireland had risen to just over £54,000; per annum, against total Irish exports to the plantations of nearly £126,000:.. After an adjustment to compensate for the increasing volume of Irish exports that were now making their way to the North American mainland, the proportionate balance of trade appears to be little different from that of the 1680s.¹²⁶

The balance of trade between Ireland and the North American mainland presents a radically different situation. Unlike the trade with the sugar islands, commerce with the mainland was weighted overwhelmingly against Ireland in the period before 1731. Essentially, Ireland imported huge quantities of tobacco, nearly all of it from the Chesapeake, and sent practically nothing in return, until the opening of a direct trade in low-priced linens from 1705 and the evolution of large-scale emigration in the second decade of the eighteenth century. Tobacco, the consumption of which doubled between the 1660s and the mid-1680s,¹²⁷ was Ireland's single greatest import in the period before 1731. Tobacco imports in the four years ending 1686 averaged about 2,850,000 pounds per annum, which, at 4d. per pound, represented an annual charge against Ireland's foreign trade account of about £47,500:..¹²⁸ Although there was undoubtedly some direct trade between Ireland and North America involving tobacco before 1686, the commerce characteristically involved the carriage of provisions to the islands before a stop in the Chesapeake region or at a mainland port to load tobacco for return to Ireland. Thus, a triangular pattern developed as ships moved outward with provisions for the islands intending to load back tobacco. The pattern became more complex after 1685, as enforcement of the Acts of Trade and Navigation effectively eliminated Irish participation from the carrying trade and enhanced the role of English, and later Scottish, middlemen.¹²⁹ In addition to tobacco, Ireland's import account with the North American mainland included one other important item. The period between 1660 and 1731 witnessed numerous purchases by Irish interests of plantation-built ships which, with their tackle and rigging, accounted for a significant direct American export at the expense of an established and much-weakened English shipbuilding industry.¹³⁰

Chapter Two

IRISH-AMERICAN TRADE, 1731-1775

". . . we have thought more of opening a Channel of Trade to Ireland cou'd we meet with sufficient Encouragement."

A New England Merchant, 1768¹

Two-way trade between Ireland and the American plantations was allowed by an Act of the British Parliament in 1731. The direct commerce that followed the opening of Irish ports to unenumerated colonial goods was never large, but it was important to both sides. For Ireland, British America continued to provide a principal market for salted provisions and linen, although most Irish cloth entered the colonies indirectly through English ports after 1743 in order to collect the bounty. On the American side, the trade provided some relief to the middle and northern colonies which produced few articles marketable in the British Isles. After the mid-1760s, when British authorities began to crack down on the smuggling activities of mainland merchants in the West Indies, the need for alternative markets for colonial produce became especially acute. North America's commerce with Ireland consisted of the exportation of flaxseed, wheat and flour, barrel staves and headings, and lumber and timber. In addition, large quantities of rum entered Ireland from the West Indies. Perhaps most importantly, the direct trade encouraged emigration. But the direct trade masks the full extent of Irish-American commerce. The scale of activity is dramatically enlarged when direct and indirect imports and direct and indirect exports are combined into a composite of trade. Instead of being a peripheral activity, Irish-American trade emerges as a vigorous commerce of considerable significance. The trade, which was highly organized, gave rise to overseas Irish merchant communities on the North American mainland, recognizable patterns of shipping, and distinctive smuggling activities.

I.

In April 1731, the British Parliament passed an Act opening Irish ports to the exports of the British colonies not enumerated in any Act of Navigation.² Whatever its limitations, the concession to Ireland provided the legal framework for trade to the colonies from that point until the outbreak of the American Revolution. The Act of 1731 was an important

modification of the body of mercantile legislation that had structured Irish commerce from the time of the Restoration. The Navigation Act of 1660 had 'enumerated' the articles from the British plantations that were required to be entered in England, Wales, the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, Ireland, or an English colony, "there to be laid on Shore," before shipment to any other place.³ In 1663, however, the English Parliament excluded Ireland from her privilege under the Navigation Act and required that her sugar and tobacco, as well as other enumerated plantation articles, be transhipped through the ports of England and Wales and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed exclusively.⁴ The goods encompassed by these Acts were the most valuable commodities produced in the plantations, but the list did not include some articles of importance to Ireland, notably lumber products and rum. They were allowed access to Ireland directly from the colonies until 1696 when the Parliament in London put a complete stop to the commerce. According to the Act of that year, "it shall not be lawful, on any Pretense whatsoever, to put on Shore in Ireland . . . any Goods or Merchandize of the Growth or Product of any of His Majesty's Plantations."⁵ The Navigation Acts were now clearly discriminatory. Except for the enumerated articles, the exports of the American colonies "may be directly carried to any Part of the World, Ireland only excepted."⁶

The English re-export commerce in plantation goods envisioned in the Act of 1696 was diminished by competition from suppliers on the European continent and in the French West Indies.⁷ In February 1730, the Duke of Newcastle was told by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Carteret, that "at present Ireland is under a necessity of trading with the French Plantations and those of other nations to procure the commodities which are prohibited from being imported from the British Plantations."⁸ That nothing in the Navigation Laws forbade Ireland's importation of rum, sugar and molasses from the French plantations became one of the rallying grievances of the planter interest in London in its campaign to secure a monopoly in the Home Islands in the early 1730s.⁹ Even though Irish imports of French rum and sugar were exaggerated by the West Indians in their attempt to support a vested interest, the indirect importation of British plantation produce did raise prices over the long run, making the purchase of such goods from foreign plantations sometimes attractive. There was no exaggerating the impact of the commerce with Denmark and Norway, however. Ireland took large quantities of timber and lumber from Scandinavia, practically the whole of her import of some articles. "How can it be imagined," wrote an observer in 1731, "that a Merchant can take in a Loading of Timber and Lumber in America, go to England, and land all

that heavy Bulk there, reship the same, and carry it to Ireland, to sell his Cargo there, as cheap as a Norwayman." Worse still, from the perspective of British policy, most of the trade to Norway and the Baltic was carried on in foreign ships, manned by foreign seamen, and paid for in specie. By 1730, Ireland was importing from foreign nations about £100,000: worth of goods that could have easily been landed from the American plantations but were prohibited from direct trade by the Act of 1696.¹⁰

The movement to broaden Irish trade through the importation of non-enumerated plantation articles was a response to crisis in the Irish economy in the 1720s. It was a time of general distress, when weak markets for linen coincided with harvest failure, particularly in the North of Ireland after 1727.¹¹ With the famine of 1728-29, emigration to colonial America experienced a sharp increase, reaching a peak in Dublin that was not matched until the early 1770s.¹² In one informed contemporary view, "the Trade of this Kingdom hath been annually languishing for many Years past,"¹³ and measures to expand overseas markets for Irish exports were of pressing importance to the welfare of the state. It was, thus, out of severe short-term distress that trade with the American colonies emerged in the perceptions of both the government and the merchant class in Ireland as a means of strengthening the Irish economy.

The restrictions on Ireland's commerce with the British plantations had long been a grievance, but it was not until late in the 1720s that the issue was given serious attention. The movement to broaden trade began in 1729 when conditions in Ireland's economy were put in sharp relief by famine, depression, and high emigration. Late that year, the masters, wardens, and brethren of the Trinity Guild, representing the merchants of Dublin, drafted a petition to the Lord Lieutenant, Carteret, asking that trade between Ireland and the plantations in America be opened to the goods not enumerated by various Acts of the British Parliament.¹⁴ The document was forwarded to the Duke of Newcastle early in 1730 and favourably received by the Privy Council, who heard positive opinions on the proposal from representative English merchants.¹⁵ The petition was presented just as the West Indian interest in Parliament began its move to reform legislation governing plantation commerce in order to guarantee a home market for the produce of the British sugar islands.¹⁶ In Dublin, the Irish Commissioners of the Revenue reported favourably on the petition as did the Lords Justices.¹⁷ In London, the Treasury solicited and received reports from both the Board of Trade and the Commissioners of the Customs that

assured the government the proposal was "a thing that benefited the Plantations and Ireland without hurting England."¹⁸ By March 1731, there was general support for the Irish position, and the stage was set for action. At that point, the Irish interest in the British Parliament carefully steered the proposed measure into the legislative machinery of government. "Ireland had set its heart upon it," wrote Viscount Percival, leader of the Irish lobby.¹⁹

As momentum to remove the restrictions on Irish-American commerce gathered force, other matters stood before the British Parliament that affected Ireland and the West Indies. The sugar interest was vigorously in pursuit of a bill that would eliminate the French and Dutch from the trade in sugar, rum, and molasses to North America and Ireland.²⁰ The Irish, in a move that was to prove crucial to the fate of their colonial trade proposal, disengaged their cause from that of the West Indians by winning the approval of the leadership in the House of Commons to bring in two separate bills.²¹ The West Indians faced strong opposition to their reforms of the plantation trade and, although the first Sugar Bill passed the House of Commons on 10 April 1731, it was later defeated in the House of Lords.²² In addition, the Irish interest was in the midst of a campaign to secure removal of British duties on Irish wool and yarn. Robert Walpole, the Prime Minister, insisted that this concession could only follow strong steps by the Irish Parliament to curtail the running of wool, particularly to France. Walpole would co-operate with the Irish only if they accepted his plan for a wool registry, a scheme that would require Irish and English wool dealers to register their goods with the government to control smuggling. Although the Irish members were prepared to work to achieve strong measures to control the illicit trade though the Parliament in Dublin, they saw Walpole's plan as a blatant further encroachment upon the constitutional rights of Ireland. The two sides became deadlocked, and Irish hopes for a downward revision of British duties on woollens and wool yarn came to nothing.²³

Whatever uncertainties faced the passage of other measures relating to Irish and West Indian commerce, there was support in Parliament to grant Ireland's request that her ports be opened to the unenumerated commodities. To the dismay of the Irish interest, however, just as the bill was to be moved before the House of Commons on 7 April 1731, the Prime Minister suddenly became obstructive, giving the Irish a "sudden and secret stab." He had not been given adequate time to consider so important a measure, he insisted, and his instincts were against any alteration of the Acts of Navigation that would provide additional opportunities to run Irish wool. Walpole's hostility to the bill stemmed

from practical political considerations. The King had just then informed him that he wanted the present session of Parliament brought to a close by the 28th of April, allowing no time for the consideration of new business.²⁴

The Prime Minister, who knew the support enjoyed by the Irish bill, did not want to see it miscarry for want of adequate time. Sensing an impending rift between the Ministry and the Irish interest, Percival was able to hold off the introduction of the bill over Walpole's head just long enough for the Duke of Dorset, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to "stir in the affair." Dorset had recently assumed his office at Dublin Castle and desperately wanted an Irish victory. The new Lord Lieutenant, "whose ease in his Government of Ireland depends much on having this Bill," was successful in bringing Walpole around. In spite of genuine reservations about the wisdom of the concession and a characteristic reluctance to alter commercial relationships embodied in the Navigation Acts, the Prime Minister yielded under pressure from the Irish lobby. The American trade, he told Percival, should have been held up as bait to force the Irish Parliament to take effective steps to put an end to the running of wool. With Walpole's support, the bill moved rapidly through the machinery of Parliament, in keeping with the King's wishes for a timely adjournment. The Irish interest had broad support in both houses for passage of its moderate reform of the Acts of Navigation. The "Unenumerating Bill" cleared Parliament before the end of April and received the royal assent on 7 May 1731.²⁵

The passage of "An Act for importing from his Majesty's Plantations in America, directly into Ireland, Goods not enumerated in any Act of Parliament" was a victory for both the Irish lobby and mercantile interests in Ireland seeking a wider participation in transatlantic commerce.²⁶ It was, likewise, an important step in the campaign of the planters to achieve a monopoly in the home market and pre-eminence in transatlantic trade.²⁷ In their view, the Act of 1696 had been prejudicial to the sugar islands as well as to Ireland. "All the Produce of the British Colonies in America is prohibited to be sent to Ireland," said their advocate before the House of Commons in March 1731, "but the People of New England, and other Northern British Colonies, may carry Sugars, and Rum, from the French Colonies to Ireland." There was nothing to prevent this pernicious activity, it was asserted; the Frenchmen even employed colonial shipping to carry their goods to Ireland, all in violation of the spirit of the original Navigation Act.²⁸ The Act of 1731 made the total exclusion of what was, in fact, a modest French plantation trade palatable to the Irish and guaranteed Irish support for

the Molasses Act of 1733. On one level, cutting out the French was presented as a way to control the running of wool. More significantly, it had the effect of handing the home market to the British planters unopposed.

In 1732, a year after the defeat of the first sugar bill, the Irish interest fell into line with the West Indian members in Parliament. The effect upon Ireland of eliminating the French import would be negligible, the Irish were told, and there were debts owed by the Irish for the support they had received in the previous session. "It would be impolitic and ungrateful to make a stir about it after the English Parliament had last year given us the immediate import of the unenumerated West Indian commodities," wrote Percival in February 1732.²⁹ Although the Molasses Act of 1733 was a conspicuous failure in controlling the French and Dutch trade with British North America, it gave effective protection to the large market which colonial produce from the British plantations already enjoyed in Ireland.³⁰

II.

Irish-American trade between 1731 and 1775 was essentially intercolonial commerce. The activities of both partners were structured to serve the immediate interests of the mother country, England. In a mercantile frame of reference, the British Empire was like a wheel, with England, the metropolitan center, located at the hub and the colonies on the rim. Ideally, trade moved up and down the spokes, but it might move along the rim as well. In spite of her symbolic autonomy within the political context of the British Empire, Ireland occupied, along with the American colonies, a position on the rim of the wheel.³¹ Her eighteenth-century pretensions to semi-independence aside, Ireland was but a colony of her large and powerful neighbour.³² She demanded more than colonial status, however. Her links to England, her large and developed cities, and her immediate physical proximity to Great Britain suggested partnership rather than subordination. Although the rhetoric of ascendancy was quick to indulge the illusion of partnership, in economic affairs, particularly in foreign trade, Ireland's subordination to the interests of the Mother Country was not seriously tested until after the outbreak of the American Revolution.³³

The dependence of Ireland and the American colonies upon Great Britain was equally a consequence of necessity. Both partners relied on the intermediation of merchant houses in London and the English outports, particularly with regard to financial settlements. Most of the commercial credit that kept the transatlantic trades alive had its

origins in the Mother Country; and insurance, as well as credit, was better organized there than anywhere else. In addition, the best-connected merchants were to be found in the English capital, those who could trade on an imperial scale. London was the greatest city of the eighteenth century, and certainly the most vital urban centre in the Empire. Although there were fast-growing and vigorous commercial centres in both Ireland and America, they took their direction from the capital.

Between the opening of the two-way trade and the outbreak of the American Revolution, Ireland enjoyed a period of peace and relative prosperity. There were, it is true, occasional failures in Irish agriculture, particularly in the famine years 1739-1741; but Irish performance was good by contemporary European standards.³⁴ It was a period of rising population and growth in her towns and cities, especially those active in overseas commerce. Although restricted by British navigation legislation, foreign trade flourished, largely fuelled by expansion in Ireland's linen manufacture. Both linen and the extensive salted-provisions industry of the southern counties relied heavily upon external demand. These leading sectors of the Irish economy brought Ireland's capacity to produce agricultural surpluses together with a sophisticated level of commercial organization. With the growth of commerce, and a rising dependence upon Great Britain, came a greater degree of interdependence between Ireland the other constituent parts of the British Empire. By the outbreak of the American Revolution, it had become widely perceived in Ireland that the health of the domestic economy had become inextricably linked to foreign trade.³⁵ In spite of improving circumstances, however, there were deep divisions in the Irish nation. The suppression of the Roman Catholics and the frustration of Ireland's full economic development by short-sighted British policy left important elements in the population bitter and resentful.³⁶

In contrast to Ireland, colonial America was a land of opportunity, with cheap land, an endemic shortage of labour, and a high degree of social and economic mobility.³⁷ Her attractiveness to European immigrants, many of whom were Irish, was one important factor contributing to the general expansion that took place in the period. Even with rapid growth, the colonial economies remained relatively less developed than Ireland until after the American Revolution. Population was about half that in Ireland, and no American city could rival Dublin or Cork.³⁸ There was an active commercial life, but no level of industrial organization comparable to that found in the Irish provisions and linen trades. Except for the southern colonies, a region of large plantations and black slave labour, colonial agriculture was

characterized by small independent farmers, free of the landlord-tenant relationships common to Ireland and other European economies. Rising population and income in America knitted the colonial economies to the early phase of the Industrial Revolution. As the colonial farmer emerged from subsistence in the half-century before 1775, he increasingly offered his surpluses to a market that drew in the manufactures of the British Isles. Heightened demand for imported manufactured articles stimulated merchants to more aggressively exploit opportunities to earn exchange credits abroad. Overseas trade had been a feature of colonial life since early settlement; but, in this period, it played a crucial role in fostering growth.³⁹

Irish-American trade between 1731 and 1775 evolved through four distinct periods. In the first phase, which ended in 1739, colonial commerce took only a modest share of the general expansion of Irish exports that followed the stagnation of 1720s. North American flaxseed began to enter the Irish market when the five shillings per hogshead bounty was extended to colonial seed early in the decade, but that trade remained indecisive and Ireland was still principally supplied from the continent in 1739. Rum was the most important article landed directly from America during this period, but the Irish import fell short of the levels anticipated in 1731 and 1733 when the West Indian interest in the British Parliament had co-operated in the expansion of Irish commerce with America. The lumber and timber import was an even greater disappointment. Although American hardwoods came to be used in specialized industries, the vast reserves of timber in colonial forests could not enter Ireland more cheaply than wood cut, milled, and shipped in Scandinavia. In spite of Ireland's chronic shortages, expensive colonial labour and the cost of transatlantic shipment made the exploitation of American timberland to meet Irish demand impractical. The most important application of colonial lumber to Ireland was in the form of American-made ships purchased by Irish commercial interests. The 1730s saw a general improvement in provisions exports to America compared to the 1720s, but performance over the decade was relatively flat. Even in Ireland's growth export, linen, shipments to colonial markets were uninspiring.

A developmental period for the Irish-American trade followed the probing of the 1730s. In the period between 1740 and 1754, the trade achieved its distinctive character, principally as a result of the passage of the Linen Bounty Acts of 1743 and 1745. The colonies quickly became an important market for low-priced Irish linens, most of which

were sent indirectly through English ports. The bounty re-export was limited to the plain brown and white varieties, the cloths most wanted in the colonies because they combined high quality and low price. Expansion in linen fostered expansion in the demand for flaxseed. In the 1740s, Ireland's flaxseed import became dominated by colonial suppliers and interest in the trade spread along the North American coast from Nova Scotia and North Carolina. The flaxseed export, encouraged by Irish merchants who set up in the ports of the middle colonies, had become one of the most important wintertime activities in New York and Philadelphia by 1750. In addition, this period saw the introduction of significant quantities of American wheat and flour into the Irish marketplace during the Irish famine of 1739-1741.

The trade's third phase was dominated by the Seven Years War. Between 1755 and 1763, Irish-American commerce was both frustrated and stimulated by wartime conditions. Although the flow of imports and exports was upset by embargoes and privateers, particularly in the early years, the period saw gains for both partners. Linen made advances after the near stoppage of trade early in the war, but the most lively activity was in Irish provisions. Colonial purchases of Irish beef and pork reached their highest levels during these years as a consequence of the victualling demands of the British troops stationed in America and the periodic shortfalls of provisions in colonial cities. Among colonial exports to Ireland, flaxseed remained strong in the face of uncertain shipping conditions, and flour shipments rose in the late 1750s in response to shortages in Ireland. During the war years, Irish merchants in America, in league with correspondents in Ireland, were extensively engaged in the clandestine provisioning trade to the French forces in the West Indies until the suppression of that commerce in 1762.⁴⁰

The final period, 1764-1775, saw general advance for the Irish-American trade. Beef and pork shipments to the American plantations after the Seven Years War were up sharply from their pre-war levels. Sales of Irish butter in the colonies were at their highest levels in this period, partly as a result of rising demand in American cities. Although linen experienced difficult times in the early 1770s, the final decade before the Revolution was a time of impressive growth for that article. In the three years ending 1771, per capita consumption reached 1.5 yards, twice the level of the similar period ending in 1751.⁴¹ On the American mainland, enforcement of the Sugar Act had a dampening effect upon the West Indies trade and encouraged the search for new markets.⁴² One consequence of the reorientation of trade was the further development of Ireland as a market for colonial wheat and flour,

in addition to flaxseed. Nearly all of Ireland's imported flaxseed came from America in the decade before the Revolution. In the peak years of the late 1760s, as many as one hundred ships were required to transport the annual crop to Ireland.

In America, the Treaty of Paris, ending the Seven Years War, brought deepening depression in its wake. But even the prolonged crisis generated by the British ministry's attempts to raise new revenues in the colonies, which resulted in severe dislocations to trade, did not hold back the subsequent upward trend.⁴³ Only in the early 1770s did financial collapse on a vast scale threaten the credit structure of British and Irish commerce, this at a time when Ireland's linen manufacture had fallen into depression as a result of too fast growth.⁴⁴ This crisis occurred, moreover, on the eve of the American Revolution, an event that had threatened to, but now finally did, bring about a cessation of trade.

III.

The composition of Irish-American trade remained relatively stable during the period from the early 1730s to the outbreak of the American Revolution. Irish exports direct to the American plantations consisted mainly of salted provisions and linen [Table 3.1]. By 1731, beef, butter, and pork from Ireland were well established, particularly in the markets of the West Indies, after which they faced increased competition from the provisions exports of the mainland colonies. Unlike the North American provisions trade to the sugar islands, the Irish export consisted of just a few articles shipped from ports where specialization reflected efficiencies in production and the preparation of goods for foreign markets. The West Indian consumption of salted herrings from Ireland, either of the native-Irish or re-exported Swedish variety, was unimportant in the early 1730s, but by the 1770s had grown to substantial proportions, providing the planters a relatively cheap source of protein for their slaves.⁴⁵ Irish provisions also found markets on the North American continent [roughly 10 per cent of the total plantation export, except in the four year period ending 1760, when shipments probably reached about 25 per cent, and the four years ending 1764, when such shipments probably represented about 15 per cent of the total]. Although most buying was for maritime use, Irish beef and butter, as well as the more costly pickled tongues and spiced salmon, became increasingly sought after for domestic consumption in the ports of New England and the Middle Colonies.

Salted provisions dominated Irish exports to America, except for a

brief period in the late 1760s and early 1770s, when direct linen shipments grew to huge proportions.⁴⁶ In the years between 1731 and 1775, the plantations consistently took about 40 per cent of all Irish beef exports, with shipments somewhat larger during the Seven Years War. Although the most impressive gains for Irish beef had been made before 1731, exports of that commodity were about 85 per cent larger by the Revolution than they had been in the 1730s. There were some years during the Seven Years War when beef alone accounted for nearly half of all Irish exports sent to America in the direct trade. In spite of its slower growth, beef was one of the largest components in Ireland's salted-provisions export before 1775. But only in the case of salted pork was America the principal market for a major Irish export before the American Revolution. The colonial market share was as high as 65 per cent in the eight years ending 1752, before declining in the 1760s and 1770s to about 50 per cent. Colonial demand for Irish butter was roughly five times as great at the end of the period as it had been in the 1730s, but America took considerably less of the article than did the markets of Great Britain or the European continent. Although the butter export to the colonies tripled between 1731 and 1775, the colonial market share was only about 14 per cent of total exports of that article in the decade before the Revolution.

Plain white and brown linens had been allowed directly from Ireland by an alteration of English navigation law in 1705⁴⁷ and, especially after the opening of Irish ports to colonial exports in 1731, began to rival the popular inexpensive German linens for dominance in the plantation market. The direct export of linen [of which roughly 70 per cent was intended for the North American mainland] was intimately connected to the colonial flaxseed export. But linen sent directly to the plantations typically accounted for only about 10 per cent of the Irish linen consumed on the mainland and in the islands. After 1743, nearly all of the Irish linen that entered the colonies was sent through England in order to collect the bounty. In the three years ending 1751, about 11 per cent of Ireland's total linen export was marketed in America through the combined direct and indirect trades. That proportional share increased markedly during the last quarter-century before the Revolution. In the three years ending March 1771, an average of about 4,700,000 yards of Irish linen, or about 21 per cent of the total export, was sent across the Atlantic. The high quality and low price of the Irish article, in addition to taking away much of the market for foreign linens, helped to frustrate the development of a colonial linen industry. Expensive labour in America discouraged competition with the Home Islands in the

manufacture. Because of a favourable upward price trend for exported colonial commodities between 1720 and 1775 and a relatively modest upward trend in prices for imported British manufactures in the same period, the real cost of many imports actually declined.⁴⁸ So long as this trend held, the Irish linen trade flourished.

The colonial export trade to Ireland, exclusive of the enumerated commodities that were transhipped through England, was of a smaller scale than Irish exports of provisions and linens. But there was more variety in the array of articles sent. Imports from America included rum, flaxseed, wheat and flour, staves, lumber and timber, and ships, as well as a host of goods shipped in small quantities, such as apples, beeswax, axe handles, oars, and wheel sets. North American flaxseed, the good that attracted the most attention on both sides of the Atlantic, was drawn largely from the northern colonies and shipped from New York and Philadelphia. By the 1750s, flaxseed had become important in continental America's direct trade with the British Isles. Rum, on the other hand, was the typical return cargo in Ireland's provisioning commerce with the sugar islands, although some was sent out from New York and Boston. Wheat and flour were sometimes shipped in substantial quantities, most often in times of severe shortage when supplies from Great Britain were strained. By the 1770s, however, some colonial wheat was being imported to meet demand from Ireland's expanding flour milling industry. Ireland provided a large market for North American staves and headings, imported for use in the salted-provisions industry, but colonial lumber and semi-manufactured wooden products were traded in relatively small quantities. The most important articles in the lumber export were the cherry, walnut, and mahogany boards used in Irish furniture-making and boat-building. One other American industry, shipbuilding, was of importance to Ireland, though the value of sales there cannot be measured accurately. Colonial ship registers suggest that Irish purchases of American-built vessels were routine.⁴⁹

Flaxseed was the most important export to Ireland from the mainland ports. By mid-century, the health of the Irish linen manufacture was partly dependent upon the availability of high-quality seed and, after the 1750s, nearly all of Ireland's supply came from the plantations. Flaxseed had numerous advantages for the colonial merchant. It could be produced in the hinterlands of the northern ports, gathered by coasting captains along the many rivers and inlets of the region, and shipped to Ireland at a time of the year when other trades were at their low ebb. The flaxseed season began about November and continued through the last

days of February, allowing the article to arrive in Ireland in time for the spring planting. In these few months, the flaxseed trade was among the principal activities carried on in the ports of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, with prices as volatile and profits as high as those in any of the transatlantic trades. Except for the intermittent wheat and flour export, most of the articles shipped to Ireland from the American mainland were sent aboard the flaxseed ships. These vessels carried loadings of lumber and staves, bar iron, and rum, in addition to their principal cargo. Nearly all of the commercial shipping between colonial America and Ireland sailed during the flaxseed season, causing a concentration of activity in the ancillary trades.⁵⁰

Irish import statistics reveal a positive trend in the direct trade with the American colonies. The flaxseed commerce grew in dramatic spurts, one coming in the first half of the 1750s, when the export doubled as a consequence of impressive growth in Ireland's linen manufacture. The second came after the close of the Seven Years War, when the colonial market for Irish linen experienced its most rapid expansion. Rum was the article upon which the hopes of the sugar planters had focused in 1731, when they allied themselves with the Irish to urge for the opening of trade in the unenumerated commodities. Although that trade was sluggish in the 1730s and 1740s, plantation rum, nearly all of it imported from the West Indies, was well established in Ireland before mid-century. By the Revolution, Ireland was taking seven times its rum import of the mid-1730s. Import statistics in the direct trade for the eight years ending 1772 do not reveal the full extent of that growth, however. In that period, a huge re-export through Great Britain developed because of an anomaly in the schedule of import duties in Ireland and Great Britain. By touching first in Great Britain before landing in Ireland, West Indian rum paid lower duties and was thus available in the Irish market at attractive prices.⁵¹ Imports of American wheat and flour became significant in Ireland at times of agricultural crisis, such as in the four years ending in 1744, 1760, and 1768. In the final decade before the Revolution, wheat and flour exports to Ireland stabilized into an important element in the mainland's trade, equal in value to about 85 per cent of the flaxseed export in the four years ending 1772. On the other hand, imports of staves, lumber, and timber failed to keep pace with the expansion of trade and, on balance, were a disappointment. One of the hopes of 1731 had been that the Act allowing the import of non-enumerated articles into Ireland would encourage this trade, diverting commerce away from European suppliers.⁵²

At first glance, the Irish marketplace seems of relatively little importance to the export trade of the mainland colonies, particularly when compared to that in Great Britain. Between 1768 and 1772, the value of colonial exports sent to Great Britain averaged about £1,588,000: per annum, compared to just £92,000: for Ireland.⁵³ But these magnitudes mask the real impact of the Irish market upon American commerce. For Great Britain, the most important of the continental colonies were those in the upper and lower South. About 76 per cent of mainland American exports sent to Great Britain in the five years ending 1772 came from that region. There was some trade to Ireland from the South, but of only token importance. Although a considerable share of the tobacco sent from the upper South to Great Britain was destined for eventual re-export to Ireland from Scotland and the English outports, that article cannot properly be considered within the immediate context of direct Irish-colonial trade. Except for shipments of wheat and flour, substantial in some years and practically non-existent in others, and a modest export of flaxseed, demand from Ireland had no discernible effect upon the economies of the region.

It was in the middle colonies, the region dominated by Philadelphia and New York, that the export to Ireland played a significant role. Between 1768 and 1772, about 10 per cent of its commodity export was directed to Ireland. In the same period, Great Britain only accounted for about 12 per cent of that trade. The West Indian islands, taken as a whole, and the ports of Southern Europe were the principal markets for the output of the middle colonies, taking about three-quarters of total exports.⁵⁴ In the region's trade with the Home Islands, Ireland and Great Britain were roughly on a par with one another. In the middle colonies, the Irish trades became an important feature of mercantile life, as a survey of Philadelphia or New York newspaper advertising in the autumn and winter months from the 1740s through to the Revolution will readily establish.

Ireland's direct exports to the plantations [the North American mainland and West India islands combined] were below 12 per cent of her total exports and typically less than 9 per cent. Imports in the years between 1731 and 1775 were seldom as high as 8 per cent [Table 2.1]. The trades with France, Spain, and the Baltic were considerably more substantial. But with a simple calculation to account for Ireland's indirect importation of rum, sugar, and tobacco, and her indirect export of linen, her economic relationship with America can be set into a perspective that explains the high degree of contemporary interest in the

trade. In none of the four-year accounting periods used in the statistical presentation of the composite of Ireland's direct and indirect trade with the British plantations [Table 3.3] did her importation of non-enumerated articles match the combined imports of sugar and tobacco from Great Britain. And, except for the four years ending 1756, Irish linen sent through London [after passage of the Linen Bounty Act of 1743] alone either matched or exceeded total plantation imports.

The colonies were Ireland's second most important trading partner, after Great Britain, when the direct and indirect trades are consolidated to express the effective level of commerce. Unlike the direct trade, in which Irish imports from America experienced indecisive growth, they showed vigorous growth in the composite trade, doubling between the 1730s and 1760, and again doubling by 1776. The expansion in Irish exports to

Table 2.1: IRELAND'S DIRECT TRADE AND THE COMPOSITE OF HER DIRECT AND INDIRECT TRADES WITH THE BRITISH PLANTATIONS IN AMERICA IN THE CONTEXT OF TOTAL IRISH OVERSEAS TRADE⁵⁵

Avg. of 4 yrs. end- ing March	Trade with the American Plantations				Total of all Irish Overseas Trade	
	[Direct Trade]		[Composite Trade]		Exports	Imports
	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports		
1736	£116,730:	£25,910:	£121,730:	£113,600:	£1,188,450:	£919,990:
1740	98,310:	40,370:	105,810:	136,510:	1,247,090:	890,810:
1744	141,700:	69,900:	151,700:	189,910:	1,260,320:	970,380:
1748	126,840:	40,160:	170,480:	150,160:	1,550,920:	1,112,920:
1752	139,730:	65,020:	200,330:	190,600:	1,871,910:	1,546,240:
1756	153,000:	102,360:	203,500:	206,100:	1,911,580:	1,645,740:
1760	213,260:	86,770:	368,840:	251,930:	2,124,170:	1,518,550:
1764	276,910:	80,410:	445,530:	307,190:	2,389,760:	1,869,350:
1768	235,070:	91,410:	398,660:	418,270:	2,797,440:	2,203,130:
1772	329,880:	111,470:	550,230:	524,200:	3,227,390:	2,415,010:
1776	265,120:	167,840:	430,120:	542,120:	3,052,050:	2,509,650:

America was even more impressive, with exports in 1775 about four and a half times their level of the four year period ending in 1736. The colonies took an average of about 15 per cent of Irish exports in each of the four year periods after the 1750s and an average of about 11 per cent in those between 1732 and 1756. Composite plantation imports accounted for over 20 per cent of Ireland's import trade in the four years ending 1776 and were nearly that high in the similar period ending 1744. In most of the periods, however, the share fluctuated between about 12 and 16 per cent.

IV.

There was a coherent structure to the trade between Ireland and the mainland colonies of British North America. Its principal organizing elements were found in the Irish linen industry, transatlantic migration,

the urban merchant communities in Ireland and continental America, and the intermediary activities of the London merchant houses that participated in the marketing of Irish bounty linens. Trade between Ireland and the British plantations in which these elements did not play the dominant role was of little consequence to continental America. For example, the plantations provided an important market for Irish salted provisions, but most of the beef, butter, pork, and herrings sent across the Atlantic was destined for markets in the West Indies, shipped on English account. Much of what touched the American mainland was sent by firms whose primary interest lay in the linen industry. Even the colonial exportation of wheat and flour, staves, ashes, and rum was typically tied to arrangements that had their roots in the linen manufacture. The organizational structure of the commerce to the mainland encompassed well-established patterns of shipping, most of which were orchestrated to meet the requirements of the highly seasonal flaxseed trade, one of the principal wintertime activities in the ports of New York and Philadelphia. Some aspects of the trade's structure were less visible, however. Significant smuggling was carried on within the context of Irish-American commerce, mostly at the American end.

Merchants in the North of Ireland with close ties to the linen manufacture were the prime initiators of most of the activity broadly described as Irish-American trade. In the American colonies, the linen manufacture found its best source of flaxseed, as well as its largest market outside the British Isles. More than anything else, the Irish Parliament's encouragement of the flaxseed trade through the payment of a :5: [sterling] per hogshead import bounty laid the foundation for the trade.⁵⁶ On the mainland of North America, nearly all direct commerce with Ireland bore some relationship to flaxseed and was concentrated in the months between November and February. Flaxseed production was an important source of income to small independent farmers from Nova Scotia to North Carolina. In some places, particularly in the Connecticut River Valley and on Long Island, it was second in importance to the West Indian commerce as a means of earning remittances on London to fund the importation of manufactured articles from the British Isles.⁵⁷ One of the most important of these was Irish linen, whose production had come to depend upon North American flaxseed by the 1750s. The marketing network that linked backcountry shopkeepers, merchants in the smaller ports, coasting captains, and overseas merchants, within as well as outside of the Irish merchant communities, depended upon this two-way flow of goods.

The intimate relationship between the Irish-American trade and transatlantic migration was, likewise, crucial to the organizational

stability of the commerce. The orderly movement of large numbers of Irish passengers, convicts, and indentured servants to America was perhaps the best organized migration of the eighteenth century. But from one important contemporary perspective, that of the merchants who made it happen, it was important primarily as a business. The emigrant trade contributed dramatically to the productivity of shipping and encouraged capital investment, particularly in the peak years of the early 1770s.⁵⁸ Merchants on both sides of the Atlantic found an attractive source of earnings in the carriage and marketing of servants aboard vessels whose primary mission was to load flaxseed for the return to Ireland. Like other aspects of Irish-American commerce, the servant trade utilized intermediary British merchant houses to provide an efficient and reliable means of effecting clearances. Also, like other dimensions of the economic relationship between Ireland and the mainland ports, a significant share of activity bore some connexion to the Irish linen manufacture. The emigrant trade was an activity of immeasurable importance to the cultural development of the American nation.

The most striking manifestations of the coherent organization that underlay the trade were the Irish merchant communities that arose in the ports of the middle colonies in the 1740s. The need to achieve efficiencies in the gathering and shipment of seed and the distribution of indentured servants was the principal *raison d'être* for the expatriate Irish merchant communities that grew up in Philadelphia and New York in the 1740s, and in Baltimore in the 1760s. Houses with a distinctly Irish flavour became an important subgroup in the local merchant communities of the three colonial cities. Some were extensions of Irish firms in which a partner was set up across the Atlantic. In other instances, ambitious Irishmen seeking to make their fortunes in transatlantic trade migrated to America, keeping close affiliations with Ireland. Links of kinship and religion tied Irish merchants in America to their counterparts in Ireland, most of whom were intimately connected to the linen manufacture. But except for their close ties to Ireland and involvement in the trade with their homeland, there was little to distinguish them from other merchants in the colonial towns. They participated in intercolonial commerce and traded alongside their neighbours to the West Indies, as well as to Great Britain and Southern Europe. Some were even notable as smugglers, extending their activities as far afield as any of their fellows. In smuggling, as well as in legitimate commerce, the Irish merchants in America formed occasional partnerships with other colonial houses that tied them close to local interests.⁵⁹ Ship registrations in Philadelphia between 1720 and 1775 reveal extensive links between the

two groups.⁶⁰ In Ireland, there was no comparable community of American merchants, nor even an American presence. But in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and the ports of the North, there were firms that were identified with colonial trade.

Great Britain supplied a critical element in the three-cornered organizational structure of the Irish-American trade. Although the transatlantic trade between Ireland and the North American colonies was circumscribed by a larger Imperial design, both partners were able to reap considerable advantage by virtue of membership in the British Empire. Both looked to London, the best developed financial centre in the eighteenth century, as the principal clearinghouse in a trade that would have been frustrated if required to depend upon their own less developed institutions. British firms with strong links to the Irish linen manufacture played a leading role in the movement of Irish bounty linens into the North American market. They also served as the principal source of sterling bills of exchange for merchants on both sides of the Atlantic. Bills drawn upon houses in the British capital, tied in some way to either the linen or sugar trades, were the trade's primary financial instruments. It was the financial service provided by these British enterprises that made the exportation of flaxseed to Ireland so attractive to merchants in America. In addition to providing an orderly and systematic structure of remittances, London was the chief supplier of the commercial credit that fuelled both the short-term needs of the flaxseed commerce and the longer-term requirements of the linen export to the plantations.

The characteristic shipping patterns associated with the Irish-American trade were shuttle runs between the North American mainland and Ireland, and triangular voyages that linked ports in continental America, Ireland and the West Indies. There was little regular shipping between Ireland and the mainland colonies outside the context of the flaxseed trade.⁶¹ As in other branches of eighteenth century transatlantic commerce, the shuttle pattern appears to have been dominant, particularly in trade carried on from Philadelphia, where the emigrant trade was best developed.⁶² Many colonial vessels employed a modified shuttle, however, stopping at an English port, usually Bristol or Liverpool, after unloading flaxseed in Ireland to take on manufactured articles for the return leg to North America.⁶³ This pattern is to be distinguished from another employed by Bristol and Liverpool vessels which called for a stop at Cork to pick up Irish provisions for the sugar islands. Although it did move Irish goods into the colonial marketplace,

it was a pattern of commerce more directly associated with Anglo-American than Irish-American trade.⁶⁴ Sometimes vessels participating in the Irish-colonial commerce arrived at the mainland American ports early enough for an additional leg to and from the West Indies before loading flaxseed for the return to Ireland. The shuttle pattern was best developed in the trade between the flaxseed centres, New York and Philadelphia, and the North of Ireland ports of Derry and Newry. There was, likewise, considerable shuttle traffic between the American mainland and Dublin, Cork, and Belfast; but those towns were most often included in patterns involving some contact with the West Indian islands.⁶⁵

There was a triangular pattern of shipping peculiar to the Irish-American trade. It entailed the carriage of flaxseed and lumber to ports in Ireland, typically Cork and Dublin, where it was traded for salted provisions for markets in the West Indies. For the return journey across the Atlantic, beef, butter, pork, and herrings were carried to the sugar islands where they were traded for rum, sugar, and molasses for shipment to the mainland of North America. In spite of the speculative risks of carrying flaxseed to Ireland, the trade was an attractive alternative to the conventional shuttle between the North American mainland and the islands. The Irish triangle was most commonly employed by New England merchants with regular involvements in the West Indies.⁶⁶ Peter Bonteque of Connecticut, for example, was representative of the New England merchants and merchant/sea captains who traded in the Irish triangle. His small bark, Hawk, a vessel of 47 tons, worked a pattern of commerce connecting New Haven, Cork, and ports in the Caribbean.⁶⁷ Another of the many New England merchants who made use of this triangular pattern was Jonathan Jackson of Newburyport, Massachusetts. "We shall order to the south of Ireland," he wrote to a correspondent at Coleraine in 1771, "as Freights to the W Indies or elsewhere are more easily procured from thence . . . she is bound from thence to the W Indies & home."⁶⁸ Although best established in New England, the Irish triangle was employed by merchants in New York and Philadelphia as well. One New York captain in the flaxseed commerce counted three of his townsmen loading at Cork upon his departure in 1766.⁶⁹ The triangular pattern typically began with the shipment of flaxseed from a port in North America, but it was sometimes initiated from Ireland as a means of turning a profit on the incoming flaxseed ships.⁷⁰

There was considerable variation on the principal patterns of shipping. For example, Waterford merchants employed a well-established pattern that sent vessels in a broad triangle touching the West Indies,

Newfoundland, and their home port. They typically carried provisions to the islands, where they were traded for rum and molasses for the Newfoundland market. On the final leg, cod fish purchased at Newfoundland and West Indian rum was returned to Ireland.⁷¹ Although there was only sporadic contact with the ports of the North American mainland, Waterford merchants did occasionally trade there.⁷² Another pattern that had been established before the opening of direct two-way trade included a stop at either Cadiz or Lisbon as part of a venture linking ports on the American mainland with Ireland. At least as early as 1718, New England merchants in touch with Lisbon and Cadiz sometimes stopped at Cork to load provisions and servants for the final leg home.⁷³ In the late 1730s, a pattern that took ships from Philadelphia to Dublin to Lisbon and back again to Philadelphia, with occasional stops in the Madeira Islands, was not uncommon.⁷⁴ In the 1750s, an Irish merchant in New York sometimes sent vessels on to Cadiz after unloading flaxseed in Ireland to take in fruit and salt for his home market.⁷⁵

The coasting commerce in Ireland and the continental colonies was stimulated by the Irish-American trade. In Ireland, American flaxseed, wheat and flour, and lumber moved conveniently through the distribution structure by means of the coasting trade. Dublin's importance in the flaxseed trade, for example, derived partly from the Irish capital's ability to provide low-cost water carriage.⁷⁶ Sometimes incoming vessels from the American colonies supplemented this activity by carrying their cargoes from port to port in search of attractive markets.⁷⁷ In North America, the annual flaxseed commerce was an important seasonal employer of coasting vessels. In some years, over a quarter of a million bushels of seed entered the colonial flaxseed exporting towns, nearly all of it aboard coasters.⁷⁸ Competition between New York and Philadelphia for a share of this trade was heightened by the far reach of the American coasting commerce. There is nothing extraordinary in the trade of the Rundles of Philadelphia, who purchased seed from intermediaries in Salem [Massachusetts], nor of New York merchants, such as Issac Sears, who took the article from suppliers in Newburyport [Massachusetts].⁷⁹ Occasionally, flaxseed moved back and forth between the two towns in response to price differentials.⁸⁰ Although most of what was sent in the coasting trade was shipped by prearrangement, large quantities entered New York and Philadelphia on speculation, to be sold at dockside by captains who traded on their own account.⁸¹ Imported Irish articles, principally linens and salted provisions, likewise moved through the colonial marketing system by means of the coasting commerce.⁸²

Smuggling was an important feature of the Irish-American trade, but mostly at the American end. Although large amounts of tobacco were run into Ireland between 1731 and 1775, little of that activity was related to the structure of trade between Ireland and the colonies.⁸³ Some loose tobacco was put ashore in the West of Ireland from vessels bound from Virginia to Glasgow, but in trifling quantities.⁸⁴ Nearly all smuggled tobacco was fed into Ireland from the Isle of Man, Guernsey, or the ports along the northwest coast of France. Some was legally cleared out of England for destinations in Europe, but clandestinely landed in Ireland.⁸⁵ Although rum smuggling was less important, evidence suggests that significant quantities did enter Ireland.⁸⁶ To control this traffic, which often consisted of the dispatch of part of an incoming ship's cargo to receiving points along the coast of Ireland before the remainder was formally entered, revenue officials prohibited the landing of rum sent from the plantations or Great Britain from vessels of less than 70 tons.⁸⁷ Frequently, rum violations consisted of attempts to enter above-proof spirits as statutory rum.⁸⁸ The Irish-American trade provided cover for the smuggling of small amounts of other enumerated plantation articles, although there is no discernible pattern to activity. In 1761, for example, Irish revenue officers were ordered to carefully examine flaxseed hogsheads landed from North America, as coffee was finding its way into Ireland mixed together with seed.⁸⁹ Likewise, small quantities of logwood, indigo, pot and pearl ashes, tar, and turpentine were run. The most important branch of the smuggling trade was in the westbound passage, by means of which Irish manufactured goods and certain non-Irish luxuries, notably East India tea, illegally entered the American colonies through the structure of Irish-American trade.

Irish manufactured articles were smuggled into the North American ports with regular frequency. In spite of the efforts of customs officials in Ireland to put a stop to the smuggling of Irish woollen goods to the American colonies, they were regularly available in New York and Philadelphia, where they encountered little resistance from customs officials.⁹⁰ "I am on such a footing with the officers here," wrote a New York merchant active in the clandestine commerce with Ireland, "that if any Person can have fav^s I will."⁹¹ There appears to have been nothing extraordinary in the trade in Irish woollens. "Shou'd you think proper to order any of them," responded a Cork merchant to an enquiry from New England, "you must mention what length you wou'd chuse them, & whether you wou'd have them folded on boards."⁹² In some years, markets became glutted as too many arrived aboard the incoming flaxseed

vessels.⁹³ But woollens were not the only illegal manufactures from Ireland to be marketed in the colonies. Irish shoes, mostly made in Dublin, were regularly found in the centres of Irish trade in America. In the 1750s, one Dublin shoemaker, Thomas Strong of High Street, shipped women's shoe on speculation to George Bryan of Philadelphia, a man with strong links to the Irish capital. "If the trade will afford Encouragement, he will keep you Supply'd with Such Goods," wrote Bryan's Dublin correspondent.⁹⁴ In addition to woollens and shoes, the list of Irish articles smuggled into America included silks, poplins, ribbons, laces, wigs, needles, books, clocks and watches, porter and whiskey, and even Kilkenny marble mantlepieces.⁹⁵ Although there was a relatively unrestricted flow of such goods into the colonies, British revenue officers began to make inroads into the traffic by the early 1770s.⁹⁶

The most important co-operative smuggling activity was the running of tea onto the North American mainland. "Great quantities come here from Ireland & the West Indies," wrote a Philadelphia merchant in the late 1760s.⁹⁷ The trade grew to considerable proportions in the 1750s, a decade of general expansion in colonial smuggling activities. By 1757, according to one informed estimate, 65 per cent of Philadelphia's tea entered illegally.⁹⁸ The tea entered through a variety of channels. Irish sea captains carried contraband Dutch teas purchased through intermediaries in Rotterdam and Amsterdam to Irish merchants safely situated along Long Island Sound, from where it was transhipped in small quantities: north to ports in New England, south as far as Philadelphia. Henry & John Lloyd, located at Stamford in Connecticut, were extensively involved in this commerce, co-ordinating their activities with Irish merchants on both sides of the Atlantic.⁹⁹ Tea was even sent direct from Ireland aboard provisions vessels trading to the West Indies, from whence it was carried to the mainland of North America on vessels loaded with molasses, "the only Article (I think) proper to cover such an Adventure," according to one Irish merchant.¹⁰⁰ In addition, the trade utilized entrepot facilities on the Isle of Man, until its decline as the centre of Irish smuggling after 1765. "On your Coming out Call at the Isle of man," wrote an Irish merchant in Philadelphia in 1762 to his correspondent at Galway in 1762, John & Andrew French. "Take in bohea Tea, gin, brandy, Silk handkerchief &c. These always sell well here and wee are happy in the freedom and Libarty of out Trade." The Galway firm was advised to send a ship in plenty of time to load for the West Indies "and [be] here back again [in] time enough to return to Ireland with Flaxseed."¹⁰¹ Although the vigilance of the customs service in America increased after 1768, the decline in tea smuggling at the end of the

decade was mostly due to the reduction of duties in 1767, curtailing profits available to smugglers.¹⁰²

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Chapter Three

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS AND FINANCIAL STRUCTURE

"Every merchant of Ireland is obliged to have an agent in London, who pays all his engagements with foreigners, and were it not . . . for the Linen Trade, the Importer here would, of necessity, be obliged to drain this kingdom of its current species."

Dublin Pamphleteer, 1776¹

The financial structure of the Irish-American trade revolved around the complex intermediary role played by London merchants in transatlantic commerce. Sterling bills of exchange payable in London provided a means of regular and efficient payment for goods and services, as well as a source of commercial credit and working capital. In Ireland, London financiers supplied liquidity to the linen and provisions industries and fuelled trade with America, typically carried on Irish account. In the North American colonies, the difficulty earning sterling bills of exchange with which to buy imported British manufactured goods was the principal encouragement for commerce with Ireland. The trade's balance of payments structure, as a consequence, reflected the influence of the tripartite relationship between ports in Ireland, North America, and Great Britain.

I.

A full technical analysis of the balance of payments in Irish-American commerce is made impossible by the complexity of the relationship between the two trading partners and ports in Great Britain, particularly London, through which the bulk of their trade was cleared. It is possible to develop an impressionistic overview, however. Perspective on the topic is obscured by the fact that there were, essentially, four trades encompassed within the broad meaning of Irish-American commerce: a direct and an indirect trade to the mainland colonies of British North America, as well as a direct and indirect trade with the British islands in the West Indies. Thus, a conventional analysis of the balances in the direct trade between Ireland and the plantations [the North American mainland and West Indies combined] is bound to be misleading. Overall, Ireland enjoyed huge surpluses in her direct commerce with the British plantations, with exports often more than double the level of imports [Table 3.1]. But, even here, the picture is not so simple. Whereas

Ireland's direct commodity exports to the West Indies were not matched by corresponding returns sent directly, her direct commodity shipments to the mainland colonies were. In fact, Ireland typically experienced deficits in the segment of her direct plantation commerce carried on with the North American mainland [Table 3.2]. But focus on the direct trade ignores the predominant role of Great Britain in Ireland's American commerce. Assessment of the unique balance of trade issues associated with Irish-American trade requires consideration of the full scope of the relationship between Ireland, the North American mainland, the West India islands, and Great Britain, seen within the context of the trade's structure.

Ireland's balance of trade in the composite trade, the consolidation of her direct and indirect trades [Table 3.3], fell short of the decisively favourable balance she enjoyed in her direct trade. In some periods, the balance of trade did not favour her at all. But the structure of commerce portrayed by the composite trade more accurately reflects her commercial relationship with the American colonies. Irish exports to the plantation market, particularly indirect linen shipments through Britain, experienced impressive growth after the 1740s. Ireland's deficit in her composite plantation trade in the eight years ending 1744 was virtually eliminated by the expansion of linen exports to the American market after passage of the Bounty Act of 1743.² The strength of linen and provisions sales in America allowed a moderately favourable balance of trade for Ireland in her composite American commerce until the final accounting period before the outbreak of the American Revolution. At that stage, in spite of the success of the bounty linen export, that trade failed to fully offset the dramatic expansion in the Irish market for sugar and rum. Those luxury goods, together with tobacco, dominated Irish imports from the plantations. They typically accounted for between 75 and 85 per cent of her consumption of American produce, except during the Seven Years War when imports were reduced. From the mid-1750s until the Revolution, Ireland's market for sugar better than tripled, and her demand for plantation rum doubled.

The balance of trade in the branch of the composite trade carried on indirectly through Great Britain [Table 3.6] was overwhelmingly in favour of the American plantations, except in the four years ending 1760, when war distorted the trade and it nearly balanced. Expectedly, Irish exports sent indirectly through English ports were composed almost exclusively of linen. Before the establishment of the re-export bounty on low-priced Irish linens in the mid-1740s, indirect exports represented

Table 3.1: IRELAND'S TOTAL DIRECT TRADE WITH THE BRITISH PLANTATIONS IN AMERICA³
 [Trade with the North American Mainland and the West Indies Combined]

Avg. of 4 yrs. ending March	Linen	Beef	Pork	Butter	Other Articles	TOTAL EXPORTS	Staves				Other Articles	TOTAL IMPORTS	Balance
							Flaxseed	Lumber & Timber	Wheat & Flour	Rum			
1736	£12,620:	£52,460:	£10,180:	£13,300:	£28,170:	£116,730:	£ 4,410:	£ 5,260:	£ 2,630:	£11,330:	£ 2,280:	£ 25,910:	£90,820:
1740	15,400:	43,400:	9,560:	14,120:	15,830:	98,310:	13,880:	4,120:	4,010:	14,860:	3,500:	40,370:	57,940:
1744	15,120:	69,110:	13,320:	26,050:	18,100:	141,700:	15,810:	2,540:	20,340:	26,550:	4,660:	69,900:	71,800:
1748	11,950:	60,240:	16,700:	23,840:	14,110:	126,840:	14,140:	1,100:	3,050:	18,050:	3,820:	40,160:	86,680:
1752	13,380:	58,840:	20,930:	29,110:	17,470:	139,730:	13,160:	4,650:	1,330:	36,740:	9,140:	65,020:	74,710:
1756	11,870:	70,900:	22,990:	31,120:	16,120:	153,000:	30,660:	5,370:	4,910:	55,220:	6,200:	102,360:	50,640:
1760	14,900:	92,620:	34,050:	48,320:	23,370:	213,260:	30,910:	2,120:	11,390:	35,270:	7,080:	86,770:	126,490:
1764	16,050:	121,900:	51,320:	52,360:	35,280:	276,910:	32,760:	3,940:	230:	35,570:	7,910:	80,410:	196,500:
1768	23,690:	87,280:	41,400:	51,980:	30,720:	235,070:	40,090:	8,440:	25,690:	8,180:	9,010:	91,410:	143,660:
1772	99,710:	91,680:	37,910:	69,260:	31,320:	329,880:	50,020:	9,430:	42,080:	1,120:	8,820:	111,470:	218,410:
1776	26,270:	85,870:	44,520:	71,260:	37,200:	265,120:	54,300:	8,790:	18,690:	75,570:	10,490:	167,840:	97,280:

Table 3.2: IRELAND'S DIRECT TRADE WITH THE BRITISH COLONIES ON THE NORTH AMERICAN MAINLAND ONLY⁴

Avg. of 4 yrs. ending March	TOTAL EXPORTS		Staves				TOTAL IMPORTS		Balance
	Linen	Provisions	Flaxseed	Lumber & Timber	Wheat & Flour	Rum	Other Articles		
1736	£8,830:	£10,410:	£4,410:	£5,260:	£2,630:	£790:	£2,280:	£15,370:	£3,870:
1740	10,780:	8,290:	13,880:	4,120:	4,010:	1,040:	3,500:	26,550:	(7,480:)
1744	10,580:	12,660:	15,810:	2,540:	20,340:	1,860:	4,660:	45,210:	(21,970:)
1748	8,370:	11,490:	14,140:	1,100:	3,050:	1,260:	3,820:	23,370:	(3,510:)
1752	13,380:	12,640:	13,160:	4,650:	1,330:	2,570:	9,140:	30,850:	(4,830:)
1756	8,310:	14,110:	30,660:	5,370:	4,910:	3,870:	6,200:	51,010:	(28,590:)
1760	10,430:	49,590:	30,910:	2,120:	11,390:	3,520:	7,080:	55,020:	5,000:
1764	11,240:	39,130:	32,760:	3,940:	230:	4,590:	7,910:	49,430:	940:
1768	16,580:	21,140:	40,090:	8,440:	25,690:	7,290:	9,010:	90,520:	(52,800:)
1772	69,800:	23,020:	50,020:	9,430:	42,080:	8,860:	8,820:	119,210:	(26,390:)
1776	18,390:	23,890:	54,300:	8,790:	18,690:	7,710:	10,490:	99,980:	(57,700:)

Table 3.3: COMPOSITE OF IRELAND'S DIRECT AND INDIRECT TRADE WITH THE BRITISH PLANTATIONS IN AMERICA⁵
 [Trade with the North American Mainland and the West Indies Combined]

Avg. of 4 yrs. ending March	Direct Exports	Indirect Linen Exports	COMPOSITE TOTAL EXPORTS	Direct Imports	[Indirect through Gr. Britain]			COMPOSITE TOTAL IMPORTS	Balance
					Rum	Sugar	Tobacco		
1736	£116,730:	£5,000:	£121,730:	£25,910:	£57,540:	£30,150:	£113,600:	£8,130:	
1740	98,310:	7,500:	105,810:	40,370:	73,710:	22,430:	136,510:	(30,700:)	
1744	141,700:	10,000:	151,700:	69,900:	93,450:	26,560:	189,910:	(38,210:)	
1748	126,840:	43,640:	170,480:	40,160:	80,250:	29,750:	150,160:	20,320:	
1752	139,730:	60,600:	200,330:	65,020:	92,170:	33,410:	190,600:	9,730:	
1756	153,000:	50,500:	203,500:	102,360:	73,450:	30,290:	206,100:	(2,600:)	
1760	213,260:	155,580:	368,840:	86,770:	112,290:	37,870:	251,930:	116,910:	
1764	276,910:	168,620:	445,530:	80,410:	153,030:	43,750:	307,190:	138,340:	
1768	235,070:	163,590:	398,660:	91,410:	191,430:	39,400:	418,270:	(19,610:)	
1772	329,880:	220,350:	550,230:	111,470:	243,920:	43,410:	524,200:	26,030:	
1776	265,120:	165,000:	430,120:	167,840:	298,020:	41,660:	542,120:	(112,000:)	

Table 3.4: COMPOSITE OF IRELAND'S DIRECT AND INDIRECT TRADE WITH THE BRITISH COLONIES ON THE NORTH AMERICAN MAINLAND ONLY⁶

Avg. of 4 yrs. ending March	Linen	Provisions	TOTAL EXPORTS	Staves				Rum	Tobacco	Other Articles	TOTAL IMPORTS	Balance
				Flaxseed	Lumber & Timber	Wheat & Flour						
1736	£12,330:	£10,410:	£22,740:	£4,410:	£5,260:	£2,630:	£790:	£30,150:	£2,280:	£45,520:	(£22,780:)	
1740	16,030:	8,290:	24,320:	13,880:	4,120:	4,010:	1,040:	22,430:	3,500:	48,980:	(24,660:)	
1744	17,580:	12,660:	30,240:	15,810:	2,540:	20,340:	1,860:	26,560:	4,660:	71,770:	(41,530:)	
1748	38,910:	11,490:	50,410:	14,140:	1,100:	3,050:	1,260:	29,750:	3,820:	53,120:	(2,710:)	
1752	51,790:	12,640:	64,430:	13,160:	4,650:	1,330:	2,570:	33,410:	9,140:	64,260:	170:	
1756	43,660:	14,110:	57,770:	30,660:	5,370:	4,910:	3,870:	30,290:	6,200:	81,300:	(23,530:)	
1760	119,340:	49,590:	168,930:	30,910:	2,120:	11,390:	3,520:	37,870:	7,080:	92,890:	76,040:	
1764	129,270:	39,130:	168,400:	32,760:	3,940:	230:	4,590:	43,750:	7,910:	93,180:	75,220:	
1768	131,100:	21,140:	152,230:	40,090:	8,440:	25,690:	7,290:	39,400:	9,010:	129,920:	22,310:	
1772	224,040:	23,020:	247,070:	50,020:	9,430:	42,080:	8,860:	43,410:	8,820:	162,620:	84,450:	
1776	133,890:	23,890:	157,780:	54,300:	8,790:	18,690:	7,710:	41,660:	10,490:	141,640:	16,140:	

Table 3.5: COMPOSITE OF IRELAND'S DIRECT AND INDIRECT TRADE WITH THE BRITISH COLONIES IN THE WEST INDIES ONLY⁷

Avg. of 4 yrs. ending March	TOTAL EXPORTS			TOTAL IMPORTS			Balance
	Linen	Provisions	Sugar	Rum	Sugar	Rum	
1736	£5,290:	£93,700:	£57,540:	£10,540:	£68,080:	£30,910:	
1740	6,870:	74,620:	73,710:	13,820:	87,530:	(6,040:)	
1744	7,540:	113,920:	93,450:	24,690:	118,140:	3,320:	
1748	16,680:	103,400:	80,250:	16,790:	97,040:	23,040:	
1752	22,190:	113,710:	92,170:	34,170:	126,340:	9,560:	
1756	18,710:	127,020:	73,450:	51,350:	124,800:	20,930:	
1760	51,150:	148,770:	112,290:	46,750:	159,040:	40,880:	
1764	55,400:	221,730:	153,030:	60,980:	214,010:	63,120:	
1768	56,180:	190,240:	191,430:	96,920:	288,350:	(41,930:)	
1772	96,020:	207,150:	243,920:	117,660:	361,580:	(58,410:)	
1776	57,380:	214,960:	298,020:	102,460:	400,480:	(128,140:)	

only about 6 per cent of Ireland's composite plantation trade. But by the mid-1750s, and continuing until the outbreak of the American Revolution, the indirect linen trade constituted roughly 40 per cent of Irish exports to the colonies. More impressive was the share of Ireland's plantation import channelled through Great Britain. Nearly all of her intake of sugar and tobacco, and much of her rum, passed through British ports. Indirect imports of these articles typically represented from about 60 to 80 per cent of Irish composite imports. Whereas tobacco shipments expanded by only about a third over the period between 1731 and 1775, and the volume of rum carried through Great Britain was significant only in the eight years ending in 1772, sugar imports experienced a five-fold increase, dominating the commerce. The growing Irish market

Table 3.6: SHARE OF THE COMPOSITE OF IRELAND'S
DIRECT AND INDIRECT TRADE WITH THE BRITISH
PLANTATIONS IN AMERICA CARRIED THROUGH GREAT BRITAIN⁸

Avg. of 4 yrs. ending March	Indirect Exports	Indirect Imports	Balance
1736	£5,000:	£87,690:	(£82,690:)
1740	7,500:	96,140:	(88,640:)
1744	10,000:	120,010:	(110,010:)
1748	43,640:	110,000:	(81,940:)
1752	60,600:	125,580:	(64,980:)
1756	50,500:	103,740:	(53,240:)
1760	155,580:	165,160:	(9,580:)
1764	168,620:	226,780:	(58,160:)
1768	163,560:	326,860:	(163,270:)
1772	220,350:	412,730:	(192,380:)
1776	165,000:	374,280:	(209,280:)

for sugar helped to bolster demand in the West Indies for Irish salted provisions, a commerce largely managed by the London sugar interest. The impressive growth in both the indirect linen export and indirect sugar import, trades largely organized and financed by mercantile elements in Great Britain, underscores the importance of English intermediaries to Irish commerce.

In the portion of the composite trade carried on exclusively with the North American mainland [Table 3.4], Ireland experienced deficits in most years before the mid-1750s, and surpluses from then until the Revolution. The balance of trade moved in her favour largely because of expansion in the North American consumption of Irish linen, which found roughly two-thirds of its plantation market on the mainland. Whereas exports of Irish provisions to the mainland roughly doubled over the period, linen exports to the mainland increased by over twelve-fold, fuelled by population growth in the markets serviced by Philadelphia and New York. There were, likewise, substantial increases in Irish imports

from the American mainland, as in the case of flaxseed, the market for which expanded by about five times. But the quantities of most articles sent to Ireland were modest. Except for American wheat and flour exports, whose erratic performance mirrored recurrent short term crises in Ireland until the development of a relatively stable trade in the 1770s, and tobacco, the market for which failed to grow commensurately with the general expansion in Irish-colonial trade, the American export to Ireland was largely composed of a broad array of goods shipped in relatively small quantities. Thus, the six and a half-fold increase in rum shipments from the mainland [typically about 7 per cent of the total export of that article to Ireland], most of which was carried by New England merchants, did little to improve the mainland's balance of trade. Similarly, exports of American staves, lumber and timber, although they better than doubled over the period, were too small a component of the trade to have made much impact. Although sales of colonial-built ships were not listed among colonial exports in the official Irish import-export ledgers, they further enhanced the favourable balance of trade enjoyed by the mainland North American colonies.⁹

The balance of trade in the share of the composite trade carried on exclusively with the British West Indies [Table 3.5] reflects the interrelationships between the Irish provisions industry, the West Indian economy, and the London sugar interest, which largely organized and financed the commerce. Ireland enjoyed a favourable balance of trade in her British West Indian commerce until the mid-1760s, when a sharp increase in the Irish demand for sugar brought on rising deficits. One striking feature of this trade is the degree to which it remained in balance until the surge in Irish sugar imports after the Peace of Paris. The precarious nature of Ireland's balance of trade with the islands is more evident if linen, which was not typically handled by firms in the sugar or provisioning industries, is deducted from Irish exports to the West Indies. Until the mid-1760s, there was a remarkable balance between the value of Irish provisions and the produce of the plantations consumed in Ireland. After the close of the Seven Years War, however, Ireland failed to keep pace with her North American competitors in satisfying demand for foodstuffs in the sugar islands. Although a good deal of the rum landed in Ireland was brought in on Irish account, and substantial quantities of Irish provisions were carried to the islands by North American merchants as one leg of a triangular pattern, the arrangements established in the second half of the seventeenth century linking Ireland, the West Indies, and London appear to have stood up well until the eve of the American Revolution.¹⁰

The triangular patterns of shipping associated with the Irish-American commerce had their roots in the imbalances found within the components of the composite trade. For example, while the trade with the West Indies was broadly in balance up to the 1760s, if direct exports and imports through England are aggregated, a high proportion of individual vessels in the West Indies trade moved in a triangular pattern, touching at either a port in Great Britain or one on the mainland of North America. The bulk of this trade, although not all of it, was organized and financed by merchants in London or the English outports. On the other hand, the shuttle commerce between Ireland and the ports of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore was more nearly in balance, and had the fewest triangular components. Largely in the hands of merchants in Ireland and North America, the direct shuttle trade came closest to being a self-financing activity. Even so, some voyages in the annual flaxseed commerce included triangular components, either before arrival on the mainland to load seed, or after having unloaded seed in Ireland.¹¹ The triangular pattern was most prevalent in the trade carried on from New England. In the middle colonies, triangular elements were an ad hoc response to changing markets; but in New England, they were the mark of a distinctive commerce. While New England's flaxseed, staves, and rum enjoyed markets in Ireland, there was little demand in those colonies for the produce of Ireland directly carried to America. New England's triangular trade with Ireland derived from its otherwise active participation in West Indian commerce.¹² The relatively low volume of the servant trade to New England inhibited the development of Irish merchant communities in the region, thus frustrating the evolution of a larger direct commerce.

The emigrant trade has special relevance to the balance of payments structure for the Irish-American trade. Irish earnings in the servant trade, mostly carried on Irish account, went a long way toward redressing the deficits that she experienced in the direct commodity trade with the mainland. In spite of uncertainties regarding the magnitude of the passenger and servant trade, as well as average prices of indentures over the period, the commerce had a profound impact upon the balance of payments. If, for example, 6,000 to 8,000 indentured servants entered American ports annually during the early 1770s, at an average contract price of about £10: [sterling] per head,¹³ the total expenditure of as much as £80,000: [sterling] per annum, however distributed among interests in the colonies and Ireland, represented one of the largest items in Ireland's direct exports to North America. Although the impact of the servant trade was reduced in years of lower emigration, its

overall effect dramatically alters the balance of trade picture that emerges from an examination of commodity imports and exports as they appear in the customs house ledgers. From the American standpoint, all was not bleak, however. Colonial merchants, nearly all of them members of the Irish merchant communities of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, controlled the largest share of the shipping that carried passengers and servants from Ireland to the colonies and a substantial share of the trade was in the hands of Irish-American partnerships.¹⁴ Because the trade demanded considerable shipping tonnage, it had a stimulating effect upon colonial shipbuilding. Furthermore, the servant trade improved the efficiency of the flaxseed commerce by reducing the need to bring vessels into colonial ports in ballast, thereby lowering average freights. From a broader perspective, the balance of payments difficulties created for the mainland colonies by the servant trade were offset by improved conditions in the labour market.

Invisible exports, the sale of services to overseas residents, generated revenues on both sides of the Atlantic. They were typically received in the form of fees charged for services performed upon ocean-going vessels, shipping earnings, freights, commissions, and insurance premiums. In addition to income taken by overseas merchants, the sale of invisible exports created income for ship captains, mariners, warehousemen, coopers, and others who earned their livelihoods in the ports touched by the Irish-American commerce. An account of New York's Irish trade published in the New York Mercury in 1767 cites £200: [£112: sterling] per vessel as the average amount laid out to prepare, outfit, and man ships loaded with flaxseed and other articles for Ireland, exclusive of freights, commissions, and insurance premiums.¹⁵ This expense, most of which was ultimately borne at the Irish end because of the predominance of the commission trade in New York's flaxseed export, was probably higher in the commerce with Ireland than for other trades because of the difficult conditions faced by ships crossing the North Atlantic in the dead of winter. Taking the figure of £112: [sterling] to be a realistic estimate of the disbursements paid out in colonial ports in the final decade before the American Revolution, about £5,500: [sterling] was received annually in the colonial ports to set up ships for the flaxseed trade, assuming that roughly three-quarters of the seed shipped to Ireland was sent on Irish account. Although such disbursements had only a modest balance of payments significance, they represented an important source of income to seaport artisan classes in Ireland and the colonies.

Shipping revenues were the largest component of invisible earnings in the Irish-American trade, which employed as many as one hundred ships in the peak years of the late 1760s.¹⁶ As in other North American export trades, ships bound for Ireland tended to depart fully loaded.¹⁷ Contrary to the general rule, however, a relatively large proportion of inbound vessels entered ports on the American mainland either fully loaded or carrying cargoes of high value relative to volume, notably indentured servants, linen, and salted provisions.¹⁸ Some entered in ballast, of course, sometimes carrying coal or potatoes, but even those goods found receptive markets.¹⁹ The trade favoured vessels of moderate size, larger than those used by colonial merchants in their West Indian commerce, yet smaller than the truly big ships employed by the East India Company.²⁰ In a letter discouraging the sending of a sloop from Ireland to carry flaxseed home, a Philadelphia merchant attempted to give his Irish correspondent some perspective on the efficiency of shipping: "You must be sensible yourselves that a vessel of her Burthen is attended with nearly the same expense as one four times as large when sent to such a place as this & Consequently will eat up her freight in a short time altho she has get no repairs but what were absolutely necessary going home this season of the year."²¹ In addition to the requirement that the right kinds of ships be employed, shipping earnings were also enhanced by patterns of trade. Whereas the importance of triangular patterns of trade may have been exaggerated in other branches of overseas commerce,²² they were a significant feature of the Irish-American trade. Freight revenues earned on the multi-legged voyages that linked ports in North America, Ireland, and the West Indies allowed a more efficient use of ships and personnel than was available on the more conventional shuttle voyages. Irish trade further added to the overall efficiency of transatlantic trade by allowing the utilization of capital resources in the off-season.

Income from freight charges was usually a net addition to colonial invisible earnings. Because of the importance of the commission trade, and the predominance of colonial-owned shipping, it was most often borne by the Irish consignee and not significantly offset by freight payouts at the American end.²³ In both Ireland and North America, there was extensive advertising for shipping space, suggesting a competitive environment for freights.²⁴ The rate charged to ship flaxseed from North America to Ireland remained remarkably stable over the period, varying within a range of about :10:6 to :12: per hogshead.²⁵ If three-quarters of Ireland's average flaxseed import of 25,000 hogsheads between 1750 and 1775 was shipped on Irish account, average revenues

generated out of freighting seed would have been well in excess of £10,000: per annum.²⁶ In the wheat export to Ireland, the usual freight was in the range of :12 to :13 per bushel.²⁷ In 1770, a representative year, that level would have generated about £7,800: in freight revenues, most of it for colonial merchants in Philadelphia and Baltimore.²⁸ No significant reduction of real freight rates in the Irish-American trade resulted from improvements in the packaging of goods, unlike some other branches of transatlantic commerce, notably the tobacco export.²⁹ The cost effective technique of stowing lumber, staves, and iron among and between hogsheads of flaxseed on the eastbound leg of the trade had been established within the first decade of the opening of direct commerce in 1731.³⁰

Commissions were also an important source of invisible earnings. Irish provisions shipped to the West Indies were typically traded on a commission basis for principals in Great Britain linked to the sugar trade, little of that commerce being carried on Irish account.³¹ Commissions charged in Ireland were significantly lower than those which prevailed in North America and the West Indies. "The Commission [charged on flaxseed sales] in Ireland we are told is 2 1/2 per Ct. and the Charges about 12 d per hhd. . . . the same Commission as on Flour or any other Goods."³² In the colonial ports, on the other hand, the usual buying and selling commission was considerably higher, ranging between 5 and 7 1/2 per cent.³³ Referring to the high commissions charged at New York, one merchant there wrote to his correspondent at Newry: "Several here Charge the Same and unless You are willing to allow it I would Rather Decline Shiping any then do it at 5 per Cent."³⁴ The higher commissions available to American shippers of flaxseed, lumber, and wheat and flour enhanced the balance of payments contribution made from the trades in those goods. In the period between 1750 and 1775, commission earnings at the colonial end on just flaxseed sales averaged no less than about £3,000: per annum, assuming that no less than three-quarters of the seed shipped was sent on Irish account. Commissions in the West Indies were likewise high, compared to the going rate charged in Ireland. In a typical transaction, William Stewart of Kingston, Jamaica, charged Daniel Mussenden of Belfast 5 per cent commission on a consignment of butter and herrings in 1755.³⁵ Periodically, commissions there rose as high as 12 1/2 to 15 per cent.³⁶

Insurance premiums represented a charge against the balance of payments accounts of both trading partners. Shipping in the seas adjoining the three main regions of activity [the British Isles, the North American mainland, and the West Indian islands] was often

hazardous, particularly in the waters off the coast of Ireland. "We are forc'd to omit inserting for want of room," wrote the Dublin Gazette just after a severe storm during the winter of 1739/40, "the great Number of Ships and Crews that are lost."³⁷ The wintertime shipment of flaxseed through the rugged North Atlantic was among the most dangerous maritime activities in the eighteenth century.³⁸ Peacetime losses in the flaxseed trade were as high as those in any other branch of transatlantic commerce.³⁹ The provisioning commerce between Ireland and the sugar islands was, likewise, subject to severe disruptions, particularly during the violent hurricane season of the late summer.⁴⁰ These dangerous routes required the services of experienced ship captains and crews, as well as the protective umbrella of adequate insurance coverage. Most of the insurance that underwrote voyages in the Irish-American trade was effected through London, purchased for merchants in Ireland and North America by intermediaries there.⁴¹ One-way rates in the flaxseed commerce appear to have averaged about 2 1/2 to 3 per cent, compared to about 2 per cent for most other transatlantic routes.⁴² This expense was typically borne by Irish merchants, on whose account most seed was shipped. In wartime, however, some in the trade sought refuge from the excessive rates charged in London. "I am Sorry you Ordered any Insurance on my Account as I Chose to be my own Underwriter . . . It [insurance purchased in London] Just Runs away with the Whole Profits," wrote a New York merchant to his correspondent in Belfast in 1760.⁴³ Rates in the flaxseed trade during periods of the Seven Years War rose as high as 15 per cent.⁴⁴ In addition to that written in London, some maritime insurance was also made in the colonies. At least one Irish merchant in New York arranged coverage as a sideline activity: "I have Inderwrote here, this Twelve Months past, it has turned out very well."⁴⁵

Capital and monetary flows also affected the balance of payments in the Irish-American trade. There are hazards in attempting to sort out the flows of capital and exchange media that directly bore on the trade between Ireland and the colonies from those which were associated with other branches of transatlantic commerce, as well as with other aspects of Irish and American trade. What is possible, however, is the formulation of a rough picture of the direction those flows might have taken, and their relative significance. There is good evidence to suggest that the Irish-American trading houses that emerged as an important element in the ports of Philadelphia and New York in the late 1740s were at least initially dependent upon Irish capital. Many of those firms appear to have begun with savings accumulated in the linen manufacture. Irish-American merchant enterprises associated with Dublin

or Cork were, indeed, the exception. The dependence of the Irish-American merchant communities in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore on Irish capital, particularly for working capital, continued until the Revolution.⁴⁶ In addition, it is clear that some Irish capital found its way into the West Indies, to fund both plantation agriculture and trade.⁴⁷ It is possible that some flowed back to Ireland to finance the movement of indentures to America. In spite of evidence indicating that capital most typically moved into the colonial ports from Ireland, the presence of so many Irish-American partnerships in the principal ports of the Middle Colonies suggests that capital transfers may have moved in both directions.

II.

London's rise as a clearing house in intercolonial trade dated from the third quarter of the seventeenth century, roughly coinciding with the development of Ireland's West Indies provisions export, an activity intimately linked to London's role in the sugar trade.⁴⁸ With the opening of direct Irish-colonial commerce in 1731, London's involvement came to be shaped by merchants engaged in the linen trade. Sterling bills of exchange, drawn on both sides of the Atlantic against London trading firms, nearly all of which were closely tied to the re-export trade in Irish linens, served as primary financial instruments in the Irish-American trade. The willingness of London houses to offer credit and provide banking services for both their Irish and American correspondents was one sign of the competition among the city's exporting merchants for a share of the transatlantic commerce. London's importance as a source of credit and capital derived largely from the need of merchants there to have access to Irish linen as well as distribution facilities in the colonial ports.⁴⁹ The most important of these firms, the "Importing Linen Merchants and Factors," as they styled themselves in a 1763 petition, had well established connexions in Dublin, where at least a few maintained partners.⁵⁰ Their representation in the linen trade in Dublin reflected both the ready availability of finance in the English capital and the competition amongst London importing houses for orderly supplies of cloth. After mid-century, large-scale linen drapers and wholesalers in London sought to cut out the linen merchants and factors, who had heretofore dominated the trade, by corresponding directly with bleachers in the North of Ireland, offering them immediate access to London finance. Some of these houses relied upon their own buying agents in Ireland, maintained correspondents in North America, and offered London merchant-exporters considerably better terms than had been available

through the linen factors.⁵¹

From the Irish perspective, London provided a source of liquidity and an entree into the rich markets of British North America. In Ireland, production in both the linen and provisions trades for the American marketplace required a more immediate access to cash than was possible in direct commerce with the colonies, from which returns were notoriously slow. Irish merchants with good connexions in the British capital often drew advances ahead of the sale of their goods.⁵² In the provisions export to the West Indies, London sugar houses accepted colonial bills in anticipation of sugar sales, thus making it possible for colonial interests to finance purchases of provisions in Ireland for the islands. These advances, by putting the colonial principals in funds, enabled them to authorize the merchants in the Irish ports who acted as their agents in provisions purchases to draw bills on the London sugar houses.⁵³ In the linen manufacture, the relationship with London reached its fullest development.⁵⁴ Irish linen merchants in Dublin, as well as in the North, who had established 'Friends' in London could maintain a high level of liquidity and effectively bypass the cumbersome process of transatlantic debt collection so long as they were prepared to provide supplies of cloth at prices that guaranteed an adequate return on investment to their London correspondents. Likewise, in purchases of linen for America, it was sometimes beneficial for colonial merchants to purchase Irish cloth in London rather than in Ireland. "The reason I Orderd the Linnens from London," wrote the New York partner of a Belfast merchant with extensive interests in the linen manufacture, "is that it wou'd Pinch you too much to pay Cash for them."⁵⁵ The relationship with London which allowed Irish importers of colonial goods to make payment in sterling bills of exchange also had the effect of the lowering the real prices of those articles, as the difficulty of disposing of bills drawn on Irish centres in the North American ports reduced their yields as measured in colonial currencies.

The constant and pressing need of colonial merchants was to generate bills of exchange drawn on London merchant houses to fund the importation of British manufactured goods, among the most important of which was Irish linen.⁵⁶ By the 1750s, clearance through London was the normal means of doing business.⁵⁷ "Inform by the first opportunity," wrote a Baltimore merchant to Dublin in 1766, "how soon you can remit the Proceeds to London in case I send you a Cargo of good Flour."⁵⁸ Paper drawn directly on Ireland was slow and inconvenient to dispose of, compared with the ease of converting paper on London into cash, allowing the colonial merchant a more rapid and efficient turnover of his capital

stock.⁵⁹ Exporting firms in the British capital that sought a significant share of the transatlantic linen business were the primary intermediaries in the Irish-American trade. By mid-century, in order to maintain their direct links to linen bleachers in North of Ireland, they had little choice but to accept bills on London drawn against the accounts of their Irish correspondents by colonial exporters in the flaxseed commerce, whether they constituted advances against future sales of cloth or the outright extension of credit.

Anywhere from a dozen to forty or more merchant houses in London acted as intermediaries in the Irish-American commerce. A few firms in the sugar trade, such as Albert Nesbitt & Co. and Andrew French & Co., arranged the shipment of Irish provisions to the West Indies or to British forces stationed in America.⁶⁰ But the vast majority were intimately linked to the Irish linen manufacture, moving bounty linens through London and the English outports to the American colonies. They were typically commission agents offering credit of up to six months to Irish correspondents and London merchant-exporters in transatlantic trade. William Snell & Co.; Adair, Jackson & Co.; David Harvey & Co.; and David Kerr & Co. were firms of this type with extensive correspondence in the colonial ports.⁶¹ A small number were partnerships established in both Ireland and England, specializing in the movement of cloth from the Linen Hall in Dublin into the main avenues of British trade via London. Notable among them were the houses of Alexander & White; Wakefield, Willet & Pratt; and Preston & Fletcher.⁶² A few among the larger linen drapers of London, firms such as Bigger & Hulbert of Leadenhall Street, did business directly with Irish bleachers and merchants in the North who were in a position to guarantee supplies of cloth and with their American correspondents, some of whom were suppliers of flaxseed and importers of bounty linens.⁶³ In the final decades before the Revolution, even more competitive firms began to emerge, exemplified by the house of David & John Barclay, wholesale linen merchants of Cheapside. They had the resources to purchase through agents in Ireland on their own account and extend twelve months credit to London exporters and firms in America to whom they shipped goods directly.⁶⁴

Bristol and Liverpool likewise played a role in the trade's financial structure. Merchants in the two ports, with a long standing involvement in Ireland's provision trade to the West Indies, carried on banking functions similar to those of London, but on a reduced scale. In 1763, sixteen firms in Bristol and seven in Liverpool identified themselves as 'Importing and Wholesale Linen Merchants' specializing in

Irish linen.⁶⁵ Because the two ports figured so prominently in the North American dry goods trades, they became important sources for bounty linens.⁶⁶ "They [Irish linens] may be bought I find as much to Advantage in Bristoll as any where," wrote a New York merchant in 1763.⁶⁷ Merchants in Liverpool, rather than take possession of Irish linens for resale to the plantations, as was the intent of the Linen Bounty Act of 1744, characteristically re-exported goods that were already the property of their American correspondents. In 1768, for example, Benjamin Fuller of Philadelphia purchased linen through Dublin with instructions that they be sent home via the Liverpool merchant, Hugh Pringle, "directing him to recover the bounty on the Linens and Credit my Acco^t with the amount."⁶⁸ Greg, Cunningham & Co. of New York and Belfast took most of its bounty linen through Liverpool in the mid-1750s in a similar arrangement.⁶⁹ Inevitably, merchant houses in both ports acted as financial intermediaries, but with limited scope. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme of Philadelphia, for instance, used Benson & Postlethwaite of Liverpool much the way they used their London correspondents.⁷⁰

Bills on London were generally scarce in the colonial ports, except during the years between 1756 and 1760, when they became relatively plentiful as a result of British wartime spending in America.⁷¹ For most North American firms, they were the principal means of paying for the importation of British manufactures, as well as for financing specialized activities such as New York's trade in Madeira wines.⁷² The influx of flaxseed orders from Ireland, most of them payable through London, rendered that trade the principal source of sterling drafts in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore during the months from November through mid-February. Commission merchants in North America in the flaxseed trade could add significantly to their income by selling their own sterling drafts in a highly favourable marketplace.⁷³ Given the demand for bills on London, the 2 1/2 per cent commission they received on bills drawn on London made a substantial contribution to their earnings. If, as was often the case, the bills were provided on credit, the interest of 5 per cent earned on the advance represented by the bill was a further supplement to commodity profits in the flaxseed business.⁷⁴ At least one important Irish-American trading house eventually specialized in banking. Conyngham & Nesbitt, perhaps the largest colonial firm in the Irish commerce, was an important element in Philadelphia's financial community by the outbreak of the Revolution.⁷⁵

Most bills of exchange on London in Irish-colonial trade were of relatively short duration. Bills of up to ninety days sight, though

traded in the colonies, were generally out of favour. "The drawing [of] Bills at 90 days," wrote a Baltimore firm to its Dublin correspondent in 1774, "will be hurtful to Your Interest as they will Sell at least 2 1/2 prC^t worse than Bills of 30 days."⁷⁶ In both the Irish ports and the British capital, "People done [don't] Chuse to buy them if they Exceed 30 and forty days," wrote a New York merchant to his London correspondent.⁷⁷ The ad hoc spirit of eighteenth century commerce allowed considerable accommodation, however. In 1773, for example, John & Michael Andrews of Comber [County Down] instructed Ewing & Hall of Baltimore, who were about to ship wheat to them: "When you draw on us, which we suppose will be payable in London, we expect you wont draw at less than 40 days after Sight & if convenient to make it longer it will the more Oblige us." The American firm drew a bill at sixty days sight on one of the Andrews' London correspondents in the linen commerce.⁷⁸ In practice, colonial merchants did not draw until goods had been put to sea, a practice that if violated could justify a protest of the bill at the Irish end.⁷⁹ To raise working capital, colonial commission merchants drew advances against their London correspondents to purchase flaxseed at dockside from country suppliers and coasting captains who usually required payment in cash.⁸⁰

In the colonial ports, Irish-American trade had a seasonal impact upon the exchanges with London. It was most dramatically felt in New York and Philadelphia, the principal flaxseed exporting centres. The increase in the supply of sterling bills that accompanied autumn and wintertime activity in Irish trade put downward pressure on the price of sterling. This, of course, had the effect of raising the price of flaxseed to the foreign buyer.⁸¹ Merchants with debts in London sometimes deferred buying bills on London to take advantage of the predictable downward shift in the price of bills in autumn and winter. "I should have sent you [a] Bill before now had they not been so high," wrote a New York merchant in 1761 to his correspondent at Derry, "and I Judged they must of Course fall in the flaxseed season so much as to pay you Double Interest for [the] Lay[ing] out of your money in Which I was Right."⁸² The impact of Irish commerce upon the price of sterling extended beyond the flaxseed trade. At Baltimore, for example, Irish demand for grain influenced the London bill rate. "The demand for Wheat & Flour, as well from your Country as the Mediterranean, has occasioned the price to raise considerably as well as the course of Exch^a to fall very low," wrote one of the Maryland port's largest exporters to his Dublin correspondent in 1766.⁸³ Although Irish-American trade had only a seasonal and fragmentary impact upon colonial exchange rates on London,

it contributed to exchange stability by buoying up the currencies of the middle colonies during the otherwise dull winter trading season.

In spite of their general unpopularity among colonial merchants, bills of exchange drawn directly on merchants in the Irish ports, as opposed to those drawn on the London agents of Irish houses, were accepted as payment for exports to Ireland. Fewer and less sought after than the bills on London, they sometimes had a longer usance. Irish importers of flaxseed, lumber, and wheat and flour preferred to settle, whenever possible, by having their American creditors draw on them at long usance, rather than at short usance on their London correspondents. The additional expenses incurred in negotiating Irish bills curtailed their importance, however. "Bills at 60 days Sight and if they must go to Ireland for acceptance will never Sell for so much as those at 30 Directly upon London," wrote a New York merchant to his Irish correspondent in 1764.⁸⁴ Even so, there remained a limited role for Irish bills, most of which were drawn on Dublin firms by colonial houses with close connexions in the Irish capital.⁸⁵ The Irish bill rate was quoted frequently enough in surviving merchants letters to suggest that those instruments regularly supplemented the more popular sterling drafts.⁸⁶ After mid-century, the best established New York and Philadelphia commission houses were able to dictate terms of settlement to their Irish customers. "For the future if you should order Any Flaxseed etc. from this [place]," wrote a New York merchant to his correspondent in Belfast in the mid-1750s, "the Bills would sell much Sooner if you gave Orders to draw on Some of Your Friends in London."⁸⁷

Although bills of exchange were the predominant form of remittances in the Irish-American commerce, some trade was cleared through quasi-barter arrangements and by the transfer of gold and silver coin. In quasi-barter transactions, debit and credit balances cancelled each other with monies generated out of the sale of goods in the marketplace. Clearances of this kind were a pragmatic solution to the liquidity problem that plagued eighteenth century merchants.⁸⁸ For example, linens were regularly shipped direct from the North of Ireland in exchange for flaxseed or other unenumerated colonial articles without bills being drawn at either end. In New York and Philadelphia, cloth was regularly sold at auction houses to raise the ready cash needed to purchase flaxseed.⁸⁹ The results were seldom satisfactory, however, as goods traded in this fashion tended to enter glutted markets. "I Cannot Sell your goods at present for Cash unless I do almost give them away," wrote a New York merchant to his correspondent at Derry in 1754.⁹⁰ By 1750, most of the linen landed at New York and Philadelphia directly from

Ireland was shipped for conversion into flaxseed. Irish scowbankers, itinerant merchants who arrived in New York and Philadelphia each fall aboard the incoming flaxseed ships with a few pieces of linen to trade for seed, likewise bypassed the conventional path of remittance through London or Dublin.⁹¹ In the 1730s, at the outset of direct trade between Ireland and the colonies, the reverse of this pattern was more typical, with colonial merchants shipping seed to Ireland to raise cash for the purchase of a few pieces of linen.⁹² In spite of their shortcomings, these simple arrangements increased the volume of transactions that could be sustained by the supply of money and bills of exchange available to the Irish-American trade.⁹³

Gold and silver coin was of minor importance to the Irish-American commerce. There were times when it proved useful to remit in specie, however. For example, when bills on London became too expensive in 1763, John Watts of New York shipped 150 Spanish dollars to his Bristol correspondent to cover his purchase of bounty linens. "I could have sent a Bill of Exchange without the least inconveniency to myself," he wrote, "but Exchange runs so high, no less than 90 per Ct: that Silver is much preferable."⁹⁴ Occasionally, the possibility of an attractive exchange rate for gold and silver coin against Irish currency induced merchants to ship specie from the colonies to Ireland. "I am informed that Dollars pass in Dublin for 5/3 each; this I am not certain of, but you are to get the most you can for them & the Neat Proceeds of this Silver & Gold you are to . . . buy Linens in the Hall at the Cheapest Rate," wrote Benjamin Fuller to his Dublin correspondent in 1768.⁹⁵ On balance, however, specie was little used. Compared to sterling drafts on London, gold and silver coin was inflexible and altogether too scarce. The partnership of Thompson & Alexander, one of New York's leading Irish-American trading concerns, faced ruin in 1769 when presented with a short-dated bill for 1339 Spanish dollars by Gerard G. Beekman. Beekman's account of how he engineered the rescue of a fellow merchant in the Irish-American trade reveals the impracticality of dependence upon specie.

"Mr. Alexander seemed much displeas'd that it [the bill] was drawn on such short sight for so larg sum and said he Could not Accept it to be paid in dollars for it was Out of his power, Not knowing where to Collect them . . . I told him he might take 8 or 10 days for Payment and I would take the Currency of the place. I Immediately Set About Collecting Specie which is very Scarce . . . I spoke to One Hundred persons at least and was Obliged to take 1, 2, 3, and so on 8 or 10 at a place and those that had them would not part with the heavy one[s] unless I would take the Light Ones also So that I have now on hand 18 that will not weigh 9 dwt. [pennyweight] I would not undertake to Exchange the same sum Again for hard money [for] 5 per Cent."⁹⁶

III.

The credit structure that supported Irish-American trade had its roots in the marketing arrangements of the Irish linen industry. In London, powerful merchant houses channelled demand for linens to Dublin and the North of Ireland and received the flow of Irish cloth for distribution throughout the Empire. Although cash shortages were more evident in America than in Ireland, firms in both places had access to London finance by virtue of their strategic roles in the manufacturing and marketing process. They became adept at using British credit to supplement their own more modest capital, employing it in the two directions of their transatlantic commerce. In their westbound trade, British capital supported the flow of Irish linen, salted provisions, and indentured servants to the plantations. In their eastbound commerce, London financing eased the movement of colonial articles into Ireland, most notably flaxseed. Irish firms trading across the Atlantic had utilized English financing well before the 1740s. But by that decade, the outward flow of linen and the inward flow of flaxseed was fully dependent upon an orderly structure of commercial credit, such as would be available only through London.⁹⁷

The impressive growth of colonial imports of low priced Irish linen in the half century before the American Revolution was partly an outcome of the attractive credit terms available to American merchants in the dry goods trades. The general expansion of British exports, one of the most important of which was Irish linens, paralleled the steady increase of population and purchasing power in America. Extension of credit ensured that this growth was accompanied by a rising level of American indebtedness.⁹⁸ Most British manufactures were shipped on twelve months credit at prices which included an interest charge of 5 per cent. If payment was not made by the end of that period, an annual interest charge of 5 per cent commenced.⁹⁹ Without such lenient terms, sustained shipments would not have been feasible, as North American demand for textiles, pottery, metal wares and other articles was not matched by a corresponding ability to remit payments on London.¹⁰⁰ "In General, its not in our power to be punctual in our payments," wrote the New York partner of one of the largest Irish-American houses in the colonies in 1756 to a London correspondent whom he advised to enter the colonial dry goods export with extreme caution.¹⁰¹ Demand in America for the exports of the Mother Country was insatiable, however. Such liberal credit terms were a consequence of the stiff competition among British exporting houses for a share of the rich colonial market.¹⁰²

When North of Ireland merchants shipped linens to New York and Philadelphia, typically on consignment, they carried credit terms of four to twelve months. In a typical transaction, Acheson Thompson of New York, who acted as an agent for Newry linen interests, offered six months credit terms on half the amount owing, with the balance due in twelve months.¹⁰³ Under such arrangements, the Irish shipper was typically out of his money for at least a year, sometimes longer.¹⁰⁴ Even though he accepted the risk of non-payment,¹⁰⁵ it was sometimes advantageous for the Irish exporter to extend credit. The direct export of cloth as a means of funding flaxseed imports allowed him to reduce his cost of seed by cutting out the intermediary services of London. Occasionally, if a secondary merchant or retailer in America presented little risk, the colonial importer might advance the proceeds of the sale to the account of his Irish principal, only deducting interest.¹⁰⁶ The risks and strain on working capital sustained by the Irish seller who extended credit in America were substantial, however, and help to explain why he had to charge more for his cloth than his London counterparts who had considerably better access to credit facilities to support their operations.¹⁰⁷ Scowbankers added to the problem by entering the colonial ports each fall with linen to convert into cash to buy flaxseed. Their net effect was to drive down the prices of linen and drive up the real price of seed. The advantage enjoyed by the American merchant in not having to carry cloth on his own account could be negated if the Irish linen sent direct was invoiced too high, slowing down its conversion into cash.¹⁰⁸

American merchants became increasingly unwilling to extend credit in the Irish-American trade after the early 1740s. Before then, the bulk of flaxseed shipments to Ireland went on the accounts of colonial merchants who faced slow and precarious returns. In the mid-1730s, six months after taking in a cargo of seed shipped by three New York merchants to fund a return order of linens, an Irish merchant painted a bleak picture: "We are Verry sorry that the seed has Come to so Dull a Market that its not in our Power Either to ship the Linnen you desire nor Imedeatly to Remitt." Three months later, the fate of the American venture remained dim. "[We] were oblidge[d] by reason of the Glutt to put it into good hands without Fixing time of paym^t & our Customer[s] dont expect to be asked before the first of november." It was well over a year and a half before the New Yorkers saw a return on their venture.¹⁰⁹ But with the development of the large-scale commerce in bounty linens after 1743, most of which was channelled through London, the burden of financing trade shifted back across the Atlantic. "We shou'd rather procure it on

Commission for the Irish Merch[ant], than risque it home ourselves," wrote one New England firm, expressing a widely held preference.¹¹⁰ Even so, the colonial merchant was required to have access to sufficient working capital with which to purchase the flaxseed, wheat and flour, or lumber that he intended to ship. "We actually have to pay Cash for these Articles here on delivery," wrote one Philadelphia shipper in the Irish trade, as he urged his Dublin correspondent to remit as soon as possible the proceeds of a venture of hardwoods that had been sent to the Irish capital to generate working capital for the flaxseed trade.¹¹¹ To enable them to participate in the commission flaxseed trade, some houses raised the necessary working capital with short-term borrowing in London through firms there already engaged in the linen commerce with Ireland.¹¹²

Not all colonial firms were able to operate as commission merchants. American houses that shipped on their own account bore the credit risks associated with the sale of their goods in Ireland until final payment was cleared through London. Sometimes there were advantages in such risk-taking. To some who speculated in the Irish market for flaxseed, early payment by the consignee was not attractive, if it meant that the seed had to be dumped to raise cash. A demand for immediate remittance ought to be avoided, wrote a Philadelphia merchant, as "that might be a means of making a precipitate sale to place funds out of the Seed in London to take up the Bill, so that upon the whole it is better to suffer some inconvenience here on account of the advance than not give it every chance of market."¹¹³ For most, however, extending credit in the Irish ports was a burden. As a Philadelphia man wrote to his New England partner in a flaxseed venture, "we would rather pay interest ourselves than receive it, our situation in business requiring all the Moneys we can collect."¹¹⁴ After mid-century, firms in the colonial ports were less willing to tie up working capital in Ireland for long periods. "We judge it wou'd better accomodate the Merchants in both Countrys for you to send to this for it," wrote one firm trading to the North of Ireland, "whereas when we risque it home ourselves, we generally want our Money immediately in England & it is long before it gets to our Credit, that is a great Discouragement in the Business."¹¹⁵ New England firms which ventured flaxseed and other articles directly to Ireland, on the other hand, typically relied upon earnings in the West Indian trade for working capital, with little dependence upon outside financing. These houses characteristically converted cargoes carried to Irish ports into provisions marketable in the sugar islands.¹¹⁶

Many London houses in the bounty linen export were heavily burdened

with American indebtedness.¹¹⁷ And their colonial counterparts, characteristically slow to make remittances, were repeatedly threatened with bankruptcy during the periodic liquidity crises that marked the years from mid-century to the Revolution.¹¹⁸ One Philadelphia merchant in the dry goods import recalled his mounting overseas debt during the commercial crises that plagued the colonial ports through much of 1767 and 1768. "I found payments from the Country very precarious, and the risque dayly increasing," he told his Belfast correspondent after he had successfully weathered the storm.¹¹⁹ David & John Barclay of London, faced such difficulty in its dealings with correspondents in Philadelphia in 1768 that it refused to open further accounts in America until it could improve debt collection, "especially as we have been very much disappointed in our remittances."¹²⁰ There were Irish-American houses among the notable business failures of the 1760s. Scott & Michael of Philadelphia and Belfast, for example, defaulted in 1763 on debts of £40,000:, much of it representing the property of linen interests in Ireland as well as in Great Britain. The firm's collapse, wrote Henry Drinker of Philadelphia to a London correspondent, was "the greatest break we ever knew anything of on this side of the water."¹²¹

American merchants faced similar difficulties dealing with their counterparts in Ireland.¹²² But there was little they could do to bring about the collection of outstanding debt without the vigorous assistance of their Irish correspondents. "We were obliged to give it [flaxseed] out on time to people in the Country," wrote a Derry importer in 1770 to the New Yorker merchant who had shipped seed on his own account in the mid-1760s, "and as yet we have not had it in our power to collect the Value." After repeated attempts to help the American firm achieve a settlement of its overdue Irish account, the London firm of Fludyer, March & Hudson finally conceded that "it will be in vain to take out any Writt against them, as it could not be got Executed in that Countrey against them."¹²³ Colonial houses trading on their own accounts were sometimes able to protect themselves against such dangers, however. One means at their disposal was to require that a security be lodged by their Irish correspondent with an intermediary London firm. "Assurance of Security is generally given when a Mercht sends any Order for Goods abroad," wrote a New England flaxseed exporter to his Irish correspondent in 1769. If it wanted seed shipped on American account, the Drogheda house was advised to place a security with any one of the three London exporters with whom the colonial firm carried on a regular trade.¹²⁴

In the Irish-American trade, as in other branches of overseas commerce in the eighteenth century, a capital stock of relatively modest proportions supported extensive and widely dispersed activity. London financing provided significant leverage to merchants whose initial capitalizations were unexceptional by the standards of the period. The ready availability of British credit as a principal source of working capital allowed Irish and colonial resources to be allocated to more long range expenditures, such as the increase of stock in trade and the purchase of ships.¹²⁵ Competition in London for a share of the American market led to the extension of long credits, some financing activity in the linen-producing regions of the North of Ireland, others fueling the purchase of Irish linen and other articles in the colonies. As a result, Irish and colonial merchants possessing relatively little personal wealth were permitted to accumulate large debts based upon the stability of their commercial connexions with each other and their correspondents in London and the British outports.¹²⁶

At the Irish end, capital was made available to the Irish-American trade through the financial structure of Anglo-Irish commerce and Great Britain's trade in West Indian sugars. Much of the capital that moved Irish salted provisions through processing in Ireland and distribution in the West Indies had its ultimate source within the sugar trade centred in London. Commission agents in the English capital arranged for the shipment of provisions and other articles to the islands on the accounts of planters or middlemen who made their purchases with credit that anticipated the sales of West Indian plantation articles in the British Isles.¹²⁷ In contrast, most of the capital employed in the export of beef, butter, and pork to the islands and mainland North America on Irish account arose out of activity in the linen manufacture of the North of Ireland, rather than in the provisioning ports to the south.¹²⁸ The provisions cargoes that entered mainland American ports in the fall of the year on incoming flaxseed vessels were most often sent, along with linen cloth and indentured servants, by merchants in the linen trade as a means of turning a profit on the westbound leg of their annual flaxseed ventures.¹²⁹ Capital generated within the Irish provisioning industry played no significant role in this intermittent commerce. The situation in the linen export was radically different. Linen merchants in the North appear to have had considerable access to English short-term credit with which to carry on their trade in low-priced bounty cloths to English markets,¹³⁰ allowing a freeing up of working capital to finance their direct shipments to America. In addition, the flaxseed bounty of :5: [sterling] per hogshead of imported seed made a significant contribution

to the pool of resources available to Irish merchants who traded to the colonies on their own accounts.

Most colonial firms in the Irish-American trade operated from an even narrower capital base and were largely confined to the role of commission agents. "Was not my own small Capitall otherwise occupy'd at present," wrote one New York merchant to his correspondent at Drogheda in 1764, "I should have ordered over some Mault and butter on my own acc't as I realy dont know any thing in which there's a better prospect of making money."¹³¹ In spite of their typically limited circumstances, some members of the Irish merchant communities in America had access to Irish capital to support their transatlantic trades, notably through houses linked to the linen manufacture. To provide liquidity during the flaxseed buying season of 1768, for example, the Irish partner of the Philadelphia houses of Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, arranged for the deposit of a security of £3,000: [Sterling] in Irish funds with a London firm to cover bills of exchange drawn to purchase seed at Philadelphia early in the season.¹³² There were, furthermore, a few whose resources allowed a more aggressive prosecution of trade. "I shall at all times advance any sum, to load your Vessels back, that I have the Prospect of being in cash for in Four Months, & shant charge you any Interest," wrote one of New York's best-established Irish merchants, to a Dutch correspondent in the mid-1750s.¹³³ On balance, however, relatively little of the capital behind the Irish-American trade came out of domestic American savings, except in the instance of non-Irish colonial merchants trading on their own accounts who vigorously competed for a share of the flaxseed commerce.¹³⁴

In Ireland, some capital formation resulted from the reinvestment of earnings in the Irish-American trade. Although it is impossible to determine what share of expansion in the salted-provisions, linen, flour milling, fishing, and sugar refining industries was financed by earnings in the transatlantic commerce, evidence suggests that there was a contribution. William & John Ogle & Co., one of the most active of the Newry houses in the American trade, was the principal owner of the sugar house at Dundalk in the mid-1760s, a time when the firm's North American correspondence was most extensive.¹³⁵ Robert Alexander of Derry, one of the prime movers in his port's flaxseed commerce, was both the principal investor and entrepreneur in the herring fishery at Lough Swilly, a project which absorbed about £8,000: in capital after its initiation in 1773, according to Arthur Young who visited the site in the summer of 1776.¹³⁶ Waddell Cunningham, a senior partner in Belfast's principal house in transatlantic trade, accumulated interests in Irish

glass-making, sugar-refining, oil of vitriol manufacturing, and banking, in addition to his plantation investments in the sugar islands. At his death in 1797, he left an estate valued at £60,000: [sterling], along with properties in the West Indies.¹³⁷ More conspicuous was the broadly-based pattern of shipping investment that took place over the period, much of which was carried on in partnership with firms in the American colonies. For the period between 1735 and 1775, the ship registers for the port of Philadelphia, site of the largest Irish merchant community in America, include forty vessels wholly-owned by interests in Ireland and seventy-eight that were owned by Irish merchants in partnership with colonial firms.¹³⁸ Nearly all of this shipping space was employed in Irish-colonial trade.

There was, likewise, capital formation in North America that can be associated with Irish-colonial commerce. As in the case of Ireland, little evidence survives by which to gauge the scale of capital accumulation that came as a direct outcome of trade with Ireland. There are fragmentary clues, however. John Maxwell Nesbitt, one of Philadelphia's leading participants in the commerce with Ireland, emerged at the close of the colonial period as a leading figure in Pennsylvania banking as well as a principal investor in the post-war American insurance industry.¹³⁹ Dr. John Stevenson of Baltimore, the founder of his port's extensive grain trade to Ireland, held interests in a number of commercial enterprises, among them the Liberty Copper Mine in Frederick County, Maryland.¹⁴⁰ As in the case of Ireland, the best evidence of significant capital formation arising out of American involvement in commerce with Ireland lies in the Philadelphia ship registers. Those records reveal significant ship ownership among the port's merchants who traded to Ireland. Between 1735 and the early months of 1776, more than 180 ocean-going vessels were registered there by men active in that commerce, in addition to the seventy-eight owned in partnership with firms in Ireland. Most of this investment came after the opening of the English re-export trade in low-priced Irish linens in the mid-1740s. During the final decade of the colonial period, the ten years ending March 1776, an average of more than twelve ships per year were registered that employed the capital of Philadelphia merchants in the Irish-American trade.¹⁴¹

Chapter Four

IRISH MERCHANTS AND PORTS

" . . . take a Ride to Newry, Derry, Coleraine & Ballycastle, & do what you can to get bussiness to our House."

Letter of a New York merchant, 1756¹

Most ports in Ireland traded with colonial America. Dublin, the seat of Irish commerce, sent large quantities of linen to the plantation market indirectly through English ports in order to collect the bounty. Cork, the most cosmopolitan city in the kingdom, was one of Europe's principal ports-of-call in Atlantic commerce. A substantial share of the Cork region's beef, butter, and pork output found its way to the sugar islands of the Caribbean Sea. Belfast, the first of the North of Ireland ports to grow in response to the expansion of the linen manufacture, had been an early participant in trade with the British plantations. Of the secondary ports that maintained commercial ties with the colonies, Derry, Newry, and Waterford were the most important. At Derry, one of the great markets for American flaxseed, there was a high local involvement in trade to North America. Much of the growth of Newry, appears to have been the result of that town's ability of cut into the plantation commerce of Belfast. In transatlantic commerce, Waterford merchants focused on the exploitation and maintenance of the Newfoundland fishery and its corollary, the West Indian provisions and rum trade. Commerce with the colonies was carried on from lesser places as well. At Drogheda, for example, there was a lively interest in North American flaxseed and grain in the 1760s and 1770s. And along the coast between Derry and Belfast, the small port-towns of Coleraine, Ballycastle, and Larne each maintained a flaxseed import and a trade in indentured servants from the 1740s until the American Revolution. At Sligo and Killybegs, a limited trade developed in the 1760s that reflected the increasing involvement of the West of Ireland in the commercial structure of the larger economy.

I.

In the principal trading centres of Ireland, there were merchants who corresponded widely with the North American mainland and the West Indian islands. Although their resources and influence were generally modest by the standards of London, some were men of considerable importance in the

context of the Atlantic economy. In terms of the scale and scope of their operations, they had much in common with overseas trading firms in the American colonies. And in one important activity, the West Indian provisioning commerce, they were often in direct competition. Nearly all of the Irish houses that participated in the Irish-American trade had involvements in other markets served by the overseas commerce of Ireland. Like their counterparts in North America, Irish merchant houses resisted specialization, using diversification as a means of spreading risk. The narrow bounds and seasonal character of the flaxseed, provisions, and linen trades provided natural limits to what could be done across the Atlantic. In addition to their trading activities, some of these firms were involved in Irish industrial enterprises, such as meat-packing, sugar-refining, flour-milling, and most importantly, the manufacture of linen cloth.² When judged by contemporary norms, Irish firms were often sophisticated and highly competent enterprises, managed by merchants as skillful as any in the Empire. Irish merchants enjoyed a reputation for being practical and hard-nosed businessmen, not above engaging in sharp practices. "Really the best merchant in the place will take advantage if it lies in their Power by any means," wrote a New England sea-captain from Dublin in 1770.³

Merchants with links to the Irish linen manufacture were the prime movers of much of the direct commerce with the British plantations. In the flaxseed, linen, and indentured servant trades, they typically placed orders, or left goods, with firms in America that performed specific marketing functions on a commission basis. "The greatest part of what goes from hence is on account [of] the people [on] the other side [of] the Water," wrote a Philadelphia merchant to his correspondent at Newport [Rhode Island] in the 1770s.⁴ An impressive share of the shipping employed in the servant trade, most of which carried flaxseed on its return to Ireland, was owned by Irish firms or their branches in America.⁵ Only in the provisioning trade was commerce in Ireland most typically conducted on a commission basis. The Cork and Dublin houses that shipped salted provisions to the plantations generally acted on behalf of principals outside of Ireland, whether in England, the sugar islands, or the ports of North America. Even so, much of the West Indian rum that entered Ireland in this period was bought in the Caribbean on Irish account.

A variety of formal and ad hoc arrangements linked merchants in Ireland with representatives in the plantations, most of whom were Irishmen. From the Irish perspective, the most effective way to guarantee an adequate supply of flaxseed, for example, was to place

agents of Irish mercantile interest, typically kinfolk, in colonial ports. Formal partnerships, such as Greg, Cunningham & Co. of Belfast and New York and Conyngham & Nesbitt of Philadelphia and Letterkenny were a practical response to a need for order in the trade. Although not so tightly bound to their native land, some firms in North America conspicuously represented Irish interests. The house of James and Andrew Caldwell of Philadelphia, an extension of the firm of Caldwell, Vance & Caldwell of Derry, is a case in point. In the West Indies, Irish mercantile interest were equally well represented. In fact, the islands appear to have been something of a training ground for young Irishmen planning to establish themselves as overseas traders in one of the Irish ports. Two such men who gained experience in the West Indies and later became important merchants in Ireland were Edward Forbes of Dublin and Valentine Jones of Belfast.⁶

The Irish merchants who traded to the American colonies were an upwardly mobile element of the population. Opportunities for gain drew men and families into the pragmatic world of eighteenth-century transatlantic commerce, away from the narrow class and religious orientations of Irish society. This is not to deny the importance of religion, however. Many merchants in the North were a part of the region's Presbyterian community, and influential Dublin and Cork firms were intimately joined with trading houses in Philadelphia through the Quaker network [there were few Roman Catholics in the transatlantic trades]. Yet mercantile letterbooks of the period reveal little preoccupation with religion and, except for the Quakers, no more piety among Irish merchants than among others of their class throughout the Empire. Religion was important to the structure of personal relationships within the Irish mercantile environment and across the Atlantic, but its role was limited. Kinship was more important. It was primarily family relationships that provided a framework of responsibility and trust necessary in the high-risk overseas trades.⁷ In the Irish-American commerce, the role of kinship was pervasive. For example, Thomas Greer of Dungannon was an important Quaker merchant who corresponded with leading Quaker firms at Philadelphia, such as Israel Pemberton and Coates & Reynell, but his principal customers for linen in that city were his cousins, Samuel & John Morton, also members of the Society of Friends.⁸ Other firms in the tight Quaker network were primarily linked by kinship, such as the Dublin firm of Robinson & Sandwith and the Philadelphia house of Henry Drinker.⁹ A catalogue of family links between Ireland and the colonies would be extensive: the Caldwells of Derry and Philadelphia, the Thompsons of Belfast and New

York, the Ewings of Belfast and Baltimore, the Norrises of Dublin and Philadelphia, the Moylans of Cork and Philadelphia, and the Mitchells of Dublin and Philadelphia. These are only the most conspicuous examples.

II.

Dublin was Ireland's greatest city and the focus of her political, cultural, and commercial life.¹⁰ Her population of at least 150,000 made her the second largest English-speaking city in 1775, roughly six times the size of New York and four times that of Philadelphia.¹¹ No other provincial city in the Empire provided such contrasts of wealth and poverty, learned culture and human degradation. The glitter of her social life and the brilliance of her university shown beyond Ireland, as did the appalling poverty of her lower classes. The activities of her wealthy and literate elite, as well as her rampaging mobs, were frequent subjects of interest in colonial newspapers. Dublin's towering importance as a provincial centre did not carry over to the North American trade, however. Relative to the total volume of her overseas commerce, Dublin's direct transatlantic trade was of secondary importance. Dozens of merchant houses there carried on an intermittent involvement with the West Indies or the ports of North America, but few specialized in serving those markets directly. Although the Irish capital's trade to the plantations was modest, the colonies affected her commercial life in a variety of ways. Dublin was the centre of the linen export, and a significant share of the low-priced cloths that changed hands at the Linen Hall was destined for the colonies, the most rapidly expanding market for Irish linen after 1743. Although most of the linen shipped across the Atlantic was routed through English ports to collect the bounty, colonial buyers were often in touch with market conditions at the Linen Hall, sometimes purchasing their cloth there through Dublin dealers for transshipment through London, Liverpool, or Bristol.¹²

Irish-American commerce touched Dublin in other ways as well. In times of severe shortage, wheat and flour from Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore provided significant additions to the city's food supply. At least one Baltimore firm had a partner set up in Dublin to manage its grain and flaxseed trade in the 1770s.¹³ Each year, for a few weeks in the late winter and early spring, flaxseed prices were among the chief topics of speculative interest in the city's coffee houses and counting houses. The Linen Board's purchases of seed for distribution to farmers were made at Dublin and affected prices for the article throughout Ireland.¹⁴ In addition, the presence of well-developed furniture-making and boat-building industries made Dublin an important market for

North American hardwoods, such as cherry, walnut, cedar, and oak. The port also took in large quantities of tropical woods, the most important of which was mahogany, often transhipped through Philadelphia and New York by firms active in the Irish-American trade.¹⁵ Finally, Dublin merchants initiated much of the traffic in indentured servants and convict labour that entered the colonies, particularly at Philadelphia. The servant trade was largely responsible for the conspicuous presence of Dublin-owned ships registered in the Pennsylvania capital. With twenty-eight ships, Dublin was second only to Derry in her share of Irish-owned ships registered there between 1731 and 1775.¹⁶

Trade to the North American ports allowed merchants in Dublin a means of extending commercial activities already established with the British Isles or between Ireland and the sugar islands. For example, William Alexander, a Dublin merchant who traded to North America, was one of the city's leading exporters of Irish linen to the London market in the 1760s and 1770s. In return for the cloth he shipped direct to the colonies, he took in a variety of articles, most notably flaxseed, wheat and flour, and bar iron. In addition to his conventional trade, Alexander occasionally sent Kilkenny marble to the colonies for use as mantels and table tops.¹⁷ Another well known firm, Marsden & Benson, was active in the West Indian trades from about the mid-1740s. They, too, shipped competitively-priced linens directly to the mainland colonial ports in return for flaxseed, which they imported on their own account, and wheat and flour, which they took in on consignment.¹⁸ In addition, Marsden & Benson landed West Indian sugars, which they shipped to Dublin via Holyhead on the account of North American merchants. One of the perennial vessels in the flaxseed commerce, the Earl of Hillsborough, was owned by them.¹⁹ Another firm, the partnership of Hugh Mitchell of Dublin and Randall Mitchell of Philadelphia, owned at least four vessels that participated in that trade.²⁰

Dublin's Quaker merchant community had good links to colonial America, particularly at Philadelphia. Important Quaker merchants in the Pennsylvania city, among them Isaac Norris, Coates & Reynell, Israel Pemberton, and Henry Drinker, had family ties with prominent Quaker merchants in Dublin.²¹ Tight bonds of faith, kinship, and credit drew Dublin, London, and Philadelphia together and encouraged the co-ordination of interests in the marketing of Irish linen. Even before the opening of Ireland to unenumerated colonial goods in 1731, Dublin Quakers had maintained inventories of linen at Philadelphia, and there is evidence of a migration of capital to America through Irish Quaker channels.²² In the more developed phase of the Irish linen trade to

the colonies, after passage of the Linen Bounty Act of 1743, the importance of the Quaker interest grew. The two Quaker merchant houses in Dublin most involved in colonial commerce in the quarter-century before the Revolution were the firms of James Leckey & Co., which owned at least three ships in the flaxseed trade, and Robinson & Sandwith, linked by marriage with a prominent Philadelphia merchant, Henry Drinker. Both firms maintained correspondents throughout the colonies, shipping linen to America in exchange for a wide range of plantation articles.²³ Likewise, both houses shipped linens suitable to the colonial market through London, in order to gain the benefit of the bounty. Their correspondents in the English capital, houses such as David and John Barclay and Wakefield, Willet & Pratt, were intimately connected to Quaker communities in both Ireland and Pennsylvania.²⁴

Cork was Ireland's second most important centre for overseas trade, "judged to be the richest city in Ireland, except Dublin."²⁵ Her salted-provisions export to Europe and the West Indies was impressive. The city grew rapidly as the Irish provisioning industry expanded in the first half of the eighteenth century.²⁶ Even though the port was "in the best situation for commerce of any town in Ireland," the characteristic role of the Cork merchants as commission agents seems to have inhibited risk taking in transatlantic ventures.²⁷ Few merchants there traded to North America on their own account or owned shares in vessels that carried goods between Ireland and ports such as Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Baltimore. Cork was, however, an important market for colonial staves and lumber and the principal supplier of Irish beef and butter to the sugar islands and growing urban markets of the American mainland. To some colonial merchants trading to the West Indies, Cork was an attractive source of high quality competitively priced provisions.²⁸

Before the middle of the eighteenth century, there were relatively few mercantile ties between Cork and the ports of the North American continent. Most involvement was supplemental to Cork's trade to the West Indies, one of the foundations for the commercial prosperity of the city. In the mid-1730s, for example, the snow Ann of Cork, a 30-ton vessel owned by Savage French of Cork, brought rum, ginger, and scrap pewter and iron to New York from Jamaica in exchange for a typical mainland cargo for the islands.²⁹ Such voyages had been an ordinary feature of Atlantic commerce from as early as the 1670s.³⁰ The fragmented trade connected family members and co-religionists, such as Isaac Norris of Philadelphia and Joseph Hoare and Samuel Pike of Cork, all Quakers.

These men were more interested in colonial land speculation than transatlantic commerce, however.³¹ In the years between 1726 and 1750, only three vessels registered at Philadelphia were owned wholly or partly by Cork interests, compared with eleven owned by Derry merchants and nine by merchants in Dublin during the same period.³²

Cork and the mainland American ports drew closer in the period between 1750 and 1775. In the 1750s, for example, John Perry of Cork, in addition to his West Indian commerce, was trading to Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. From Boston, in one venture in 1752, he took home rum, oil, and flaxseed in his colonial-built brig.³³ Other Cork merchants, such as Lawton & Brown, George Piercy, William Willcocks, and Thomas Browne, intermittently landed wheat and flour, lumber and staves, and flaxseed, in return for salted provisions.³⁴ One Quaker firm, Devonsheir & Strettell, was particularly active, importing large quantities of flaxseed at Cork in the late 1760s as commission agents for New England merchants wishing to purchase provisions for the islands. Thomas Strettell, after the dissolution of the partnership about 1770, remained active in the flaxseed trade until the Revolution.³⁵ Although the migration of capital from Cork to the merchant communities of North America appears to have been rare in this period, the firm of John & David Moylan of Cork was linked by kinship and partnership with Stephen Moylan, an important Philadelphia merchant. The Moylans were among the few Roman Catholic merchant families in the transatlantic commerce. In addition to their investments in colonial-built shipping, the Moylans of Cork held interests in land, buildings and equipment in the Newfoundland fishery.³⁶

The Cork firm that was most widely known among colonial merchants in the 1760s and 1770s was the house of Lane, Bensons & Vaughan. The partnership evolved out of the firm of Paul & James Benson, a trading house well connected with the sugar islands and the mainland American ports. From about the mid-1760s, Lane, Bensons & Vaughan carried on a commission business with a broad representation of colonial merchants from Newburyport in Massachusetts to Annapolis in Maryland. Among their many customers in North America were Thomas Hancock of Boston, Aaron Lopez of Newport [Rhode Island] and John Watts of New York.³⁷ For one New England firm, they even acted as agents for the sale of colonial-built ships.³⁸ In addition to their salted-provisions export, sometimes sent to the West Indies on the accounts of North American merchants, they were active in the gathering of indentured servants for the Philadelphia market.³⁹ Like most other Cork merchant houses in transatlantic trade, Lane, Bensons & Vaughan owned little, if any, of the

shipping that moved between Cork and the British colonies.

Belfast was next in importance among the commercial towns of Ireland in the period between 1731 and 1775. Although she was the focus of activity in the linen manufacture in the North of Ireland, her overseas trade was considerably more diverse than that of her rival ports, Derry and Newry. From North America, she took in flaxseed, wheat and flour, lumber, and pot ashes, as well as a substantial share of Ireland's rum import. In return, Belfast shipped-off linens, servants, and salted provisions. She exported the largest share of the beef, pork, and butter sent from the northern towns, mostly directed to the planters of the West India islands.⁴⁰ But trade with the colonies was just one aspect of her commercial life. Belfast carried on a lively trade with the Baltic, Spain, and France, taking in a variety of goods. From Great Britain she imported tea, raw sugars, and manufactured articles. Her most important export, "the great article, linen cloth to London," increasingly bypassed the linen factors of Dublin as the commerce of the city expanded.⁴¹ By the mid-1770s, about two-thirds of the linen exported directly from the North of Ireland passed through Belfast.⁴²

Belfast's transatlantic commerce predated that of any other port in the North of Ireland. By the 1680s, the town had established a modest export of salted provisions to the West Indies, in exchange for tobacco, the most widely distributed of any Irish import in the late seventeenth century.⁴³ Even after the Navigation Acts of 1685 and 1696 effectively closed the ports of Ireland to the direct importation of colonial goods, Belfast maintained her American trade, taking sugar and tobacco indirectly through Liverpool and London.⁴⁴ In 1705, the colonial trade of Belfast, now Ireland's fourth most important commercial centre, benefitted from an Act of the British Parliament that sought to encourage the Irish linen manufacture.⁴⁵ The Act of that year, in the words of one Belfast merchant, "lett poore Ireland export directly Linnen to the English plantation, for w^{ch} this is the only fitt part of the Kingdom . . . there being very little made elsewhere."⁴⁶ Although Belfast played an important role in the early stages of Ireland's direct linen export to America, that trade quickly became the province of Dublin, with its Linen Hall and more sophisticated marketing institutions.⁴⁷ Belfast remained active in colonial commerce, however, largely as a result of the increasing importance of the emigrant trade. After 1731, the town was the first in the North of Ireland to enter into regular two-way trade with ports on the American mainland, taking in flaxseed and lumber in the early stages, and substantial quantities of wheat and flour

during periods of agricultural crisis.⁴⁸

Between 1705 and 1731, there had been considerable contact between Belfast and the American colonies. The intermittent voyages of merchants such as Isaac McCarthy to the sugar islands, Newfoundland, and Virginia in the first decade of the eighteenth century were followed by increased activity in the next.⁴⁹ Between 1718 and 1720, approximately 2,600 emigrants from the North of Ireland arrived in New England.⁵⁰ A substantial number of these were from the Belfast region and carried to North America aboard the town's merchant shipping. Cargoes of linen and provisions characteristically accompanied passengers aboard the migrant vessels.⁵¹ In the late 1720s, again a time of heavy passenger traffic, the focus of activity shifted to the port of Philadelphia, soon to emerge as a centre of Irish-American trade and the site of several merchant houses run by Belfast men.⁵²

In the period between 1731 and the early 1750s, a small group of Belfast firms maintained an active involvement with the North American colonies. Among the merchants in this group were John Gordon, Samuel Hyde, John Boyd, and the partnership of Wilson and Pringle.⁵³ The trade of Daniel Mussenden, perhaps the most important Belfast merchant in this period, is of special interest. In the years immediately following the opening of Irish ports to unenumerated plantation goods, his was among the first of the North of Ireland firms to enter into a direct exchange with the colonies. For several years in the mid-1730s, Mussenden took in flaxseed, plank lumber, and staves, acting as commission agent for a group of prominent New York merchants. American goods were brought to Ireland aboard the 25-ton schooner Elizabeth & Catherine of New York, on which the Belfast merchant returned indentured servants and linen to the colonies by way of the Isle of May.⁵⁴ During the same period, Mussenden was active in the West Indian commerce, shipping salted provisions and linen to Barbados in exchange for sugar, rum, and molasses, part of which was traded at Charleston [South Carolina] for tar, pitch, and rice that was then carried, along with sugars purchased in the islands, to Bristol.⁵⁵ Although it was but one of his many and diverse commercial activities, Mussenden remained active in the plantation trade through the 1750s.⁵⁶

After 1750, Belfast remained a vigorous participant in Irish-American trade, in spite of the relative decline in her share of the direct linen and flaxseed commerce. Trading houses concerned in colonial markets were typically active in a broad range of foreign markets as well. In the period between the mid-1750s and the American Revolution, the weakening of Belfast's direct plantation trade, with the

exception of the rum trade, masks the considerable vitality of the port's merchant community as a factor in transatlantic commerce.⁵⁷ For example, an increasing proportion of the Irish bounty linen that entered the colonies indirectly through English ports was sent from Belfast, by-passing Dublin.⁵⁸ Belfast merchants often had a hand in flaxseed shipments that left New York and Philadelphia for Newry, Derry, and Coleraine. The town's most vigorous transatlantic merchant house, the Belfast/New York partnership of Greys, Cunningham & Co., shipped flaxseed on commission to customers throughout Ireland and landed goods at New York, and even Philadelphia, from nearly every Irish port. The firm carried on an extensive trade in the West Indies, as well as in Great Britain and on the European continent.⁵⁹ Among the other Belfast merchant houses that participated in transatlantic commerce were the firms of Bradshaw & Alexander [heirs to the operations of Daniel Mussenden], John Henderson, John Campbell, John Gregg & Company, and Galan, Thompson & Co.⁶⁰

III.

Derry was well located for transatlantic trade. She was "unexceptionally the cleanest, best built, and most beautifully situated of any town in Ireland," according to an English visitor in the mid-1760s.⁶¹ Vessels of considerable size could enter this well-protected port, "one of the most commodious harbours in Ireland."⁶² After Cork, she seemed to have the best natural setting for transatlantic trade of any Irish port. Malachy Postlethwayt, in his survey of the ports of the Home Islands, wrote that if a ship from London and one from Derry left for America at the same hour, that from Derry would have arrived in the New World before the vessel from London had even reached the latitude on which Derry was located. The ship from Derry, he went on to say, "is no sooner out of the river [River and Lough Foyle] but she is immediately in the open sea, and has but one course to the banks of Newfoundland, or to New England, and so to any other part of North America, with little variation."⁶³ No wonder, then, the comment of an English traveller that without the restrictions on the trade of Ireland, Derry would "in a few years, become a flourishing and wealthy city."⁶⁴

Derry's flaxseed importation, emigration activity, and herring fishery intimately linked her to the British plantations. More than any other Irish port, the overseas commerce of Derry seems to have been dominated by trade with the American colonies. Similarly, she was well represented in the overseas Irish merchant communities in the colonial ports, particularly at Philadelphia, where fifty Derry-owned vessels were

registered between 1736 and 1775.⁶⁵ The flaxseed trade was among her most important activities. Derry was the largest Irish customer for that article, in terms of total volume landed from the colonies before the Revolution. Only as the end of the Irish-colonial trade neared did Newry seriously rival Derry's pre-eminence.⁶⁶ The large volume of westbound transatlantic shipping made available by the flaxseed trade, together with the unusually favourable treatment given to the moveable property of emigrants by customs authorities there, helps account for the importance of Derry in the emigration trade.⁶⁷ According to Arthur Young, writing in 1776, passenger traffic from Derry had a long and relatively stable history: "for eighteen to twenty years back, two thousand four hundred persons went annually; not more in 1772 and 1773 than usual."⁶⁸

Judging by the frequency of newspaper advertisements for indentured servants landed from Derry at Philadelphia, even in off-peak years, there was considerable co-operation between merchants in the two places in the marketing of indenture contracts. In the early 1770s, the herring fishery directed by Derry merchants at Lough Swilly held out the prospect of an even more effective use of the port's abundant westbound shipping space. One of the town's prominent flaxseed importers, Robert Alexander, alone sent 1,750 barrels of herrings to the West Indies in 1775. In the final years before the Revolution, the fishery stimulated the import of staves from Philadelphia into a town whose principal importations were, already, largely the products of North America and the West Indies.⁶⁹

The expansion of colonial trade at Derry closely followed the pattern of growth in the Irish linen manufacture after passage of the British Parliament's Linen Bounty Act of 1743. By the 1760s, "American flax seed, being necessary to the very existence [of that industry]," became the town's single most important import.⁷⁰ A cut off of flaxseed imports from America would be harmful to the economy of Ireland in general, but disastrous to "our city in particular," wrote the Derry merchants in a petition to the Lord Lieutenant when, in 1766, a technical error in a piece of navigation legislation threatened to bring an end to the Irish importation of unenumerated articles.⁷¹

A high proportion of Derry's overseas merchant houses seem to have had a significant involvement in the flaxseed trade. As many as seventy-five merchants, excluding the itinerant scowbankers, participated in the town's flaxseed commerce between the 1740s and 1775. Caldwell, Vance & Caldwell, Cunningham & Schoales, James Thompson, Alexander & Francis Knox, William Hamilton, James Stevenson & Co., and Robert Alexander & Co. were among the best known of these firms. One striking aspect of these merchant houses is the extent to which they employed

their own ships in the transatlantic trade. In November 1767, Hugh Hill, the chief customs officer at Derry, reported "sixty-seven Ships, containing 11,000 Tons, belonging to the Merchants . . . twenty-nine of said Ships are from 200 to 350 Tons."⁷² One leading flaxseed and linen merchant, William Caldwell, owned shares in sixteen vessels registered at Philadelphia between 1748 and 1768.⁷³ In addition to his investments in ocean-going vessels, Caldwell speculated in lands in Pennsylvania and Nova Scotia.⁷⁴ More than fifty individual Derry merchants were at least part-owners of ships registered at the Pennsylvania capital between 1736 and the Revolution.⁷⁵ It is likely that they had interests in shipping registered in New York and Baltimore as well.

Newry experienced the most rapid commercial expansion of any of the Irish towns trading with colonial America. Before completion of the Newry Canal in the early 1740s, the port had been an unimportant market-town and crossroads with "nothing but mud huts in it," according to Arthur Young.⁷⁶ By mid-century, the Newry Canal, which connected Newry with Lough Neagh, had made her "the largest and most trading town in the county [Co. Down], to which the increase of her linen manufacture hath greatly contributed."⁷⁷ Newry's linen export direct to the plantations became impressive in the 1760s, with nearly 130,000 pieces sent out in the year ending November 1767.⁷⁸ In the five years ending March 1775, Newry was, after Dublin, the second largest exporter of linen directly to colonial markets.⁷⁹ Newry emerged as a major flaxseed importer, second only to Derry, in the early 1750s. By the American Revolution, she was taking in more of that article than any other Irish port. She and Derry were the dominant flaxseed ports by the mid-1770s, and Newry's importation of 9,780 hogsheads was three and a half times larger than that of her nearby rival, Belfast.⁸⁰

The Newry Canal gave the port's merchants a competitive advantage over Belfast in the direct trade with North America. "The prices in this harbour are the best in this Kingdom," wrote one of Newry's leading merchants in 1773, "as we are in the heart of the Linen Manufacture & have a Canal, which carries 70 Miles into the Country."⁸¹ The canal, which considerably reduced the cost of distribution for flaxseed in Ireland's most important linen-producing region, allowed Newry to seize much of the profitable flaxseed import out of the hands of well-established Belfast merchant houses. As a consequence, Newry merchants were presented with increased opportunities to load linens direct to the colonies. Although this cloth did not qualify for the bounty on linens shipped through English ports, the trade provided a

convenient means of making returns for flaxseed. To contemporaries, Newry presented a real threat to the continued growth of Belfast as a centre of the linen export.⁸²

In the quarter-century before the American Revolution, no fewer than thirty Newry merchant houses, more than half of the town's overseas trading firms, engaged in commerce with colonial America. The focus of their activity was New York and the flaxseed-gathering ports of New England, but Newry firms appear to have been connected with the Irish merchant community at Philadelphia as well.⁸³ Newry's preference for New York flaxseed helps explain her relatively light representation in the Philadelphia ship registers, where only four Newry-owned vessels appear in the years before 1775.⁸⁴ One merchant from Newry who set up in Philadelphia, John Pringle, was active in gathering wheat and flour in Pennsylvania and Maryland for sale in his home port.⁸⁵

Among the most active of the Newry houses in the North American trade were those of Edward & Isaac Corry, David Gaussan, Andrew Thompson, David Carlisle, and David & John Ross. Typically, these merchants limited their activities to the purchase of flaxseed, and occasionally lumber, in exchange for linen and bills drawn on London.⁸⁶ The port's most aggressive merchant house was the firm of William & John Ogle, which maintained the widest North American correspondence of any Newry firm and was one of the few houses there to carry on an extensive West Indian trade. The Ogles also traded to the Baltic and other places on the European continent, and even held a part-ownership in the sugar refinery at Dundalk.⁸⁷ In addition to their New York and Philadelphia trade, William & John Ogle were particularly adept at drawing cargoes of flaxseed, lumber, bark, and pot ashes directly from the smaller ports of New England. Merchants in those places were more willing to accept linens shipped direct from Ireland in payment for flaxseed than were their counterparts in New York and Philadelphia, who resented the tendency of Newry merchants to invoice their cloth higher than comparable goods sent from Dublin or Belfast.⁸⁸

Newry's role as a major port in the transatlantic trade was short-lived, however. The town was unable to maintain the level of her overseas commerce in the decades following the American Revolution, in spite of the competitiveness of her merchants and the advantages of her inland waterway. In contrast to Belfast, her trading houses failed to develop the broad range of commercial activities necessary in the commerce of the eighteenth century. In the end, the base of Newry's trade proved too narrow.⁸⁹

Waterford's colonial commerce was focused on the Newfoundland fishery and the West Indian provisions and rum trades. The town was an important supplier of seasonal manpower and salted provisions to the Newfoundland fishing industry. There is evidence that her merchant community was a source of capital investment in the fishery as well.⁹⁰ In addition, Waterford ships brought home rum from the sugar islands to one of Ireland's most important markets for that spirit. By the 1770s, rum was being imported by nearly all of the town's leading merchant houses. Among the firms in this trade were Samuel & George Penrose, Bartholomew Rivers, Wallace & Allen, Philip Long, Newport & Hobbs, and Thomas Ferrell, who advertised that "none in that Trade . . . can serve their Friends on better Terms than he."⁹¹ The dual emphasis in Waterford's Atlantic commerce is unmistakable. It was even reflected in the town's linen export. One leading merchant advertised "course yard-wide, seven eight, and three quarter wide Linens, well assorted for Newfoundland, or the West Indies."⁹²

Waterford did not figure prominently in Ireland's trade to Philadelphia, New York, or Baltimore, but there was some commercial involvement. In the 1730s and 1740s, a small number of ships from Waterford engaged in direct trade to those ports or called at them as part of West Indian trading voyages. In 1737, for example, the ship Hibernia, owned in partnership by Peter and Simon Vashon and William Martin of Waterford, brought canvas and salt to New York in exchange for colonial provisions and staves.⁹³ But beyond her modest demand for North American staves, wheat and flour, and flaxseed, there was little to stimulate trade to the mainland colonial ports before the middle of the century. After 1750, however, contact between Waterford and the ports of the American mainland became more regular, probably as a result of the expanding servant trade. By the 1770s, it was commonplace for ships to take in passengers at Waterford for Philadelphia and Baltimore. Newport & Hobbs and Wallace & Allen appear to have been the most active in this commerce.⁹⁴ One of the partners of the latter firm, Hans Wallace, was the father of Hugh Wallace, a leading member of the Irish merchant community in New York.

IV.

Drogheda was among the most lively of the lesser ports in Ireland that carried on commerce with the British plantations. In 1776, Arthur Young described it as a well-built town with an active trade. His visit in the summer of that year coincided with a market day; "I found the quantity of corn &c., and the number of people assembled very great; few country

markets in England more thronged," he wrote in his travel notes.⁹⁵ By the 1750s, Drogheda was well established as an important centre in the linen manufacture and the grain trade, particularly after the opening of the great flour mill at Slane [County Meath], located only a few miles up the River Boyne.⁹⁶ Although the town's transatlantic commerce was limited, as much by the difficulty of bringing ocean-going vessels up the Boyne as by the proximity of Dublin and Newry, a regular trade in wheat and flaxseed, and sometimes even flour, was carried on with the North American colonies. James Forde was the most important of the Drogheda merchants in the American commerce. He imported substantial quantities of wheat from Philadelphia and Baltimore in the 1760s and 1770s, in addition to his annual purchases of flaxseed for distribution in the port's natural hinterland in the Boyne valley. Forde's letters to America repeatedly asked that his goods be shipped to Ireland aboard relatively shallow-draft vessels that "must take the ground well."⁹⁷ To one New England firm from which he intended to buy flaxseed, he even suggested the use of a single-decked sloop, an idea that astonished his American correspondent. "To have ventured it home in a single deck'd Vessel & in the Winter Season wou'd hardly have been prudent," wrote the colonial merchant.⁹⁸ Occasionally, Drogheda merchants returned linen and malt to the colonies, but there is little evidence of regular two-way trade.⁹⁹ Among other local merchants who carried on an intermittent commerce with the colonies were Oliver & Edward Hardman, Francis Leigh, Harry Brabazon and Thomas Mathews & Co.¹⁰⁰

Spaced along the coast between Derry and Belfast are the small ports of Coleraine, Ballycastle, and Larne. Although none had a well-developed overseas trade in the eighteenth century, a few merchants in each maintained ties with colonial America. The three places had the common feature of being modest regional linen manufacturing and marketing centres. Coleraine lies closest to Derry, but her merchants were as closely tied to Belfast and Newry as to their more proximate neighbour.¹⁰¹ The most important Coleraine merchant in the Atlantic trade was Benjamin Gault, active from the mid-1740s until the late-1760s. His flaxseed import established the town as a regular participant in the trade. Gault sent linens and, occasionally, pickled salmon, an important local production, to the North American mainland and was active in the emigrant trade, which he carried on from his own ships. He registered three vessels at Philadelphia between 1748 and 1754, two of them in partnership with William Humphrys, a Dublin man who had set up in Philadelphia to participate in the servant trade.¹⁰² In his American

trade, Benjamin Gault was sometimes connected with the Ballymoney firm of Caldwell and Reily.¹⁰³ Other Coleraine merchants who traded to the American colonies were Robert Given and Henry Spence.¹⁰⁴

Ballycastle also played a limited role in Ireland's colonial commerce. George Dunlope, her most important merchant, corresponded with Waddell Cunningham in the mid-1750s, sending linens, potatoes, and coals [his port's most important product] to New York in exchange for flaxseed, bar iron, rum, and staves.¹⁰⁵ John McNeile, another Ballycastle merchant trading to America at about the same time, migrated to Philadelphia in the 1760s and formed the partnership of Tolbert & McNeile. That house became closely associated with the Ballycastle firm of John McAllister, suggesting a shared involvement in the emigrant trade.¹⁰⁶ In the 1760s, George Dunlope, son of the prominent Ballycastle merchant, became a partner in the firm of Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme of Philadelphia. That house often joined forces with Tolbert & McNeile in their port's annual flaxseed export to Ireland.¹⁰⁷ Ballycastle continued in its modest commerce with the colonies until the Revolution.

Larne had a more developed transatlantic commerce than did Ballycastle. One of her merchants, Hugh Montgomery, sent linens and passengers to America every year between 1754 and 1762 aboard the William and George of Philadelphia, owned by him in partnership with George Dunlope of Ballycastle and the firm of Scott & McMichael of Philadelphia.¹⁰⁸ His trade continued until the end of the 1760s.¹⁰⁹ Between 1766 and 1770, Hugh Kirk of Larne was a regular correspondent of Gerard G. Beekman of New York, taking flaxseed and rum in exchange for an unusually varied assortment of Irish goods, including beef, butter, potatoes, linens, poplins, silks, and printed cottons.¹¹⁰ Other Larne merchants trading to New York and Philadelphia in these years were James McVickers, Robert & John Wilson, James Agnew, and John & Samuel Montgomery. Nearly all of these men played a role in Larne's flaxseed import, in addition to their considerable activity in the emigrant trade.¹¹¹

Sligo and Killybegs were the most remote of the Irish ports to carry on trade with the American colonies.¹¹² "The trade here is not considerable, though much better than in any other place beyond it," wrote a contemporary observer about Sligo in the middle of the eighteenth century.¹¹³ From North America, Sligo generated a modest flaxseed and rum import from at least as early as the 1740s.¹¹⁴ But it was not until the late 1750s that her transatlantic commerce was in the hands of

local firms.¹¹⁵ One Philadelphia merchant, attempting to promote a more independent trade with America, was encouraging in his comments to a correspondent at Sligo: "There are doubtless many about Sligo who dabble in flaxseed that would sooner favor you with their orders than those from whom they are supplied."¹¹⁶ Merchants from Belfast and Derry called at Sligo before local houses, such as Knox & Alcock, James Drumgoole, and Edward Corkran established correspondents in the colonies with whom they could trade directly.¹¹⁷ The town's merchants remained small, however, reflecting the scale of activity at Sligo; but a few owned ships that traded to the West Indies and the ports of North America, particularly Philadelphia.¹¹⁸ Likewise, Killybegs, to the north of Sligo, maintained a presence in the Irish-American trade. That small fishing port had sent ventures to the colonies as early as 1718.¹¹⁹ Both Sligo and Killybegs shipped emigrants direct to the plantations, in competition with more developed and sophisticated passenger trade at Derry.¹²⁰

These places, together with Ireland's larger ports, do not fully account for all of the towns that participated in the Irish-American trade. At Donaghadee in County Down, for example, there had been contact with the colonies at least as early as the 1730s. In the late 1760s, two merchants there carried on a correspondence with the firm of Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme of Philadelphia, with whom they shared ownership of a vessel active in the flaxseed and emigrant trades.¹²¹ At Letterkenny [County Donegal], Redmond Conyngham, senior partner of one of the most important Irish firms at Philadelphia, Conyngham & Nesbitt, landed flaxseed for transshipment throughout the rest of the North of Ireland in the late 1760s and early 1770s.¹²² He appears to have regularly travelled between Philadelphia and Letterkenny, as did Samuel Carson, another important Irish merchant at Philadelphia, to his home base at Strabane.¹²³ Robert Barclay of Strabane was among Samuel Carson's trading partners in the 1740s and 1750s, and the two men were part-owners of the ship Pandour of Philadelphia.¹²⁴ Elsewhere in Ireland there were pockets of interest in American trade. At Limerick, for example, there was growing activity in the flaxseed and flour import in the decade before the American Revolution. Among the Limerick merchants involved in this fledgling trade were Philip Roche, Benjamin Unthank, Patrick Meade, and William White, most of whom appear to have played a role in the port's emigration commerce.¹²⁵ Likewise, Galway merchants began to take small amounts of flaxseed in the late 1760s in response to the expansion of the linen manufacture in the port's hinterland. In March 1770, a newspaper notice announced the arrival of the Hibernia of Galway

at her home port "with a Cargo of Flax-Seed to sundry People here."¹²⁶
Andrew French, along with other merchants at Galway, combined his import
of American flaxseed with activity in the servant trade.¹²⁷

The arrival of flaxseed in the County was from
the introduction of seed by a French
Merchant.
An Irish merchant in New York, 1747

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Chapter Five

NORTH AMERICAN MERCHANTS AND PORTS

"My prospect in coming to this Country was from the Encouragement of several of my friends in Ireland."

An Irish merchant in New York, 1764¹

Merchants from Ireland, carrying on trade with their native land, were an established feature in the ports of British North America. In the mainland colonies, Irish commercial interests were concentrated at Philadelphia, New York and, to a lesser degree, Baltimore, where small merchant communities had formed by 1750. The annual flaxseed fleet sent out from the two larger towns represented a significant share of the tonnage employed in their transatlantic commerce. At Philadelphia, the colonial seaport with the most fully developed Irish trade, exports to Ireland also included substantial quantities of wheat and flour, as well as staves, lumber and timber. In addition to being the largest North American market for Irish linens, the Pennsylvania city was the main centre of activity in the servant trade, a commerce which profoundly influenced the development of the American nation. At New York, Irish trade was essentially the flaxseed commerce. That port, ideally situated for wintertime activity, drew seed from a hinterland that extended deep into the commercial domain of its New England rival, Boston. The flaxseed trade was one of the few important economic activities of the late colonial period in which New York had a competitive advantage over Philadelphia. Trade with Ireland also played a role in the development of Baltimore, a town that emerged as a major American port in the final decade of the colonial period. Its trade with Ireland consisted mainly of the export of wheat and flour and the importation of large numbers of indentured servants. Although only a modest direct trade took place between ports in New England and Ireland, that region was critical to the evolution of Irish-American trade. It was there that most of the high-quality North American flaxseed destined for the Irish market was grown, gathered, and entered into intercolonial trade.

I.

Among the Irish merchants in America were men of wealth and prestige, with correspondents throughout the Atlantic trading world, as well as obscure traders eager to ship a few hogsheads of flaxseed to Ireland each

winter. The mercantile elites of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore included prominent members of the Irish merchant communities in those ports, men of considerable commercial, and sometimes even political influence. They numbered among the leading colonial shipowners, several having interests in twelve or more vessels. The wealthiest of the Irish merchants in America found productive investment opportunities in the mainland colonies, the sugar islands, and Europe. Below them were merchants of a lesser station, not as wealthy nor as well connected, yet able to move cargoes in overseas trade, extend credit to inland shopkeepers, and maintain investments in ships and real property. The best situated of them controlled significant capital, owning anywhere from one to a dozen vessels. Between the 1730s and 1775, roughly 450 ownership shares in about 230 ship registrations were held by members of the Irish merchant community at Philadelphia, the port for which the best evidence survives.² Most of the investment was in the hands of this broad middle group. At the base of the structure rested a class of men who possessed the minimum capital required to participate in trade, but who lacked the resources to carry on overseas trade as established transatlantic merchants. They appear to have been active in the intercolonial flaxseed trade, gathering cargoes at the small ports of New England and in the Pennsylvania and Maryland backcountry for transshipment to urban centres. A number of these small traders, shopkeepers, and coasting captains eventually entered the ranks of the overseas merchant class, sometimes achieving considerable wealth.

Irish firms in the colonies were of three general types: branch operations of established Irish merchant houses, transatlantic partnerships, and independent firms initiated by Irishmen who had accumulated enough capital, by their own means or with family assistance, to set up in trade in the colonies. Nearly all of the Irish firms in North America, of whatever type, grew out of trading enterprises based in Ireland. In branch operations, the principal figure was usually a well-established merchant at the Irish end, often with ties to the linen industry, and with access to capital, credit, and good correspondents in London and the English outports. The New York partnerships of Henderson & Ewing and Templeton & Stewart, both extensions of important Belfast linen interests, and the Philadelphia firm of George Bryan & Co., an extension of the house of Samuel & William Bryan of Dublin, are good examples.³ Hugh Wallace & Co. of New York, a firm with roots in the Waterford house of Wallace & Allen, began as a branch operation in the sugar islands and evolved into a prominent independent enterprise on the North American mainland.⁴ In addition to branch operations, with their

centres of gravity in Ireland, transatlantic partnerships tied both sides of the Atlantic together in a more balanced structure. The most notable of these was the New York/Belfast firm of Greg, Cunningham & Co., which brought two rising mercantile figures into a single operation that became a principal house on both sides of the water.⁵ The partnership of William & Andrew Caldwell, linking Philadelphia and Derry, and Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, linking the Pennsylvania city and the Belfast region, are other examples.⁶ A third type of operation encompassed the trade of those Irishmen who ventured to America with a small capital to set up as merchants. Waddell Cunningham and George Folliot of New York, both of whom became prominent colonial merchants, entered the trade from small beginnings. In addition, some merchants were first associated with Irish-American commerce as ship captains, as was George Woolsey of the Baltimore firm Woolsey & Salmon; others began as apprentices of Irish merchants in the colonies, as did John Maxwell Nesbitt of the Philadelphia firm of Conyngham & Nesbitt.

Links of religion were less important than family ties in binding Irish merchants in the colonies to those at home. Kinship, reputation, and religion, perhaps in that order, determined the choice of partners and correspondents, particularly by the mid-point of the century, when merchants in the colonies were forced to modify their parochial Irish interests in order to effectively compete in the Atlantic economy. This is not to diminish the barriers within Irish society that separated Anglican, Presbyterian, Quaker, and Roman Catholic elements, nor to deny the obvious fact that most of the colonial trade to the North of Ireland was managed by Presbyterian merchant interests at both ends. Only in the instance of the Quakers did bonds of community deriving primarily from a shared religious experience weigh evenly with family ties in deciding the direction of trade and the choice of correspondents. But even with the Quakers, there was movement outside their own self-contained network by the close of the colonial period.⁷ The apparent cohesiveness of the 'Scotch-Irish' Presbyterian faction in Pennsylvania politics, which found strong leadership within the Philadelphia Irish merchant community, exaggerates the exclusiveness of religion as a factor holding the Irish overseas merchant communities together. The 'Ship Registers for the Port of Philadelphia, 1726-1775' offer a number of examples of ship-owning partnerships that crossed lines of religion. Although ownership shares did not always imply full decision-making prerogatives, there is little evidence of deep sectarian divisions among the port's Irish merchants.⁸

Just before the mid-point of the eighteenth century, Irish merchant communities began to form at Philadelphia and New York, and later at

Baltimore. These communities, which had a formal existence in their own right, provided a milieu within which individual firms could compete and new merchants establish themselves. In addition to their organizational function, they served to keep much of the Irish-colonial trade in Irish hands. The Irish merchant community at Philadelphia, which numbered no fewer than sixty men at its peak in the late 1760s, was a direct consequence of the Pennsylvania port's well developed servant trade, a tightly organized activity requiring close affiliations between merchants in the colonies, ship captains, and firms in the Irish ports. Although a few non-Irish merchants participated in the servant trade, it was an activity dominated by the expatriate Irish houses. The community at Philadelphia was the most cohesive of any in the colonies, with leading members active in promoting the political interest of the colony's Irish immigrants, particularly the 'Scotch-Irish' Presbyterians.⁹ At New York, a port with considerably less activity in the servant trade, the Irish merchant community was smaller and less cohesive. At its peak, it numbered no more than about thirty men, a group with but one shared interest, the orderly management of New York's highly competitive flaxseed commerce. At Baltimore, in the final decade before the Revolution, an Irish merchant community, with possibly as many as a dozen members, carried on an active servant trade in rivalry with Philadelphia. In these years, the Irish merchants at Baltimore shipped large quantities of wheat and flour to Ireland, one of the Maryland port's principal markets for that article.

Some Irish-American trade was in the hands of non-Irish merchants, particularly in New England and New York. New England had carried on a fragmentary commerce to ports in Ireland even before the formal opening of direct two-way trade in 1731. After that date, the region's West Indian merchant sea captains periodically called at Irish provisioning centres for beef, butter, and pork for the islands, or indentured servants for the mainland. In the 1760s and 1770s, it was not uncommon for New England merchants to venture flaxseed or rum direct to Ireland, by-passing New York and Philadelphia, in order to purchase Irish salted provisions for the island markets.¹⁰ There was, in addition, considerable non-Irish involvement at New York. There, firms outside the Irish merchant community had been active in the port's Irish commerce from its inception in the early 1730s. The earliest New York flaxseed ventures had been carried out by alliances of Irish and non-Irish merchants.¹¹ Such arrangements were common through the 1750s, but diminished in importance with the emergence of the port's Irish merchant community. At New York, Irish and non-Irish firms continued to share the

flaxseed commerce in the final twenty-five years before the Revolution.

II.

Philadelphia was the pre-eminent North American port at the close of the colonial period, with a population, by various estimates, somewhere between 24,000 and 40,000 by 1775.¹² The Quaker city had the most extensive and best developed hinterland of any colonial seaport, a region of rich soil well suited to the production of wheat and other grains. From the time of its founding by William Penn in the 1680s, until the mid-point of the eighteenth century, trade and commerce prospered, but within relatively narrow bounds. In that period, Philadelphia's proportionately large community of small merchants traded flour and provisions to the West Indies, as well as occasional ventures of wheat and flour to the ports of southern Europe. Until the 1750s, however, Philadelphia was largely dependent upon the entrepot trades of Boston and New York for its importation of European goods. In the quarter century before the Revolution, the structure of the city's commerce underwent a change. Wheat and flour exports to Lisbon, Cadiz, and the Mediterranean dramatically increased, along with grain shipments to Great Britain and Ireland in times of harvest failure. At the same time, Philadelphia became a centre for the import of British manufactures, to meet local demand, as well as for distribution to the rising population of the port's far-reaching hinterland.¹³ The expansion of the populations of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland was largely fuelled by a huge inflow of indentured servants, many of them natives of Ireland.¹⁴ One beneficiary of Philadelphia's quarter-century of rapid commercial development after 1750 was her trade with Ireland, largely managed by a resident community of expatriate Irish merchants.

Philadelphia was the most important colonial port in the Irish-American trade. By 1731, it was well established as a port-of-call for Irish ships in the West Indian trade, as well as the leading market for Irish indentured servants.¹⁵ In the flaxseed commerce that emerged soon after the opening of direct two-way trade, the Pennsylvania city lagged behind New York, a port with better access to high-quality seed and a more favourable location for wintertime trade. Even so, Philadelphia shipped between 8,000 and 16,000 hogsheads per annum through the 1760s and 1770s.¹⁶ "There is . . . a large number of ships employed in the fall of the year to carry flaxseed, barrel staves, sometimes wheat, flour and ship plank, square timber, mahogany boat boards, and other timber, and iron to Ireland," wrote a leading Philadelphia Quaker in 1767.¹⁷ In the five year period between 1750

and 1754, 180 vessels cleared the port for Ireland, compared with 79 for Great Britain. In a similar five year period ending 1774, a time that saw the 1772-73 depression in the Irish linen manufacture, 141 vessels cleared Philadelphia for Ireland, while 132 cleared for ports in Great Britain. In the single year 1769, the peak of Irish-colonial commerce, 49 vessels departed Philadelphia for Ireland.¹⁸ Nearly all of these were flaxseed ships, many of which had entered the colony with loadings of linen, salted provisions and, most importantly, indentured servants. It was the traffic in servants that gave Philadelphia its dominance in the Irish-American trade and accounted for the presence of her large Irish merchant community. In addition, Philadelphia was the leading market for Irish linens in North America, taking a quarter of the total shipped to the mainland colonies. The Quaker city took an average of nearly 837,000 yards in each of the three years ending January 1772.¹⁹

The Irish merchant community at Philadelphia constituted a relatively cohesive element in the port's commercial and political life. Even before the opening of two-way trade between Ireland and the American colonies, men drawn from the merchant class in Ireland had played leading roles in Pennsylvania, a colony with roots deep in the Irish Quaker community. James Logan and Thomas Griffiths, both of whom were important Quaker merchants at Philadelphia, are noteworthy examples.²⁰ In the years between 1731 and 1775, well over one hundred men of Irish birth maintained commercial relationships with their native land from the Pennsylvania capital, not including scowbankers and other itinerant traders. By mid-century, the largest proportion of these were Presbyterians, drawn from the North of Ireland. In the final quarter century before the Revolution, Philadelphia's Irish merchant community emerged as an important subgroup within the port's larger trading community. Its members were well represented among the city's great shipowners, several having interests in a dozen or more vessels.²¹ They were, likewise, numbered among Philadelphia's wealthiest merchants; William West, John Maxwell Nesbitt, William Allen, and Blair McClenachan were men of influence and status in the port's commercial life. In addition to its dominant Presbyterian faction, which found a political voice in the Dublin-born merchant George Bryan, the port's Irish merchant community included representatives of Irish Catholic commercial interests as well. The most notable of these were Stephen Moylan, George Meade, James Mease, and Thomas Fitzsimons.²² Common heritage and the practical necessity of co-ordinating activities in the flaxseed, wheat, and servant trades, helped to reinforce the identity of the Irish merchant community and give it a rough kind of solidarity. Its prominent

members, a group that cut across sectarian divisions, formed the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in 1771, among the oldest fraternal societies in North America.²³

Each of the ports in Ireland that carried on trade with America was represented in Philadelphia Irish merchant community. Derry was the port in Ireland with the closest links. By one historian's estimate, about three-quarters of the emigrant vessels from Derry to North America between 1750 and 1775 were bound for the Pennsylvania capital.²⁴ Much of the traffic in Irish indentured servants was carried in ships registered to Irish merchants in Philadelphia, often in partnership with firms in Derry. Thus it is not surprising that members of Philadelphia's Irish merchant community with close connexions to Derry were among that port's great ship owners. One such man was Samuel Carson, a native of Strabane, who owned shares in at least twenty vessels over the span of years between 1740 and the Revolution. He was senior partner in the firm of Carson, Barclay & Mitchell, established in 1766, among the most active of the Philadelphia flaxseed houses and a prominent dealer in indentured servants.²⁵ Another Derry man, Andrew Caldwell, set up in trade in the early 1750s and shared ownership in at least fourteen vessels, most of them active in the servant trade. "Likely healthy MEN and WOMEN SERVANTS" were staples in the house of William and Andrew Caldwell, an Irish-American partnership. Andrew Caldwell remained active in the Irish merchant community at Philadelphia, even after the failure of his kinsman and partner, William Caldwell of Derry, in the depression that decimated the Irish linen manufacture in 1773.²⁶ James Caldwell, Joseph Wilson, and James Mitchell were among the other Irish merchants in Philadelphia with primary connexions to Derry.²⁷

The firm of Conyngham & Nesbitt was perhaps the most successful of the Irish houses in the colonies tied to the Derry region. Its reputation was unsurpassed; "the Character and Stability whereof stands in the foremost rank here," wrote Henry Drinker in 1774, and "of equal credit to any on the Continent," according to Stocker & Wharton, another leading Quaker house in Philadelphia.²⁸ Redmond Conyngham was already established in the Pennsylvania city, and part-owner of two vessels in the servant and flaxseed trades with William Hamilton of Derry, when the young John Maxwell Nesbitt arrived in America from County Down in 1747 to serve as an apprentice in the firm. Through the 1740s and into the following decade, Conyngham's operations expanded as his trading house exploited commercial opportunities at Derry, then the fastest growing market for flaxseed in Ireland. Alexander & Francis Knox, Cunningham & Schoales, and Henry Gamble were among the Derry merchants with strong

links to Philadelphia through Conyngham's enterprise.²⁹ In 1756, the firm became Conyngham & Nesbitt, with the admission of the younger man as a junior partner, and quickly established itself as the premier Irish merchant house in Philadelphia. Conyngham & Nesbitt broadened its intercolonial commerce, as well as its trading operations in the West Indies, and became a leading colonial shipowner, at various times holding shares in at least fifteen vessels regularly employed in the Irish-American trade.³⁰

In the two decades before the American Revolution, the partnership continued to prosper, in spite of wartime losses, periodic financial setbacks, and the often uncertain and difficult economic climate. Sometime in the late 1760s, Redmond Conyngham returned to Ireland to set up a branch of the firm at Letterkenny [County Donegal], "a newly establish'd Sea Port near Londonderry," while John Maxwell Nesbitt remained at Philadelphia to supervise the company's activities at the American end. With Conyngham in Ireland to oversee the disposition of the firm's own flaxseed shipments, as well as to further the interests of colonial merchants who shipped seed through them, Conyngham & Nesbitt was able to increase its earnings in the flaxseed trade without over-extending its financial resources.³¹ In spite of its dominant role in Philadelphia's Irish trade, particularly with key merchants in the Derry region, the focus of the partnership increasingly shifted from overseas commerce to banking. As early as the mid-1760s, Conyngham & Nesbitt had begun to take on the specialized banking functions associated with the clearance of bills of exchange.³² With the American Revolution and the suspension of activity in the Irish-American trade, the firm was reorganized as J. M. Nesbitt & Co. John Maxwell Nesbitt, a member of the Moderate Whig faction in Philadelphia, was an ardent supporter of the Patriot cause and a close associate of Robert Morris, the leading financier of the Revolution. In the post-war period, Nesbitt was active in Philadelphia commerce and politics and was one of the founding investors of the Insurance Company of North America, serving as its president between 1792 and 1796.³³

The importance of Philadelphia to the servant trades of Belfast and Newry required close links between both sides of the Atlantic. Even though New York was the seat of the most important Belfast merchant house in the American colonies, Philadelphia received three times as many servants from Belfast as did New York.³⁴ In the 1760s, the partnership of Samuel Jackson of Philadelphia and Robert Wills of Belfast specialized in the marketing of indentures, for which they returned flaxseed, flour, and lumber. The firm held shares in two vessels before its dissolution

in 1768 and Samuel Jackson, who remained active in the servant trade until the early 1770s, was the part-owner of another four.³⁵ George Fullerton traded in Philadelphia from the late 1750s until his untimely death in the Patriot cause in 1776. As a partner of John Boyd of Belfast in the firm Boyd & Fullerton and, after 1763, as an independent merchant, he shipped flaxseed to Belfast in return for servants, salted provisions, linens, and other Irish manufactures, such as shoes, boots, and pumps, articles that were easily smuggled into the colony. Fullerton was closely allied to the Belfast houses of John Greggs & Co. and John Campbell. Like other men in the servant trade, he had a sizable investment in ocean-going shipping.³⁶ Scott & McMichael, another Philadelphia firm with roots at Belfast, was active from about 1750 through the mid-1760s. Although heavily involved in servants and flaxseed, its trade was unusually far-ranging and included extensive smuggling, an activity in which it was closely linked to New York's great Belfast trading house, Greg, Cunningham & Co. In addition, Scott & McMichael was among the largest underwriters of marine insurance in the American colonies. By the time it stopped payment in 1765, the firm had held shares in at least fifteen vessels, seven of them as sole owners.³⁷

Orr, Glenholme & Co., later reorganized as Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, carried on an active trade between Philadelphia, Ireland, and the West Indies through most of the 1760s. The partnership of Andrew Orr and William Glenholme, both Belfast men, was expanded in the summer of 1767 to include George Dunlope, son of the prominent Ballycastle merchant, George Dunlope. Andrew Orr, son of the Belfast merchant, Gilbert Orr, remained in Ireland to supervise the firm's commercial interests there. Although Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme declared bankruptcy late in February 1769, its failure appears to have been as much the consequence of the unexpected death of the younger George Dunlope and the fragile health of William Glenholme, the partners responsible for managing the company's American operations, as the difficult trading conditions that prevailed at Philadelphia in the late 1760s. The partnership specialized in flaxseed, which it shipped aboard its own vessels mainly on Irish account. It also sent out substantial quantities of lumber, staves, wheat, and flour, in exchange for servants, salted provisions, and linens, and promoted the sale of American-built vessels in Ireland. Among its activities was the consignment of Irish beef and butter to West Indian factors to finance the return of rum to Ireland and the North American colonies. The firm was well connected to Irish mercantile interests in the mainland colonies and in the islands.³⁸ McNeile &

Tolbert, another North of Ireland firm at Philadelphia absorbed much of the trade of Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme after its failure in 1769.³⁹ Of the Newry men in Philadelphia's Irish merchant community, John Pringle was the most important. Pringle, who entered the Irish-colonial trade in the mid-1760s, shipped flaxseed and flour to his home port in return for linens and servants, in association with Hamilton Pringle and John Dickson of Newry. Two of Pringle's ships, the Newry Packet and the Newry Assistant, were among the most active vessels in the Irish-American trade.⁴⁰

Dublin, Cork, and Sligo were well represented in Philadelphia's Irish merchant community. George Bryan and Randall Mitchell, both natives of Dublin, operated trading houses in Philadelphia that were closely linked to family interests in the Irish capital. For three years after his arrival in the colonies in 1752, George Bryan was a partner in the firm Wallace & Bryan, a house in close alliance with Samuel & William Bryan & Co. of Dublin. After 1755, Bryan traded as an independent merchant, at various times sharing ownership in at least six vessels in the flaxseed and servant trades with his Dublin kinsmen and other Irish merchants in the colonies.⁴¹ In the mid-1760s, Bryan emerged as an important political figure in Pennsylvania politics, representing the Irish faction's ardent opposition to the Proprietary government.⁴² Randall Mitchell, another Dubliner active in Philadelphia, owned four trading vessels in the 1750s in partnership with his kinsman, Hugh Mitchell of Dublin. Mitchell remained involved in the city's Irish trade until 1770, when he returned to Ireland after selling his slave, 'Dublin'.⁴³ Stephen Moylan of Cork, the son of a prominent Catholic merchant, established himself at Philadelphia in 1768, after having spent three years in Lisbon representing the interests of his family's firm, John & David Moylan of Cork. Stephen Moylan owned whole or part-interests in six trading vessels registered at Philadelphia, most of which were engaged in commerce with Lisbon, Philadelphia's most important export market in southern Europe. Although the focus of Moylan's attention was the Iberian peninsula, his vessels participated in the servant trade with Ireland.⁴⁴ Two Sligo men were also members of the port's Irish merchant community. In the early 1760s, Daniel Clark engaged in direct trade between Philadelphia and the West of Ireland ports of Sligo and Killybegs.⁴⁵ William West, whose imports included Irish linens, was a Sligo man who grew to become a rich and influential Philadelphia merchant by the outbreak of the American Revolution.⁴⁶

Quaker merchant families in Pennsylvania and Ireland were closely related. Irish Friends, among them Anthony Sharp, Abel Strettell, and

Joseph Pike, had actively speculated in Pennsylvania and New Jersey lands in the period before 1731.⁴⁷ In spite of intimate associations of kinship and faith, however, there was only a modest direct commerce between the two communities after the opening of Irish ports to non-enumerated colonial goods. Small amounts of flour, lumber, and staves were occasionally marketed through Quaker channels in Ireland, and Irish linen was sometimes shipped directly to Philadelphia before the Bounty Act of 1743. Among the Philadelphia Quakers who traded to Ireland before 1743 were Isaac Norris, Israel Pemberton, Robert Strettell, John Erwin, Joshua Fisher, and the partnership of White & Taylor, all whom were closely linked to Friends in Ireland.⁴⁸ By the mid-1740s, Quaker merchants in England, Ireland, and Pennsylvania had begun to play a leading role in the large-scale movement of Irish linen to the New World. As the Bounty Act encouraged the transshipment through English ports of the kinds of Irish linen most in demand in America, Quaker firms were quick to realize the competitive advantage of co-ordinating marketing activities between Dublin, London, and the colonies. The most important of the London firms to participate in the movement of this vast quantity of linen to the British plantations was the house of David & John Barclay, a Quaker enterprise with correspondents among Friends in the ports of Ireland, as well as in Pennsylvania.⁴⁹ In Philadelphia, Samuel & John Morton and Joshua Fisher & Sons were notable Irish Quaker houses active in the linen trade. Other Quaker merchants there with strong family ties to Ireland were Coates & Reynell, Henry Drinker, and Amos Strettell.⁵⁰

Not all of the merchants who participated in Philadelphia's trade with Ireland were members of the port's Irish merchant community. Some of the earliest involvement in the flaxseed commerce was carried on by non-Irish firms. In the 1730s, Samuel Powel, Jr. and the firm of Willing & Shippen consigned flaxseed to correspondents in Dublin and Belfast and helped to lay the foundations for Philadelphia's trade in that article.⁵¹ Wheat and flour were shipped to Ireland in substantial quantities during the agricultural crises of the early 1740s and mid-1750s by Philadelphia merchants such as Joseph Richardson, men quick to respond to the speculative opportunities created by Irish distress.⁵² In the 1750s, the period during which the port's Irish merchant community rapidly developed, Thomas Wharton was among the non-Irish merchants who dealt in flaxseed and occasionally sold Irish linens and salted provisions in their stores. Among the non-Irish firms that participated in the flaxseed commerce were the houses of Samuel & John Smith, Chaloner & White, Walter Franklin, William Pollard, and

Stocker & Wharton.⁵³ One prominent non-Irish Quaker firm even marketed Irish indentured servants. "Men, women & boys, all in good health; whose times of service, agreeable to indenture, are to be disposed of by Thomas Clifford & Sons," read their advertisement in the Pennsylvania Chronicle in 1769.⁵⁴

III.

Although New York was a growing centre of trade and commerce in the final days of the colonial period, she had yet to reveal her future as America's dominant Atlantic seaport. Her population of between 20,000 and 25,000 in 1775 made her the second largest urban centre in British North America; but she significantly fell behind Philadelphia, Boston, and Charleston in the volume of her maritime trade.⁵⁵ Until the opening of her natural hinterland, the Mohawk Valley and the rich farmlands of central and western New York, in the immediate post-war period, she was unable to capitalize upon her enormous geographic potential. Before then, her effective hinterland included Long Island, parts of Connecticut, northern New Jersey, and the relatively undeveloped Hudson Valley. This region, taken together, offered considerably less productive capacity than that available to Philadelphia, New York's rival to the south. In the period between 1731 and 1775, the West Indian trade of New York lagged behind that of Philadelphia and Boston, and her exports to southern Europe were not even a quarter those of Philadelphia. It was in New York's capacity to export directly to the British Isles and maintain a favourable balance of trade with the Mother Country that she outstripped the other major colonial port-towns.⁵⁶ It was for this reason that her trade with Ireland, specialized and seasonal though it was, was among the most important of her mercantile activities.

New York was second in importance to Philadelphia as a colonial centre of trade with Ireland. From mid-century until the outbreak of the Revolution, between 25 and 35 per cent of her annual export tonnage employed in transatlantic commerce was bound to Ireland.⁵⁷ New York's Irish trade was focused upon a single article, flaxseed. Because the continent's best seed was grown in Connecticut and in the region bordering Long Island Sound, the commodity could be gathered and processed at New York at relatively low cost. In addition, New York's harbour was open year-round, making it ideal for wintertime trade, unlike that at Philadelphia, where ice on the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers often rendered shipping inconvenient or closed the port for weeks at a time.⁵⁸ In 1739/40, about a dozen vessels carried flaxseed from New York to Ireland; by 1750, the number of ships employed in the annual

trade had risen to about twenty. And in the following decade, the 1760s, New York's yearly flaxseed fleets typically numbered about thirty ships, with as many as forty employed in the peak seasons at the end of the decade. At its height, New York's flaxseed export was worth about £60,000: [sterling]. Other goods such as staves, lumber, flour, and rum were shipped to Ireland from New York, but together accounted for less than 20 per cent of the annual export.⁵⁹ At Philadelphia, on the other hand, articles other than flaxseed made up a substantially greater share of the outbound trade, which was less narrowly seasonal than that at New York. In return, New York took some linens and provisions direct from Ireland, but most of the earnings from her Irish commerce were converted into credits against English houses to fund the importation of British manufactures, including Irish bounty linens. New York's Irish imports probably totalled no more than a third of those landed at Philadelphia and her servant trade was of little consequence compared to that of the Pennsylvania city.

New York's Irish merchant community was about a third the size of Philadelphia's. Unlike the Pennsylvania capital, where expatriate Irish merchants dominated commerce with their native land, the trade at New York, primarily the flaxseed export, appears to have been more evenly shared between Irish and non-Irish elements. The typical Irish firm was a flaxseed house which gathered, cleaned, packaged, and shipped that article to Ireland, in exchange for linens, salted provisions, and a few minor imports, such as potatoes, coal, and shoes. In addition to their seasonal flaxseed trade, the Irish merchants characteristically operated retail establishments through which they marketed a wide variety of British manufactures, along with West Indian goods and the articles they took direct from Ireland.⁶⁰ Representatives of the city's Irish merchants were men such as John McEvers, John and Joseph Reed, William Neilson, William Kennedy, Smith Ramadge, and the partnership of Henderson & Ewing, most of which were intimately linked to the North.⁶¹ At least two vendue houses, the partnership of Templeton & Stewart and the firm of Patrick McDavitt, carried on a high-volume, low-margin linen trade on the accounts of linen exporters in Ireland.⁶² Not all of the Irish firms in New York were small specialized operations focusing on the flaxseed commerce, however. By the 1770s, three houses within the port's Irish merchant community had become wealthy and influential enterprises, with correspondents throughout the Atlantic trading world. Each of them, Greg, Cunningham & Co., Hugh & Alexander Wallace, and George Folliot & Co., took the Loyalist side at the outbreak of the American Revolution. Greg, Cunningham & Co. was the most important of the Irish merchant

houses in New York. Its senior partners, Waddell Cunningham in New York and Thomas Greg in Belfast, were exceptionally aggressive in exploiting opportunities generated through the Irish-American trade. Waddell Cunningham, the son of a farmer from Ballymacilhoyle [near Killead, County Antrim], had arrived in New York with a small capital just before 1750 and set up in the flaxseed trade.⁶³ Cunningham was quick to distinguish himself from the dozens of small-scale Irish traders who ventured to America with a few pieces of linen to barter for flaxseed. By the mid-1750s, he was part-owner of at least six vessels in the Irish trade and had become a substantial importer of dry goods, which he sold out of his retail store, along with "IRISH POTATOES, BUTTER in crocks and firkins, and IRISH BEEF."⁶⁴ In addition to his Irish, West Indian, and intercolonial trade, Cunningham was an active participant in New York's illicit commerce with the European mainland, landing goods imported from Rotterdam and Amsterdam at the small Connecticut ports from which he purchased flaxseed. In the spring of 1756, when he entered into partnership with Thomas Greg, himself a rising figure in the Belfast merchant community, the twenty-eight year old Cunningham had become one of the leading Irish merchants in the American colonies.⁶⁵

The new firm, set up for the purpose of "carrying on the Trade and Business of Merchants in the city of New York," was established with a capital stock of about £10,000: [sterling].⁶⁶ The commission trade in flaxseed was the backbone of Greg, Cunningham & Co.'s operations. It allowed the transfer of most risk to Irish importers, who not only funded the flaxseed commerce out of their own resources, but were required to manage their own insurance as well. The New York house typically drew upon English correspondents that it shared with its Irish customers to furnish the working capital necessary to buy seed and arrange for shipment. Greg, Cunningham & Co.'s own shipments of seed were carefully managed so as not to give Thomas Greg in Belfast an unreasonable advantage over the firm's Irish customers.⁶⁷ During the Seven Years War, Greg, Cunningham & Co. was a vigorous participant in the privateering carried on from New York, owning at least four armed vessels. At the same time, the company carried on an elaborate contraband trade to the French West Indies, supplying the French forces, in at least one instance, with weapons and ammunition.⁶⁸ Much like the substantial Philadelphia houses in the Irish-American trade, Greg, Cunningham & Co. invested heavily in the ships that carried flaxseed to Ireland and returned with British manufactures to New York and servants to the Pennsylvania city, as well as cargoes of provisions to the sugar islands. By the early 1760s, the company held shares in at least

thirteen vessels, making it one of the largest shipowners in New York.⁶⁹

In July, 1763, Waddell Cunningham fought a duel on Broadway in New York, and severely wounded Thomas Forsey, a rival merchant. Cunningham was found guilty of assault and fined £1,500: [New York currency]; but the court granted him a pardon in case Forsey should die of his wounds. The legal battle surrounding Cunningham's pardon became one of the most important constitutional cases of the colonial period.⁷⁰ In 1764, at the height of the controversy, he returned to Belfast, turning over management of the firm's New York operation to two junior partners, Robert Ross Waddell and Hamilton Young, both Belfast men.⁷¹ After Cunningham's departure, Greg, Cunningham & Co. continued to dominate New York's Irish-American trade, but with something less of the vigour of the earlier period. In addition to its wide-ranging overseas commerce and local retail trade, the company imported large quantities of Irish linens which it wholesaled through New York vendue houses. In the fall of 1769, for example, Templeton & Stewart, a New York auction house with roots in Belfast, sold £1,095:6:4 [New York currency] worth of linen for Greg, Cunningham & Co.⁷² Although Waddell Cunningham and Thomas Greg began to move in separate directions after 1772, the New York partnership continued active until the outbreak of the Revolution. Hamilton Young, who wound up the affairs of Greg, Cunningham & Co. in August 1775, remained in New York during the war. Although a Loyalist, he re-established himself as an independent merchant in the post-war period.⁷³

Hugh Wallace and George Folliot were other prominent members of New York's Irish merchant community. Hugh Wallace, the son of a leading Waterford merchant, migrated to New York from the West Indies in about 1750, where he set up a trade with Ireland and the sugar islands. By the mid-1750s, he held ownership shares in at least three vessels.⁷⁴ In addition to his flaxseed commerce, he was enriched by the successes of his privateers in the Seven Years War, as well as by his advantageous marriage into an important New York mercantile family, the Lows.⁷⁵ Wallace became established as one of that city's pre-eminent merchant figures in the period between 1760 and 1783, remaining active in the Irish-American commerce as his trading operations broadened after 1760. He was an Anglican and a staunch supporter of the Crown, having been appointed to fill a vacant seat on His Majesty's Council in New York in 1769, a position he retained until the close of the Revolutionary War.⁷⁶ As a Loyalist, Hugh Wallace suffered the forfeiture of his estates in 1784; at that point, his personal fortune was valued in excess

of £30,000: [sterling].⁷⁷ George Folliot, a native of Derry, likewise established himself in New York at mid-century, with the encouragement of his maternal uncle, George Evory, a merchant in his home port.⁷⁸ By 1754, Folliot owned shares in two vessels in the flaxseed trade and, during the Seven Years War, owned six privateers and part interests in three prize vessels, in partnership with George Bryan of Philadelphia.⁷⁹ Although Folliot remained active in the flaxseed commerce and was a prominent importer of Irish linens through Irish firms in London, his trade became increasingly diversified in the decade and a half before the Revolution.⁸⁰ Like Hugh Wallace, he was a Loyalist and returned to England after the confiscation of his property in 1784. According to his petition for compensation, he had a capital of about £10,000: [sterling] in the house of George Folliot & Co. at the time of his departure.⁸¹

Notable among the lesser Irish merchants in New York were James Thompson, Acheson Thompson, and Robert Alexander. James Thompson, brother of Andrew Thompson, a prominent linen exporter at Newry, established himself as a merchant in New York about 1750. He sent flaxseed to the North of Ireland, in exchange for linen, servants, and Madeira wine, an article in which he developed a specialty. In the early 1760s, Thompson returned to Ireland, where he became a successful merchant at Derry, maintaining his links with the Irish-American trade.⁸² His kinsman, Acheson Thompson, who migrated to New York at about the time that James Thompson departed for Ireland, was part-owner of at least four vessels in regular trade between New York and Derry by the mid-1760s.⁸³ During his years at New York, Acheson Thompson was one of the city's principal linen importers, receiving most of his cloth from his kinsman, Andrew Thompson at Newry.⁸⁴ In 1767, he entered into partnership with Robert Alexander, namesake of the prominent Derry merchant. The relatively short-lived firm of Thompson & Alexander was one of New York's most active Irish-American houses, trading between New York and the ports of Derry and Newry until its break-up in 1771, when Acheson Thompson returned to Newry to set up as an independent merchant.⁸⁵ Robert Alexander, who had been established in New York from the early 1760s as a dealer in Irish linens and Madeira wines, continued the firm's operations under the title of Robert Alexander & Co., after Thompson's departure. This house remained in existence until the close of the Revolutionary War, after which Alexander, a Loyalist, removed to Augusta [Georgia].⁸⁶

Immediately upon the opening of Irish ports to unenumerated colonial articles in 1731, a substantial share of New York's commerce with Ireland

was in the hands of non-Irish merchants. John Blake, a New York man in the West Indian trade, shipped off the port's first flaxseed cargo direct to Ireland in December 1731 in the schooner Lamb, a vessel which made the run to Dublin and Belfast each year until 1735, returning by way of the sugar islands with Irish linens.⁸⁷ Cornelius and James Vanhorne, John Roosevelt, William and Jacob Walton, and Henry Cuyler were among the nearly thirty New York merchants who carried on commerce with Ireland in the 1730s.⁸⁸ After mid-century, participation tended to shift to firms within the Irish merchant community, but there remained a high level of involvement among the non-Irish merchants. For example, Garret Vanhorne, who had been an early participant, continued to trade to Ireland through the late 1750s, dealing in indentured servants, as well as flaxseed and linen.⁸⁹ Peter Vandervoort, who also dealt in the flaxseed and passenger trades, speculated heavily in lands along the Hudson River in the 1760s. He travelled to the North of Ireland in 1764 in search of prospective tenants, offering "Leases renewable for ever."⁹⁰ And the Waltons (William, Jacob, William, Jr., and Gerard), who had been among the first to trade to Ireland in the early 1730s, were intimately involved in the elaborate illegal trading ventures of Waddell Cunningham during the Seven Years War.⁹¹ There were others in New York's mercantile community likewise engaged in the Irish trade: Isaac Sears, John Keating, Theophylacte Bache, and Philip Livingston are just a few.⁹²

Of all the non-Irish merchants in New York who were active in trade with Ireland, we know the most about Gerard G. Beekman, nephew of Cornelius Vanhorne.⁹³ His involvement extended from 1746, when he held a one-sixth share in a flaxseed venture with his uncle, Cornelius, until 1770s, the year he retired from trade. Late in 1749, Beekman wrote his London correspondent, William Snell, that he intended "to build me a Large Store on Purpose to follow the flaxseed buisness and Convert the better Part of my Stock in that Comodity."⁹⁴ Although he sometimes sent his ship captains into Long Island Sound or up the Connecticut River in search of good seed, most of Beekman's purchases were made in New York at dockside. "Our All Come by Water Carrage in Large Boat[s] from 1000 to 3000 Bushels at a time," he wrote to a Newry correspondent in 1764 in a letter complaining of the hard-bargaining country suppliers.⁹⁵ The seed that Beekman shipped, mostly on Irish account after the early 1750s, was of exceptional quality and, perhaps, the best sent out by any merchant in America. His care in cleaning and packaging earned him so strong a reputation in Ireland that he was able to charge a commission of 7 1/2 per cent for his services.⁹⁶ Beekman generally took payment for

commissions and expenses in bills of exchange drawn against London until the late 1760s, when he began to accept linens and other Irish products in lieu of bills.⁹⁷

IV.

Baltimore, located on Maryland's Western Shore, experienced the most dramatic growth of any North American port in the late colonial period. What had been an obscure village of two hundred or so people at mid-century, grew to be the ninth largest city in colonial America by 1775, with a population of about 6,000.⁹⁸ To a significant degree, the huge influx of Irish settlers into colonial frontier lands contributed to the phenomenal expansion of the port's overseas commerce. The town became one of the principal points of debarkation to the incoming Irish migrants, a large share of them 'Scotch-Irish' Presbyterians.⁹⁹ At the same time, Baltimore evolved into an important overseas export market for the Irish backcountry settlers, who made up a majority of the population on western lands. After 1750, Irish and German frontier farmers increasingly shipped their produce down the Susquehanna River to Baltimore, partly to lessen the hold of Philadelphia's Quaker merchants on western agriculture.¹⁰⁰ In the last decade before the Revolution, this steady flow of backcountry produce became a floodtide. An "Extract of a Letter from B. Town in Maryland" to an eminent Dublin merchant, published in Ireland in 1767, describes activity at Baltimore early in that decade of rapid expansion: "The Demand for Wheat here this Season has been past conception, above one hundred and fifty thousand bushels (that is 30,000 barrels) will be shipped from hence; I have loaded several Vessels for Dublin and the Streights, Cork and Derry."¹⁰¹

Ireland provided one of Baltimore's principal overseas markets for wheat and flour in its critical decade of emergence. Even in that formative stage, between 1750 and the mid-1760s, two to three vessels per year departed Baltimore for Irish markets. Baltimore's rapid rise to prominence after 1765 coincided with a greatly expanded demand for North American wheat and flour in the Irish ports. The "prospect of making a good freight" to Ireland resulted in a sharp increase in the volume of shipping from Baltimore to Ireland. In 1769, a peak year, forty-two vessels left the Chesapeake port for Irish destinations, with departures levelling off at about twenty-five per year until the outbreak of the Revolution.¹⁰² In 1770, over 102,100 bushels of wheat, roughly 40 per cent of the town's transatlantic wheat export, was destined for Ireland. In addition, Baltimore sent about 80,000 feet of lumber and over 650,000 staves, along with other articles, such as bar and pig iron, beeswax, and

bread. The Maryland port even developed a modest flaxseed trade along with its staple grain export, sending between 1,500 and 2,000 hogsheads in most years after 1765, with nearly 4,000 hogsheads shipped in 1770. In return, Baltimore landed some articles direct from Ireland, linens mostly, in addition to the substantial quantities of bounty linens that were sent through London and the English outports.¹⁰³ But the incoming trade was dominated by the commerce in indentured servants. "Baltimore is much more convenient than any other Port for those who want to go to the back Parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, or any of the New Settlements on the Ohio," said an advertisement in the Belfast News-Letter in the summer of 1773.¹⁰⁴ "We are sure that within these two Years there has been 6000 servants sold in this Town from England and Ireland," wrote an Irish merchant at Baltimore to Drogheda in 1774. There should be little difficulty finding an Irish vessel willing to sail to America for the sake of a return freight, he told a correspondent in Dublin, "& in such as Case servants would always Answer" on the westbound crossing.¹⁰⁵

By the mid-1760s, a small Irish merchant community had formed at Baltimore to manage the port's trade with Ireland, particularly the burgeoning traffic in indentured servants. At its peak in 1775, about ten to a dozen expatriate Irish firms operated in the town. Of these, the most important were the houses of Dr. John Stevenson, Thomas Ewing, and the partnership of Woolsey & Salmon. Dr. John Stevenson was an Irish physician who settled in the neighbourhood of Baltimore to practice medicine sometime in the 1740s. He was quick to grasp the commercial possibilities of supplying markets in Ireland with grains drawn from the port's rich and extensive hinterland.¹⁰⁶ According to his obituary in 1785, "he was the first exporter of wheat and flour from this port [Baltimore], and consequently laid the foundation of its present commercial consequence."¹⁰⁷ He returned a variety of goods, mostly manufactured articles imported from Great Britain, although he did occasionally land cargoes directly from Ireland, linens and salted provisions, typically sent through the Dublin firm of William Alexander & Co.¹⁰⁸ But Stevenson's most important cargoes in the westward transatlantic crossings were Irish indentured servants, a trade in which he was a key figure. In addition to his Irish commerce, Stevenson exported wheat and flour to markets on the European continent and tobacco and copper ore to Great Britain. Dr. John Stevenson, along with Richard Stevens, the pioneer colonial mining engineer, operated the Liberty Copper Mine in Frederick County, Maryland, the largest producer of copper in North America by the early 1780s.¹⁰⁹

Two other Irish merchants at Baltimore are worthy of attention: Thomas Ewing and the partnership of Woolsey & Salmon. Thomas Ewing, much like Dr. John Stevenson, shipped wheat and flour to Ireland in exchange for servants and linen. The brother of John Ewing of Belfast, a leading merchant in that town, he established himself at Baltimore about 1765, just as the Maryland port was entering its most dramatic period of growth.¹¹⁰ Along with his considerable wheat and flour export, mostly directed to the North of Ireland, Thomas Ewing acted as a colonial land agent. On a visit to Belfast in 1773, for example, he offered parcels of a 10,000 acre tract of land in Hampshire County, Virginia, for Thomas Lord Fairfax, one of the largest holders of lands in America.¹¹¹ The partnership of Woolsey & Salmon, formed just a few years before the outbreak of the American Revolution, carried on a lively commission trade, most of which was directed to ports in Ireland. In the mid-1760s, George Woolsey of Dublin had participated in trade to Philadelphia and Baltimore as a young ship captain in the service of Dublin merchants in the servant commerce. About 1767, he began to act as a commission agent at Baltimore in the wheat, flour, and flaxseed export, as well as in the marketing of Irish indentures.¹¹² In 1773, Woolsey entered into partnership with George Salmon in Dublin, who managed the firm's operations at the Irish end. Woolsey & Salmon executed orders for merchants in Dublin, Drogheda, Newry, Belfast, Derry, and Cork, and quickly became one of Baltimore's most active 'Irish factors,' a term used by Woolsey to describe his and other Irish firms in the Maryland port.¹¹³ In addition to serving principals in Ireland, Woolsey & Salmon gathered cargoes and arranged shipping for other colonial merchant houses, among them the Philadelphia-Newry firm of John Pringle & Co.¹¹⁴ The partnership remained in business through the Revolutionary War, during which it was active in support of the Patriot cause.

V.

New England, the centre of North American flaxseed production, played a critical role in the Irish-American trade. The region's seed, most of which was shipped to Ireland through New York and Philadelphia, was its most valuable produce for which there was a ready market in the British Isles. Although the flaxseed export was largely managed from outside New England, a fragmentary direct trade with Ireland continued through the whole of the period between 1731 and 1775. In its most typical form, that trade involved the exchange of flaxseed, staves, and lumber at Cork or Dublin for loadings of Irish salted provisions, which were then carried aboard New England vessels to markets in the West Indies. Some Irish

articles entered New England, in addition to the flow of British manufactures that was financed by the flaxseed export. Linens sent directly from the North of Ireland found their way into New England and, although Irish provisions were landed in relatively small quantities, Cork butter was a favourite article at Boston and Newport. In Connecticut, by the mid-1750s, flaxseed production had become the colony's second most important commercial activity, after the West Indian trade. In the colony of Rhode Island, which drew heavily on Connecticut's agriculture for supplies, Newport exported flaxseed and imported Irish linens and provisions, mostly in its coastwise trade to New York and Philadelphia. Boston, late to develop a flaxseed export, in spite of long-established commercial links with Ireland and its intimate connexions in the port-towns of Connecticut, sent staves, lumber, and rum to Cork and Dublin to be traded for West Indian cargoes. Among the smaller Massachusetts ports to the north of Boston, Newburyport was the most important, serving as a centre for the flaxseed trade of the Merrimack Valley.

Connecticut had been initiated into the Irish-American commerce well before the opening of the two-way trade. In 1713, for example, the brig William & Susanna of Salem [Massachusetts] was sent by her owners to the tiny port of Guilford in "the Colony of Connecticut in order to Load Staves or what Else may be proper for Ireland."¹¹⁵ There are no signs of regular trade until after 1731, however. In 1732, merchants in the towns of Norwich and New London pooled resources to send two vessels to Dublin loaded with staves, headings, and lumber. The plan called for the return of one of them to Boston and New London, and the other to Philadelphia and New York with Irish servants.¹¹⁶ Although cargoes of indentures were usually landed outside the colony, at least three Connecticut merchant sea captains were active in the servant traffic in the 1730s; one of them was Benedict Arnold, Sr., father of the ill-starred Revolutionary War figure.¹¹⁷ By the 1740s, Connecticut's small-scale direct exchange of local produce for West Indian goods had been far surpassed in importance by the indirect exportation of flaxseed to Ireland through New York and Philadelphia.¹¹⁸ Flaxseed became essential to the colony's shift from relative self-sufficiency to a market economy. Although Connecticut's West Indian trade grew dramatically in the quarter-century before 1775, earnings in the provisioning commerce were unable to keep pace with the colony's voracious appetite for imported manufactured goods, which included Irish linens. Flaxseed provided a means of offsetting the unfavourable balance of trade.¹¹⁹ In a letter to Richard Jackson, Connecticut's agent in

London, a prominent merchant explained the importance of the flaxseed trade; "that article," he wrote, "indeed is the readiest of any we have in the Colony, to make remittances to London."¹²⁰

Connecticut's small ports on Long Island Sound figured prominently in her flaxseed trade. New London and New Haven occasionally shipped seed direct to Ireland, but most of what they sent was channelled through New York and, sometimes, Philadelphia. New London, whose merchants were well connected to Irish houses in New York, was the source of flaxseed of exceptional quality. In the Irish market, "the New London Seed is allowed the preference, when well cleaned, to Any from America," wrote a Connecticut merchant while on a visit to the British Isles.¹²¹ Among the local men who dealt in that article were Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., Joseph Chew, Benjamin Chapin, and William Stewart, himself a native of Ireland.¹²² Like New London, New Haven carried on a small direct export to Ireland in addition to its coasting trade to New York. In the 1760s and 1770s, one New Haven merchant sea captain, Peter Bonteque, regularly carried flaxseed to Cork, where he purchased provisions for his West Indian commerce.¹²³ Other New Haven men who engaged in either direct or indirect trade with Ireland were Joseph Thompson, Samuel Bird, William Jones, and Samuel Mansfield.¹²⁴ At the tiny coastal villages of Lyme and Stamford, Irish merchants established successful enterprises based upon flaxseed. At Lyme, half way between New London and New Haven, John McCurdy sometimes carried his seed directly to Ireland.¹²⁵ At Stamford, Henry & John Lloyd traded flaxseed for linen through Irish merchants in New York, particularly James McEvers and Greg, Cunningham & Co. Stamford is noteworthy as one of the prime landing points in the smuggling operations carried on by large Irish firms in New York and Philadelphia.¹²⁶

The commerce in flaxseed extended inland, as well. Throughout Connecticut, it was gathered by backcountry shopkeepers from local farmers whose production earned them credits with which to purchase imported manufactures. All along the Connecticut River and the colony's other navigable waterways, merchants bartered for flaxseed with these small traders.¹²⁷ For example, Benjamin Henshaw, a merchant in Middletown, advertised in 1765 asking shopkeepers to bring in their flaxseed as a means of clearing their accounts; "He desires all that owe him, to pay him in that Article, or Cash."¹²⁸ Seed was then bartered by these men to coasting captains, most of whom brought their cargoes to New York, where they were sold at dockside.¹²⁹ By mid-century, the production of flaxseed for market had become one of rural Connecticut's principal economic activities and was a regular feature of trade on the

Connecticut River from Windsor, above Hartford, to Lyme and Saybrook, at the river's mouth. John Adams took note of its presence at Windsor in June 1771, while on a journey through the colony. That town's seed, "of which they raise a great deal," was mostly sent to New York, reported the prominent Bostonian.¹³⁰ At Hartford, in the mid-1760s, the article was bartered for high-quality salt and other imported goods, much like at New London, by local merchants such as Abraham Beach, Joseph Barret, and Thomas Davidson.¹³¹ Wethersfield, a town with a well-developed onion export, sent about 30,000 bushels of seed yearly to New York, along with staves and headings made up for the Irish market.¹³² Only rarely did merchants in the Connecticut River communities ship directly to Irish ports. Although Thomas Davidson of Hartford loaded his snow Minerva at Middletown with flaxseed, staves, and hardwoods for Ireland in the fall of 1765, such ventures were rare.¹³³

Rhode Island became an increasingly important participant in Irish-American trade in the period after 1750. The smallest of the mainland colonies, it was the home of one of the most important seaports in British North America. Newport, whose population of 7,500 in 1760 rose to a pre-war peak of 11,000 in 1775, was an urban centre whose commerce touched Europe, the West Indies, and Africa, in addition to an extensive coastwise trade.¹³⁴ Although that city did not have a resident Irish merchant community, some among its prominent trading houses shipped flaxseed to New York and Philadelphia in exchange for Irish salted provisions, most notably "CHOICE good Irish BUTTER," a popular article, and linens.¹³⁵ But linens were not the only Irish manufacture sold at Newport. "Just arrived from Ireland via New York," announced an advertisement in the Newport Mercury early in 1772, "a few Dozen of fashionable Silk Handkerchiefs, and a few Pieces of superfine Poplin."¹³⁶ Among the Newport merchants who were active in this indirect Irish trade were Christopher Champlin, Samuel Fowler, Thomas Green, Andrew Hunter, and Jacob R. Rivera.¹³⁷ Characteristically, these men drew their supplies of flaxseed from a hinterland that extended as far away as eastern Connecticut, territory in which they met stiff competition for that article from traders serving New London and the rising Rhode Island port of Providence.¹³⁸ Newport had little direct trade with Ireland. Those of her ships that did appear in Irish ports, most often Dublin and Cork, loaded beef and butter for the sugar islands or, occasionally, the home market.¹³⁹

Although Boston was New England's principal port, it failed to develop a trade with Ireland on a scale comparable to that of Philadelphia or New York. Irish commercial interests had been

represented at Boston from at least as early as the 1670s, and the city served as a North American port-of-call in the Irish provisioning trade to the West Indies in the years before 1731. In addition to its adjunct role in Ireland's West Indian commerce, Boston had been a market for Irish indentures before the turn of the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁰ In the pre-1731 period, that trade was most active between 1714 and 1720, when incoming passenger vessels typically returned to Ireland with loadings of lumber, staves, fish, or rum. But limitations upon the supply of attractive farmland in New England and a regional hostility to emigrants from Ireland kept the servant trade small, at a time when large numbers were entering Pennsylvania.¹⁴¹ Unlike Philadelphia, an Irish merchant community, recognizable as a distinct element in the larger mercantile environment of the port, failed to develop at Boston to manage the trade in servants. When the flaxseed commerce arose in the 1730s, Philadelphia, with its embryonic Irish merchant community, and New York, with its close proximity to the best growing regions, were quick to establish dominance in that activity. Boston's Irish trade, until the eve of the Revolution, remained essentially a variation on patterns established before the end of the seventeenth century, all supplementary to the West Indian commerce.

Boston's flaxseed export did not reach a significant level until the late 1760s. It was the exchange of staves, lumber, semi-manufactured wooden articles [such as oars, handpikes, and wheel sets], oil, and rum for Irish beef, butter, and port for shipment to markets in the sugar Islands, not the flaxseed trade, that linked Boston merchants to firms in Ireland, mostly at Dublin and Cork. The trading pattern of the ship Elizabeth of Boston, in 1731, from her home port in New England to Cork, and thence to Jamaica and home, exemplifies this trade, carried on as but one of the numerous commercial activities at Boston.¹⁴² Even the limited servant trade after 1731, which drew its cargoes principally from Cork, was a variation on the same theme. Likewise, Boston's flaxseed export after the mid-1760s was mostly directed through merchant houses in the major Irish provisioning ports, such as Devonsheir & Strettell, Lane Benson & Vaughan, and Francis Hodder of Cork all of whom provided a convenient means of converting the New Englanders' produce into salted provisions for the island trade.¹⁴³ Some of the goods taken in at Cork and Dublin found their way back to Boston, particularly in times of short-term scarcity such as in 1764, although advertisements for Irish butter were not unusual in Boston newspapers in the 1760s and 1770s.¹⁴⁴ The most important Irish article landed at Boston was linen, nearly all of which was sent through London or one of the English outports in order

to collect the bounty. After mid-century, linen was a common feature of the city's dry good trade and was sent to other New England places via the coasting commerce. About 200,000 yards were landed in each of the years between 1768 and 1772.¹⁴⁵

Newburyport, Salem, and Marblehead were other ports in Massachusetts that carried on a small-scale, often intermittent, involvement in the Irish trade. In Newburyport, at the mouth of the Merrimack River, the partnership of Jackson & Bromfield became heavily engaged in the flaxseed trade from the mid-1760s at the suggestion of their London correspondents, DeBerdt, Burkitt & Sayer. The northern seed, "much better than that more Southward," according to Jonathan Jackson, was sent in the coastwise trade to New York and Philadelphia, as well as directly to Ireland. The Newburyport firm carried on a correspondence with houses in Dublin, Cork, Belfast, Newry, Drogheda, and Coleraine.¹⁴⁶ In one venture in 1772, much in the pattern of Boston's Irish commerce, Jackson & Bromfield shipped about 400 hogsheads of seed to Cork aboard the schooner Lark, under the care of the vessel's supercargo, James Hudson. The flaxseed arrived early to a strong market and, with the proceeds from its sale, Hudson purchased 550 barrels of herrings and a small quantity of good-quality rose butter, which he immediately shipped out on his schooner for Barbados.¹⁴⁷ Jackson & Bromfield maintained its flaxseed commerce, as well as a small flour and potash export, until the outbreak of the Revolution. Irish commerce at Salem and Marblehead was considerably less developed. Although there had been a short-lived burst of trading activity at Salem in 1714-15, when Irish vessels brought in provisions, linen, and servants in exchange for staves, lumber, oil, and fish, the only notable activity after 1731 was the movement of local flaxseed to Philadelphia in the late 1760s and 1770s. Marblehead, likewise, did not engage in sustained trade. But there is evidence that vessels from that town occasionally purchased provisions for their West Indian trade at Cork, particularly in the decade before the Revolutionary War.¹⁴⁸

Chapter Six

THE EMIGRANT TRADE

"Just Imported from Dublin in the Brig Darby,
A Parcel of Irish Servants both Men and Women,
and to be Sold Cheap, by Israel Boardman
at Stanford."

Connecticut Gazette, 4 February 1764

Emigration is the topic related to the Irish-American trade that has received the most attention from historians. It is a subject of interest on both sides of the Atlantic, as it touches the transmission of cultural values in the formative years of the American nation. But it is seldom thought of as a business. Emigration was, in fact, an important source of business activity between Ireland and colonial America long before 1731. Income from passenger traffic, penal transportation, and the servant trade provided considerable revenues on the westbound transatlantic crossing, particularly in peak years such as 1773. Unfortunately, the narrow historiographical preoccupation with the 'Scotch-Irish' vs. 'Irish Catholic' presence in the American colonies masks this, as well as the fact that emigration activities touched a broad spectrum of Irish society in the eighteenth century.¹ There were, it is true, striking concentrations of emigration from the linen-producing regions of the North; but recent study and the weight of contemporary evidence suggests that emigration was a phenomenon of national scope.² Merchants in every port, and their agents inland, contributed to the gathering of men, women, and children for passage to the colonies. There were fees, freights, and commissions to be earned on both sides of the ocean, as well as attractive profits for those who astutely speculated in the servant trade.

Three broad categories of activity are encompassed by the term emigration commerce: the carriage of paying passengers, the transportation of felons and vagrants, and the trade in indentured servants. The first of these, the passenger traffic, concerns the movement of persons across the Atlantic in both directions aboard merchant shipping, the only non-military means of travel. Passengers with the means to pay their own way represent a small proportion of total emigration, probably totalling no more than about 35,000 persons in the period between 1630 and 1775.³ Passage was arranged by agents in Ireland who competed aggressively for the trade, which accounts for the lowering of the cost of an Atlantic

crossing to about £3:5: in the early 1770s, from nearly twice that level in the period before the 1730s. Occasionally, the carriage of paying passengers was encouraged by settlement schemes promoted by merchants in Ireland or the American colonies. In the summer of 1766, for example, Caldwell, Vance & Caldwell, a Derry firm in the Irish-American trade, advertised for passengers and emigrants to go aboard its ship Hopewell to Nova Scotia, where the firm had speculated in land.⁴ Nearly all of the merchant vessels that moved between Ireland and the British plantations carried at least a few paying passengers. The income from fares provided shipowners an important means of covering seamen's wages and other shipboard expenditures.

The second general category of emigration was the transportation of felons and vagrants to the colonies. Acts of the Irish Parliament established and regulated the movement of criminals to America where they were assumed into the population of indentured servants.⁵ The terms of their indentures were generally longer than those of voluntary servants, from seven to fourteen years, depending upon the severity of their misdeeds. From the perspective of the merchants who carried out the transportations, it was a lucrative trade. Payments to merchants, meant to cover costs and provide incentive, had been made from early in the eighteenth century; but, in 1730, the fee was officially set at £5: for each convicted felon. Competition for transportees among merchants resulted in a lowering of the rate to £3: by 1739.⁶ In addition to the payment of fees by the government in Ireland, the merchant stood to profit by the sale of the indentures once his charges were safely landed in the colonies.

Convicts were attractive as indentured servants.⁷ The times of their servitude were considerably longer than was usual in the servant trade, a fact that encouraged their sale in the tobacco-producing regions of Virginia and Maryland, where they were employed in large gangs of unskilled labour. Average convict indentures probably traded within a range of £8: to £20: per head.⁸ They were sold in nearly all of the colonies, particularly those to the south of New England, although there is evidence of convict importations into Massachusetts.⁹ In spite of the high demand for labour, there was resistance to the importation of malefactors and vagrants. Pennsylvania, a colony with a well-developed servant trade, took measures to prevent the landing of convicts, but the local prohibitions were overridden in the mid-1740s by the Privy Council. It was the unstated policy of Great Britain that colonial America should be a dumping ground for her own and Ireland's undesirables. After 1746, Irish convicts entered Pennsylvania in increasing numbers, a fact that

probably contributed to the somewhat bad reputation enjoyed by Irish servants as troublesome characters. Although we do not know how many transported criminals entered the colonies as indentured servants, one informed estimate says that the number was not lower than 10,000.¹⁰

The third, and most important, emigration activity was the trade in indentured servants. "This is the finest & best Country in the World for Labourers & Handycrafts," wrote an American merchant in the servant trade to his correspondent at Cork, "but the worst for what may be call'd half bred Gentlemen without a Capital."¹¹ The commerce in indentured servants was a pragmatic response to the severe shortage of labour in the American plantations. Voluntary indentured servitude, much like the condition of transported felons and vagrants, implied the legal bonding of a servant to his employer for a predetermined period of time. The commerce in servants should not be confused with the slave trade of the same period, as merchants and ship captains dealing in servants were not selling men and women as chattels. The contractual arrangement, the indenture, was made freely in Ireland before a magistrate under guidelines contained in Acts of Parliament.¹² In return for passage across the Atlantic, the servant gave the purchaser of his indenture all rights to his labour for an agreed-upon period, usually four years. Although the conditions under which they laboured were often harsh, varying widely even within the same colony, servants were protected from the worst forms of abuse by enactments of the colonial assemblies.

A variation of this scheme allowed some to migrate as 'redemptioners.' Instead of their indentures being sealed in Ireland before departure, redemptioners were given some time after landing in America, usually thirty days, to raise their passage money. In practice, this meant bargaining a more attractive indenture contract than could be made in Ireland.¹³ A typical redemptioner was John Roach, a young Irishman who arrived in Philadelphia aboard a vessel from Cork in the summer of 1768. "He has not been taken before the Mayor to be bound but agreed himself with some person for so long a time to release him," reported the firm in Philadelphia's Irish merchant community that had brought him over.¹⁴ If he was unable to 'redeem' himself, the migrant was obliged to indent himself to the ship captain who then offered the contract for sale.¹⁵ However abhorrent the notion of indentured servitude might be to modern scruples, it proved a useful means of peopling the New World. No fewer than one half of all white persons who emigrated to the British plantations in America came as servants.¹⁶ For the ambitious and energetic poor, it was the only practical means of removing to the colonies.

We can only estimate the scale of the emigrant trade because officials in Ireland failed to record the number of persons who departed for colonial America. To construct an estimate of total Irish emigration, a project fraught with danger, it is most useful to begin at the American end. Although the figure is only roughly accurate, we know that the number of white immigrants to British America between 1580 and 1775 totalled about 700,000 persons, of which something like 300,000 were English, Irish, or Scottish servants.¹⁷ As Irish servants clearly constituted the largest element of this group,¹⁸ it is not unreasonable that they numbered between 150,000 to 175,000, perhaps more. We may further estimate the total number of Irish men, women, and children who came as free passengers to be at least 25,000 to 35,000 over the same period, putting total Irish emigration to the British plantations in the range of between 175,000 and 210,000. The best recent estimates made at the Irish end tend to generate a slightly lower figure. Evidence with an Irish perspective suggests the outflow before 1714 to be about 30,000; between 1714 and 1730, about 20,000; between 1730 and 1769, about 100,000; and between 1770 and the outbreak of the Revolution, about 25,000.¹⁹ Thus total Irish emigration could not have been much more than about 175,000, if even that high. By relying largely on advertisements and other newspaper data to determine the number of emigrant ships departing Ireland, students of the subject may have missed some of the activity. Passengers and servants were carried aboard nearly every vessel that made the crossing, not just those which were conspicuously engaged in the emigrant trade.

I.

There was considerable competition among Irish merchants for a share of the business of shipping passengers, convicts, servants, and redemptioners to colonial America. Nothing else carried directly from Ireland to the North American mainland allowed so efficient a use of shipping space. The Irish linens and salted provisions that were sent direct to the colonies required only a tiny fraction of the large volume of shipping sent out each year to load flaxseed. The emigrant trades gave shipowners an attractive alternative to crossing westward in ballast. "The Owners of the Polly would chearfully order her lay for 2 Months in Sligo for Servants and Passengers if they thought the Scheme would Answer," wrote a merchant in Philadelphia to his Irish correspondent in the 1760s.²⁰ Whether or not the trade was a source of easy profits is another matter.²¹ In the decade before the American Revolution, a period of concentrated activity, freight and passenger

rates moved downward, while the tonnage employed in emigration increased dramatically. In that competitive environment, only the most efficient carriers could have turned a profit, whereas most were lucky to cover costs. Except in the peak years, such as 1773, the commerce was burdened by excess shipping capacity. "You may at any time in Dublin we think get a Vessel to come out for the Sake of a Freight home," wrote a merchant in Baltimore to his correspondent in the Irish capital.²² A condition of too many berths and too few occupants encouraged open price competition.²³

One reflection of competition for passengers and servants was a high standard of accommodations for travellers. Although conditions aboard passenger vessels moving between Ireland and North America were dismal by modern standards, they were good by the norms of the eighteenth century.²⁴ The quality of travel underwent continuous improvement from about mid-century until the Revolution, a period that saw a general increase in the volume of shipping committed to the Irish-American commerce. Conditions aboard vessels carrying Irish migrants to America were certainly better than those encountered by Germans departing Europe for the middle colonies during the same years.²⁵ Advertising for "passengers, servants, and redemptioners" in eighteenth century Irish newspapers was replete with claims and endorsements assuring prospective customers that they would travel in reasonable comfort under the care of experienced captains and crews. The notice of a merchant in Newry published just prior to the departure of the ship Minerva in March 1774 is instructive: "said [David] Gaussan will take particular Care to have Plenty of the best Provisions and Water laid in, so as to render the Passage comfortable, nor shall a greater Number be received than he will accommodate, as the Captain means to continue in the Trade."²⁶ The added costs incurred in delivering better ventilation, more headroom, better sleeping quarters, better provisions, and all else that contributed to competitively attractive accommodations, helped to reduce earnings.

The mechanics of the emigrant trade at the Irish end were relatively simple. In the passenger commerce, after appropriate promotion of a voyage, the merchant had merely to arrange accommodations for those seeking passage and secure payment. In many instances, this meant working through agents who recorded the names of prospective travellers and took deposits, "the accustomary Earnest paid at Agreement."²⁷ Because of its potential for significantly greater rewards, merchants in the indentured servant trade were more aggressive in their searches for prospective candidates, often working through specialized emigration

agents who toured the backcountry around the ports to drum up business.²⁸ "Masters and owners of ships in this Kingdom, who for the profit of extraordinary freights which they get on this occasion, send agents to markets and fairs and public advertisements through the country to assemble the people together," reported an observer to the English Privy Council.²⁹ It is unclear to what degree emigration services were actively promoted in eighteenth-century Ireland. There is no evidence of the boisterous campaigning for servants that characterized the commerce in the German states along the Rhine.³⁰ But the gatherers of human cargoes were considerably less passive than has been suggested. Although some agents did "hover like birds of prey" in wait for candidates, other more activist promoters of emigration systematically worked their way through the countryside gathering gangs of potential servants, sometimes marching them long distances.³¹

Once an individual identified himself as a candidate for indentured servitude, the Irish merchant, emigration agent, or visiting ship captain, initiated steps to form a binding contract. The two parties first negotiated the terms of indenture and whatever supplementary benefits were to be allowed as inducements to sign, such as the grant of a new suit of clothes, the specification of an American port of entry, or a strict definition of the nature of employment in America.³² From the merchant's perspective, the most important of these negotiable items was length of service, as it bore directly on the final market value of the contract. Partly because of the chronic oversupply of passenger space, which artificially raised demand for new servants at the Irish end, there was a substantial reduction in the average length of service in indenture contracts in the half century ending with the American Revolution, from between four to seven years in the 1720s, to about two to four years in the mid-1770s.³³ Whereas the final selling price of an indenture contract was established in the American market, the length of indenture was determined in the Irish market. Each reflected local supply and demand conditions.

When both parties to the contract finally came to terms, the merchant fulfilled the statutory requirements of formal indenture before the local magistrates. He now had to maintain his cargo of servants until the arrival of the ship that would carry them to America. In doing so, the Irish merchant risked encountering cost that could eat away potential earnings.³⁴ Among the most serious of the hazards he faced was the possibility that his servants would become the victims of contagious illness. "Of Course there will not be much made of them," wrote one merchant after a devastating outbreak of the flux had killed

better than half of his band of servants.³⁵ For that reason, and because of the need to rigorously conform to the tight schedules of vessels in the flaxseed trade, the processing of servants was often carried out in haste. Too long a period between indenture and embarkation brought the added risk that some servants would have second thoughts about their new condition and run away.

Merchants who controlled transatlantic shipping space took the leading role in the trade. Most emigrant vessels were owned either by firms in the Irish ports or in the Irish merchant communities in America, or by elements from the two in partnership.³⁶ Obviously, those who controlled shipping were motivated by a desire to maximize earnings in their passenger and servant exports; but it was the greater advantages of ship ownership in the flaxseed and grain trades that fully justified the investment. The high profitability of the flaxseed commerce, linked as it was to growth in the linen industry, generated a huge seasonal demand for shipping. For many ship owners, emigration was a marginal activity, useful because it covered expenses on the westward leg of the flaxseed trade. Some of the ships that carried passengers and servants were constructed especially for this combination of uses. The several large passenger/flaxseed ships built on the eve of the American Revolution, some of which were vessels of 500 tons burthen, reflected high levels of anticipated return on capital based on just one or two very profitable seasons in the early 1770s.³⁷ In slack years, however, the large volume of redundant passenger space that hovered in Irish waters in search for a few likely candidates dampened investment. The large volume of passenger space available to emigration was largely a fortuitous outcome of the demand for flaxseed.

A single emigrant voyage utilized the capital resources of several merchants. One principal house took control of the voyage, hired the ship and captain, dealt with American correspondents, and held the largest number of servant contracts. It hoped to profit from the sale of servants in America, as well as earn freights from the servants that it carried for other merchant houses participating in the venture. It is unlikely, however, that many firms independently sent full shiploads of servants on their own account. More likely, they made space available to other merchants, being satisfied to take part of their earnings in freight in order to contain the risks inherent in the trade. In addition to correspondents in the various Irish ports that would be visited by the outgoing servant vessel, smaller inland agents also participated. They typically earned the right to ship indentures on their own account through their loyalty to primary merchants.³⁸ There were too many

operatives in the commerce, too much shipping space, and relatively too few emigrants for arrangements favourable to men of small means not to arise.

In the Irish ports, five distinct groups competed for a share of the emigrant commerce. The most important of these were overseas trading enterprises with the resources to gather, ship, and market indenture contracts on their own account. They were firms with established correspondents in North America, particularly in the middle colonies, control of a significant volume of shipping space, and access to adequate working capital. Merchants in this category indented servants to shipmasters in their immediate service, relying on them or agents in the colonies to supervise sales. Although such houses dominated the trade in Dublin and were an important factor in the ports of the North of Ireland, none appears to have wholly specialized in emigration. From the perspective of the transatlantic merchant, the passenger, convict, and servant trades were aspects of a larger commercial whole, rather than self-contained activities. It was these firms, many of which combined emigration with involvement in the flaxseed trade, that encouraged the development of the expatriate merchant communities in Philadelphia and New York in the 1740s, and in Baltimore in the 1760s. Branch operations in the colonial ports, particularly in the initial phase, allowed the supervision of indenture sales at the American end. In the North of Ireland, nearly all such houses had substantial involvements in the linen trade.³⁹

In addition to trading enterprises that committed their own resources to the emigrant commerce, other Irish firms acted mainly as agents for principals in America or visiting ship captains in search of a few indentures. The large volume of shipping in the hands of colonial merchants suggests that the role of the Irish commission agents was a significant one.⁴⁰ American houses offered generous terms to Irish correspondents who assisted in the gathering and processing of servants. In what was probably a typical arrangement, one Philadelphia merchant agreed to cover the expenses incurred by his Irish correspondent [in this instance, £5: per servant "indented and on board"] and to "Share the 1/2 of the Profits made by those Serv^{ts} with me."⁴¹ Irish factors stood ready to perform practically any service required of them by their American principals. In Cork, for example, servants were typically purchased through commission agents in the provisioning trade. "We expect you'll do what lies in your power to procure all the Serv^{ts} you can," wrote a Philadelphia partnership to, Lane, Benson, & Vaughan of

Cork, along with an order for other goods.⁴² Because emigrant vessels often made multiple stops in Ireland before departing for America, merchants in one Irish port occasionally acted as out-agents for principals in another. The network of agents allowed a reduction in stop-over time, particularly important in the autumn months when vessels in the flaxseed trade operated on a rigorous schedule.⁴³

Merchants in Ireland called upon local agents, generally men and women of limited means, for specialized emigration services. Some of these smaller operatives, who dealt exclusively in the emigration business, were established in the port-towns, where they gathered and registered servants for overseas merchants or visiting ship captains. "Stout and well grown Lads from twelve to twenty years old, . . . will meet with good encouragement by applying to mrs. M'Donogh, in Bruce's-lane," announced one such agent at Cork in 1767.⁴⁴ Others were out-agents, located in the hinterlands, whose main business was promoting the concept of emigration and indentured servitude, and searching out likely prospects. "These persons are referred to as agents or crimps who represent the advantages to be gained in America in colours so alluring that it is almost impossible to resist their artifices," wrote an eighteenth-century observer familiar with the trade.⁴⁵ The out-agents were the chief link between the ports and the interior, and served to promote the advantage of particular towns, as well as particular merchants. Because ports in Ireland were located relatively close to one another, prospective emigrants had a high degree of choice, even in an age of restricted travel. The competition between ports that was fostered by rival agents helps to explain the relatively high standards of accommodation found in the Irish emigration trades.

Shipmasters, acting for principals in Ireland or America, or trading on their own account, took an active part in the gathering of indentured servants in Ireland. Upon his arrival at an Irish port, a ship captain took up lodgings at an inn or the residence of the local merchant in order to meet prospective passengers and servants and sign them aboard.⁴⁶ Often, he toured the port's hinterland in search of likely candidates, sometimes in the company of emigration agents, visiting local markets, fairs, and inns. "Capt. Woodside, will be in Ballymena on Saturday the 16th Inst. and the Saturday following, to agree with any Passangers in that Part of the Country," reported a typical newspaper advertisement in the early 1770s.⁴⁷ Masters of emigrant vessels were often the most successful recruiters in the highly competitive trade. On one voyage in the peak year of 1773, for example, William Cheevers, a captain with many years of experience, departed Ireland with roughly 500

passengers aboard the ship Needham after an extensive inland tour.⁴⁸ To compete for servants, shipmasters sometimes offered more than mere transport. In 1771, for instance, one ship captain in the commerce at Waterford promised to "use his best endeavour to provide the servants with good masters on their arrival [at Philadelphia]."⁴⁹ Commonly, shipmasters served as agents for American merchants. "Cap^t Lush has gott ten servants for you and all Indented in his own name assigned over to the Owners a/c and Behalf, and there Indentors made up in a Packet," wrote the Belfast merchant who had assisted in the affair to the vessel's owners in New York.⁵⁰ In the trade carried on Irish account, ship captains received about one third of the commissions earned on the sale of servants at the American end.⁵¹

We have only a shadowy knowledge of the final group that participated in the gathering, transport, and marketing of indentured servants. Each year, itinerant Irish and American dealers led small bands of servants indented to themselves across the Atlantic, where they either disposed of them in the colonial ports or took them into the backcountry for sale. They acted in much the same way as the Irish scowbankers in the linen and flaxseed trades, offering their servants at low prices to guarantee quick sale. In fact, some may have been scowbankers, carrying a packet of indentures along with a few pieces of Irish linen. The itinerants appear to have been part of a regular commerce, annually converting funds generated from the sale of servant contracts into a few hogsheads of flaxseed for return to Ireland. It was an attractive activity for enterprising men of limited means, allowing them a way to participate in overseas trade on a tiny capital. The oversupply of passenger space in Ireland for the westbound crossing encouraged these peripheral operators and weakened the hold of the established merchants on the servant traffic. The itinerants were reluctantly accepted by shipowners hard-pressed to generate freights. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the scale of this activity. But from what we know of the importance of itinerant dealers to both the linen and flaxseed trades, it is likely that they played a significant role in the servant commerce as well.⁵²

Dublin, Belfast, Derry, Newry, the tiny northern ports of Larne and Portrush, as well as Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, were the Irish ports with the greatest involvement in the emigrant trades. Although her relative importance to the emigrant trades began to wane after the close of the Seven Years War, Dublin was Ireland's most important centre of emigration. From the mid-seventeenth century to the outbreak of the

American Revolution, more passengers, convicts, indentured servants, and redemptioners departed for the American plantations through Dublin than any other Irish port.⁵³ The servant trade carried on from the capital appears to have been largely in the hands of local merchants, acting on their own account, who employed correspondents in the American ports to dispose of their indenture contracts. Notable among them were John Armstrong, George Darley, and Arthur & William Bryan, all active in the 1760s and 1770s.⁵⁴ Even after the mid-1760s, when momentum in the passenger and servant trades shifted to a group of northern ports whose interests were, as a whole, better represented on the American mainland, Dublin remained a major participant. In addition to her leadership in the convict export, which was never threatened, she continued to be the largest supplier of servants to the West Indian islands, as well as the mainland colonies south of Pennsylvania.⁵⁵

Belfast sent more emigrants to America than any other town in the North of Ireland. Her trade in passengers and servants was already well established by 1718, when significant numbers moved through the port. By that year, merchants in Belfast were already closely connected to labour markets on the mainland of North America.⁵⁶ Although Belfast was securely established as a regional emigration centre, her commerce was small compared to that of Dublin until after mid-century. But with the representation of Belfast interests in the newly-formed Irish merchant communities of Philadelphia and New York in the 1740s and 1750s, her emigrant commerce experienced a phase of rapid growth that nearly closed the gap with Dublin. An impressive share of Irish emigration in the years immediately following the Seven Years War was channelled through the port. In 1765, at least ten vessels departed Belfast for the North American mainland, with no fewer than nine leaving the following season, and at least twelve in 1767.⁵⁷ Thomas Greg, Waddell Cunningham, John Ewing, Samuel Brown, Andrew Orr, and Robert Wills, an enthusiastic promoter of emigration to South Carolina, were among the local merchants who traded on their own account.⁵⁸ But, in spite of its critical role in Irish emigration in the quarter-century before the American Revolution, much of the trade of Belfast was in the hands of firms acting as agents for principals in the American colonies, Great Britain, or elsewhere in Ireland.⁵⁹

The importance of emigration to the port of Derry reflected the town's heavy involvement in Irish-American commerce. Although her emigrant trade was slightly smaller than that at Belfast,⁶⁰ it was far more dependent upon local resources. Most of the vessels employed were Derry-owned, or in the hands of firms in the Irish merchant community at

Philadelphia with strong ties to the Derry region. The trade at Derry drew clients from far away: "There is An Advantage that Passengers from Derry have," wrote a Philadelphia merchant to his correspondent at Sligo in the early 1760s, "viz, that they may bring any article or Quantity or what ever Quality of Goods with them they Please without let [sic.] or molestation from any officer. And this indulgence is procured by the Influence of the Merch^{ts} there over the Officers, and the desire of the Latter to Over look An affair that conduces much to the Interest of the People of the City." Furthermore, according to the custom of the port, emigrants from Derry were allowed by shippers there to carry small amounts of trading goods with them on their passage to America.⁶¹

William Caldwell, Robert Alexander, and James Thompson were among the most active promoters of the town's emigrant trade. Caldwell, at various times, held ownership shares in sixteen vessels employed in the flaxseed and servant trades.⁶²

Newry, Larne, and Portrush, likewise, took an active part in the passenger and servant commerce. Newry was the location of a competitive merchant community which promoted emigration in a broad region reaching deep into the hinterlands of Belfast and Derry. Only about a third of those who left Newry for America did so aboard vessels that were locally owned, however. Most of the merchants in the emigrant trade at Newry acted as commission agents for principals elsewhere, but there was some trade on local account.⁶³ Perhaps the most important firm in the trade was Hamilton & John Pringle, a Newry-Philadelphia partnership which owned two vessels that were regularly employed.⁶⁴ Among the other Newry merchants in the emigration business were John Eccles, William & John Ogle, David Gaussan, and Andrew Thompson.⁶⁵ In contrast, the emigrant trades at both Larne and Portrush were principally in the hands of local firms which were well-connected to the Irish merchant communities of North America. At Larne, a few merchants, including James McVicker, Robert and John Wilson, James Agnew, Hugh Montgomery, and John and Samuel Montgomery, controlled the commerce through the ownership of shipping. The trade at Portrush was managed in a similar way by a small group of Coleraine merchants dominated by the Gault Family.⁶⁶

There were differences between the emigrant trade of the southern Irish ports and that carried on in the towns of the North of Ireland. In its broad features, it was much like the trade at Dublin, but on a smaller scale. Expectedly, large numbers departed Ireland through Cork and Limerick in peak emigration years, many of them bound for colonies south of Pennsylvania, sometimes via the West Indies.⁶⁷ The carriage of servants and convicts was often the only means available to earn

freights on vessels departing Ireland directly for the American mainland. In contrast to other Irish ports, the market for indentured servants at Cork was unusually specialized. Advertising for servants in the Cork Evening Post, particularly in the 1760s, sought candidates with more specific qualifications than that elsewhere.⁶⁸ This sharper focus resulted partly from Cork's convenient location as a stopover for vessels returning to North America from Great Britain. Ship captains in search of skilled labour, particularly in the maritime and seaport trades, found the port an attractive source, as did the master of a Nantucket-bound vessel who called "at Cork to hire indentured help" early in 1767.⁶⁹ A market for such servants appears to have taken hold in Boston, where one colonial merchant, James Boies, was a prominent figure in the servant import in the 1740s and 1750s.⁷⁰

Waterford was the focus of the most narrowly specialized activity in the emigration commerce. That port emerged in the first half of the eighteenth century as the source of cheap two-way seasonal migratory labour for the Newfoundland summertime cod fishery. Labourers were recruited on a contract basis, earning anywhere from £5: to £20: per season. By the late 1760s, roughly 5,000 Irish made the annual crossing from Waterford to Newfoundland, most of them returning in mid-autumn. Originally, the commerce was in the hands of English West Country merchants who called at Waterford for cheap provisions and seasonal labourers; after mid-century, it came increasingly under the control of merchants in Waterford. Over time, small numbers of migrants remained behind in Newfoundland, forming the nuclei of permanent settlements of a marked Irish character.⁷¹ In addition to its involvement in this two-way migration, the port also participated in the passenger and servant trades to the middle colonies. In 1767, for example, one Philadelphia-bound Waterford vessel "went from hence with Servants, and sold them from thirty to thirty-five Pounds each."⁷² Although Waterford made only a small contribution to the main flow of eighteenth century Irish migration to British America, it left an indelible mark on the culture and social structure of Newfoundland. In addition, significant numbers of Waterford area migrants to Newfoundland eventually found their way into the New England colonies.⁷³ Among the merchants most involved in the port's migration activities were Dominick Farrell, Peter Doran, and the partnerships of Newport & Hobbs and Wallace & Allen.⁷⁴

II.

The trade in indentured servants from Ireland was among the most important commercial activities carried on in the colonial ports,

particularly those of the middle colonies. The commerce was intimately linked to the free market for labour, the state of maritime trade, and broad fluctuations in economic activity. It provided a practical use for the abundance of westbound transatlantic shipping that converged on the ports of the middle colonies each autumn to load flaxseed for Ireland. Except for the special nature of the cargoes, the commerce in servants was essentially like any other trade. But, unlike the slave trade in which human beings were sold as chattels, the good bought and sold in the servant commerce was the period of bound labour remaining in an indenture contract. In effect, the servant trade allowed the poor of Ireland, and elsewhere, to borrow against future earnings to pay for their passage to America. An active market for indentures was encouraged by well defined institutional arrangements within the Atlantic trading community, bankruptcy and runaway laws, the high liquidity of indenture contracts, and long-established custom. In Philadelphia, the centre of activity, government regulation and the orderly registration of articles of indenture helped to limit the abuse of servants and provide a measure of stability to the trade.⁷⁵ As a negotiable instrument, an indenture contract could be bought and sold several times, fostering a vigorous secondary market alongside the primary one managed by overseas merchants.⁷⁶

Indentured servants were "the only Comodity that is allways in demand in this Countruy," wrote a New England merchant to his Belfast correspondent.⁷⁷ The general shortage of labour in colonial America, together with the limited domestic supply of servants, encouraged a vigorous market in which bidding reflected scarcities in the pool of labour. "A Servant Boy abo^t 20 years of Age will sell for £20 if bound for 4 years," wrote a Philadelphia merchant to Ireland in the 1760s, "Tradesmen of all Sorts sells very high. Girls (but take care they do not get with Child or disordered) sell £16 a £20 for 4 years."⁷⁸ The 1745-1746 register of 'Servants and Apprentices Bound and Assigned before James Hamilton, Mayor of Philadelphia,' a document detailing sales of indentures, reveals the trading range for Irish servants. During the month of October 1745, a representative period, Irish servants accounted for nearly three quarters of the 151 indentures registered. Although roughly half of the Irish servants were priced in a range between :6: [Pennsylvania currency] and :6:11 per month of service, eleven sold at less than :2: per month, and five at better than :8: per month, one of which traded at :11:3. The seven Irish women servants registered in October 1745 traded in a range of :3:4 to :5:9 per month.⁷⁹ The variety available in the marketplace is striking. Aboard a vessel that

arrived from Ireland in 1765 were "Hatters, Hosiers, Weavers, Carpenters, Wool Combers and Dyers, Barbers, Cutlers, Skinners, Butchers, Rope-Makers, plaisterers, and Farmers."⁸⁰ But only about a quarter of the Irish indentured servants traded outside New England brought skills suited to an urban environment.⁸¹ As the Revolution approached, the importance of [white or black] bound labour in the urban centres of the middle colonies decreased, even though the flow of Irish indentured servants remained heavy. Although this may have created a surplus of labour in the towns, these were years of expanding agricultural exports, emphasizing the significance of the backcountry as the principal destination for indentured servants.⁸² Most were purchased by farmers, ever in search of "suitable . . . healthy persons," and taken into the interior to work out their times as common labourers.⁸³

The trade in Irish servants was a regular feature of port life in the middle colonies. There were times of brisk activity and attractive earnings: "Make not the least doubts of Getting Servants with you so as to make a profittable Voyage," wrote a Baltimore merchant to his partner in Dublin in the early 1770s.⁸⁴ And there were, likewise, periods of oversupply and stagnation: "Irish servants will be very dull," warned a Philadelphia merchant in 1766, "such numbers have already arrived from different ports, and many more expected."⁸⁵ Because of good communications between merchants in Ireland and their American correspondents, however, the supply of Irish servants coming into the colonies better reflected demand conditions than that from Germany, the colonies' other principal source.⁸⁶ Although high springtime demand for agricultural labour made that season the most attractive one in which to import servants, indentured migrants from Ireland entered the colonial ports in the autumn months as well, along with the large numbers of German servants who arrived at that time each year.⁸⁷ German servants, who "will allways command the markt," appear to have sold at better prices than their Irish counterparts, reflecting the more liberal terms of indenture that prevailed in the Irish trade.⁸⁸ In spite of the risk of oversupply in the autumn trade, the large volume of carrying capacity aboard the incoming flaxseed ships encouraged trade.

The newly arrived indentures "are either sold aboard the vessel or by public vendue, which sale or arrival there is public notice given of, either by hand-bill, or in the newspapers," according to a contemporary witness.⁸⁹ The sale of indentures was most typically managed by firms within the Irish merchant community, usually capable of extending credit, or ship captains who speculated in the trade. "As soon as the ship is stationed in her berth," wrote William Eddis about 1770, "planters,

mechanics, and others repair on board, [and] the adventurers of both sexes are exposed to view."⁹⁰ The costs of maintaining servants encouraged a speedy sale, most cargoes being sold off in just a few days.⁹¹ Some of the activity in the ports was at wholesale, with servants occasionally sold in batches to speculators who took them into the backcountry to be marketed at retail.⁹² Newspapers played an important role in providing an orderly structure to the trade. Notices touching the arrival of fresh cargoes, the resale of indentures in the secondary market, run-away servants, and their recaptures were the regular fare of colonial papers. The capture of run-aways was managed through the network of merchants correspondents in the primary and secondary ports.⁹³ Early in 1766, in a typical arrangement, Greg, Cunningham & Co. of New York asked a Connecticut correspondent to help recover two Irish boys run away from their ship Pitt. "If found," said the New York firm, "send them down to us advising the expence."⁹⁴ Rather than physically punishing recaptured run-aways, their time of indentured service was extended.⁹⁵

At the American end, the servant commerce was carried on by established merchant houses, trading on their own account or as commission agents for principals in Ireland; ship captains, acting independently or as agents for Irish interests; Irish and American itinerants; and a class of operatives referred to by contemporaries as 'soul-drivers.' The trade was dominated by the large overseas trading firms within the Irish merchant communities of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore. They gave the trade a coherent institutional structure, largely by virtue of their established links to Ireland and the labour market in America. Houses of this type offered services, such as the extension of credit, that were not available from independent operators. Typically, it was they who requested the shipment, advertised the availability, and supervised sales of Irish indentured servants and redemptioners. Although many of them traded on commission, there was considerable American initiative in the trade. Colonial firms controlled a significant share of available passenger tonnage.⁹⁶ In fact, a number of leading Irish-American firms had their beginnings in the servant commerce of the 1740s, particularly at Philadelphia, the port with the liveliest trade. There is no evidence of specialization among these houses, however.

The ship captains who brought servants to North America had typically assisted in the gathering of likely candidates in Ireland, supervised the processing of their formal indentures, taken responsibility for their safe delivery to market in America, and served

as their principal custodians, if not gaolers, pending the formal transfer of articles of indenture to colonial buyers. Servants were usually bound out to ship captains, who either auctioned them from aboard their vessels upon arrival in the colonies, or sold them in lots to colonial merchants or specialized dealers.⁹⁷ As agent, the shipmaster received a third of the commission earned on the sale.⁹⁸ As we have seen, a significant number of itinerant traders, some of them Irish scowbankers, also participated in the commerce. Each spring and summer, they arrived in America with a few indentured servants and, perhaps, a parcel of linen. With the proceeds from the sale of their goods, the itinerants purchased flaxseed for return to Ireland the following autumn.⁹⁹ One additional class of dealers, known as 'soul drivers,' deserves attention. These men purchased indentured servants from merchants and ship masters in lots of fifty or more, and led them into the backcountry to be sold at retail.¹⁰⁰

The character of the emigrant trade in America varied from region to region. The servant commerce was best developed at Philadelphia, the colonial seaport most dependent on white bound labour. It was a city with a glowing reputation in Ireland: "Philadelphia is now one of the finest places in all America," said a Waterford newspaper advertisement in 1771, "a laboring man there can afford to live much cheaper than most tradesmen here."¹⁰¹ Philadelphia was the chief port in the trade because Pennsylvania offered the greatest opportunities to Irish migrants: plenty of good land, low taxes, and no compulsory military service. The huge inflow of servants through Philadelphia into the backcountry of Pennsylvania helps to explain the port's extraordinary growth in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.¹⁰² Already the leading market for Irish servants by 1731, the town enjoyed a lucrative trade, much of it carried on local account. Its well-organized Irish merchant community controlled the largest pool of passenger shipping of any North American port. The high concentration of merchant houses of an Irish character, a number of them transatlantic partnerships, encouraged the channelling of resources into the commerce. In a typical arrangement initiated at the American end, a Philadelphia merchant would make funds available to an Irish correspondent to gather and sustain a cargo of servants, with a rough splitting of profits, after the deduction of all expenses, between the ship captain, upon whom the success of the venture depended, and his principals on either side of the Atlantic.¹⁰³

Philadelphia's Irish merchant community was well-connected to the emigrant trades of Derry, Belfast, Newry, and Dublin. Roughly three

quarters of the ships that carried passengers and servants from Derry to North America were bound for Pennsylvania.¹⁰⁴ Prominent among Philadelphia's merchants in the trade with Derry were two natives of that part of Ireland: Samuel Carson, who at various times held ownership shares in at least twenty vessels, and Andrew Caldwell, with investments in at least fourteen.¹⁰⁵ Belfast's interest in the emigrant trades was, likewise, well represented. Samuel Jackson of Philadelphia was a partner of the Philadelphia-Belfast firm of Jackson & Wills, together with Robert Wills, one of the North of Ireland's most active promoters.¹⁰⁶ Other houses in the Pennsylvania capital with close ties to Belfast's emigration commerce were the partnerships of Boyd & Fullerton and Scott & McMichael, both with significant investments in ocean-going shipping.¹⁰⁷ The most important of the transplanted Newry men in the trade was John Pringle of the Philadelphia-Newry partnership of John & Hamilton Pringle.¹⁰⁸ Among the merchants associated with Dublin's servant commerce were George Bryan and Randle Mitchell. Bryan, who held ownership shares in at least six vessels, worked closely with his kinsmen, Samuel & William Bryan & Co. of Dublin.¹⁰⁹ Even the West of Ireland was represented. William West and Daniel Clark, both Sligo men, drew servants from the hinterland of their native port.¹¹⁰ Conspicuously absent from the servant trade at Philadelphia is significant involvement by the Quaker element in the port's Irish merchant community. Whether they avoided the trade from practical or humanitarian considerations is unclear.¹¹¹

Baltimore was Philadelphia's chief rival in the emigrant trade in the decade before the American Revolution. It was the gateway to a region of multiple advantages: "It is needless to say any Thing in Praise of the Providence of Maryland," wrote David Gaussan, a Newry merchant in the business of shipping passengers and servants to Baltimore, "as it is well known the Land is equal if not superior to any in America, and many large Tracts may be got on more reasonable Terms than in any other Province there."¹¹² From a village of about 200 at mid-century, Baltimore had become an urban center of about 6,000 souls by 1775.¹¹³ To a large extent, Baltimore's growth, along with the rapid expansion of its backcountry, came at the expense of its larger neighbour. "People who intend going to the back Part of Pennsylvania will find it to their Account in going first to Baltimore," said Gaussan, "as the Land Carriage is much shorter than in any Seaport in Pennsylvania."¹¹⁴ By the 1770s, emigrant vessels bound for Newcastle and Philadelphia regularly provided connexions for passengers going to Baltimore.¹¹⁵ By the mid-1760s, the principal activity carried on in the port's Irish merchant community, in

addition to the export of wheat and flour, was the marketing of indentured servants, most of whom found service in the port's extensive hinterland. Notable among the members of Baltimore's Irish merchant community were the houses of Dr. John Stevenson, founder of the port's emigration trade, and the Irish-American partnership of Woolsey & Salmon, a house well connected to Dublin and Newry merchants in the emigration business.¹¹⁶

New York's emigrant trade with Ireland was smaller than that at Philadelphia, yet larger than that in New England. Most of the servants traded at New York appear to have come over on Irish capital or were sent up from Philadelphia aboard vessels intending to load flaxseed for the return to Ireland. In January 1773, for example, the New York Gazette advertised a load of servants and redemptioners "whose freights are payable to William Neilson." This group, among whom were smiths, taylor, farmers, and a soapboiler, were landed from a vessel loading flaxseed in New York that had originally sailed from Newry to Philadelphia.¹¹⁷ Although the port enjoyed a modest trade in servants, white indentured servitude never displaced slavery in New York, the colonial port which depended most heavily upon black slaves.¹¹⁸ Yet, in spite of the small scale of its servant trade, New York served as entry point for a significant flow of Irish immigration in the half-century before the Revolution. Some of the incoming Irish contributed to the city's growing population; but most of those who remained in the colony found their way into the Hudson River Valley, particularly after the close of the Seven Years War.¹¹⁹ New York was never as attractive a place to settle as Pennsylvania or Maryland, however, where tracts of land could be readily purchased and a clear title secured. Its landed class typically preferred to lease its holdings rather than sell them.¹²⁰

At New York, Greg, Cunningham & Co., Templeton & Stewart, William Neilson, and Thomas Lynch were among the members of the Irish merchant community to participate in the city's servant commerce.¹²¹ Greg, Cunningham & Co. of New York and Belfast, one of the largest houses in the Irish-American commerce, traded servants on its own account in New York, as well as in other colonial markets. When conditions warranted, the firm's partner at the American end, Waddell Cunningham, dealt in non-Irish servants as well. "Young Palatines will sell very fast & for Cash this season" he wrote to a correspondent in Rotterdam in May 1756, a time when large numbers of Irish indentured servants were being absorbed into the King's forces to fight the French.¹²² The marketing of indentures was not the town's only emigration activity. In 1763, the

Treaty of Paris brought peace to colonial America and an end to the threat of a French invasion along a route from Lake Champlain into the Hudson Valley. At the same time, Parliament prohibited further settlement west of the ridge of the Allegheny Mountains, thus making the colony of New York a highly attractive region in which to establish new settlements. Two New York merchants, William Guilliland and Peter Vandervoort, actively recruited Irish migrants to settle in the upper Hudson Valley. Between 1763 and 1771, Guilliland, a native of County Armagh, established a number of small Irish settlements on the west side of Lake Champlain, where he had a land grant of 60,000 acres.¹²³

New England's servant trade was smaller than that of its southerly neighbours. By the mid-1720s, Irish emigration to New England, large in the preceding ten years, had become a mere trickle.¹²⁴ The decreasing supply of ungranted lands, economic stagnation and the narrowing of opportunity, as well as the antagonism of New England Puritans to both Presbyterians and Roman Catholics from Ireland, contributed to the shift of the servant trade to the south.¹²⁵ In spite of local resistance to the import of Irish servants into New England, small numbers were routinely landed in Massachusetts ports, particularly Boston, and at the port-towns of Long Island Sound, from which occasional flaxseed ventures made their way to Ireland.¹²⁶ After the 1730s, the trade was distinguished by a high degree of specialization. New England merchants placed orders for skilled servants with agents in Ireland who exercised considerable discrimination in the gathering of likely candidates. Servants entering New England after mid-century were less frequently put up for shipboard auction than their counterparts in other regions. Some were even given a guarantee that their contracts would not be traded by the original holder. One striking feature of the region's servant trade is the special relationship with Cork and Limerick, towns to which New England captains carried flaxseed for conversion into salted provisions.¹²⁷

Charlestown was the port through which large numbers of Irish emigrants entered the colony of South Carolina. The passenger trade there was stimulated by bounties paid by the colonial assembly upon the landing of white immigrants. In order to encourage the emigration of white settlers to a colony populated overwhelmingly by enslaved blacks, a tax was passed in 1731 upon imported slaves, the proceeds from which were used to pay a bounty to white settlers. Through the mid-1730s, a significant flow of Irish migrants arrived in pursuit of free land and other benefits. By 1737, however, inadequate funding brought an end to the bounty, and emigration slowed to a trickle. In the 1760s, the bounty

was re-established, and large-scale emigration once again took place until the scheme was discontinued in 1768. Although the trade again slowed to a crawl, many Irish had been carried across the Atlantic while the bounty was in operation. Charlestown was the destination for a great many Irish indentured servants, although a less attractive one than ports in the colonies to the north.¹²⁸ It was less promising from the merchant's perspective, as well. In 1768, for example, Henry Laurens, a leading Charlestown merchant, traded in a market that showed little interest in Irish indentures. "The Irish Servants have been a great plague," he wrote, "they are not worth their Homeny to me." Demand for servants was so weak that Laurens finally "made an end of the servants by giving them away to save great expense."¹²⁹ The trade with South Carolina was never as vigorous nor as profitable as that carried on in the middle colonies.¹³⁰ One Charlestown firm associated with the Irish servant trade was the partnership of Torrans, Greg & Poaug, a house with roots in the North of Ireland.¹³¹

Irish immigration left a decisive mark upon the economy and social structure of British North America, and the cultural variety of the emerging American nation. Its most immediate impact was to fuel economic development, limit the spread of slavery in the middle colonies, and provide for fighting manpower in America's War of Independence. Irish migration fostered economic development in each of the regions that saw settlement of significant numbers, particularly in the middle colonies. Most Irish passengers and servants entering the colonies through Philadelphia and Baltimore, both of which experienced impressive growth during the middle quarters of the eighteenth century, found agricultural employment in their rich hinterlands. There, they contributed decisively to the expansion of agricultural output, as well as the increasing demand for imported manufactures, fostering growth in the overseas trade. Irish migrants satisfied much of the demand for agricultural labour in the middle colonies, without which development would have been slowed. By the late 1760s, both Philadelphia and Baltimore were well-established as major suppliers of wheat and flour to overseas markets, as well as large-scale importers of British manufactured goods, including Irish linen. The trade likewise sent skilled artisans and tradesmen into the region, as well as into New England. Roughly a fifth of the indentured servants landed from Ireland found employment in the colonial seaports, although urban demand for indentures began to decline in the decade before 1775.¹³²

Indentured servitude tended to limit the spread of slavery in the

middle colonies. There was widespread fear among the inhabitants of the region that an increased proportion of black slaves in the population would heighten the risk of a slave insurrection. Even though indentured servants were relatively more costly than enslaved blacks,¹³³ "the Terror which all the Rest of our Colonies are exposed to from the Insurrection & Rebellion of Negroes" discouraged the spread of the 'peculiar institution' in Pennsylvania and the backcountry of Maryland.¹³⁴ In the period between 1755 and 1760, when the availability of white indentured servants was sharply curtailed as large numbers were recruited into the military, the importation of slaves into Pennsylvania and New York expanded sharply.¹³⁵ The sudden wartime shift from white to black labour reveals the extent to which the economies of the middle colonies depended upon bound labour, of one sort or another. With the removal of the French threat and a halt in the recruitment of servants into the military, the flow of indentures once again increased and the slave commerce in the middle colonies declined.

Irish immigrants contributed significantly to the pool of manpower available to fight the British during the Revolutionary War. With the increase in the number of Irish indentured servants brought into the colonies in the mid-1760s came a proportionate upswing in the number of freed servants seeking stable employment in the years just before the outbreak of fighting. Many were unskilled labourers, entering an increasingly large propertiless class, unable to find a secure niche in society. Recently freed servants characteristically found in military service an alternative to unemployment, perhaps even a means of gaining a stake in society. During the American Revolution, the vague promise of title to fifty acres of land on the frontier was effective as an inducement to sign recruits into the Continental Army.¹³⁶ The diary of Frederick MacKenzie, an officer in the British Army and a native of Dublin, provides insight into the motives of many Irish enlistees: "In some measure [they] make it a common cause with them for the sake of a present subsistence, Clothing & plunder, and the prospect of acquiring some property, and becoming men of some consequence, if they are successful."¹³⁷ Although there were Irishmen among those who took up arms with revolutionary zeal, some in positions of leadership, a great many of the Irish soldiers in the rank and file served largely because they had no other choice. But, whatever their motives, the presence of large numbers of Irish immigrants on the battlefield contributed much to the success of the Patriot cause.

Chapter Seven

PROVISIONS

Just Imported in the Ship Phebe,
Mungo Davidson, Master, from CORK,
and to be sold by SAMUEL and JOHN MORTON
A few Firkins of Choice Rose BUTTER,
and Prime BEEF in Barrels.

Pennsylvania Journal, 22 November 1770

The provisions trade was the largest component of Ireland's plantation commerce in the period before 1775. It combined the agricultural surpluses and convenient navigation of Ireland with expanding markets in the West Indian plantation economies and the North American ports. Between the 1660s and roughly 1720, Ireland dominated the provisions trade in the Caribbean, shipping immense quantities of salted beef, butter, and fish, as well as a small variety of other articles, such as Irish cheese, beer, bread, candles, and pickled tongues. In the period after 1720, although she met stiff competition from the West Indian traders of the American mainland, Ireland remained the leading source of beef and butter in the sugar islands. It was not until after the outbreak of the American Revolution that the mainland's production of salted beef began to approach the technical superiority of the Irish article. Before 1775, the high quality of Irish provisions and their ready availability aboard vessels employed in the flaxseed trade contributed to the development of a small but important market in the urban centres of New England and the middle colonies. Although the Irish exports were, on the whole, more expensive than their mainland rivals, Ireland offered high quality provisions at prices that justified transatlantic shipment.¹

I.

Markets in the British West Indies dominated the export of Irish provisions to the American colonies. In the sugar islands, the demand for imported foodstuffs was a function of the specialized plantation economy that maximized real output by concentrating on the production of sugar and its byproducts. The large-scale importation of provisions to feed both the planter class and the slave population was accepted by contemporaries as an efficient alternative to the employment of scarce sugar-producing lands for conventional agriculture. Provisioners in both

Ireland and North America competed for a share of the trade. Jamaica, the richest of the island markets, took an average of £242,860: [sterling] worth of goods from the two suppliers in the five years ending 25 December 1762. In that period, Ireland supplied 41 per cent of her import, with the North American colonies providing 59 per cent. The mainland's export was highly diversified compared to the Irish, which consisted of beef, butter, pork, herrings, and a smaller quantity of tongues, tripe, and potatoes. Trading vessels from North America, on the other hand, brought in mixed cargoes of articles not available from Ireland, such as shadfish, flour, bread, rice, lumber and staves, Indian corn, naval stores, and live animals, in addition to loadings of salted pork, fish, and beef. The array of goods available from the mainland was unrestricted, whereas that from Ireland was limited by the British Acts of Navigation.

The Irish supplied 76 per cent of Jamaica's import of beef and pork in the five years ending 1762, an average of 15,480 barrels of beef and 4,110 barrels of pork per year. The total quantity of both beef and pork from mainland America amounted to just 6,270 barrels per year, some of which was probably re-exported Irish beef. New England, a major exporter of fish to the West Indies, sent the island an average of 3,730 barrels per year, whereas the Irish shipped an average of 5,170 barrels of domestic and re-exported herrings to Jamaica. In the five years under scrutiny, Irish butter shipments to Jamaica were light, strengthening the argument that much of the butter export 'for the plantations' in the 1750s and 1760s was destined for the North American market. Imports of Irish salted butter to Jamaica averaged only 1,430 firkins per year. Because of severe shortages, demand for Irish butter was especially high on the mainland in those years. Jamaica's Irish butter import in the early 1770s recovered to about 15,800 firkins. Edward Long wrote in 1774 that the island took in about 19,900 barrels of beef and 4,300 barrels of pork per year. The striking difference in the composition of Irish and North American trade to Jamaica is in articles such as bread and flour, carried exclusively from the mainland. In the five year period ending 15 December 1762, Jamaica took an average of 25,750 barrels of flour and 13,860 tierces of bread per year.²

There was a modest trade in Irish provisions direct to the North American mainland. In the mid-1750s, Malachy Postlethwayt wrote that the "colonies have plenty of provisions amongst themselves, and an even larger quantity for exportation." The trade to the West Indies was their main support, he observed, and consisted of supplying the islands with foodstuffs and other necessities. Although the mainland colonies had no

need to import provisions, they did take in "some Irish beef, butter and pork." But these, Postlethwayt added, "they will not want long."³ At first glance, the import made little sense, except during periods of strain on urban food supplies. But its roots lay in the structure of Atlantic shipping and the composition of the mainland's trade to the islands. The consumption in colonial ports of high-quality salted beef and butter, and certain other luxury articles, such as pickled tongues and spiced salmon, was encouraged by low freights from Ireland and rising income in North America. In fact, from a colonial perspective, it was more economical to buy these specialty articles from the Irish than to attempt to satisfy the home market out of a relatively inefficient industry. There were greater advantages for colonial producers in concentrating output on low-cost provisions in order to effectively compete in the islands. The importance of Irish provisions on the mainland should not be exaggerated, however.

Irish provisions provided a high grade supplement to colonial production. The Irish beef imported at New York and Philadelphia was vastly superior to the local article, as was Irish pork until the quality of native salt pork began to match it in the early 1770s. Irish butter often filled a void created by inadequate domestic supply. Because the American colonies produced very little butter for the marketplace, the article was commonplace in the ports of New England and the middle colonies.⁴ Other goods, such as spiced salmon, tongues, and potatoes, although traded in relatively small volume, were generally associated with Irish trade. Provisions from Ireland, particularly butter, were not confined to urban centres with well-developed Irish merchant communities, but were widely distributed in the coasting commerce to markets with an established preference for them.⁵ In addition, provisions shortages periodically developed in North America that stretched domestic capacity to its limits. In June of 1762, for example, food stocks became depleted in New York. "Provisions of all kinds continue amazingly scarce & dear with us," wrote a prominent merchant, and "was it not for the Assistance of Irland we really should be distressed for several Articles."⁶

Provisions ships that unloaded Irish food in colonial ports typically arrived in the autumn months to take in flaxseed, lumber, and staves for return to Ireland. The timing of the Irish markets in the early fall, except that for salted herring, conspired with the demands of the flaxseed commerce to make shipment of provisions to the American mainland practical. The carriage of provisions, linen, or servants, in various combinations, was an attractive alternative to crossing from Ireland in ballast or entering the mainland ports via the West Indies.

After unloading in Ireland, a significant share of the shipping employed in the flaxseed commerce returned to the West Indies to trade provisions in the islands for sugar and tobacco for the English market or molasses and rum for the North American trade.

Urban centres on the mainland and the sugar plantations of the West Indies were alternative markets for Irish provisions.⁷ The islands were the primary destination for provisions shipments from ports in Ireland. And, occasionally, they also provided a market for Irish beef, butter, and pork that had failed to sell in New York or Philadelphia. In 1756, the merchant house of Samuel Horner in Dublin sent large quantities of beef, butter, and pork to New York to supply units of the British Army stationed in America upon orders from the London victualling contractor, Baker & Kilby. An Irish firm in New York, facing a market vastly overstocked with provisions from Ireland, re-routed its own provisions vessel entering New York to Barbados, with instructions that their correspondent there continue the vessel to St. Eustatia and then to Jamaica until all of the beef and herrings on board had met a satisfactory sale.⁸

The value in 'official valuation' prices of the Irish beef, butter, and pork sent to the plantations in the eight years ending 1719/20 was £76,650:, 83 per cent of Ireland's outward-bound trade to America. By 1760, the provisions component of the plantations export had doubled in value and was averaging about £150,000: per year. Although provisions

Table 7.1: VALUE OF IRISH BEEF, PORK, & BUTTER EXPORTS TO AMERICA [in £s]⁹

Avg. of 8 yrs. ending	Beef	Butter	Pork	Total Beef, Butter & Pork	Total Plantations Exports	%
1720	£52,700:	£12,900:	£7,050:	£76,650:	£92,320:	83%
1728	51,750:	9,970:	9,630:	71,350:	92,990:	77%
1736	55,510:	14,880:	12,380:	82,770:	122,180:	68%
1744	56,260:	20,080:	11,440:	87,780:	120,010:	73%
1752	59,540:	26,480:	8,820:	104,840:	133,280:	79%
1760	81,760:	39,720:	28,520:	150,000:	183,180:	82%
1768	104,590:	52,170:	46,360:	203,120:	255,990:	79%
1776	88,770:	70,260:	41,220:	200,250:	297,500:	67%

had weakened as a portion of Ireland's colonial commerce by the 1730s, they still accounted for about 68 per cent of Irish exports to the plantations. In the eight years ending 1775/76, beef, butter, and pork shipments returned an average of £200,250: per year, still about two-thirds of exports to America. The three dominant provisions accounted for a stable portion of Ireland's total exports to all markets. Beef, butter, and port sent to America in the period between 1712 and 1776 were never less than 6 per cent of total exports [in the eight years

ending March 1751/52], nor higher than about 8 per cent [in the provisions boom period, the eight years ending 1767/68]. About a fifth of the provisions cleared for British America found markets on the North American continent. In the 1730s and 1740s, the share was not that high, but only grew after the establishment of Irish merchant houses in the middle colonies after 1750. During the Seven Years War, when military demand artificially stimulated the import, as much as a quarter of the Irish provisions shipped for the plantation market were landed on the mainland.

The embargoes periodically placed on the provisioning ports of Ireland after 1740 had an impact upon the plantation commerce. In the fifty years after the first general embargo, laid on in February 1740, there were twenty-four others.¹⁰ Most were of short duration, except the general embargo of February 1776, which lasted three years on all provisions exports except those to Great Britain and the loyal colonies. The Irish provisioning merchants and their allies in Great Britain viewed embargoes as vehicles to private enrichment. "An Irish embargo is an English job," wrote Commodore Legge a few years after the embargo of 1740.¹¹ The immediate price effect of an embargo was predictable. As stocks of provisions built up in the markets of Cork and Limerick, prices began to decline. In the case of salted beef, "that Commodity becomes a Drug, and live Cattle a burthen," creating a climate favourable to the victualling contractors.¹² Low-priced Irish provisions assured a high return to speculators and merchants in the sugar trade when those goods finally re-entered the West Indian markets that had been denied them.

Embargoes were ostensibly designed to prevent Ireland from serving as the victualler of Britain's enemies and to guarantee the Royal Navy adequate provisions. In the mid-1740s, Arthur Nesbitt, representing the views of the Cork merchants, observed that "the frequent and long Embargos, which have been laid on Irish provisions of late years" had an effect different from that intended. The consequence of the policy was "to change the course of the Beef Trade, by transferring it from Ireland to North America." Colonial captains carried their goods to St. Eustatia, St. Thomas, and other neutral ports, where the French made their purchases, "which sensibly discourages Foreigners from relying on the Marketts of Ireland."¹³ The embargoes may not have been as damaging to the Irish trade as contemporaries believed, but they contributed to the general weakening of Ireland's competitive position in the West Indies. Normally, after a short period of embargo and an outpouring of anger from merchants in the Irish provisioning towns, the

plantation commerce was allowed to continue, but under restricted terms. The French were, once again, covertly supplied by the Irish provisions industry, in spite of the intentions of the English government.¹³

II.

Irish beef maintained its primacy in the American market until the end of the colonial period. American beef was inferior in taste and longevity, commented Lord Sheffield: "salt hardens it, and eats up the fat and juices."¹⁵ Beef from the Irish provisioning ports, on the other hand, was the product of the most advanced meat-packing industry in the eighteenth-century world. By the Revolution, American provisioners had "not attained to equal perfection with the Irish in the art of curing it." American provisioners who sought to improve their product occasionally visited Cork "to learn their Manner of Curing Beef to keep."¹⁶ But what typically came to market from colonial packers was "coarse, black, and much inferior to the Irish."¹⁷ Only the colony of Connecticut exported salted beef in substantial quantities to mainland and West Indian ports. Before 1776, the colonial article was adequate for the quick passage to the West Indies or the victualling of militia, but it often spoiled soon after the barrels were opened. In victualling British warships with North American beef, colonial merchants were sometimes required to guarantee that the meat they sold would remain good for at least six months.¹⁸ It was not until the Revolutionary War, and the pressing need to sustain Washington's army, that Connecticut emerged as an efficient producer.¹⁹

Until the 1760s, the Irish shipped salted beef of better quality and sometimes lower price to the markets served by the mainland provisioners. Joseph Mauger, a leading merchant at Halifax [Nova Scotia], complained to a Connecticut exporter that American beef ought to be cheaper than that from Ireland; "if it cou'd be so, I wou'd never buy Elsewhere."²⁰ After the mid-1760s, Irish beef faced increased price competition from colonial production. Although there was steady improvement in the quality of American beef after the Seven Years War, it approached, but never reached, a general par with that from Ireland until the close of the colonial period. By the 1770s, colonial beef was generally available in the sugar islands at low prices, however, where its "cheapness is thought to make some amends for the inferiority of quality."²¹ In one season in the early 1770s, colonial beef sold at Jamaica for :18: to :20: per barrel, compared with :50: per barrel for Irish beef. In spite of its superior quality, the higher price was "no encouragement to the planter to buy Irish beef, when he can get the best North American, or

even fresh Jamaican beef, so much cheaper."²²

Beef from Ireland was meant for shipboard use and household consumption. As a maritime provision, it was ideal, whereas most of what was put up by colonial provisioners was barely suitable for victualling ships in the local West Indian commerce. Transatlantic shipping that outfitted in the colonial ports derived great advantage from the imported article: "for long Voyages Irish Beef is preferred in America because it keeps better."²³ In the busy port of Newport [Rhode Island], an important market for provisions from the neighbouring colony of Connecticut, Irish beef was readily available, as it was in most mainland ports.²⁴ Although the largest share of the Irish beef that arrived in American ports was used as provisions on trading voyages, some was intended for consumption by households. Irish beef in small casks "fit for family use" was one of the most commonly advertised articles in the newspapers of New York and Philadelphia after mid-century. Its regular import for domestic consumption on the mainland was a comment on the low regard in which the local article was held. When Irish beef was available, colonial beef was considered second-rate by comparison.²⁵ Most of the Irish beef sent to the plantations was intended for the sugar islands, however. In the early 1770s, Jamaica alone took 20,000 barrels per year, by far the largest American market for the article.²⁶

Between the Peace of Utrecht and the American Revolution, the Irish export of salted beef to the British plantations experienced a 77 per cent increase, double the rate of growth for the Irish beef export as a whole. Some of the expansion reflected wartime victualling needs, but the trend was more closely linked to population increases in the West Indian plantation economies.²⁷ Performance in the American market was good in light of the slower growth in the total beef export, but the

Table 7.2: EXPORTS OF IRISH BEEF TO AMERICAN COLONIES²⁸
[in barrels]

Avg. of 8 yrs. ending	to Colonies	% of Total	Net Change	Total	Net Change
1720	53,190	47%		114,130	
1728	55,550	41%	+4%	134,330	+18%
1736	57,100	39%	+3%	147,100	+10%
1744	57,300	41%	+.3%	139,250	-5%
1752	57,800	39%	+1%	150,100	+8%
1760	72,450	45%	+25%	162,450	+8%
1768	91,790	47%	+27%	194,650	+20%
1776	71,000	35%	-23%	201,800	+4%

value of Ireland's total exports to America had tripled over the same period. The levelling out of growth for Irish beef, in the trade to the French islands as well as to the British colonies, reflected the inroads

of cheaper provisions from the American mainland into the markets of the West Indies. The role of the British plantations market in the beef export is plainly visible in the statistics that describe the trade.

Cork was the centre of Ireland's beef export. "'Tis amazing the quantity of beef that is killed here from Michaelmas to Christmas," observed an English traveller in 1764, "For three or four months at this time of the year a stranger would imagine it was the slaughterhouse of Ireland."²⁹ The combined demands of the English and French colonies in America, together with the victualling needs of transatlantic shipping, gave the town's beef trade an extraordinary vitality. In a letter to a New England importer, Patrick Goold, of the Cork provisioning house of Francis Goold & Co., provided a close look at the product of the town's industry.

"Our slaughtering season commences in september & terminates in the later end of december; We send two Kinds of Beef to America; the one Bullocks of 4 1/2 hund wt & Carcass cut into common ps & put into barrels, which with the barrel generally weighs about two hundred weight, this we call common, as a neck, a foreshank & an hind shank are put into the barrel. The second is what we call Mess beef of 5 1/2 hundred wt Carcass, which is cut into ps of 8 pounds each, & weighs the same as the other beef when in the barrel. This Kind is called Planters beef, as it is for Gentms tables & has neither neck or shank in the barrel."³⁰

Specialization, low wages, and advanced techniques of processing combined to allow more efficient production than was yet possible in America.

Although Cork dominated the beef trade to America, Waterford, Dublin, and Belfast were also active in the export. Of these towns, Dublin alone failed to make gains over the period. Waterford, on the other hand, was the only Irish port to maintain a pattern of growth after the contraction in provisions exports to America that followed the Seven Years War. Belfast, although not a substantial participant in the beef trade, appears to have achieved some growth at the expense of Dublin. Belfast merchants, in addition to carrying on a trade with the sugar

Table 7.3: EXPORTS OF IRISH BEEF TO AMERICA BY PORT³¹
[in barrels]

Avg. of 8 yrs. ending	Belfast	Cork	Dublin	Waterford	TOTAL
1720	1,480	36,880	7,550	700	53,190
1728	1,230	43,490	6,200	1,290	55,550
1736	960	44,170	6,430	3,000	57,100
1744	2,630	41,100	7,000	3,400	57,300
1752	3,020	39,430	9,930	3,900	57,800
1760	5,700	46,930	10,790	6,560	72,450
1768	6,560	62,280	12,700	6,660	91,790
1776	4,650	49,620	5,830	8,500	71,000

islands, became adept at mixing a provisions component into loadings of servants and linen shipped direct to the mainland. Cork remained the leading source of the beef that entered New York and Philadelphia, but a significant share arrived in ships outward-bound from Belfast.

In the ports of the middle colonies and New England, beef prices characteristically dipped in the late fall and early winter, reflecting the presence of freshly slaughtered domestic beef in the marketplace and the arrival of new Irish beef aboard the flaxseed ships. Between 1735 and the mid-1760s, prices showed continued improvement. In the period from 1753 to 1760, in spite of wartime demand, they were remarkably stable, with beef prices generally stronger than those for pork. After 1763, the historic high for beef before the Revolution, prices drifted downward until about 1772, when they began to rebuild.³²

III.

Butter production in colonial America was never large enough to satisfy demand. Imported butter from Ireland found good markets in the West Indies, as well as on the American mainland, where it became commonplace after the 1740s. The West Indies provided the primary market for the article, taking about 65 per cent of exports to America. Jamaica, the largest single importer, alone took about 15,500 firkins per year in the early 1770s.³³ Although most of the Irish butter landed in the islands was for plantation use, a considerable share was absorbed by small scale purchasers. In the accounts covering sales of a Belfast merchant's shipment of forty firkins of butter to Barbados in 1755, seven of the twelve purchases that cleared the lading were for one firkin only, reflecting a structure of distribution similar to that found in the mainland ports.³⁴ In addition to their role as a primary market for Irish butter, the West Indies served as a vent for surpluses of the article that accumulated on the mainland.³⁵

Irish butter was regularly traded in the ports of the American mainland. The first ships to return to America "pretty early in the fall" would generally meet a strong market.³⁶ Colonial demand often required large loadings, up to 2,000 and 2,500 firkins if conditions were favourable.³⁷ When butter proved an attractive article, the Irish exporter "Could not have failed making a great Voyage," according to a New York merchant engaged in the trade in the 1760s.³⁸ In a lively market, such as that in the fall of 1762, the merchant with Irish butter to sell "should have Cleared as many Pounds as firkins and Sold them from On board ship."³⁹ "A quantity ship'd from your place," wrote another merchant in New York to his correspondent at Drogheda in 1765, "must Turn

out a good Adventure, the present price of the Article 14^d p^r lb and scarce."⁴⁰ The quality of the import varied, but little of the butter landed on the mainland was salted suitably for tropical consumption. The 'Rose Butter' imported from Cork was a superior product by the standards of the age and proudly branded with the rose symbol by the Irish exporter.⁴¹ One New York merchant who traded with the major colonial provisioning towns in the coasting commerce preferred Irish butter "for my Own and Particular friends use."⁴² Distribution in colonial ports appears to have been organized around the needs of households. Irish butter was sold by the crock as well as by the firkin of about sixty-five pounds.

The Irish butter trade to the British plantations grew nearly six times faster than Ireland's total butter export. Shipments to the American market averaged 9,830 hundredweight per year in the eight years ending 1719/20, as compared with 36,200 hundredweight per year in the similar period ending March 1776. Only about 5 per cent of the export was sent to British America in the eight years ending 1719/20. By the similar period ending 1743/44, the colonial share had risen to about 12 per cent, and averaged just above 13 per cent until the Revolution. By

Table 7.4: EXPORTS OF IRISH BUTTER TO AMERICAN COLONIES⁴⁴
[in hundredweights]

Avg. of 8 yrs. ending	to Colonies	% of Total	Net Change	Total	Net Change
1720	9,830	5%		186,710	
1728	9,700	6%	-1%	161,600	-13%
1736	13,650	9%	+41%	154,170	-5%
1744	19,460	12%	+43%	157,760	+2%
1752	22,130	10%	+14%	219,500	+39%
1760	31,510	15%	+42%	206,780	-6%
1768	40,650	16%	+29%	260,620	+3%
1776	36,200	13%	-11%	273,020	+5%

the 1770s, the plantations had matured into a primary market for Irish butter. Before then, the trades to France and her colonies, Cadiz, Portugal, Holland, and the East Country had overshadowed the American market.⁴³ Except in the final years of the colonial period, the butter export to America saw a favourable growth trend, although it shared in the general contraction of Irish provisions to the colonies that characterized beef and pork after the Seven Years War. Butter exports to the plantation grew indecisively until the eight years ending in March 1752, when average shipments reached 219,500 hundredweight. By the eight years ending 1775/76, total exports were averaging 273,000 hundredweight per year. Development in the West Indies and inadequate colonial production fueled the export to America.

Cork dominated the colonial market, in most seasons sending between 70 and 80 per cent of Ireland's export of butter. Her American shipments grew from an average of 6,700 hundredweight in the eight years ending 1719/20, to 30,160 hundredweight in the similar period ending March 1776, a growth of nearly 350 per cent. Only in the 1750s and 1760s was there a moderate export from Dublin and Belfast. By the 1770s, however, the trade from those towns had fallen off as a consequence of decreased demand in the mainland ports. Waterford, a town with an overall large butter export, showed steady growth in its limited plantations export, largely as a result of its links to the Newfoundland trade. Only about 1,000 hundredweight of butter was sent out each year before the early 1740s. By the time of the American Revolution, four times that level was being shipped.

IV.

"Pork at a year & 1/2 old, to those who have no objection to it," reported a witness before a committee of the Irish Parliament, "is better than Beef at 9 months."⁴⁵ The article had an advantage that was obvious to West Indian planters as well as military and maritime provisioners: it could remain edible for long periods under difficult conditions. In the early years of the eighteenth century, pork from Ireland had been both better and cheaper than that from the North American mainland.⁴⁶ But unlike colonial beef and butter, salt pork produced on the mainland improved to be as good as that from Ireland by the 1770s. The American and Irish articles directly competed with each other in the island markets as well as those on the mainland. A rise in the price of Irish pork even drew the cheaper colonial pork into English markets. Irish provisioners recognized the high quality of the Burlington [New Jersey] and Connecticut pork "which is at least Equal to ours."⁴⁷ Although competition from colonial pork began to affect sales of the Irish article in the decade before the Revolution, the decline in West Indian consumption was offset by expanding markets in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. In New York, Philadelphia, and other mainland ports, pork from Ireland was only important at times of shortage.

Before the American Revolution, the overseas market for Irish salt pork was dominated by colonial America. In the 1730s and 1740s, about 73 per cent of Ireland's pork export was sent across the Atlantic, most of it going to the West Indies. Even in the 1760s and 1770s, when total output was sharply higher, the colonial trade remained strong in the face of increased competition from North American pork in the islands. The limited commerce to the mainland was encouraged by the ready availability

Table 7.5: EXPORTS OF IRISH PORK TO GREAT BRITAIN
AND THE AMERICAN COLONIES⁴⁹
[in barrels]

Avg. of 8 yrs. ending	to Great Britain	to Amer. Colonies	% of Total	Net Change	Total	Net Change
1720	160	4,510	57%		7,950	
1728	260	6,300	66%	+40%	9,560	+20%
1736	100	8,450	71%	+34%	11,870	+24%
1744	320	8,590	73%	+2%	11,730	-1%
1752	1,050	13,830	76%	+61%	18,100	+54%
1760	3,975	19,020	57%	+38%	33,530	+85%
1768	9,500	30,910	67%	+63%	46,120	+38%
1776	16,100	27,480	55%	-11%	49,720	+8%

of shipping in Ireland returning to the North American ports. Because the slaughtering season for Irish pork was in the winter after Christmas, the article entered the marketplace just as flaxseed vessels from America arrived in the Irish ports to unload.⁴⁸ The most striking feature of the trade after the 1760s is the enormous expansion of the English market. As the American market contracted in the late 1760s and early 1770s, that across the Irish Sea began to grow. By the end of the American Revolution, Great Britain had replaced the plantations as the principal taker of Irish salt pork.

Cork and Waterford competed in the export of pork to the plantation market. In the eight years ending 1719/20, there were only negligible exports from any Irish town but Cork, and even her American shipments averaged less than 3,500 barrels per year. During the 1750s, when shipments to America averaged about 16,400 barrels, Waterford emerged as a rival in the commerce with a market share of 43 per cent of the colonial pork trade, compared to Cork's share of 47 per cent. Cork was

Table 7.6: EXPORTS OF IRISH PORK TO AMERICA BY PORT⁵⁰
[in barrels]

Avg. of 8 yrs. ending	Cork	Dublin	Waterford	Total
1720	3,380	500	130	4,510
1728	5,250	240	490	6,300
1736	6,530	280	1,300	8,450
1744	6,110	210	2,060	8,590
1752	7,700	1,000	4,590	13,830
1760	8,890	1,280	7,590	19,020
1768	19,630	1,400	8,480	30,910
1776	13,590	450	11,460	27,480

the dominant supplier to most markets in the West Indies, Nova Scotia, and North American ports such as New York and Philadelphia. In addition to supplying the Newfoundland fishery, Waterford competed with her sister port in the Caribbean trade. Unlike Waterford's more stable export, Cork's colonial trade was closely tied to the needs of the military

stationed in America, with the result that her exports contracted sharply after the close of the Seven Years War, down from a peak of 42,632 barrels in 1761/62, to a post-war low of 7,207 barrels in 1768/69. In the three years ending in March 1774, the final period before the outbreak of the American Revolution, Cork shipped 13,070 barrels, compared to 12,345 barrels sent out from Waterford, of Ireland's average pork exports to the plantations of 27,500 barrels.

The price of pork in the North American ports experienced a persistent increase between 1734 and 1764, reflecting strong demand and a growing preference for pork over beef. Pork prices, usually higher than those for beef, were more responsive to changes in supply and demand. The meat was particularly scarce in the period between 1762 and 1764, as well as in 1772, encouraging merchants in New York and Philadelphia to increase their buying from Ireland.⁵¹ Irish pork was in demand, "providing the Price be tolerably reasonable." Prices reached their historic peak in the late summer of 1764. "The Quality must be merchantable, but need not excell, if it enhances the Price," wrote a New York merchant to Paul & James Benson of Cork.⁵² In May of 1762, pork sold at New York for £5: per barrel [£2:12: sterling] and the Irish article was widely advertised.⁵³ Heavy imports contributed to the collapse of pork prices that followed the £5:5: [£3:0:7 sterling] high at Philadelphia in October 1764. By the following May, the price of pork had fallen to £3:5: [£1:17:8 sterling] per barrel.⁵⁴

V.

Ireland's fish export to colonial America consisted mainly of re-exported Swedish and Scotch herrings, domestic Irish herrings, smaller amounts of mackerel and cod, as well as a specialized trade in spiced and pickled salmon. By far the most important component in the trade was the re-export from Cork of large quantities of Gottenburgh herrings re-packed there according to the standards of the city's salted-provisions industry. The drawback of part of the import duty, as well as the encouragement of a bounty, fostered a vigorous commerce.⁵⁵ It was not until the beginning of the American Revolution that the parliament in Dublin acted to curtail the re-export and promote an Irish fishery capable of meeting demand in the Caribbean.⁵⁶ Salted herrings were the "principal food and support of the negroes" of the islands, wrote an observer in the 1740s.⁵⁷ By 1776, the herring export and re-export had become indispensable to the provisioning of the West Indian slave populations. Jamaica alone took over 5,100 barrels per year between December 1757 and December 1762, a decade before the trade experienced

its sharpest growth.⁵⁸ The article was rich in protein and relatively inexpensive compared to beef and pork.⁵⁹

The re-export of Swedish herrings provided an important source of employment for merchants, coopers, and others in the maritime trades. At Cork, where merchants "never exported Swedish or Scotch Herrings in the Barrels they were imported in," it was customary to re-pack the Gottenburgh herrings into new Irish barrels of twenty-nine gallons.⁶⁰ The usual practice was to re-pack 20 Gottenburgh barrels into 25 Irish barrels, as the drawback upon exportation [2:4 1/2 out of an import duty of 4:] was paid on every Irish barrel sent out, even though the import duty had been paid on the larger Swedish barrel.⁶¹ Foreign herrings thus re-packed and shipped to the sugar islands remained edible up to about twelve months from the time of exportation.⁶² Herring cargoes purchased at Cork by colonial merchant vessels returning to North America via the West Indies allowed an attractive alternative to beef, butter, or pork when prices for those commodities were high. Large quantities of herring usually arrived at Cork just as the early flaxseed ships made their Irish landfalls. Because of the resulting sudden changes in supply, prices experienced dramatic swings. In February 1772, for example, a New England supercargo saw the price of a barrel of herrings drop from 29: to 18: in just one week. Because prices for other Irish provisions remained high, the New Englander altered his plan to purchase beef and loaded his schooner with herrings for the Barbados market.⁶³

The export of Irish-caught herrings in the eight years ending 1775/76 averaged about 7,000 barrels per year. Re-exported herrings from Scotland and Sweden averaged about 18,000 barrels per year during the same period. The largest of the West Indian markets was Jamaica, with lesser quantities going to Barbados and Antigua. Small quantities of herring were landed on the mainland, but the North American market was of little consequence. The imported Irish seafood most in demand there was spiced and pickled salmon. Small amounts of the article were usually available at New York and Philadelphia, where it was highly regarded. The product was prepared and shipped at Coleraine, a North of Ireland port that had "very little trade, except for its salmon-fishery, which is very beneficial."⁶⁴ Irish salmon made its way into the ports of the middle colonies aboard incoming flaxseed ships.

VI.

Potatoes from Ireland found markets in colonial America wherever there were congregations of native-born Irish. "When an opportunity offers I would be oblig'd to you for a few Potatoes," wrote an Irish merchant in

Philadelphia to his correspondent at Cork in 1768.⁶⁵ A Quaker emigrant, Benjamin Chandlee of County Kildare, wrote to his brother while on passage to Philadelphia in 1705 about his craving for potatoes: "I longed so much for them y^t: I dreamed night after night y^t: I left the ship & got home & there I was Sacking them in barrel Sacks."⁶⁶ The import cannot be determined with accuracy. On the American mainland, it was particularly large in the 1750s, when the frequency of advertising became pronounced and Irish potatoes traded at high prices. In the middle of the decade, when they sold in New York from on board vessels just arrived from Ireland at between :2: and :4: per bushel,⁶⁷ one local merchant wrote to his correspondent at Ballycastle: "I cant advise you to any Articles from Ireland, that has a Better Prospect, then Butter & Potatoes."⁶⁸ Beyond satisfying a dietary preference of the Irish in America, imported potatoes, when available, were a supplement to winter food stocks in the urban markets where they sold well in the fall of the year.⁶⁹

Irish potatoes were available in the West Indies as well as on the mainland. Ireland was the only source of imported potatoes in a sketch of the commerce of Jamaica prepared by Edward Long.⁷⁰ They were sent from Ireland to the island markets as supplemental loadings on provisioning voyages. On the North American continent, there was a market in New England, New York, Philadelphia, and Charlestown.⁷¹ Often, Irishmen were prepared to pay premium prices to have them shipped direct from their homeland. Supplies were irregular, however. In 1767, one New York merchant, was unable to fill orders from New England. "If any good Irish Potatoes comes shall git some for you," he told his correspondent.⁷² Sometimes they became available in times of shortage. When New England was stricken with drought and suffered a shortfall of grain and vegetables in 1749, a stop in Ireland to pick up a load of potatoes was included in the plans of a Boston merchant smuggling goods into the colonies from Amsterdam.⁷³

Potatoes from Ireland entered the American diet almost immediately after being brought to Londonderry [New Hampshire] by emigrant Irish in 1719.⁷⁴ After 1720, colonists purchased Irish potatoes as seed potatoes and cultivated their own production. "Irish potatoes . . . is much planted," observed a visitor to New England in 1755. In that region, they immediately thrived and became an important part of the winter diet. "We improve in Potatoes in this Colony exceedingly," wrote Reverend John Devotion, of Westbrook [Connecticut] in 1767. "Many farmers raise 500 bushels pr.an. I don't think myself stored without 150 Bush per.an," he said. The Irish potatoes brought to America were the

rough coat, red coat, flat white, and long white, to use their eighteenth century names. "My taste prefers the rough coat," remarked a contemporary commentator on colonial agriculture.⁷⁵

VII.

Several articles sent from Ireland to the British plantations constituted a secondary class of provisions. The group included cheese, tongues, candles, tallow, and coal. There was a small export of Irish cheese to the plantations. Most of it was destined for markets in the West Indies, but some appeared intermittently in the ports of the mainland. "Spring and fall is the Only Season of the year for Selling Beer and Chees," a New York merchant wrote to Derry.⁷⁶ Irish cheese was generally shipped from Cork, Waterford, and Dublin; but that imported into the middle colonies came mostly from the North of Ireland. On the American mainland, the article was usually advertised as having arrived from Belfast or one of the other northern ports.⁷⁷ It became conspicuous in colonial markets only at times of general shortage. Cheese from Ireland was inferior to the English cheeses that were more widely distributed. But a market for it persisted. About 40 per cent of the export for the plantations went to the North American ports, with the rest bound to the sugar islands. Newfoundland and Nova Scotia were the largest mainland markets and Jamaica the largest in the islands. There was relatively little growth in Ireland's cheese export. For most of the years between 1700 and 1776, total cheese exports remained stable, at about 5,000 hundredweight, but the colonial share grew. France and Spain had been important markets early in the century; but by the Revolution, the plantations remained the only one of any significance for exported Irish cheese.

Tongues from Ireland were highly sought after in the American colonies. "There is not a Keg of Tongues at present in Town, when any Arrives shall send you a Keg," wrote an Irish merchant in New York to a customer in New England.⁷⁸ The plantations were Ireland's principal market. About four-fifths of the export went to the islands, where it was purchased for both the planter's table and the officer's mess. The remainder was taken up by affluent households on the mainland, where Irish pickled tongues were regularly advertised.⁷⁹ Before 1731, the article was of no consequence. The average export for the four years ending 1700/1 was just 840 dozen, worth about £250: per year, of which the colonists took 42 per cent. By the four years ending 1731/32, total shipments had grown to 2,550 dozen per year, with the share taken by the plantations risen to 65 per cent. By then, the 'official valuation'

price was :6:8 per dozen. By the Revolution, the price had gone to :10: per dozen. In the last four years before the War, exports to all markets averaged 4,900 dozen, with America taking 73 per cent of the total. Although the trade was relatively small in volume, exported tongues to America returned high yields at modest freights. Pickled tongues from Ireland were sought after, but they were too expensive to be widely distributed and, therefore, remained exclusive.

Spain and France were the principal markets for Irish candles, but a share of the export, mostly from the manufacture's centre at Cork, went to colonial America. Ireland's average export of candles for the four years ending 1734/35 was 5,950 hundredweight, of which only 475 hundredweight was sent to the colonies. Because of increased victualling demands in America, exports to the plantations rose to nearly three times that level in the four years ending in 1764/65, but fell back to about 750 hundredweight per year in the final four years before the Revolution. In that period, the colonial market took nearly 30 per cent of Ireland's production for export. The annual export to America never returned much more than about £1,300: per year. Candle shipments to the colonies appear to have been evenly divided between the mainland markets, including Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, and those in the West India Islands. Irish candles were conspicuous in the shops of New York and Philadelphia during the early 1760s, a time when provisions of all kinds were in short supply.⁸⁰ Perhaps the most important consequence of the Irish candle manufacture for America was the migration of Irish candle and soap-making techniques to the New World. David Fleming of Dublin set up in New York to make "Myrtle or Tallow Candles," as well as hard and soft soap that was "equal in Quality to any imported."⁸¹

British America never developed into an important market for Irish tallow. Most of what was not made up into candles or soap in the Irish provisioning centres was sent to Bristol, the leading importer of the article.⁸² Occasionally, an interest in the trade was generated in America if Irish prices justified substitution of imported tallow for domestic. One colonial merchant placed an order "Provided it Can be purchased at 3d per [lb] or under (otherwise not)." He wanted it only "if Tallow is Cheep."⁸³ To justify transatlantic carriage, tallow from Ireland had to be priced lower than butter.⁸⁴ The margin earned on butter shipments to the mainland discouraged the substitution. There were some seasons when tallow provided good returns. In 1765, it was reported that "the greatest quantity of [Irish] tallow is now . . . shipping for the American islands and colonies, particularly Newfoundland and Nova Scotia."⁸⁵

Small amounts of coal entered America from the northern Irish ports. There is no evidence of a regular coal trade, and the loadings were typically small, as the article largely served as ballast for vessels departing the North of Ireland on transatlantic voyages.⁸⁶ Although coal from Ireland seems an unlikely article, it was sold by Greg, Cunningham & Co. of New York, as well as by other Irish-American firms.⁸⁷ The article was included in newspapers advertisements frequently enough to suggest that it played a long-term role in the commerce between Ireland and the plantations, although one of minor importance. One angry New York merchant complained to his Dublin correspondent in 1762 that his linen shipment had been ruined in transit "being stowd among the Coal."⁸⁸ Low prices in the North of Ireland and persistent fuel shortages in the colonial ports justified the occasional export.

Chapter Eight

LINEN

"You can send nothing which will sel
better here than Irish linans of all
Sorts."

A North Carolina farmer, 1750¹

The plantations in America were Ireland's second largest market for linen and its most important vent for coarse low-priced cloths. In the colonies, expensive labour discouraged domestic linen production for the marketplace, in spite of a steadily expanding population. Abundant and cheap labour in Ireland and reductions in the cost of marketing cloth in the overseas trade, particularly through English intermediaries, allowed linen entering the colonies to remain attractively priced until the Revolution. Imported Irish linens, in fact, became progressively less expensive in terms of the colonists' ability to pay for them with income generated through foreign trade.² British policy encouraged the commerce by offering bounties on plain linens, the kinds most suitable to colonial conditions, reducing their invoice cost by as much as 25 per cent. The Irish linen export to America, in its turn, helped meet the Mother Country's objective of inhibiting industrial development in the colonies.

After 1705, a trade grew up that at first rivalled and then displaced the provisions export as Ireland's principal commercial activity with the North American mainland. With the English bounty of 1743, the linen export to America experienced a surge in growth of unprecedented proportions, reaching a level of nearly five million yards per annum by the early 1770s. The share of Ireland's total linen export that went to the colonies doubled between 1750 and 1770, while linen exports to that market increased four-fold. In the three years ending 1772, the value of linen shipped to America totalled about £325,000: per annum, an amount roughly 18 per cent greater than the value of the Irish provisions export

Table 8.1: IRISH LINEN EXPORT TO PLANTATIONS³
AND IMPORTATION OF MAINLAND COLONIES [in yards]

Avg. of 3 yrs. ending	Total to Plantations	% of Total Irish Export	Mainland Import	Mainland Population	Per Capita Import
1751	1,250,750 yds.	11%	893,720	1,170,760	.76
1761	2,183,434	16	1,560,170	1,593,625	.98
1771	4,710,202	21	3,365,670	2,148,076	1.56

sent in the same period. Taken together, the direct and indirect trades accounted for more than a fifth of Ireland's total linen export by the early 1770s. About a third of the plantation export went to the West Indies where the availability of inexpensive cloth served the interest of the sugar industry. The rest went to markets on the American continent where Irish merchants and factors played key roles in the distribution system. By 1770, per capita consumption on the mainland reached almost 1.6 yards. In Ireland, the colonies had a powerful impact upon the linen manufacture, encouraging the production of low-priced cloths in spite of the relatively narrow margins that were earned on them.⁴ As the linen trade to the plantations reached a crest of activity on the eve of the industry's depression of the early 1770s, an Irish merchant described the state of the market in Ireland to an English correspondent: "Linen of all Kinds is Greatly advanced of late & still like to be more so, owing to the Great demand there is at the Linen Hall in Dublin f^m America."⁵ "They certainly went to the Best Market," wrote another.⁶

I.

A series of enactments by the Parliament in London after 1696 set the trade in Irish linens to the plantations within the framework of English navigation law. Although there was some intermittent commerce in the final decades of the seventeenth century, the effective enforcement of the Acts of Navigation frustrated its development. In 1672, for example, John Hull of Boston instructed the supercargo of his ship carrying logwood to Ireland: "I Intreate you iff you Can to Lay out y^e produce of it Iⁿ such Linnen & Wollen Cloth as may bee most suitable to this Country for Clothing & Shirting."⁷ But it was not until after the opening of the English market to linen from Ireland in 1696 that the article became important in transatlantic commerce. According to the Act of 1696, "The Natives of England or Ireland may Import directly from Ireland, any Hemp, Flax, thread, Yarn and Linnen of the Growth and Manufacture of Ireland, Custom free."⁸ The effect of the concession was immediate. Whereas Irish linen exports to England had grown from 14,750 yards in 1665 to 131,568 yards in 1686, they jumped to about 500,000 yards in 1698 and were well over a million yards within a decade of the passage of Act.⁹ Of all the factors that promoted expansion in the Irish linen manufacture, none was more important than its favoured place in the English market. Duty free entry positioned Irish linen in a growing market at a time when regular supplies of linen from Holland and Saxony were being curtailed because of war with France.¹⁰ Its special status encouraged Irish manufacturers to maximize their competitive

advantage over foreign linens. By the 1730s, the Irish cloths were so well established that one merchant in the foreign linen trade in London told his correspondent in Amsterdam: "if the fabrick of Irish linens continues to improve 'tis probable there will be little else worn in England."¹¹

The Linen Act of 1705 allowed the direct shipment of "any white or brown Linen Cloath of Irish Manufacture" to the English plantations in America.¹² A Bristol merchant wrote: "the people in the north of Ireland make good cloth, sell it at reasonable rates, and would every year make much more, had they a vent for it."¹³ Although the Irish manufacture was flourishing in 1704, its market was narrow. Passage of the Act acknowledged reality: without an expanded market, the linen industry in Ireland could not continue to prosper. In an effort to broaden the market for Irish linen, the parliament in Dublin looked to London for support. "Unless speedy and due Encouragement is given therefore by England," read a petition of the Irish House of Commons to Queen Anne, "the Linen Trade cannot in a long Time be brought to such Perfection, as to employ an considerable Number of Hands which now want Work, or ever prove advantageous to us."¹⁴ But the Bill faced vigorous opposition from the Commissioners of the Customs, the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, the Hamburg Company, and certain London drapers in the American trade. Their arguments were heard by a committee of the House of Lords, between December 1703 and March 1704, that advised in favour of the Irish manufacture. In January and February, 1704, a committee of the House of Commons listened to testimony that included the hostile arguments of the linen manufacturers of Lancashire. In spite of the opposition of vested interests, the Linen Act was passed by the English Parliament, and went into effect in June 1705.¹⁵

In English mercantile quarters, there had been serious reservations about allowing linen to be shipped directly to colonial America from Ireland. Beyond the predictable resentment of the Hambro merchants and the London drapers who traded with the colonies, there appears to have been deep-seated apprehension over what might follow in the wake of a relaxation of the Navigation Acts. A report prepared by the Commissioners of the Customs for presentation to the House of Lords argued that passage of linen through England to other markets had already been made easy for Irish exporters. "But if a Tolleration were given for them to goe Directly from Ireland to the Plantations with that Commodity as is Desired, It might open away to many other Inconveniencys." Among those inconveniences was the running of wool. The Act of 1705 specifically prescribed penalties for linen shippers if "any Woollen

Manufactures not laden in England" were found aboard their vessels for America. According to the Commissioners, who exaggerated the benefits to Ireland of the direct linen export, the enactment would "give their Industrious People an Opportunity to carry any other of their Manufacturers thither which the Plantations will willingly enough receive, the Irish being able to Furnish them upon Cheaper Terms than we are able to send them."¹⁶

The 1705 concession was a significant break in mercantile policy and there was some official resistance to immediate implementation of its terms, particularly in the West Indies.¹⁷ But, by the summer of 1715, when the Irish linen interest in Parliament began its campaign for renewal of the Act, the fears expressed in 1703 and 1704 about the dangers of opening American markets to a direct linen export from Ireland had been proved groundless. By allowing Ireland access to the colonial market, it had been argued, "that kingdom [would] become in a great manner the Staple of all Commodities whatsoever to the great prejudice of England."¹⁸ When the Hambro merchants and the linen manufacturers and exporters of England sought an end to the direct trade in 1715, Ireland found defenders; "the linen trade is in a manner all that is left to Ireland, and ought therefore to be encouraged as much as possible," wrote the Earl of Sunderland in support of renewal.¹⁹ In 1716, the Ministry succumbed to the urgings of the Irish House of Commons and extended the 1705 Act for a single year.²⁰ A ten year renewal came only after hard bargaining and compromise in the face of strong opposition from threatened interests in Great Britain. To maintain its privilege in the transatlantic trade, the Irish Parliament gave some ground to British linen in the Irish market. Scottish linen was finally allowed access to Ireland and the 5 per cent ad valorem import duty charged on British linen was abolished.²¹ There was no mistaking the terms of the bargain. Irish linen would be allowed direct entry into the colonial market, according to the Act of 1717, "so long as British White and Brown Linnens come free to Ireland."²² At the same time, English linen was freed from the 5 per cent export duty charged in Great Britain, six years in advance of the general abolition of export duties on most other English goods.²³ In another Act of the same parliament, Great Britain took a decisive step toward directing the linen trade of Ireland for the American market through the merchants of England. All linen manufactured in Ireland that was imported into England for re-export to the plantations could be shipped there free of any duties.²⁴ "Industry now began to shew some signs of life," wrote an eighteenth-century commentator on Ireland's commerce with colonial America.²⁵

The modification of the English navigation laws in 1731 to allow the direct landing of unenumerated plantation articles in Ireland benefitted Irish linen. Until then, the returns for linen sent direct from Ireland to the colonies had to be made through England, rendering the direct commerce cumbersome. The Act of 1731 came at a time when the Irish linen manufacture was entering a competitively mature stage and the market in America was growing rapidly. "The consumption of linnen of all sorts in the Plantations is amazingly great," read a report that year to the Council of Trade and Plantations.²⁶ The Act of 1731 further encouraged Irish linen by allowing the importation of American flaxseed, the article that dominated exports sent directly to Ireland from the American mainland. The relationship between linen and flaxseed was evident each fall as the markets of Philadelphia and New York became glutted with cloths brought aboard incoming flaxseed ships.

Even more important was the Linen Bounty Act of 1743. By its terms, certain low-priced British and Irish linens were paid a bounty upon exportation to the plantations from English ports, funded by an additional duty laid upon imported cambrics. The linen bounty was intended to offset the advantages enjoyed by foreign linens when re-exported to the colonial market by virtue of the drawback of most of the import duties paid upon entry into England. A bounty of :1/2 was allowed on linens worth less than :6 per yard and one of :1 was given to cloth worth between :6 and :1: per yard, effectively reducing their price by 8 1/3 per cent to 12 per cent.²⁷ Although promising at the outset, the bounty was a source of considerable frustration, as the exporting merchant had to personally appear at the Customs House in order to take payment. For example, one large London dealer in Irish linens set up a manufactory in Ireland in 1743 for the purpose of making narrow cloths for transshipment to the Jamaican market through Liverpool. Even though he had an assured market in the sugar islands, the project was abandoned as impractical because of the difficulties encountered collecting the bounty. British and Irish merchants in the linen trade petitioned Parliament in 1744 for a revision of the mechanics of the law as well as additional bounties on more expensive cloths in order to improve their competitive position against the low-priced foreign linens earning the drawback.²⁸

Revision was achieved by an Act of 1745. The new law liberalized the formula for collection and allowed a more attractive schedule of bounties on exported linens of British and Irish manufacture.²⁹ Three new bounty rates went into effect after 1745: a :1/2 bounty on linen valued at less than :5 per yard, a :1 bounty on linens valued at :5 per

yard but under :6 per yard, and a bounty of :1 1/2 on those that were valued from :6 per yard to :18 per yard. With the new schedule, price reductions ranged between 8 1/3 per cent and 25 per cent per yard. The mechanics of the new Act brought commercial elements in Ireland and England closer together. Its proviso "That no Irish Linen exported from Great Britain shall be entitled to the Bounty, unless the Property of some Person resident in Great Britain or America" helped to establish a significant Irish linen interests in London and the outports.³⁰

In addition to the payment of statutory bounties in the English ports, the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture in Ireland offered incentives to promote production of low-priced coarse cloths suitable for the plantation market. Between 1743 and 1750, the Linen Board "promised very high Premiums upon Linen Cloth, made fit for the Use of Servants and Negroes in the British Colonies." In the year ending May 1747, for instance, the Linen Board paid premiums that averaged :2.4 per yard to large-scale shippers of the first 150,000 yards of cloth at least twenty-six inches in width priced between :6 and :10 per yard and exported through England to the plantations. In that year, five payments were made, from £500: for the best qualifying shipment of 50,000 yards down to £100: for the best qualifying shipment of at least 10,000 yards. In the next year, sixteen Irish manufacturers received premiums that ranged from £500: to just £5: for total shipments of 909,346 yards of qualifying linen. Between 1743 and 1750, the sums allocated by the Linen Board to cover these premiums ranged between £1,500: and £2,000:. There were also premiums for fine Irish sheeting, as well as coarse sheeting, "strong thick Linen Cloth . . . made of high white Flaxen Yarn . . . and thoroughly well bleached."³¹

The bounty on low-priced British and Irish linens exported to the colonies from the ports of England was the single most important encouragement to the trade. It provided an effective incentive to produce the coarse cloths most wanted in the transatlantic trade. After passage of the bounty, Irish linens competed in America on better terms than the German fabrics that had been long established there. "Formerly the planters used almost intirely the German Osnaburghs for their slaves, until the bounty," wrote Lord Sheffield.³² Merchants, re-exporting foreign linen from England, complained that the advantage of the Irish and Scottish producers over foreign linen was too great and had been given prematurely. It was, they said, "too early to grasp at Supplying the Plantations before they could furnish 1/4 of the quantity wanted for Home Consumption in England."³³ As significant was the dampening effect of low-priced imported cloths on attempts to initiate a colonial

linen manufacture.

The passage of the bounty in 1743 gave birth to an alliance between the Irish and Scottish linen interests and the West Indian sugar planters in the British House of Commons. In 1739, the planters, as consumers of linen in the sugar islands, had opposed the laying of additional duties upon foreign linens as well as the abolition of the drawback in order to keep cheap foreign linens available in the islands. But the need of the planters to secure votes against the Ministry's proposal to raise the duty on sugar brought the two groups together. The West Indian planters "will not now appear against taking off the Drawbacks tho most of them are Sufficiently sensible of the Evils that will result therefrom," wrote an informed observer. The representatives of the linen interest opposed the increased duties on sugar and, in 1755, the planters supported the re-establishment of the bounties.³⁴ That the alliance continued to operate in spite of the misgivings of some planters is suggested by the fact that the Sugar Act of 1764 abolished the drawback on foreign linen sent to America. The elimination of the drawback narrowed competition in the colonies and, according to Benjamin Franklin, "assured a rise in price to the colonial consumer."³⁵

The Act of the British Parliament passed in 1770 to renew the bounty put Ireland at a competitive disadvantage with respect to checked and striped linens.³⁶ That law extended a bounty of :1/2 to such cloths made in Great Britain and sent to Africa, Spain, Portugal, Gibraltar, the Island of Minorca, the East Indies, and the American colonies. But the new bounty did not apply to Ireland. In the parliamentary struggle, the Irish linen interest in the House of Commons failed to distinguish the short-term advantages to Irish yarn that would follow a privileged position for Manchester cloths from the long-term fate of Irish linen if the industry was cut off from the lucrative trade in checked and striped linens. With a united front, wrote Thomas Allen of Allen and Marlar, a London firm handling Irish linens, "I am Convinced we should either have Intirely stoped the Bounty or obtained the Importation of Checks from Ireland free from duty." According to Allen, faction, short-sightedness, and disarray in the ranks of the Irish linen interest had put Ireland upon unequal terms with the English and the Scots.³⁷ In terms of Ireland's linen trade with North America, however, the defeat was largely symbolic, as the principal Irish article, low-priced cloth, was unaffected. The years between 1771, when the new bounties took effect, and the outbreak of the American Revolution, were ones during which the trade experienced excessive inventory buildup and depression at home, followed by slow recovery.

II.

The Irish linen commerce with America consisted of a direct transatlantic export and an indirect trade through England to collect the bounty allowed by the Act of 1743. It was principally the indirect trade through London, Liverpool and Bristol that fostered expansion in the colonial market, and gave Irish linen the status of a staple item in the shops of North America. After English consumption, Irish linen found its next largest market in the re-export to the colonies. Irish linen sent through ports in England to earn the benefit of the bounty dwarfed all other activities in Ireland's trade with the North American mainland. "The bounty is a considerable thing," wrote a Philadelphia merchant, "and will more than pay all Charges in getting them to this Market."³⁸ The English merchants who participated in the trade passed most of the price advantage of the bounty along to their colonial customer, retaining handling charges, freight, and whatever profits could be earned through advantageous buying.³⁹ The :1 1/2 bounty applied to all white and brown linens of Irish and British manufacture valued from :6 to :18 per yard. There were bounties on linens priced lower than :6 per yard, but they were of no significance after 1748, the last year in which the bounty payments averaged less than :1 1/2 per yard.⁴⁰ Cloths priced to fall within the range of :6 and :18 were the most sought after in the colonial market and the most aggressively marketed. Bounty limitations mask an important feature of the trade, however. Linens of higher value than :18 were routinely shipped under the bounty but invoiced at lower valuations. "You are not to rate any of the Linens higher than 18^d p^r yard & so downward," wrote a colonial merchant to his Dublin agent in the Liverpool re-export trade, "I beg you'l pay particular attention to this."⁴¹

From the perspective of English policy, the case for the bounty ought to have been conclusive. Within the first decades of its operation, it effectively directed the colonial linen trades of Ireland and Scotland through English ports. In addition to strengthening English commercial institutions, the bounty also frustrated the development of a domestic market-oriented linen manufacture in the American colonies. There were costs associated with the linen bounty, however. Most important was the not-so-obvious fact that the linen subsidy was a tax. "Bounties are . . . no more than a subdivision made among the subjects, of a part of the profits," wrote Malachy Postlethwayt in the mid-1750s.⁴² It was, likewise, a levy on the efficiency of trade, as Irish linen shipped through the Mother Country did not find the least

costly route to the American marketplace. In fact, it was commonplace for transatlantic shipping sailing outwards from both England and Ireland to load provisions at Cork or Dublin after having called at Liverpool, Bristol or even London to take in Irish linen.⁴³ To colonial buyers, however, the additional freight and handling charges were not a serious consideration in light of the price advantages that resulted from the bounty. Linens sent from Belfast to London by sea paid freight of less than 1 per cent by the 1770s and had not paid much more than twice that at mid-century.⁴⁴

There were good reasons for channelling the bulk of Ireland's American linen trade through England that extended beyond the bounty. Linen was among the articles regularly included in the mixed cargoes of dry goods put up for America at London, Liverpool, and Bristol.⁴⁵ English merchants in the American commerce had access to more convenient shipping than was available in Ireland and were more closely connected to merchant houses in America than their Irish counterparts. In addition, they offered a range of marketing and financial services that were beyond

Table 8.2: AVERAGE BOUNTY-LINEN EXPORTS⁴⁶
[in yards]

Avg. of 8 yrs. ending	Irish	British	TOTAL	Irish share
1747	464,070	156,730	620,800	75%
1750	810,530	444,575	1,255,105	65%
1753	952,590	535,590	1,488,180	64%
1756	571,380	606,300	1,177,680	49%
1759	2,044,420	1,550,840	3,595,260	57%
1762	2,367,460	1,483,080	3,850,540	61%
1765	2,037,000	2,179,660	4,216,660	48%
1768	2,089,310	2,455,910	4,545,220	46%
1771	2,670,955	3,559,500	6,230,455	43%

the capacity of houses in the Irish ports. When John Watts of New York ordered above-bounty linen in 1763, he specified that he wanted the article sent to America through London, even though he had links with both Dublin and Cork. "I would order the Linens from London itself because you have regular Conveyances from thence & not from Irland," he told his correspondent in England. Although the linen did not benefit from the bounty and bore additional freight and insurance expenses, "I am told the difference in price is very trifling," he said.⁴⁷ Many of the merchants who specialized in the Irish linen trade in London and the outports were prominent figures in transatlantic commerce.

Most typically, the English houses that exported linen to the colonies bought through factors at the Linen Hall in Dublin.⁴⁸ The largest of them had the capital to purchase on their own account and

offer linen to smaller dry goods merchants who exported a wide variety of articles in the American trade. David and John Barclay, linen merchants in London, were large enough to employ their own agents in Ireland and ship on their own account to New York, Philadelphia and the West Indies. Some English houses bought on commission for principals in Ireland, offering to Irish merchants the advantages of trade at the center of the commercial world. One of them, David Harvey of London, offered only six months credit and limited services. Whereas David and John Barclay offered wide variety in their inventory, twelve months credit, and would sell an order as small as a single piece of linen, "Harvey will not break but only sell in lots as put up in Ireland."⁴⁹ English houses sometimes played a more limited role, though. Occasionally, linen purchasers in the colonies placed orders with agents in Ireland who, acting on commission, bought goods for transshipment through one of the English ports to meet the technical specifications of the bounty. In these instances, the English merchant collected the bounty and, after a deduction for freight and handling of about 2 1/2 per cent, credited the balance against the Irish merchant's account.⁵⁰ In the most usual case, however, English buying for the re-export trade did not result from American initiative. For English houses to do well in the competitive bounty trade, they were required to buy advantageously in Ireland or through local intermediaries and invoice their linens attractively for the American market.

English houses vigorously competed in order to maintain their relative shares in the plantation export or broaden their appeal in the colonial market. If a firm allowed its prices to rise ahead of the trade, buyers shopped elsewhere. When Champion & Hayley of London invoiced its linen only a fraction higher than the competition in the spring of 1765, for example, the reaction among Boston importers was decisive; "Three or four of them wrote to other Houses for their Linnens," explained one of the firm's American friends.⁵¹ Credit terms and good connexions were important advantages in this competitive trade, but success depended as much upon avoiding price increases that would erode the justification for an imported alternative to colonial-made linens. In 1759, John Peach of Bristol told a correspondent in New York that, although prices were rising in Ireland, "with regard to the Coarser sorts the Disappointment is greater to me than to you." In that season, Peach absorbed the increase in order to keep a good customer.⁵²

The direct export from Ireland to America accounted for between 10 and 12 per cent of the Irish linen that entered the colonies. But the

trade was trifling in the context of Ireland's overall linen trade, taking less than 2 per cent of her total export. Its importance was out of proportion to its magnitude, however. Except during a short period after 1769, when exports swelled because linen sent directly from Ireland was treated as an exception to colonial non-importation agreements, the trade served mainly to allow a reduction in the effective cost of flaxseed. Importers of flaxseed in the North of Ireland, many of them involved in the region's linen manufacture, found it advantageous to pay for their seed with linens in a quasi-barter arrangement. By the 1750s, linens shipped for conversion into flaxseed represented a significant share of the direct trade. This cloth, which characteristically entered glutted markets in the autumn and winter months, was typically sold in the vendue houses of New York and Philadelphia to raise cash for flaxseed purchases. The possibility of earning westbound freights and the scarcity of bills of exchange on London encouraged direct export. Although flaxseed importing ports could not, on balance, fully cover the cost of seed through the direct linen export, the trade did make a contribution to funding the expensive commerce. In the five years ending 1769, a representative period, only Belfast showed a positive balance in its direct linen/flaxseed exchange. The value of Dublin's flaxseed import exceeded her linen export by about 30 per cent. Elsewhere the direct linen trade brought even less satisfactory results: Derry's import was twice her export, and, in Newry, the ratio was a dismal four to one.⁵³

By the 1760s and 1770s, above-bounty linen carried aboard westbound flaxseed vessels in the autumn months could be landed in America in the direct trade for less than similar goods in the indirect trade through Great Britain. Although few linens were shipped in the off-season, the cheapness of space aboard outbound flaxseed vessels as well as the saving of additional shipping, handling, and insurance costs made the direct route attractive for the more expensive cloths, particularly in the decade before 1775. In the 1730s, freight and handling charges had been as high as 10 per cent of the invoice value of linen in the direct export from Belfast to New York.⁵⁴ Those costs amounted to only about 1 per cent by 1770.⁵⁵ Not only were handling and freight charges reduced to about a third of the equivalent charges from English ports, but the volume of flaxseed shipping guaranteed that merchants who wanted their linens in the fall would have them.⁵⁶ One large Philadelphia importer wrote to his Quaker correspondent in the North of Ireland in 1770: "Such of them as are not entitled to the Bounty . . . I choose to have Sent directly hither by first Vessel from Newry Belfast Dublin or Londonderry,

as the risque will be less & they may probably be here sometime the sooner."⁵⁷

The deterioration of relations between Great Britain and her North American colonies after passage of the Townshend Acts in 1767 fostered a huge increase in the direct export of Irish linen to the colonies. Linens and provisions shipped directly from Ireland were among the few articles allowed to be imported from the British Isles under colonial non-importation agreements. "The late resolutions of the Merchants of this City . . . puts it out of my power to order any Linens this year by way of Liverpool," wrote a Philadelphia merchant to his correspondent at Cork.⁵⁸ A :2: per yard upper limit on the value of imported Irish linen was applied at Philadelphia and the river ports of Virginia.⁵⁹ By the spring of 1769, as a result of non-importation, the bulk of Irish linen bound for the colonies shifted from the English bounty trade to direct export. "What Linens thou sends us, must come immediately from Ireland & by no means go to England to recover the Bounty," wrote a Quaker merchant in America to the North of Ireland. The linen trade was thus maintained but with diminished returns, as the sacrifice of the bounty served to "lessen our Proffitts considerably."⁶⁰ The increase in the direct export after April 1769 was a temporary dislocation, however. On both sides of the Atlantic, merchants in the linen trade watched for a break in the crisis: "in case those Acts are repealed, they [linens] are to be sent per first Vessell for Liverpool with orders that they be shipt per first Vessell thence for Philadelphia."⁶¹ The trade was quick to return to its established channels after the non-importation agreements ceased to operate in 1771.

In Ireland, Dublin dominated both the direct and indirect linen export. Her links to England and colonial America, together with her well-developed mercantile and financial institutions, gave her a natural pre-eminence. Exporters in Dublin offered greater variety, more stable inventories, and lower prices than were available elsewhere in Ireland. One New York merchant ordered his ship's captain to buy linen "for my account agreeable to the following Directions I mean in Dublin Where you may have them Cheapest."⁶² Among customers in America, the Dublin linen trade had a considerably better reputation than that in the North. In 1759, a New York commission merchant compared the linen he received from his Newry correspondent with what he received from Dublin: "I now Inclose you a Sample of One of the Best pieces yard wide you Charged at 1/9 and another of a peice I had from John Marsden [of] Dublin . . . Little or nothing inferior to yours that is Charged 50 per Cent

Dearer."⁶³ In 1765, a Baltimore importer acknowledged the receipt of a parcel of linens from Dublin: "they are the best in quality & for the price of any I have lately seen."⁶⁴ Concentration of activity in Dublin fostered competition, as did the erection of the White Linen Hall in 1728, which allowed a degree of organization and specialization not practical elsewhere. Colonial merchants seeking to buy most advantageously instructed their agents in Ireland "to buy Linens in the Hall, at the Cheapest Rate" and ship the goods to America through one of the English ports to collect the bounty.⁶⁵ Although it cannot be known with certainty how many Dublin drapers and merchants were active in the linen export, a memorial of 1763 addressed to the Linen Board from the linen drapers of Dublin contains sixty-seven names. It is likely that the number was even larger.⁶⁶

In the mid-1750s, Dublin had sent out about 25 per cent more linen in the direct export than Belfast, Derry and Newry combined. But by the eve of the American Revolution, that balance had changed. In 1774/75, the three northern towns together shipped 424,130 yards, compared to just 184,520 from Dublin. Belfast was the first of the northern towns to develop a linen trade to America. Her direct plantation export amounted to just over 16,000 yards in the first season after passage of the Act of

Table 8.3: DIRECT EXPORT OF IRISH LINEN TO THE BRITISH PLANTATIONS⁶⁷
[in yards]

Avg. of 5 yrs. ending March	Dublin	Belfast	Derry	Newry	Plantation Exports	TOTAL EXPORTS	% to America
1715	39,420	24,170	11,690		89,859	1,758,400	5.0%
1725	56,885	15,310	15,395		100,250	3,612,800	2.8%
1735	111,720	6,655	3,130		153,600	4,912,000	3.1%
1745	93,650	36,140	10,290		192,810	6,727,400	2.9%
1755	86,745	30,300	30,450		185,345	11,884,800	1.6%
1760	112,800	42,720	36,170	3,040	215,565	13,800,800	1.6%
1765	66,200	81,835	26,220	13,050	245,255	14,635,600	1.7%
1770	179,555	92,755	88,115	43,565	438,735	18,976,400	2.3%
1775	727,250	77,340	112,850	131,670	1,078,775	20,310,000	5.3%

1705 and averaged about 22,000 yards for the decade ending 1714/15. In those early years, she even rivalled Dublin, but, by 1720, Belfast had been far outstripped by the larger port.⁶⁸ The scale of the port's direct export was not large enough to allow the maintenance of adequate inventories. In 1735, a colonial merchant was told by his correspondent in Belfast that "we were obliged to send for to Dublin" to bring the shipment for America "the Nearest to your Order that the Season of the year would afford us."⁶⁹ The direct commerce shared in the impressive growth of the linen trade at Belfast after mid-century. Arthur Young commented on a visit to Belfast in 1776 that "the trade of this place

vibrated with the linen manufacture."⁷⁰ The town was not as dependent upon the linen export as were Derry and Newry, however. Derry came into her own as a linen port in the 1740s and soon developed an extensive colonial linen and flaxseed trade, shipping more linen to the colonies than Belfast in seven of the last ten years before the American Revolution. Derry enjoyed a close mercantile association with Philadelphia, a port with numerous Derry men in her Irish merchant community. Newry experienced the most sudden development in her direct trade. At mid-century, she had been held in low esteem by colonial linen importers. "I would rather Pay a Dubble Commission and have them bought in Dublin then have them bought Commission free at Newry," wrote a New York linen importer in 1748.⁷¹ Her exports, although insignificant at that early stage, began to grow rapidly in the 1760s. In 1766, at least seven merchants in Newry participated in the direct export, sending out about 27,500 yards of linen to America. Growth then became spectacular, expanding to nearly ten times the 1766 level by 1774/75, when 255,180 were sent out in the transatlantic trade.⁷²

Other Irish ports shipped linen directly to America, although on a smaller scale. In the North of Ireland, Coleraine was active in the 1760s, but her trade was unstable. In 1762/63, she shipped over 100,000 yards to the colonies, but only 32,880 yards in 1764/65, her next best season. Cork, on the other hand, maintained a modest, but steady, export between 1720 and the American Revolutionary War. For the ten years ending 1744/45, she averaged 31,240 yards per annum, and in the similar period ending 1774/75, she averaged about half that level, 14,950 yards, suggesting the transfer of American-bound linen from the provisions ships to the vessels that served the flaxseed trade. Waterford sent small quantities of linen to the plantations.⁷³ In an example of enterprising home-industry, the wife of a Quaker merchant there bought damaged linen from Thomas Greer of Dungannon to make into shirts for the Newfoundland trade.⁷⁴ Even Galway played a small part in the commerce. In 1765, the firm of John and Andrew French of Galway sold 1,500 yards of linen from their bleach greens at Earl's Island and Terryland for shipment to New York. It was, according to a newspaper account, "the first parcel of linen that hath been exported hence for America."⁷⁵

III.

The colonial market preferred coarse linen cloth. Finer grades were suitable to only a limited few in the predominantly agrarian society. The varieties that sold best were stout and thick, bright white, and invoiced low enough to earn the advantage of the bounty. "Need I repeat

that the Linens must be of a very fine Colour & Quality to suit this market," wrote an experienced Philadelphia merchant.⁷⁶ To be successfully traded in America, the article had to be durable. "Thin Linⁿ wont suit there," said another, describing the colonial backcountry of small farms to his North of Ireland correspondent who wanted to ship mostly refined, and more profitable, grades of cloth. Even with a surplus of goods in the shops, said one importer, "the course Linnens will sell notwithstanding."⁷⁷ The low-priced varieties of Irish linen offered the best prospect of a return for the colonial importer; they were "the most advantageous for us to be concerned in," said a regular dealer in the article in 1766.⁷⁸ The bounty, although criticized for being narrowly in Britain's self-interest, served the Irish linen industry well by focusing upon the most appropriate article for the colonial market.⁷⁹ By the time of the American Revolution, 'Irish' had become a generic name for inexpensive, high-quality linen.

The broad market in America could absorb large quantities of medium-grade, low-priced linens costing no more than about :14 1/2 per yard. The best sales were in even lower grades, linens that could be landed in America for about :12 per yard.⁸⁰ The low-priced cloths "will answer y^e New York, or Country Market Better than Higher Prises," urged a merchant on Long Island Sound in the mid-1750s.⁸¹ Irish exporters were slow to accept this assessment of the colonial marketplace, however, as these cloths allowed the narrowest margins at their end. "Entirely coarse Linens we Esteem no great trade . . . fine being what affords the best Proffitt," said one.⁸² Colonial importers urged their correspondents to specialize in the linens that were most wanted in America: "We are frequently asked for Irish Sheeting . . . let it be Very Stout & Strong as allso the Coarse linnens."⁸³ In addition to the difficulties they encountered convincing their correspondents to ship only the best-selling cloths, American merchants had to be on the look-out for defective merchandise, particularly in the direct commerce. In 1763, an Irish critic spoke out against the practice of sending cloths "short of measure, full of holes and Damages, sometimes tender, and sometimes quite rotten" to customers in "England, America, and the West-Indies, &c."⁸⁴ Irish exporters sometimes failed to appreciate the sophistication of the colonial consumer. "The people of this Cuntry . . . are better Judges maybe then the^y amagen," complained a New York merchant after he had received a shipment of inferior goods from a supplier at Derry.⁸⁵ American inventories cleared readily when merchants stocked the kinds and quality of cloth that were most in demand.

There were two broad regional markets for Irish linen. In the first, the imports of Philadelphia, New York and Boston served to supplement the decentralized domestic production of farmers in the northern colonies. Imported plain linens were a staple article in the shops of the smaller towns of New England and the middle colonies.⁸⁶ In addition to the backcountry market, there were growing urban markets in those regions for which demand could not be adequately met from the countryside. Although there were isolated pockets of market-oriented production in the northern colonies, an organized American linen industry was unable to compete with imported cloth until after the Revolution.

Table 8.4: AVERAGE IMPORTS OF PLAIN LINEN [in yards]⁸⁹
(bounty and above-bounty combined)
from Ireland and Great Britain
for the three years ending 5 January 1772

	Irish linen	British linen	TOTAL	Irish share
Boston	200,751	123,240	323,991	62%
Rhode Island	81,197	41,982	123,179	66%
New York	303,577	70,446	374,023	81%
Philadelphia	836,915 ^a	44,491	881,406	95%
New Castle	159,794		159,794	100%
Patuxent	454,318	272,677	726,995	62%
North Patomac	150,256	113,290	263,546	57%
Rappahanock	139,584	298,787	438,371	32%
James River	604,374	901,735	1,505,784	40%
Charlestown	206,132	396,893	603,025	34%
Savannah	51,490	78,780	130,269	40%
Other Markets	177,282	397,827	575,109	31%
TOTAL	3,365,670	2,740,148	6,105,818	55%

^a1769 and 1770 only

Even before the linen bounty was enacted in 1743, the low-cost import from Ireland sometimes rendered domestic linens unsaleable. In 1730, for example, a Philadelphia merchant complained to his correspondent at Cork that he had been frustrated in moving much of his stock because of "the great importation of all sorts of linen much cheaper from the North of Ireland."⁸⁷ A second market region encompassed the plantation colonies of the South. Most of the Irish cloth imported there was landed along the James, Patuxent, Potomac, and Rappahanock Rivers, as well as at the cities of Charlestown and Savannah. The plantation economy encouraged agricultural specialization. In this market, there was little household manufacture and no attempt to develop a linen industry capable of competing with imports.⁸⁸ Local production of manufactured goods that were readily available from the Mother Country [in exchange for southern tobacco, rice, indigo or wheat] was viewed as an inefficient use of the region's resources.

Linen designated as 'made in Great Britain' found its best market in the plantation colonies, where the competition between imports and domestic manufactures was relatively undeveloped. In the northern colonies, where mercantile activity was more competitive and exports less dependent upon a narrow market, Irish linen outsold British linen by a wide margin. Although the southern colonies took a larger share of total linen imports from the British Isles, their import of Irish linen was about equal to that in the North. British linen even prevailed in the only large urban market in the South, Charlestown [South Carolina]. Quite different conditions existed in the more competitive urban markets of the northern colonies. In the ports of New England and the middle colonies, the Irish cloth was clearly predominant. At New York and Philadelphia, where Irish-American merchant communities were best developed, the article did especially well.

The Irish linen trade in America had pronounced seasonal features. Demand for the article was highest in the months of April and May, as Thomas Clifford of Philadelphia advised an English exporter: "In the last of the winter or early in the spring [we] choose to import our linnens and other things fit for the summer."⁹⁰ The hot summers of the northern colonies and moderate winters of those to the south fostered a strong springtime market for these light fabrics. "Linnens from 20^d to 3/p/y^d have been in demand all this Spring & indeed they are generally so," wrote a New York merchant in 1755. But, he added, "in y^e Fall there is no selling Linnens to any Advantage."⁹¹ Each autumn, the markets of New York and Philadelphia became glutted with Irish linens brought directly to America aboard the flaxseed ships. Although less than 15 per cent of the Irish linen that entered in the colonies came by way of the direct trade, nearly all of what did was landed at New York and Philadelphia, the centres of the flaxseed commerce.⁹² The result was an annual off-season glut. "Linens at present are not salable, but hope in the Spring will be in better demand," was the common complaint.⁹³ In spite of the oversupply, colonial commission houses that served their Irish correspondents, particularly those in the North of Ireland, by "Converting a few Linnens into seed" were serving their own interests as well by maintaining links to the flaxseed market in Ireland.⁹⁴ In the linen trade, margins were narrow on the most popular articles and merchants depended upon high volume. In some years, returns were attractive, however. "We have made handsomly by our little trade," wrote an importer to Ireland in 1765.⁹⁵

Most American orders for Irish linen were placed with general export merchants in London or the English outports who passed along the bounty

to their American customers. The primary importer in the colonies had the option to distribute his goods through a network of intermediary merchants, seek an immediate disposal of his linens through vendue, or retail the cloth himself. It appears that most importers offered at least part of their stock at retail and wholesaled the rest. Merchants in the secondary ports sometimes imported linens from Ireland, but were most often served by the coasting commerce. As the principal ports of entry, Philadelphia and New York dominated the intercolonial distribution network. Even in Boston, a town with no conspicuous Irish-American community, "one or two large Dealers in that Article, who are Factors from Ireland" were active in the trade.⁹⁶ In their coasting trade, primary importers responded to the general oversupply of Irish linen with aggressive marketing. Goods were shipped on approval, for example, and abatements were offered to merchants in the outports who agreed to add pieces of linen to their original orders.⁹⁷ The offering of attractive credit terms, along with other inducements to increase linen purchases, was an ordinary practice.

A rough estimate of wholesale and retail prices can be developed from the trade of Samuel and John Morton of Philadelphia in 1769 and 1770. In November 1769, that firm asked its North of Ireland supplier in the direct trade to ship "three times the quantity thou usually sends of 7/8 at 10.11 & 12^d ship"d." In addition they took about a dozen pieces of higher grade cloth, "fine y^d wides from 2/6 to 3/9."⁹⁸ The Morton's order is representative of the range of linens they included in their stock and offered at retail, "from Two Shillings to Ten Shillings per yard."⁹⁹ After conversion to sterling, the retail price of linen ranged from :1:3 to :6:3 per yard. The low-priced linen thus traded for a mark-up of 150 per cent and the more expensive cloths at just 166 per cent of their invoice price. That margins between 150 per cent and 175 per cent were characteristic of the direct trade is suggested in the retail prices for linens advertised in New York in January 1770 as "Exceedingly cheap."¹⁰⁰ The firm of Thompson and Alexander sold linens brought to New York aboard the flaxseed ships for prices ranging from :18 per yard to :3:7 1/2 per yard.

Linens shipped through England to earn the bounty returned considerably more to the importer. In 1750, for example, Irish brown linen could be loaded aboard ship in England for just :4.875 per yard [sterling] for sale in the West Indies for :9 per yard [W. I. currency], a sterling price of about :6 1/2 per yard. That price, which already included the benefit of the bounty, still allowed an advance of about 135 per cent after deduction of freight charges.¹⁰¹ In addition to the

advance against the invoice price of the linen, the importing merchant received credit with the exporting merchant for about three-quarters of the bounty on linen priced below :18 per yard. Roughly calculated, this means that the effective cost of linen priced at :14 per yard was just :12.875 per yard. At an advance above invoice of 175 per cent, about normal for the trade to the mainland, the linen would have sold at retail for :24 1/2 [sterling]. These relationships are borne out in shopkeeper accounts.¹⁰²

Low prices and narrow margins encouraged the development of high volume marketing. "85 Pieces of Irish Linens will be sold at Patrick McDavitt's Vendue Store," was typical of the auction notices in New York newspapers in the twenty-five years before the Revolution.¹⁰³ Vendue houses allowed the rapid turnover of stocks by letting immediate supply and demand conditions determine price. In the vendue houses, "the same Goods at different days vary much in price," but merchants could protect themselves by putting lower limits on their goods placed in the hands of private salesmen. Sales could not be so limited when linens were placed with the public salesman, however.¹⁰⁴ On balance, vendue houses served the interests of the intermediary merchants in the distribution system by limiting the returns to the primary importer. But not all Irish linen at vendue was over-supply; some had been imported on commission in order to be auctioned. For example, one Philadelphia house that was operated by an Irish merchant purchased linen through agents in Dublin to be sent via Liverpool to collect the bounty. Although he offered only 12 to 15 per cent advance on the invoice price and charged 5 per cent commission, the quick return was attractive to Irish exporters not wanting their capital tied up in slow-moving goods. He calculated that his Irish correspondents would be back in cash "in about 7 or 8 months from the time of purchase."¹⁰⁵ Irish firms in both Philadelphia and New York with roots in the linen manufacture of Ireland specialized in the movement of large quantities of cloth through vendue.¹⁰⁶

Another feature of the linen markets of New York and Philadelphia that kept prices down was the presence of itinerant merchants from Ireland. These men, called scowbankers, arrived aboard the flaxseed ships in the fall with stocks of linen that were sold in order to fund flaxseed purchases for return to Ireland. The scowbankers sold their goods at shipside, in the public markets, and even from door to door: "the pedlers and Scowbanckers from Ireland Carry them Daly along [the] Streat and offer them for sale at a very Cheap Rate."¹⁰⁷ In doing so, they undermined control of the market for Irish linen by the established merchants. The itinerants, who needed immediate cash to buy flaxseed,

bid down the price of linen in order to get it. In turn, they tended to bid up the price of flaxseed, so as not to be cut out of that trade. As a consequence, the scowbankers narrowed margins in the linen/flaxseed exchange. In spite of the hostility they generated on both sides of the Atlantic, they served an important function. By broadening the market, the scowbankers stimulated demand for imported linen and discouraged the establishment of an organized linen manufactory in the colonies. Because of low prices, Irish linen remained competitive with the fragmented domestic production of the American colonists until the Revolution.

In spite of purchases from Ireland and other places, most linen consumed in the colonies was not imported. Rather, it was the product of a highly decentralized manufacture that was, along with the making of simple tools, perhaps the most important industrial activity carried on in the mainland colonies.¹⁰⁸ Nearly every farm family was engaged in the making of homespun linen cloth for its immediate consumption. In addition, there was some isolated small-scale production for the market. Premiums and bounties encouraged the infant linen manufacture in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, as well as in Maryland and Virginia.¹⁰⁹ The most successful effort was at Londonderry [New Hampshire], where a colony of experienced linen workers from the North of Ireland established the manufacture.¹¹⁰ Irish settlers also set up a linen manufacture in Somerset County [Maryland], and in the colony of South Carolina.¹¹¹ Imported Irish linen, in fact, supplemented the production of what was already a well-established industry, but one that largely operated outside of the marketplace. Ireland provided better cloths at more attractive prices than were generally available in America, however. Inexpensive linen from Ireland set the standard that would have to be met if colonial linen was to compete. In 1767, a colonial merchant promoted domestically-produced linen of particular good quality that was "as white as the best Irish."¹¹²

The fortunes of domestic American linen and imported Irish linen were intimately linked. The Irish linen import, along with the importation of a broad range of British manufacture goods, was fueled by the long-term swings of growth in the colonial economy. As American agriculture became increasingly productive, average incomes, and the price of labour, rose in proportion. Labour that had been diverted to the making of manufactured goods from its most efficient application, the production of agricultural commodities for export, rendered colonial manufactured articles relatively expensive.¹¹³ The low cost of labour was crucial to the Irish linen manufacture which tended to take hold in those parts of Ireland where it was abundant and cheap.¹¹⁴ Even the

most efficient colonial production, that at Londonderry [New Hampshire] could not compete in the broad market. In 1768, the Lords of Trade were informed that linen manufactured there by highly skilled Irish immigrants sold for about 20 to 40 per cent more than the corresponding fabrics from Europe.¹¹⁵

There were periods of growth and stagnation in the colonies between 1720 and 1775; but, in that period, the value of agricultural commodity exports rose faster than the cost of the manufactured goods received in exchange.¹¹⁶ That widening gap encouraged the linen import. Prices were often perceived as rising by colonial importers, however, who periodically threatened to leave the trade unless they could be reduced. "I thought of dropping the importing of them, having been obliged to sell some of them at a disadvantage," complained a Boston merchant to his correspondent in London in 1765.¹¹⁷ But prices did not rise nearly as fast as the colonists' ability to pay. If linen prices rose, colonial consumers could quickly withdraw from the market and produce their own goods. "When the people in the country find what they have occasion to wear is dear," wrote a Philadelphia merchant to his English correspondent, "they manufacture themselves, and that very good linen and woolen of most sorts."¹¹⁸ To survive in the colonial market, Irish linen had to become progressively cheaper in order to undermine local manufacture. In the mid-1740s, Irish linen re-exported through England to gain the bounty was landed at Philadelphia at an average price of no less than :13 per yard. The 'official valuation' price of linen exported from Ireland in 1746 was :18 per yard. By 1775 the average piece of Irish linen being landed in the colonies was not much higher than about :16 per yard, if even that high. At these prices, the export of one hundred bushels of Pennsylvania wheat in 1746 would have purchased one hundred yards of Irish linen. By 1775, the same amount of wheat would have purchased more than three times what could have been bought in 1746.¹¹⁹ It was because the real price of imported linen continued to decline, as the real cost of the domestic manufacture increased, that Irish linen imports roughly doubled between 1750 and 1760, and doubled again between 1760 and 1770.

Chapter Nine

FLAXSEED

"Flax Seed is constantly in so good Demand to send to Ireland, and fetcheth so good a Price; Especially when we consider how difficult it is for us to make Returns to Europe."

Jared Eliot, 1748¹

Irish demand for North American flaxseed grew rapidly in the period between 1731 and 1775, paralleling expansion in the linen manufacture. The annual trade was the most important of all the commercial activities carried on directly between ports in Ireland and those on the North American mainland. American seed drew Irish linen and provisions, as well as immigrants, back across the Atlantic, and gave rise to increased colonial exports of lumber, staves, and bar iron, articles typically loaded aboard the flaxseed ships. At New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, where Irish overseas merchant communities were rooted in the trade, it was a lively wintertime activity, employing large numbers of artisans, labourers, and mariners. By the 1740s, commentators on both sides of the Atlantic had recognized the significance of the flaxseed commerce. From an Irish perspective, the trade was useful because it allowed the purchase of a valuable component of the linen manufacture with the exportation of "Commodities we send thither in our own Ships."² In New England and the middle colonies, flaxseed enjoyed the advantages of a staple good. In Connecticut, a centre of flaxseed production, it was "the readiest of any article for export we have to make Remittances to London."³ In that colony, the commerce coincided with the shift of local agriculture from a subsistence orientation to production for the market. The decline of subsistence farming and the widening of foreign markets in the eighteenth century were directly related.

I.

The flaxseed import reduced Irish dependence upon foreign grown flax. "It is undubitably certain," wrote a pamphleteer in the 1760s, that every linen-producing nation "is much better benefitted by the importation of seed, than of flax."⁴ Before the Irish Parliament encouraged the purchase of foreign flaxseed, particularly through the Flaxseed Bounty Act of 1707, Ireland was "obliged to import great Quantities of Flax from abroad."⁵ By the mid-1720s, according to the report of a committee of

the Irish House of Commons, imported flax, which had typically sold for between :8: and :11: per stone, was replaced in the market by Irish-grown flax of better quality trading at :5: per stone, largely because of the importation of foreign flaxseed.⁶ "A Barrel of Seed may cost twenty Shillings, and so may a half a hundred of Flax," wrote Thomas Prior before mid-century, "but the Produce of Flax and Seed from that Barrel, if rightly managed (computed at four hundred Weight of Flax and three Barrels of Seed), may be worth at least eight Pounds Sterling, which is eight times the Value of the prime Cost, and is seven hundred per Cent clear Profit to the Kingdom."⁷ In effect, the opportunity cost of imported flax was higher than that of imported flaxseed. Thus, prudent management of the nation's linen manufacture required the allocation of scarce land to the most important function: the production of high-quality fibre, rather than flaxseed.

In the eighteenth century, there was a deep-rooted bias in linen-producing regions in favour of imported flaxseed.⁸ Irish farmers preferred foreign flaxseed because they viewed domestic seed as inferior, "since Flax-Seed of our own Growth sometimes degenerates, by reason of bad Seasons and bad Husbandry."⁹ Even in colonial America, Pennsylvania farmers paid premium prices to obtain flaxseed imported from New England. "It has been proved that flax flourishes much better when produced by seed of foreign or distant growth," said a notice in a Philadelphia newspaper in 1768, "than when produced by seed from the same land on which 'tis sown."¹⁰ In fact, domestic Irish seed was inferior, mostly as a result of the ignorance of farmers who inadvertently ruined their seed. At harvest time, many Irish flax farmers who intended to save their seed for the next planting ripped their flax to remove the seed pods from the stalks. Some even removed the seeds from their pods for winter storage. The colonial farmer, on the other hand, kept seed, pod, and stalk together, stacked in his barn, until it was naturally ripened.¹¹ Although improved methods of saving seed were known in Ireland from an early date, the conservatism of Irish farmers and the common practice of pulling flax green prevented their widespread adoption.¹² In the 1720s, it was reported to the Irish House of Commons that Irish flaxseed could be conveniently saved if "it were kept on the Stalk till Spring . . . the Seed would be well nourished, plump, and hearty, and fit to produce good Flax."¹³

The best flaxseed imported into Ireland came from the port towns around the Baltic Sea and those in the northern colonies of the British plantations in America. Most of what was shipped from Holland, Flanders, or France, on the other hand, was either second-growth Baltic seed or

Baltic flaxseed re-exported through Dutch intermediaries.¹⁴ Growing conditions in seed-producing regions around the Baltic and in North America were remarkably similar. The rich soil of the Connecticut River Valley, for example, compared favourably with that in the hinterlands of the Baltic ports. Both areas were characterized by fields "much covered with Snow in Winter, and exposed to as great Heat of the Sun in Summer."¹⁵ Among farmers in the North of Ireland, it was thought that the American seed was better suited to light and sandy soils or those in hilly areas, while that from the Baltic was preferred for heavier soils containing more clay.¹⁶ The chief distinction between the Baltic export and that from North America rested in the control of quality. "Due Care is taken by the Magistrates in the several Sea-Port-Towns in the Baltick, from whence Flax-Seed is exported, that no Seed shall be suffered to be exported from thence in Barrels marked with the Arms and other Seals of the Place, but what shall be found to be good and merchantable," wrote Thomas Prior. "But I do not hear, that any such Care is taken in North America," he said.¹⁷ By mid-century, however, both New York and Philadelphia shipped seed of comparably consistent quality.¹⁸

The flaxseed trade with North America served the larger commercial interests of the Irish nation, according to one informed point of view. Whereas "all the Seed and Flax we purchase from the Baltick are paid for in ready Money, without our selling any of our Commodities in Exchange for them," trading within the British Empire offered Ireland a means to pay for her flaxseed import with exports of linen and provisions to the colonies.¹⁹ The opening of Irish ports in 1731 to goods sent directly from America saw early, but indecisive, inroads into a trade dominated by

Table 9.1: NORTH AMERICAN SHARE OF IRISH FLAXSEED IMPORTS²⁰
[in hogsheads]

Avg. of 3 yrs. ending	N. America	TOTAL	%
1735	1,850	5,660	33%
1743	8,690	10,720	81%
1753	17,180	22,220	77%
1766	24,610	30,330	81%
1775	34,300	35,120	98%

continental suppliers. Within just a few years of the establishment of direct two-way trade, however, Ireland was principally supplied from America. By 1775, flaxseed from America had pushed the European article aside. Although conditions in transatlantic commerce were different in each decade, the trend is clear. Only rarely after the early 1750s, a time of internal strengthening in the flaxseed gathering and distribution

system, did the American share of Irish flaxseed imports fall below 85 per cent. After 1765, a market share of even 90 per cent represented a poor showing. The growth of the trade illustrates the continued integration of both Ireland and the northern colonies into the trading structure of the Old Empire. By the Revolution, Ireland had come to depend almost entirely upon American flaxseed.

The North American flaxseed trade was the outcome of the Irish government's attempt to foster a self-sustaining linen manufacture. Shortly after its establishment early in the eighteenth century, the Linen Board identified the inferiority of Irish flaxseed and the "ignorance of the People in Managing their Seed" as difficulties facing the linen industry that had justified direct legislative interference.²¹ In 1705, the parliament in Dublin freed flaxseed, as well as looms and pot ashes, from all duties upon importation from foreign lands.²² This action, which failed to bring in sufficient supplies, was followed by passage of the Flaxseed Bounty Act in 1707.²³ Soon after enactment of the legislation establishing the :5: bounty payable on every hogshead of imported seed, Parliament authorized the Linen Board to import large quantities of foreign flaxseed for distribution to farmers, "at Half of the first Cost to some, and to others gratis." The Linen Board's purchases of foreign seed, declared to be "absolutely necessary for the Improvement of the Flaxen and Hempen Manufacture," sought to encourage a more liberal sowing of flaxseed than was the common practice. The bountiful produce of flax from increased applications of imported flaxseed, "let the People see the Goodness of the Foreign Seed in Preference to our own," reported a Committee of the Irish House of Commons in 1715.²⁴ Such measures were intended to be an interim means of allowing Ireland to establish both self-sufficiency in flax and a domestic source for seed replenishment.

By an Act of 1707,²⁵ the Irish Parliament established a bounty of :5: [sterling] to be paid on each hogshead of flaxseed imported from Russia, Germany, the Netherlands, and the East Country. The legislation also provided for an export duty of :5: on all flaxseed shipped out of Ireland, except that which could be verified to be native Irish growth. The Flaxseed Bounty Act of 1715,²⁶ which continued the bounty to 1737, was amended in 1733 to allow inclusion of North American flaxseed under its terms.²⁷ The bounty paid on North American seed applied only to shipments sent directly from the colonies to Ireland. That transhipped through Great Britain did not qualify. Violation of this principle, enforced with increasing strictness after 1763, brought the risk of

forfeiture. Eventually, even cargoes carried into British harbours without being off-loaded were denied the bounty, suggesting the broader intent of the Irish legislation.²⁸ The Irish flaxseed bounty, chiefly meant to foster growth in the Irish linen industry, also sought to re-structure transatlantic commerce to Ireland's benefit by drawing shipping directly into its ports. The Flaxseed Bounty Act did, in fact, enliven Irish commerce. But until as late as the mid-1740s, it may have fostered imports in excess of demand. In 1735, for example, a Belfast merchant told his correspondent in New York, "Seed is such a drugg here was it not for the Bounty Now got upon it we should not have Been Able to raise the freight out of it."²⁹

It is unclear to what extent the flaxseed bounty was beneficial to the Irish linen manufacture. Thomas Prior supported the measure, arguing for an even more comprehensive flaxseed bounty and the awarding of premiums to merchants who could bring in the greatest quantities of seed from North America and the Baltic ports. "By this Expedient," he said, "every Person who should be willing to sow good Seed, in order to raise good Flax and Seed, may have it in his Choice."³⁰ Critics of the bounty argued that it frustrated attempts to reduce costs and created a dangerous dependency upon imported seed.³¹ Although the importation of foreign seed had at first lowered the cost of flax, as it was generally agreed, it eventually contributed to higher flax prices in the coarser branches of the manufacture, where the cost of flax accounted for about a third of the price of the finished article.³² The saving of flaxseed that ripened on the plant was not practical in the manufacture of the finer fabrics, but it is "not the worse for coarse linen," observed Arthur Young in the 1770s.³³ In 1773, an Antrim linen manufacturer told the Irish House of Commons that the high cost of flax was a direct consequence of the dependence upon imported flaxseed.³⁴ Robert Stephenson, one of the most able men in the service of the Linen Board, saw the flaxseed import as a curse whose inevitable result would be the ruin of Ireland's competitiveness in low-priced cloths. His visits to America, where he had carefully observed colonial flaxseed production, convinced him that seed-saving techniques used there would work in Ireland.³⁵ But, given the eighteenth century prejudice against domestically-saved flaxseed, the practice of pulling flax green, and the part played by the bounty in drawing transatlantic shipping into Irish ports, it is likely that the impact of the Flaxseed Bounty Act was largely positive.

Beginning in 1763, the Irish Parliament attempted to control abuses in the flaxseed commerce by placing responsibility for quality upon the

importing merchant. According to the terms of the Act of 1763,³⁶ the importer of "any bad, mixed, or damnified flaxseed" faced the confiscation of his seed as well as a fine of £3: for each condemned hogshead. Through this legislation, the Irish Parliament attempted to redress the grievances of flax farmers whose seed too often failed to produce an adequate crop, or even grow at all.³⁷ Merchants regularly mixed old and new seed together, and kept seed over from one season to the next.³⁸ "We are informed its never the worse for a year's age," wrote a merchant in New England in 1768.³⁹ "Keep it till next year & perhaps it will do better," suggested a Philadelphia exporter to his Irish buyer concerning a late shipment.⁴⁰ It was commonplace for late-arriving seed to be sold after the close of the market and be "bought by those who intend holding it over untill next Season."⁴¹ In addition to the deceptions commonly practiced on both sides of the Atlantic, imported flaxseed was vulnerable to injury in transit, particularly from water damage or overheating in the holds of ships. The terms of the Act of 1763 were harsh and, it appears, usually disregarded until about 1772. In that year, a Dublin merchant was fined £90: when 30 hogsheads of seed imported by him failed to grow. There was consternation on both sides of the Atlantic at the Dublin court's decision.⁴² In spite of the continuing protests of merchants who found the Act of 1763 "most greivous, arbitrary and unconstitutional," its strict enforcement did raise the standards of the flaxseed commerce.⁴³

Flaxseed from North America was imported in the first trading season after the opening of Irish ports to unenumerated colonial goods in 1731, even before the extension of the :5: flaxseed bounty to colonial seed.⁴⁴ In one of the earliest ventures, the firm of Isaac & George McCartney of Belfast landed a cargo from the Elizabeth and Catherine of New York in exchange for 186 pieces of Irish linen and 5 tierces of claret.⁴⁵ The beginnings of commerce were tentative, but they reflected the capacity of colonial merchants and farmers to adapt quickly to new opportunities. By the mid-1730s, a third of Ireland's flaxseed was American, with over half the Irish import being landed from the plantations in the later years of the decade. After the Irish famine crisis of 1739-41, during which most American provisions vessels carried supplementary loadings of flaxseed, the commerce became almost exclusively American. In the four years ending 1744/45, shipments from America averaged 10,840 hogsheads, roughly 80 per cent of Ireland's total flaxseed import. The trade experienced some wartime difficulties in the mid-1740s, however. Exports were down as freight rates became

prohibitive and prices in New York and Philadelphia fell to their lowest levels of the period. But with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, flaxseed exports rebounded. By the end of the decade, the American export was sharply higher. The colonies sent out 15,300 hogsheads in the year ending March 1749, with a market share of about 88 per cent in the four years ending 1748/49.⁴⁶

In the 1749/50 season, colonial flaxseed production experienced a near total collapse, with exports to Ireland of just 3,719 hogsheads, barely a quarter of the previous year's shipments. The inadequate American crop was the consequence of severe drought conditions in New England and the middle colonies during the summer of 1749 that brought ruin to agriculture.⁴⁷ Although Irish demand was strong and orders for seed flowed into the colonial ports, little was available; "its almost Impossible from hence for I never knew So Great a Scarcity as this year," wrote a prominent New York flaxseed merchant.⁴⁸ Frustrated in their attempts to purchase the article in the plantations, Irish importers bought heavily from European suppliers. Output recovered in 1750/51, however, with nearly 13,000 hogsheads shipped, and moved to 16,500 the following year, after which shipments never dipped below 17,000 hogsheads. Ireland's flaxseed purchases from the American colonies for the three years ending March 1755 averaged about 21,075 hogsheads, 95 per cent of her total import.⁴⁹

A perspective on the evolution of the colonial flaxseed commerce can be gained from a comparison of New York's trade in two seasons, 1753/54 and 1763/64. During the shipping season which began in late November 1753 and ended in early March 1754, twenty flaxseed ships left New York for Ireland carrying 11,170 hogsheads of seed. Vessels for Ireland accounted for 21 per cent of the port's clearances during that period, whereas departures for Great Britain accounted for only about 9 per cent. Unlike the 1730s and 1740s, when most of the trade was channelled through Dublin, only three vessels cleared out for the Irish capital in 1753/54. The others were directed to ports in the North of Ireland: seven to Belfast, six to Derry, and four to Newry. In that season, non-Irish New York merchants owned most of the vessels in the trade. Two Derry firms, a Dublin-Drogheda partnership, and an Irish merchant in Philadelphia in partnership with a merchant in Derry accounted for the Irish-owned ventures. Only one vessel represented the interests of New York's Irish community, a ship owned by Hugh Wallace and Waddell Cunningham. In the 1763/64 season, twenty-four vessels left New York with flaxseed for Ireland, roughly a third of the port's clearances during the flaxseed season. Nearly 13,000 hogsheads of seed were exported, half of which

went to the North of Ireland, with the remainder divided between Dublin, Drogheda, Cork, Sligo, Limerick, and Galway. Belfast took in only one flaxseed ship that season. By the 1760s, nearly all of the shipping in New York's flaxseed commerce was in the hands of members of the port's Irish merchant community or firms in the North of Ireland.⁵⁰

In 1763/64, flaxseed imports from the colonies of 25,400 hogsheads represented only 80 per cent of Irish imports. Three years later, in 1766/67, New York alone sent out 18,850 hogsheads, carried in thirty vessels. New York's export, together with about 14,000 hogsheads from Philadelphia and just over 8,000 from the combined secondary ports, brought colonial flaxseed exports to a new peak, 41,340 hogsheads, or 96 per cent of the total Irish import. After 1766/67, the annual export experienced wild fluctuations, with strong years followed by weak ones. Although colonial pre-eminence in flaxseed remained unchallenged until the American Revolution, the expansion and contraction that characterized the trade often took on ruinous proportions.⁵¹

Table 9.2: ANNUAL FLUCTUATIONS IN IRISH IMPORTS
OF NORTH AMERICAN FLAXSEED⁵²
[in hogsheads]

Year ending 25 March 1767	41,340	+48% change over previous year
1768	17,170	-59%
1769	49,330	+188%
1770	19,250	-61%
1771	42,025	+118%
1772	22,270	-47%
1773	39,340	+76%
1774	24,725	-37%
1775	38,800	+57%

Prices, firm in 1766/67 and 1767/68, fell sharply in the next two seasons. After the decline of 1770, prices continued strong until the end of the colonial period, with only a temporary weakening in the 1773/74 season. A frenzy of last minute buying drove prices to their highest levels in the month of February 1775.⁵³

II.

Flaxseed was raised along the whole extent of the North American coast, from Nova Scotia to South Carolina, with production concentrated in the colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts, as well as on Long Island. In America, about a bushel of seed was sown to an acre, producing seven to eight bushels in return. It was typically pulled about the 15th of July and stored in barns for threshing after the bulk of other harvesting activities had been completed.⁵⁴ In the colony of Connecticut alone,

as many as 3,000 farmers grew some seed for market. Flaxseed was among the most useful articles of the pre-Revolutionary period. The flax plant yielded the fibre used to make the commonly worn coarse linen cloths, usually referred to as homespuns.⁵⁵ In addition to the cloths produced at home for family use, small quantities of coarse linens entered local markets. The demand in Ireland for North American flaxseed "puts our people on sowing a great deal and they must work up the flax or let it perish," wrote a merchant in Philadelphia in the 1740s.⁵⁶ The flax plant was useful in other ways, as well. The American colonists made linseed oil "from the refuse of the flaxseed taken out in cleaning it for exportation;" and in years of oversupply, flaxseed was even made into cakes as an alternative feed for livestock.⁵⁷ The crop made efficient use of high-priced labour and was particularly suitable to the conditions of agriculture in the northern colonies.

Beginning early in September, and extending through mid-October, flaxseed was gathered by local storekeepers who exchanged it through a system of bookkeeping barter for imported manufactures, West India produce, and salt. Farmers typically traded in small amounts, a few pecks or bushels at a time. The purchase of goods from shopkeepers with payment "By 3 Bushels Flax Seed at 5/" was typical in the producing regions of New England and the middle colonies.⁵⁸ In these transactions, farmers seldom received cash payments for their goods, taking instead credit on account which either cleared debts owing or anticipated purchases.⁵⁹ By gathering small amounts from a relatively large number of farmers, shopkeepers could collect enough seed to purchase goods from merchants and traders in the tiny port-towns and larger colonial outports who dealt in flaxseed that ultimately found its way to the New York and Philadelphia markets.⁶⁰ Occasionally, farmers bypassed local shopkeepers and sold for cash to itinerant dealers and coasting captains who specialized in the trade.⁶¹ Such transactions, which allowed the farmer to sell his seed to the highest bidder, threatened to unravel the tight debtor/creditor bonds which tied the rural economy together.⁶² For most farmers, however, trade with a local storekeeper was a convenient means of converting relatively small quantities of seed into credit that could be applied against the purchase of imported manufactures and other goods that could not be produced locally.⁶³ Flaxseed played an important role in helping to break down the long-established relationships between farmers and merchants that inhibited development of a market economy.

In the flaxseed-producing regions of New England, one of the most sought after imported article was salt for the local West Indian

provisioning commerce, the region's principal maritime activity.⁶⁴ The September demand for salt to cure the winter's provisions coincided exactly with the threshing of flaxseed which had been drying in barns through the late summer.⁶⁵ It was largely the demand for salt that brought flaxseed to market. The relationship between the two goods can be seen in an advertisement of a New London merchant in September 1773:

William Stewart,
 Has just imported choice
 ROCK-SALT, which he will exchange for
 FLAX-SEED; as he took Pains to get the
 best kind and imported it himself, can
 afford to give the highest price in
 Exchange, which he hopes will be as
 sufficient Inducement to his Customers
 and Others to give him the Preference of
 their Seed: To those who don't want Salt
 he will give Cash for their Seed; and will
 Barter Rum, Sugar, Melasses, or any Kind
 of dry Goods, for Oats or Beans, that any
 Person who has those articles to sell may
 make up a Load with their Flax-Seed, and
 find a ready Market, as well as a generous
 Price by applying to him.

He will want quickly a few likely young HORSES.⁶⁶

As one dealer collecting in Rhode Island and Connecticut for New York explained, "they wont Thrash the Seed in general until they want the Salt to salt their winter's provision." In practice, flaxseed was priced in terms of salt. "There never was so much Salt giveing for Seed as they give this Year, two Bushels and a half and 3 giveing for one of Seed," wrote one dealer in the trade in 1773.⁶⁷ As a consequence of the relationship between the two articles, merchants in both New York and Philadelphia were active in the salt trade to New England as a means of maintaining their hold on good sources of flaxseed.⁶⁸

Some flaxseed was shipped directly to Ireland from the smaller ports at which the article was gathered, but most was sent to urban centres by means of the coasting commerce. Some merchants in the colonial outports acted as commission agents for correspondents in the exporting centres, mostly larger flaxseed factors, who preferred to buy through an orderly network of suppliers.⁶⁹ Others consigned their seed to merchants in the larger ports, paying the usual fees and commissions for grading, measuring, cleaning, repackaging, and selling the article.⁷⁰ Finally, some seed was sent off to the larger ports to be sold in bulk at dockside. Outport merchants who chose this avenue of sale, most of them small ship captain/merchants, took the greatest risk, as their seed could not be held back for sale at the most opportune moment.⁷¹ Merchants in

the lesser ports, of whatever type, followed the urban trade closely and attempted to time their purchases and the sale of their goods to take best advantage of the export market. Although their metropolitan correspondents urged that current prices there be kept secret, "because there is some prospect of making something if it is kept private from the Farmer,"⁷² intelligence of upward or downward shifts in flaxseed prices travelled remarkably fast. When New York prices took a sudden jump late in the 1758 trading season, for example, "in Less than 24 hours it was Publick upwar^ds of 60 miles around in the Cuntry," remarked a merchant there.⁷³

The flaxseed market in the colonial exporting centres ran from early November until the departure of the last of the flaxseed vessels in February. Most of what entered New York and Philadelphia came by prearrangement, but a considerable share was traded at dockside, where flaxseed was purchased with cash.⁷⁴ An intermediate class of dealers bought 'merchantable' flaxseed [that is, "as it generally comes in from the Farmers, with a mixture of foul Seed & some Husks &c"]⁷⁵ which they then cleaned, packaged, and warehoused. In the coffee houses and exchanges of New York and Philadelphia, this seed was commonly resold to exporting merchants, as well as dealers who speculated in the annual market.⁷⁶ Although sudden movements in price were characteristic of the trade, sometimes engineered by flaxseed factors who "Raised the Price of seed," commitments for delivery at fixed prices had to be met, whatever their consequences.⁷⁷ In the early stages of trading, prices more reflected immediate supply and demand conditions than orders from Ireland.⁷⁸ Once the bulk of the harvest had been committed to the marketplace, and shipping deadlines loomed near, projections of anticipated Irish demand dominated transactions. To protect themselves against the capriciousness of the market, Irish buyers in the commission trade typically placed upper price limits on their orders.⁷⁹ Although the flaxseed market shared the characteristic features of other eighteenth century commodity markets, the season's strict limits accentuated uncertainties.

According to contemporary observers, prices for flaxseed were more unpredictable than those of any other good traded between the North American mainland and the British Isles.⁸⁰ Growing conditions on both sides of the Atlantic fostered uncertainty. A rainy summer in Ireland, as was the case in 1764, meant that even less than the usual small amount of domestic seed would be available.⁸¹ That year, prices were strong and profits high for speculators and dealers who bought early. Flaxseed

sold as high as :10:5 per bushel in November in the Philadelphia market. But no two seasons were the same. Some years saw the markets badly overstocked and prices at ruinous levels. Whereas flaxseed sold for :9:5 per bushel in Philadelphia in November 1765, for instance, it traded for exactly half that amount one year later.⁸² Because flaxseed was traded in a volatile speculative market in the American ports, merchants were, true to their interests, reluctant to commit their resources until prices appeared most favourable. On the other hand, Irish merchants, even those with definite orders to fill, held off buying until they could adequately estimate what conditions would be like at the arrival of the flaxseed ships in the spring. The result was to draw out the length of the trading season.⁸³ The lateness of shipping, sometimes further delayed at Philadelphia by ice forming in the Delaware River, often resulted in cargoes arriving dangerously close to the beginning of the planting season.

Two classes of merchants shipped seed to Ireland: those who did so on their own account and the American flaxseed 'factors' who traded on a commission basis for principals in the Irish ports. Merchants who traded on their own account took far greater risks than those who accepted and filled orders for their Irish correspondents. Shrewd buying, knowledge of market conditions in Ireland, and a substantial measure of good luck could result in their taking high returns from the commerce.⁸⁴ However, most merchants trading on their own account, as they characteristically operated outside of the Irish merchant community and did not have access to the best 'advices' from Ireland, probably earned only modest profits, when returns were averaged over a number of seasons.⁸⁵ Most often, they shipped on their own account because they had no other choice. "The Commission business is now in few hands," wrote a New York merchant in 1755, forcing new firms entering the trade to assume greater risk.⁸⁶ The commission houses, the most stable element in the commerce, bought and sold as much as possible through carefully cultivated networks of correspondents in the American and Irish ports.⁸⁷ But, even though they shipped the largest share of the seed exported from New York and Philadelphia, the commission houses did not operate in a risk-free environment. They characteristically bought under the strict price limitations of their Irish principals, regardless of changing market conditions. The commission merchants often encountered difficulties both obtaining seed at prices that conformed to their correspondent's orders and arranging for shipping that would deliver it to a particular Irish port at a specified time.⁸⁸ It was said by one experienced factor that commissions in the flaxseed commerce were "the

dearest Earnt Commission[s] of any in the way of business."⁸⁹

The established merchants in the flaxseed trade vented bitterness against a group of traders they referred to as 'scowbankers' or 'bankers.' They were itinerant Irishmen who arrived each year on the incoming flaxseed ships with parcels of linen to hawk on the streets and in the public markets for cash to finance flaxseed ventures home to Ireland.⁹⁰ Although most were small men of small means, a few appear to have been relatively substantial traders well known to the New York and Philadelphia merchants. "Mr. Wiliam Bell . . . came over in one of our vessels & is intended to go home from your place," wrote an Irish firm in Philadelphia to Greg, Cunningham & Co. in New York, "he has money with him & perhaps will ship some seed."⁹¹ But as a class, the 'scows,' were held in contempt by the regular traders because they circumvented the orderly conventions of eighteenth century overseas commerce. Most offensive to the established merchants was their impact on prices. "There is Scarce a Vessell Comes along the wharffs but there is Imediately a half a Dozen of Them aboard bidding against Each other," complained a flaxseed dealer in New York.⁹² The scowbankers were allowed to participate in the trade, if not encouraged, by shipmasters connected with the Irish-American trade, who saw them as a good source of two-way freights.⁹³ Although the activities of scowbankers helped to keep flaxseed prices high, they contributed as well to high returns for colonial farmers and merchants.

In addition to the various classes of merchants and traders associated with the commerce, the traffic in flaxseed provided employment to large numbers in a host of supporting activities. By the 1740s, both New York and Philadelphia offered efficient cleaning, cooperage, and storage services to the flaxseed trade.⁹⁴ Nearly all of the seed taken in at the two ports was recleaned to guarantee it fit for the Irish market.⁹⁵ New York, generally regarded in Ireland as the source of the finest seed, enjoyed a reputation based largely on the consistent quality of its product.⁹⁶ Flaxseed cleaning underwent refinements in the urban centres, and artisans in both places became identified with local techniques of cleaning and the manufacture of elaborate flaxseed cleaning devices.⁹⁷ "Clean Seed always commands not only a preference in the Sale but often 2/. per Hhd more then the other," wrote a merchant in Ireland.⁹⁸ The New York and Philadelphia flaxseed merchants "never send any unless perfectly Clean and Compleat," wrote a leading importer in Newry in the 1760s.⁹⁹ Considerable care was likewise taken in the packaging of flaxseed. Two distinct types of flaxseed cask evolved during the period: "the New York and Philadelphia made HHds which are all

round or high bulged,"¹⁰⁰ and a cask that was "short and strait with very little Bilge," most often used in the trade from New England.¹⁰¹ Although both types allowed efficient shipboard stowage and a minimum of damage to seed through overheating and water seepage, the round bilged type was given preference in the Irish market because it was associated with the best seed.¹⁰²

New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and a few ports in New England were the centres of activity in the flaxseed export. In the two larger towns, merchants who specialized in the commerce, Irish as well as non-Irish, made considerable investments in ships, warehousing facilities, and flaxseed cleaning equipment. Centralization of the flaxseed export at New York and Philadelphia lent a high degree of efficiency to the gathering of goods for shipping, and the channelling of supplies into the Irish marketplace. New York was the greatest of the flaxseed ports. It enjoyed the advantages of close proximity to the tiny ports of Long Island Sound and the Connecticut River Valley from which the best seed was drawn, as well as a harbour that was open year-round.¹⁰³ Its merchants were aggressive in their prosecution of the flaxseed commerce, sending vessels in search of flaxseed well into the New England waterways dominated by the coasting commerce of Boston, as well as the regions mainly served by Philadelphia.¹⁰⁴ In the 1734/35 trading season, New York shipped about 850 hogsheads of seed, and about 1,050 the following season.¹⁰⁵ In the final trading season of that first decade, the port shipped a total of 4,908 hogsheads of seed to Ireland.¹⁰⁶ By the mid-1750s, that level had about doubled, with exports of 11,170 hogsheads in 1753/54 and of 8,820 in 1754/55. Shipments out of New York totalled about 12,860 hogsheads in 1763/64 and rose to 18,850 in the 1766/67 season.¹⁰⁷ Although there was considerable fluctuation in the volume of exports after 1767, the trade remained strong, with exports of about 17,000 hogsheads in 1774/75.¹⁰⁸

The flaxseed export from Philadelphia was not as large as that of its neighbour to the north, but its overall Irish trade was better developed. Unlike New York, Philadelphia's trade was subject to wintertime interruption due to the freezing-over of the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers late in the flaxseed season. In spite of that disadvantage and the greater reach required of its coasting captains,¹⁰⁹ the Pennsylvania capital shipped large quantities of the article. Even in its first decade, the flaxseed export grew to be "a very considerable branch of the trade here," wrote a leading Quaker merchant in 1737.¹¹⁰ By the mid-1740s, about 3,000 hogsheads were

being shipped. Exports for the 1750/51 trading season totalled roughly 9,900 hogsheads, slightly below the level that was maintained through most seasons between mid-century and the Revolution.¹¹¹ In the following year, 10,105 hogsheads were shipped, for example;¹¹² and in the first four seasons of the 1760s, about 10,800 hogsheads left the port for Ireland. Although the 1770/71 season was the peak year in Philadelphia's flaxseed trade, with exports of about 15,700 hogsheads, the export of roughly 10,000 hogsheads sent in 1774/75 was more typical.¹¹³ Merchants in Philadelphia regularly participated in the shipment of seed through New York. In fact, merchants in both places filled orders for one another and exchanged seed in the coasting traffic to take advantage of price differentials that arose between the two markets. Trading houses co-operated, as well, in exchange clearances and passed each other useful information concerning supply and demand conditions.¹¹⁴ Baltimore's Irish merchant community was a minor focus of activity in the flaxseed trade to Ireland. The export from the Maryland port was in the range of 1,500 to 2,500 hogsheads in the final years before the outbreak of the American Revolution.¹¹⁵

There was a modest direct trade between the secondary flaxseed ports and Ireland. Merchants in places like Boston and Newburyport, in Massachusetts, and New London and New Haven, in Connecticut, sometimes loaded seed for Ireland in order to bypass the firms in New York and Philadelphia that dominated the trade.¹¹⁶ Taken together, Boston and the lesser ports of New England sent out as much as a quarter of the annual export from North America, but there was no clear pattern to the trade from those places. Merchants who shipped direct as an alternative to the coasting trade to New York and Philadelphia typically bore the risk and supplied most of the capital for their ventures.¹¹⁷ One Newry merchant maintained ties in several colonial outports and usually supplied about half the capital needed to fund the flaxseed shipments sent from New England to his port. The Irish firm was able to expand its sources of colonial seed and circumvent the large American export centres, but it experienced difficulty maintaining consistent quality in its import.¹¹⁸ In spite of its relative inefficiency, the direct trade from secondary colonial ports, whether wholly or partly funded from the Irish end, encouraged the broadening of commerce in places that were closely tied to West India trade. As might be expected, there was an intimate connexion between direct voyages from the secondary ports and the West Indian commerce. Many flaxseed ships returned to America via the islands, where they carried salted provisions loaded in Ireland.¹¹⁹

At New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, the flaxseed trade was the

principal wintertime employer of transatlantic shipping.¹²⁰ Its narrow seasonal character required that flaxseed vessels converge upon those ports between late November and mid-January. Although concentrated into just a few weeks, the flaxseed trade provided the only regular shipping between Ireland and the mainland of North America. The voyages of the small flaxseed vessels across the North Atlantic during the months of December, January, and February were extremely dangerous.¹²¹ In spite of the risk, however, relatively few failed to make the crossing. The handful of captains who became identified with the trade were among the most able mariners of the eighteenth century. At the Irish end, large numbers of flaxseed vessels entered Irish ports in late winter and early spring, providing a concentration of shipping opportunities at competitively priced freights. After touching Ireland, many of these ships called at ports in Great Britain to take in manufactured articles, including Irish bounty linens, for the expanding colonial marketplace. Others returned to North America via the West Indies, where they carried Irish provisions to exchange for sugar, rum, and molasses. The remaining ships made the westbound crossing loaded with Irish emigrants, including large numbers of indentured servants, along with modest loadings of Irish linens and salted provisions for the urban markets of the middle colonies. Outside the flaxseed season, it was extremely difficult for merchants to find conveyances for Ireland. "Our Flaxseed Market is now almost quite over," explained a Philadelphia merchant to his Irish correspondent in late February 1768, "which of consequence renders freights for Ireland impracticable to be had."¹²²

III.

In Ireland, the market for flaxseed began in late January or early February with the arrival of the first flaxseed ships and continued until the first of April.¹²³ Trading in the flaxseed importing towns was often hectic. At the height of the import, it was not unusual for vessels from America to wait off shore as their captains assessed the timing and direction of prices.¹²⁴ "Its impossible to say how the price may rule," wrote a Dublin importer to his American correspondent, "it intirely depends upon what may come to Market."¹²⁵ Prices were partly determined by the origin of the imported seed. In Dublin, near the end of the 1765 season, for example, shipments from New York and Connecticut traded between :95: and :97:6 per hogshead, while the less prestigious Philadelphia seed sold for about :84: per hogshead, and the Dutch import, considered inferior, brought only :80: to :80:6 per hogshead.¹²⁶ Merchants in Ireland who speculated in the flaxseed

market often employed credit extended through their English correspondents. Seed from the colonies came to a market "overstocked by needy Adventurers, who must sell for any Price they can get, to raise Money to pay the Bills drawn on them by their Correspondents who have shipped on their Orders."¹²⁷ In this speculative environment, prices moved sharply in both directions.

Importing merchants retailed small amounts of flaxseed,¹²⁸ but they generally wholesaled most of their purchases into an established network of inland dealers and retailers. Seed that could not be readily wholesaled upon importation was sent out in small parcels to dealers in the countryside. "We dispersed it through different parts of the Count^{ys} of Downe, Armagh, South Tyrone & Derry," wrote a merchant in the North of Ireland in the 1760s.¹²⁹ "I can command a preference from many good Country Customers provided the seed is good," said another.¹³⁰ Irish importers often travelled from port to port, as well as considerable distances inland, to secure markets for their seed with local flaxseed dealers.¹³¹ Auction sales appears to have been more common at Cork than in the Northern ports. At Cork, flaxseed was typically imported by commission houses desirous of turning the article quickly into cash for colonial shippers intending to purchase provisions for the islands.¹³² The strict terms of the Cork wholesale auctions were designed to keep retail purchaser at a distance and limit activity to flaxseed dealers and estate agents. "American FLAX-SEED: Five hhds. in a lot, the purchaser to pay two guineas earnest for each lot, and to take it away in six days or forfeit the earnest," said one auction notice in the Cork Evening Post in 1767.¹³³ Such arrangements reduced the cost of distribution and quickened the conversion of seed into cash. Auction sales were less frequent in the northern ports, where fewer firms acted as commission agents for American shippers and sales were typically made on credit. In those towns, although it was not a common practice, some flaxseed was wholesaled directly from the ships upon which it arrived, by-passing the established merchants.¹³⁴

In the internal distribution system, seed was carried overland as well as aboard coasting vessels.¹³⁵ "I have dispatched some your Seed to my friends at Drogheda and some into the inland Country about 50 Miles off, which I thought better than to let it go at £4," wrote a merchant in Dublin to his correspondent in New England.¹³⁶ A striking example of increased distribution efficiency is provided by the Newry Navigation upon which goods could be carried inland for just "3^d the Hundred weight."¹³⁷ The Newry firm of William & John Ogle informed their New England correspondent of the sale of part of a consignment of seed "to a

young man who lives on the lake [Lough Neagh], which our Canall Communicates with."¹³⁸ In 1766, however, the Newry firm was forced to pass along an added warehousing expense to its American shippers when a burst aqueduct rendered the canal unusable at the peak of the trading season.¹³⁹ Some flaxseed was wholesaled to carmen who, acting as middlemen, distributed the article to smaller local retailers.¹⁴⁰ The final retail price of flaxseed bore the additional costs of coastways or inland transport to the point of final sale. In April 1767, a merchant at Antrim advertised New York, Philadelphia, and Boston flaxseed, as well as a small quantity of Dutch seed, "which will be sold at the Belfast price, only adding the Land Carriage to it."¹⁴¹ Differences in relative costs of distribution were responsible for the decline of Dublin and Belfast as flaxseed ports.

Flaxseed was distributed at the local level through estate agents, country retailers, or itinerant peddlers.¹⁴² Although it was sometimes retailed in hogsheads, it was most commonly sold by the bushel or peck.¹⁴³ According to Henry Archduke, an official of the Linen Board in 1773, seed prices were high at the local level: "American Flax-seed generally sells here from three to five Pounds the Hogshead to the Country Retailer; the Price varies exceedingly; it is seldom so low as three Pounds." And, he told the Irish House of Commons, "the Country Retailer raises the Price to the Flax Farmer Cent. per Cent."¹⁴⁴ In 1776, Arthur Young gave an account of the expense of putting a field under flax in which he showed the farmer's cost of seed to be from :10: to :13: per bushel, averaging :12:3 per bushel. At 7.5 bushels per hogshead [New York measure], this makes the average cost of a hogshead at retail just :91:10 1/2 [Irish], considerably lower than Archduke's 1773 estimate.¹⁴⁵ In addition to meeting heavily marked-up prices, the flax farmers, usually men of straitened means, were required to meet stringent credit terms in their seed purchases from country retailers, often joining together in groups of eight or ten, pledging security for one another. If adequate security could not be arranged, "then the Poor People cannot get it at all," reported a close observer.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, as it was often asserted, many retailers mixed old and new seed together, heightening the distrust between buyers and sellers.¹⁴⁷ As a consequence, the local flaxseed dealers were a class of men with a tarnished reputation.¹⁴⁸

Merchants in the Irish ports who imported flaxseed were typically associated with the linen manufacture or the West Indian provisioning commerce. In the early phase of the trade, even in the 1740s, some seed

was purchased for sale in Ireland by linen factors in London working through agents in Ireland and America.¹⁴⁹ For the most part, however, the commerce in Dublin and the towns of the North of Ireland was in the hands of general overseas merchants with close ties to the linen manufacture. Some of these houses shipped linens to markets in Great Britain and the ports of the American mainland in arrangements designed to fund their purchases of seed.¹⁵⁰ Elsewhere in Ireland, the close proximity of the flaxseed import to the linen manufacture broke down. In Cork, for example, flaxseed importers were typically commission houses in the provisioning commerce. Throughout Ireland, what is most striking about the flaxseed commerce is the degree to which it remained almost exclusively in Irish hands. Although a few American ship captains sold the article directly from their vessels in the ports of the North, and seed brought in by the itinerant scowbankers was carried directly into the countryside, Irish merchants never lost their dominant role in the commerce. There was a persistent concern, however, that the trade would fall into the hands of American dealers who might station themselves in Ireland. It was feared that such men would demand cash for their seed and undermine the structure of credit that extended deep into the Irish and British economies.¹⁵¹

Most of the North American flaxseed imported after mid-century was purchased on Irish account. Before then, merchants in Ireland were reluctant to trade on their own account or to enter into joint ventures with American exporters. "We [are] Riturning you thanks for your offer to let us be Conserved With you in the Purchasing of Seed," wrote a Belfast merchant to his New York correspondent in the 1730s, "at Present wee Cannot Engage that Way."¹⁵² Before American flaxseed came to dominate the Irish market in the late 1740s, colonial merchants were willing to shoulder the risks associated with the commerce. A shipload of seed sent by a group of New York merchants in the 1730s, which included James Vanhorne, provides an illustration. Vanhorne's share of the cargo was 32 hogsheads of seed for which the Irish importer immediately credited him £18:, the freight at :11:3 per hhd, a good share of which was covered by the :5: bounty. Vanhorne's balance of £53:10:5 remained outstanding for almost a year until all of his seed was sold and cash could be credited to his favour.¹⁵³ With time and experience, the willingness of American flaxseed exporters to finance the trade diminished, although colonial merchants outside New York and Philadelphia continued to ship on their own account until the end of the colonial period.

After the mid-1740s, the burden of financing flaxseed ventures

shifted gradually to the importer, as the most reliable sources of supply were the large commission houses in New York and Philadelphia. The Irish merchant who purchased on his own account was required to place his orders before it was clear what direction the market would take. He generally protected himself by placing upper limits on the price he was willing to pay for seed at the American end.¹⁵⁴ In addition, some Irish firms took joint interests in flaxseed shipment. In 1766, for example, William & John Ogle of Newry held a 1/3 share in a flaxseed venture sent from New England by two Norwich [Connecticut] firms. The colonial merchants' shares were sold by the Ogles on a commission basis, charging the usual fees.¹⁵⁵ Irish houses acting as commission agents for American firms were often forced to buy from merchants in the colonial outports who did not have access to the most advanced techniques of cleaning and packaging. Complaints from the Irish end regarding the poor quality of their seed were commonplace.¹⁵⁶

Importing merchants in Ireland generally sold flaxseed on credit, with terms of from two to six months, sometimes longer.¹⁵⁷ "To support the Price [I] was obliged to give two and three Months Credit for the greater Part of it," wrote a Dublin merchant to his American correspondent.¹⁵⁸ Irish merchants trading on their own account, particularly those with links to the linen manufacture, generally had access to London financing to support their own extensions of credit. The American merchants who allowed Irish factors to put their goods into the market on credit were usually more hard pressed. In addition, they bore the risk of non-payment, as the seed sent out into the Irish countryside remained their property until payment was received.¹⁵⁹ A few colonial shippers were the victims of uncollectable debts, but there is no evidence that the flaxseed commerce suffered exceptionally as a result of non-payment.¹⁶⁰ The colonial shipper trading on his own account was more seriously affected by the slowness of returns. Until after the American Revolution, the Irish merchant typically settled with his American correspondent only after he had received payment through the chain of distribution that extended from inland dealers and retailers, all the way to the final purchaser.¹⁶¹ "Mr. Orr . . . is now Collecting from the different places it [the cargo of flaxseed] is Scattered," wrote a merchant in the North of Ireland to whom seed had been shipped on consignment, "As soon as he is settled with me will make the sales compleat."¹⁶²

Dublin, Derry, Newry, Belfast, and Cork were the principal Irish centres in the flaxseed commerce. Each town played a distinctive part in

the annual import. Dublin was established as a flaxseed market well in advance of the 1731 opening of two-way commerce with the British plantations. Because the Irish capital was the seat of the Linen Board, large quantities of imported seed were periodically purchased there in conjunction with programmes to promote the linen manufacture through the distribution of free or low-cost flaxseed.¹⁶³ Dublin, "the earliest market in the Kingdom,"¹⁶⁴ had clear advantages as a flaxseed port. The article sold quickly there because of the town's links to the internal distribution network and the quality of its financial relationship with London. The port's well-developed coasting commerce

Table 9.3: NORTH AMERICAN FLAXSEED IMPORTS OF PRINCIPAL IRISH PORTS¹⁶⁵
[in hogsheads]

Avg. of 3 yrs. ending March	Dublin	Belfast	Derry	Newry	Cork	TOTAL FROM N. AMERICA
1735	1,040	635				1,847
1743	2,070	2,725	2,125			8,686
1753	2,790	3,500	5,955	4,090		17,180
1766	3,180	4,290	7,815	4,530	1,695	24,612
1775	5,360	2,770	9,690	9,780	2,150	34,292

was attractive to shippers of American seed, "as it can be carried from thence to other places if the Markets should be encouraging, in small Craft on pritty reasonable terms."¹⁶⁶ Although flaxseed sent direct to the linen-producing regions of the North of Ireland could fetch better prices than that shipped to Dublin, merchants in the Irish outports could not match their Dublin competition in expediting clearance through London. The Irish capital's peak years in the flaxseed trade came in 1766/67 and 1768/69, when 8,250 and 9,780 hogsheads were imported.¹⁶⁷

Derry, Newry, Belfast, and Coleraine were the towns in the North of Ireland most involved in the flaxseed commerce. Before about 1738, the flaxseed trade was just a sideline activity in these ports. In the North, the significant feature of the flaxseed commerce after 1739-41 was the rapid growth of colonial imports at Derry and Newry, and the relative stagnation of the trade at Belfast. The emergence of Derry and Newry as flaxseed importing centres was largely due to lower costs of distribution from those towns, both of which could send seed by water carriage deep into the linen-producing country. Although all of the northern ports had some advantage over Dublin in reducing internal distribution charges, Derry and Newry were particularly fortunate. Belfast landed fewer hogsheads of flaxseed than her less developed neighbours. In her best year, 1765/66, just 6,640 hogsheads were imported. Her overseas merchants were active in the commerce to neighbouring towns, however.¹⁶⁸ Derry, Ireland's leading flaxseed town, was the Irish port

most heavily influenced by direct trade with America. Her peak years in the flaxseed commerce came in 1758/59, 1766/67, 1770/71, and 1772/73, when imports totalled 10,610, 12,010, 14,840, and 13,540 hogsheads respectively. Newry's rise as a flaxseed town was meteoric. Before mid-century, her import was of no account; but by the mid-1760s, it was the second largest of any Irish port. By the end of the decade, Newry had taken Derry's place as Ireland's principal importer of the article. Newry's largest importations came in 1766/67, 1768/69, and 1772/73, when 9,590, 13,660, and 10,840 hogsheads were landed. A small independent commerce at Coleraine reflected regional demand for the article. Imports there were typically less than 1,000 hogsheads per year.¹⁶⁹

Although the flaxseed trades of Cork, Sligo, and Galway, were considerably less developed than those in the principal Irish flaxseed towns, they had local significance. Of the secondary flaxseed towns, Cork is the most interesting. Although some linen production was carried on in its neighbourhood, there was relatively little local demand for imported flaxseed. There were, however, numerous opportunities for Cork merchants to speculate in American seed for the coasting trade to the North. The town took most of its seed from New England vessels participating in a triangular trade with the islands. The peak year in the trade at Cork came in 1768/69 and 1774/75, when 4,680 and 3,450 hogsheads were imported.¹⁷⁰ At Sligo, a modest import was maintained through most of the years between the mid-1750s and 1775. Nearly all of the town's import was sent from Philadelphia, where a small group of Sligo men were active in the port's Irish merchant community. The volume of trade at Sligo was typically between 500 and 1,500 hogsheads per annum, with the peak of activity in 1765/66, when 2,080 hogsheads were landed.¹⁷¹ Flaxseed even played a role in the commerce of Galway. Arthur Young reported in 1776 that Andrew French, a leading merchant there, imported 300 hogsheads of flaxseed into Galway in 1760. Although he could sell only 100 hogsheads of that first shipment, "now the annual importation rises from 1,500 to 2,300."¹⁷² Waterford, alone among the Irish ports with active American links, failed to develop a flaxseed trade.

Chapter Ten

OTHER COLONIAL EXPORTS

YESTERDAY the Ship Hillsborough, Robert Shutter, Master, arrived from New-York to Greys and Cunningham, with Flour, Flaxseed, Rum, Beetling Beams of the best Rock Maple, Mahogany, American Ashes, and a small Parcel of Pearl Ashes.

Belfast News-Letter, 31 January 1769

Except for sugar and tobacco, and a short list of enumerated goods for which there was demand in Ireland, nearly all of the exports of colonial America were available in Ireland via direct trade after 1731. In addition to flaxseed, the most important article shipped from the North American mainland, Ireland took in substantial imports of hardwood lumber, barrel staves, wheat and flour, and rum. It was, in fact, the prospect of a rich Irish market for rum that encouraged the alliance between the Irish and West India interests in the British Parliament in 1731 that led to the opening of two-way trade. Plantation rum, most of it sent from the West Indies, was among Ireland's most important imports by the 1760s. Ports on the American mainland were the principal source of the cherry, walnut, oak, and mahogany lumber used in the Irish furniture-making and boat-building trades, as well as barrel staves and headings for the provisioning industry. British America was also a reliable source of wheat and flour well before the outbreak of the American Revolution. Although the trade was largely concentrated in years of shortage in Ireland, it had considerable significance on both sides of the Atlantic. Ireland likewise proved to be a good market for colonial-built ships.

I.

Ireland had been a net exporter of timber and lumber products during the middle years of the seventeenth century. But the heavy demands of construction and shipbuilding, as well as the increasing requirements of iron furnaces in England and at home, began to result in a severe shortage of wood by the 1670s. Except for a few isolated reserves, Irish timber and lumber resources had been largely consumed by the eighteenth century. In 1764, an English traveller in Ireland observed: "there is as much wood and timber growing in the county of Kent, as in the whole kingdom of Ireland."¹ Although Ireland once had oak in abundance, she

was even forced to look abroad for oak bark to satisfy the needs of her tanning trade. Arthur Young was appalled with what he saw in the 1770s, "in a word, the greatest part of the kingdom exhibits a naked, bleak, dreary view for want of wood, which has been destroyed for a century past, with the most thoughtless prodigality."²

Ireland's importation of North American lumber was small but significant. American hardwoods were important to a number of specialized activities in the Irish economy. In fact, the plantations were Ireland's principal source of high-grade hardwoods. Cherry, walnut, maple, cedar, and oak from the mainland colonies were commonly used in the Irish furniture and cabinet-making industries. Mahogany, for boat-building and the furniture manufacture, was sent to Ireland from Jamaica as well as from Philadelphia and New York, where at least one Irish-American firm specialized in the article.³ Oak was the most generally useful of the woods sent from America. It came in a refined form as wainscot for woodwork and panelling or milled as "square Edg^d White oak Boards."⁴ Irish lumber importers expected a greater degree of finishing in oak boards than many American backcountry sawyers were prepared to offer in wood sold as ordinary lumber, however. In 1766, a Newry merchant advised his New England correspondent how best to send his goods to the Irish market: "Oak plank should be dressed Straight in the edges, which makes it stow better in the Ship & gives preference in the Sale."⁵ In the colonies, untrimmed planking was conventionally used as sheathing in post and beam home construction. There was little trade in softwoods, such as fir and white and yellow pine, both of which were chiefly supplied from Scandinavia.⁶

Besides its use in furniture, cabinets, and interior woodwork, colonial lumber was suitable for a number of specialized applications. Of particular importance was hard-rock maple. Beetling beams of that material "8^f/10 to Nine feet Long each, to Diameter from 20 Inches to Thirty" were in great demand for the use of bleachers in the North of Ireland. The needs of the linen manufacture required that the wood be cut from high ground, otherwise the maple was too soft and "do's not answer the purpose."⁷ Another of the semi-manufactured articles from colonial mills was wheel-sets, cut in America and assembled in Ireland. The colonies became a major source of wheel sets, and loadings of 1,000 or more were not uncommon. Like staves, they were conveniently stowed on flaxseed ships in the spaces between the hogsheads.⁸ There was, likewise, demand for lumber of oak and mahogany for use in shipyards. The trade in boatboards, "very fine Mahogany Planks, 3 Inches and a half thick," was sometimes carried on outside the flaxseed season by Irish

firms in the middle colonies.⁹ But the colonial flaxseed export generally defined the structure of the lumber trade, and most ships that carried lumber and timber to Ireland did so as supplementary loadings. The relationship between the two articles is evident in the trade carried on by one Belfast merchant/cabinet-maker who imported his own walnut, mahogany, and oak boards from America, along with flaxseed and flour.¹⁰

Before the mid-1760s, North American exports of lumber and semi-manufactured wooden articles were of little significance. In that decade, increasing imports began to reflect America's potential as a source of supply. But expensive labour prevented an expansion of American productive capacity to a level capable of satisfying Irish demand in the period before the Revolution. The American lumbering and woodworking trades were already strained to satisfy the needs of the West Indian market. In the summer of 1766, an Irish merchant wrote to his American correspondent asking for "any quantity of plank straight in the Edges, Oak Bark or wheel Timbers which you will have room to Ship."¹¹ Cargoes were often difficult to assemble, however. Newspaper advertisements asking for lumber and wooden products were commonplace during the flaxseed season: "In order to complete the Snow's Cargo, the highest Price will be given for . . . 8000 Hogshead Staves, White-Oak, and 2000 Feet of Cherry-Tree Boards."¹² Supplies became depleted as vessels prepared for their mid-winter departures. "No Lumber to be had for any Price," a frustrated New York merchant told his customer at Derry in January 1759.¹³

In Ireland, there was genuine doubt as to how much official encouragement her lumber trade with the colonies could expect from the Mother Country. In 1764, the British Parliament prohibited the direct export of American lumber and iron to Ireland, causing dismay on both sides of the water.¹⁴ Although the Pennsylvania Assembly viewed the move as hostile, "extremely detrimental to the Trade of the Continental Colonies in America," Benjamin Franklin encouraged a moderate response to Britain's action.¹⁵ To him, the enumeration of lumber and iron was not a manifestation of evil intent. It was just stupid. He told Pennsylvania's agent in London that it was likely Great Britain "will feel the Hurt and remedy it."¹⁶ Beyond balance of payments considerations, there were practical advantages in reducing the British Empire's dependence upon Scandinavia in this important article. In April 1765, the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations reversed their position, after pressure from America and memorials from merchants in Cork and Belfast, and recommended that the enumeration be taken off.¹⁷ The incident threw the Irish-American lumber trade into disarray for more

than a year and deepened the suspicions of colonial merchants that their vested interests in transatlantic commerce were of little concern to policy makers in London.

Dublin was the most important market for colonial lumber. Whereas the demand for staves was a function of activity in the provisioning trades, largely centred at Cork, American hardwoods met their best markets in the shipyards and craftshops of Dublin. After the 1760s, the port-towns of the North of Ireland took an increasing share of the commerce, reflecting general economic development in that region. Over the period from 1731/32 to 1775/76, about 14 per cent of Ireland's imported lumber came directly from the colonies in America. The trade in

Table 10.1: NORTH AMERICAN SHARE OF IRISH IMPORTS
OF LUMBER, TIMBER, AND WOODEN PRODUCTS¹⁸
[at value]

Avg. of 10 yrs. ending	N. America	TOTAL	%
1743	£1,700:	£6,370:	27%
1754	1,410:	16,200:	9%
1765	1,430:	22,360:	6%
1776	5,430:	37,830:	14%

lumber, timber, and wooden products from the plantations grew over the period at a rate slower than total imports of those goods. Whereas the total import increased nearly six-fold between 1731 and the Revolution, shipments from North America expanded just three and a half times, reflecting limits upon American productive capacity.

A commerce in North American barrel staves made to Irish specifications pre-dated the 1731 opening of trade by at least twenty years. In the early part of the century, staves were shipped to Cork in exchange for indentured servants. These ventures were carried on in tiny vessels as occasional deviations from the conventional West Indian commerce of New England. The manufacture of staves was decentralized and typically small in scale; but it grew to importance as a supplementary agricultural activity in the rural areas surrounding colonial shipping centres. Barrel staves, "all of oak or beech, all from America,"¹⁹ were vital to the commerce of Cork and, to a lesser extent, other Irish ports that sent out salted provisions. By the Revolution, the article had become indispensable to Irish provisioners. Merchants in Waterford told the Irish House of Commons in 1775 that if they were "deprived of staves to make casks, their export provision trade must be destroyed."²⁰ In Ireland, imported staves were made into barrels by coopers who formed one of the most important groups of artisans in the

provisioning ports. Arthur Young recounts that 700 coopers operated at Cork alone about 1776.²¹ Philadelphia clearly dominated the export of staves to Ireland and maintained its pre-eminence until the Revolution, usually sending out two to three times the export of New York.

Barrel staves conforming to the Irish standard commanded a premium price in colonial ports compared to those of conventional size. By 1762, municipal regulation at New York governed the dimensions of the article, "known by the Name of Irish Barrel Staves," specifying that they be thirty-three inches long, three and one half inches wide and one inch thick.²² In the smaller colonial ports, where the stave manufacture was carried on by local farmers, the conventional barrel stave of thirty inches traded for about three-quarters of the price of those meeting the Irish standard. Staves produced for the Irish market had been shipped directly from the colony of Connecticut at least as early as 1713 and continued to be produced in the outports of New York and Philadelphia until the Revolutionary War. In 1766, the manufacture was still active in Guilford [Connecticut], an early centre for production of staves for Ireland, and could be purchased there "att the Water Side" for :45: per thousand [:24:10 sterling] compared to :33: per thousand [:18: sterling] for the thirty inch staves typically sent to the West Indies.²³

Nearly all of the staves sent to Ireland after the 1740s were carried by vessels principally loaded with flaxseed, on which they "us'd to be packed betwen the Casks."²⁴ Characteristically, they were loaded so as to provide a base or platform for the hogsheads of flaxseed which had to be kept perfectly dry in passage. Staves and iron, packed beneath the casks of seed as well as between them, added to the chances of the cargo arriving in Ireland in good order.²⁵ It is unlikely, otherwise, that barrel staves could have been carried to Ireland with much profit. Compared to other commodities from America, their value relative to bulk was low. In most trading seasons, there appears to have been a broad correlation between price movements for staves and flaxseed, reflecting supply and demand conditions for shipping. The relationship between the two commodities is evident in export statistics. In the first two months of 1763, New York sent out 283,230 staves to Ireland. On the thirteen ships that cleared for Ireland in that limited time, twelve carried staves, averaging 23,600 per vessel. Two carried no flaxseed, just lumber, staves and rum for Waterford and Limerick.²⁶ In 1766/67, between the months of December and March, twenty-nine vessels left New York for Ireland with nearly 300,000 staves distributed among them.²⁷

The controversy surrounding the 1764 enumeration of North American barrel staves suggests the marginal nature of the trade. In a letter to

London, Benjamin Franklin labelled the export to Ireland "a trifling Commodity" whose value was so small a part of the flaxseed shipments that the prohibition would totally ruin the trade. To a large degree, the fortunes of the provisioning export and the economies of transatlantic shipping determined trading conditions. Staves made-up for Ireland would be unable to bear the cost of transshipment, Franklin said; "it cannot be worth while for the sake of carrying them, to enter first and unload in England."²⁸ The outcry from both sides of the Atlantic had its effect, and new legislation was passed that permitted the direct shipment of staves to Ireland.²⁹

Colonial America typically supplied about 70 per cent of the barrel staves used in the Irish provisioning towns. But demand in Ireland and prices in the ports of North America were often irregular compared to the positive growth of flaxseed. The strong market of 1733/34, during which 83 per cent of Ireland's import of 3,858,000 staves came from the plantations, was not matched until 1762/63 when total stave imports reached 4,382,000 pieces, 73 per cent of which came from America. In the summer of 1767, for instance, so few staves were available in Philadelphia that merchants were unable to fill orders for their customers in Ireland.³⁰ Yet in twelve of the twenty-nine seasons between those markets, fewer than 100,000 staves entered from the colonies [see Appendix B.1]. These dramatic seasonal changes reflect the marginal character of the trade. When freights were low and prices high, staves were carried; otherwise not.

Table 10.2: NORTH AMERICAN SHARE OF IRISH IMPORTS OF BARREL STAVES³¹

Avg. of 10 yrs. ending	N. America	TOTAL	%
1743	1,655,300	2,251,900	74%
1754	1,256,500	1,955,700	64%
1765	1,605,500	2,431,300	66%
1776	2,257,700	3,210,600	70%

Cork and Dublin were Ireland's strongest markets for North American barrel staves, taking three-quarters of the import until the 1750s. Belfast, Derry, Newry, and Waterford then emerged as important secondary markets. But growth was sluggish, even at Cork. That town took in an average of 862,000 staves in the eleven years ending 1742/43, compared to an average 1,344,200 in the same period ending 1775/76.

At the end of the American Revolution, Lord Sheffield wrote that Ireland "does not seem to understand the difference between building

ships at home or in America."³² His observation suggests an important trade between colonial America and Ireland: the invisible export of ocean-going vessels. Surveys of traffic in colonial ports, including those in the West Indies, in the years for which Naval Office Shipping Lists have survived, reveal that nearly all of the ships employed by Irish firms in their transatlantic trade were built in colonial shipyards. Much of this tonnage was registered in American ports. In the decade between 1765 and 1775, only two of the thirty-seven vessels either wholly or partly owned by firms in Ireland entered in the 'Ship Register for the Port of Philadelphia, 1716-1776,' were built in Ireland and one other, a prize, was built on the continent. These figures understate the connexions between Irish capital and colonial-built shipping in the Philadelphia port books, however. Many of the vessels listed as wholly-owned by colonial merchants were, in fact, partly-owned in Ireland. There was some Irish capital in at least a third of the eighty-five vessels owned by Irish-American merchant houses at Philadelphia in the same ten year period. Just four of those ships had been built in Ireland and, except for four others built in Europe, the rest were American.³³

It was a feature of the trade that ships and tackle were sometimes sold, along with their cargoes, upon arrival in Ireland. In the venture of a New London merchant in 1732, for example, two schooners carried a cargo of staves to Ireland, where one of the vessels was sold. The other returned to New England carrying both crews and a lading of indentured servants.³⁴ Occasionally, just a share in a vessel was traded.³⁵ Irish newspapers suggest that the practice of auctioning American-built ships or shares in them was routine. In the spring of 1765, for instance, the ship King of Prussia, a regular carrier in New York's flaxseed trade, was auctioned "for ready Money, at the Exchange Coffee-house" in Dublin. The sale appears to have been managed by the captain, John Semple, for the vessel's owners, Acheson Thompson & Company of New York.³⁶ Irish merchant houses in America periodically arranged for the construction of ocean-going vessels for customers in Ireland. In the late 1760s, Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme oversaw the building of two ships in the yards at Philadelphia for their correspondents at Derry. One of them was sent from the Pennsylvania port to the West Indies to trade flour for rum for the Irish market in order to help defray construction costs.³⁷ The actual number of colonial-built vessels sold to firms in Ireland cannot be measured with accuracy, however. There are indications that at least eight to ten new ships were purchased in some years. In 1767, for instance, a published account of New York's trade

with Ireland between the first of December 1766 to the beginning of March 1767 indicated that four new vessels, worth about £2,200: [New York currency] each, were sold by local merchants to Irish firms in just that period.³⁸ But most sales would have escaped noticed.

At mid-century, North American potash and pearlash failed to meet the requirements of the Irish linen manufacture. In 1742, a Belfast merchant shipped sample casks of potash to America in order that colonial manufacturers might bring their product up to the standard required by bleachers in the linen industry. But, as one colonial merchant admitted, the American ash remained inferior "for want of some ingredient not yet found out."³⁹ By the 1760s, however, colonial potash was held in high regard by Irish importers. It was, by then, widely produced, particularly in New England, "Wood Ashes in America being the Production of every Man's Fire."⁴⁰ The potash manufacture was among the most important of the new American industries in the immediate pre-Revolutionary period, and Ireland grew to be a significant market for the article in the final quarter of the century. "The Irish are their best and almost only Customers," Robert Stephenson told the Irish House of Commons in 1788.⁴¹

Potash was made an enumerated article by the terms of the Sugar Act of 1764.⁴² In 1766, merchants in the North of Ireland encouraged their correspondents in America to petition members of British Parliament to remove the restriction, "so prejudicial to your Interest & our Linen Trade."⁴³ It was not until the end of the decade, however, that a direct trade was allowed between Ireland and the plantations.⁴⁴ By 1770, a commerce in the article had begun that eventually grew to considerable proportions. From the status of a prohibited trade, potash imports from the colonies rose to 2,300 cwt in 1770/71. By 1786/87, imports from just New York and the ports of New England totalled nearly 12,000 cwt. Prices for American potash were typically strong. According to one observer, "About the year 1770 the best Pot Ash from the plantations was never cheaper than from two Guineas to 50s. per hundred Weight" and sold for about four guineas when it became available in the clandestine wartime trade.⁴⁵

II.

Wheat and flour sent from British North America served to fill gaps in Irish domestic output and supplement imports from Great Britain.⁴⁶ In the colonies, the article was drawn from an extensive region stretching from Virginia to New England. Philadelphia and Baltimore, the principal

centres of export to Ireland, were particularly well situated at the heart of a rich grain-producing region. As in other branches of commerce between Ireland and the British plantations, Irish merchants in America played an important role in the grain trade. One such figure was Dr. John Stevenson, an emigrant Irish physician turned merchant, who initiated the export of wheat and flour from Baltimore.⁴⁷ At Philadelphia, the town with the largest grain export to the Irish market, Quaker merchant houses, Irish as well as non-Irish, dominated the trade.⁴⁸ New York, also a major source of supply, drew from an interior region that included the Hudson Valley, Long Island, New Jersey, as well as New England, many of the same areas that figured prominently in her flaxseed commerce. Much of the flour shipped from the American colonies to Ireland was of middle or even inferior quality, however. In 1765, a Baltimore merchant told his correspondent in Ireland that the lesser quality flour would save :2: per hundredweight and should be purchased "as we are informed [it] will suit your Markitt."⁴⁹

The famine that befell Ireland after the poor harvest of 1739 through mid-1741 was one of the great national calamities of the eighteenth century. Although weather and disease conspired to wreak havoc elsewhere in northwestern Europe, Ireland appears to have been particularly affected. The winter of 1739/40 was among the most severe of all those for which records have been kept.⁵⁰ The suffering and mortality shocked the Irish upper classes and inspired conspicuous acts of public charity. Despite early signs of an easing of the crisis, Ireland took no comfort in the coming of spring in 1740. "There is now as great a Scarcity of Provisions in this City as was ever known," commented one Dublin newspaper in April.⁵¹ In the capital, the previous month had been marked by rioting and mob attacks upon bakeries and meal shops which the army was required to quell with force. The late and excessively dry spring contributed to harvest failure in 1740, followed by an unseasonably cold autumn during which hunger and disease again took hold. There were isolated attempts to relieve the distress, but to little avail. In one such effort in the harsh winter of 1740/41, "upwards of an hundred poor People are daily fed at our University" by the Provost and fellows of Trinity College, who "have set a very good and generous Example," according to a Dublin newspaper.⁵² The death toll from the catastrophe may have been as high as one contemporary estimate, between 200,000 and 400,000 souls.⁵³

During the famine crisis, colonial America provided the largest external source of imported wheat and flour. Wheat from British America

had first become important in the Irish marketplace in 1736, when 3,200 quarters were imported, roughly 10 per cent of that year's shipments. With the famine of 1739-41, however, a significant share of Ireland's wheat import was landed from America for the first time. The 9,500 quarters imported in 1739/40 represented 76 per cent of nation's total intake in the first and most serious year of the crisis. In absolute terms, however, the colonial import was modest compared to the usual import of wheat from Great Britain, which was three times that level in several years between 1731 and 1776. In 1741, wheat from North America made up roughly a third of foreign purchases. Great Britain sent over 18,200 quarters compared to the 12,000 quarters from America. Over the two trading seasons that spanned the famine, 45 per cent of Ireland's demand for imported wheat was satisfied from the plantations. Flour imports followed a similar pattern. Before the famine, the 3,350 hundredweight of flour imported in 1736/37 had supplied about a third of Ireland's external demand. American shipments then tapered off before rising again to 34 per cent of total Irish imports, or 3,640 hundredweight, in 1739/40. In the following year, the depth of the crisis, North American flour accounted for about 96 per cent of Ireland's import of 10,830 hundredweight. Over these two seasons, there was no significant increase in the level of Ireland's total flour import, only a shift in the source of supply that reflected tight conditions in Great Britain. In 1741/42, however, Irish flour imports were up sharply to 24,450 hundredweight, with colonial shipments constituting about 60 per cent of the total.⁵⁴

From the American perspective, exports to Ireland through the severe winter of 1739/40 did not constitute a significant allocation of production. The first signs of that came late in the spring of 1740. In June, the captain of a Philadelphia ship discharging wheat and flour in Dublin reported a great many American vessels loading for the Irish market.⁵⁵ With the arrival of large numbers of colonial vessels through the summer of 1740, hope built that the worst was over and that a decent harvest might bring recovery. In the early fall, however, as conditions in Irish agriculture worsened, American ships began to run afoul of the embargoes in place in the Irish ports. In spite of the risks of wartime trade, Ireland presented an attractive prospect to colonial merchants faced with a grain oversupply at home. The captain of one colonial ship, the Turtle Dove of New York, remarked that prices in his home port were low and that many ships had been loading flour for Ireland at his departure from America. Similar word came from Philadelphia.⁵⁶ In December, according to a published account, one

Dublin merchant cleared out twenty ships in ballast, "to sail for America to bring over Corn and Flour."⁵⁷

There was resistance to the high prices for colonial wheat and flour in the Irish ports. Early in December 1740, for example, five American ships arrived at Cork with flour that sold for £1:11: per barrel from the first two to unload. The outraged bakers of the city declared that they would buy no more from the remaining ships, even at £1:8: per barrel.⁵⁸ Likewise, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Corporation of Dublin resolved that month to pay no more than :35: per barrel of wheat.⁵⁹ In spite of these gestures of frustration, prices remained high until further imports began to have a moderating effect upon the markets. Prices finally began to give way early in 1741. On the 10th of January 1741, wheat traded at :28: per barrel; and on the 19th, the best wheat could be had for :23: per barrel.⁶⁰ The heavy importation of corn and flour from North America and Great Britain contributed to the decline. Large numbers of ships arrived from the colonies after the first of the year, eleven in just one week in February.⁶¹ The presence of so many colonial vessels in the Irish ports presented an attractive prospect for the press gangs of the Royal Navy who "surpriz'd and empress'd great Number of Seamen out of the Ships."⁶²

By May, the danger had passed in a few of the ports served by America. That month, for example, when three vessels arrived at Derry, stocks there were high enough to allow them to proceed to other places where continuing shortages guaranteed high prices. One such town was Galway, where wheat and flour was carried by incoming American ships "as that Town was in great Distress for want of it."⁶³ For the largest share of the population, those outside the towns whose diet did not include wheaten bread, the suffering continued. But to the extent that the famine represented a crisis in grain production and importation, the worst was over by July 1741. Another twenty ships arrived from North America and Great Britain near the middle of the month causing "a happy Change and a great fall in our Markets." Wheat that had sold for about :39: a barrel a few months before now traded at between :18: and :19: in the Dublin market.⁶⁴ Continued arrivals from America and the prospect of a good harvest combined to stabilize prices at affordable levels. By October 1741, the need for supplementary grain imports from the plantations had diminished to the point that one Waterford merchant applied for, and was granted, permission to ship-off 470 barrels of Philadelphia 'meal of wheat' for Barbados or some other market in the West Indies.⁶⁵ This at a time when the embargo on wheat and flour was still nominally in effect.

In spite of the role of North American grains in the famine of 1739-41, the Irish market for colonial wheat and flour was not fully established until the 1750s, the decade that witnessed the maturing of the flaxseed commerce. During the severe shortage of 1744/45, North America's share of Ireland's huge wheat import amounted to less than 1 per cent, or about a thousand quarters. In 1756/57, however, harvest failure in Ireland again stimulated demand for the large-scale importation of North American grain.⁶⁶ But embargoes on both sides of the Atlantic and wartime trading conditions obstructed the trade. In June 1757, the American embargo was lifted, allowing the shipment of American wheat and flour to markets in the British Isles. Although, as one Philadelphia grain exporter commented, "By all accounts Ireland will want more than we can spare," there was little price response at Philadelphia to the shortfall.⁶⁷ In 1757/58, Irish imports of North American flour shot up to 49,660 hundredweight [69 per cent of the total] from 6,340 hundredweight [11 per cent of the total] in the previous year. Wheat imports likewise experienced a dramatic increase. 8,100 quarters were imported in 1757/58 [29 per cent of the total] compared to just 412 quarters the year before. The general scarcity continued well into 1758.

The Irish crop failure of 1766 had a more direct effect upon prices in the colonial ports than the dearth of the mid-1750s. "Great Numbers of Vessels are loading Corn in America, by which Wheat has risen there to 14 Shillings Sterl. per Barrel," reported one captain arriving at Waterford from Philadelphia in March 1767.⁶⁸ Prices in the Pennsylvania city reached a peak in December 1767 from a base begun in 1764.⁶⁹ In February 1767, the Cork Evening Post published a list of twenty-three vessels reported to be taking in wheat, flour and flaxseed at Philadelphia for the Irish market.⁷⁰ Baltimore, New York, and Boston also sent out cargoes of wheat and flour to meet the increased demand. Irish trade figures suggest the magnitude of the surge in imports. In 1763/64, no wheat and just 426 hundredweight of flour were landed from North America. In 1766/67, however, Ireland purchased 46,475 hundredweight of flour, 80 per cent of imports, and 8,655 quarters of wheat, 22 per cent of the nation's intake. The demand for wheat and flour dating from the failed harvest of 1766 to the recovery in 1768, marked the beginning of sustained high levels of flour imports from America that lasted until the Revolution.⁷¹

Only after 1764/65 did anything like a trend begin to appear in the flour trade between Ireland and the North American colonies. Flour imports fell below 19,000 hundredweight per annum in just two seasons, 1768/69 and 1772/73. After 1764, about 58 per cent of Ireland's flour

came from the colonies, reflecting stabilized links between merchants on both sides of the Atlantic. Imports from America were up sharply in the period from 1769/70 to 1771/72. In 1770/71, following a bad harvest, Ireland's import of flour reached its highest levels before the Revolution, 125,300 hundredweight, about half of which came from America. In the following year, colonial shipments represented better than 92 per cent of Ireland's flour import or 44,100 hundredweight. In the Philadelphia market, this period was a time of sharply increased prices for both wheat and flour which, afterward, trailed downward until the Revolution. In the final three years before the War, the American colonies supplied an average of 87 per cent of Ireland's flour import of 25,000 hundredweight per annum.⁷²

III.

The Irish developed a taste for plantation rum even before passage of the Act of 1731 allowing the article to be landed directly from British America along with other unenumerated goods.⁷³ The market for rum from the British West Indies and mainland America was further enhanced by the provisions of the Molasses Act of 1733 prohibiting the landing of French rum, sugar, and molasses into Ireland.⁷⁴ In 1745, a pamphleteer wrote that the two Acts had achieved their aim, and "great Quantities of British rum have since been imported and consum'd there, instead of French Brandy."⁷⁵ Advertisements for "genuine Jamaica RUM of very high proof and good flavour" and "excellent New York RUM," were common in Irish newspapers after 1750.⁷⁶ An Irish merchant reflected the favourable climate for the article when, in 1764, he encouraged his New England correspondent to bring his next freight to Ireland by way of the West Indies, "A parcel of Good rum, say Antigua or BB^{ds}, provided it was strong & well flavour'd wou'd . . . meet a ready sale here."⁷⁷ Some mainland rum found a market in Ireland, but there was a clear preference for the product of the West Indies. "If ever thou or thy friends shou'd ship any here, let it be of superior strength to the general run of New England Rum, which is too weak and ill flavour'd for this Market; besides, it is a loss to import weak Spirit which pays as high a duty as the strong," wrote a merchant in Cork.⁷⁸

Rum was shipped from both the sugar islands and the continent of North America from the outset of direct Irish-American trade. Although most rum was landed direct from the Caribbean, vessels from the American mainland operated in a regular triangle between the West Indies, their home ports, and the North of Ireland, carrying rum and flaxseed in exchange for linen.⁷⁹ At mid-century, loadings of rum for Ireland

shipped from the American mainland were commonplace. Typical cargoes from Boston for Ireland in the 1750s consisted of rum, staves, and semi-finished wooden goods such as oars and handles for tools.⁸⁰ Most of the spirits sent from the mainland had been distilled there, particularly in New York and New England, but some was re-exported West Indian rum. The proportion of rum from the North American continent as a share of Ireland's import dropped markedly after 1760, however.

All plantation rum, whether shipped from the West Indies or the North American mainland, paid the same duties upon importation into Ireland. But the effective duty paid on West Indian rum re-exported through Great Britain was dramatically reduced after 1760 as a result of an Act of the British Parliament that sought to bring an end to the carriage of the article from the North American continent to Great Britain.⁸¹ By the terms of an Act of 1760, the outcome of vigorous lobbying by the sugar interest in London, West Indian rum was allowed a full drawback of all import duties upon re-exportation. Not only was North American rum not allowed this advantage, it was burdened with an additional import duty of :1 per gallon upon entering Great Britain. Thus, in the huge re-export trade that developed after 1760, little North American rum entered the Irish market.

An anomaly in British and Irish revenue laws operating during the period between 1760 and May 1772 fostered a broadening of the Irish market for rum.⁸² After passage of the Navigation Act of 1660, rum from the sugar islands shipped direct to Great Britain, "on entry and before payment of the duty of excise may be landed & warehoused - and at exportation draws back all the duties contrary to the almost general system of the customs where half of the old subsidy at least is usually retained."⁸³ As a result, there had been a preferential duty in Ireland on plantation produce re-exported from England after 1662 in order to allow merchants in England an opportunity to make up some of the duties lost by only partial drawbacks.⁸⁴ Through oversight, however, the Dublin Parliament failed to revise Irish customs regulations when the Parliament in London passed its Act of 1760 allowing the drawback of all duties on the re-exportation of West Indian rum.⁸⁵ Thus, rum from the islands re-exported through Great Britain entered Ireland on exceptionally favourable terms.

The lower effective duty on rum brought into Ireland through Great Britain reduced the price of the article and firmly established Ireland as a market for the colonial spirit. After 1760, rum that was landed directly in Ireland from America paid a duty of :1:10 $\frac{2}{3}$ per gallon, whereas that landed in Great Britain and then re-exported to Ireland paid

the lower preferential duty of :1:5 per gallon. In practical terms, this meant that the average rum shipment of 18,000 gallons landed at Belfast in 1766, after having touched at a Scottish port, came in about £450: cheaper than if it had come direct from America. An accounting of the indirect trade through the Scottish ports by the customs house at Edinburgh in 1772 showed that, in 1764, re-exports from Scotland alone totalled 181,120 gallons. By 1770, the re-export had risen to 792,610 gallons, with about 47 per cent of that total going to Belfast.⁸⁶ The differential existed until 1772, when the Irish Parliament cancelled it by placing an additional duty of :6 per gallon on rum re-exported through Great Britain.⁸⁷ Trade immediately returned to its former pattern; but

Table 10.3: IRISH IMPORTS OF RUM: DIRECT AND INDIRECT⁸⁸
[in gallons]

Avg. of 4 yrs. ending	Direct from Plantations	Indirect via Great Britain	TOTAL	Per cent change
1735	134,910	735	135,645	
1739	276,980	490	277,470	+105%
1743	416,575	600	417,175	+51%
1747	283,840	8,220	292,060	-29%
1751	414,675	25,125	439,800	+51%
1755	695,730	1,185	696,915	+59%
1759	670,710	42,250	712,960	+2%
1763	482,460	15,870	498,330	-30%
1767	231,780	1,091,270	1,323,050	+166%
1771	17,275	1,895,195	1,912,470	+45%
1775	763,355	862,420	1,625,775	-15%

rum imports, although experiencing some decline, remained high. While the anomaly operated, the substantial market for rum that developed in Ireland came largely at the expense of French brandy. In removing the advantage to the British re-export trade, the Irish Parliament probably acted under pressure from Irish brewers and distillers, over the protests of the West Indian interest in Great Britain.⁸⁹

Dublin, Belfast and Cork dominated the rum import. In most years, they accounted for between 80 and 90 per cent of the trade. Dublin was the leading importer. In the four year periods ending 1743 and 1753, her market share averaged 48 per cent of the nation's intake of rum. By the American Revolution, however, her relative position had deteriorated to about half that. Cork and Belfast grew at Dublin's expense. Cork was well-situated to carry on an active rum trade as West Indian vessels frequently called there. Her share in the trade grew from about 20 per cent in the early 1740s to just over 30 per cent on the eve of the Revolution. Belfast experienced the greatest relative growth. In the early 1740s, she was taking in about 15 per cent of the rum import and her position remained constant until the early 1760s. By the four years

ending March 1776, she accounted for about a quarter of Ireland's imported rum. It was not until the 1770s that Limerick, Derry and Newry became active in the commerce, but their combined trade barely reached 10 per cent of the total.

IV.

There was no direct Irish-American sugar and tobacco trade. It is impossible, however, to consider the commerce between Ireland and colonial America without some mention of those articles. Plantation sugar was of enormous significance to the Irish economy in the eighteenth century. Much of the traffic in provisions to the West Indies constituted one leg of what was, essentially, a sugar trade. Provisions vessels from Ireland provided an important share of the shipping space available for the return of muscovado sugars from the West Indies to London and the English outports. Although most of that shipping originated with English firms in the sugar trade working through Irish factors, merchants in Ireland, trading on their own account, also played a role. Beef, pork and butter was sometimes sent to the islands to be exchanged for sugar that was, in turn, shipped to England for refinement or re-shipment to Ireland as muscovado sugar for processing. There is evidence of Irish ventures in which provisions were traded for sugar from aboard ship or at temporary stores set up upon arrival in the West Indies.⁹⁰ Typically, however, Irish merchants worked through factors in the islands who gathered sugar for correspondents in London, Bristol or Liverpool. Although some sugar was traded on Irish account and, occasionally, merchants in Ireland entered into an intercolonial sugar trade, the involvement of Irish capital was limited.⁹¹

Sugar had a significant impact upon Irish industrial development before 1776. Sugar refining was among the largest and most active industries in Ireland and, in Dublin particularly, refiners were often men of conspicuous means. By one account of 1765, the industry "employs not less than four thousand familys and a capital of three hundred and forty thousand pounds stg."⁹² Although this estimate exaggerates sugar's role in the Irish economy, it does suggests the scale of activity. Unlike English merchants in the trade, "the Irish refiner is absolutely confined for his sale to the consumption of Ireland alone."⁹³ After the Molasses Act of 1733, all of his sugar came through Britain. Although small by comparison with Great Britain, the demand for sugar in Ireland underwent rapid expansion after 1740. Muscovado sugar imports for the four years ending March 1735 averaged just over 40,000 cwt per annum. By the mid-1750s, they had doubled, and

by the four years ending March 1776, they were averaging about 204,000 cwt per annum. Imports on the eve of the American War were more than five times what they had been in the 1730s. Looked at another way, Ireland's per capita consumption of sugar increased by more than four times over the same period, while that in England failed to even double. Although the market in Ireland was narrower than that in England and the article had relatively little impact in many rural areas, growth was persistent. In spite of structural differences in their domestic markets, Irish per capita consumption rose to about a quarter of the English level by the Revolution.⁹⁴

Tobacco represented a huge share of total Irish imports by 1700, but growth was sluggish after the turn of the century. Imports for the five years ending 1701/2 averaged 3,052,700 pounds, while those for the similar period ending 1730/31 averaged just 2,932,000 pounds. In only six years between 1698 and 1731 did tobacco imports exceed four 4,000,000 pounds per annum. In the year ending March 1715, they shot up to 6,827,500 pounds, a level not matched until after the Revolution. Although there was some growth in legal tobacco imports in the 1760s and

Table 10.4: IRISH IMPORTS OF TOBACCO
THROUGH GREAT BRITAIN⁹⁵

Average of 5 years ending 25 March 1735	3,042,000 pounds
1745	3,231,500
1755	3,822,000
1765	5,087,500
1775	5,031,000

1770s, the advances were unimpressive when compared to levels established in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. There can be no satisfactory measure of tobacco imports between 1731 and 1775, however, because of the prevalence of smuggling.

The trade was dominated first by Whitehaven and then, after 1750, by the Scottish ports of the River Clyde: Glasgow, Port Glasgow and Greenock. From the late seventeenth century until the first serious challenge by Glasgow merchants in the 1720s, Whitehaven took the lead in the Irish tobacco commerce. Portbooks show that nearly all her tobacco re-export was sent to Dublin and Belfast.⁹⁶ After the mid-1750s, the Whitehaven share of the Irish market gave way to eventual dominance by the ports of the Clyde. By the Revolution, the Scottish houses were sending more tobacco to Ireland than all the English ports combined. From exports of 872,730 pounds in 1755, their trade to Ireland grew to 4,333,850 pounds by 1773.⁹⁷ The importance of the commerce is

reflected in a degree of specialization for the Irish market among the merchants of Greenock and Port Glasgow.⁹⁸ Tobacco dealers there and at Whitehaven had long sorted out high quality sweet scented leaves for Ireland.⁹⁹

Smuggling was important in the tobacco trade. Although seizures of run tobacco were made from inward colonial vessels, direct shipments from America were a relatively small part of the illegal trade. Most of the smuggled tobacco came indirectly, having touched at another port before being landed in Ireland. The article was frequently shipped out of English ports for France or Spain on false certificates in order to earn the drawback, before a clandestine landing in Ireland.¹⁰⁰ Some was tobacco that had been brought to the Isle of Man or some continental location for re-shipment to Ireland. In the case of Dunkirk and Ostend, places active in the smuggling of tobacco, warehousing and shipping facilities were organized to move the illegal cargoes efficiently from the European mainland to Ireland.¹⁰¹ In spite of the intense interest in the running of tobacco shown by Irish revenue officials, the sluggish growth of legal imports after the early years of the century probably characterized the illegal commerce as well.

Chapter Eleven

TRADE AND REVOLUTION

". . . what will be our fate, when neither American flour, or flax seed, &c. come to our relief? When our exports tither are cut off, and our linen lying unsold."

Freeman's Journal, 3 January 1775

The American Revolution was the culminating event in the history of the British Empire in the eighteenth century. Although its roots lay deep in the cultural, political, and geographical foundations of the English-speaking North American communities, its immediate causes and consequences were the result of commercial policy. Measures to raise revenues in America to pay for a long and expensive war, as well as to bring order to an imperial trading system perceived to be in disarray, set events in motion that profoundly changed Great Britain's relationship with her colonial subjects in the New World, as well as in Ireland. The Irish nation was among the first to feel the direct impact of the revolution in America. The political discontent that flared up in her parliament early in the war forever altered the relationship between Dublin and London. The Irish-American trade, functioning within the first British Empire, was one element in the background of the American Revolution. It played a role at every stage: in the years between 1763 and 1775, when the contest of wills between the British Parliament and the American colonies evolved into open rebellion; during the war years, 1775-1783, when Ireland continued its trade to America, both legally and illegally; and in the period just after the Peace of Paris, when trade between Ireland and the United States of America was initiated.

I.

The Acts of the British Parliament that provoked American political dissent in the years after the close of the Seven Years War, and the measures taken by the colonists to counter them, inevitably drew the Irish-American trade into the story of the American Revolution. The Sugar Act of 1764, in addition to its impact upon North America's West Indian trade, directly affected the marketing of Irish linens in the colonies, and temporarily cut off exports of American lumber and iron to Ireland. Later, in the crisis that followed passage of the Stamp Act in

1765, Irish linens and provisions were immune from the boycott against British goods staged by American merchants, and flaxseed was sent out of the colonial ports in technical defiance of the law. Shortly after repeal of the Stamp Act, another parliamentary measure, meant to bring discipline to the plantation commerce, put merchants in the Irish-American trade on both sides of the Atlantic, into a state of panic. The word 'Ireland' had been inadvertently left out of the text of the American Act of 1766. The technical error, which threatened to cut off the Irish linen manufacture from its principal supply of flaxseed, was corrected by the British Parliament before trade became seriously disrupted, however. During the troubles that followed enactment of the Townshend Acts of 1767, Irish linens and provisions shipped directly to the colonies were again granted favoured treatment. The concession resulted in a significant, but short-lived, shift in the pattern of trade. Irish-American commerce returned to its former channels in the quiet time that followed the 1768-1770 crisis. The climactic test of wills between the colonists and the British Ministry came in the aftermath of American resistance to the Tea Act of 1773. Parliament responded to the destruction of East India Company tea in Boston Harbour with the Coercive Acts of 1774, which ultimately led to armed conflict. The colonists resisted these measures by prohibiting all commercial activity with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies. Although Irish merchants finally lost their immunity to colonial boycott, there was broad support in Ireland for the American cause. Many Irishmen, including prominent members of the Irish-American merchant communities in the colonial ports, took up arms in defence of the American Revolution.

Among the numerous provisions of the Sugar Act of 1764, the first in a series of parliamentary measures that externally taxed the American colonies, was a clause eliminating the drawback upon foreign linens re-exported from England.¹ To the Irish linen manufacture, this alteration in the law meant improved prospects in the colonial marketplace. To the Americans, it was a grievance.² The remaining competitive advantage enjoyed by inexpensive foreign cloths was removed at a time of economic contraction in the colonies following the close of the Seven Years War.³ But the timing of the concession was right for Irish linen. The plantation market had taken about 16 per cent of Ireland's linen export at the peak of the wartime trade. In the years after passage of the Sugar Act, however, that share moderated to about 13 per cent. Although sales in the colonies fell in the immediate post-war period, they did not collapse; and in the three year period ending 1771,

the advantage enjoyed by Irish linen in the American market became plainly evident. At that point, the Irish linen importation of 4,710,200 yards was more than twice the level of the three year period ending in 1761, and the share of Irish linen exports taken by the plantations rose to about 21 per cent of the total.⁴ To the American importer, however, the elimination of the drawback was viewed as a tax on colonial commerce. Merchants in the colonies joined with the Hambro merchants in London in voicing their opposition to the measure.⁵ The angry reaction was short-lived, however. In the decade following passage of the Sugar Act, Irish linen was among the most competitively priced imported articles trading in the colonies.

Ireland's colonial trade was both encouraged and threatened by the Sugar Act, which contained a provision that aroused the anger of merchants on both sides of the Atlantic. By the terms of one of its clauses, colonial lumber and iron could no longer be shipped to Ireland, or Europe, without a bond guaranteeing that the goods would be first landed in Great Britain.⁶ In practice, this meant an end to the carrying of barrel staves and pig iron aboard flaxseed ships. American stave production for the Irish market, an important but marginally competitive activity, was threatened by the new requirement.⁷ This unnecessary restriction upon American trade would ultimately hurt English merchants and manufacturers, Benjamin Franklin argued, as the lumber export to Ireland and the rest of Europe was one of the few means by which the colonies could make returns to Great Britain.⁸ In Ireland, the merchants of Cork and Belfast separately petitioned the Board of Trade, asking it to recommend to Parliament the removal of the impediment.⁹ In the spring of 1765, the Board acted, suggesting to the Treasury, "that the said enumeration, so far as regards Ireland, may be taken off."¹⁰ Parliament restored the direct export of American lumber and iron to Ireland, but not without having added to the climate of distrust building on both sides of the Atlantic.¹¹

The Irish linen trade to America does not appear to have been severely damaged by the commercial disruption that accompanied passage of the Stamp Act in 1765. In Philadelphia, a town with an influential Irish mercantile community, merchants and retailers entered into a non-importation agreement effective 1 January 1766. The only important exception to the general ban on imports from the British Isles was in the case of Irish goods sent directly to the colonies.¹² "Merchants and traders [were] determined to encourage the Irish trade by importing everything that can be lawfully brought from Ireland," wrote a Philadelphia merchant in November 1765.¹³ The non-importation

agreement of Philadelphia, like those in other American ports, enjoyed only a short life, however, and Irish linen benefitted little from its special treatment. With the announcement of passage through the British Parliament of a bill to repeal the Stamp Act, which received the royal assent on 18 March 1766, trade quickly resumed its former channels.¹⁴ The principal inconvenience suffered by Irish linen resulted from a slowdown in debt collection and inventory turnover resulting from the uncertainty experienced during the Stamp Act crisis. "This Cursed Stamp Act and Restrictions on trade," complained Gerard G. Beekman to his North of Ireland correspondent in May, "is the Cause why I Cant sell your Linens."¹⁵

The flaxseed season of 1765/66 coincided exactly with the disturbances in North America over the Stamp Act. After 1 November 1765, according to the British statute, all legal commercial documents were required to bear the much-hated official stamps.¹⁶ There was considerable apprehension at the height of the crisis over the fate of the flaxseed ships that dared to depart for the British Isles without stamped documents. "Tis uncertain what treatment they may receive abroad, & yet they must go at all Hazards, or Ireland must be without it's necessary Supply of Seed," wrote a New York official.¹⁷ As the crisis developed, and no stamps were issued, customs authorities did not stand in the way of trade. "No stamps are to be had here therefore All Vessels Clear without them which is Certified on their Clearance," wrote a flaxseed exporter in New York to his correspondent at Newry.¹⁸ The repeal of the Stamp Act came just as the flaxseed season ended. In spite of the slowdown in trade that accompanied the crisis, Irish imports of North American seed in the year ending March 1766 totalled 28,000 hogsheads, up nearly 30 per cent over the average of the previous five years.¹⁹ In one small way, Irish-colonial trade was stimulated by American events. In the spring of 1767, at Waringstown [County Down], an order was received from North America for the manufacture of a quantity of damask table linen. The design on the cloths celebrated the victory of the American side in its first head-on engagement with the British Ministry. The linen featured "an elegant Pattern of the great Commoner's Bust, on a Pedestal, with the Words, Pitt and Liberty, Stamp-Act repealed, 1766."²⁰

Right on the heels of the Stamp Act crisis came a more immediate threat to the Irish-American trade. By an Act of the British Parliament passed in the summer of 1766, "the exportation of any species of goods from America to any port in Europe to the northward of Cape Finisterre, is prohibited, unless a bond be given that the same shall be landed in

Great Britain."²¹ In effect, the Act brought an end to the Irish importation of non-enumerated goods from the colonies: flaxseed, lumber, wheat and flour, and rum. This alteration in the Navigation Acts resulted from the word 'Ireland' having been mistakenly left out of the text of an Act to regulate the American trade.²² But the changed status of Irish-American commerce had the full force of law. When the news reached the colonies, there was immediate panic. Newspapers warned farmers that the flaxseed trade would be entirely cut off after the first of the year, making it necessary for them to rush their goods early to market.²³ In Philadelphia and New York, the uncertainty created a minor business crisis, with flaxseed prices plunging to half the level of the previous season.²⁴ In Ireland, a flurry of petitions urged the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Hertford, to act immediately to remediate the error.²⁵ Considerable merchant capital, as well as the fate of the linen manufacture, hung in the balance, according to the petitions. The merchants of Derry explained to the Viceroy that "it would be impossible for ships to enter, discharge and reload, in any part of Britain, before the season for sowing flax seed should be elapsed."²⁶ The British government's response was swift. In mid-December, an Act was pushed through Parliament that re-established the Irish-colonial trade on its former footing.²⁷ In Ireland, the short-lived crisis underscored the vulnerability of that nation's trade to the actions of a distant parliament: "We have had too frequent causes to lament the want of a commercial agent resident in London," wrote the Derry merchants.²⁸ Across the Atlantic, it was further proof, if that was necessary, of the inability of the British Parliament to manage the trade of the Empire in the interest of the American colonies.²⁹

Within a few months of remedying the impediment to Irish-colonial trade in the American Act of 1766, the British Parliament revived its attempt to raise revenues in America. The Townshend Acts of 1767, which provoked an angry outcry in the colonies, required the collection of duties in American ports on British paper, painters' colors, red and white lead, glass, and tea.³⁰ In addition, the new measures established an American customs board and empowered colonial courts to issue writs of assistance.³¹ To counter the British challenge, the colonists once again turned to non-importation. A limited boycott of British goods began before January 1768, but effective non-importation agreements were not established in all of the colonies [except New Hampshire] until March 1769. These pacts, designed to cripple the trade of the Mother Country, prohibited the landing of British goods in the colonial ports. One important exception favoured Irish linen and

provision.³² "By the said Agreement," wrote a Philadelphia merchant to his Irish correspondent, "liberty is given to Import Linnens from Ireland directly."³³ Because this linen did not benefit from the re-export bounty paid in England, it was more expensive than its equivalent landed before non-importation. Even so, the resulting short-term shift in the

Table 11.1: LINEN SHIPPED DIRECT TO AMERICA FROM IRELAND³⁴

Year ending 25 March 1769	402,148 yards
1770	826,513
1771	3,032,140
1772	1,057,160
1773	344,442

Irish trade is striking. Non-importation held firm until the compromise decision of the British Parliament in the spring of 1770 to remove all of the Townshend duties, except that on tea.³⁵ Philadelphia and Boston maintained their boycotts until the fall; but most other colonial ports began landing British goods before the end of the summer.³⁶ With the passing of the crisis, the Irish trade returned to its former path. In his letter to an Irish correspondent, one American merchant ordering Irish linen in July 1770 was specific in his shipping instructions: "Please to forward them with all Expedition Via Liverpool, that we may have the Bounty."³⁷

In the period immediately following the reopening of the colonial ports, there was a lull in political discontent and a resumption of vigorous commercial activity.³⁸ Irish linen was prominent among the goods that flooded American markets after the discontinuation of the non-importation agreements. Over-production in Ireland and glutted colonial markets, however, were among the prime causes of the depression that devastated the linen manufacture in 1772 and 1773.³⁹ The economic crisis in Ireland fostered a huge flow of emigration from the linen district in the North to the American colonies.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, the animosity between Great Britain and her American subjects was not dead. The Boston Massacre, 5 March 1770, and the burning of the customs schooner Gaspee, 9 June 1772, were only the most visible signs of tension. Serious trouble once again erupted in America when Parliament came to the rescue of the nearly bankrupt East India Tea Company. The Tea Act of 1773 gave the Company an unassailable competitive advantage in the colonies. Even with the odious 3d. per pound tax still in place, the concessions granted to the East India Tea Company threatened the existence of the fair trader and smuggler alike.⁴¹ Parliament's arbitrary interference in the internal workings of the colonial economy brought an immediate and hostile reaction. As a result of the disorders

that followed, most notably the Boston Tea Party, the British Ministry became so infuriated with American recalcitrance that it clamped harsh restrictive measures upon colonial commerce and government. The Coercive Acts of 1774 rekindled the fires of discontent and precipitated a series of armed skirmishes that soon became full-scale revolutionary war.⁴²

The response of the American colonies to the Coercive Acts of the British Parliament, once again, lay in the restriction of commerce with the Mother Country. But this time, unlike the earlier boycotts staged during the Stamp Act and Townshend Acts crises, Ireland was not granted the privilege of shipping linens and provisions direct to the colonies. Her exclusion resulted from the adoption by the First Continental Congress of the Suffolk Resolves, a radically defiant statement of American rights and prerogatives. That document, endorsed by the Congress on 17 September 1774, recommended the withholding of "all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies" until the full restoration of American rights.⁴³ Ireland was not without advocates, however. Benjamin Franklin, the most noteworthy, pointed out that the colonists' quarrel was with England, not Ireland, which would be unfairly hurt by inclusion in non-importation and non-exportation. "That country is much our friend," he wrote, "and the want of flax-seed may distress them exceedingly."⁴⁴ But Franklin's adoption of the Irish cause was to no avail. No imports of Irish linens or provisions were to enter colonial ports after 1 December 1774, and exports of flaxseed, lumber, and flour were to end 10 September 1775.⁴⁵ In its address to the people of Ireland in July 1775, the Continental Congress justified its harsh action: "If we continued our commerce with you, our agreement not to import from Britain would be fruitless; and we were therefore compelled to adopt a measure, to which nothing but absolute necessity could have reconciled us."⁴⁶

In Ireland there was widespread support for the American cause. "I find all classes in this kingdom much more animated about America than in England," wrote the Earl of Shelburne to a friend in Massachusetts in September 1775, adding, "In every Protestant or Dissenter's house, the establish'd toast is success to the Am^{cans}."⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the news that the Continental Congress had included Ireland in non-importation and non-exportation was greeted with dismay. "Even the smiling ray of Hope seems to have forsaken us! Our supplies of flax-seed, flour, and other capital articles from America are soon to be cut off," lamented a letter-writer to the Freeman's Journal, who saw the inevitable decay of the linen manufacture in the action of the American Congress.⁴⁸ Following the example of merchants in Great Britain,

meetings were called in each of the Irish ports trading to America to urge reconciliation between the colonies and the Mother Country.⁴⁹ In the early months of 1775, a flurry of Irish petitions to the British Parliament spelled out the "alarming and ruinous consequences" that must inevitably attend the trade of Ireland if a solution to the differences were not immediately found.⁵⁰ As late as a full year after colonial non-importation had gone into effect, merchants and traders in Ireland still clung to the belief that a settlement would be found. The linen manufacture in the North of Ireland, instead of languishing, remained surprisingly strong. Prices were kept up, according to one contemporary witness, "by adventurers, who hope for, and expect, an accomodation with America."⁵¹

In America, as events moved the colonies closer to war, the Irish-American trade entered its final phase of the colonial period. Early in September 1774, as merchants began to buy flaxseed for the winter's export, rumors circulated that Congress was about to declare a general cessation of trade with the British Isles, including non-exportation to Ireland. Flaxseed prices dropped sharply in the face of so much uncertainty, but recovered quickly in October after publication of the Suffolk Resolves, and moved to an all-time high in Pennsylvania of :13:3 per bushel.⁵² The linen trade did not fare so well, as cargoes shipped aboard the incoming flaxseed ships fell victim to the non-importation deadline of 1 December 1774. In Philadelphia, Irish linens landed after that date were publicly sold and the profits, if any, turned over to the town of Boston.⁵³ Except for the inconvenient timing of linen imports, the Irish-American commerce was no more hurt by the non-importation and non-exportation agreements than other trades to the West Indies and Great Britain. And, but for the few Irish merchants in the colonies who remained Loyalists, such as Hugh Wallace and George Folliot of New York, most participants in the trade supported the American stand against the British Parliament.⁵⁴ "We would not attempt or wish any Friend [in Ireland] to Attempt the infringement of Any Article," wrote one Baltimore merchant to his correspondent in Newry early in 1775.⁵⁵ In the War for American Independence that followed, members of the Irish-American merchant communities in the colonial ports, particularly Philadelphia, played important roles. John Shee served as a battlefield commander, leading troops who were largely Irish volunteers.⁵⁶ Stephen Moylan held posts as General Washington's secretary and aide-de-camp, and later as Quartermaster General of the Continental Army.⁵⁷ John Maxwell Nesbitt, in addition to serving on the Pennsylvania Committee of Correspondence,

was the paymaster of the Pennsylvania state navy and, later, a member of the Council of Safety. Nesbitt is best known for having worked closely with Robert Morris to sustain public credit during the most difficult days of the Revolution.⁵⁸

II.

During the American Revolutionary War, Ireland maintained an export of provisions and linens directed to markets in America. Although trade in these articles was circumscribed by wartime conditions, there were strong markets and good prices through much of the period. Legitimate salted beef and pork exports were shipped mainly to serve the victualling needs of the Royal Navy and British forces in America. At the same time, the civilian market across the Atlantic stimulated an impressive exportation of Irish flour, mainly to New York and other British-held ports, and Irish-caught and cured herrings, for the slave populations in the British West Indies. Likewise, Irish linen cloths, as well as English linens made from Irish yarns, found their way into the service of His Majesty's forces in America. In spite of the general contraction of the Irish linen manufacture in the war years, markets for low-priced coarse cloths were surprisingly strong, except during the intermittent periods of general business crisis. The cut off of supplies of American flaxseed, pot ashes, and certain kinds of specialty lumbers used in the linen manufacture necessitated the tapping of costly alternative sources of supply, which was ultimately reflected in higher linen prices.

The embargo on Irish provisions exports from February 1776 to December 1778 is among the most celebrated events in Irish commercial history. The cause of the Cork provisioners became the cause of the parliamentary opposition, and focused the discontent in Ireland over English commercial regulation that lay just beneath the veneer of Anglo-Irish harmony. For the most part, the embargo controversy was a constitutional question that provided the Patriot Party ground upon which to gather and test its forces.⁵⁹ The impact of the embargo upon the provisioning trades, however, was greatly exaggerated in both the liberal press and on the floor of the Irish House of Commons.⁶⁰ There was some basis for discontent, however. Unlike the embargoes of 1740 and 1756, it was not soon lifted, nor was a convenient means found for merchants to ship-off provisions surpluses in neutral vessels.⁶¹ In addition, the stoppage of the provisions export, except to Great Britain and her loyal dominions and garrisons, was a source of considerable embarrassment to Irish merchants with frustrated contractual obligations at home and

abroad.⁶² Of particular concern at Cork was the large build-up of "small Beef, not fit for the Use of Government or our Sugar Colonies." The low-grade cow beef, packed for consumption by slaves in the French colonies, was unsaleable elsewhere.⁶³ In spite of these inconveniences, the Irish provisioning trade did an enormous business during the American War. The combined military and civilian demand brought full employment and prosperity to the industry.⁶⁴ Perhaps the real grievance of the provisioners, and the underlying cause of their extensive lobbying in the Irish Parliament, was exclusion from the speculative gains they imagined awaiting them in a free wartime marketplace.⁶⁵

In their public statements and private lobbying, Irish provisioners declared the embargo to be ruinous. "Our Commodities are rendered useless and unprofitable," the Cork merchants told the House of Commons in Dublin in November 1777.⁶⁶ Although there were some dislocations in the trade, Ireland's provisioning commerce experienced considerable growth during the war. "So far has the export of Ireland, in these greatest articles of her provisions trade, been from falling off," wrote Arthur Young as his Tour in Ireland was on its way to the press in 1780, "that the increase is prodigious, and proves in the most satisfactory manner that the tide of her prosperity flows strongly."⁶⁷ Provisions prices before the embargo proclamation of February 1776 were relatively low. That month, in the North of Ireland, a County Down linen merchant attributed the scarcity of coarse cloths in the markets to the easy availability of food: "we have victualing very cheap w^{ch} never fails to make our manufacturers idle," he told his correspondent in England.⁶⁸ And in County Derry, the previous summer, an estate agent commented upon the good harvest to his principal across the Irish Sea: "very few have gone from these parts to America this year, perhaps owing more to the plenty of provisions, than the disturbances there."⁶⁹ Almost immediately after the embargo announcement, large-scale victualling operations were begun in earnest by the British military, sending prices higher throughout the country. In March 1776, fifty British transports in the American campaign arrived at Cork, making that city, as one North of Ireland newspaper put it, "the best place in the world to dispose of provisions."⁷⁰

Of all the provisioning towns in Ireland, Cork benefitted most from military demand for provisions during the American War. The eighteenth century notion that that port "suffers remarkably in time of war" has become one of the hardest myths in Irish historiography.⁷¹ Cork's role in transatlantic supply was central to Great Britain's plan to

subdue her wayward American colonists. "The transports are all to be victualled at Cork," a government spokesman told the Irish House of Commons in the early spring of 1776, "the fleet likewise must be victualled there, and provisions must be brought there to victual the whole army and navy during the campaign in America."⁷² In addition, the transatlantic convoys required by the terms of the embargo were to depart from Cork.⁷³ Prices there were quick to respond to the heavy demand, drawing in supplies of beef, butter, biscuit, and candles from throughout Ireland. The scale of the military's victualling needs pressed Cork's productive capacity to its limits. Within a few days of the embargo proclamation, the price of beef rose by :5: per barrel.⁷⁴ That article was trading at an historic high of :21: per hundredweight when Arthur Young visited the city in September 1776. Likewise that month, as the English observer noted, salted pork, an article particularly favoured by military buyers during the war, had risen to :30: per hundredweight from its pre-war level of about :18:6.⁷⁵ Widespread shortages in the domestic food supply resulted. By the second anniversary of the embargo, the price of butter had doubled, for instance, and potato prices in the markets of the North were three times their pre-war level.⁷⁶ The upward pressure on prices created by wartime military demand was responsible for much of the distress felt throughout the country by the poorer classes.⁷⁷

Irish trade statistics understate the effect of wartime demand upon the provisions industry, as beef, pork, and butter shipments to America for the use of the troops were not included in the annual totals. The unadjusted export statistics for the war suggest relatively flat performance and dull markets: stagnation in the instances of beef and butter, with growth only in the export of salted pork. Exports of these articles designated for military consumption in the two years ending March 1778, a period for which good comparative figures are available, considerably alters our picture of the industry's performance. In the case of butter, average military shipments during that period raised exports to America by about 24 per cent over the official plantation returns; military shipments of 8,700 hundredweight per annum represented about 3 1/2 per cent of Ireland's total butter export. Beef exports for the use of the troops, 13,210 barrels, added about 18 per cent to the total plantation export, with military demand accounting for about 7 per cent of total beef exports. Of the three principal salted provisions, pork responded most vigorously to the wartime situation. Average exports to the plantations of that article in the final two years before the outbreak of fighting, that ending March 1775, were just under 25,900

barrels per annum, about 50 per cent of total pork shipments. In the two years ending March 1788, salted pork exports to America for civilian and military use jumped to an average of 91,960 barrels per year, with 49,300 earmarked each year for the use of the troops. Composite military and civilian exports to the plantations accounted for 74 per cent of the total. In each of these articles, the quantity taken by the military in America was at least doubled in the year ending March 1779.⁷⁸

Herring was the most important non-military salted provision sent across the Atlantic during the war, the period during which the Irish fishery came into its own.⁷⁹ Increased demand for inexpensive provisions in the sugar islands, following the curtailment of North American supply, coincided with the establishment of incentives to encourage the growth of fisheries in England and Ireland. The first of these measures came immediately with the opening of hostilities. In April 1775, Lord North proposed extension of the bounty "per ton on all ships employed" in the fisheries of the two kingdoms.⁸⁰ Edmund Burke, native son and friend of Ireland as well as the advocate of the American cause in the British Parliament, questioned whether the prime minister's motives sprang from a desire to come to the aid of the Irish economy, or "rather giving Ireland the spoils taken from America."⁸¹ A more powerful stimulant to the growth of the Irish herring export was the virtual elimination of the Swedish herring re-export after 1778. Over the protests of Cork provisioners, who carried on a lucrative trade re-packing Gottenburgh herrings, the drawback of import duties was eliminated and an additional tariff charged against foreign fish landed in Ireland.⁸² Exports of Irish herring rose from an average of 4,020 barrels per annum for the three years ending March 1775 to an average of 24,370 barrels in the similar period ending 1783.⁸³ Even Arthur Young, the ubiquitous observer of Irish agriculture and industry, commented upon the vigorous development of the fishery in County Donegal.⁸⁴ The Irish herring export, "constituting the chief Food of the Negroes," was the most expansive of Ireland's provisions trades during the Revolutionary War.⁸⁵

New York and the West Indies became important temporary markets for Irish flour and biscuit during the war years. With North American wheat and flour no longer available in Ireland or the sugar islands after 1775, Irish grain production expanded to fill the gap. A series of good harvests complemented the excessive demand for provisions in British-controlled territories across the Atlantic.⁸⁶ Together they created a short-lived boom in exports. At the end of the third week in February 1776, the Irish House of Commons was informed that grain and

flour were to be exempt from the restrictions of the embargo.⁸⁷ "The War in America has been of greater Service to the Agriculture of this Kingdom than the inland Bounty, by preventing the great Importation of Flour from thence," said David Jebb, manager of the great flour mill at Slane, Country Meath.⁸⁸ The productive capacity of Irish milling greatly increased after passage, in the mid-1750s, of the inland bounty on grains, ground and unground, shipped overland to Dublin.⁸⁹ "In consequence of this Act," wrote Arthur Young, "many of the finest mills for grinding corn that are to be found in the world were erected The effect has been considerable in extending tillage."⁹⁰ During the war, Irish flour even enjoyed a preference over the English article in

Table 11.2: EXPORTS OF IRISH FLOUR TO BRITISH PLANTATIONS IN AMERICA⁹¹
[in hundredweights]

Year ending March	Plantations (N. Amer. & W.I.)	N. America	West Indies	% of Total Exports of Irish Flour
1777	13,375			55%
1778	8,287			34%
1779	15,169			58%
1780	36,656			45%
1781		22,024	20,002	60%
1782		64,490	36,127	66%
1783		5,055	11,918	50%

American markets. "They like our Flour exceedingly well at New York, prefer it to River Thames Flour," reported an exporter from the North of Ireland. Poor crops in England had given the Irish a competitive advantage in the late 1770s.⁹²

Irish merchants in the transatlantic wartime flour trade were under no illusions about the competitiveness of the Irish product once a settlement of the American dispute was achieved. "American Flour is superior," said William Ogle, a Newry merchant with considerable experience in colonial commerce. His candid testimony before a committee of the Irish House of Commons in the summer of 1780 put the trade into perspective: "if Peace came, and Matters in pristine State, [he] does not think West Indies would continue a Market, as America would be the natural Market for them."⁹³

The colonial non-importation agreements closed the North American ports to Irish linens after December 1774.⁹⁴ With the removal of the colonial market, the linen industry braced itself for a reversal of the rebuilding trend that had followed the depression of the early 1770s. Because the British plantations were the fastest-growing market for Irish linens, contemporaries saw the fate of the manufacture largely dependent

upon an early solution to the dispute between the Mother Country and her colonies. "This distressed unhappy country would suffer from America refusing to take her linen," wrote a concerned citizen in the Hibernian Journal in April 1775.⁹⁵ A letter published in another Dublin newspaper warned of the broad impact that would be felt as a result of the elimination of the colonial market: "That a decay in our linen branch will follow is not to be doubted; that almost all our manufactures . . . will, in consequence, be deeply affected is as certain."⁹⁶ The immediate effect of colonial non-importation was a contraction in the markets for Irish linen. "Our trade is Exceedingly dull and ready Money hard to be met with," wrote a merchant at Derry to his Dublin correspondent.⁹⁷ In February, the Belfast merchants formally petitioned the British Parliament for relief, citing "the decay of their linen manufacture, occasioned by the unhappy differences between Great Britain and her colonies."⁹⁸ But, in spite of the ominous signs for Irish linen in the first half of 1775, the industry did not collapse. In fact, markets and prices stabilized in the summer and remained strong, with intermittent periods of short-term weakness, until late in 1777, when the demand for Irish linens finally succumbed in response to the depression in England that had been brought about by the American War. The linen manufacture revived in 1779 and remained strong until the more serious collapse of 1782/83.⁹⁹

In contrast to the dire warnings for Irish commerce that had accompanied the worsening of American affairs after the fall of 1774, many in the linen manufacture remained confident through the trying months of 1775. But there was little encouragement from English merchants. The representative of an important Quaker linen house in London, the firm of Wakefield, Pratt & Meirs, wrote to his Irish correspondent, Thomas Greer of Dungannon, in January 1775: "am surpriz'd Linens should keep up so much with you as I am certain it is the Intent of every one [here] to do very little at present."¹⁰⁰ In Ireland, however, there was widespread optimism in the linen manufacture that a reconciliation could be achieved. The market for linens, except for an initial setback, was responsive to increased military demand, beginning in the spring and summer of 1775. "A great quantity of tow, spun into coarse yarn was chiefly woven into yard wides . . . was sold for soldier's shirts and for sheets," an observer in Strabane reported to his correspondent in England.¹⁰¹

Although the market was strong through the summer, signs of vulnerability appeared in the early fall. "The good sale the bleacher had in Dublin and London in June and July made them go on very briskly

till the September market came on," wrote James Hamilton, an estate agent in the North. Markets and prices worsened, inevitably, as inventories of linens built up. By December, he reported, the glut had begun to take its toll: "large quantities of goods of the former market remain unsold, and I know a great many whose cloath lies in their factor's hands." But even in the strained market of late 1775, Irish linen did not collapse in response to the pessimism that permeated English commercial life. Speculators in Ireland helped to maintain linen prices. In spite of difficulties, "I should by no means judge that the linen trade was languishing," he told the Earl of Abercorn.¹⁰²

In the fall of 1777, the market for Irish linen received its most severe and prolonged setback of the period before the British surrender at Yorktown. The crisis, which lasted until the early part of 1779, was not a direct consequence of the American Revolution, however.¹⁰³ It came, to a large degree, as a result of Irish oversupply to markets in England badly weakened by the general economic depression.¹⁰⁴ For much of the period between the summer of 1775 and the autumn of 1777, Irish linen traded in a seller's market. Even though these were relatively good times for linen, formal protestations continued to be voiced over the deplorable state of the manufacture as late as the summer of 1776.¹⁰⁵ Public pessimism reflected widespread dissatisfaction in Ireland over the effects of the embargo, rather than the dismal condition of the linen manufacture. In February 1776, John and Michael Andrews of Comber [County Down] tried to explain the high prices for cloths to an English customer: "course Linens all last Season was very High & as much so this Winter as ever, owing to a Scarcity [of] yarns & a great demand for it from your Side of the Water."¹⁰⁶ By early 1778, however, the Andrews were burdened with inventories in the hands of Dublin and London factors.¹⁰⁷ In 1777/78, the depression in the linen trade and the accompanying credit crisis helped to bring about a series of important economic reforms, including the easing of trading restrictions under the Navigation Acts. Early in 1779, however, linen experienced a recovery which continued, with only minor setbacks, until 1782/83, when sales again fell sharply as part of a decisive reversal of Irish economic fortunes.¹⁰⁸

On balance, what is most striking about the performance of Irish linen during the American Revolutionary War is the degree to which the industry adapted to wartime conditions, particularly with regard to the cut off of the American market for low-priced cloths. The sharp increase in yarn exports contributed to a shortage of inexpensive linens, the kinds that had previously found their way into the North American

market.¹⁰⁹ The durability of the linen manufacture during the war was even remarked upon by leaders of the revolution in America. From Paris, Silas Deane wrote to Robert Morris in Philadelphia in the summer of 1781 that, contrary to the general consensus in the Continental Congress in 1774 that colonial non-importation would bring the industries of England and Ireland to their knees, "Ireland . . . has found sufficient markets for her linen."¹¹⁰

The stability of the Irish linen industry was threatened by the discontinuation of the colonial flaxseed export, the source of its most important raw material. Disruption in the supply of flaxseed was "an Evil that must strike at the very Foundation of the chief Pillar of this Kingdom's Wealth," said a petition of the merchants of Cork.¹¹¹ Under the terms of the non-exportation agreements, shipments of North American flaxseed could no longer be sent to Ireland after 10 September 1775.¹¹² The elimination of the import was widely viewed in Ireland as a calamity. The Irish, as the House of Commons in London was told by the merchants of Waterford in March 1775, "being cut off from their usual supplies of American flax seed, will be rendered unable to carry on the linen manufacture . . . [which] must consequently be annihilated."¹¹³ The worst fears of 1775 were not realized, however, and alternative sources of seed became available until the end of the war. In the years before 1780, flaxseed imports were supported with bounties passed by the parliaments of both Ireland and Great Britain, reflecting official recognition of the vulnerability of the linen manufacture.¹¹⁴ In addition to the :5: per hogshead bounty payable to flaxseed imported into Ireland, another :5: per hogshead bounty was paid in England on flaxseed shipped from there to Ireland during the early years of the war.¹¹⁵ Flaxseed sent from the United Provinces and the Austrian Netherlands was not as well suited to Irish conditions as that raised across the Atlantic, however, and the commercial environment during the war was not conducive to a secure and predictable supply of seed.¹¹⁶ The merchants of Ireland, according to a petition placed before the Irish Parliament late in 1777, "have their Seed brought at a considerably higher Price and greater Risk than formerly, and attended with more Difficulty . . . and the Seed in the Growth is not so certain as the American."¹¹⁷ A number of factors contributed to the high prices and diminished output that characterized the performance of the Irish linen industry during much of the period between 1776 and 1783. One of them was the shortage of high quality flaxseed.

The American War brought with it a dramatic shift in Ireland's

flaxseed import. In the three years ending March 1775, the combined import from the growing regions of Holland, Flanders, and the Baltic was negligible, averaging fewer than 600 hogsheads per annum. In the same period, the average annual import from the North American colonies was about 34,300 hogsheads. During the final three year of the war, the period ending March 1783, there was an almost exact reversal in the structure of supply. The volume of North American flaxseed legally entering Ireland was reduced to about 650 hogsheads per annum, while that from the three continental producing areas averaged about 22,200 hogsheads.¹¹⁷ One interesting, although incidental, feature of the wartime trade in the middle years of the conflict was the continued maintenance of a modest level of flaxseed importation from North America.¹¹⁹ An average annual import of 3,500 hogsheads of American seed entered Ireland in the three year period ending March 1779. Continental flaxseed imports peaked in the twelve months ending March 1778, when 33,870 hogsheads were landed in Ireland, that figure represented 91 per cent of the total Irish imports.¹²⁰ The flaxseed trade did not rebuild after the 1777/78 crisis in the linen manufacture in proportion to the recovery of linen exports, largely as a result of strenuous efforts by the Irish Parliament to promote the saving and use of Irish-grown seed. An Act of 1780 eliminated the :5: per hogshead bounty on the import of foreign flaxseed and established new bounties for the production of domestic seed and flax grown from native Irish flaxseed.¹²¹ The prices paid for seed shipped through Ostend and other European ports were as high as twice the pre-war levels paid for North American flaxseed.¹²² Although high prices encouraged more economical domestic seed production, flaxseed bore a higher proportional share in the cost structure for Irish linen, contributing to the upward pressure on prices.

The cut-off of Ireland's North American commerce affected the availability of two other articles which served as raw materials in the manufacture of Irish linens: ashes and hard-rock maple. The high cost of shipping as well as wartime dislocations of trade were felt in the supply of high quality ashes used in the bleaching of linen cloths. In December 1781, a committee of the Irish House of Commons heard the report of a Linen Board expert on the subject: "The Expence of Materials for bleaching each Piece of Linen in Time of War entirely with Ashes, amounts to 2s.," he told his listeners, "[and] the Cost of Ashes will be one-fourth less in Time of Peace." High prices decreased the consumption of imported ashes and promoted schemes to develop domestically-made substitutes, the committee was told. Pot and pearl ashes from the Baltic

port of Danzig largely replaced the discontinued American article during the war, even though some North American ashes were landed and traded in Ireland. "Whenever America sends any it undersells them," reported a merchant who specialized in the trade.¹²³ In addition, the war put a stop to the Irish importation of large pieces of New England hard-rock maple used to make beetling beams and other utensils employed in the finishing of linen cloth. By the outbreak of the American Revolution, the New England colonies had become the primary source of this material.¹²⁴ As in the instances of flaxseed and ashes, the increased cost of finishing utensils was reflected in higher prices for Irish linen.

III.

Ireland participated in the clandestine supply of military stores to the American forces during the Revolutionary War. Within the first month in the life of the non-exportation agreement, the Continental Congress considered a proposal to reopen the flaxseed trade to Ireland in exchange for military supplies. "Our Friends and Fellow Subjects in Ireland should be admitted to take Flax seed from these Colonies in Exchange for all such Powder and other military Stores and woolen Yarn of their Manufacture as they shall bring to America," advised the committee on trade to the Congress in October 1776.¹²⁵ Within a month of the decision of Congress to allow ships entering with warlike stores permission to export American goods, Irish linens and woollens were in transit to the American army, shipped off from Newry, Belfast, and Larne, the "ports which succour America most."¹²⁶ In November, the British Treasury received intelligence that ten vessels had set out from Philadelphia for Ireland and Russia, to load "broad coarse linen for army use."¹²⁷ Although there was no significant movement of flaxseed between the rebellious colonies and Ireland, by 1776, a fragmented pattern of trade had evolved that allowed Ireland to participate, along with the neutral nations of Europe, in this speculative and dangerous commerce. It was an activity that matched great risks with great rewards, and encouraged the venturing of Irish capital. "Some things have already been done by people on your side & to astonishing advantage," wrote a North American merchant in the service of the Revolution to his Belfast correspondent in the spring of 1778. "We w^d imagine you w^d have no great objection to advancing the cost of the Vessel & Cargo," he wrote as preparations were being made to bring in a shipload of Irish linen.¹²⁸

The possibility of seizure was present at every stage of the

contraband trade. But, given the broken, multi-legged, character of the commerce, merchants had it in their power to determine an acceptable level of risk. Most direct involvement by Irish firms appears to have been in just the first leg, that between Ireland and one of the French Atlantic ports, where Irish foodstuffs and cloth were drawn into the general flow of goods purchased by agents of the American Congress.¹²⁹ The commerce relied upon channels of trade that had been established long before the disturbances in America. Typically, the clandestine cargoes were shipped to Bordeaux, Nantes, or l'Orient, where Irish merchants had good connexions as a result of Ireland's extensive pre-war provisioning commerce with the French West Indies.¹³⁰ Irish cargoes landed in France were gathered for re-shipment aboard neutral carriers to the tiny Dutch West Indian island of St. Eustatius, the scene of an enormous traffic in European goods intended for the rebel army, or to the French island of Martinique, attractive to Irish firms because of reliable correspondents there.¹³¹ With the outbreak of hostilities, Franco-Irish firms, such as S. & J. H. Delap and Valentine & Patrick French of Bordeaux, were quickly absorbed into the chain of supply.¹³² And after the French treaty with America in 1778, a considerable number of American firms set up in the French ports; "there are now so many Americans in France that almost every one has their friend to apply to," remarked a Boston merchant in 1782.¹³³ Included among those who established themselves at l'Orient were Jonathan Nesbitt, brother of John Maxwell Nesbitt, and James Moylan, brother of Stephen Moylan, all of whom were linked to the Irish merchant community at Philadelphia. D. H. Conyngham, a relation of Redmond Conyngham, senior partner of Conyngham & Nesbitt of Philadelphia, was involved in congressional purchasing in France and, later, carried on a wartime trade between Martinique and the United States.¹³⁴

There is evidence of some involvement by firms in Ireland in the carriage of goods to neutral ports in the Caribbean, as well as straight through to the coast of North America. Even after the signing of the Treaty of Alliance between the United States and France on 6 February 1778, Irish vessels intending to cross the Atlantic called at Bordeaux or Nantes to trim their ballasts with a highly valuable cargo of salt, take in a complement of small arms and swivel-guns for self-defence, and pick up the necessary ship's papers to establish a neutral identity.¹³⁵ Although a few Irish ships carried cargoes in the moderately safe shuttle between France and the sugar islands, only a tiny proportion attempted to run the blockade maintained by the British fleet off the American coast. By the middle years of the war, the Royal Navy began to cut deeply into

the clandestine trade. Between February 1777 and August 1778, one French firm lost more than half of its sixty-five cargoes.¹³⁶ It was in this final leg that the greatest rewards lay, however, and some Irish merchants, particularly in the North of Ireland, seem to have been up for the game. In planning a venture early in 1778, Waddell Cunningham of Belfast was advised by his Baltimore correspondent to send out only a highly-manoeuverable craft of relatively shallow draft, one that would be able to navigate in the numerous inlets and rivers of the Chesapeake; "there is none so proper as your clincher built Schooners or rather Wherrys," he was told. Cunningham's venture called for the shipment of a large assortment of linen and woollen cloth in exchange for about fifty hogsheads of tobacco.¹³⁷

Prices in North America and in the French West Indies encouraged speculation in the contraband trade. Run-away wartime inflation in the American States, as well as the break down of the foreign exchange mechanisms of the colonial period, have made it impractical to establish comparative commodity prices for the two sides of the Atlantic. Price movements in the former colonies strongly suggest their attractiveness as a market for Irish goods, however.¹³⁸ Salted provisions, along with linen and woollen cloth, experienced increases in advance of the general inflationary trend. In the spring of 1778, a time when average commodity prices had risen to about 600 per cent of their 1772-74 levels, imported linens and woollens traded in Baltimore at "above 1000 pC^t over former prices."¹³⁹ Linen and wool prices remained strong through the end of the war; "Linens of every denomination . . . are much wanted," wrote an American merchant to his correspondent in Amsterdam in the summer of 1780.¹⁴⁰ The steep advance in beef and pork prices in America began in February 1776, the month that the embargo was laid on in Ireland. Beef and pork prices rose more rapidly through the war years than the running average of fifteen commodities for which satisfactory price data has been established.¹⁴¹ Strong prices on the American mainland suggest even higher levels in the French West Indies, a market that had formerly been supplied by both the North American and Irish provisioning merchants in the years before the outbreak of hostilities. Excessively high prices for salted beef and pork in the islands, at a time of extreme scarcity on the mainland, forced the Continental Congress to impose a series of embargoes, the first of which went into effect in June 1776.¹⁴² After 1776, most of the Irish salted provisions that entered the contraband trade were probably destined for the use of the French troops garrisoned in the West Indies, or for the victualling of American privateers in the islands or in the French Atlantic ports.

The British Ministry's decision to curtail the free movement of Irish salted provisions by means of an embargo was wise. Even while the embargo was in effect, it was openly acknowledged before the Irish House of Commons that some trade with the American rebels had already taken place. "At the beginning of [the] War they may have had Occasion for Irish Beef," one provisioning merchant reluctantly admitted to the Embargo Committee in November 1777.¹⁴³ Participation by the Irish merchants in the illegal commerce was not universal, however. Patriotic motives aside, the trade was simply too dangerous for some. "I w^d not for any Consideratⁿ risque my Character in doing any Act Contrary to the Laws of my Country," wrote a Dublin merchant late in 1781 to his Irish correspondent at Bordeaux, when approached to ship beef to St. Martins. "I believe no one would be hardy Enough to Venture treating with them to goe to any French Port to Procure any Qnt^y that was not Legal Beef," he added.¹⁴⁴ Although circumvention of the embargo entailed risks for Irish merchants in the period before December 1778, beef and pork was carried to French ports with relative ease.¹⁴⁵ It was a lucrative trade for the Irish, but an expensive one from the American perspective. Silas Deane, one of the American commissioners in France, reported to the French Court in August 1776 that the importation of Irish provisions into France, and their subsequent re-shipment to St. Eustatius and Martinique, was excessively costly to his government. "The same Articles," he reported, "are to be had from the United Colonies cheaper, with greater certainty, and the payment for them made, not in Silver and Gold, but in Syrops or Melasses."¹⁴⁶ Deane greatly over-estimated the ability of American agriculture to satisfy the military's demand. The contraband trade from Ireland was a response to real and severe shortages in North America, as well as in the islands.

There can be little doubt that the availability of Irish food and clothing played some part in the maintenance of the revolutionary cause. Although American agriculture, particularly that in Connecticut, made enormous strides in productive capacity during the war years, domestic output was never adequate to meet military needs.¹⁴⁷ Washington's army was characteristically short of provisions, with his men periodically on the brink of starvation. The deprivation of his soldiers for want of proper clothing, especially in the winter months, was often as serious a threat to the American cause as the hostile actions of the enemy.¹⁴⁸ Clandestine Irish provisions imports, most notably in the early years of the war, were an important supplement to domestic output. Irish linens and woollens, on the other hand, were proportionately of even greater consequence because of the endemic shortages that resulted from the

inadequate American manufacture.¹⁴⁹ During the period of the American Revolutionary War, Ireland produced a significant surplus of those articles upon which the fate of eighteenth century armies depended. The British Army relied upon supplies purchased in Ireland during the American campaign and, in a much narrower sense, so did the Continental Army.

IV.

While the War for American Independence raged in the former British plantations, a revolution of another kind was taking place in Ireland. The Irish Volunteer movement arose in 1778, after the British government withdrew troops stationed on Irish soil to meet the emergency created when the American War spread to Europe. The more than 40,000 Volunteers, although outside the control of the civil authority, were necessary for national defence at a time when a foreign invasion of Ireland seemed a real threat. The movement, which had begun as a home defence force, evolved into an instrument by which the Patriot Party in the Irish House of Commons forced the British Ministry to bring about a considerable liberalization of the commercial and constitutional ties that bound the two kingdoms.¹⁵⁰ In 1779-80, the Irish Commons demanded and won 'Free Trade', which, among other things, allowed "trade between Ireland and the British Colonies and Plantations in America and the West Indies . . . to be carried on in a like manner as it is now carried on between Great Britain and the said Colonies and Settlements."¹⁵¹ The order that had defined and regulated trade between Ireland and the British plantations for over a century was broken. By the summer of 1782, even more sweeping changes came about as a result of the increasing pressure put upon the British Ministry by the Volunteers and the reform-minded Irish Parliament. The Constitution of 1782, as the set of reforms granted by Great Britain were called, allowed a separation of the legislative and executive branches in Ireland, giving the Irish Parliament broad powers to manage foreign commerce, as well as internal domestic affairs.¹⁵² Thus, when trade resumed in 1783 between Ireland and America, now the United States of America, it did so on a significantly different footing.

Both Ireland and the United States had high hopes for their commercial relationship in the post-war period. Nothing came of the desire of members of the Patriot Party and the three American representatives at the peace negotiations in Paris [Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay] for a separate commercial treaty between Ireland and the United States, however,¹⁵³ "It seems that your Parliament is now the sole Regulator of Irish Commerce; consequently if

your Nation is not acknowledged as a contracting Party, your Ships will be delayed, and your Merchants suffer materially by the Omission," wrote "a Person of high Consequence in the State of Virginia" to Sir Edward Newenham, who presented the argument for a commercial treaty between Ireland and the American States to the Irish Commons.¹⁵⁴ In spite of the inability of the parties on both sides to move forward on the question of a commercial treaty in 1783, the Irish Parliament was generous in its treatment of the new nation.¹⁵⁵ "An Act for facilitating the Trade and Intercourse between this Kingdom and the United States of America," which was passed by the Parliament in Dublin in 1783, offered terms that reflected the wishes of the Patriots both to stimulate foreign commerce and to keep Irish trade under Irish control. According to the Act, no documentation was to be required from vessels entering Ireland from the United States, or returning there from Ireland; the only exception being in the case of bonds given not to re-land in Ireland articles upon which an export bounty or drawback had been paid. Furthermore, goods shipped from the United States could be landed in Ireland from American ships, paying the same duties as similar goods brought from the British plantations aboard Irish or British ships. The act rendered Irish-American trade freer than it had ever been in the period between 1662 and 1775.¹⁵⁶

Ships began to carry goods between Ireland and the United States even before passage of the Act that formally reopened Irish ports to the trade.¹⁵⁷ In the difficult period following the close of the Revolution, just as before the war, Ireland offered American merchants one of the few European markets for the produce of the northern states.¹⁵⁸ Within the first year after the signing of the treaty that ended the Revolutionary War, flaxseed and lumber exports to America had been re-established, and an important new trade, that in Virginia and Maryland tobacco, had been successfully launched. From Ireland, once again, came linens, provisions, and servants.¹⁵⁹ "Irish Linnens are always in demand, I dare say I cou'd dispose of 1000 pieces every year & to good acc^t if properly laid in," wrote a Baltimore merchant to his Belfast correspondent in December 1783.¹⁶⁰ In addition to these staples of the colonial period, the trade now included a wide variety of articles that had been prohibited before American independence. In a letter to a Newport [Rhode Island] correspondent in April 1784, a Dublin merchant provided a perspective on Ireland's commercial relationship with the United States:¹⁶¹

Dublin, 10th April 1784

Christopher Champlin, and
Samuel Fowler & Son

Gent.,

. . . As your State is now as free and independant as our own, I hope our Commercial intercourse will increase daily, and on my part I shall you may depend studdy to promote it. Our infant Manufactures of every kind are daily improving and increasing, which consist of all sorts of Goods made as in Manchester, Coarse frizes, flannels, Rateens, Shallons, Durants, and Morains and Worsted and Silk Goods the best in Europe, and our Linnens I need not tell you are rivald by none, and cheaper then can be shipt from London from whence hitherto America was supply'd. but one Great barr to our enlargeing our Trade with you, is, our Poverty in not being able to give the long Credits the Manufacturers do in England. here however the prices are proportionably low, and for ready money there is a discount for 2, 4 and 6 months given at the rate of 6 per Ct. per annum. We have also an extensive Glass Manufacture here and Window Glass in particular is 1/2d per foot cheaper then at Bristol and flater myself will be found equal in quality indeed some kind is 1d a foot cheaper.

Our Parliament is desirous to give the American States all possible Encouragement to trade with us, and as an instance they lowered the duty on Tobacco to 11d, in England 15d is paid, and all your Goods and products are allow'd to be imported and remain here for a Market 6 months without paying any other Expence or Charge then that of Storage. But by the English Navigation Act, which is adopted, here your Vessels will not be allow'd to bring West india produce nor the Produce of any Foreign Nation, but that of America, say the Products of the Thirteen United States may be brought in any of your Vessels, and there is No duty paid on any of America Produce, except 11d on Tobacco and 2d per barel (of 4 1/4 Bushels) of Wheat. this latter article will be allow'd only to be sold here when the price of our own Wheat exceeds 30/ a barel that weighs 280 pounds, tho' it may be stored as I before observed in the King's Stores, untill the price here exceeds 30/, when it may be sold or sent to a better Market. as to Flour it will not be allow'd to be imported. this is done by Parliament to encourage the Mills, which are numerous here, and are principally owned by their Members. There is expectation that a treaty of Commerce will shortly be concluded between the United States and Great Britain in which this Kingdom will no doubt be included, and untill this Business is finally concluded its impossible to say what further privilages will be allow'd the Shiping of the United States, but the General opinion here is, that your Vessels will be allow'd the same privilages as when you were under the Dominion of Britton, however a little time will tell us more of this buisness. in the interim I beg leave to conclude, Gentlemen,

Your most humble Servant,
Edw'd Forbes

Ireland's freedom from commercial regulation from across the Irish Sea did not outlive the eighteenth century, however. Likewise, the constitutional gains of 1782 proved largely illusory when tested by crisis, particularly that faced by the Irish government after the spread of French revolutionary ideas to Ireland in the 1790s.¹⁶² Nonetheless, Irish trade emerged from the period of the American Revolution more free than it had ever been, and it was never again forced into a restrictive mould in order to serve the narrow interests of Great Britain. It had been the injudicious application of mercantilist principles that had

brought the inevitable reactions in both Ireland and the colonies in North America. "The loss of America, and the independency of Ireland," wrote Arthur Young, one of England's most clear-headed observers of Irish economic life, "are obviously to be carried to our commercial account."¹⁶³

The vitality of Irish business life depended on the degree of economic integration that existed with the British empire. Although British mercantile legislation was not designed to promote commercial development in Ireland and colonial America, it provided a set of activities appropriate to each region. Irish law dealt in detail with the needs of the Irish market, but it failed to provide the legal framework necessary to support the growth of a national economy. The relationship with the Mother Country, her level of economic development, and the possibilities for commercial success in the Atlantic from the mid-seventeenth century forward, all played a role in the development of a significant element in the Atlantic economy outside the context of an institutional structure such as that provided by the British empire. In the absence of the prospects for Irish trade expansion in the latter part of the seventeenth century, they were largely illusory. However, the full development of Ireland's commerce with America ultimately rested upon the formation of politically stable colonies on the mainland offering markets of adequate size and purchasing power. In spite of her attempts at independence, Ireland's participation in transatlantic trade further required access to costly financial services, as well as a more efficient mercantile apparatus than was available at home. Throughout the period between 1690 and 1780, the single most striking feature of transatlantic commerce in the dependence upon British capital and the degree of American Irish participation in these

The Irish economy derived a number of immediate benefits from trade with America. It provided the most extensive external market for the Irish linen, the nation's major industrial export. At the same time, Irish wool and other raw materials were sold to the American market for re-export to the colonies. The Irish population, already well supplied by Atlantic trade, both in the nineteenth century and the century of the

CONCLUSION

The vitality of Irish-American trade suggests the high degree of economic integration that existed within the first British Empire. Although English navigation legislation may have inhibited aspects of commercial development in both Ireland and colonial America, on balance, it defined a set of activities appropriate to each partner. Trade was limited in scale and scope, but it allowed both Ireland and the North American colonies the means of exploiting advantages of geography and resource allocation, thus leveraging growth. Given Ireland's political relationship with the Mother Country, her level of economic development, and the preconditions for commercial success in the Atlantic from the mid-seventeenth century forward, it is difficult to imagine her emergence as a significant element in the Atlantic economy outside the context of an institutional structure such as that provided by the British Empire. As auspicious as the prospects for Irish trade appeared in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, they were largely illusory. Rhetoric aside, the full development of Ireland's commerce with America ultimately waited upon the formation of politically stable colonies on the mainland offering markets of adequate size and purchasing power. In spite of her pretensions to independence, Ireland's participation in transatlantic trade further required access to orderly financial services, as well as a more efficient marketing apparatus than was available at home. Throughout the period between 1660 and 1783, the single most striking feature of Irish-colonial commerce is its dependence upon English intermediaries and the degree of expatriate Irish participation in those firms, most of them based in London.

The Irish economy enjoyed a number of immediate benefits from trade with colonial America. It provided the most expansive external market for low-priced linens, the nation's chief industrial output. At mid-century, Irish linen was securely linked to the British dry goods export just as the colonies matured into a huge market for imported manufactures. The Irish provisions industry was, likewise, stimulated by Atlantic trade, both in the victualling of ships and the export of goods

to the British plantations, as well as the French and Spanish islands of the Caribbean. A large share of what was imported into Ireland from the American colonies, either directly or indirectly, served to enhance Irish industrial development. With the exception of tobacco, rum, and flour, nearly all of the articles landed from British America required further finishing in Ireland. The sugar, lumber, wheat, and iron imports all stimulated industrial activity to prepare those products for final markets. Another class of imports, goods such as barrel staves, wheel sets, beetling beams, and ocean-going ships, were consumed in the process of production itself. Finally, imported flaxseed, an article of critical importance to the Irish economy, was made available largely through Irish-American commerce. The plantations trade, particularly that directly associated with Irish industrial development, encouraged the investment of Irish savings in the Irish economy and stimulated the growth of towns.

Trade with Ireland also served to promote development in the American plantations. Although Irish provisions were important to the West Indian sugar economy, particularly in the period between 1660 and 1720, the benefits reaped by the colonies of the American mainland were of more lasting significance. Most importantly, the trade accelerated the transformation of the nearly self-sufficient agriculture of New England and the middle colonies into a system of production for the market. The commerce with Ireland was one of the few channels available to the farmers of the northern colonies whereby their produce could move directly into the British Isles. Because of the close links between the Irish provisions and linen trades to London financing, colonial merchants trading with Ireland had ready access to sources of English credit and capital that were not immediately available through the conventional West Indian commerce. The flow of English and Irish savings into the colonies via the Irish-American trade was of great significance during this period of capital formation, when the rate of domestic savings was incapable of generating self-sustained growth. The trade's function as the carrier of vast numbers of Irish emigrants further stimulated development in the middle colonies, where the expansion of agricultural output was chiefly frustrated by the scarcity of labour.

The long-run consequences of Irish-colonial commerce are more difficult to access. They are, perhaps, easiest to see at the American end, where processes set in motion by overseas trade during the colonial period continued, more or less intact, into the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although the impact of Irish trade cannot be properly isolated from that of the West Indian commerce or the grain

trade to southern Europe, each of these activities served a similar purpose of market integration in New England and the middle colonies. In the post-revolutionary economy, the continued importance of former participants in Irish-American trade, as well as the investment of fortunes gathered by firms in the Irish merchant communities of Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, suggests the lasting influence of capital generated by the commerce. The long-term significance of American trade to the Irish economy is more ambiguous. Although it was not immediately evident, the gains from transatlantic trade did not extend deep enough into Irish society to allow for a high degree of self-sustained development after the break-up of the first British Empire. In the years following the war, when further investment in overseas commerce, as well as in Irish industrial diversity, might have built upon the accomplishments of the period before 1776, the opportunities for profit that accompanied the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain shifted attention across the Irish Sea. At the same time, after the Act of Union in 1800, the nation lost the advantage of a locally-sitting parliament to promote her immediate commercial interests. The failure to build upon gains made in the Atlantic between 1660 and 1783 is but another element in the tragedy that befell Ireland in the final years of the eighteenth century.

Appendix A. TOTAL IRISH EXPORTS
[in £s]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain ^b	East Country	Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL
1698	£388,362:	£21,840:	£228,617:	£135,526:	£153,165:	£68,795:	£996,305:
1699	347,644:	11,042:	158,357:	119,195:	152,723:	63,210:	852,171:
1700	372,585:	14,469:	117,414:	159,911:	89,060:	61,308:	814,746:
1701	321,611:	6,444:	122,848:	110,688:	49,951:	68,871:	670,412:
1702	317,326:	5,475:	70,294:	15,591:	42,986:	41,761:	493,435:
1703	367,282:	13,763:	60,249:		72,940:	58,097:	572,331:
1704	335,453:	11,982:	58,833:	78:	92,415:	44,653:	543,413:
1705	295,745:	28,190:	54,309:	7,379:	89,515:	41,634:	516,772:
1706	281,250:	35,916:	59,579:		127,158:	44,416:	548,318:
1707	343,329:	24,298:	69,711:		120,666:	56,801:	614,804:
1708 ^d							
1709	359,809:	47,264:	72,013:		162,437:	64,191:	705,714:
1710	361,152:	31,817:	98,427:		156,768:	64,333:	712,497:
1711	358,291:	58,047:	137,609:		250,367:	73,953:	878,327:
1712	362,785:	39,651:	99,433:		321,809:	65,661:	889,339:
1713	376,179:	28,830:	114,944:	40,737:	244,778:	84,969:	890,437:
1714	586,850:	19,118:	168,702:	284,042:	261,615:	101,900:	1,422,227:
1715	551,066:	37,975:	153,085:	467,880:	209,958:	110,501:	1,529,766:
1716 ^d							
1717	650,968:	50,512:	142,323:	163,119:	149,326:	98,838:	1,255,085:
1718	608,607:	39,140:	138,157:	186,738:	129,948:	77,424:	1,180,013:
1719	543,352:	71,874:	138,858:	141,581:	124,228:	95,410:	1,115,304:
1720	461,350:	81,514:	140,726:	165,860:	111,740:	77,190:	1,038,381:
1721 ^e	373,882:	100,337:	113,107:	58,013:	125,262:	88,981:	859,581:
1722	452,203:	80,700:	87,033:	121,238:	176,768:	68,404:	986,347:
1723	558,401:	46,531:	89,327:	122,427:	183,240:	74,344:	1,074,270:
1724	578,009:	44,951:	60,866:	176,777:	147,265:	82,806:	1,090,676:
1725	497,882:	42,050:	52,618:	214,423:	149,984:	96,825:	1,053,783:
1726	477,972:	39,575:	63,923:	205,317:	135,751:	103,998:	1,026,537:
1727	504,882:	53,211:	93,714:	137,702:	118,049:	110,314:	1,017,872:
1728	462,097:	55,190:	100,866:	179,569:	146,354:	118,245:	1,062,320:
1729	461,455:	35,371:	62,574:	194,607:	156,201:	123,665:	1,033,873:
1730	430,522:	28,439:	49,282:	204,008:	140,074:	140,508:	992,832:
1731	449,195:	50,877:	66,061:	178,068:	171,602:	127,250:	1,043,052:
1732	482,892:	35,405:	65,399:	233,570:	180,753:	119,282:	1,117,300:
1733	540,643:	35,505:	48,631:	161,125:	194,481:	120,004:	1,100,389:
1734	634,031:	28,476:	58,261:	153,634:	208,548:	127,148:	1,210,098:
1735	680,695:	34,573:	54,795:	168,298:	206,658:	103,392:	1,248,411:
1736	656,620:	31,533:	55,266:	129,205:	205,902:	116,395:	1,194,921:
1737	646,962:	42,131:	52,308:	176,955:	221,210:	91,375:	1,230,941:
1738	587,091:	48,653:	60,226:	187,937:	268,796:	118,775:	1,271,477:
1739	659,326:	37,541:	57,636:	165,794:	204,172:	101,621:	1,226,089:
1740	677,738:	41,255:	93,037:	200,500:	165,842:	81,481:	1,259,853:

Appendix A. Total Irish Exports, continued:

Year ending March	Great Britain	East Country	Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies	TOTAL
1741	£728,651:	£27,114:	£92,648:	£91,656:	£131,805:	£136,466:	£1,208,341:
1742	743,661:	33,099:	89,933:	62,410:	118,810:	174,969:	1,222,882:
1743	643,877:	37,404:	113,574:	150,669:	123,948:	120,004:	1,189,478:
1744	766,496:	52,416:	132,663:	200,741:	132,895:	135,367:	1,420,579:
1745	863,027:	45,511:	194,075:	6,500:	151,841:	129,976:	1,390,930:
1746	901,147:	43,143:	227,138:	495:	120,797:	85,508:	1,378,229:
1747	1,139,320:	53,261:	296,701:	96:	214,509:	153,609:	1,857,496:
1748	893,513:	76,854:	246,141:		222,304:	138,233:	1,577,045:
1749	955,649:	87,538:	305,476:	75,362:	203,112:	117,158:	1,744,295:
1750	1,069,864:	104,943:	210,824:	164,783:	184,155:	128,260:	1,862,834:
1751	1,229,718:	91,775:	176,105:	139,950:	174,629:	155,510:	1,968,687:
1752	1,128,993:	60,449:	172,106:	193,797:	198,499:	157,983:	1,911,827:
1753	1,142,640:	100,422:	132,095:	153,182:	215,505:	163,354:	1,907,198:
1754	1,206,792:	76,417:	114,656:	137,285:	195,895:	140,590:	1,871,636:
1755	1,312,176:	51,506:	88,820:	227,646:	233,967:	133,545:	2,047,661:
1756	1,146,704:	76,263:	100,584:	39,584:	282,177:	174,527:	1,819,839:
1757	1,480,714:	71,931:	111,037:	822:	215,340:	238,952:	2,118,256:
1758	1,462,696:	55,759:	197,225:	450:	287,185:	175,661:	2,178,976:
1759	1,466,437:	79,731:	127,138:	108:	220,847:	165,814:	2,060,074:
1760	1,450,757:	72,934:	118,639:		224,082:	272,976:	2,139,388:
1761	1,494,499:	93,532:	172,292:		248,870:	235,758:	2,244,952:
1762	1,649,295:	104,771:	159,960:		216,287:	308,613:	2,438,926:
1763	1,562,400:	112,397:	129,839:	6,923:	181,993:	286,374:	2,279,926:
1764	1,682,196:	144,834:	110,497:	132,063:	248,763:	276,875:	2,595,229:
1765	1,693,197:	143,128:	118,113:	153,315:	173,267:	211,045:	2,492,064:
1766	2,083,108:	97,451:	70,974:	117,247:	179,567:	246,135:	2,794,481:
1767	2,207,080:	108,673:	39,031:	105,272:	165,568:	217,010:	2,842,600:
1768	2,316,770:	96,279:	56,084:	135,092:	190,308:	266,096:	3,060,629:
1769	2,266,151:	129,819:	78,512:	150,196:	158,833:	218,316:	3,001,827:
1770	2,408,839:	78,107:	57,275:	144,390:	178,623:	292,353:	3,159,587:
1771	2,514,040:	47,209:	106,514:	101,895:	224,639:	487,022:	3,481,319:
1772	2,405,507:	90,085:	69,895:	140,477:	239,034:	321,825:	3,266,823:
1773	2,178,664:	79,719:	94,798:	117,519:	232,281:	268,364:	2,971,346:
1774	2,117,695:	36,953:	74,053:	127,085:	216,667:	260,602:	2,833,055:
1775	2,379,858:	25,203:	40,802:	158,164:	272,300:	266,710:	3,143,038:
1776	2,551,212:	35,640:	55,236:	140,538:	213,325:	264,799:	3,260,749:
1777	2,552,297:	20,971:	30,568:	11,843:	201,076:	331,377:	3,148,142:
1778	2,718,146:	5,304:	42,357:	19,449:	176,530:	301,016:	3,262,801:
1779	2,256,659:	11,762:	39,342:	1,032:	177,297:	241,023:	2,727,115:
1780	2,384,899:	6,242:	124,859:	1,444:	190,483:	304,251:	3,012,178:
1781	2,187,407:	21,863:	75,751:	498:	266,192:	347,325: ^f	2,896,035:
1782	2,709,767:	27,991:	84,764:	13:	229,514:	348,550:	3,400,599:
1783 ^g	2,009,665:	55,387:	108,560:	1,614:	359,971:	400,609:	2,935,708:
1784	2,353,972:	44,383:	58,891:	88,934:	229,343:	624,523:	3,400,050:

Appendix A.1. EXPORTS OF IRISH BEEF
[in barrels]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain ^b	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/bbl	TOTAL VALUE
1698	5,013	15,971	16,774	9,803	36,408	83,968	:18:	£75,571:
1699					44,508	77,654	:18:	69,889:
1700	3,008	6,863	32,876	6,212	43,381	92,337	:20:	92,377:
1701					49,844	82,996	:20:	82,996:
1702	2,374	6,086	6,498	4,317	37,682	56,957	:16:	45,565:
1703					57,627	76,486	:15:	57,365:
1704	3,914	3,825	7	12,048	47,112	66,907	:14:	46,835:
1705					39,819	91,676	:14:	64,173:
1706	3,861	5,552		28,568	39,235	77,217	:15:	57,913:
1707					46,234	73,564	:15:	55,173:
1708 ^h	409	1,955	6	8,670	10,926	21,965	i	
1709					41,445	83,214	:16:	66,571:
1710	2,261	4,863		23,219	43,035	72,877	:16:	58,302:
1711					45,619	86,317	:16:	69,054:
1712	2,465	4,532		49,934	42,792	99,723	:16:	79,778:
1713					54,439	93,900	:16:	75,120:
1714	948	11,514	26,005	22,493	48,159	109,121	:22:6	122,761:
1715					56,624	154,576	:22:6	173,898:
1716	785	3,966	13,362	9,327	56,118	83,558	i	
1717					60,571	102,680	:18:	92,417:
1718	1,426	9,020	46,397	16,404	45,181	118,424	:20:	118,424:
1719					5,699	117,101	:20:	117,102:
1720	775	27,615	47,717	10,106	47,441	133,653	:20:	133,654:
1721					55,330	103,124	:18:	92,812:
1722	1,130	21,775	57,335	18,676	40,883	139,801	:18:	125,821:
1723					54,201	162,085	:15:	121,564:
1724	1,721	15,000	47,263	10,781	54,617	129,381	:18:	116,443:
1725					68,395	148,513	:18:	133,662:
1726	680	7,172	44,890	16,168	61,070	129,982	:20:	129,982:
1727					58,911	134,011	:20:	134,011:
1728	408	11,105	56,526	8,735	50,979	127,754	:20:2	140,529:
1729					60,030	161,363	:20:	161,363:
1730	635	5,792	67,730	11,420	57,053	142,630	:23:	164,025:
1731					61,738	131,040	:18:	117,936:
1732	563	8,157	70,117	13,524	53,004	145,804	:20:	145,804:
1733					49,753	139,135	:21:	146,092:
1734	707	3,419	66,760	22,857	57,754	151,498	:18:	136,348:
1735					52,161	165,209	:18:	148,688:
1736	724	3,495	44,936	25,642	65,212	14,000	:18:	126,008:
1737					35,994	146,621	:19:	139,289:
1738	1,350	853	82,795	14,996	55,903	155,898	:20:	155,898:
1739					49,999	143,945	:19:	136,748:
1740	3,270	3,610	90,578	19,125	38,938	155,522	:18:6	143,857:

Appendix A.1. Exports of Irish Beef, continued:

	Great Britain	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies	TOTAL	price per/bbl	TOTAL VALUE
1741					59,083	94,458	:20:	£94,458:
1742	10,107	653	1,323	9,239	100,292	121,614	:20:	121,614:
1743					54,383	128,144	:20:	128,144:
1744	2,899	8,200	88,359	5,603	62,690	167,751	:20:	167,751:
1745					70,336	107,645	:20:	107,645:
1746	5,785	32,637	128	9,557	42,749	93,857	:18:6	86,818:
1747					68,409	180,348	:20:	180,348:
1748	8,145	22,166		20,558	62,669	113,537	:20:	113,537:
1749					55,326	197,792	:20:	197,792:
1750	5,729	17,542	77,884	14,607	43,155	158,916	:22:	174,808:
1751					63,450	155,734	:22:	171,308:
1752	7,051	18,894	93,421	17,285	56,209	192,860	:22:4	215,360:
1753					65,045	180,878	:23:	208,009:
1754	8,582	8,472	59,076	16,235	57,192	149,558	:22:8	169,499:
1755					52,714	180,980	:22:6	203,603:
1756	13,231	21,329	9,658	23,197	75,270	142,686	:22:6	160,522:
1757					107,937	147,894	:22:6	166,381:
1758	9,432	81,914	14	37,399	67,030	195,789	:22:6	220,263:
1759					52,777	136,356	:22:6	153,400:
1760	24,072	21,232		18,044	101,555	164,903	:22:6	185,515:
1761					89,584	193,744	:22:6	217,962:
1762	37,171	35,714		19,845	117,800	210,530	:22:6	236,847:
1763					119,425	160,983	:22:6	181,105:
1764	5,857	16,939	72,353	16,453	106,618	218,220	:22:6	245,498:
1765					64,101	199,999	:22:6	224,999:
1766	16,837	8,519	67,023	19,538	78,493	190,410	:22:6	214,210:
1767					73,040	173,484	:22:6	195,169:
1768	30,920	6,082	71,662	16,565	85,218	209,848	:25:	262,309:
1769					62,172	205,368	:25:	256,711:
1770	31,276	10,090	74,177	17,799	74,929	208,270	:25:	260,337:
1771					83,410	201,010	:25:	251,263:
1772	38,948	8,014	58,592	22,418	72,856	200,829	:25:	251,037:
1773					84,207	215,192	:25:	268,989:
1774	35,646	10,683	51,906	22,474	66,785	187,495	:25:	234,368:
1775					55,977	192,453	:25:	240,565:
1776	43,904	9,072	69,377	13,521	67,811	203,685	:25:	254,606:
1777					71,847	168,579	:26:8	224,771:
1778	107,753	253	18	3,902	78,770	190,695	:26:8	254,261:
1779					50,439	138,918	:26:8	185,224:
1780	89,698	29,606	425	18,219	49,807 ^f	187,755	:26:8	250,340:
1781					60,868 ^f	190,501	:30:	285,752:
1782	67,246	25,366	3	12,745	50,223	155,583	:30:	223,374:
1783 ^g					48,337	212,018	:30:	318,027:
1784	32,251	j	j	j	43,280	126,531	:30:	189,797:

Appendix A.2. EXPORTS OF IRISH BEER
[in barrels]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain ^b	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/bbl	TOTAL VALUE
1698	192	738	538	1,410	3,820	6,698	:5:	£1,674:
1699					3,092	6,283	:5:	1,571:
1700	288	1,132	1,008	1,291	3,343	7,058	:5:	2,117:
1701					3,525	6,117	:5:	1,529:
1702	181	812	153	740	2,856	4,740	:5:	1,185:
1703					3,543	5,434	:5:	1,359:
1704	2,514	708	20	6,521	2,888	12,650	:5:	3,162:
1705					2,780	11,480	:5:	2,870:
1706	3,025	1,655		3,489	3,119	11,287	:5:	2,822:
1707 ^h					3,641	12,626	:5:	3,156:
1708 ^h	447	1,101	28	618	1,470	3,664	i	
1709					3,674	11,404	:5:	2,851:
1710	5,298	1,506		3,044	3,441	13,288	:5:	3,322:
1711					4,566	19,007	:5:	4,752:
1712	1,182	1,755		8,966	3,244	15,147	:5:	3,787:
1713					3,464	10,859	:5:	2,715:
1714	61	1,313	2,536	4,306	3,368	11,523	:5:	2,881:
1715					3,947	12,259	:5:	3,065:
1716	561	1,307	1,082	1,666	2,686	7,302	i	
1717					2,666	7,144	:6:	2,143:
1718	55	811	1,260	1,239	3,019	6,382	:6:	1,915:
1719					2,509	6,233	:6:	1,870:
1720	28	1,262	1,384	1,367	2,123	6,164	:10:	3,082:
1721					2,467	6,079	:10:	3,040:
1722	21	1,309	1,108	2,040	1,842	6,321	:6:	1,896:
1723					1,660	5,838	:6:	1,752:
1724	22	1,033	796	1,634	1,748	5,233	:6:	1,570:
1725					1,320	4,334	:6:	1,300:
1726	10	791	893	1,055	1,478	4,227	:6:	1,268:
1727					1,445	3,612	:6:	1,084:
1728	26	569	879	671	1,585	3,730	:6:	1,119:
1729					2,105	4,458	:6:	1,337:
1730	5	287	946	872	1,803	3,912	:6:	1,174:
1731					2,071	4,730	:6:	1,419:
1732	2	296	923	1,648	1,787	4,656	:6:	1,397:
1733					2,211	4,746	:10:	2,373:
1734	9	229	768	1,235	2,122	4,363	:10:	2,181:
1735					1,621	4,620	:10:	2,310:
1736	5	238	415	1,479	1,895	4,032	:10:	2,016:
1737					1,444	3,060	:10:	1,530:
1738	236	578	1,583	1,189	1,189	3,586	:10:	1,793:
1739					1,467	3,560	:10:	1,780:
1740	33	297	239	637	1,007	2,212	:10:	1,106:

Appendix A.2. Exports of Irish Beer, continued:

Year ending March	East Country,				American Colonies	TOTAL	price per/bbl	TOTAL VALUE
	Great Britain	Holland & Flanders	France	Spain				
1741					1,955	3,184	:10:	1,592:
1742	302	858	303	779	3,133	5,375	:10:	2,688:
1743					1,636	2,402	:10:	1,201:
1744	96	268	239	393	2,204	3,200	:10:	1,600:
1745					1,875	3,674	:10:	1,837:
1746	116	1,766	94	185	1,420	3,581	:10:	1,791:
1747					2,774	4,311	:10:	2,156:
1748	467	1,018		696	2,477	4,657	:6:8	1,552:
1749					1,707	3,741	:10:	1,871:
1750	956	1,063	389	832	2,465	5,705	:6:8	1,902:
1751					2,588	4,617	:6:8	1,539:
1752	1	886	405	757	4,281	6,330	:5:6	1,741:
1753					3,574	5,307	:5:6	1,459:
1754	120	8,562	318	557	2,960	4,631	:7:	1,621:
1755					2,658	4,331	:6:8	1,444:
1756		838	132	542	2,793	4,305	:6:8	1,506:
1757					2,062	3,450	:7:	1,207:
1758	40	922	2	639	2,510	4,113	:7:	1,439:
1759					2,225	3,781	:7:	1,323:
1760	522	744		674	2,732	4,672	:7:	1,635:
1761					3,234	4,845	:7:	1,695:
1762	46	670		549	3,450	4,715	:7:	1,650:
1763					2,836	4,026	:7:	1,409:
1764	12	734	372	667	3,237	5,022	:7:	1,758:
1765					3,078	4,926	:7:	1,724:
1766	124	586	240	503	3,876	5,329	:6:8	1,776:
1767					2,739	4,015	:6:8	1,338:
1768		464	387	477	2,869	4,197	:6:8	1,399:
1769					2,046	3,579	:6:8	1,193:
1770	1	164	370	432	3,029	3,996	:6:8	1,332:
1771					2,255	3,216	:6:8	1,072:
1772		170	268	485	1,568	2,491	:6:8	830:
1773					1,752	2,944	:6:8	981:
1774	2	128	342	494	1,300	2,266	:6:8	755:
1775					990	1,938	:6:8	646:
1776		26	307	261	1,342	1,937	:6:8	646:
1777					1,139	1,285	:6:8	428:
1778	1	16	24	2	1,218	1,261	:8:	504:
1779					776	894	:8:	358:
1780		20	152		206 ^f	378	:8:	154:
1781					427 ^f	629	:10:	314:
1782				247	750	996	:10:	497:
1783 ^g					840	1,253	:10:	627:
1784		j	j	j	2,059	2,085	:10:	1,042:

Appendix A.3. EXPORTS OF IRISH BREAD
[in hundredweights]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain ^b	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/cwt	TOTAL VALUE
1698	1,150	489	285	1,061	9,763	12,751	:16:	£10,201:
1699					5,406	7,661	:16:	6,129:
1700	1,039	738	598	952	4,920	8,249	:12:	4,949:
1701					4,026	6,013	:9:	2,705:
1702	497	376	76	660	3,331	4,944	:8:	1,977:
1703					4,211	6,270	:8:	2,508:
1704	1,036	432	80	2,978	3,583	8,111	:6:6	2,636:
1705					3,990	8,776	:6:6	2,852:
1706	1,499	668		1,853	5,453	9,476	:6:	2,843:
1707					12,469	18,224	:6:6	5,923:
1708 ^h	235	476		395	1,462	2,571	i	
1709					3,824	14,086	:16:	11,269:
1710	1,598	882		2,015	4,563	9,061	:15:	6,795:
1711					8,199	17,111	:15:	12,834:
1712	956	1,096		7,482	8,740	18,278	:15:	13,709:
1713					7,574	14,167	:15:	10,626:
1714	358	613	1,289	4,166	6,591	13,019	:10:6	6,835:
1715					7,738	16,327	:10:6	8,572:
1716	486	543	535	1,761	5,329	8,657	i	
1717					4,331	7,449	:10:	3,725:
1718	675	424	532	1,437	4,780	7,849	:10:	3,925:
1719					4,154	6,969	:10:	3,485:
1720	65	649	674	1,084	3,413	5,886	:10:	2,943:
1721					8,489	10,918	:9:	4,913:
1722	224	2,365	603	1,383	3,079	7,656	:9:	3,445:
1723					2,864	5,113	:9:	2,301:
1724	243	713	362	915	2,695	4,930	:9:	2,218:
1725					2,759	5,135	:10:	2,568:
1726	47	495	418	791	2,459	4,212	:12:	2,527:
1727					3,796	5,639	:20:	5,639:
1728	52	359	438	839	4,452	6,143	:24:	7,372:
1729					5,263	7,058	:15:	5,294:
1730	49	165	340	732	4,867	6,155	:20:	6,156:
1731					3,068	5,167	:15:	3,876:
1732	85	238	423	932	3,182	4,863	:14:	3,405:
1733					3,976	5,694	:12:	3,417:
1734	99	216	331	1,154	3,185	4,987	:15:	3,741:
1735					3,380	5,345	:15:	4,009:
1736	100	138	174	1,269	3,802	5,486	:16:	4,389:
1737					4,707	5,987	:12:	3,592:
1738	139	144	233	1,035	3,550	5,104	:12:	3,063:
1739					3,523	5,273	:12:	3,164:
1740	417	159	181	675	2,357	3,792	:15:	2,844:

Appendix A.3. Exports of Irish Bread, continued:

Year ending March	East Country,				American Colonies	TOTAL	price per/cwt	TOTAL VALUE
	Great Britain	Holland & Flanders	France	Spain				
1741					3,890	4,861	:15:	£3,646:
1742	255	357	194	718	5,122	6,649	:15:	4,987:
1743					2,368	3,461	:12:	2,077:
1744	1,759	492	162	756	5,126	8,298	:8:	3,319:
1745					4,218	7,580	:8:	3,032:
1746	3,201	630	78	277	2,504	6,691	:10:	3,346:
1747					5,610	9,953	:10:	4,977:
1748	5,107	414		2,150	5,807	13,479	:8:	5,392:
1749					3,323	10,370	:8:	4,148:
1750	726	552	272	1,499	5,163	8,213	:8:	3,285:
1751					5,305	7,223	:8:	2,889:
1752	413	472	238	1,084	6,215	8,424	:7:6	3,159:
1753					6,119	7,884	:7:8	3,022:
1754	462	361	209	542	4,665	6,141	:8:	2,457:
1755					4,173	5,663	:8:	2,265:
1756	402	1,259	81	866	5,198	7,808	:8:	3,123:
1757					6,208	7,829	:8:	3,132:
1758	1,149	660	8	524	4,639	6,981	:8:	2,793:
1759					4,954	7,234	:8:	2,894:
1760	1,173	463		838	6,252	8,728	:8:	3,491:
1761					8,842	11,180	:8:	4,472:
1762	949	548		799	7,928	10,225	:8:	4,090:
1763					6,060	7,792	:8:	3,117:
1764	303	484	364	662	6,967	8,783	:8:	3,513:
1765					5,439	7,417	:8:	2,967:
1766	134	1,766	183	801	6,772	8,228	:10:	4,114:
1767					5,462	6,876	:10:	3,438:
1768	256	321	240	613	5,359	6,791	:10:	3,396:
1769					5,166	6,792	:10:	3,396:
1770	43	191	182	403	4,777	5,597	:10:	2,799:
1771					4,248	8,006	:10:	4,003:
1772	207	75	127	455	3,668	4,575	:10:	2,288:
1773					4,802	5,827	:10:	2,914:
1774	31	169	137	401	4,350	5,090	:10:	2,545:
1775					3,231	4,012	:10:	2,006:
1776	3,187	94	128	252	9,639	13,302	:10:	6,651:
1777					25,827	29,627	:10:	14,814:
1778	803	4	6	1,747	15,511	18,073	:10:	9,037:
1779					10,943	12,737	:10:	6,369:
1780	1,485	1,052	189	2,730	14,900	20,356	:10:	10,178:
1781					12,299 ^f	20,851	:10:	10,426:
1782	2,918	34	10	2,180	9,174	14,317	:10:	7,159:
1783 ^g					13,168	16,190	:12:	9,714:
1784	412	j	j	j	5,086	5,366	:12:	3,219:

Appendix A.4. EXPORTS OF IRISH BUTTER
[in hundredweights]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain ^b	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/cwt	TOTAL VALUE
1698	2,105	76,185	23,904	14,897	4,731	121,827	:35:	£213,198:
1699					3,999	110,197	:35:	192,846:
1700	2,185	56,816	63,646	26,477	5,419	154,546	:22:	170,001:
1701					5,178	126,247	:22:	138,872:
1702	4,262	36,961	4,923	21,911	5,081	73,141	:19:	69,485:
1703					8,760	88,384	:16:	70,707:
1704	15,153	30,291	31	28,961	6,667	81,105	:15:6	62,857:
1705					6,483	75,450	:15:6	58,474:
1706	5,864	51,449		61,617	6,963	125,896	:15:	94,423:
1707 ^h					8,832	120,272	:15:	90,204:
1708 ^h	815	12,957	3	8,701	1,887	24,364	i	
1709					6,431	100,403	:22:	110,444:
1710	1,731	58,889		49,543	6,199	116,364	:20:	116,364:
1711					9,764	182,812	:20:	182,812:
1712	2,708	61,951		87,922	8,897	161,481	:20:	161,481:
1713					13,154	155,338	:20:	155,339:
1714	585	61,408	57,326	39,027	8,085	166,435	:33:9	280,859:
1715					9,146	216,732	:34:	368,444:
1716	473	97,535	59,500	37,100	14,807	209,408	i	
1717					9,452	196,231	:27:	244,912:
1718	1,543	67,058	57,954	25,048	5,004	156,189	:30:	234,284:
1719					9,777	180,282	:20:3	207,325:
1720	306	115,560	61,957	28,079	7,191	213,096	:20:	213,096:
1721					7,366	181,804	:22:	199,985:
1722	324	60,139	26,305	37,948	7,210	131,928	:22:	145,121:
1723					8,395	121,717	:18:	109,545:
1724	203	34,742	79,916	31,863	7,635	154,362	:18:	138,927:
1725					11,173	187,036	:18:	168,333:
1726	196	38,592	91,927	53,004	10,861	194,582	:20:	194,583:
1727					11,559	156,439	:22:	172,083:
1728	21	49,583	71,404	30,526	13,405	164,939	:23:4	192,430:
1729					12,885	153,703	:23:	176,759:
1730	738	18,308	56,268	29,995	15,009	120,321	:25:	150,402:
1731					14,904	178,186	:22:	196,004:
1732	251	34,444	90,056	44,175	13,770	182,699	:23:	210,104:
1733					15,669	171,501	:20:	171,501:
1734	73	28,740	51,598	55,951	12,769	149,113	:20:	149,113:
1735					11,446	133,011	:21:	139,663:
1736	84	27,122	43,469	61,426	12,737	144,842	:20:	144,842:
1737					10,623	146,116	:20:	146,116:
1738	73	38,843	46,449	52,568	16,366	154,301	:20:	154,302:
1739					15,866	170,394	:20:	170,395:
1740	246	54,874	58,153	47,804	12,961	174,040	:21:	182,742:

Appendix A.4. Exports of Irish Butter, continued:

	Great Britain	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies	TOTAL	price per/cwt	TOTAL VALUE
1741					18,471	100,285	:22:	£110,314:
1742	3,906	63,600	23,468	21,663	25,595	138,235	:20:	138,235:
1743					24,840	165,465	:20:	182,012:
1744	874	81,527	67,520	32,363	30,972	213,257	:20:	213,257:
1745					21,155	166,817	:20:	166,817:
1746	955	124,005	35	26,495	12,301	163,793	:22:6	184,267:
1747					28,786	215,554	:23:	247,887:
1748	1,565	180,977		54,262	23,696	260,502	:23:	299,578
1749					18,056	271,390	:23:	312,099:
1750	895	103,110	33,248	43,375	21,137	257,967	:25:	322,459:
1751					26,454	222,793	:26:8	297,057:
1752	1,004	87,574	31,946	51,207	25,497	197,230	:26:8	262,974:
1753					25,889	200,060	:26:8	266,747:
1754	1,495	91,672	31,089	53,003	20,736	197,998	:25:6	252,448:
1755					23,853	223,294	:25:	279,117:
1756	3,019	84,382	15,591	73,918	26,964	203,876	:25:	254,845:
1757					38,511	181,134	:25:	226,418:
1758	3,631	85,891	2	61,952	29,975	181,454	:25:	226,818:
1759					36,321	237,169	:25:	296,461:
1760	35,161	87,227		57,027	49,810	229,227	:25:	286,533:
1761					29,421	253,523	:25:	316,904:
1762	21,748	110,309		58,071	43,407	233,538	:25:	291,922:
1763					45,686	205,226	:25:	256,532:
1764	6,076	136,589	19,105	47,057	49,050	257,976	:25:	322,470:
1765					35,797	301,109	:25:	376,385:
1766	63,924	93,593	19,765	52,016	42,647	271,946	:25:	339,933:
1767					35,788	257,047	:25:	321,308:
1768	106,938	76,126	22,473	55,657	43,427	304,624	:30:	456,935:
1769					34,400	315,153	:30:	472,729:
1770	114,363	49,569	17,812	34,335	34,636	262,717	:40:	525,434:
1771					38,231	238,800	:40:	477,600:
1772	119,888	61,519	21,798	45,389	39,861	288,457	:40:	576,914:
1773					31,023	272,399	:40:	544,798:
1774	124,458	34,516	24,115	48,612	38,393	270,096	:40:	540,192:
1775					40,514	264,104	:40:	528,280:
1776	144,003	31,349	16,940	47,536	32,581	272,411	:40:	544,822:
1777					38,742	264,181	:40:	528,362:
1778	150,957	18,898	5,409	52,449	30,429	258,144	:40:	516,289:
1779					24,078	227,829	:40:	455,659:
1780	135,465	30,293	96	36,407	41,921 ^f	244,184	:40:	488,369:
1781					41,837 ^f	264,210	:40:	528,420:
1782	124,575	28,343		52,023	33,215	234,058	:40:	468,116:
1783 ^g					35,750	249,485	:40:	498,971:
1784	147,253	j	j	j	26,294	257,417	:40:	514,835:

Appendix A.5. EXPORTS OF IRISH CANDLES
[in hundredweights]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain ^b	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL ^k	price per/cwt ^l	TOTAL VALUE
1698	389	227	465	984	394	2,463	:4	£4,598:
1699					176	1,847	:4	3,449:
1700	313	79	726	770	147	2,038	:4	3,804:
1701					120	2,006	:4	3,746:
1702	154	52	196	273	76	753	:3	1,055:
1703					107	1,285	:3	1,800:
1704	705	263	3	999	103	2,056	:3	2,879:
1705					100	1,791	:3	2,509:
1706	282	333		2,158	192	2,968	:18: ^j	2,672:
1707 ^h					216	2,783	:2.5	3,247:
1708 ^h	54	8		559	26	648	i	
1709					192	2,139	:4	3,993:
1710	266	151		1,782	261	2,474	:4	4,619:
1711					357	2,371	:4	4,427:
1712	286	150		2,037	313	2,789	:4	5,207:
1713					422	3,707	:4	6,920:
1714	304	107	414	1,619	351	2,798	:5.25	6,855:
1715					358	2,457	:6	6,881:
1716	288	128	298	2,609	252	3,579	i	
1717					358	3,838	:26: ^j	4,990:
1718	101	545	375	1,846	234	2,953	:36:	5,317:
1719					272	2,661	:36:	4,790:
1720	91	502	793	1,271	161	2,821	:36:	5,079:
1721					427	2,832	:26:	3,682:
1722	131	756	980	1,734	231	3,834	:26:	4,985:
1723					247	4,158	:23:4	4,852:
1724	355	725	843	2,151	229	4,306	:26:	5,599:
1725					263	4,572	:26:	5,944:
1726	160	263	1,419	3,400	383	5,629	:26:	7,319:
1727					257	4,120	:26:	5,357:
1728	159	415	585	2,105	247	3,514	:31:6	5,636:
1729					435	4,168	:36:	7,503:
1730	145	321	2,291	2,466	462	5,688	:40:	11,378:
1731					505	5,005	:36:	9,009:
1732	105	203	1,331	2,433	537	4,611	:36:	3,800:
1733					408	5,128	:30:	7,693:
1734	139	181	1,920	3,888	513	6,643	:30:	9,965:
1735					438	736	:28:	10,307:
1736	71	232	2,003	5,602	189	8,099	:28:	11,340:
1737					212	7,083	:30:	10,625:
1738	197	82	2,475	3,618	207	6,579	:30:	9,869:
1739					159	6,862	:30:	10,294:
1740	248	351	3,336	3,279	58	7,279	:21:2	11,829:

Appendix A.5. Exports of Irish Candles, continued:

Year ending March	Great Britain	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies	TOTAL	price per/cwt	TOTAL VALUE
1741					188	8,561	:36:8	15,696:
1742	648	625	2,138	2,921	235	6,218	:38:8	11,401:
1743					405	7,524	:37:4	14,045:
1744	574	510	3,457	3,476	224	8,244	:30:	12,366:
1745					226	5,939	:30:	8,910:
1746	482	1,742	20	3,601	98	5,946	:32:	9,514:
1747					183	10,599	:30:6	16,165:
1748	507	2,118		5,523	125	8,276	:32:	13,242:
1749					169	9,389	:32:	15,024:
1750	986	700	3,921	2,142	120	7,871	:34:	13,382:
1751					389	6,874	:35:	12,030:
1752	190	1,068	3,897	3,091	413	8,658	:35:	15,152:
1753					185	8,558	:35:	14,978:
1754	75	619	2,436	2,844	600	6,578	:35:	11,512:
1755					344	5,775	:35:	10,107:
1756	385	1,756	363	2,770	460	5,737	:35:	10,040:
1757					1,159	8,002	:35:	14,005:
1758	348	5,087		3,297	435	9,170	:35:	16,048:
1759					210	4,800	:35:	8,401:
1760	440	1,754		2,114	638	4,947	:35:	8,658:
1761					864	9,065	:35:	15,864:
1762	398	3,372		3,908	1,496	9,177	:35:	16,060:
1763					1,090	9,319	:35:	16,309:
1764	180	1,733	3,084	2,264	1,632	8,895	:35:	15,567:
1765					1,040	5,564	:35:	9,737:
1766	163	556	1,398	705	468	3,293	:35:	5,763:
1767					613	2,862	:35:	5,009:
1768	155	585	1,763	569	1,149	4,222	:35:	7,389:
1769					744	3,428	:35:	5,999:
1770	69	305	343	449	561	1,730	:35:	3,028:
1771					680	2,170	:35:	3,798:
1772	42	638	504	647	598	2,430	:35:	4,254:
1773					594	2,183	:35:	3,822:
1774	57	594	256	613	502	2,024	:35:	3,543:
1775					582	2,234	:35:	3,911:
1776	164	588	476	590	1,335	3,155	:35:	5,523:
1777					545	1,764	:35:	3,088:
1778	100	122	24	253	437	938	:35:	1,642:
1779					1,471	1,827	:35:	3,198:
1780	29	1,914		378	3,287	5,611	:35:	9,820:
1781					4,610 ^f	7,175	:36:8	13,155:
1782	129	200		397	6,344	7,072	:36:8	12,965:
1783 ^g					6,640	9,560	:36:8	17,527:
1784	400	j	j	j	8,516	10,402	:37:4	19,419:

Appendix A.6. EXPORTS OF IRISH CHEESE
[in hundredweights]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain ^b	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/cwt	TOTAL VALUE
1698	2,069	82	232	955	1,706	5,446	:25:	£6,308:
1699					1,034	4,368	:25:	5,460:
1700	2,120	82	979	937	1,485	5,606	:18:8	5,232:
1701					1,025	4,381	:14:	3,067:
1702	1,384	69	247	334	679	2,716	:14:	1,901:
1703					643	3,237	:10:	1,619:
1704	3,276	89	28	726	577	4,698	:10:	2,349:
1705					729	6,015	:10:	3,008:
1706	453	336		636	839	2,266	:10:	1,133:
1707 ^h					1,211	3,943	:11:8	2,300:
1708 ^h	44	100		110	197	453	i	
1709					1,092	2,768	:16:	2,215:
1710	257	219		2,970	1,086	4,552	:15:	3,414:
1711					1,587	7,669	:15:	5,752:
1712	275	426		10,037	1,342	12,084	:15:	9,063:
1713					1,656	9,614	:15:	7,211:
1714	413	519	2,679	5,450	1,425	10,560	:14:6	7,656:
1715					1,416	12,314	:14:6	8,928:
1716	111	602	1,881	4,647	1,310	8,554	i	
1717					1,069	7,248	:16:	5,799:
1718	246	155	1,433	1,904	645	4,386	:18:	3,948:
1719					980	4,467	:18:	4,021:
1720	107	700	2,691	2,592	874	6,967	:18:	6,271:
1721					1,032	6,252	:13:	4,064:
1722	88	824	899	2,143	667	4,621	:13:	3,004:
1723					736	4,572	:14:	3,200:
1724	360	298	1,308	2,012	932	4,912	:14:	3,439:
1725					1,016	5,422	:14:	3,796:
1726	103	176	1,444	1,719	1,083	4,527	:14:	3,169:
1727					1,022	3,697	:14:	2,588:
1728	16	568	930	1,952	999	4,467	:14:	3,127:
1729					999	2,936	:14:	2,055:
1730	61	73	388	702	832	2,061	:14:	1,443:
1731					1,362	4,296	:13:4	2,864:
1732	40	73	1,080	1,528	927	3,650	:13:4	2,434:
1733					1,047	4,696	:12:6	2,935:
1734	10	217	744	1,813	900	3,687	:14:	2,581:
1735					778	2,561	:13:4	1,707:
1736	16	175	491	1,484	799	2,967	:13:4	1,978:
1737					618	2,394	:13:4	1,596:
1738	12	106	482	1,017	707	2,327	:14:	1,629:
1739					684	3,713	:13:6	2,507:
1740	26	91	872	1,278	445	2,716	:15:	2,037:

Appendix A.6. Exports of Irish Cheese, continued:

Year ending March	Great Britain	East Country,		Spain	American Colonies	TOTAL	price per/cwt	TOTAL VALUE
		Holland & Flanders	France					
1741					587	1,156	:16:8	£963:
1742	37	53	225	273	750	1,341	:16:8	1,118:
1743					799	2,520	:14:	1,764:
1744	186	993	710	804	1,361	4,056	:13:4	2,704:
1745					1,069	4,471	:13:4	2,981:
1746	385	1,240	20	546	847	3,040	:16:	2,432:
1747					1,682	5,716	:16:	4,573:
1748	667	2,563		2,983	1,573	7,788	:16:	6,231:
1749					943	6,465	:16:	5,173:
1750	130	601	1,061	1,230	1,425	4,449	:16:6	3,671:
1751					1,312	3,518	:18:	3,167:
1752	160	193	102	1,033	1,365	2,854	:18:2	2,593:
1753					1,301	2,676	:20:	2,677:
1754	324	317	130	833	1,090	2,696	:20:	2,697:
1755					1,210	2,690	:20:	2,691:
1756	90	142	19	1,315	1,166	2,734	:20:	2,735:
1757					1,085	2,368	:20:	2,368:
1758	363	311	2	1,036	1,239	2,952	:20:	2,952:
1759					1,154	2,570	:20:	2,571:
1760	264	331		2,304	1,624	4,525	:20:	4,525:
1761					1,663	4,212	:20:	4,212:
1762	52	331		3,048	1,857	5,289	:20:	5,290:
1763					1,522	3,113	:20:	3,114:
1764	27	524	63	1,496	1,352	3,466	:20:	3,466:
1765					1,210	3,927	:20:	3,927:
1766	118	303	135	1,428	1,853	3,840	:20:	3,841:
1767					1,713	3,541	:20:	3,541:
1768	222	277	122	2,051	1,439	4,113	:20:	4,113:
1769					1,290	2,686	:20:	2,686:
1770	93	62	20	290	1,348	1,815	:20:	1,816:
1771					1,390	1,996	:20:	1,997:
1772	16	24	75	822	1,466	2,406	:20:	2,407:
1773					1,433	2,101	:20:	2,101:
1774	86	68	27	944	1,450	2,575	:20:	2,576:
1775					1,068	1,953	:20:	1,953:
1776	128	29	43	722	1,305	2,229	:20:	2,229:
1777					1,150	1,597	:20:	1,597:
1778	141	1		171	1,246	1,561	:20:	1,562:
1779					531	753	:20:	753:
1780	149	29		222	560	960	:20:	961:
1781					784 ^f	1,423	:20:	1,423:
1782	104	25		1,501	545	2,175	:20:	2,175:
1783 ^g					427	2,329	:20:	2,329:
1784	71	j	j	j	801	1,504	:30:	2,257:

Appendix A.7. EXPORTS OF IRISH HERRING
[in barrels]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain ^b	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/bbl	TOTAL VALUE
1698	3,042	2,369	3,421	17,283	4,064	30,379	:18:	£27,341:
1699					1,424	15,580	:18:	14,022:
1700	810	255	716	3,845	677	6,302	:18:	5,672:
1701					2,716	6,944	:13:	4,513:
1702	698	386	46	1,671	965	3,765	:11:	2,071:
1703					457	1,506	:11:	828:
1704	451	206		283	924	1,864	:11:	1,025:
1705					1,672	4,173	:11:	2,295:
1706	144	112		1,065	1,268	2,589	:11:	1,424:
1707					1,477	5,689	:11:	3,134:
1708 ^h	613	478		1,763	2,017	4,871	i	
1709					4,042	13,255	:16:8	11,046:
1710	4,090	211		2,477	3,474	10,252	:15:	7,689:
1711					2,123	6,674	:15:	5,006:
1712	1,563	183		1,052	2,159	4,956	:15:	3,717:
1713					2,719	5,629	:15:	4,222:
1714	1,719	5	303	2,873	3,293	8,192	:16:	6,554:
1715					3,054	6,709	:16:	5,367:
1716	1,322	270	158	1,084	2,478	5,312	i	
1717					2,851	5,702	:15:	4,277:
1718	263	1	78	125	288	755	:14:	528:
1719					1,388	2,279	:14:	1,595:
1720	93	361	71	970	1,295	2,790	:15:	2,092:
1721					1,023	1,995	:14:	1,397:
1722		1,271	37	666	770	2,744	:14:	1,921:
1723					1,990	4,028	:16:	3,222:
1724		345	296	830	1,138	2,609	:15:	1,956:
1725					1,090	2,874	:14:	2,011:
1726		600	34	1,111	3,453	5,198	:15:	3,899:
1727					4,437	5,684	:15:	4,263:
1728		611	246	1,805	10,021	12,684	:16:8	10,569:
1729					11,446	17,909	:16:8	14,924:
1730	16	386	763	3,564	8,875	13,604	:16:8	11,336:
1731					13,686	20,858	:17:6	18,250:
1732	207	1,578	1,758	5,522	10,313	19,378	:16:8	16,148:
1733					17,659	28,651	:16:8	23,876:
1734	152	230	1,108	16,055	16,055	21,057	:18:	18,951:
1735					8,325	11,519	:18:	10,367:
1736	2	40	260	1,788	5,108	7,197	:17:	6,297:
1737					4,711	6,125	:18:	5,513:
1738	3		914	1,105	5,722	7,744	:18:	6,969:
1739					3,536	4,212	:18:	3,790:
1740		40	382	66	1,571	2,059	:20:	2,059:

Appendix A.7. Exports of Irish Herring, continued:

	Great Britain	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies	TOTAL	price per/bbl	TOTAL VALUE
1741					593	888	:30:	£1,331:
1742		1	7	238	3,313	3,559	:25:	4,449:
1743					2,061	2,438	:25:	3,048:
1744	1	10		269	2,245	2,525	:20:	2,525:
1745					1,430	1,451	:20:	1,451:
1746	1	195		125	1,029	1,350	:21:	1,418:
1747					2,904	3,609	:20:	3,609:
1748	184	57		317	3,452	4,010	:21:	4,210:
1749					2,809	3,653	:20:	3,653:
1750	29	93	4	96	1,096	1,318	:20:	1,318:
1751					1,070	1,740	:22:	1,913:
1752	8	49	61	762	2,195	3,074	:22:6	3,458:
1753					919	1,194	:22:6	1,343:
1754	155		1	190	1,062	1,408	:22:6	1,583:
1755					1,376	2,165	:22:6	2,435:
1756	3	108		233	1,354	1,698	:22:6	1,910:
1757					2,811	3,362	:22:6	3,782:
1758	449	204		242	1,996	2,890	:22:6	3,251:
1759					5,215	5,756	:22:6	6,476:
1760	17	185		1,541	6,864	8,607	:22:6	9,683:
1761					10,806	13,458	:25:	2,929:
1762	92	66		444	4,500	5,102	:25:	2,338:
1763					4,496	5,048	:22:6	5,678:
1764		1	3	283	5,168	5,454	:22:6	6,136:
1765					3,294	4,034	:22:6	4,538:
1766	107	10	53	98	3,664	3,931	:22:6	4,422:
1767					4,738	5,272	:22:6	5,931:
1768	2	31		18	2,557	2,608	:22:6	2,933:
1769					1,761	1,802	:22:6	2,027:
1770	227	178	1	35	2,765	3,205	:20:	3,205:
1771					6,910	7,068	:20:	7,068:
1772	22	240		147	3,362	3,771	:20:	3,771:
1773					3,115	3,296	:20:	3,296:
1774	24	1		934	4,103	5,062	:20:	5,062:
1775					4,831	7,600	:20:	7,600:
1776	19	156	61	1,244	13,713	15,193	:20:	15,193:
1777					16,534	17,566	:20:	17,566:
1778	769			111	12,632	13,512	:20:	13,512:
1779					10,361	11,450	:20:	11,450:
1780	185	624		416	15,004 ^f	16,229	:20:	16,229:
1781					12,304 ^f	15,719	:15:	11,789:
1782	237	664		848	24,916	26,664	:15:	19,998:
1783 ^g					35,964	48,482	:15:	36,361:
1784	166	j	j	j	22,714	23,399	:20:	23,399:

Appendix A.8. EXPORTS OF IRISH LINEN
[in yards]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain ^b	East Country	Spain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/yard	TOTAL VALUE
1698	23,262 ^m		189	249	23,727	:35: ⁿ	£41,522:
1699				263	18,859	:30:	33,002:
1700	12,458	11	179	33	12,715	:35:	22,250:
1701					9,408	:30:	14,112:
1702	405,966	230	399	31	406,723	:10	16,260:
1703				1,150	436,157	:10	18,173:
1704	698,715		3,819	3,843	706,376	:10	29,432:
1705				19,743	767,160	:10	31,965:
1706	1,325,771	310	12,489	62,728	1,401,498	:10	58,396:
1707 ^h				81,037	1,933,045	:10	80,544:
1708 ^h	343,359			29,607	372,966	i	
1709				113,940	1,710,654	:16	114,044:
1710	1,528,185		23,545	136,844	1,688,574	:15	105,536:
1711				89,263	1,254,815	:15	78,426:
1712	1,325,969		2,143	48,011	1,376,123	:15	86,008:
1713				86,357	1,819,817	:15	113,739:
1714	2,071,885		24,542	91,916	2,188,273	:17	155,003:
1715				133,752	2,153,121	:12	107,656:
1716	1,968,568	535	23,177	195,825	2,188,106	i	
1717				151,246	2,437,265	:13	132,019:
1718	2,120,075	1,104	12,176	113,791	2,247,376	:13	121,733:
1719				117,288	2,359,353	:13	127,798:
1720	2,560,114		5,998	69,579	2,637,984	:16	175,866:
1721				95,488	2,520,782	:12	126,039:
1722	3,036,431	4,121	251,338	127,934	3,419,904	:12	170,995:
1723				112,952	4,378,545	:12	218,927:
1724	3,767,064	460	14,131	94,816	3,879,171	:12	193,959:
1725				70,053	3,864,988	:12	193,249:
1726	4,231,677	3,381	11,401	117,213	4,368,395	:12	218,420:
1727				151,977	4,768,890	:12	238,444:
1728	4,517,152	4,602	26,722	140,050	4,692,765	:12	234,638:
1729				183,363	3,927,919	:12	196,396:
1730	3,821,189	9,188	85,893	218,220	4,136,203	:12	206,810:
1731				85,697	3,775,831	:14	220,257:
1732	3,591,316	6,446	52,730	137,039	3,792,552	:15	237,034:
1733				129,244	4,777,076	:15	298,567:
1734	5,194,242	1,890	42,139	213,250	5,451,758	:15	340,735:
1735				202,759	6,761,151	:15	422,572:
1736	6,168,334	6,043	71,533	262,243	6,508,152	:15	406,759:
1737				309,827	6,138,786	:16	409,252:
1738	4,867,169	5,917	37,764	232,947	5,175,744	:16	345,050:
1739				197,672	5,962,316	:16	397,488:
1740	6,403,569	3,483	37,249	183,471	6,627,772	:16	441,851:

Appendix A.8. Exports of Irish Linen, continued:

Year ending March	Great Britain	East Country	Spain	American Colonies	TOTAL	price per/yard	TOTAL VALUE
1741				394,374	7,207,742	:16	£480,516:
1742	6,793,009	6,625	27,638	244,546	7,074,168	:16	471,611:
1743				168,746	6,058,041	:16	403,869:
1744	6,027,690	2,907	5,627	88,568	6,124,892	:18	459,367:
1745				67,814	7,171,963	:18	537,897:
1746	6,646,481	11,666	22,958	149,167	6,836,667	:18	512,750:
1747				219,960	9,633,884	:18	722,541:
1748	8,424,296	4,551	21,982	240,747	8,692,672	:15	543,292:
1749				180,286	9,504,339	:15	594,021:
1750	10,856,713	8,281	42,631	282,761	11,200,460	:15	700,029:
1751				228,008	12,891,319	:15	805,707:
1752	10,377,485	12,720	93,776	165,396	10,649,703	:15	665,606:
1753				175,711	10,411,787	:16	694,119:
1754	11,839,900	11,186	47,885	185,582	12,090,904	:16	806,060:
1755				172,023	13,379,734	:16	891,982:
1756	10,808,722	15,696	35,435	178,652	11,044,329	:16	736,289:
1757				282,259	15,508,709	:16	1,033,913:
1758	14,713,978	8,809	48,082	198,938	14,982,557	:16	998,837:
1759				204,617	14,093,431	:16	939,562:
1760	13,093,592	10,299	55,577	213,354	13,375,456	:16	891,697:
1761				143,417	12,048,882	:16	803,259:
1762	15,375,374	16,731	33,603	133,033	15,559,676	:16	1,037,312:
1763				367,965	16,013,130	:16	1,067,542:
1764	14,823,480	21,047	68,081	283,329	15,201,082	:18	1,140,081:
1765				298,533	14,355,205	:18	1,076,640:
1766	17,582,306	16,127	31,827	260,261	17,892,102	:18	1,341,907:
1767				345,434	20,148,170	:18	1,511,112:
1768	18,061,915	26,435	41,579	359,315	18,490,019	:18	1,386,751:
1769				402,148	17,790,705	:18	1,334,302:
1770	19,671,435	21,219	36,873	826,513	20,560,754	:18	1,542,057:
1771				3,032,140	25,376,808	:18	1,903,261:
1772	19,489,677	3,652	16,067	1,057,160	20,599,179	:18	1,544,938:
1773				344,442	18,450,701	:18	1,383,802:
1774	16,494,954	10,191	69,790	339,810	16,916,674	:18	1,268,750:
1775				620,369	20,205,087	:18	1,515,381:
1776	20,260,388	9,013	127,309	102,697	20,502,587	:17	1,452,266:
1777				62,232	19,714,638	:17	1,396,454:
1778	21,779,981	9,693	49,546	102,509	21,945,729	:17	1,554,489:
1779				141,876	18,836,042	:16	1,255,736:
1780	18,298,815	48,403	157,302	234,648 ^f	18,746,902	:16	1,249,793:
1781				347,707 ^f	14,947,265	:16	996,484:
1782	24,692,072	20,899	29,352	225,195	24,970,303	:16	1,664,687:
1783 ^g				632,160	16,039,706	:16	1,069,313:
1784	21,138,675	j	j	3,540,692	24,961,898	:16	1,664,126:

Appendix A.9. EXPORTS OF IRISH PORK
[in barrels]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain ^b	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/bbl	TOTAL VALUE
1698	102	106	81	342	3,083	3,713	:40:	£7,427:
1699					2,174	2,916	:40:	5,832:
1700	90	127	217	173	2,055	2,661	:40:	5,322:
1701					3,447	4,488	:40:	8,977:
1702	225	468	20	163	2,238	3,114	:25:	3,892:
1703					3,223	3,926	:22:	4,318:
1704	167	104		513	2,280	3,064	:20:	3,064:
1705					2,041	2,789	:20:	2,789:
1706	192	123		640	1,978	2,932	:20:	2,932:
1707					2,610	4,400	:20:	4,400:
1708 ^h	32	54		382	808	1,275	i	
1709					2,235	3,510	:30:	5,265:
1710	265	11		896	2,120	3,291	:25:	4,113:
1711					2,910	4,056	:25:	5,070:
1712	90	65		1,579	3,355	5,092	:25:	6,365:
1713					3,989	6,379	:25:	7,974:
1714	61	388	132	1,864	4,817	7,262	:32:	11,620:
1715					4,222	10,483	:32:	16,772:
1716	156	457	586	1,325	5,804	8,326	i	
1717					5,055	8,188	:35:	14,329:
1718	192	444	281	2,092	3,378	6,386	:35:	11,175:
1719					4,377	7,342	:30:	11,013:
1720	298	2,578	338	1,621	4,429	9,263	:30:	13,895:
1721					5,235	8,106	:30:	12,159:
1722	463	1,478	282	2,107	4,796	9,126	:30:	13,687:
1723					5,266	9,613	:30:	14,419:
1724	181	873	122	1,479	4,813	7,458	:30:	11,188:
1725					5,602	8,498	:31:	13,172:
1726	372	378	557	2,429	6,237	9,974	:30:	14,960:
1727					9,397	12,888	:30:	19,331:
1728	37	538	363	830	9,054	10,823	:32:6	17,587:
1729					9,304	11,840	:30:	17,760:
1730	235	394	232	994	8,953	10,806	:35:	18,911:
1731					9,452	12,430	:30:	18,645:
1732	86	408	1,088	2,483	9,686	13,751	:30:	20,627:
1733					10,233	15,037	:32:	24,058:
1734	20	176	196	4,360	8,337	13,089	:24:	15,704:
1735					6,649	9,299	:25:	11,625:
1736	43	57	94	3,485	5,022	8,700	:24:	10,440:
1737					6,405	9,417	:25:	11,771:
1738	67	198	252	1,802	7,135	9,452	:26:	12,288:
1739					8,224	12,433	:24:	15,230:
1740	240	124	1,636	5,187	8,074	15,262	:27:	20,604:

Appendix A.9. Exports of Irish Pork, continued:

	East Country,				American		price	TOTAL
	Great	Holland &	France	Spain	Colonies	TOTAL	per/bbl	VALUE
	Britain	Flanders						
1741					11,934	13,585	:30:	£20,377:
1742	358	1	41	519	6,047	6,964	:27:6	9,576:
1743					8,979	12,387	:27:	16,722:
1744	587	245	722	852	11,942	14,348	:25:	17,935:
1745					14,947	17,962	:25:	22,453:
1746	1,125	572	18	385	9,756	11,856	:25:	14,820:
1747					13,561	16,587	:26:8	22,116:
1748	1,193	641		2,702	13,430	17,968	:26:8	23,957:
1749					12,499	17,632	:26:8	23,509:
1750	778	998	1,391	2,227	15,545	20,939	:26:8	27,919:
1751					13,682	18,656	:30:	27,984:
1752	1,047	1,496	1,046	2,229	17,209	23,028	:30:	34,542:
1753					16,662	23,683	:30:	35,524:
1754	746	1,346	3,037	5,154	13,703	23,685	:30:	35,527:
1755					12,479	20,930	:30:	31,395:
1756	732	947	237	30,959	18,471	51,346	:30:	77,019:
1757					20,826	25,072	:30:	37,607:
1758	1,082	3,242		6,171	18,251	28,747	:30:	43,120:
1759					17,525	40,336	:30:	60,504:
1760	13,293	1,384		5,521	34,202	54,400	:30:	81,600:
1761					30,757	52,391	:30:	78,586:
1762	14,948	1,870		5,782	51,515	74,116	:30:	111,173:
1763					28,023	34,891	:30:	52,341:
1764	942	2,293	335	4,871	26,567	35,007	:30:	52,510:
1765					30,694	44,362	:30:	66,543:
1766	8,121	1,547	1,088	5,866	33,535	50,156	:30:	75,234:
1767					21,086	34,995	:30:	52,493:
1768	13,710	575	1,762	1,900	25,095	43,041	:30:	64,562:
1769					17,761	40,040	:30:	60,060:
1770	12,090	783	777	3,091	27,189	43,947	:30:	65,921:
1771					28,027	42,519	:30:	63,779:
1772	12,875	695	1,512	1,505	28,127	44,713	:30:	67,070:
1773					26,108	51,112	:30:	76,668:
1774	14,129	748	2,692	6,484	28,277	52,329	:30:	78,493:
1775					23,509	50,368	:30:	75,551:
1776	25,059	759	1,236	4,834	40,827	72,714	:30:	109,071:
1777					42,686	72,931	:30:	109,397:
1778	34,048			924	42,641	77,612	:30:	116,418:
1779					41,818	70,066	:30:	105,099:
1780	49,301	645	100	4,302	42,206 ^f	96,554	:30:	144,831:
1781					29,471 ^f	106,282	:30:	159,424:
1782	48,852	1,732	3	4,916	29,409	84,910	:30:	127,366:
1783 ^g					38,291	112,369	:30:	168,554:
1784	16,472	j	j	j	29,255	52,913	:30:	79,369:

Appendix A.10. EXPORTS OF IRISH TONGUES
[in dozens]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain ^b	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/doz	TOTAL VALUE
1698	248	184	186	175	480	1,274	:6:	£382:
1699					375	1,133	:6:	340:
1700	134	35	241	18	161	589	:6:	177:
1701					42	365	:6:	110:
1702	92	25	46	16	133	312	:6:	93:
1703					297	479	:6:	144:
1704	178	8		140	201	527	:5:	132:
1705					223	578	:5:	145:
1706	7	4		173	428	611	:5:	153:
1707 ^h					1,767	1,973	:5:	493:
1708 ^h				120	53	173	i	
1709					178	804	:6:	241:
1710	14	16		533	486	1,043	:6:	314:
1711					211	305	:6:	91:
1712	16	25		82	219	352	:6:	105:
1713					445	843	:6:	253:
1714	8	117	37	157	474	792	:6:	238:
1715					730	1,290	:6:	o
1716	33	43	201	149	719	1,145	i	
1717					576	897	:6:	269:
1718	10	216	34	58	256	574	:6:	172:
1719					1,096	1,362	:6:	408:
1720	10	321	28	212	510	1,081	:6:	324:
1721					457	635	:7:	222:
1722	10	285	56	262	554	1,166	:6:	350:
1723					832	1,803	:6:	541:
1724	15	521	48	149	696	1,428	:7:	500:
1725					963	1,593	:7:	558:
1726		96	365	459	1,390	2,309	:6:	693:
1727					874	1,717	:6:	515:
1728	9	240	627	270	1,412	2,558	:8:	1,023:
1729					1,381	2,371	:7:	830:
1730	10	60	461	560	1,821	2,911	:7:4	1,067:
1731					1,598	2,419	:6:8	806:
1732		69	285	278	1,790	2,420	:6:	726:
1733					1,876	2,568	:6:8	856:
1734	23	4	108	389	1,685	2,209	:6:	663:
1735					1,616	2,723	:6:	817:
1736		21	360	416	1,618	2,415	:6:2	744:
1737					1,333	2,400	:6:	720:
1738	19	26	559	279	1,783	2,665	:6:	799:
1739					1,445	2,454	:6:	736:
1740	23	67	717	215	1,071	2,129	:7:	745:

Appendix A.10. Exports of Irish Tongues, continued:

	Great Britain	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies	TOTAL	price per/doz	TOTAL VALUE
1741					1,369	2,139	:7:6	£802:
1742	69	11	105	61	3,141	3,386	:7:	1,185:
1743					2,351	3,172	:7:6	1,189:
1744	38	79	747	193	2,993	4,049	:7:	1,417:
1745					3,070	4,024	:7:4	1,475:
1746	49	303		157	1,788	2,297	:7:6	861:
1747					5,106	6,120	:7:10	2,397:
1748	252	187		956	4,070	5,474	:7:6	2,053:
1749					3,307	5,287	:7:6	1,983:
1750	226	84	889	561	3,565	5,324	:7:6	1,997:
1751					2,684	4,019	:7:8	1,541:
1752	236	159	975	679	2,820	4,869	:8:	1,948:
1753					3,617	5,508	:8:	2,203:
1754	258	26	564	584	2,628	4,060	:8:	1,624:
1755					2,327	4,262	:8:	1,705:
1756	224	237	116	378	2,452	3,405	:8:	1,362:
1757					3,195	4,042	:8:	1,617:
1758	189	1,373		340	2,882	4,789	:8:	1,916:
1759					2,161	4,481	:8:	1,793:
1760	708	289		394	2,551	3,942	:8:	1,577:
1761					3,348	5,765	:8:	2,306:
1762	731	555		737	4,106	6,103	:8:	2,452:
1763					3,814	4,715	:8:	1,886:
1764	219	179	662	487	4,574	6,121	:8:	2,449:
1765					2,973	5,392	:8:	2,157:
1766	708	158	555	455	3,634	5,510	:8:	2,204:
1767					4,034	5,256	:8:	2,102:
1768	713	86	238	361	3,637	5,036	:10:	2,518:
1769					3,246	4,902	:10:	2,451:
1770	651	210	488	193	2,657	4,198	:10:	2,099:
1771					3,850	4,925	:10:	2,463:
1772	612	65	423	249	3,903	5,252	:10:	2,626:
1773					3,805	5,010	:10:	2,505:
1774	711	92	168	339	3,038	4,349	:10:	2,174:
1775					3,153	4,620	:10:	2,310:
1776	771	1290	269	199	4,238	5,607	:12:	3,364:
1777					3,668	4,633	:12:	2,780:
1778	977			8	3,691	4,677	:12:	2,806:
1779					2,429	3,316	:12:	1,989:
1780	929	326	50	347	3,462	5,114	:12:	3,068:
1781					3,244 ^f	5,007	:12:	3,004:
1782	1,045	62		134	3,827	5,068	:12:	3,041:
1783 ^g					2,867	6,371	:12:	3,823:
1784	661	j	j	j	3,066	3,943	:12:	2,366:

Appendix B. TOTAL IRISH IMPORTS
[in £s]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain ^b	East Country	Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL
1698	£335,495:	£31,918:	£54,318:	£120,857:	£34,576:		£576,863:
1699	402,052:	40,039:	82,881:	121,495:	48,425:		694,891:
1700	427,603:	51,645:	116,072:	145,945:	51,188:		792,473:
1701	400,006:	41,379:	59,118:	158,189:	33,622:		692,314:
1702	268,131:	22,287:	35,319:	123,209:	26,212:		475,158:
1703	394,726:	23,079:	24,932:	993:	29,923:		473,653:
1704	323,719:	31,362:	27,330:	919:	30,631:		413,961:
1705	348,493:	41,139:	30,842:	4,431:	72,888:		497,794:
1706	339,309:	52,969:	65,196:	1,715:	160,872:		620,061:
1707	337,783:	40,668:	36,479:	797:	136,480:		552,207:
1708 ^d							
1709	340,680:	66,524:	35,130:	6,660:	260,439:		709,433:
1710	309,709:	41,799:	25,462:	2,814:	174,463:		554,248:
1711	376,494:	47,310:	74,446:	3,595:	169,103:		670,949:
1712	397,074:	47,389:	32,731:	161:	297,066:		774,421:
1713	384,399:	33,184:	38,681:	22,007:	181,394:		659,665:
1714	544,198:	58,909:	70,217:	186,400:	156,399:		1,016,123:
1715	525,577:	63,966:	41,474:	231,117:	110,555:		972,689:
1716 ^d							
1717	487,323:	53,196:	84,620:	195,523:	54,904:		875,566:
1718	543,174:	49,801:	79,539:	179,549:	55,097:		907,161:
1719	507,126:	59,975:	92,558:	174,548:	53,552:		887,759:
1720	514,057:	70,396:	87,958:	179,598:	39,670:		891,678:
1721 ^e	403,510:	61,011:	71,163:	111,001:	36,679:		683,364:
1722	438,757:	49,742:	51,187:	132,908:	57,964:		730,559:
1723	535,207:	54,292:	65,625:	117,882:	56,363:		829,367:
1724	552,859:	67,000:	82,225:	150,564:	68,154:		920,803:
1725	472,802:	74,300:	70,049:	141,650:	60,960:		819,762:
1726	540,587:	59,400:	69,206:	159,055:	61,584:		889,833:
1727	588,025:	67,193:	84,048:	193,955:	96,839:		1,030,060:
1728	443,460:	75,526:	70,031:	177,705:	64,068:		830,792:
1729	479,036:	50,398:	101,916:	200,691:	72,886:		904,928:
1730	457,303:	105,025:	81,458:	212,463:	73,647:		929,896:
1731	453,283:	66,697:	62,821:	123,954:	73,312:		779,068:
1732	477,688:	64,021:	67,704:	139,687:	73,542:	8,239:	830,881:
1733	501,858:	76,344:	78,654:	125,820:	65,777:	16,120:	864,573:
1734	487,767:	60,089:	66,138:	126,043:	80,058:	23,594:	843,689:
1735	587,978:	66,505:	66,236:	116,693:	71,603:	26,835:	935,849:
1736	629,998:	75,803:	73,024:	151,338:	68,562:	37,110:	1,035,836:
1737	487,827:	79,363:	58,892:	125,100:	69,956:	40,760:	861,898:
1738	572,412:	86,766:	61,031:	136,111:	67,224:	33,365:	959,609:
1739	559,654:	84,833:	30,596:	117,815:	62,022:	37,143:	892,064:
1740	499,480:	92,502:	51,433:	108,839:	47,195:	50,230:	849,678:

Appendix B. Total Irish Imports, continued:

Year ending March	Great Britain	East Country	Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies	TOTAL
1741	£588,033:	£71,149:	£49,202:	£99,674:	£32,308:	£68,534:	£903,900:
1742	648,684:	82,703:	65,823:	77,172:	33,385:	106,809:	1,014,576:
1743	635,622:	90,664:	40,755:	110,688:	31,903:	61,708:	971,338:
1744	696,096:	89,529:	46,020:	83,977:	33,536:	42,550:	991,708:
1745	641,602:	89,223:	82,634:	68,716:	32,307:	35,120:	949,603:
1746	960,858:	84,766:	73,795:	36,292:	29,074:	44,028:	1,228,813:
1747	750,637:	93,346:	126,857:	179:	40,721:	47,527:	1,059,266:
1748	822,815:	135,040:	177,292:	99:	44,747:	34,017:	1,214,010:
1749	946,743:	150,078:	73,166:	74,449:	69,860:	54,565:	1,368,861:
1750	920,341:	156,049:	61,105:	213,623:	138,145:	42,422:	1,531,654:
1751	1,025,677:	153,856:	52,258:	151,508:	122,427:	86,069:	1,591,796:
1752	1,110,578:	160,047:	60,859:	146,825:	141,361:	77,003:	1,692,673:
1753	978,144:	153,083:	44,547:	127,309:	182,921:	120,208:	1,606,213:
1754	1,122,652:	178,924:	62,392:	215,330:	154,817:	119,245:	1,853,361:
1755	1,039,912:	169,780:	33,733:	192,126:	198,981:	77,022:	1,711,552:
1756	912,561:	122,251:	52,864:	143,412:	87,779:	92,968:	1,411,835:
1757	958,194:	128,737:	60,870:	47,635:	74,065:	75,352:	1,344,854:
1758	1,093,001:	146,665:	77,205:	35,469:	96,796:	108,843:	1,557,978:
1759	996,002:	138,303:	119,979:	15,396:	151,665:	102,445:	1,523,790:
1760	1,094,153:	202,927:	148,950:		140,516:	60,447:	1,647,592:
1761	1,096,989:	113,081:	118,679:		129,794:	69,359:	1,527,903:
1762	1,338,325:	163,289:	150,865:		178,012:	84,307:	1,914,798:
1763	1,284,981:	163,180:	187,903:	3,727:	90,144:	88,588:	1,818,433:
1764	1,567,683:	190,015:	104,888:	167,247:	107,042:	79,400:	2,216,274:
1765	1,439,969:	206,951:	75,691:	206,043:	134,501:	76,655:	2,139,810:
1766	1,602,413:	222,186:	57,498:	186,694:	140,054:	82,434:	2,291,279:
1767	1,475,381:	180,932:	61,029:	175,433:	123,988:	130,317:	2,147,080:
1768	1,594,142:	187,125:	74,031:	173,135:	129,697:	76,230:	2,234,361:
1769	1,776,996:	192,373:	69,651:	130,295:	139,475:	103,915:	2,412,706:
1770	1,878,599:	252,294:	74,804:	126,548:	148,207:	86,393:	2,566,845:
1771	1,806,733:	209,915:	69,854:	128,616:	128,218:	149,280:	2,492,616:
1772	1,586,624:	189,946:	56,050:	108,051:	140,937:	106,288:	2,187,895:
1773	1,679,212:	218,661:	65,872:	111,682:	160,785:	171,401:	2,417,614:
1774	1,711,175:	277,496:	63,577:	144,769:	113,632:	147,384:	2,458,032:
1775	2,739,544:	260,734:	56,846:	118,273:	147,803:	185,216:	2,508,415:
1776	1,875,526:	239,930:	76,609:	120,553:	174,601:	167,341:	2,654,558:
1777	2,233,192:	299,060:	121,169:	152,645:	187,241:	130,622:	3,123,929:
1778	2,076,461:	292,996:	131,503:	111,018:	143,125:	81,700:	2,836,803:
1779	1,644,711:	225,057:	89,617:	60,234:	105,221:	71,035:	2,195,935:
1780	1,576,636:	199,346:	125,184:	68,379:	122,893:	35,142:	2,127,579:
1781	2,432,418:	260,095:	160,083:	94,215:	132,946:	43,276: ^f	3,123,031:
1782	2,357,947:	226,850:	146,989:	82,416:	112,933:	67,131:	2,994,265:
1783 ^g	2,222,009:	229,809:	119,235:	83,372:	216,544:	136,266:	3,007,237:
1784	2,402,982:	250,247:	155,376:	147,715:	149,246:	237,466:	3,343,032:

Appendix B.1. IRISH IMPORTS OF BARREL STAVES
[in hundreds]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain	East Country	Holland & Flanders	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/hhd	TOTAL VALUE
1732	4,876	2,511	340	9,346	22,442	:3:4	£3,740:
1733				16,577	26,824	:3:6	4,694:
1734	1,966	1,610	115	31,848	38,580	:3:6	6,752:
1735				21,627	25,394	:3:6	4,444:
1736	3,432	1,258	24	13,696	19,457	:3:6	3,243:
1737				10,969	15,760	:2:8	2,101:
1738	3,878	1,065	33	18,014	26,659	:2:6	3,332:
1739				19,423	26,088	:2:8	3,478:
1740	1,838	1,466	45	16,690	21,710	:2:6	2,714:
1741				5,286	9,091	:2:6	1,136:
1742	4,444	1,349	25	17,754	24,800	:2:6	3,100:
1743				9,914	13,351	:2:6	1,664:
1744	5,803	325	123	7,433	15,005	:3:	2,251:
1745				6,925	13,312	:3:4	2,219:
1746	4,908	4,478	2,369	7,879	19,756	:3:4	3,293:
1747				3,644	8,255	:3:	1,238:
1748	3,737	2,894	1,034	2,942	10,962	:3:2	1,736:
1749				4,951	12,426	:3:2	1,968:
1750	3,202	1,934	195	13,860	20,123	:3:	3,018:
1751				24,994	29,923	:3:	4,489:
1752	4,010	1,059	85	18,764	25,051	:3:	3,758:
1753				23,102	30,917	:3:	4,638:
1754	4,789	717	80	23,725	29,312	:3:	4,397:
1755				25,378	29,718	:3:	4,377:
1756	2,698	530	9	26,120	29,463	:3:	4,419:
1757				7,576	11,757	:3:	1,764:
1758	4,010	1,757	142	7,303	13,423	:3:	2,014:
1759				13,164	23,906	:3:	3,586:
1760	3,944	1,565	12	13,083	18,641	:3:	2,796:
1761				5,173	11,735	:3:	1,760:
1762	11,115	1,364	486	8,108	22,496	:3:	3,374:
1763				31,910	43,816	:3:	6,573:
1764	7,492	1,012	217	17,168	27,265	:3:	4,090:
1765				21,628	35,784	:3:	5,368:
1766	9,878	979	83	16,722	27,933	:3:	4,190:
1767				26,719	33,432	:3:	5,015:
1768	9,348	847	80	25,702	36,448	:3:	5,467:
1769				24,456	34,274	:3:	5,141:
1770	6,758	880	50	19,054	27,968	:3:	4,195:
1771				27,258	33,927	:3:	5,089:
1772	9,386	295	36	33,107	43,594	:3:	6,539:
1773				25,619	34,821	:3:	5,223:
1774	3,869	477	100	14,499	23,445	:3:	3,517:
1775				16,500	24,863	:3:	3,730:
1776	11,956	1,471	222	18,713	32,463	:4:	6,493:
1777				3,317	31,568	:5:	7,892:
1778	7,140	16,705	14,379	6,177	55,526	:5:	13,882:
1779				3,646	15,160	:5:	3,790:
1780	2,096	10,923	6,050	2,420 ^f	21,609	:5:	5,402:
1781				3,028 ^f	43,404	:5:	10,851:
1782	3,648	20,617	9,669	6,345	40,360	:5:	10,090:
1783 ^g				2,541	19,032	:5:	4,758:
1784	1,230	6,123	3,118	12,689	23,678	:5:	5,919:

Appendix B.2 IRISH IMPORTS OF FLAXSEED
[in hogsheads]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain	East Country	Holland & Flanders	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/hhd	TOTAL VALUE
1732	25	4,095	3,352	498	7,970	:30:	£11,955:
1733				1,310	4,723	:43:4	10,233:
1734	2	36	1,851	1,113	3,006	:40:	6,012:
1735				3,121	9,259	:40:	18,519:
1736	14	2,992	3,451	3,167	9,624	:40:	19,247:
1737				5,000	10,739	:40:	21,478:
1738		2,484	4,614	9,045	16,143	:40:	32,297:
1739				5,933	11,518	:34:	19,581:
1740	26	2,851	3,183	10,408	16,473	:33:4	27,454:
1741				5,771	9,377	:34:	15,940:
1742	551	462	1,148	10,360	12,521	:34:4	21,494:
1743				9,929	10,250	:34:	17,425:
1744	25		1,943	11,252	13,219	:33:4	22,032:
1745				11,828	18,538	:30:	27,807:
1746	63		815	5,962	6,841	:33:4	11,401:
1747				7,068	8,602	:34:	14,623:
1748	27		803	11,244	12,074	:30:	18,111:
1749				15,313	17,777	:30:	26,665:
1750		4,298	2,928	3,719	10,945	:30:	16,417:
1751				12,909	22,413	:30:	33,620:
1752	114	1,222	3,509	16,488	21,333	:30:	31,999:
1753				22,146	22,910	:30:	34,365:
1754	349		1,518	20,743	22,611	:30:	33,916:
1755				20,335	20,927	:30:	31,391:
1756	14	25	111	18,538	18,688	:30:	28,032:
1757				19,662	21,244	:30:	31,866:
1758	69		819	18,907	19,794	:30:	29,691:
1759				22,604	26,330	:30:	39,495:
1760	70	517	2,361	21,266	24,213	:30:	36,320:
1761				22,738	28,322	:30: ^p	42,483:
1762	43	25	1,380	19,448	20,895	:30:	31,343:
1763				19,745	20,777	:30:	31,165:
1764	511	250	5,976	25,422	32,168	:30:	48,252:
1765				20,446	27,770	:30:	41,654:
1766	614	410	1,777	27,969	31,040	:30:	46,560:
1767				41,339	43,077	:30:	64,615:
1768	463	530	1,019	17,150	19,162	:30:	28,743:
1769				49,331	50,022	:30:	75,033:
1770	31	30	119	19,253	19,433	:30:	29,149:
1771				42,023	45,089	:30:	67,634:
1772	168		1,291	22,772	24,231	:30:	36,346:
1773				39,344	39,751	:30:	59,626:
1774	185		463	24,728	25,375	:40:	50,751:
1775				38,806	40,218	:40:	80,437:
1776	563	5,292	5,256	12,441	24,078	:50:	60,195:
1777				4,512	32,613	:50:	81,533:
1778	509	16,591	17,273	2,110	37,212	:50:	93,029:
1779				3,836	20,419	:50:	51,048:
1780	651	4,982	11,910	1,776 ^f	19,567	:60:	58,702:
1781				928 ^f	23,641	:60:	70,922:
1782	2,257	2,898	19,588	869	25,611	:60:	76,833:
1783 ^g				170	24,617	:60:	73,851:
1784	973	1,786	21,574	21,185	45,518	:60:	136,554:

Appendix B.3. IRISH IMPORTS OF FLOUR
[in hundredweights]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/cwt	TOTAL VALUE
1745		463	24,708	: 9:	£11,119:
1746		10,916	110,832	: 9:	49,874:
1747		2,152	37,190	: 9:	16,736:
1748	20,545	131	20,677	: 9:	9,304:
1749		657	30,502	:10:	15,251:
1750	50,314	323	50,637	:10:	25,318:
1751		750	60,985	:10:	30,493:
1752	75,635	2,557	78,282	:10:	39,141:
1753		20,149	63,527	:10:	31,764:
1754	87,600	3,982	91,583	:10:	45,792:
1755		1,371	89,015	:10:	44,508:
1756	71,019	267	71,343	:10:	35,672:
1757		6,341	55,957	:10:	27,979:
1758	21,510	49,663	72,490	:10:	36,245:
1759		6,779	27,258	:10:	13,629:
1760	30,018	35	30,093	:10:	15,047:
1761		72	30,982	:10: ^q	15,491:
1762	50,822	675	51,522	:10:	25,761:
1763		514	57,048	:10:	28,524:
1764	107,270	426	108,209	:10:	54,105:
1765		19,312	67,409	:10:	33,705:
1766	48,797	31,110	81,371	:10:	40,686:
1767		46,473	58,182	:10:	29,091:
1768	545	20,757	22,600	:10:	11,300:
1769		8,925	15,447	:10:	7,723:
1770	52,180	34,315	86,776	:12:	52,066:
1771		64,488	125,321	:12:	75,193:
1772	3,644	44,095	45,754	:12:	28,653:
1773		5,194	10,306	:12:	6,184:
1774	2,242	20,715	23,465	:12:	14,079:
1775		26,189	28,902	:12:	17,342:
1776	4,464	21,790	26,292	:12:	15,776:
1777		163	69,838	:12:	41,903:
1778	5,208		5,239	:12:	3,144:
1779			6,968	:12:	4,181:
1780	3,672		3,679	:12:	2,208:
1781			55,819	:12:	33,492:
1782	7,455		7,455	:12:	4,473:
1783 ^g			4,350	:12:	2,610:
1784	58,083	2,502	75,561	:12:	45,337:

Appendix B.4. IRISH IMPORTS OF IRONMONGER'S WARE
[in hundredweights]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain	East Country	Holland & Flanders	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/cwt	TOTAL VALUE
1732	6,436	27,893	9,008	948	67,387	:12:	£40,433:
1733				75	61,824	:13:4	41,216:
1734	6,539	21,043	7,340	2,750	58,561	:14:	40,993:
1735				2,771	68,972	:14:	48,281:
1736	9,110	20,405	6,731	1,251	57,836	:13:4	38,558:
1737				1,672	67,362	:12:8	42,663:
1738	11,174	39,755	3,930	1,796	73,314	:12:6	45,822:
1739				1,472	66,365	:12:6	41,479:
1740	8,455	48,673	8,066	3,407	83,811	:13:	54,478:
1741				2,866	58,626	:14:	41,039:
1742	7,818	28,341	3,107	4,420	44,289	:16:	35,431:
1743				3,142	71,037	:16:	56,829:
1744	12,518	45,576	4,076	4,008	68,095	:16:	54,477:
1745				4,210	51,597	:16:	41,278:
1746	9,267	42,197	7,435	4,187	63,088	:16:4	51,522:
1747				2,282	68,596	:16:4	56,021:
1748	17,553	72,870	5,416	3,325	99,287	:16:4	81,084:
1749				2,623	119,857	:14:	83,900:
1750	15,849	51,116	6,986	3,428	87,601	:15:	65,701:
1751				4,443	134,271	:15:	100,704:
1752	33,356	48,217	6,927	2,010	96,950	:15:	72,713:
1753				4,557	99,679	:15:	74,759:
1754	29,532	66,671	5,880	3,728	108,311	:15:	81,233:
1755				2,524	104,866	:16:	8,650:
1756	9,354	52,375	1,890	3,843	69,653	:16:	55,722:
1757				4,351	87,845	:16:	70,276:
1758	23,859	66,378	3,386	2,535	100,247	:16:	80,198:
1759				2,361	92,924	:16:	74,339:
1760	28,941:	84,546	9,543	1,202	124,537	:16:	99,630:
1761				1,985	87,580	:16:	70,064:
1762	40,132	84,145	5,428	469	131,133	:16:	104,907:
1763				160	117,412	:16:	93,930:
1764	29,187	69,621	8,506	1,229	109,949	:16:	87,960:
1765				2,784	117,471	:16:	93,977:
1766	54,986	92,324	1,776	2,461	152,729	:16:	122,183:
1767				1,517	115,266	:16:	92,213:
1768	52,501	59,105	7,644	1,743	120,994	:16:	96,795:
1769				2,571	135,918	:16:	108,734:
1770	44,558	110,537	1,744	1,459	158,318	:16:	125,655:
1771				1,240	125,362	:16:	100,290:
1772	44,519	63,009	136	1,612	109,478	:16:	87,583:
1773				583	126,376	:16:	101,101:
1774	49,387	123,944	4,730	514	178,731	:16:	142,985:
1775				928	174,412	:16:	139,530:
1776	26,436	109,026	1,355	604	137,470	:16:	109,976:
1777				40	147,054	:16:	117,643:
1778	48,921	90,489	2,160		141,600	:16:	113,281:
1779					129,530	:16:	103,624:
1780	59,423	74,327	5,040		139,191	:16:	111,354:
1781				80 ^f	170,395	:16:	153,356:
1782	84,173	105,151	540		189,865	:16:	151,892:
1783 ^g				90	164,187	:16:	131,350:
1784	62,955	94,651	1,016	591	158,985	:16:	127,188:

Appendix B.5. IRISH IMPORTS OF RUM
[in gallons]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/gal	TOTAL VALUE
1748	60	163,970	164,030	:1:6	£12,302: ^r
1764	459,432	453,688	913,120	:1:4	60,805:
1765	894,761	336,079	1,230,840	:1:4	82,056:
1766	1,389,443	91,254	1,480,697	:1:4	98,713:
1767	1,621,437	46,104	1,667,541	:1:4	111,169:
1768	1,856,171	17,102	1,873,273	:1:4	124,885:
1769	2,074,513	25,906	2,100,419	:1:4	140,028:
1770	1,635,205	5,585	1,640,791	:1:4	109,386:
1771	2,014,889	20,498	2,035,388	:1:4	135,693:
1772	1,958,249	15,482	1,973,731	:1:4	131,582:
1773	403,097	1,301,461	1,704,557	:1:4	113,637:
1774	654,986	848,100	1,503,086	:1:4	100,206:
1775	433,347	889,159	1,322,506	:1:4	88,167:
1776	462,561	1,425,506	1,888,068	:1:4	125,871:
1777	225,668	1,454,565	1,680,233	:1:5	126,017:
1778	377,915	856,587	1,234,502	:1:6	92,588:
1779	449,761	734,104	1,183,865	:1:6	88,790:
1780	375,363	332,489	707,852	:1:6	53,089:
1781	197,832	69,473 ^f	267,305	:1:6	20,048:
1782	99,219	157,053	256,272	:1:6	19,220:
1783 ^g	129,950	297,045	426,988	:1:6	32,025:
1784	944,479	153,590	1,098,071	:1:6	82,355:

Appendix B.6. IRISH IMPORTS OF MUSCOVADO SUGAR
[in hundredweights]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain ^b	East Country, Holland & Flanders	France	Spain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/cwt	TOTAL VALUE
1698	4,986		1,120			6,107	:30:	£9,161:
1699						8,791	:30:	13,188:
1700	7,527	1				7,528	:30:	11,293:
1701						8,726	:50:	21,817:
1702	4,017		1,046	4		5,067	:50:	12,669:
1703						4,595	:50:	11,488:
1704	8,276		8	115		8,399	:40:	16,800:
1705						4,968	:40:	9,938:
1706	7,863	5		68		7,937	:40:	15,876:
1707						10,543	:40:	21,088:
1708 ^h	3,619			33		3,653	i	
1709						6,627	:46:	15,242:
1710	8,930			5		8,937	:36:	16,087:
1711						16,277	:36:	29,210:
1712	11,421			382		11,805	:36:	21,249:
1713						9,789	:36:	17,621:
1714	14,545		1	12		14,558	:53:	31,300:
1715						13,981	:36:	25,166:
1716	23,784		16	1		23,804	i	
1717						24,825	:35:	43,445:
1718	22,127		46			22,173	:35:	38,804:
1719						17,150	:35:	30,013:
1720	19,115			116		19,232	:35:	33,658:
1721						14,500	:35:	25,374:
1722	17,982		4,817	1,697		24,498	:40:	48,997:
1723						19,309	:40:	38,619:
1724	19,581	16	3,592	137		23,328	:40:	46,656:
1725						26,727	:40:	53,454:
1726	31,614		2,425	1,641		35,681	:40:	71,363:
1727						29,276	:40:	58,554:
1728	14,783	630	4,040	60		19,515	:30:	29,274:
1729						35,824	:30:	53,737:
1730	36,514	460	905	805		38,686	:30:	58,030:
1731						40,139	:32:	64,222:
1732	39,059	2,407	1,266			42,734	:30:	64,101:
1733						42,551	:26:8	56,469:
1734	34,558	2,519	4	44		37,126	:25:	46,409:
1735						39,224	:30:	58,837:
1736	52,151					52,151	:32:	83,442:
1737						48,859	:26:8	65,146:
1738	42,268					42,268	:35:	73,969:
1739						47,839	:35:	83,710:
1740	44,322					44,322	:32:6	72,024:

Appendix B.6. Imports of Muscovado Sugar, continued:

Year ending March	East Country,				American Colonies	TOTAL	price per/cwt	TOTAL VALUE
	Great Britain	Holland & Flanders	France	Spain				
1741	62,757					62,757	:35:	£109,825:
1742	48,692					48,692	:35:	85,211:
1743	47,325					47,325	:35:	82,820:
1744	54,043					54,043	:35:6	95,928:
1745	47,758					47,758	:32:6	77,608:
1746	38,199					38,199	:35:	66,848:
1747	52,806					52,806	:35:	92,411:
1748	51,782					51,782	:32:6	84,147:
1749	75,234					75,234	:30:	112,852:
1750	62,619					62,619	:26:8	83,492:
1751	88,911			2,517		91,429	:26:8	121,905:
1752	40,667		230	33,501		74,399	:26:8	99,199:
1753	36,807			52,010		88,817	:26:8	118,424:
1754	66,698	7		15,534		81,241	:26:8	108,321:
1755	42,244			68,581		110,825	:26:8	147,767:
1756	75,150	200		7,423		82,774	:26:8	110,366:
1757	95,312		836	878		97,027	:26:8	129,370:
1758	84,655		3,781	592		89,028	:26:8	118,705:
1759	62,828		3,336	1,687		67,862	:26:8	90,483:
1760	94,913			3,134		98,048	:26:8	130,731:
1761	95,301			4,200	162	99,664	:26:8	132,887:
1762	111,428			8,229	2,900	122,558	:26:8	163,411:
1763	100,920			2,638		103,558	:26:8	138,008:
1764	152,605			13,218	1,186	167,011	:26:8	222,681:
1765	125,986			3,344		129,331	:26:8	172,442:
1766	133,206			43		133,249	:26:8	177,666:
1767	133,829					133,829	:26:8	178,439:
1768	181,924					181,924	:26:8	242,566:
1769	183,337					183,337	:26:8	244,450:
1770	183,245					183,245	:26:8	244,328:
1771	176,924					176,924	:26:8	235,898:
1772	188,260					188,260	:26:8	251,014:
1773	201,109					201,109	:26:8	268,147:
1774	171,347					171,347	:30:	257,022:
1775	205,858					205,858	:30:	308,787:
1776	238,746					238,746	:30:	358,119:
1777	193,258					193,258	:30:	289,888:
1778	139,816					139,816	:30:	209,725:
1779	145,540					145,540	:40:	291,080:
1780	139,475					139,475	:40:	278,950:
1781	130,056				7,384 ^S	137,440	:40:	274,882:
1782	132,754				18,682	151,436	:40:	302,873:
1783 ^g	99,239				33,871	133,110	:45:	299,498:
1784	160,082			7	27,494	187,583	:45:	442,061:

Appendix B.7. IRISH IMPORTS OF TOBACCO
[in pounds]

Year ^a ending March	QUANTITY ^t	price per/lb	TOTAL VALUE	Year ^a ending March	QUANTITY ^t	price per/lb	TOTAL VALUE
1698	3,370,900	:6	£84,273:	1741	3,668,640	:2	£30,572:
1699	3,651,530	:6	91,288:	1742	3,017,654	:2	25,147:
1700	3,281,645	:6	82,041:	1743	2,627,130	:2	21,893:
1701	2,907,462	:4	48,458:	1744	3,434,111	:2	28,618:
1702	2,051,895	:4	34,198:	1745	3,409,413	:2	28,412:
1703	4,110,944	:4	68,516:	1746	3,398,172	:2	28,318:
1704	2,812,397	:4.5	52,732:	1747	3,951,389	:2	32,928:
1705	2,501,654	:4.5	46,906:	1748	3,522,828	:2	29,357:
1706	2,747,791	:4.5	51,521:	1749	3,461,041	:2	28,842:
1707 ^h	3,407,240	:4.5	63,886:	1750	4,581,548	:2	38,180:
1708 ^h	968,575	i		1751	4,195,740	:2	34,965:
1709	4,329,172	:4	72,153:	1752	3,799,795	:2	31,665:
1710	2,883,656	:4	48,061:	1753	3,385,795	:2	28,215:
1711	2,953,115	:4	49,219:	1754	3,574,037	:2	29,784:
1712	3,389,724	:4	56,495:	1755	4,154,203	:2	34,618:
1713	3,169,888	:4	52,831:	1756	3,424,359	:2	28,536:
1714	2,193,036	:6	54,826:	1757	4,769,975	:2	39,750:
1715	6,827,364	:4	113,789:	1758	4,958,721	:2	41,323:
1716	3,811,492	i		1759	3,662,246	:2	30,519:
1717	2,186,384	:6	54,660:	1760	4,787,017	:2	39,892:
1718	2,471,609	:6	61,790:	1761	4,735,173	:2	39,460:
1719	4,038,425	:6	100,961:	1762	5,432,445	:2	45,270:
1720	3,868,480	:4	64,475:	1763	5,111,898	:2	42,559:
1721	3,442,222	:4	57,370:	1764	5,725,777	:2	47,715:
1722	4,059,162	:4	67,653:	1765	4,341,802	:2	36,932:
1723	3,607,695	:4	60,128:	1766	6,049,271	:2	50,411:
1724	3,439,154	:4	57,319:	1767	4,083,379	:2	34,028:
1725	2,475,954	:4	41,266:	1768	4,346,769	:2	36,223:
1726	3,528,272	:4	58,805:	1769	4,852,197	:2	40,434:
1727	4,320,356	:4	72,006:	1770	5,445,942	:2	45,383:
1728	2,846,412	:3	35,580:	1771	5,012,979	:2	41,775:
1729	2,312,047	:3	28,901:	1772	5,525,849	:2	46,049:
1730	2,776,177	:3	34,702:	1773	5,231,714	:2	43,598:
1731	2,409,373	:3	30,117:	1774	5,434,924	:2	45,291:
1732	2,780,167	:2.5	28,960:	1775	3,949,740	:2	32,915:
1733	3,448,056	:2.5	35,917:	1776	5,379,405	:2	44,828:
1734	2,826,102	:2	23,551:	1777	3,916,409	:2	32,637:
1735	3,747,489	:2	31,229:	1778	3,629,056	:3	45,363:
1736	3,587,051	:2	29,892:	1779 ^u	4,038,497	:4	67,308:
1737	3,324,158	:2	27,701:	1780	4,630,302	:6	115,758:
1738	3,677,436	:1.5	22,984:	1781 ^v	5,501,535	:6	137,538:
1739	3,527,235	:1.5	22,045:	1782	3,845,788	:6	96,144:
1740	2,721,015	:1.5	17,006:	1783 ^w	3,459,861	:6	86,496:
				1784	4,214,860	:6	105,372:

Appendix B.8. IRISH IMPORTS OF WHEAT
[in quarters]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain	East Country	Holland & Flanders	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/qtr	TOTAL VALUE
1732	8,446	153	521		9,478	:25:	£11,867:
1733					18,727	:26:8	24,970:
1734	15,253	1,725	5,413	342	22,863	:24:	27,435:
1735				729	28,477	:40:	56,954:
1736	22,049	3,370	4,835	2,267	45,482	:34:6	78,456:
1737				3,189	31,947	:26:8	42,596:
1738	7,928		2,060	196	13,103	:25:	16,378:
1739				85	9,284	:30:	13,926:
1740	4,655	292	354	1,148	6,449	:35:	11,285:
1741				9,478	12,424	:45:	27,956:
1742	18,179	781	2,082	11,079	33,169	:36:8	60,810:
1743				395	6,142	:35:	10,748:
1744	327	3			330	:25:	412:
1745					6,343	:28:	8,880:
1746	122,379	176	5,509	1,052	129,973	:26:8	172,254:
1747				3,109	29,974	:26:8	38,632:
1748	3,214		188		3,402	:28:	4,763:
1749					8,720	:30:	13,080:
1750	16,259		17		16,276	:28:6	23,193:
1751					20,317	:28:6	28,952:
1752	27,773	294	15	2,094	30,425	:30:	45,638:
1753				3,785	18,196	:30:	27,293:
1754	32,613	4,787	2,015	220	39,636	:30:	59,453:
1755				491	57,699	:30:	86,549:
1756	19,631	524	27		20,412	:22:6	22,964:
1757				412	31,712	:30:	47,568:
1758	3,596	5,764		8,108	27,851	:30:	41,776:
1759				910	4,718	:30:	7,078:
1760	3,698				3,698	:30:	5,546:
1761					2,428	:30:	3,641:
1762	16,730	350		50	17,130	:30:	25,695:
1763					22,655	:30:	33,983:
1764	25,764				25,764	:30:	38,646:
1765				1,052	10,530	:30:	15,794:
1766	8,406	1,040	1,768	1,843	14,131	:30:	21,196:
1767				8,655	39,457	:30:	59,185:
1768	211	1,703	1,611	5,765	11,803	:30:	17,704:
1769				354	2,200	:30:	3,299:
1770	30,539	955	666	11,373	43,533	:40:	87,066:
1771				12,969	53,449	:40:	106,897:
1772	1,486	1,103		9,574	12,164	:40:	24,327:
1773				1,627	2,861	:40:	5,723:
1774	348	863	143	2,751	4,104	:43:4	8,894:
1775				2,298	3,235	:43:4	7,009:
1776	40	500	4	7,004	7,548	:43:4	16,353:
1777				206	3,457	:43:4	7,490:
1778	228	687	1,460	102	2,478	:43:4	5,368:
1779					10,570	:43:4	22,900:
1780	442	461	573		1,476	:43:4	3,199:
1781					591	:43:4	1,279:
1782	381	143			524	:43:4	1,135:
1783 ^g					834	:43:4	1,806:
1784	22,745	7,293	4,320		49,206	:54:	132,857:

Appendix B.9. IRISH IMPORTS OF WHEAT MEAL
[in barrels]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/bbl	TOTAL VALUE
1732	6,932	591	7,538	:20:	£7,538:
1733		323	13,416	:18:6	12,410:
1734	13,547	695	14,268	:18:6	13,198:
1735		1,434	20,391	:32:	32,626:
1736	13,376	1,532	15,161	:20:	15,161:
1737		3,350	9,994	:22:	10,993:
1738	14,341	221	14,604	:20:	14,604:
1739		749	9,967	:25:	12,458:
1740	7,039	3,642	10,706	:25:	13,383:
1741		10,360	10,827	:30:	16,240:
1742	9,577	14,800	24,448	:30:	36,671:
1743		883	10,876	:25:	13,595:
1744	1	93	94	:20:	94:
1745		142	1,285	:25:	1,607:
1746	2,297	259	2,976	:24:	3,571:
1762	96		96	:25:	119:
1763			24	:25:	29:
1764	1,137		1,137	:25:	1,421:
1765			46	:25:	58:
1766	400		417	:25:	522:
1767		9,406	9,660	:25:	12,074:
1768		4,975	5,352	:25:	6,690:
1769		1,023	1,023	:25:	1,279:
1770	896	958	1,854	:30:	2,781:
1771		3,120	3,686	:30:	5,529:
1772	1,187	1,718	2,905	:30:	4,357:
1773		352	782	:30:	1,173:
1774		759	759	:30:	1,139:
1775		1,600	1,600	:30:	2,400:
1776		682	682	:30:	1,023:
1777		36	36	:26:8	48:

Appendix B.10 IRISH IMPORTS OF WOOD (PLANK LUMBER)
[at value]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain	East Country	Spain	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL
1732	£409:	£8:	£159:	£186:	£1,090:
1733				240:	538:
1734	107:	41:	348:	356:	882:
1735				430:	953:
1736	801:	27:	395:	295:	1,542:
1737				630:	1,198:
1738	344:	50:	90:	388:	872:
1739				569:	1,490:
1740	566:	67:	140	385:	1,162:
1741				12:	841:
1742	614:	93:		533:	1,239:
1743				1,699:	2,259:
1744	458:	30:		354:	848:
1745				146:	1,178:
1746	1,336:	214:		293:	1,842:
1747				176:	1,349:
1748	937:	388:	75:	48:	1,447:
1749				96:	3,137:
1750	2,252:	445:	202:	237:	3,155:
1751				742:	3,149:
1752	5,003:	737:	149:	1,047:	6,937:
1753				840:	5,573:
1754	2,484:	1,017:	583:	415:	4,498:
1755				479:	3,831:
1756	465:	403:	85:	479:	1,435:
1757				327:	1,312:
1758	1,848:	502:	14:	115:	2,481:
1759				199:	3,293:
1760	4,378:	1,014:	103:	668:	6,201:
1761				63:	1,884:
1762	2,931:	771:	7:	214:	4,012:
1763				2,352:	5,625:
1764	2,795:	809:	153:	2,246:	6,046:
1765				1,827:	11,234:
1766	5,218:	724:	9:	2,407:	8,447:
1767				2,695:	6,516:
1768	3,361:	451:		3,015:	6,890:
1769				2,090:	3,582:
1770	1,623:	234:	56:	1,401:	3,314:
1771				203:	1,270:
1772	590:	155:	375:	2,558:	3,677:
1773				2,023:	3,814:
1774	220:	451:		1,357:	2,058:
1775				1,829:	2,364:
1776	80:	243:		347:	671:
1777					1,255:
1778	325:	460:		28:	824:
1779					369:
1780	171:	458:			805:
1781				310: ^f	1,462:
1782	847:	509:			1,723:
1783 ^g				46:	1,700:
1784	1,704:	334:		373:	2,544:

Appendix B.11. IRISH IMPORTS OF WOOD (TIMBER)
[in tons]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain	East Country	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL	price per/ton	TOTAL VALUE
1732	297	1,019	213	1,941	:30:	£2,913:
1733			318	1,511	:40:	3,023:
1734	139	1,155	253	1,704	:40:	3,409:
1735			582	2,472	:40:	4,946:
1736	380	866	619	1,927	:42:6	4,096:
1737			358	1,738	:44:	3,824:
1738	321	1,104	939	2,452	:45:	5,518:
1739			820	2,275	:45:	5,119:
1740	120	1,311	153	1,780	:45:	4,006:
1741			19	500	:45:	1,126:
1742	111	2,371	226	2,783	:45:	6,264:
1743			159	1,762	:45:	3,965:
1744	254	2,220	151	2,708	:45:	6,095:
1745				2,981	:47:6	7,080:
1746	230	1,564		1,854	:47:4	4,389:
1747				2,115	:47:6	5,024:
1748	538	1,822	40	2,537	:46:8	5,920:
1749			43	4,924	:46:8	11,491:
1750	557	6,283	307	7,241	:46:8	16,897:
1751			1,035	4,768	:50:	11,920:
1752	295	8,128	218	8,762	:50:	21,905:
1753			189	5,363	:55:	14,751:
1754	341	6,014	218	6,725	:55:	18,494:
1755			119	6,261	:55:	17,220:
1756	181	4,027	109	4,342	:55:	11,943:
1757			30	2,685	:55:	7,385:
1758	185	2,353		2,553	:55:	7,023:
1759			10	4,751	:55:	13,067:
1760	312	7,855	40	8,270	:55:	22,745:
1761			9	4,462	:55:	12,271:
1762	247	4,084	1	4,426	:55:	12,173:
1763			22	6,110	:55:	16,804:
1764	545	9,896	28	10,504	:55:	28,886:
1765			87	10,561	:55:	29,043:
1766	451	10,347	67	10,921	:55:	30,033:
1767			124	14,426	:55:	39,672:
1768	294	8,229	348	8,958	:55:	24,636:
1769			515	7,756	:55:	21,330:
1770	621	12,155	303	13,102	:55:	36,032:
1771			111	9,631	:55:	26,485:
1772	455	5,085	495	6,046	:55:	16,627:
1773			158	11,530	:55:	31,710:
1774	448	13,132	640	14,277	:55:	39,262:
1775			104	9,734	:55:	26,769:
1776	136	7,912	540	8,598	:55:	23,647:
1777			10	9,269	:55:	25,463:
1778	491	14,126		14,816	:55:	40,745:
1779				9,199	:55:	25,298:
1780	480	3,946	50	4,901	:55:	13,478:
1781				5,947	:55:	16,356:
1782	698	7,953	22 ^f	8,693	:55:	23,908:
1783 ^g			17	8,569	:55:	23,567:
1784	1,183	11,581	757	13,612	:55:	37,433:

Appendix B.12. IRISH IMPORTS OF WOOD (WOODENWARE)
[at value]

Year ^a ending March	Great Britain	East Country	Holland & Flanders	American Colonies ^c	TOTAL
1732	£369:	£274:	£256:	£34:	£1,058:
1733				195:	1,065:
1734	372:	223:	169:	350:	1,146:
1735				264:	1,099:
1736	262:	193:	147:	571:	1,194:
1737				205:	850:
1738	406:	171:	111:	326:	1,108:
1739				353:	981:
1740	324:	229:	175:	161:	921:
1741				52:	859:
1742	341:	171:	116:	263:	894:
1743				664:	1,654:
1744	407:	275:	89:	105:	896:
1745				49:	848:
1746	533:	159:	118:	9:	819:
1747				109:	1,085:
1748	956:	150:	20:	38:	1,193:
1749				353:	2,277:
1750	705:	487:	166:	531:	2,244:
1751				1,405:	2,739:
1752	945:	687:	282:	783:	2,932:
1753				1,418:	3,111:
1754	1,476:	422:	228:	783:	2,947:
1755				546:	2,117:
1756	673:	293:	182:	654:	1,814:
1757				156:	821:
1758	561:	219:	199:	195:	1,178:
1759				85:	1,320:
1760	730:	392:	213:	332:	1,667:
1761				45:	1,018:
1762	628:	197:	165:	213:	1,247:
1763				659:	2,293:
1764	948:	633:	176:	438:	2,199:
1765				2,109:	4,459:
1766	1,476:	842:	111:	958:	3,446:
1767				2,428:	4,790:
1768	1,522:	610:	176:	2,992:	5,323:
1769				2,593:	4,755:
1770					
1771					
1772					
1773				3,861:	7,124:
1774	1,582:	805:	146:	5,477:	8,048:
1775				2,701:	4,290:
1776	2,768:	491:	114:	497:	3,887:
1777				2,182:	9,372:
1778	3,093:	805:	106:	2,320:	6,403:
1779				2,820:	4,676:
1780	1,940:	291:	106:	110:	2,446:
1781				55: ^f	2,935:
1782	1,208:	472:	44:	353:	2,088:
1783 ^g				853:	3,631:
1784	1,463:	1,063:	93:	1,368:	4,050:

Notes on Appendices

Tables presented here are transcripts of the ledgers of imports and exports of the Irish Revenue Commissioners preserved in the Public Record Office, London [PRO, Customs 15].

^aThe fiscal year used in the exports and imports ledgers ended on Christmas Day until the close of 1707; that employed after 1707 ended on 25 March, Lady Day.

^bSeparate statistics for 'South Britain' and 'North Britain' were kept until 1730/31. In this transcript, the two have been combined and included under 'Great Britain.'

^cIncludes the North American mainland and the West India Islands.

^dThe total value of Irish exports and imports for 1707/8 and 1715/16 not given.

^eAn alternative set of total export and total import figures have been pencilled into ledgers for 1720/21. EXPORTS: South Britain £335,566:, North Britain £9,556:, East Country £92,619:, Holland & Flanders £104,407:, France £53,550:, Spain £115,626:, Plantations £82,136:, Total Exports £859,581. IMPORTS: South Britain £346,895:, North Britain £25,576:, East Country £56,318:, Holland & Flanders £65,689:, France £102,462:, Spain £33,857:, Total Imports £683,364:

^fIn 1780/81 and 1781/82, 'Plantations' is replaced with two new categories: 'America' and 'West Indies.'

^gBeginning in 1782/83, the format of the ledgers radically changes. Where there had been 6 or 7 trading destinations, there are now 43, including 13 in the West Indies and 9 on the North American continent.

^hStatistics for 1708 represent the activity of just one quarter, that running from 25 December 1707 to 25 March 1708.

ⁱLedgers do not include price data for 1707/8 and 1715/16.

^jFigures were not included in the transcript.

^kCandle exports are denoted in pounds for the period from 1697/98 to 1704/5 and from 1706/7 to 1714/15. The trade in all other years is shown in hundredweight.

^lMeasure of prices is inconsistent through 1714/15.

^mVirtually all of the linen in this category was exported to 'South Britain.'

ⁿLinen exports denoted in 'pieces' during the four years ending March 1701.

^oManuscript ledger does not indicate the total value of tongue exports for 1714/15.

^p'£3.-.-' written in pencil next to 1761 price.

^q'£1.-.-' written in pencil next to 1761 price.

^rExcept in 1748, rum was included under the heading 'Brandy &c.' until 1763/64.

^sWest Indies only in 1780/81 and 1781/82, and trifling amounts from the North American mainland in 1782/83 and 1783/84.

^tUntil 1778/79, virtually all of the tobacco imported into Ireland came by way of the English re-export trade.

^uIn 1778/79, 36,380 lbs. of tobacco came direct from the plantations; none in 1779/80.

^vIn 1780/81, 4,000 lbs. of tobacco were imported from 'America' and 321,942 lbs. from the 'West Indies.' In 1781/82, 92,963 lbs. came from the American mainland and 202,871 lbs. were imported from the islands.

^wIn 1782/83, imports of tobacco from the American mainland totalled 487,489 lbs. [all from New York], and 301,598 lbs. came from the West Indies. In 1783/84, 2,956,054 lbs. were landed from the American mainland, along with 120,770 lbs. from the islands.

NOTES

Abbreviations

Add. MSS.	Additional Manuscripts
AAS	American Antiquarian Society
<u>AHR</u>	<u>American Historical Review</u>
<u>AH</u>	<u>Analecta Hibernica</u>
BHS	Beverley [Massachusetts] Historical Society
BL	British Library [London]
BH	Business History
<u>BHR</u>	<u>Business History Review</u>
CHS	Connecticut Historical Society
DAB	Dictionary of American Biography
DHR	Dublin Historical Record
<u>ECHR</u>	<u>Economic History Review</u>
<u>EHR</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u>
<u>EI</u>	<u>Eire-Ireland</u>
<u>EIHC</u>	<u>Essex Institute Historical Collections</u>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania
HS	Historical Studies
<u>IESH</u>	<u>Irish Economic and Social History</u>
<u>IHS</u>	<u>Irish Historical Studies</u>
Ir. MSS. Comm.	Irish Manuscripts Commission
<u>JAIHS</u>	<u>Journal of the American Irish Historical Society</u>
<u>JCHAS</u>	<u>Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society</u>
<u>JEH</u>	<u>Journal of Economic History</u>
<u>JRSAI</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland</u>
LC	Library of Congress (Manuscripts Division), Washington, D.C.
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society
NLI	National Library of Ireland
<u>NEQ</u>	<u>New England Quarterly</u>
NYHS	New York Historical Society
NYPL	New York Public Library
<u>PAH</u>	<u>Perspectives in American History</u>
<u>PMHB</u>	<u>Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography</u>
PRO	Public Record Office [London]
PROI	Public Record Office, Ireland
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
<u>QH</u>	<u>Quaker History</u>
<u>SCSH</u>	<u>Smith College Studies in History</u>
<u>WMQ</u>	<u>William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser.</u>

INTRODUCTION

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² Statement on Irish Trade by S[ackville] H[amilton], 17 April 1777. Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Lothian Preserved at Blicking Hall, Norfolk, HMC (London, 1905), p. 303.

³ Anthony Litten, The Cork Surgeon's Antidote against the Dublin Apothecary's Poyson, III, (Dublin, 1749), p. 12.

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¹ Sir William Petty, The Political Anatomy of Ireland (London, 1691), p. 79.

² Calendar State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1685-1688, No. 613.

³ Sir Walter Harris, Remarks on the Affairs and Trade of England and Ireland (London, 1691), pp. 33-38.

⁴ John Hely-Hutchinson, Commercial Restraints of Ireland Considered (Dublin, 1779), p. 206.

⁵ L. M. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland since 1660 (London, 1972), pp. 37-39.

⁶ 12 Charles II, c. 18 [English].

⁷ 15 Charles II, c. 7 [English].

⁸ 22 & 23 Charles II, c. 26 [English].

⁹ 1 James II, c. 17 [English].

¹⁰ 7 & 8 William III, c. 22 [English].

¹¹ 3 & 4 Anne, c. 8 [English].

¹² 12 Charles II, c. 18, xix [English].

¹³ Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History (4 vols., New Haven, 1964), IV, 335; George Louis Beer, The Old Colonial System, 1660-1754 (2 vols., New York, 1912), I, 91-92.

¹⁴ Calendar of State Papers: Ireland, 1660-1662, p. 16.

¹⁵ 15 Charles II, c. 7 [English]; "In the first Irish Parliament which was called after the Restoration, the several Acts granting an hereditary revenue to the Crown were passed; among others the Act of Tonnage and Poundage, whereby a revenue of 5 per cent. was granted on the exports of Ireland, and the duties of custom on the produce of the

Plantations were rated at only one half when the commodities should be imported from England. (14 and 15 Chas. 2nd, Irish, see the proviso at the latter end of the Statute.) This was immediately followed by an English Act (15 Chas. 2nd, Eng.) prohibiting any exportation from Ireland to the Plantations but of servants, horses and victuals." Statement on Irish Trade by S[ackville] H[amilton], 17 April 1777. Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Lothian Preserved at Blicking Hall, Norfolk, HMC (London, 1905), p. 302.

¹⁶G. L. Beer, Old Colonial System, I, 92.

¹⁷"This [removal of the restrictions against Ireland in the plantation trade] will unavoydably create y^e setting up of Ireland in Trade and Wealth on y^e basis of y^e Ruine of this nation wth out any increas of Revenue or advantage to his Ma^{ty}, but very much y^e contrary. For all traders to y^e Plantacons will more readily goe for Ireland where they may expect better advantages by Bills of Store & otherwise from y^e farmers of y^e Revenue there, then y^e Constitucon of y^e present management of y^e Customes in England will allow of, & consequently will much lessen his Ma^{ts} Customes heer in Linnen, Brandyes & other Comodityes w^{ch} pay great duty in importacon, & are hence exported to y^e Plantcons, & make Ireland yy^e staple of all Plantacon Commodities." Commissioners of Customs, London, to Lord Clifford, 10 February 1673. Essex Papers, 1672-1679, edited by Osmund Airy, Camden Society (London, 1890), I, 55; C. M. Andrews, Colonial Period, IV, 126, 333.

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²⁰J. G. Simms, "The Restoration, 1660-85," A New History of Ireland, edited by T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (Oxford, 1976), III, 421.

²¹Lord Lieutenant of Ireland [Duke of Ormond] and Council, Dublin, to the King, 9 February 1667. Calendar of State Papers: Ireland, 1666-1669, p. 291.

²²12 Charles II, c. 18, xviii, xix [English].

²³G. L. Beer, Old Colonial System, I, 93; Lawrence A. Harper, The English Navigation Laws: A Seventeenth Century Experiment in Social Engineering (New York, 1973), pp. 152, 162.

²⁴22 & 23 Charles II, c. 26 [English].

²⁵Calendar Treasury Books, 1669-1672, pp. 679, 698; L. A. Harper, English Navigation Laws, pp. 57-59, 137; John Beresford, The Godfather of Downing Street: Sir George Downing, 1623-1684 (London, 1925).

²⁶G. L. Beer, Old Colonial System, I, 93-94, 94n.

²⁷Sir Jonathan Atkins, Barbados, to Secretary Williamson, [London], 20 April 1675. "Documents Relating to the Irish in the West Indies," edited by Rev. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., AH, IV (1932), 268.

²⁸Essex Papers, I, 36; From the English mercantilist perspective, alteration of the Act of 1671 was unthinkable. If the terms of the law were liberalized, according to one report, "All Traders to the

Plantations will more readily goe and unlade in Ireland, where they may expect better advantage by Bills of Store & otherways from the farmers of the Revenue then the Customs in England will allow of." Wm. Garway, "Report [re] Trade from Ireland to the Plantations," 1672. NLI, MS.7,334.

²⁹ Calendar Treasury Books, 1669-1672, pp. 461, 1049, 1101, 1175, 1197, 1280, 1290; Calendar of State Papers: Domestic, 1676-1677, pp. 586-587; L. A. Harper, English Navigation Laws, pp. 152, 261; G. L. Beer, Old Colonial System, I, 95-96, 96n.

³⁰ C. M. Andrews, Colonial Period, IV, 127, 127n.

³¹ 25 Charles II, c. 7, v [English].

³² L. A. Harper, English Navigation Laws, p. 163.

³³ C. M. Andrews, Colonial Period, IV, 128-129.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 129-131.

³⁵ Calendar State Papers: Colonial, 1681-1685, Nos. 120, 129, 166, 317, 321, 403, 406, 507, 532; Archives of Maryland, edited by William Hand Browne, et al. (72 vols., Baltimore, 1883-), V, 279, 289, 293-294, 304-306, 345, 448; Calendar Treasury Books, VII, 566, 1454; G. L. Beer, Old Colonial System, I, 98-100, II, 171-173; L. A. Harper, English Navigation Laws, p. 163; Thomas C. Barrow, Trade and Empire: The British Customs Service in Colonial America, 1660-1775 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967), pp. 27-29.

³⁶ 1 James II, c. 17 [English].

³⁷ G. L. Beer, Old Colonial System, I, 100-103.

³⁸ Sir John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, 14 July 1685. MSS. of Earl of Egmont, HMC, (2 vols., London, 1904-1909), II, 155, 157.

³⁹ William Hovell, Cork, to Thomas Pulland, Dublin, 7 August 1685. Wm. Hovell Letterbook, 1683-1686. MS. in Draper's Hall, London. Microfilmed copy in NLI.

⁴⁰ Calendar of State Papers: Colonial, 1685-1688, Nos. 613, 670.

⁴¹ "The jealousy of English merchants led to increasing discriminations against the Irish in the plantation trade." L. A. Harper, English Navigation Laws, p. 282; G. L. Beer, Old Colonial System, I, 100-104.

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⁴³ An Answer to a Letter from Gentleman in the Country . . . Relating to the Trade of Ireland (London, 1698), p. 7.

⁴⁴ 7 & 8 William III, c. 22 [English].

⁴⁵ T. C. Barrow, Trade and Empire, p. 57.

⁴⁶ 7 & 8 William III, c. 22, xiii [English].

⁴⁷ 4 George II, c. 15 [English].

⁴⁸ 7 & 8 William III, c. 22, i [English]; L. A. Harper, English

Navigation Laws, p. 261; Byron Fairchild, Messrs. William Pepperrell: Merchants at Piscataqua (Ithaca, New York, 1954), pp. 99, 130-131.

⁴⁹Observations on the Trade of Ireland with the English and Foreign Colonies in America (London, 1731), p. 17.

⁵⁰L. A. Harper, English Navigation Laws, p. 152.

⁵¹3 & 4 Anne, c. 8 [English].

⁵²Calendar of Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, HMC, New Series (8 vols., London, 1902-1920) VIII, 131; Francis Godwin James, Ireland in the Empire, 1688-1770 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973), pp. 55, 62-64.

⁵³For a useful perspective on West Indian social and economic historiography, see Jack P. Green, "Society and Economy in the British Caribbean during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," AHR, LXXIX (December 1974), 1499-1517.

⁵⁴Richard S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713 (New York, 1972), p. 69; Abbot Emerson Smith, Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776 (New York, 1975), pp. 62-66; Carl Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590-1642 (New York, 1968), pp. 426-429; Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean, 1624-1690 (New York, 1972), pp. 65-66, 103.

⁵⁵John J. Silke, "The Irish Abroad, 1534-1691," New History of Ireland, III, 600-603; Patrick J. Corish, "The Cromwellian Regime, 1650-60," Ibid., 362-364; J. G. Simms, "The Restoration, 1660-85," Ibid., 444; C. and R. Bridenbaugh, No Peace beyond the Line, pp. 14-15; A. E. Smith, Colonists in Bondage, pp. 162-174.

⁵⁶Marcus Lee Hansen, The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860 (New York, 1961), p. 41; A. E. Smith, Colonists in Bondage, pp. 62-64, 164; Richard B. Sheridan, Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775 (Barbados, 1974), pp. 87, 170-183; C. and R. Bridenbaugh, No Peace beyond the Line, p. 14.

⁵⁷M. L. Hansen, The Atlantic Migration, p. 41; C. and R. Bridenbaugh, No Peace beyond the Line, pp. 17, 20-21.

⁵⁸R. B. Sheridan, Sugar and Slavery, pp. 87, 170-183; R. S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, pp. 35, 122, 127.

⁵⁹C. and R. Bridenbaugh, No Peace Beyond the Line, pp. 276-277.

⁶⁰Calendar State Papers: Ireland, 1666-1669, Nos. 604, 778; Business Letters of George McCartney, 1661-67, 1679-81. PRONI, TM.1705/4, p. 4;

⁶¹The letters of a Cork merchant in the provisioning trade tell of his shipping tobacco from Antigua to Cowes [England] in the summer of 1686. Wm. Hovell Letterbook.

⁶²R. S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, p. 130; C. and R. Bridenbaugh, No Peace beyond the Line, pp. 276-277.

⁶³C. and R. Bridenbaugh, No Peace beyond the Line, pp. 276-277.

- ⁶⁴ R. S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, pp. 59, 67.
- ⁶⁵ Richard Vine, to John Winthrop, 19 July 1647. Winthrop Papers, 1498-1649, edited by Allyn B. Forbes, et al. (5 vols., Boston, 1929-1947), V, 171.
- ⁶⁶ Richard S. Dunn, "The Barbados Census of 1680: Profile of the Richest Colony in English America," WMQ, XXVI (January 1969), 30.
- ⁶⁷ C. and R. Bridenbaugh, No Peace beyond the Line, p. 49.
- ⁶⁸ Observations on the Embargo lately laid on the Exports of Beef, Pork, and Butter from Ireland (London, 1756), pp. 14-15.
- ⁶⁹ R. S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, p. 278.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 264-265, 278, 280; C. and R. Bridenbaugh, No Peace beyond the Line, p. 109.
- ⁷¹ For example, the ship Katherin of London arrived at Barbados in March 1682 from Cork with a lading of 600 barrels of beef, 9 barrels of hearts, 3 barrels of tongues, and 140 firkins of butter. PRO, C.O.33/13/9A.
- ⁷² Sir Jonathan Atkins, Barbados, to Secretary Williamson, [London], 20 April 1675. "Documents Relating to the Irish in the West Indies," 268; Ralph Davis, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, (London, 1972), p. 269.
- ⁷³ Isaac Norris, Philadelphia, to Job Williams, 1 August 1699. Norris Papers, Letters 1716-1730. MS. in HSP.
- ⁷⁴ PRO, C.O.33/13-16; BL, Add. MSS. 4759; PRO, Customs 15; D. J. Dickson, "The Cork Merchant Community in the Eighteenth Century: A Regional Perspective," Negoce et Industrie en France et en Irlande aux XVIIIe et XIXe Siecles, edited by L. M. Cullen and P. Butel (Bordeaux, 1980), 45-50.
- ⁷⁵ R. Davis, Rise of the English Shipping Industry, p. 269; Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, Wholesale and Retail Grocer and Ironmonger, A Member of the Society of Friends, A.D. 1665-1752, edited by J. Harland (London, 1851), pp. 54, 56.
- ⁷⁶ PRO, C.O.33/13-16; Business Letters of George McCartney. PRONI, TM.1705/4, p. 4.
- ⁷⁷ [Isaac McCartney], Belfast, to William Moore, Barbados, 18 January 1705 (2 letters). Letterbook of a Belfast merchant [Isaac McCartney] PRONI, D.501; Same to William Smith [supercargo at sea], 9 June 1705. Ibid.; Isaac McCartney, James Arbuckles, Robert Lennox, and John Challmers, Belfast, to Alexander & Henry Cairnes, London, 16 March 1706. Ibid.; Wm. Hovell Letterbook; Calendar State Papers: Ireland, 1666-1669, No. 466.
- ⁷⁸ R. Davis, Rise of the English Shipping Industry, pp. 34, 270-271; Richard Pares, Yankees and Creoles: The Trade between North America and the West Indies before the American Revolution (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956), pp. 11-12.
- ⁷⁹ L. M. Cullen, "Merchant Communities Overseas, the Navigation Acts and the Irish and Scottish Responses," Comparative Aspects of

Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History, 1600-1900, edited by L. M. Cullen and T. C. Smout (Edinburgh, 1977), 165-172; Frank Wesley Pitman, The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763 (New Haven, 1917), p. 255n.

⁸⁰Grattan Papers. NLI, MS.14,165.

⁸¹R. S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, p. 108.

⁸²R. Pares, Yankees and Creoles, pp. 65-71; J. G. Simms, "The Restoration, 1660-1685," 444; L. M. Cullen, "Merchant Communities Overseas," 165-174; PRO, C.O.33/13-16; Business Letters of George McCartney. PRONI, T.M.1705/4, p. 4.

⁸³Grattan Papers. NLI, MS.14,165.

⁸⁴R. Davis, Rise of the English Shipping Industry, p. 269.

⁸⁵R. Pares, Yankees and Creoles, pp. 38-39, 41.

⁸⁶PRO, C.O.33/13-16

⁸⁷Grattan Papers. NLI, MS.14,165; John Franklin Jameson, Privateering and Piracy in the Colonial Period: Illustrative Documents (New York, 1923), p. 296; Massachusetts: English Shipping Records, pp. 91, 97. Transcript in MHS.

⁸⁸John Hull, Boston, to John Alden [ship captain], 18 September 1671. John Hull's Letter Book, 1670-1685. MS. in AAS.

⁸⁹Records of the Suffolk County Court, 1671-1680, edited by Samuel Eliot Morison (2 vols. [Vol. XXIX And XXX of Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts], Boston, 1933), I, 248.

⁹⁰PRO, C.O.5/508, ff. 12, 32, 44-46, 90, 94-95, 98, 112; Massachusetts: English Shipping Records, Part II, pp. 647, 648, 668-669, 742; Charter Party of the ship Hanover, 17 August 1717. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/363; Archibald Macphaedris, Portsmouth [New Hampshire], to James & Robert Wilson, Belfast, 28 August 1718. Papers of A. Macphaedris and Jonathan Warner, 1716-1813. MS. in Baker Library, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University; Acts of the Privy Council: Colonial, VI, 101; James Spaiget, Carrickfergus, to George Macartney, Belfast, 18 April 1719, T.519/137-138; B. Fairchild, Messrs. William Pepperrell, pp. 99, 130-131.

⁹¹Calendar State Papers: Colonial, 1734-1735, No. 20.

⁹²Pennsylvania Gazette, 24 October 1728; Ibid., 4 December, 18 December, 25 December 1728.

⁹³"Essex County Notarial Records," EIHC XLIII (1907), 61.

⁹⁴L. M. Cullen, Economic History of Ireland, p. 18.

⁹⁵W. Petty, Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 81.

⁹⁶Calendar State Papers: Ireland, 1666-1669, Nos. 617, 651, 682, 722, 733; L. M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800 (New York, 1968), pp. 37-38; J. G. Simms, "The Restoration, 1660-1685," 444.

⁹⁷Wm. Hovell Letterbook; Letter Book of a Belfast Merchant,

1704-1707. PRONI, D.501.

⁹⁸ Bernard Bailyn, The New England Merchant in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1964), p. 148; Massachusetts: English Shipping Records, p. 159.

⁹⁹ Records of the Suffolk County Court, 1671-1680, I, 32.

¹⁰⁰ B. Bailyn, New England Merchant, p. 148; Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts (9 vols., Salem, Massachusetts, 1919), VII, 171.

¹⁰¹ Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1630-1692, edited by John Noble (3 vols., Boston, 1901-1928), I, 160.

¹⁰² PRO, C.O.5/749, ff. 4-5, 9.

¹⁰³ Audrey Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration from Ireland to the North American Colonies between 1660 and 1775 (New York, 1976), p. 30.

¹⁰⁴ R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775 (London, 1966), pp. 21-16.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34; A. Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration, pp. 40-42.

¹⁰⁶ Archibald Macphaedris, Portsmouth [New Hampshire], to James & Robert Wilson, Belfast, 28 August 1718. Papers of A. Macphaedris and Jonathan Warner.

¹⁰⁷ Massachusetts: English Shipping Records, pp. 330, 570, 732, 742, 786-787.

¹⁰⁸ Letter of December 1717 quoted in William G. Saltonstall, Ports of Piscataqua (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1941), p. 26.

¹⁰⁹ A. Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration, pp. 43-44, 175-181.

¹¹⁰ Ships papers and accounts relating to the 1713-1714 voyage of the William and Susanna of Salem from New England to Ireland and back. Hathorne Family MSS., Commercial Papers, 1664-1730, ff. 47, 49, 63, 64, 66, 72, 74, 78, 90, 92, 117. MSS. in Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts; Philip English, Salem, to George Cabot, [Boston]. 22 January 1713. Samuel Cabot Papers, 1713-1833 (Box 1). MS. in MHS; Massachusetts: English Shipping Records, p. 732.

¹¹¹ Imports and Exports of Ireland, 1683-1686. BL, Add. MSS. 4759; PRO, Customs 15.

¹¹² Letters Written by his Excellency, Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the Year 1675 (London, 1770), pp. 308-311; L. M. Cullen, Economic History of Ireland, pp. 15, 37-38; Business Letters of George McCartney. PRONI, T.M.1705/4, p. 4.

¹¹³ Imports and Exports of Ireland, 1683-1686. BL, Add. MSS. 4759.

¹¹⁴ L. M. Cullen, "Economic Trends, 1660-1691," 393-394, 397; L. M. Cullen, Economic History of Ireland, p. 15; Donald Woodward, "The Anglo-Irish Livestock Trade in the Seventeenth Century, IHS, XVIII (September 1973), 501.

- ¹¹⁵ Imports and Exports of Ireland, 1683-1686. BL, Add. MSS. 4759.
- ¹¹⁶ David Dickson, "Cork Merchant Community," 45-50; J. G. Simms, "The Restoration, 1660-1685," 452.
- ¹¹⁷ PRO, C.O.33/13, 14.
- ¹¹⁸ Imports and Exports of Ireland, 1683-1686. BL, Add. MSS. 4759; "An Account of Goods Imported and Exported [1694-1697]." Journals of the Irish House of Commons, II, lxxxix; PRO, Customs 15; Beef exports to the American plantations in 1694 and 1696 are estimated to be 43 per cent of total Irish beef exports.
- ¹¹⁹ L. M. Cullen, Economic History of Ireland, pp. 26-27; Calendar State Papers: Colonial, 1693-1696, p. 441; PRO, Customs 15.
- ¹²⁰ Arthur Dobbs, An Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland (Dublin, 1729), p. 9.
- ¹²¹ PRO, Customs 15.
- ¹²² PRO, C.O.33/13, 14; R. Davis, Rise of the English Shipping Industry, p. 269.
- ¹²³ R. Pares, Yankees and Creoles, pp. 4-5, 11.
- ¹²⁴ PRO, C.O.33/13-16; Gary B. Nash, The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1979), pp. 54, 112-113.
- ¹²⁵ Imports and Exports of Ireland, 1683-1686. BL, Add. MSS. 4759.
- ¹²⁶ PRO, Customs 15.
- ¹²⁷ L. M. Cullen, Economic History of Ireland, p. 18.
- ¹²⁸ Imports and Exports of Ireland, 1683-1686. BL, Add. MSS. 4759.
- ¹²⁹ Wm. Hovell Letterbook; L. M. Cullen, Economic History of Ireland, p. 38.
- ¹³⁰ R. Davis, Rise of the English Shipping Industry, pp. 66-68, 70; C. M. Andrews, Colonial Period, IV, 350; Massachusetts: English Shipping Records, pp. 556, 648, 655, 792.

CHAPTER 2: IRISH-AMERICAN TRADE, 1731-1775

- ¹ Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to William & John Ogle, Newry, 4 March 1768. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson, 1765-1774. Lee Family Papers. MS. in MHS.
- ² 4 George II, c. 15 [English].
- ³ 12 Charles II, c. 18 [English].
- ⁴ 15 Charles II, c. 7 [English].

⁵7 & 8 William II, c. 22 [English].

⁶Observations on the Trade between Ireland and the English and Foreign Colonies in America (London, 1731), p. 6.

⁷PRO, T.1/275, ff. 197, 198.

⁸Lord Carteret, Dublin, to Duke of Newcastle, 23 February 1730. PRONI, T.693/1537.

⁹Frank Wesley Pitman, The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763 (New Haven, 1917), pp. 174-176, 238-266.

¹⁰Observations on the Trade, pp. 10-13.

¹¹Arthur Dobbs, An Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland (Dublin, 1729), p. 25; L. M. Cullen, "The Irish Economy in the Eighteenth Century," The Formation of the Irish Economy, edited by L. M. Cullen (Cork, 1969), 12-14.

¹²Audrey Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration from Ireland to the North American Colonies between 1660 and 1775 (New York, 1976), p. 43.

¹³Journals of the Irish House of Commons, III, 596.

¹⁴Memorial of the Master, Wardens and Brethren of Trinity Guild, Dublin. 1729. PRONI, T.693/1537; Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, in the Possession of the Municipal Corporation of the City, edited by John T. Gilbert (19 vols., Dublin, 1898-1944), VII, 610-612.

¹⁵Ibid.; Diary of the First Earl of Egmont (Viscount Percival), Egmont MSS., HMC (3 vols., London, 1920-23), I, 173 [hereafter cited as Diary of Viscount Percival].

¹⁶Charles M. Andrews, "Anglo-French Rivalry, 1700-1750: The Western Phase [Part II]," AHR, XX (1915), 766-774; F. W. Pitman, Development of the British West Indies, pp. 242-270.

¹⁷Duke of Dorset, Whitehall, to Duke of Newcastle, 11 February 1731. PRONI, T.693/1610.

¹⁸PRO, T.1/275, ff. 199; Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations [January 1728 to December 1734], pp. 184-185.

¹⁹Diary of Viscount Percival, I, 173.

²⁰Richard B. Sheridan, Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775 (Barbados, 1974), p. 68.

²¹Diary of Viscount Percival, I, 163.

²²C. M. Andrews, "Anglo-French Rivalry," 767-772, 772n.

²³Diary of Viscount Percival, I, 161-163, 168-174; Francis G. James, Ireland in the Empire, 1688-1770 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973), pp. 157-158.

²⁴Diary of Viscount Percival, I, 173-174, 176.

²⁵Ibid., 176-178, 187.

²⁶ George II, c. 15 [English]; By the American Revolution, the following articles had been enumerated in the various Acts of Navigation: sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, fustic, or other dying wood, speckle or Jamaica wood, rice, molasses, tar, pitch turpentine, masts, yards and bowsprits, beaver skins and other furs, copper ore, coffee, pimento, cocoa nuts, whale fins, raw silk, hides and skins, pot and pearl ashes, gum seneca, and hops. William Eden, A Letter to the Earl of Carlisle (Dublin, 1779), p. 32; Statement on Irish Trade by S[ackville] H[amilton], 17 April 1777. Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Lothian Preserved at Blicking Hall, Norfolk, HMC (London, 1905), pp. 301-304.

²⁷ R. B. Sheridan, Sugar and Slavery, p. 68.

²⁸ Journals of the British House of Commons, XXI, 688.

²⁹ Diary of Viscount Percival, I, 221.

³⁰ R. B. Sheridan, Sugar and Slavery, pp. 31-32.

³¹ J. H. Parry, Trade and Dominion: The European Empires in the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1971), p. 51.

³² R. B. McDowell, Irish Public Opinion, 1750-1800 (London, 1944), pp. 16-23.

³³ F. G. James, Ireland in the Empire, pp. 276-312; R. B. McDowell, Ireland in the Age of Imperialism and Revolution, 1760-1801 (Oxford, 1979), pp. 239-274.

³⁴ L. M. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland since 1660 (London, 1972), pp. 68-72, 77.

³⁵ New London Gazette, 21 November 1766; Freeman's Journal, 17 January, 4 March, and 8 April 1775; Virginia Gazette, 12 May 1775.

³⁶ J. C. Beckett, The Making of Modern Ireland, 1603-1923 (London, 1966), pp. 167-186; R. B. McDowell, Irish Public Opinion, pp. 10-16; Daniel Corkery, The Hidden Ireland (Dublin, 1967), pp. 17-21; For perspective on the improving condition of Irish Catholics, see Maureen Wall, "The Rise of a Catholic Middle Class in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," IHS, XI (September 1958), 91-115.

³⁷ "If we compare colonial society with that of Europe, its fluidity appears marked indeed." Stuart Bruchey, The Roots of American Economic Growth, 1607-1861: An Essay in Social Causation (London, 1965), p. 68.

³⁸ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970 (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1975), II, 1168; K. H. Connell, The Population of Ireland, 1750-1845 (Oxford, 1950), p. 25.

³⁹ Marc Egnal, "The Economic Development of the Thirteen Continental Colonies, 1720-1775," WMQ, XXXII (April 1975), 199-217; For a sense of the debate among historians over the relationship between overseas commerce and economic growth in the British colonies, see Jacob M. Price, "The Transatlantic Economy," Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era, edited by Jack P. Green and J. R. Pole (Baltimore, 1984), 18-42, and Richard B. Sheridan "The

Domestic Economy," *Ibid.*, 43-85.

⁴⁰PRO, H.C.A. 42/92; William Guilliland, New York, to George Bryan, Philadelphia, 4 April 1762. Bryan Papers. MS. in HSP.

⁴¹See Table 8.1, p. 164.

⁴²Commerce of Rhode Island, I, vii.

⁴³"All our money is going and gone to England to pay our debts. No money is like to be in the country. Our trade to the French & Spanish islands, from whence we used to get money is stopped; men of war being placed along our coast for that purpose. Husbandry is discouraged, for there is no vent for provisions, merchants and farmers are breaking, and all things going into confusion." Connecticut Courant, 3 December 1764; William S. Sachs, "The Business Outlook in the Northern Colonies, 1750-1775" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1957), pp. 127-227; Gary B. Nash, The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1979), pp. 246-256.

⁴⁴W. S. Sachs, "Business Outlook," pp. 217-223; Jacob M. Price, Capital and Credit in British Overseas Trade: The View from the Chesapeake, 1700-1776 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1980), pp. 128-135; L. M. Cullen, Economic History of Ireland (London, 1972), pp. 62, 74; Philip L. White, The Beekmans of New York in Politics and Commerce, 1647-1877 (New York, 1956), pp. 422-424.

⁴⁵See Chapter 10, pp. 158-159.

⁴⁶See Appendix A.8, pp. 269-270.

⁴⁷3 & 4 Anne, c. 8 [English].

⁴⁸M. Egnal, "The Economic Development of the Thirteen Continental Colonies," 205.

⁴⁹See Chapter 10, 212-214.

⁵⁰PRO, C.O.5/1225-1228.

⁵¹See Chapter 10, pp. 220-221.

⁵²Observations on the Trade, pp. 10-11, 18-19.

⁵³PRO, Customs 16/1; For a close analysis of colonial commerce in the 1768-1772 period, see James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America (Cambridge, 1972).

⁵⁴PRO, Customs 16/1.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, Customs 15.

⁵⁶6 Anne, c. 9 [Irish]; 8 Anne, c. 12 [Irish]; 2 George I, c. 13 [Irish]; 7 George II, c. 10 [Irish]; See Chapter 9, pp. 188-189.

⁵⁷Thomas M. Truxes, "Connecticut in the Irish-American Flaxseed Trade, 1750-1775," EI, XII (Summer 1977), 34-62.

⁵⁸R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775

(London, 1966), pp. 238-281.

⁵⁹PRO, H.C.A. 42/92.

⁶⁰"Ship Register for the Port of Philadelphia, 1726-1775," PMHB, XXIII-XXVIII (1899-1904).

⁶¹Orr, Dunlope, & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Walter Marshall & Co., Derry, 21 February 1768. Orr, Dunlope, & Glenholme Letter Book, 1767-1769. MS. in HSP.

⁶²Among numerous examples, see [1] ship William & Mary: Audrey Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration from Ireland to the North American Colonies between 1660 and 1775 (New York, 1976), p. 184; Pennsylvania Gazette, 2 August and 18 October 1739; and [2] ship Catherine: Pennsylvania Chronicle, 25 December 1769 and 17 May 1770; Belfast News-Letter, 2 March 1770.

⁶³Dublin Gazette, 7 May 1754; New London Gazette, 7 October 1768; Cork Evening Post, 28 January and 22 February 1773.

⁶⁴Bills of Lading of sloop Endeavour of Liverpool, 28 July 1753 [dated at Liverpool] and 10 August 1753 [dated at Cork]. Shipping Papers (1746-1772), Hudson-Rogers Papers. MS. in NYPL; Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, 27 August 1762 and 25 March 1763; Cork Evening Post, 3 January 1763; Occasionally, colonial vessels participated in this activity: Aaron Lopez, Newport, to Thomas Brown [ship captain], 2 July 1766. Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800 (2 vols., [Vols. IX and X of Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, 7th Series], 1914 and 1915), I, 162; Massachusetts Gazette, 10 October 1765.

⁶⁵Orr, Dunlope, & Glenholme Letter Book; Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham, New York & Belfast, 1756-1757. MS. in NYHS; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775 (London, 1966), pp. 238-281.

⁶⁶Log of the ship Elizabeth, 1737. MS. in G. W. Blunt Library, Mystic Seaport, Connecticut; James Hudson, Cork, to Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, 18 February 1772. Shipping Papers (1746-1772), Hudson-Rogers Papers.

⁶⁷Thomas R. Trowbridge, History of the Ancient Maritime Interests of New Haven [New Haven Historical Society, Papers, III] (New Haven, 1882), 113; Connecticut Journal, 2 November 1770; New London Gazette, 19 March 1773.

⁶⁸Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to Henry Spence, Coleraine, 9 December 1771. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson.

⁶⁹Pennsylvania Gazette, 4 November and 2 December 1731, 30 August and 22 November 1739; New York Journal, 8 January 1767; Log of the ship Sally, 1770. MS. in G. W. Blunt Library, Mystic Seaport, Connecticut; Sometimes Irish linens entered the mainland American ports via the West Indies. PRO, C.O.5/1225/173.

⁷⁰Orr, Dunlope, & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Park, Handerson & Co., 17 February 1768. Orr, Dunlope, & Glenholme Letter Book; Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to John & Andrew French, Galway, 31 May 1762. Daniel Clark, Invoices & Letters, 1760-1762. MS. in HSP.

⁷¹PRO, C.O.33/16; Waterford Chronicle, 1 January 1771; Journal of

the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, June 1756, p. 256.

⁷²PRO, C.O.5/1225/48, 54, 123, 142, 177, 206, 229; PRO, Customs 1/31, f. 200; Waterford Chronicle, 15, 19, 22 March, 26 April, and 3 May 1771; New York Gazette, 27 January 1772; Pennsylvania Journal, 17 May and 21 June 1770; "Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB, XXV (1901), 281.

⁷³Archibald Macphaedris, Portsmouth [New Hampshire], to James & Robert Wilson, Belfast, 28 August 1718. Papers of A. Macphaedris and Jonathan Warner, 1716-1813. MS. in Baker Library, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University; Bill of Lading of the ship Marey Galley, 23 October 1722. Penhallow Papers. MS. in Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

⁷⁴Pennsylvania Gazette, 6 July and 3 August 1738, 23 August, 18 October, 1, 8, and 22 November 1739.

⁷⁵Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Thomas Greg, Belfast, 18 May 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham.

⁷⁶Stocker & Wharton, Philadelphia, to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 28 October 1774. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 518; PRO, Customs 1/32, f. 29; Belfast News-Letter, 1 May 1739; Limerick Chronicle, 12 March 1770.

⁷⁷Dublin Gazette, 18 May 1754.

⁷⁸PRO, Customs 16/1.

⁷⁹D., G. & R. Rundle, Philadelphia, to William Bartlett, Salem [Massachusetts], 5 December 1770. Bartlett Papers, 1725-1800. MS. in BHS; Same to Same, 22 October 1772. Ibid.; Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to Isaac Sears, New York, 6 November 1767. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson.

⁸⁰Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to John Clark [ship captain], 5 October 1750. The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1746-1799, edited by Philip L. White (3 vols., New York, 1956), I, 126 [hereafter cited as Beekman Papers].

⁸¹John Wright, New York, to [a merchant at Wethersfield], 25 October 1774. Henry R. Stiles, The History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut (New York, 1904), pp. 551-552; Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Walter Marshall & Co., Derry, 7 November 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book; Same to Benjamin Gault, Dublin, 25 January 1768. Ibid.; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to David & William Ross, Newry, 18 October 1764. Beekman Papers, I, 475.

⁸²Same to Henry Paget, Rhode Island, 20 February 1754. Beekman Papers, I, 208; PRO, C.O.5/1225/93; Newport Mercury, 19 January 1767.

⁸³See Chapter 10, pp. 223-224.

⁸⁴PRO, Customs 1/31, f. 155.

⁸⁵L. M. Cullen, "The Smuggling Trade in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, LXVII (1969), 151-153, 157-158, 169-172; Duke of Dorset, Dublin, to Earl of Holderness, 13 December 1753. PRONI, T.1060/3/2862; 1733. "Report of the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Frauds and Abuses in the Customs," Reports from Committees of the House of Commons (15 vols., London, 1773-1801), I,

632.

⁸⁶PRO, Customs 1/31, f. 9; *Ibid.*, Customs 1/96, f. 106; Belfast News-Letter, 28 April 1772; Richard Pares, Yankees and Creoles: The Trade between North America and the West Indies before the American Revolution, p. 147; John James McCusker, Jr., "The Rum Trade and the Balance of Payments of the Thirteen Continental Colonies, 1650-1775" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburg, 1970), pp. 880-881, 888-889.

⁸⁷PRONI, D.1854/4/15, p. 87.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 81; PRO, Customs 1/31, ff. 8, 69.

⁸⁹PRONI D.1854/4/14, p. 46; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to William Hogg, Derry, 5 July 1759. Beekman Papers, I, 343-344.

⁹⁰Orr, Dunlope, & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Samuel Dunlope, 28 December 1767. Orr, Dunlope, & Glenholme Letter Book; Waddell Cunningham, New York, to John Henderson, Belfast, 17 June 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Walter Marshall, Derry, 3 January 1754. Beekman Papers, I, 199; PRO, Customs 1/31, f. 225.

⁹¹Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Thomas Greg, Belfast, 18 May 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham.

⁹²Patrick Goold, Cork, to Joseph Trumbull, London, 10 August 1764. Joseph Trumbull Papers, 1754-1766. MS. in CHS.

⁹³Richard Hockley, Philadelphia, to Thomas Penn, 1 November 1741. "Selected Letters from the Letter-Book of Richard Hockley, of Philadelphia, 1739-1742," PMHB, XXVIII (1904), 39.

⁹⁴William Bryan, Dublin, to George Bryan, Philadelphia, 10 August 1756. Bryan Papers; John Watts, New York, to Samuel Horner, Dublin, 21 December 1762. Letter Book of John Watts: Merchant and Councillor of New York [New York Historical Society, Collections, LXI] (New York, 1928), 110.

⁹⁵Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 10 March 1750; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Arthur Helms [ship captain], 23 January 1748. Beekman Papers, I, 40; Francis G. James, "Irish Colonial Trade in the Eighteenth Century," WMQ, XX (April 1963), 579; Newport Mercury, 21 September 1772; William Lux, Baltimore, to William Alexander Dublin, 17 December 1765. Letterbook of William Lux, Baltimore, 1763-1768. Microfilmed copy in NYHS.

⁹⁶Meeting with a disappointment in getting [the] Shoes I Expected from Dublin, is the Occasion of My present Necessity, No Ships would venture to bring them in, as our men of War are so Strict." Catherine Rathell, Williamsburg [Virginia], to John Norton, London, 31 January 1772. John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia, edited by Frances Norton Mason (Richmond, Virginia, 1937), p. 217.

⁹⁷Orr, Dunlope, & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to William Beath & Co., Newry, 16 October 1767. Orr, Dunlope, & Glenholme Letter Book.

⁹⁸Victor L. Johnson, "Fair Traders and Smugglers in Philadelphia, 1754-1763," PMHB, LXXXIII (April 1959), 139.

⁹⁹Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Isaac & Zach. Hope, Rotterdam, 10 May 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham; Same to Thomas Greg, Belfast, 18 May 1756. *Ibid.*; Same to John Lloyd, Stamford [Connecticut],

29 May 1756. Ibid.; Same to John Nealson [ship captain], 14 June 1756. Ibid.; Same to Joseph Chew, New London, 7 July 1756. Ibid.; Same to Same, 21 July 1756. Ibid.; Same to John Nealson [ship captain] 21 July 1756. Ibid.; Same to Scott & McMichael, Philadelphia, 5 December 1756. Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, to John Scott, Belfast, 26 August 1768. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book, 1762-1781. MS. in HSP.

¹⁰¹ Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to John & Andrew French, Galway, 31 May 1762. Daniel Clark, Invoices & Letters.

¹⁰² Thomas C. Barrows, Trade and Empire: The British Customs Service in Colonial America, 1660-1775, pp. 149-150; Oliver M. Dickerson, The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution (Philadelphia, 1951), p. 88; Anne Bezanson, Robert D. Gray, and Miriam Hussey, Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, pp. 259-261; G. Nash, Urban Crucible, p. 271; L. M. Cullen, "The Smuggling Trade in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," 170-171.

CHAPTER 3: BALANCE OF PAYMENTS AND FINANCIAL STRUCTURE

¹ A Letter to his Excellency Earl of Harcourt (Dublin, 1776), pp. 33-34.

² 15 George II, c. 29 [English].

³ PRO, Customs 15.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ See Chapter 10, pp. 212-214; For useful perspective on the balance of payments implications of ship sales, see Jacob M. Price, "A Note on the Value of Colonial Exports in Shipping," JEH, XXXVI (September 1976), 704-723, and James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 241-245.

¹⁰ See Chapter 1, pp. 13-19.

¹¹ PRO, C.O.5/1225-1228; Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham, New York and Belfast, 1756-1757. MS. in NYHS; Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book, 1767-1769. MS. in HSP; Pennsylvania Gazette, 4 November and 2 December 1731, 30 August and 22 November 1739; New York Journal, 8 January 1767; Log of the ship Sally, 1770. MS. in G. W. Blunt Library, Mystic Seaport, Connecticut.

¹² Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to Henry Spence, Coleraine, 9 December 1771. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson, 1765-1774. Lee Family Papers. MS. in MHS; James Hudson, Cork, to Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, 18 February 1772. Shipping Papers (1746-1772), Hudson-Rogers

Papers; Log of the ship Elizabeth, 1737. MS. in G. W. Blunt Library, Mystic Seaport, Connecticut; Thomas R. Trowbridge, History of the Ancient Maritime Interests of New Haven [New Haven Historical Society, Papers, III] (New Haven, 1882), 113; Connecticut Journal, 2 November 1770; New London Gazette, 19 March 1773.

¹³This estimate may not be far off the mark for the peak year, 1773. See Chapter 6, pp. 127, 137-138; Woolsey & Salmon, Baltimore, to James Forde, Drogheda, 8 December 1774. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook, 1774-1784. The Peter Force Collection. MS. in LC.; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775 (London, 1966), p. 64; For further discussion on the balance of payments implications of emigration and the servant trade, see J. F. Shepherd and G. M. Walton, Shipping, Maritime Trade, and Economic Development, pp. 144-148.

¹⁴See Chapter 5.

¹⁵New York Mercury, 9 March 1767.

¹⁶Taking the average lading of flaxseed to be roughly 400 hhds, a fleet of at least 100 vessels would have been employed in the 1766/67, 1768/69, 1770/71, 1772/73, and 1774/75 shipping seasons. See Appendix B.2, p. 278.

¹⁷J. F. Shepherd and G. M. Walton, Shipping, Maritime Trade, and Economic Development, p. 121; Ralph Davis, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century (London, 1972), p. 185.

¹⁸R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 238-281.

¹⁹Waddell Cunningham, New York, to George Dunlope, Ballycastle, 10 January 1757. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham.

²⁰PRO, C.O.5/1225; "Ship Register for the Port of Philadelphia, 1726-1775," PMHB, XXIII-XXVIII (1899-1904).

²¹Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to William Beath & Co., Newry, 16 October 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book.

²²Gilman M. Ostrander, "The Making of the Triangular Trade Myth," WMQ, XXX (October 1973), 635-644.

²³Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Owen Huges [Ship Captain], New York, 25 November 1747. The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1746-1799, edited by Philip L. White (3 vols., New York, 1956), I, 34 [hereafter cited as Beekman Papers].

²⁴In newspapers such as the Pennsylvania Journal, Pennsylvania Chronicle, and New York Mercury, notices relating to the departure of vessels for Ireland in the weeks between early November and late January predominated maritime advertising in the quarter-century before the Revolution. During the same period, the Belfast News-Letter ran more notices for vessels departing to America than to any other destination.

²⁵Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to William Snell, London, 13 November 1750. Beekman Papers, I, 130-131; 13 & 22 January 1753, Henry Bromfield's Bill of Lading Book, Bromfield Papers, 1750-1764. MS. in MHS; Orr, Dunlop & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Andrew Orr, Dublin, 23 December 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book; Stocker & Wharton, Philadelphia, to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 17 February 1774.

Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800 (2 vols., [vol. IX and X of Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, 7th Series], 1914-1915), I, 485.

²⁶PRO, Customs 15; See Appendix B.2, p. 278.

²⁷Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, to John Scott, Jr., Armagh, 22 May 1771. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book, 1762-1781. MS. in HSP.

²⁸Timothy Pitkin, A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States (New York, 1817), p. 21.

²⁹R. Davis, Rise of the English Shipping Industry, pp. 287-290; J. F. Shepherd and G. M. Walton, Shipping, Maritime Trade, and Economic Development, pp. 86-87.

³⁰Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, to Richard Jackson, London, 25 June 1764. Papers of Benjamin Franklin, edited by Leonard W. Labaree, et al. (24 vols., New Haven, 1959-), XI, 234-235.

³¹D. W. Thoms, "The Mills Family: London Sugar Merchants of the Eighteenth Century," BH, XI (January 1969), 5-8; D. J. Dickson, "The Cork Merchant Community in the Eighteenth Century: A Regional Perspective," Negoce et Industrie en France et en Irlande aux XVIIIe et XIXe Siecles, edited by L. M. Cullen and P. Butel (Bordeaux, 1980), 45-50.

³²Stocker & Wharton, Philadelphia, to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 17 February 1774. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 485; Invoice of Five hundred & fifty Barrells herrings shiped on the Lark, Samuel Fowler, Mas^r, for Bardadoes & the Leeward Islands [Cork, 28 February 1772]. Hudson-Rogers Papers; Invoice of Sundrys shipped on the Stephen, Richard Oliver, Mas^r, for Maryland [Cork, 12 October 1772]. Galloway Business Papers, 1772. Galloway-Maxcy-Markoe Papers. MS. in LC.

³³Thomas & Isaac Wharton, Philadelphia, to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, 7 May 1767. Shaw [Nathaniel & Thomas] Papers. MS. in Sterling Library, Yale University.

³⁴Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to David & William Ross, Newry, 10 February 1766. Beekman Papers, I, 494.

³⁵Statement of Account of Daniel Mussenden [Belfast] with William Stewart [Kingston, Jamaica], 19 June 1755. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/575.

³⁶Richard Pares, Yankees & Creoles: The Trade between North America and the West Indies before the American Revolution (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956), pp. 81-82.

³⁷Dublin Gazette, 8 January 1740; Freeman's Journal, 20 September 1774.

³⁸Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, William Beath & George Anderson, Newry, 23 September 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenhome Letter Book; Same to Andrew Orr, Dublin, 7 November 1767. Ibid; Public Gazetteer, 3 October 1772.

³⁹Waddell Cunningham, New York, to John McMichael, Philadelphia, 14 June 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham, p. 41; Freeman's Journal, 29 March 1766; Ibid., 9 March 1775; Belfast News-Letter, 7 January 1755; Cork Evening Post, 2 March 1767; Limerick Chronicle, 13 March 1769;

Pennsylvania Chronicle, 28 March 1768; New York Gazette, 6 and 15 January 1770; Public Gazetteer, 2 March and 20 April 1773.

⁴⁰Dublin Gazette, 5 February 1754; Public Gazetteer, 22 May and 1 June 1773; Freeman's Journal, 29 April 1775.

⁴¹Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to William Snell & Co., London, 5 October 1767. Orr Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to William Snell, London, 2 March 1749. Beekman Papers, I, 80; Same to Patrick & Robert Mackey, London, 26 December 1752. Ibid., 165; Woolsey & Salmon, Baltimore, to William Snell & Co., London, 5 December 1774. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook; Waddell Cunningham, New York, to William Snell & Co., London, 23 December 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham; John Andrews, Comber [Co. Down], to Ewing & Hall, Baltimore, 1 October 1774. Letterbook of John & Michael Andrews, MS. in possession of Isaac Andrew & Sons Ltd., Belfast; Allen & Marlar, London, to Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, 17 February 1757. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/971; Marsden & Benson, Dublin, to Daniel Mussenden, 29 March 1757. Ibid., D.354/931

⁴²Stocker & Wharton, Philadelphia, to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 17 February 1774. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 485; Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook, pp. 76-77, 88-89.

⁴³Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Bradshaw & Alexander, Belfast, 24 November 1760. Beekman Papers, I, 368; Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Andrew Orr, Dublin, 25 December 1767. Orr Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book.

⁴⁴Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to John & David Ross, Newry, 2 February 1757. Ibid., I, 295.

⁴⁵Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Thomas Greg, Belfast, 18 May 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham.

⁴⁶In the summer of 1767, for example, the Irish partners of one Philadelphia merchant house with roots in the Belfast region lodged a "Credit with you [the firm's principal London correspondent] of £2000 Sterl^g for our use." Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Bigger & Hulbert, London, 4 July 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book.

⁴⁷Cork Journal, 13 August 1778; Norman E. Gamble, "The Business Community and Trade of Belfast, 1767-1800," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Dublin, 1978), p. 20; L. M. Cullen, "Merchant Communities Overseas, the Navigation Acts and the Irish and Scottish Responses," Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History, 1600-1900, edited by L. M. Cullen and T. C. Smout (Edinburgh, 1977), 165-174.

⁴⁸L. M. Cullen, "Merchant Communities Overseas", 167-168; R. Davis, Rise of the English Shipping Industry, pp. 268-269.

⁴⁹Jacob M. Price, Capital and Credit in British Overseas Trade: The View from the Chesapeake, 1770-1776 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1980), pp. 118-123; L. M. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland Since 1660, (London, 1972), pp. 94-95.

⁵⁰The following firms were represented at a meeting of the Importing Linen Merchants and Factors of London on 13 April 1763: Wakefield, Willet & Pratt; Nash, Eddowes, Marshall & Petrie; Allen & Marlar; J. Barton, Sam. & Wm. Smith; Johnson, Irwin & Bowstead; Henry

Boyd; Mark Ridgeway; Belingham Mauleverer; William Alexander; Adair, Jackson & Co.; Boetefeur, Schumacher & Co.; Thomas Hodgson; David Harvey; Preston & Fletcher; David Kerr & Co.; Pooley & Fletcher. Copies of the Several Memorials Presented to the Linen Board (Dublin, 1763), pp. 3-6; Conrad Gill, Rise of the Irish Linen Industry (Oxford, 1964), pp. 170, 176.

⁵¹ Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1771-1774: Letters from a Merchant in London to His Partners in Maryland, edited by Jacob M. Price, London Record Society, XV (London, 1979) pp. xiv-xv; J. Price, Capital and Credit, pp. 102, 110-111, 115; Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Bigger & Hulbert, London, 4 July and 9 October 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book, 1767-1769. MS. in HSP; W. H. Crawford, Domestic Industry in Ireland: The Experience of the Linen Industry (Dublin, 1972), p. 4.

⁵² L. M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800, (New York, 1968), pp. 21, 105, 108-110, 166.

⁵³ D. W. Thoms, "The Mills Family", 3-10; D. J. Dickson, "Cork Merchant Community", 45-50.

⁵⁴ L. M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade, pp. 87, 134-137.

⁵⁵ Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Thomas Greg, Belfast, 11 October 1756. Letter Book of Greg and Cunningham.

⁵⁶ Jared Eliot, Essays on Field Husbandry in New England (Boston, 1760), p. 55; Kenneth Wiggins Porter, The Jacksons and the Lees: Two Generations of Massachusetts Merchants, 1765-1844 (2 vols., Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1937), I, 14-15.

⁵⁷ For representative examples, see: Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to William Snell, London, 22 December 1749. Beekman Papers, I, 97-98; Same to William Alexander, London, 30 December 1754. Ibid., 242.

⁵⁸ William Lux, Baltimore, to William Alexander, Dublin, 5 June 1766. Letterbook of William Lux, Baltimore, 1763-1768. Microfilmed copy in NYHS.

⁵⁹ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to John Henderson, Belfast, 30 December 1754. Beekman Papers, I, 241-242; P. L. White, Beekmans of New York, pp. 259-260; John J. McCusker, Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1978), pp. 121-122; L. M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade, pp. 158-174.

⁶⁰ Memorial of Albert Nesbitt, Esqr., in behalf of . . . his Correspondents in Ireland, 1746. PRONI, T.1060/2/2612; John Watts, New York, to Fleming Colgan [ship captain], 2 January 1762. Letter Book of John Watts: Merchant and Councillor of New York [New York Historical Society, Collections, LXI] (New York, 1928), p. 3; PROI, CAV 18/3/34; Cork Journal, 13 August 1778; Richard Sheridan, Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775 (Barbados, 1974), pp. 59, 62.

⁶¹ Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Walter Marshall & Co., Derry, 7 November 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book; Same to Ewing & Brown, Baltimore, 5 February 1768. Ibid.; Same to Park, Henderson, & Co., Belfast, 17 February 1768. Ibid.; Same to Adair, Jackson & Co., London, 24 February 1768. Ibid.; Same to Same, 27 February 1768. Ibid.; Same to Same, 11 March 1768. Ibid.; Gerard G. Beekman, New

York, to Robert Shaw & William Snell, London, 25 November 1747. Beekman Papers, I, 31-33; Same to Same, 7 January 1748. Ibid., 39-40; Same to William Snell, London, 23 September 1749. Ibid., 89-90; Same to Patrick & Robert Mackey, London, 11 December 1752. Ibid., 157; Same to Adair & Jackson, London, 21 December 1752. Ibid., 162; Same to David Harvey, 16 December 1755. Ibid., 266-267; Same to Adam Schoals, Derry, 27 December 1755. Ibid., 269-270; Same to David Barclay & Sons., London, 13 March 1758. Ibid., 326-327; Same to Same, 15 January 1759. Ibid., 337-338; Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Thomas Greg, Belfast, 14 October 1756. Letterbook of Greg & Cunningham; Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/595; Copies of the Several Memorials, pp. 5-6; needs notes on David Kerr; Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 3, 7-8, 36, 38; L. M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade, p. 109

⁶²Copies of the Several Memorials, 4-13; 25 May 1773. "Report from the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Present State of the Linen Trade in Great Britain and Ireland," Reports from Committees of the House of Commons (15 vols., London, 1773-1801), III, 109; Journals of the Irish House of Commons, VI, cxx.

⁶³Orr, Dunlope & Glenhome, Philadelphia, to Bigger & Hulbert, London, 9 October 1767 and 20 January 1768. Orr, Dunlope & Glenhome Letter Book; Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, p. 164; John & Michael Andrews, Comber [Co. Down], to Bellingham Mauleverer, London, 28 April 1772. Letterbook of John & Michael Andrews.

⁶⁴Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, xiv-xv.

⁶⁵Copies of the Several Memorials, pp. 7-13.

⁶⁶Israel Pemberton, Philadelphia, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 20 January 1770, Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/299; K. W. Porter, The Jacksons and the Lees, I, 157; John Peach, Bristol, to James Beekman, New York, New York, 1 April 1756. Beekman Papers, II, 621-622; Same to Same, 12 September 1757. Ibid., 623; Same to Same, 26 February 1759. Ibid., 625; Same to Same, 1 May 1759. Ibid., 626; Same to Same, 5 February 1760. Ibid.; Same to Same, 5 April 1760. Ibid., 626-627; Same to Same, 23 March 1761. Ibid., 627; Same to Same, 13 August 1761. Ibid.; Same to Same, 20 March 1763. Ibid., 628; Same to Same, 27 August 1763. Ibid.

⁶⁷John Watts, New York, to Edward Antill, 25 August 1763. Letter Book of John Watts, 177.

⁶⁸Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, to Joshua Ashton, Dublin, 8 July 1768. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book; John Reynell, Philadelphia, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 3 July 1770. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/249.

⁶⁹Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Haliday & Dunbar, Liverpool, 17 December 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham.

⁷⁰Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Andrew Orr, Dublin, 26 July 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book.

⁷¹P. L. White, Beekmans of New York, p. 260; Virginia D. Harrington, The New York Merchant on the Eve of the American Revolution (New York, 1935), p. 109; Anne Bezanson, Robert D. Gray, and Miriam Hussey, Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 329-336.

⁷²Curtis P. Nettels, The Roots of American Civilization: A History of American Colonial Life (New York, 1963), pp. 259-263; A. Bezanson, et

al., Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, pp. 315-316.

⁷³Maryland Gazette (Annapolis), 1 January 1761; P. L. White, The Beekmans of New York, p. 259.

⁷⁴Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Michal Walsh, Philadelphia, 10 October 1757. Beekman Papers, I, 311-312.

⁷⁵DAB, VII, 430; Conyngham & Nesbitt, Philadelphia, to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 30 March 1764. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 108-109; John H. Campbell, History of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and of the Hibernian Society for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland (Philadelphia, 1892), pp. 126-127.

⁷⁶Woolsey & Salmon, Baltimore, to Thomas Mathews & Co., Dublin, 8 December 1774. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook.

⁷⁷Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to William Snell, London, 13 November 1750. Beekman Papers, I, 131.

⁷⁸J. & M. Andrews, Comber [Co. Down], to Ewing & Hall, Baltimore, 23 March 1773. Letterbook of John & Michael Andrews; Same to Same, 1 October 1774. Ibid.

⁷⁹Pomeroy & Streatfield, London, to James Beekman, New York, 28 May 1757. Beekman Papers, II, 633.

⁸⁰Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Benjamin Gault, Dublin, 25 January 1768. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book.

⁸¹Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Adam Schoals and Archibald Cunningham, Derry, 25 November 1752. Beekman Papers, I, 156; Same to Cunningham & Gardner, Philadelphia, 23 October and 11 December 1752. Ibid., 152, 158; J. J. McCusker, Money and Exchange, p. 22.

⁸²Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Adam Schoals, Derry, 26 January 1761. Ibid., I, 370.

⁸³William Lux, Baltimore, to William Alexander, Dublin, 29 November 1766. Letterbook of William Lux; Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to Edward Corkran, Sligo, 23 November 1761. Daniel Clark, Invoices and Letters, 1761-1762. MS. in HSP.

⁸⁴Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Joseph Brown, Ireland, 7 February 1764. Beekman Papers, I, 459; Pomeroy & Streatfield, London, to James Beekman, 15 April 1757. Ibid., II, 633; P. L. White, Beekmans of New York, p. 260.

⁸⁵Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook, p. 29, 46; Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to James McCalpin, 7 November 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book; Samuel Fothergill, Warrington [England], to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 23 July 1763. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/45.

⁸⁶Henry & John Lloyd, Stamford [Connecticut], to Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, 19 January 1756. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/715; Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Thomas Greg, Belfast, 20 September 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham.

⁸⁷Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to John Henderson, Belfast, 30 December 1754. Beekman Papers, I, 241-242.

- ⁸⁸ J. Price, Capital & Credit, p. 120.
- ⁸⁹ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Cunningham & Gardner, Philadelphia, 3 December 1750. Beekman Papers, I, 135.
- ⁹⁰ Same to Walter Marshall, Derry, 3 January 1754. Ibid., 199; Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Robert Alexander, Derry, 13 December 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham.
- ⁹¹ See Chapter 8, pp. 173-174, 182-183.
- ⁹² Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, to James VanHorn, New York, 8 April 1735. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/692; John Rynders, New York, to Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, 21 December 1734. Ibid., D.354/494.
- ⁹³ J. Price, Capital & Credit, p. 120.
- ⁹⁴ John Watts, New York, to Edward Antill, 25 August 1763. Letter Book of John Watts, p. 177.
- ⁹⁵ Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, to Joshua Ashton, Dublin, 8 July 1768. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book.
- ⁹⁶ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, New York, to Evan and Francis Malbone, Rhode Island, 10 March 1769. Beekman Papers, I, 522.
- ⁹⁷ J. Price, Capital & Credit, pp. 110-112, 118-123; C. Gill, Rise of the Irish Linen Industry, pp. 177-178.
- ⁹⁸ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to William Snell, London, 16 November 1749. Beekman Papers, I, 92-93; J. Price, Capital & Credit, pp. 15-17, 122-123
- ⁹⁹ Robert Morris, Philadelphia, to Silas Deane, Paris, 11 August 1776. The Deane Papers, 1774-1790, [New York Historical Society, Collections, XIX-XXIII] (5 vols., New York, 1887-1890), I, 175; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Robert Shaw & William Snell, London, 5 July 1748. Beekman Papers, I, 52; Haliday & Dunbar, Liverpool, to James Beekman, New York, 24 September 1757. Ibid., II, 597; J. F. Shepherd and G. M. Walton, Shipping, Maritime Trade, and Economic Development, p. 131.
- ¹⁰⁰ "I have often wondered they [merchants in London] have Not made more [bad debts] that they doo by Trusting Every body." Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Benjamin Burroughs, London, 20 November 1746. Beekman Papers, I, 12; William S. Sachs, "The Business Outlook in the Northern Colonies, 1750-1775" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1957), p. 206; The general reduction in interest rates throughout the eighteenth century helped to reduce prices of colonial imports. J. F. Shepherd and G. M. Walton, Shipping, Maritime Trade, and Economic Development, p. 89.
- ¹⁰¹ Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Thomas Mercer, London, 15 June 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham.
- ¹⁰² B. L. Anderson, "Money and the Structure of Credit in the Eighteenth Century," BH, XII (July 1970), 92; W. S. Sachs, "Business Outlook," p. 206; D. W. Thoms, "The Mills Family," 9.
- ¹⁰³ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to David & William Ross, Newry, 19 January 1765. Beekman Papers, I, 479.

- 104 Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Andrew Orr, Dublin, 9 November 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book.
- 105 Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Alexander Ogilby, Newtown [Ireland], 25 December 1752. Beekman Papers, I, 162.
- 106 Same to Same, 21 January 1762. Ibid., I, 401.
- 107 Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Robert Alexander, Derry, 13 December 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to John & David Ross, Newry, 16 January 1758. Beekman Papers, I, 321.
- 108 Same to James Miller [ship captain], 14 February 1752. Beekman Papers, I, 138.
- 109 Daniel Mussenden and John Gordon, Belfast, to John McEvers, New York, 8 April 1735. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/693; Same to Abraham Van Horne, New York, 11 July 1735. Ibid., D.354/697.
- 110 Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to William & John Ogle, Newry, 2 March 1768. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson.
- 111 Orr Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Benjamin Gault, Dublin, 25 January 1768. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letterbook.
- 112 Same to Bigger & Hulbert, London, 10 February 1768. Ibid.; Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Thomas Greg, Belfast, 6 December 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham.
- 113 Stocker & Wharton, Philadelphia, to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 17 February 1774. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 484-486.
- 114 Ibid.; Same to Same, 9 February 1774. Ibid., pp. 480-482.
- 115 Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to William & John Ogle, 2 January 1769. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson.
- 116 Same to James Hudson [ship captain], 19 December 1771. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson; James Hudson, Passage [Co. Cork], to Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, 9 February 1772. Hudson-Rogers Papers. Hudson Collection. NYPL; James Hudson, Cork, to Same, 18 February. Ibid.; Invoice of Five hundred & fifty Barrells herrings shiped on the Lark, Samuel Fowler, Mas^r, for Barbadoes & the Leeward Islands [Cork, 28 February 1772]. Ibid.; J. F. Shepherd and G. M. Walton, Shipping, Maritime Trade, and Economic Development, p. 50.
- 117 J. Price, Capital and Credit, pp. 110-123; W. S. Sachs, "Business Outlook," p. 206.
- 118 Roger W. Weiss, "The Issue of Paper Money in the American Colonies, 1720-1774," JEH, XXX (December 1970), 774.
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¹¹⁰ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Hugh Kirk, Larne, 5 January 1767. Beekman Papers, I, 507-508; Same to Same, 20 January 1769. *Ibid.*,

I, 519-520; Same to Same, 23 January 1770. Ibid., I, 525-526.

¹¹¹Belfast News-Letter, 18 March 1766; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 112-114, 113n.

¹¹²For perspective on Sligo in this period, see J. G. Simms, "County Sligo in the Eighteenth Century," JRSAI, XCI (1961), 153-162; For a contemporary view of Killybegs and the fisheries of the Donegal coast in 1776, see A. Young, Tour in Ireland, I, 177-185.

¹¹³M. Postlethwayt, Universal Dictionary, I, 1,001.

¹¹⁴PRO, Customs 1/32, f. 29; New York Mercury, 9 March 1767.

¹¹⁵Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Thomas & Samuel Knox and George Alcock, Sligo. 6 September 1757. Beekman Papers, I, 303; Same to Thomas & James Knox and George Alcock, Sligo, 18 October 1757. Ibid., 312; Same to Same, 25 July 1758. Ibid., 330; Same to Same, 8 January 1759. Ibid., 335-336; Same to Adam Schoals, Derry, 17 September 1757. Ibid., 308; Same to Michal Walsh, Philadelphia, 10 October 1757. Ibid., 311-312; Same to Arnold, Albert & Alexander Nesbitt, London. 18 October 1757. Ibid., 312; Same to David Harvey, London, 8 January 1758. Ibid., 334.

¹¹⁶Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to Edward Corkran, Sligo, 5 December 1761. Daniel Clark, Invoices and Letters.

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¹¹⁹PRO, Customs 1/31, f. 247; Massachusetts: English Shipping Records, p. 556.

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¹²¹Duke of Devonshire, Dublin, to Duke of Newcastle, 22 November 1739. PRONI, T.827/2091; "Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB., XXVIII (1904), 92; Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Henry McGowen and David McMinn, Donahadee, 5 May 1768. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book.

¹²²Henry Drinker, Philadelphia, to Redmond Conyngham, Letterkenny, 24 February 1774. James & Drinker Letters, 1772-86. Drinker Papers. MS. in HSP; Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 108-109, 481; Ibid., II, 18.

¹²³Nathaniel Nisbitt, Lifford [County Donegal], to Earl of Abercorn, 9 December 1733. Abercorn Papers. PRONI, T.2541/IA1/1B/32; "Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB., XXVII (1903), 489.

¹²⁴Ibid., XXIV (1900), 510.

¹²⁵Ibid., XXVIII (1904), 488; Limerick Chronicle, 21 August 1769; Ibid., 12 March, 5 July, 26 July 1770.

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¹²⁷ Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to John & Andrew French, Galway, 31 May 1762. Daniel Clark, Invoices and Letters.

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³ Ibid., XXIV (1900), 112; Templeton & Stewart Receipt Book. MS. at Columbia University; New York Mercury, 5 January 1767; New York Gazette, 1 and 15 January 1770; Belfast News-Letter, 15 April 1774; Samuel Bryan, Dublin, to George Bryan, Philadelphia, 23 September 1752. Bryan Papers. MS. in HSP; William Bryan, Dublin, to Same, 10 August 1756. Ibid.; Account Current of W., S. & A. Bryan [Dublin] with Several People in Philadelphia, c.1763. Ibid.

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⁵ Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Thomas Greg, Belfast, 11 October 1756. Letter Book of Greg and Cunningham, New York and Belfast, 1756-1757. MS. in NYHS; Deed of Copartnership between Thomas Greg, Waddell Cunningham, Hamilton Young, and Robert Ross Waddell, Merchants. May 1761. PRONI, D.260/6; V. D. Harrington, New York Merchant, pp. 51-52, 64, 93, 121, 184, 188, 224-225, 265, 303.

⁶ "Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB, XXVII (1903), 496; Ibid., XXVIII (1904), 86, 96, 98, 99, 233, 352, 353, 358, 472, 482, 486, 496, 497; John D. Crimmins, St. Patrick's Day: Its Celebration in New York and Other American Places, 1737-1845 (New York, 1902), p. 343; Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book, 1767-1769. MS. in HSP.

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²⁴ R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775 (London, 1966), p. 284.

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⁷⁰The Connecticut Gazette, 19 November 1763; The Report of an Action of Assault . . . between Forsey and Cunningham (New York, 1764); New York Gazette, 21 February 1765; Letter Book of John Watts: Merchants and Councillor of New York [New York Historical Society, Collections, LXI] (New York, 1928), 307n; John Watts, New York, to General Moncton, 5 February 1765. Ibid., 330.

⁷¹PRONI, D. 270/6, 7.

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⁷³Belfast News-Letter, 24 January 1774; John Austin Stevens, Jr., Colonial New York: Sketches Biographical & Historical, 1768-1784 (New York, 1867), p. 172.

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December 1752. Beekman Papers, I, 164; Same to Adam Schoals, Derry, 15 December 1757. Ibid., 318.

⁷⁵ Calendar of Historical Manuscripts, II, 692; V. D. Harrington, New York Merchant, p. 16; J. D. Crimmins, Irish-American Historical Miscellany, p. 448.

⁷⁶ New York Mercury, 1 January 1759, 5 January 1767; PRO, C.O.5/1228/44, 45, 53; "Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB, XXVII (1903), 353; Ibid., XXVIII (1904), 493; Beekman Papers, I, 390; V. D. Harrington, New York Merchant, pp. 16-17, 19, 36, 41; J. D. Crimmins, Irish-American Historical Miscellany, pp. 66, 448.

⁷⁷ Loyalist Transcripts, XLII, 360. MS. in NYPL. Cited in V. D. Harrington, New York Merchant, p. 19.

⁷⁸ Edmund T. Bewley, "The Folliotics of Londonderry and Chester," The Genealogist, new series, XX (1904), 108-113; Lorenzo Sabine, Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, with an Historical Essay (Boston, 1864), I, 429-30; W. E. Minchinton, "The Diary of George Folliot, New York Merchant, 1765-1766" (introductory essay accompanying microfilmed ms. diary). E. P. Microforms Limited, Yorkshire, England.

⁷⁹ PRO, C.O.5/1227/242; Ibid., C.O.5/1228/8; V. D. Harrington, New York Merchant, p. 304; "Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB, XXVI (1902), 397-398.

⁸⁰ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Cunningham & Schoals, Derry, 2 February 1757. Beekman Papers, I, 293-294; Same to Alexander & White, London, 12 September 1757. Ibid., 305-306; Same to Adam Schoals, Derry, 17 September 1757. Ibid., 308-309; W. E. Minchinton, "The Diary of George Folliot."

⁸¹ Loyalist Transcripts, XLV, 521. MS. in NYPL. Cited in V. D. Harrington, New York Merchant, p. 53.

⁸² New York Mercury, 15 and 29 October, 26 November 1753; PRO, C.O.5/1227/239; James Thompson, New York to Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, 27 July 1756. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/702; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Thomas Marshall, Derry, 13 September 1757. Beekman Papers, I, 306-307; Same to Adam Schoals, Derry, 17 September 1757. Ibid., 308-309; Same to Moses Franks, London, 26 June 1758. Ibid., 328-329; Same to Hill, Lemar & Hill, Madeira, 16 January 1759; Ibid., 338; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 242, 249, 251, 259-260, 269, 278.

⁸³ PRO, C.O.5/1228/37, 42, 90, 93; J. D. Crimmins, Irish-American Historical Miscellany, p. 95

⁸⁴ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to David & William Ross, Newry, 19 January 1765. Beekman Papers, I, 479.

⁸⁵ New York Mercury, 12 January 1767 and 7 December 1767; New York Gazette, 1 January 1770; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Evan & Francis Malbone, Rhode Island, 10 March 1769. Beekman Papers, I, 522; James Beekman, New York to Acheson Thompson, Newry, 24 January 1771. Ibid., II, 950-951; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 262, 272; J. D. Crimmins, Irish-American Historical Miscellany, p. 66.

⁸⁶ New York Mercury, 29 April 1765; J. D. Crimmins, Irish-American Historical Miscellany, pp. 66, 95-96.

- ⁸⁷PRO, C.O.5/1225/6, 12, 23, 34, 64, 90, 97.
- ⁸⁸Ibid., 2, 22, 66, 89, 93, 107, 134, 136, 153, 163, 189, 199, 230; Van Horne, McEvers & Roosevelt, New York, to Daniel Mussenden & John Gordon, Belfast, 9 December 1734. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/687.
- ⁸⁹PRO. C.O.5/1225/191, 201, 203, 230; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Cunningham & Gardner, Philadelphia, 3 December 1750. Beekman Papers, I, 135; New York Mercury, 19 November 1753, 29 December 1755.
- ⁹⁰Belfast News-Letter, 6 April 1764; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 174-175; Peter Vandervoort, New York, to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, 14 October 1767. Shaw [Nathaniel & Thomas] Papers. MS. in Sterling Library, Yale University; Same to Same, 19 December 1767. Ibid.; Same to Same, 7 November 1768. Ibid.
- ⁹¹PRO, H.C.A. 42/92; Ibid., C.O.5/1225/199.
- ⁹²Ibid., 49; Ibid., C.O.5/1227/195; Ibid., C.O.5/1228/93; New York Mercury, 1 February 1762, 5 January 1767; Supplement to the New York Gazette, 9 March 1772.
- ⁹³Philip L. White, The Beekmans of New York in Politics and Commerce, 1647-1877 (New York, 1956), pp. 235-264.
- ⁹⁴Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to William Snell, London, 22 December 1749. Beekman Papers, I, 97-98.
- ⁹⁵Same to David & William Ross, Newry, 18 October 1764. Beekman Papers, I, 475.
- ⁹⁶Same to Same, 10 February 1766. Ibid., 494.
- ⁹⁷P. L. White, Beekmans of New York, pp. 259-262.
- ⁹⁸C. Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt, p. 267.
- ⁹⁹R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 238-281.
- ¹⁰⁰Belfast News-Letter, 11 March 1774; C. P. Nettels, The Roots of American Civilization, p. 524; J. M. Price, "Economic Function and Growth of American Ports Towns," 151.
- ¹⁰¹Cork Evening Post, 16 March 1767.
- ¹⁰²Clarence P. Gould, "The Economic Cause of the Rise of Baltimore," Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews by his Students, edited by J. Franklin Jameson (New Haven, 1931), 248; William Lux, Baltimore, to John Riddle, 12 June 1765. Letterbook of William Lux, Baltimore, 1763-1768. Microfilmed copy in NYHS.
- ¹⁰³PRO, Customs 16/1.
- ¹⁰⁴Belfast News-Letter, 27 July 1773.
- ¹⁰⁵Woolsey & Salmon, Baltimore, to James Forde, Drogheda, 8 December 1774. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook; Same to Thomas Mathews & Co., Dublin, 8 December 1774. Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁶William Eddis, Letters from America (London, 1792), pp. 96-98; Clarence P. Gould, "Rise of Baltimore," 239-240.

- ¹⁰⁷ Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, 25 March 1785.
- ¹⁰⁸ Samuel Galloway, Annapolis [Maryland], to Dr. John Stevenson, Baltimore, 29 May 1770. Samuel Galloway Letterbook, 1766-1772, Galloway-Maxy-Marcoe Papers. MS. in LC; William Lux, Baltimore, to Thomas Bailey [ship captain], 3 July 1765. Letterbook of William Lux.
- ¹⁰⁹ George Trail, New York, to Dr. John Stevenson, Baltimore, 31 December 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham; Pennsylvania Journal, 3 May 1770; William Lux, Baltimore, to Thomas Bailey [ship captain], 3 July 1765. Letterbook of William Lux; Callamer M. Abbott, "Colonial Copper Mines," WHQ, XXVII, 2 (April 1970), 305.
- ¹¹⁰ Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Ewing & Brown, Baltimore, 5 February 1768. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book; John & Michael Andrews, Comber [Co. Down], to Ewing & Hall, Baltimore, 23 March 1773, 1 October 1774. Letterbook of John and Michael Andrews. MS. in possession of Isaac Andrew & Sons Ltd., Belfast; George Woolsey, Baltimore, to George Salmon, Dublin. 20 November 1774. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook; George Salmon, Baltimore, to Waddell Cunningham, Belfast, 30 September 1783. Ibid.
- ¹¹¹ Belfast News-Letter, 27 July 1773.
- ¹¹² Arthur & Samuel Bryan, Dublin, to George Bryan, Philadelphia, 24 March 1767. Bryan Papers; Audrey Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration, pp. 199-201, 203, 207; Registry of Deeds, Dublin: Abstract of Wills, II, 258.
- ¹¹³ George Woolsey, Baltimore, to George Salmon, Dublin, 24 March 1775. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook.
- ¹¹⁴ Same to Same, Dublin, 5 December 1774. Ibid.
- ¹¹⁵ John Cabot, Salem, to William English, Salem, 14 December 1714. Commercial Papers, 1664-1730, f. 64. Hathorne Family Papers.
- ¹¹⁶ Francis Manwaring Caulkins, History of Norwich, Connecticut ([New London], 1866), p. 306; Audrey Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration, p. 182.
- ¹¹⁷ J. D. Crimmins, Irish-American Historical Miscellany, pp. 52-3, 149-52; Francis Manwaring Caulkins, History of New London, Connecticut (New London, 1852), p. 410.
- ¹¹⁸ Thomas M. Truxes, "Connecticut in the Irish-American Flaxseed Trade, 1750-1775," EI, XII (Summer, 1977), 34-62.
- ¹¹⁹ New London Gazette, 26 August 1768; Gaspare John Saladino, "The Economic Revolution in Late Eighteenth-Century Connecticut" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1964), pp. i, 2-3, 5, 23; Jared Eliot, Essays Upon Field Husbandry in New England (Boston, 1760), p. 55; Albert Van Dusen, "The Trade of Revolutionary Connecticut" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1948), p. 160; Bruce C. Daniels, "Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut: An Overview," WMQ, XXXVII (July 1980), 429-438.
- ¹²⁰ Joseph Trumbull, London, to Richard Jackson, 24 January 1764. Joseph Trumbull Papers, 1754-1766. MS. in CHS.

- ¹²¹ Cork Evening Post, 22 February 1773; Francis Hodder, Cork, to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, 9 July 1764. Shaw [Nathaniel & Thomas] Papers; Greg, Cunningham & Co., New York, to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, 23 September 1766. Ibid.; Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, to Thomas & Issac Wharton, Philadelphia, 4 December 1771. Mercantile Letter Book of Nathaniel Shaw, Jr [New London Historical Society, Collections, II] (New London, 1933), 233; Belfast News-Letter, 7 April 1767; Joseph Trumbull, London, to Jonathan Trumbull, Lebanon [Connecticut], 16 August 1764. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers; New London Gazette, 7 October 1768.
- ¹²² Mercantile Letter Book, 184, 233; New London Summary, 22 August 1760; Greg & Cunningham & Co., New York, to Joseph Chew, New London, 7 July 1756. Letterbook of Greg & Cunningham; New London Gazette, 2 October 1772, 24 September 1773.
- ¹²³ New York Gazette, 10 February 1772; Supplement to the Connecticut Gazette, 5 November 1763; Connecticut Journal, 9 November 1770; New London Gazette, 19 March 1773; Thomas Rutherford Trowbridge, Jr., History of the Ancient Martime Interests of New Haven [New Haven Historical Society, Papers, III] (New Haven, 1882), 112-114; John E. Morris, The Bontequé Genealogy (Hartford, 1885), p. 44.
- ¹²⁴ Connecticut Journal, 12 October, 2 and 23 November 1770; J. D. Crimmins, Irish-American Historical Miscellany, pp. 149-152.
- ¹²⁵ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Owen Hughes [ship captain], New York, 25 November 1747. Beekman Papers, I, 34; Michael J. O'Brien, "John McCurdy, Irish Pioneer in Connecticut," JAIHS, XXVI (New York, 1927), 199-203.
- ¹²⁶ Henry & John Lloyd, Stamford, to Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, 19 January 1756. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D354/715; Greg & Cunningham & Co., New York, to John Lloyd, Stamford, 29 May 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham; Connecticut Gazette, 4 February 1764; Percy W. Bidwell and John I. Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860 (Washington, D.C., 1925), p. 98.
- ¹²⁷ Typical of these was a transaction that partially cleared the debt of Solomon Terry of Simsbury, Connecticut, at a shopkeeper's store. Part of his outstanding balance was paid "1763 November 14 By 2 Bushels of flaxseed at 4/6." Account Book of Daniel Goodwin. MS. in CHS.
- ¹²⁸ Connecticut Courant, 2 September 1765.
- ¹²⁹ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Townshend White, Philadelphia, 10 September 1753. Beekman Papers, I, 186-187; Same to David & William Ross, Newry, 18 October 1764. Ibid., 475; Margaret E. Smith, "Merchants in the Trade of the Connecticut River Valley, 1750-1820," SCSH, XXIV (October 1938-July 1939), 119n., 144.
- ¹³⁰ John Adams' Diary, II, 27.
- ¹³¹ Connecticut Journal, 29 October 1764, 26 August and 26 October 1765.
- ¹³² John Adams' Diary, II, 98-99; George Clark, Silas Deane (New York, 1913), p. 11; Henry R. Stiles, History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut (New York, 1904), pp. 551-552.
- ¹³³ Connecticut Courant, 28 October 1765.

- 134 Elaine Forman Crane, "From the Four Winds of the Earth: Newport, Rhode Island, 1760-1776" (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, New York University, 1977), pp. 1-62; C. Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt, p. 216.
- 135 Newport Mercury, 21 September, 12, 19, and 26 October 1767, 21 September, 12 October 1772; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Samuel Fowler, Newport, 24 November 1761. Beekman Papers, I, 394.
- 136 Newport Mercury, 19 January 1767.
- 137 Stocker & Wharton, Philadelphia, to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 18 January 1774. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 475-477; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Samuel Fowler, Newport, 8 March 1764. Beekman Papers, I, 462; Greg, Cunningham & Co., New York, to Thomas Green, Boston, 23 May 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham; Newport Mercury, 19 January, 2 February 1767; 21 September, 12 October 1772.
- 138 John O. Kelly, Warren [Rhode Island], to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 20 October 1773. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 456-457; G. J. Saladino, "Economic Revolution in Late Eighteenth-Century Connecticut," p. 21.
- 139 Henry Cruger, Jr., Bristol, to Aaron Lopez, Newport, 1 March 1766. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 147-149; Same to Same, 6 December 1769. Ibid., 298-301; Providence Gazette, 20 October 1762.
- 140 Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts (9 vols., Salem, Massachusetts, 1919) VII, 171; Massachusetts: English Shipping Records, pp. 91, 97; William Weeden, Economic & Social History, I, 250.
- 141 Massachusetts: English Shipping Records, pp. 519, 525, 530, 556, 570, 642, 647; J. D. Crimmins, Irish-American Historical Miscellany, p. 376; G. Nash, Urban Crucible, 73, 102-111; C. P. Nettels, Roots of American Civilization, 391-399.
- 142 Henry Lloyd, Boston, to Gerard G. Beekman, New York, 14 October 1765. Letterbook of Henry Lloyd, 1765-1767. MS. in Baker Library, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University; Massachusetts: English Shipping Records, pp. 823, 826, 828, 830, 835, 849, 863, 871, 875, 879; Log of ship Elizabeth, 1737. Ms. at G. W. Blunt Library, Mystic Seaport Museum and Library (Mystic, Connecticut); Belfast News-Letter, 7 and 14 April 1767; Cork Evening Post, 19 March 1767; J. D. Crimmins Irish-American Historical Miscellany, pp. 51-55, 376.
- 143 PRO, C.O.5/1225/35, 43; Cork Evening Post, 5 January 1767; Munster Journal, 5 March, 30 July 1750; Cork Evening Post, 8 January, 12 February 1767.
- 144 A. Savage, St. Kitts, to S. P. Savage, Boston, 15 March 1759. S. P. Savage II Papers. MS. in MHS; Massachusetts Gazette, 10 October 1765; William T. Baxter, The House of Hancock: Business in Boston, 1724-1775, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1945), pp. 184-85, 218-19.
- 145 William Fisher, Boston, to Champion & Hayley, London, 13 May 1765. Letterbook of William Fisher. Codman Papers, Karolik Collection. MS. in MHS; Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to Henry Spence, Coleraine, 9 December 1771. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson; Massachusetts Gazette, 10 October 1765, 29 October 1772; Newport Mercury, 19 October 1767; PRO,

Customs 16/1.

¹⁴⁶ Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to DeBerdt, Burkitt & Sayre, London, 24 February 1768. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson; Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to James Forde, Drogheda, 2 January 1769. Ibid; Kenneth Wiggins Porter, The Jacksons and the Lees: Two Generations of Massachusetts Merchants, 1765-1844, (2 vols., Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1937), I, 6.

¹⁴⁷ Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to James Hudson [ship captain], 19 December 1771. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson; James Hudson, Passage [Co. Cork], to Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, 9 February 1772. Hudson-Rogers Papers; James Hudson, Cork, to Same, 18 February. Ibid.; Invoice of Five hundred & fifty Barrells herrings shiped on the Lark, Samuel Fowler, Mas^r, for Bardadoes & the Leeward Islands [Cork, 28 February 1772]. Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Massachusetts: English Shipping Records, pp. 742, 786-7, 792; D., G., and R. Rundle, Philadelphia, to Captain William Bartlett, Salem, 5 December 1770. Bartlett Papers, 1725-1800. MS. in BHS; Same to Same, 22 October 1772. Ibid.; The Journals of Ashley Bowen of Marblehead, edited by Philip Chadwick Foster Smith (2 vols. [vols. XLIV and XLV of Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts], Boston, 1973), I, 167, and II, 411; James Duncan Phillips, Salem in the Eighteenth Century (Salem, Massachusetts, 1969), p. 86.

CHAPTER 6: THE EMIGRANT TRADE

¹The partisan character of historical writing dealing with eighteenth-century Irish migration to North America is best exemplified on the "Scotch-Irish" side by the work of C. A. Hanna and Maude Glasgow, and on the "Irish Catholic" side by that of Michael J. O'Brien. See: C. A. Hanna, The Scotch Irish: or, The Scot in North Britain, North Ireland, and North America (2 vols., New York, 1902); M. Glasgow, The Scotch Irish in Northern Ireland and in the American Colonies (New York, 1926); M. J. O'Brien, A Hidden Phase of American History: Ireland's Part in America's Struggle for Liberty (New York, 1919).

²R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775 (London, 1966) and Audrey Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration from Ireland to the North American Colonies between 1660 and 1775 (New York, 1976).

³R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 85-87; Public Gazetteer, 10 April 1773; Belfast News-Letter, 4 October 1768, 3 July 1770, 6 April 1773.

⁴Belfast News-Letter, 3 June 1766.

⁵6 Anne, c. 11 [Irish]; 12 George I, c. 8 [Irish]; 3 George II, c. 4 [Irish]; 9 George II, c. 6 [Irish]; 17 George II, c. 4 [Irish].

⁶3 George II, c. 4 [Irish]; A. Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration, p. 88.

⁷"Am of Oppinion the next Prisioner[s] Will yeald almost as much a head as Good Slaves Would due for everybody Seams Equally Eager to have

them." Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to John Channing, Rhode Island, 5 October 1747. The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1747-1799, edited by Philip L. White (3 vols., New York, 1956), I, 28 [hereafter cited as Beekman Papers]; Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, Solomon Watson, Cork, 8 July 1769. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book, 1762-1781. MS. in HSP.

⁸A. Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration, pp. 93-94.

⁹Accounts of the brig William and Susanna of Salem, 1714. Commercial Papers, 1664-1730, Hawthorne Family Papers. MS. in Essex Institute; Dublin Gazette, 7 January 1755; Freeman's Journal, 15 October 1774; A. Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration, pp. 181, 183, 185-205, 207.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 85-87; Abbot Emerson Smith, Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776 (New York, 1971), pp. 110-117, 134-135.

¹¹Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, to Solomon Watson, Cork, 8 July 1769. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book; "Read this Letter, and look, and tell aw the poor Folk of your Place, that God has open'd a Door for their Deliverance; . . . There is Servants here out of Ereland, and have serv'd their Time here, wha are now Justices of the Piece." Letter of James Murray of New York to Rev. Baptist Boyd of County Tyrone, Ireland, Reprinted from the Pennsylvania Gazette, Oct. 27, 1737, edited by Earl Gregg Swem (Metuchen, New Jersey, 1925), pp. 2, 6.

¹²R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 89-92; For perspective on the significance of indentured servants in the labour supply of British North America, see: David W. Galenson, White servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis (Cambridge, 1981).

¹³A. E. Smith, Colonists in Bondage, pp. 20-22, 39-40.

¹⁴Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to George Dunlope and Gilbert Orr, Belfast, 13 August 1768. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book, 1767-1769. MS. in HSP.

¹⁵R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 87-88.

¹⁶A. E. Smith, Colonists in Bondage, pp. 3-4; M. A. Jones, American Immigration (Chicago, 1960), p. 9.

¹⁷Richard S. Dunn, "Servants and Slaves: The Recruitment and Employment of Labor," Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era (Baltimore, 1984), p. 159.

¹⁸"Many more indentured servants came to America from Ireland in the eighteenth century than from England." Ibid., p. 169.

¹⁹R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 32-34, 59; Estimates of the total number of Irish who migrated to America in the period before 1776 vary widely. According to one view, surely an exaggeration, "it would not be rash to assume that 150,000 Irish emigrants went to America within a few years before the outbreak of the war in the Colonies." W. H. Grattan Flood, "Irish Emigration to the American Colonies, 1723 to 1773," JAIHS, XXVI (1927), 206.

²⁰Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to Edward Corkran, Sligo, 26 November 1761. Daniel Clark, Invoices and Letters, 1761-1762. MS. in HSP.

²¹For a differing view, see A. E. Smith, Colonists in Bondage, pp. 35-42.

²²Woolsey & Salmon, Baltimore, to Thomas Mathews & Co., Dublin, 8 December 1774. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook, 1774-1784. The Peter Force Collection. MS. in LC; D. W. Galenson, White Servitude in Colonial America, pp. 97-98, 250-251, n 3.

²³Belfast News-Letter, 8 March 1765, 4 June 1771, 11 and 18 March, 12 April 1774; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, p. 253.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 201-220; Belfast News-Letter, 8 March 1765.

²⁵Karl Frederick Geiser, Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (New Haven, 1901), pp. 46-50.

²⁶Belfast News-Letter, 11 March 1774; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 238-281; Some firms in the emigrant trade provided additional services of fare-paying passengers. In one example, "Those who intend for New-York, are requested (upon their Arrival there) to apply to the Owners of the said Ship, Messieurs Templeton and Stewart, who will give them their utmost Assistance, and best Advice, how to get themselves and Families comfortably settled." Belfast News-Letter, 15 April 1774.

²⁷Ibid., 8 March 1765; Belfast News-Letter, 17 May 1771 and 3 March 1775.

²⁸R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, p. 48; Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to James Drumgoole, Sligo, 5 December 1761. Daniel Clark, Invoices and Letters.

²⁹Reports of the Justices of the North East and North West Circuits on the Emigration from the North of Ireland to America, 10 May 1729 and 11 June 1729. PRONI, T.659/1445.

³⁰R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 116-117.

³¹Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to James Drumgoole, Sligo, 5 December 1761. Daniel Clark, Invoices and Letters.

³²Belfast News-Letter, 8 March 1765; Cork Evening Post, 5 January 1767; Waterford Chronicle, 22 March 1771; Sometimes servants contracted for specific kinds of work. In 1741 the Chester County [Pennsylvania] Court enjoined a master to keep his servants as a weaver 'according to the tenure of his indenture' and not use him for field labor." Robert Owen Heavner, "Economic Aspects of Indentured Servitude in Colonial Pennsylvania" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1976) p. 9.

³³In the month of October 1745, the average length of service of the fifty-two Irish servants registered before the Mayor of Philadelphia was 4.7 years. PMHB, XXX (1907), 348-352, 427-436; Ibid., XXXI (1908), 83-87; In testimony given before the English House of Commons on 10 March 1774, an American witness stated: "[Irish indentured servants in Philadelphia] are sold for the term of their indentures, which is from two to four years." Belfast News-Letter, 22 March 1774.

³⁴Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to Edward Corkran, Sligo, 26 November 1761. Daniel Clark, Invoices and Letters; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, p. 253; A. E. Smith, Colonists in Bondage, pp. 37-38, 346.

³⁵George Woolsey, Baltimore, to George Salmon, Dublin, 4 January 1775. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook.

³⁶"Ship Registers for the Port of Philadelphia, 1726-1775," PMHB, XXIII-XXVIII (1899-1904).

³⁷Belfast News-Letter, 12 March 1773, 28 January, 1 February, 11, 15, 18, & 22 March, 15 & 19 April, 30 September 1774; 3 February, 10, 21 & 28 March, 14 April 1775.

³⁸R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 98-124, 238-281.

³⁹Among the Irish firms that combined activities in the linen industry, overseas commodity trade and emigration were Greg, Cunningham & Co., and John Ewing & Co. [Belfast]; Caldwell, Vance & Caldwell, James Thompson & Co., and Andrew Gregg & Co. [Derry]; and William & John Ogle, David Gausan & Co., and Andrew & Acheson Thompson [Newry].

⁴⁰"Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB, XXIII-XXVIII (1899-1904); John Stewart, Dublin, to William Penn, London, 8 May 1736. "Obstructions to Irish Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1736," Ibid., XXI (1897), 485-487; Belfast News-Letter, 15 April and 27 May 1774.

⁴¹Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to James Drumgoole, Sligo, 5 December 1761. Daniel Clark, Invoices and Letters.

⁴²Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Lane, Benson & Vaughan, Cork, 25 July 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book.

⁴³R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, p. 100.

⁴⁴Cork Evening Post, 5 January 1767.

⁴⁵William Eddis, Letters from America (London, 1792), pp. 67-68; Benjamin Franklin, The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, edited by Leonard W. Labaree, Ralph L. Ketcham, Helen C. Boatfield, and Helene H. Fineman (New Haven, 1964), 109.

⁴⁶Munster Journal, 30 July 1750; Freeman's Journal, 3 June 1766; Cork Evening Post, 26 March 1767.

⁴⁷Belfast News-Letter, 2 November 1773.

⁴⁸Ibid., 3 May 1774; New York Gazette, 11 January 1773; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 108, 236.

⁴⁹Waterford Chronicle, 22 March 1771.

⁵⁰Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, to John McEver & Co., New York, 8 April 1735. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/690.

⁵¹George Woolsey, Baltimore, to George Salmon, Dublin, 9 December 1774. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook.

⁵²"He [William Graham, an Irish pedlar] goes over to Ireland, every fall, with flax-seed &c. and returns in the spring with servants and goods, generally taking shipping and landing at New-Castle, and is said to be worth money." Pennsylvania Chronicle, 22 February 1768.

⁵³R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 175-208, 283; A. Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration from Ireland, pp. 282-287.

⁵⁴Woolsey & Salmon, Baltimore, to John Armstrong, Dublin, 30 October 1774. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook; Same to George Darly, Dublin, 12 December 1774. Ibid.

⁵⁵Belfast News-Letter, 14 August 1739; Dublin Gazette, 7 January 1755; Pennsylvania Chronicle, 16 February 1767; Public Gazetteer, 17 October 1772; Freeman's Journal, 15 October 1774.

⁵⁶Archibald Macphaedris, Portsmouth [New Hampshire], to James & Robert Wilson, Belfast, 28 August 1718. Papers of A. Macphaedris and Jonathan Warner, 1716-1813. MS. in Baker Library, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 19-31.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 283.

⁵⁸Dublin Gazette, 20 Sept 1768; Belfast News-Letter, 8 March 1765; Petition of Robert Wills & William Ray, Merchants of Belfast, [n.d.]. Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783, edited by K. G. Davies (21 vols., Dublin, 1972-1981), I, 456; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 73-74, 238-281.

⁵⁹Ibid., 114-115.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 98, 114, 282-284; "Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB., XXIII-XXVIII (1899-1904).

⁶¹Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to Edward Corkran, Sligo, 5 December 1761. Daniel Clark, Invoices and Letters; Pennsylvania Journal, 8 November 1770.

⁶²R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 240-243, 249-251, 258-261, 268-270, 277-278; "Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB., XXIII; "Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB., XXIV (1900), 504; Ibid., XXV (1901), 125, 276; Ibid., XXVI (1902), 133, 397, 475; Ibid., XXVII (1903), 101, 106, 350, 358, 364, 496; Ibid., XXVIII (1904), 96, 98-99.

⁶³R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, p. 114.

⁶⁴"Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB., XXVII (1903), 366, 492; Ibid., XXVIII (1904), 88, 365, 372; Belfast News-Letter, 8 March 1765, 5 February and 13 August 1771; Pennsylvania Journal, 1 and 8 November 1770, 4 January 1775.

⁶⁵Dublin Journal, 2 April 1765; Freeman's Journal, 6 May 1766; Belfast News-Letter, 6 April 1764; Ibid., 8 and 12 February, 9 April, 19 and 23 July 1771; Ibid., 10 March, July 1772, 12, 19 and 23 February, 10 September 1773; Ibid., 15 February, 1, 4, 11, and 18 March, 12 and 16 April 1774; Ibid., 20 January, 10 February, 10 March, 10 April and 14 April 1775.

⁶⁶R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 103-104, 112-115.

⁶⁷Limerick Chronicle, 5 and 26 July 1770; M. L. Hanson, The Atlantic Migration, p. 50.

⁶⁸Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, to Solomon Watson, Cork, 8 July 1769. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book; Ships papers and accounts relating to the 1713-1714 voyage of the William and Susanna of Salem from New England to Ireland and back. Hathorne Family MSS., Commercial Papers, 1664-1730,

ff. 117. MSS. in Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts; Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Lane, Benson & Vaughan, Cork, 25 July 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book.

⁶⁹Munster Journal, 5 March 1750; Cork Evening Post, 1 and 5 January 1767.

⁷⁰J. D. Crimmins, Irish-American Historical Miscellany, p. 376.

⁷¹A. Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration, pp. 98-113.

⁷²Waterford Chronicle, 22 March and 3 May 1771; Cork Evening Post, 23 March 1767.

⁷³A. Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration, pp. 102, 106-107; Christine Leigh Heyrman, Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690-1750 (New York, 1984), p. 214.

⁷⁴Waterford Chronicle, 12, 15, 19 and 22 March 1771.

⁷⁵R. O. Heavner, "Economic Aspects of Indentured Servitude," pp. 24, 45.

⁷⁶Two examples from the secondary market in Philadelphia: "TO BE SOLD. An Irish Servant Man, who has almost three Years to serve, and by Trade a Barber. He understands shaving and dressing, and is well caculated to wait on a Gentleman. Any Person inclining to purchase said Servant, may know the Terms by applying to Hugh Henry, Peruke Maker, in Chestnut-Street, between Second and Third Streets." Pennsylvania Chronicle, 2 December 1767; and "TO BE SOLD. An Irish servant Boy, (about 16 years of Age,) who has three years to serve. Enquire of Edward Pennington, at his store in Front-Street. Said Boy served some part of his time as a weaver." Pennsylvania Journal, 28 October 1762; *Ibid.*, 6 October 1763; New York Mercury, 24 September 1753; A. E. Smith, Colonists in Bondage, pp. 278-184; K. F. Geiser, Redemptioners and Indentured Servants, p. 74; D. W. Galenson, White Servitude in Colonial America, p. 97.

⁷⁷Archibald Macphaedris, Portsmouth [New Hampshire], to James & Robert Wilson, Belfast, 28 August 1718. Papers of A. Macphaedris and Jonathan Warner.

⁷⁸Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to John & Andrew French, Galway, 31 May 1762. Daniel Clark, Invoices and Letters; Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Lane, Benson & Vaughan, Cork, 25 July 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book; For perspective on the labour market in New England and the middle colonies, see R. S. Dunn, "Servants and Slaves," pp. 180-188.

⁷⁹"Servants and Apprentices Bound and Assigned before James Hamilton Mayor of Philadelphia, 1745," *PMHB*, XXX (1906), 348-352, 427-436; *Ibid.*, XXXI (1907), 83-87.

⁸⁰Pennsylvania Journal, 26 September 1765.

⁸¹R. O. Heavner, "Economic Aspects of Indentured Servitude," pp. 43-44.

⁸²Gary B. Nash, The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Massachusetts), p. 247.

⁸³ Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776 (London, 1970), p. 87; R. O. Heavner, "Economic Aspects of Indentured Servitude", pp. 43-44.

⁸⁴ Woolsey & Salmon, Baltimore, to James Forde, Drogheda, 8 December 1774. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook.

⁸⁵ Quoted in R. O. Heavner, "Economic Aspects of Indentured Servitude," p. 38.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁸⁷ "The best time for servants is about the month of May." Benjamin Marshall, Philadelphia, to Thomas Murphy, Ireland, [n.d.]. Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 38; Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to John Pooler, Antigua, 5 August 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book; Woolsey & Salmon, Baltimore, to James Forde, Drogheda, 8 December 1774. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook.

⁸⁸ Quoted in R. O. Heavner, "Economic Aspects of Indentured Servitude," p. 38; K. F. Geiser, Redemptioners and Indentured Servants, pp. 55-56.

⁸⁹ Belfast News-Letter, 22 March 1774; "Five Years Time of a Woolcomber, and 4 of a Tobacconist, who are both compleat Workmen, to be disposed of by Capt. Russel on board the Ship Newry, lying at Degrushe's Wharff." New York Mercury, 5 January 1767; Pennsylvania Journal, 20 October 1763 and 26 September 1765, 8 November 1770; Pennsylvania Chronicle, 18 September 1769.

⁹⁰ W. Eddis, Letters from America, p. 74; Pennsylvania Journal, 26 September 1765.

⁹¹ A. E. Smith, Colonists in Bondage, p. 35.

⁹² G. Nash, The Urban Crucible, p. 105; K. F. Geiser, Redemptioners and Indentured Servants, pp. 53-54.

⁹³ Pennsylvania Journal, 21 October and 25 November 1762, 3 November 1763; Pennsylvania Chronicle, 2 October 1769; Waddell Cunningham, New York, John Gordon and John Calwell, Belfast. 17 June 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham, New York & Belfast, 1756-1757. MS. in NYHS.

⁹⁴ Greg, Cunningham & Co., New York, to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, 2 January 1766. Shaw [Nathaniel & Thomas] Papers. MS. in Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

⁹⁵ R. O. Heavner, "Economic Aspects of Indentured Servitude," p. 13.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33; "Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB, XXIII-XXVIII (1899-1904); PRO, CO.5/1225/35, 43, 49, 199, 201; There are even signs of American initiative in the Irish servant trade with New England. J. D. Crimmins, Irish-American Historical Miscellany, pp. 149-152.

⁹⁷ James Logan, Philadelphia, to William Penn, 8 September 1713. Pennsylvania Archives, 2d ser. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1890), VII, 39; Belfast News-Letter, 22 March 1774; New York Mercury, 5 January 1767; K.

F. Geiser, Redempioners and Indentured Servants, pp. 53-54.

⁹⁸George Woolsey, Baltimore, to George Salmon, Dublin, 9 December 1774. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook.

⁹⁹Pennsylvania Chronicle, 22 February 1768; W. B. Smith, White Servitude in Colonial South Carolina, p. 41.

¹⁰⁰K. F. Geiser, Redempioners and Indentured Servants, p. 54.

¹⁰¹Waterford Chronicle, 22 March 1771.

¹⁰²G. Nash, The Urban Crucible, p. 103; C. Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt, p. 44.

¹⁰³Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to James Drumgoole, Sligo, 5 December 1761. Daniel Clark, Invoices and Letters; "Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB, XXIII-XXVIII (1899-1904).

¹⁰⁴R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, p. 284.

¹⁰⁵"Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB, XXIII (1899), 515; Ibid., XXIV (1900), 219, 350, 510; Ibid., XXV (1901), 574; Ibid., XXVI (1902), 133, 142; Ibid., XXVII (1903), 101, 106, 350, 358, 364, 496; Ibid., XXVIII (1904), 86, 96, 98, 99, 218, 230, 233, 352, 353, 358, 472, 482, 486, 496, 497; Pennsylvania Journal, 28 June, 8 and 15 November 1770; John D. Crimmins, St. Patrick's Day: Its Celebration in New York and Other American Places, 1737-1845, (New York, 1902), p. 343; John H. Campbell, History of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and of the Hibernian Society for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland (Philadelphia, 1892), pp. 101-102, 104.

¹⁰⁶"Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB, XXVII (1903), 491, 492; Ibid., XXVIII (1904), 219, 232, 351, 367; Pennsylvania Journal, 26 September 1765; Belfast News-Letter, 8 March 1765; Ibid., 14 and 24 January, 28 March, 1 and 18 April 1766.

¹⁰⁷"Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB, XXV (1901), 407; Ibid., XXVI (1902), 131, 140, 143, 395, 396, 399; Ibid., XXVII (1903), 94, 98, 240, 242, 349, 355, 485; Ibid., XXVIII (1904), 99, 352, 369; Pennsylvania Journal, 14 January and 18 November 1762, 13 and 20 October 1763; 4 January 1770 and October 1770; Pennsylvania Chronicle, 30 November 1767; J. D. Crimmins, St. Patrick's Day, p. 365.

¹⁰⁸"Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB, XXVII (1903), 366, 492; Ibid., XXVIII (1904), 88, 365, 372; Belfast News-Letter, 8 March 1765, 5 February and 13 August 1771; Pennsylvania Journal, 1 and 8 November 1770, 4 January 1775.

¹⁰⁹"Ship Reg. for the Port of Phil.," PMHB, XXIV (1900), 510; Ibid., XXV (1901), 269, 275; 279, Ibid., XXVII (1903), 96, 239, 243; Pennsylvania Journal, 20 October 1763.

¹¹⁰Daniel Clark, Invoices and Letters; Pennsylvania Journal, 28 October 1762, 27 October 1763, 3 November 1763, 29 November 1770.

¹¹¹Frederick B. Tolles, Meeting House, p. 88; Among the few Philadelphia Quaker merchants who dealt in the servant trade were Samuel & John Morton and Benjamin Fuller. Pennsylvania Journal, 17 May and 13 December 1770; Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, to Solomon Watson, Cork, 8 July 1769. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book.

- ¹¹²Belfast News-Letter, 4 March 1774.
- ¹¹³C. Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt, p. 267.
- ¹¹⁴Belfast News-Letter, 4 March 1774.
- ¹¹⁵Ibid., 11 March 1774.
- ¹¹⁶Pennsylvania Journal, 3 May 1770; Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook.
- ¹¹⁷Belfast News-Letter, 1 September 1772; New York Gazette, 11 January 1773.
- ¹¹⁸PRO, C.O.5/1225/49, 199, 201; G. Nash, The Urban Crucible, p. 109.
- ¹¹⁹Richard C. Murphy and Lawrence J. Mannion, The History of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick in the City of New York, 1784-1955 (New York, 1962), pp. 7-13; PRO, C.O.5/1225/35, 43, 49, 199.
- ¹²⁰Michael Kammen, Colonial New York: A History (New York, 1975), p. 179.
- ¹²¹New York Gazette, 11 January 1773; Belfast News-Letter, 15 April 1774; Michael J. O'Brien, In Old New York: The Irish Dead in Trinity and St. Paul's Churchyards (New York, 1928), pp. 21-22; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 238-281; J. D. Crimmins, Irish-American Historical Miscellany, p. 67.
- ¹²²Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Isaac & Zach. Hope, Rotterdam, 10 May 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham.
- ¹²³Belfast News-Letter, 6 April 1764; R. C. Murphy and L. J. Mannion, History of the Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick in the City of New York, p. 13.
- ¹²⁴Massachusetts: English Shipping Records, pp. 519, 525, 642, 647, 655, 668-669, 672, 732. Transcript in MHS.
- ¹²⁵"There are but few Irish in it [Massachusetts], and indeed the people of this country seem to have an aversion to them, so they find but little encouragement." Governor Belcher, Boston, to Popple, London, 21 May 1736. Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1735-1736, No. 313; Irish Catholics were successfully assimilated into New England, however: "Many Irish in Language and Religion (I mean Roman Catholics) have been imported some years since; the Children have lost their Language and Religion, and are good Subjects." William Douglass, A Summary, Historical and Political . . . of the State of the British Settlements in North America (2 vols., Boston, 1749), I, 209; C. Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt, p. 136.
- ¹²⁶J. D. Crimmins, Irish-American Historical Miscellany, pp. 51-55, 149-152, 376; Connecticut Gazette, 4 February 1764; R. S. Dunn, "Servants and Slaves," pp. 187.
- ¹²⁷Munster Journal, 5 March and 30 July 1750; Cork Evening Post, 5 January 1767; J. D. Crimmins, Irish-American Historical Miscellany, pp. 51-55, 376.
- ¹²⁸Belfast News-Letter, 8 March 1765, 5 October 1767; Documents of

the American Revolution, I, 456; R. J. Dickson, Ulster Emigration, pp. 49-51, 56-57, 118, 167-169; D. W. Galenson, White Servitude in Colonial America, pp. 154-158, 167, 176; Leila Sellers, Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1934), p. 113.

¹²⁹Quoted in Warren B. Smith, White Servitude in Colonial South Carolina (Columbia, South Carolina, 1961), p. 42.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 38-43, 51.

¹³¹Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to John Poaug, Charlestown, 2 April 1768. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Torrans & Poaug, Charlestown, 4 October 1768. Beekman Papers, I, 518; Belfast News-Letter, 30 November 1773; Papers of Henry Laurens, edited by Philip Hamer, et al. (5 vols., Columbia, South Carolina, 1968-), IV, 260n.

¹³²A. Bezanson, Robert D. Gray, and Miriam Hussey, Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, p. 267; G. Nash, Urban Crucible, p. 247-248, 320; T. W. Moody, "The Ulster Scots in Colonial and Revolutionary America [Part I]," Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review, XXXIV (March 1945), 85-94.

¹³³Gary B. Nash, "Slaves and Slaveowners in Colonial Philadelphia," WMQ, Vol. XXX, No. 2 (April 1973), 228n.

¹³⁴Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to Edward Corkran, Sligo, 5 December 1761. Daniel Clark, Invoices and Letters.

¹³⁵G. Nash, "Slaves and Slaveholders", 229-232; "All indented Servants has had full liberty for some time past to enter into his Majesty's Regiments, who are recruited by them, & servants must be had to replace them." Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Isaac & Zach. Hope, Rotterdam, 10 May 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham.

¹³⁶A. Lockhart, Some Aspects of Emigration, pp. 152-153, 159-164; David Noel Doyle, Ireland, Irishmen and Revolutionary America, 1760-1820 (Dublin, 1981), pp. 137-144.

¹³⁷Diary of Frederick Mackenzie (2 vols., Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1930), I, 81.

CHAPTER 7: PROVISIONS

¹A State of the British Sugar-Colony Trade (London, 1759), p. 39.

²Governor Lyttelton to Board of Trade, 9 July 1763. PRO, C.O.137/33/19; Edward Long, The History of Jamaica (3 vols., London, 1774), I, 501.

³Malachy Postlethwayt, Britain's Commercial Interest Explained and Improved (2 vols., London, 1757), I, 148.

⁴Samuel Eliot Morison, John Paul Jones: A Sailor's Biography (Boston, 1959), p. 20.

⁵Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Francis Malbone, Rhode Island, 7

December 1762. The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1746-1799, edited by Philip. L. White (3 vols., New York, 1956), I, 424 [hereafter cited as Beekman Papers].

⁶Letter Book of John Watts: Merchants and Councillor of New York [New York Historical Society, Collections, LXI] (New York, 1928), 62; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Bradshaw & Alexander, Belfast, 9 August 1762. Beekman Papers, I, 415; W. T. Baxter, The House of Hancock (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1945), pp. 203-204.

⁷"The Little Molly fills up this day for Martineco & I hope may sail tomorrow or next day. I have put on board ten Barrels of Irish Pork." John Watts, New York, to Joseph Maynard, Martineco, 18 May 1762. Letter Book of John Watts, 54.

⁸Greg & Cunningham, New York, to Walker & Woodbridge, Barbados, 12 July 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham, New York & Belfast 1756-1757. MS. in NYHS.

⁹PRO, Customs 15.

¹⁰David Dickson, "An Economic History of the Cork Region in the Eighteenth Century" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Dublin, 1977), p. 487.

¹¹Richard Pares, War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-1763 (Oxford, 1936), p. 414.

¹²Memorial of Albert Nesbitt, Esqr., in behalf of . . . his Correspondents in Ireland, 1746. PRONI, T.1060/2/2612.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴For a perspective on the impact of the embargos, see L. M. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland since 1660 (London, 1972), pp. 57-58.

¹⁵John Lord Sheffield, Observations on the Commerce of the American States (London, 1784), pp. 121-122.

¹⁶Joseph Trumbull, Liverpool, to Jonathan Trumbull, Lebanon, 17 June 1764. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers. MS. in CHS.

¹⁷E. Long, History of Jamaica, I, 550.

¹⁸Glenn Weaver, Jonathan Trumbull: Connecticut's Merchant Magistrate, 1710-1785 (Hartford, 1956), p. 67.

¹⁹Charles McArthur Destler, Connecticut: The Provisions State (Chester, Connecticut, 1973), p. 7.

²⁰Joseph Mauger, Halifax, to Jonathan Trumbull, Lebanon [Connecticut], 9 March 1756. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers; In the Nova Scotia market, a barrel of beef from Boston weighed just 200 lbs., compared to the 220 lb. barrel of Irish beef. Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations [January 1750 to December 1753], p. 245.

²¹E. Long, History of Jamaica, I, 551.

²²Ibid, 550.

- ²³ Proceedings of the Committee of Commons to Examine the State of the Export of Provisions, 1777. NLI, MS.14,157.
- ²⁴ Newport Mercury, 21 September 1772.
- ²⁵ Pennsylvania Journal, 14 January, 21 and 28 October 1762, 13 October 1763, 22 February, 17 May, 14 June 1770; Arthur L. Jensen, The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Pennsylvania (Madison, Wisconsin, 1963), p. 87.
- ²⁶ E. Long, History of Jamaica, I, 501.
- ²⁷ For a discussion of the effect of the colonial trades on beef production, see L. M. Cullen, Economic History of Ireland, pp. 52-59.
- ²⁸ PRO, Customs 15.
- ²⁹ John Bush, Hibernia Curiosa (London, 1769), p. 42.
- ³⁰ Patrick Goold, Cork, to Joseph Trumbull, London, 10 August 1764. Joseph Trumbull Papers, 1754-1766. MS. in CHS; Some exporters varied the formula, "4^{lb} p^s 56 in Barr^I" was sent to Halifax in the mid-1750s. Joseph Mauger, Halifax, to Jonathan Trumbull, Lebanon [Connecticut], 9 March 1756. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers. MS. in HSP.
- ³¹ PRO, Customs 15.
- ³² Anne Bezanson, Robert D. Gray, and Miriam Hussey, Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 114.
- ³³ E. Long, History of Jamaica, I, 501.
- ³⁴ Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/576.
- ³⁵ Anne Bezanson, et al., Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, p. 108.
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Supplement to the Connecticut Gazette, 5 November 1763; Providence Gazette, 20 October 1762; Ibid., 25 December 1762; PRO, C.O.5/1228, f.36.
- ³⁸ "Captain McConnell Tells me it Could [be bought] for 3 1/2 d. per lb. Irish money." Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Adam Schoals, Derry, 29 November 1758. Beekman Papers, I, 333.
- ³⁹ Same to Bradshaw & Alexander, Belfast, 4 February 1763. Ibid., 428.
- ⁴⁰ Robert Pillson, New York, to Harry Brabazon, Drogheda, 5 April 1764. Townley Hall Papers. NLI, MS.10,360/4.
- ⁴¹ Bill of Lading for Schooner Lark, Cork to Barbados, 15 February 1772. Hudson-Rogers Papers, Hudson Papers. MS. in NYPL; New York Mercury, 5 January 1767.
- ⁴² Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Bradshaw & Alexander, Belfast, 27 July 1761. Beekman Papers, I, 386.
- ⁴³ L. M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800 (New York, 1968), p.

19.

⁴⁴PRO, Customs 15.

⁴⁵Proceedings of the Committee of Commons to Examine the State of the Export of Provisions, 1777. NLI, MS.14,157, p. 36.

⁴⁶Richard Pares, Yankees and Creoles: The Trade between North America and the West Indies before the American Revolution (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956), p. 68.

⁴⁷Proceedings of the Committee of Commons to Examine the State of the Export of Provisions, 1777. NLI, MS.14,157, p. 13.

⁴⁸Sile Ni Chinneide, "A New View of Cork City in 1790," JCHAS, LXXVIII (January-June 1973), 11.

⁴⁹PRO, Customs 15.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Anne Bezanson, et al., Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, pp. 96-116, 339.

⁵²John Watts, New York, to Paul & James Benson, Cork, 24 January 1764. Letter Book of John Watts, 222.

⁵³Same to Joseph Maynard, Barbados, 9 May 1762. Ibid., 45.

⁵⁴Anne Bezanson, et al., Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, pp. 404-405.

⁵⁵PRO, Customs 15; A. Young, Tour in Ireland, I, 182.

⁵⁶17 & 18 George III, c. 22 [Irish]; Journals of the Irish House of Commons, IX, 450.

⁵⁷Agents for British Sugar Islands in America to Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1741. PRONI, T.827/2175.

⁵⁸Governor Lyttleton to Board of Trade, 9 July 1763. PRO, C.O.137/33/19.

⁵⁹Observations on the Embargo lately laid on the Exports of Beef, Pork, and Butter from Ireland (London, 1756), pp. 14-15; On the relative cheapness of salted herring in the British West Indies, as well as its importance in the slave diet, see Richard B. Sheridan, "The Crisis of Slave Subsistence in the British West Indies during and after the American Revolution," WMQ, XXXIII (October 1976), 621, 640.

⁶⁰Testimony of Michael Fox, Merchant of Cork. "Report of the Committee appointed to consider the Present State fo the Fishery," Journals of the Irish House of Commons, XI, App. ccclxxxiv; Alexander Houstoun & Co., Glasgow, to William Dickson [supercargo], 4 March 1776. Alexander Houstoun & Co., Foreign Letterbook. Microfilm of MS. in LC; Same to William Dickson, Cork, 6 August 1776. Ibid.; Same to Same, 13 August 1776. Ibid.

⁶¹A. Young, Tour in Ireland, I, 182.

⁶²Journals of the Irish House of Commons, IX, p. 450.

⁶³ James Hudson, Passage [Co. Cork], to Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, 9 February 1772. Hudson-Rogers Papers, Hudson Papers; Same to Same, 18 February 1772. Ibid.

⁶⁴ Pennsylvania Journal, 18 November 1762; New York Mercury, 25 January 1762; Sile Ni Chinneide, "A New View of Cork City," p. 3; Malachy Postlethwayt, The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce (2 vols., London, 1751) I, 1002.

⁶⁵ Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, to Joseph Fuller, Cork, 28 August 1768. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book, 1762-1781. MS. in HSP.

⁶⁶ "Two Letters of Benjamin Chandlee," edited by Olive Goodbody, QH, LXIV (Autumn 1975), 111.

⁶⁷ New York Mercury, 17 and 24 December 1753, 21 January 1754, and 1 January 1759.

⁶⁸ Waddell Cunningham, New York, to George Dunlope, Ballycastle, 10 May 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham.

⁶⁹ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Adam Schoals, Derry, 29 November 1758. Beekman Papers, I, 333.

⁷⁰ E. Long, History of Jamaica, I, 501, 505.

⁷¹ PRO, Customs 16/1, f. 83.

⁷² Peter Vandervoort, New York, to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, 14 October 1767. Shaw [Nathaniel & Thomas] Papers. MS. in Sterling Library, Yale University.

⁷³ W. T. Baxter, House of Hancock, p. 114.

⁷⁴ For a history of the Irish potato in pre-Revolutionary America, see Mary Tolford Wilson, "Americans Learn to Grow the Irish Potato," NEQ, XXXII (September, 1959), 333-350.

⁷⁵ William Douglass, A Summary, Historical and Political, of the British Settlements in North America (2 vols., Boston, 1755) II, 181; Ezra Stiles, Extracts from the Itineraries and other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, D.D., L.L.D., 1755-1794, with a Selection from his Correspondence, edited by Franklin Bowditch Dexter (New Haven, 1916), p. 463.

⁷⁶ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Adam Schoals, Derry, 22 January 1760. Beekman Papers, I, 351.

⁷⁷ New York Mercury, 1 December 1755 and 1 January 1759; New York Gazette, 6 January 1772.

⁷⁸ Greg, Cunningham & Co., New York, to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, 24 October 1765. Shaw [Nathaniel & Thomas] Papers.

⁷⁹ New York Mercury, 26 January 1767; John Watts, New York, to Paul & James Benson, Cork, 24 January 1764. Letter Book of John Watts, 222.

⁸⁰ Pennsylvania Chronicle, 28 October 1762; Pennsylvania Journal, 24 October 1762.

⁸¹New York Mercury, 25 January 1762.

⁸²William O'Sullivan, The Economic History of Cork City (Cork, 1937), p. 168.

⁸³Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Annesly Stewart, Dublin, 4 March 1760. Beekman Papers, I, 354; Same to Bradshaw & Alexander, Belfast, 29 February 1760. Ibid.

⁸⁴Same to Annesly Stewart, Dublin, 4 March 1760. Ibid., 355.

⁸⁵Same to Bradshaw & Alexander, Belfast, 8 July 1760. Ibid., 360.

⁸⁶PRO, C.O.5/1228/36.

⁸⁷Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Thomas Greg, Belfast, 22 May 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham; New York Mercury, 26 January 1767; Pennsylvania Chronicle, 8 February 1768; New York Gazette, 11 January 1773.

⁸⁸John Watts, New York, to Samuel Horner, Dublin, 21 December 1762. Letter Book of John Watts, 110-111.

CHAPTER 8: LINEN

¹William Faris, North Carolina, to William Dobbs, Ireland, 18 February 1750. Dobbs Papers, PRONI, D.162/48.

²Marc Egnal, "The Economic Development of the Thirteen Colonies, 1720-1775," WMQ, XXXII (April 1975), 205.

³U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970 (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1975), II, 1168; PRO, Customs 15; Ibid., Customs 16/1.

⁴Michael Andrews, Comber [Co. Down], to Henry and Margaret Robson, North Shields [England], 26 August 1775. Letterbook of John and Michael Andrews. MS. in possession of Issac Andrews & Son, Ltd., Belfast.

⁵John and Michael Andrews, Comber [Co. Down], to Richard Radcliffe, Cockermouth [England], 7 October 1771. Ibid.

⁶Willcocks Phelps, Dublin, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 20 September 1770. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/260.

⁷John Hull, Boston, to John Winsley [supercargo], 6 December 1672. John Hull's Letter Book, 1670-1685. MS. in AAS.

⁸Abridgm^t of the Statutes . . . relating to y^e Exportation of the Hemen & Flaxen Manufacture, c. 1732. Waring MSS. PRONI, D.695/174; 7 & 8 William III, c. 39 [English].

⁹L. M. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland since 1660 (London, 1972), p. 24; PRO, Customs 15.

¹⁰W. H. Crawford, "The Rise of the Linen Industry," The Formation of the Irish Economy, edited by L. M. Cullen (Cork, 1969), 26.

- ¹¹ Gilbert Allix & Crespin, to J. I. Neufville, 5 September 1738, quoted in N. B. Harte, "The Rise of Protection and the English Linen Trade, 1690-1790," Textile History and Economic History, edited by N. B. Harte and K. G. Ponting (Manchester, 1973), 95.
- ¹² Abridgm^t of the Statutes. Waring MSS. PRONI, D.695/174; 3 & 4 Anne, c. 8 [English].
- ¹³ W. H. Crawford, "Rise of the Linen Industry," 25.
- ¹⁴ Journals of the Irish House of Commons, II, 384.
- ¹⁵ For the political background to passage of the Linen Act of 1705, see Francis G. James, Ireland in the Empire, 1688-1770 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973), pp. 62-64; Petitions were received from linen interests at Manchester, Preston, Liverpool, and Warrington in Lancashire protesting the direct export from Ireland. N. B. Harte, "Rise of Protection," 92n.
- ¹⁶ Report from the Commissioners of the Customs upon the Act for the Linen Manufacture in Ireland, 23 December 1703. BL, Add. MSS. 21,133, ff. 48-49; 3 & 4 Anne, c. 8 [English].
- ¹⁷ Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations [1704 to February 1708/9], p. 286.
- ¹⁸ BL, Add. MSS. 21,133, ff. 48-49.
- ¹⁹ Earl of Sunderland, to Secretary Stanhope, Bath, 4 June 1715. PRONI, T.448/45.
- ²⁰ 1 George I, c. 26 [English]; F. G. James, Ireland in the Empire, p. 89.
- ²¹ 3 George I, c. 21 [English]; Conrad Gill, The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry (Oxford, 1925), pp. 66-67; 4 George I, c. 6 [Irish].
- ²² BL, Add. MSS. 21,133, f. 28.
- ²³ 3 George I, c. 7 [English]; N. B. Harte, "Rise of Protection," 98n.
- ²⁴ 3 George I, c. 21 & 22 [English].
- ²⁵ Statement on Irish Trade by S[ackville] H[amilton], 17 April 1777. Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Lothian Preserved at Blicking Hall, Norfolk, HMC (London, 1905), pp. 302-303.
- ²⁶ Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1732, p. 13.
- ²⁷ 15 George II, c. 29 [English].
- ²⁸ 11 March 1744. "Report from the Committee to whom the Petition of the Merchants, and Others, of Great Britain and Ireland. Dealers in, and Manufacturers of, Linens, Tapes, and Threads . . . was referred," Reports from Committees of the House of Commons (15 vols., London, 1773-1801), II, 71.
- ²⁹ 18 George II, c. 25 [English].

³⁰ 26 April 1751. "Report from the Committee relating to Chequed and Striped Linens," Reports from Committees of the House of Commons, II, 296.

³¹ Ibid., 290, 307, 315-316.

³² John Lord Sheffield, Observations on the Commerce of the American States (London, 1784), p. 34.

³³ Nathaniel Newnham, Jr., to Duke of Newcastle, 19 February 1744. BL, Add. MSS. 32,704, f. 71.

³⁴ Ibid.; Richard Pares, War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-1763 (London, 1963), p. 510.

³⁵ Papers of Benjamin Franklin, XI, 314n.

³⁶ John Horner, The Linen Trade of Europe during the Spinning-Wheel Period (Belfast, 1920), pp. 235-236.

³⁷ Thomas Allen, London, to Dublin Castle, 21 May 1770. PRONI, D.572/3/1/68.

³⁸ Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, to Joseph Fuller, Cork, 28 April 1769. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book, 1762-1781. MS. in HSP.

³⁹ William Birkbeck & Co., Settle [England], to Coates & Reynell, Philadelphia, 4 September 1774. Reynell & Coates MSS. Baker Library, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University.

⁴⁰ 25 May 1773. "Report from the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Present State of the Linen Trade in Great Britain and Ireland," Reports from Committees of the House of Commons, III, 133.

Average bounties paid per year:	1744	:0.96
	1745	:1.13
	1746	:1.15
	1747	:1.24
	1748	:1.27
	1749	:1.50

⁴¹ Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, to Joshua Ashton, Dublin, 8 July 1768. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book.

⁴² Malachy Postlethwayt, Britain's Commercial Interest Explained and Improved (2 vols., London, 1757), I, 160-161.

⁴³ Two bills of lading for sloop Endeavour, James Hudson, master. 28 July and 10 August 1753. Hudson Collection, Hudson-Roper Papers. MS. in NYPL.

⁴⁴ L. M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800 (New York, 1968), pp. 134-137.

⁴⁵ C. Gill, Rise of the Irish Linen Industry, p. 178.

⁴⁶ John Watts, New York, to Edward Antill, 29 July 1763. Letterbook of John Watts: Merchant and Councillor of New York [New York Historical Society, Collections, LXI] (New York, 1928), 163.

- ⁴⁷ 25 May 1773. "Report from the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Present State of the Linen Trade in Great Britain and Ireland." Reports from Committees of the House of Commons, III, 133.
- ⁴⁸ C. Gill, Rise of the Irish Linen Industry, pp. 174-177.
- ⁴⁹ Joshua Johnson, London, to Wallace, Davidson & Johnson, Annapolis, 26 July 1771, Joshua Johnson's Letterbook, 1771-1774: Letters from a Merchant in London to His Partners in Maryland, edited by Jacob M. Price, London Record Society, XV (London, 1979), pp. 7-8.
- ⁵⁰ William Birkbeck & Co. Settle [England], to Coates & Reynell, Philadelphia, 4 September 1774. Reynell & Coates MSS.
- ⁵¹ William Fisher, Boston, to Champion & Hayley, London, 13 May 1765. Letterbook of William Fisher, Boston. Codman Papers. MS. in MHS.
- ⁵² John Peach Bristol, to James Beekman, New York, 26 February 1759. Beekman Papers, II, 625.
- ⁵³ PRO, Customs 15.
- ⁵⁴ Invoice for three boxes of linen shipped aboard the ship Elizabeth & Catherine, Belfast to New York, 8 April 1735. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/501.
- ⁵⁵ Invoice and letter. Thomas Greer, Dungannon, to John Reynell, Philadelphia, 3 September 1770. Reynell & Coates MSS.
- ⁵⁶ William Birkbeck & Co., Settle [England], to Coates & Reynell, Philadelphia, 4 September 1774. Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ Israel Pemberton, Philadelphia, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 20 January 1770. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/228.
- ⁵⁸ Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, to Joseph Fuller, Cork, 28 April 1769. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book.
- ⁵⁹ Arthur M. Schlesinger, The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution (New York, 1968), pp. 129, 131n.
- ⁶⁰ Samuel and John Morton, Philadelphia, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 4 April 1769. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/178.
- ⁶¹ Joshua Fisher & Sons, Philadelphia, to Same, 20 October 1769. Ibid., 204.
- ⁶² Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Arthur Helms [ship captain], 23 January 1748. The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1746-1799, edited by Philip L. White (3 vols., New York, 1956), I, 40 [hereafter cited as Beekman Papers].
- ⁶³ Same to John and David Ross, Newry, 16 January 1760. Ibid., 350.
- ⁶⁴ William Lux, Baltimore, to William Alexander, Dublin, 17 December 1765. Letterbook of William Lux, Baltimore, 1763-1768. Microfilmed copy in NYHS.
- ⁶⁵ Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, to Joshua Ashton, Dublin, 8 July 1768. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book.

- ⁶⁶ Copies of the Several Memorials presented to the Linen Board (Dublin, 1763), pp. 3-4.
- ⁶⁷ PRO, Customs 15.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ⁶⁹ Daniel Mussenden and John Gordon, Belfast, to Messrs. John McEvers, et al., New York, 8 April 1735. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D. 354/690.
- ⁷⁰ Arthur Young, A Tour in Ireland, 1776-1779, edited by A. W. Hutton (2 vols., Shannon, Ireland, 1970) I, 144; Norman E. Gamble, "The Business Community and Trade of Belfast, 1767-1800," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Dublin, 1978), pp. 301-302.
- ⁷¹ Gerard G. Beekman, New York to Arthur Helms [Ship Captain], 23 January 1748. Beekman Papers, I, 40.
- ⁷² PRO, Customs 15.
- ⁷³ Ibid.
- ⁷⁴ Archibald Balfour, Waterford, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 22 January 1767. Greer Family Papers, PRONI, D.1044/120.
- ⁷⁵ Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser, 27 September 1765.
- ⁷⁶ Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, to Joseph Fuller, Cork, 3 July 1769. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book.
- ⁷⁷ Archibald Balfour, Waterford, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 6 December 1766. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/112; Samuel Morton, Philadelphia, to Same, 6 November 1766. Ibid. PRONI, D.1044/108.
- ⁷⁸ Samuel Morton, Philadelphia, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 6 November 1766. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/108.
- ⁷⁹ Alice Effie Murray, A History of the Commercial and Financial Relations between England and Ireland from the Period of the Restoration (Freeport, New York, 1970), pp. 125-127; George O'Brien, Economic History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 193-194.
- ⁸⁰ Samuel and John Morton, Philadelphia, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 20 October 1770. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/263.
- ⁸¹ Henry and John Lloyd, Stamford [Connecticut], to Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, 19 January 1756. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/715.
- ⁸² Michael Andrews, Comber [Co. Down], to Henry and Margaret Robson, North Shields [England], 26 August 1775. Letterbook of John and Michael Andrews.
- ⁸³ Samuel and John Morton, Philadelphia, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 25 November 1769. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/208.
- ⁸⁴ Robert Ross, Some Considerations on the Improvement of the Linen Manufacture in Ireland (Dublin, 1735), p. 26-27.
- ⁸⁵ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Cunningham and Gardner, Philadelphia, 26 November 1750. Beekman Papers, I, 134.

⁸⁶ Frances Manwaring Caulkins, History of Norwich (Hartford, 1866), p. 311; Massachusetts Gazette, 29 October 1772; Newport Mercury, 12 October 1767; New London Gazette, 26 August 1768; New York Gazette, 17 December 1770; New York Mercury, 1 December 1755 and 8 January 1762; Pennsylvania Chronicle, 30 November 1767 and 6 February 1769; Pennsylvania Journal, 2 December 1762 and 15 March 1770.

⁸⁷ Issac Norris, Philadelphia, to Joseph Hoar and Samuel Pike, Cork, 26 December 1730, quoted in Anne Bezanson, Robert D. Gray, and Miriam Hussey, Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 267.

⁸⁸ Victor S. Clark, History of Manufactures in the United States (3 vols., Washington, D. C., 1929), I, 110.

⁸⁹ PRO, Customs 16/1.

⁹⁰ Thomas Clifford, Philadelphia, to Abel Chapman, Whitby [England], 25 July 1767, quoted in Anne Bezanson, et al., Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 263.

⁹¹ Hugh Wallace, New York, to Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, 18 June 1755. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/698.

⁹² PRO, C.O.5/1228.

⁹³ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to David and William Ross, Newry, 4 March 1764. Beekman Papers, I, 461.

⁹⁴ Henry and John Lloyd, Stamford [Connecticut], to Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, 19 January 1756. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/715.

⁹⁵ Samuel Morton, Philadelphia, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 6 November 1766. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/108.

⁹⁶ Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to Henry Spence, Coleraine, 9 December 1771. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson, 1765-1774. Lee Family Papers. MS. in MHS.

⁹⁷ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Channing and Challinor, Rhode Island, 29 June 1748. Beekman Papers, I, 51; Same to James Holmes, Rhode Island, 3 November 1750, Ibid., 128; Same to Samuel Fowler, Rhode Island, 12 February 1764, Ibid., 459-460; Same to Same, 16 June 1764, Ibid., 467-468.

⁹⁸ Samuel and John Morton, Philadelphia, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 25 November 1769. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D/1044/208.

⁹⁹ Pennsylvania Journal, 25 October 1770.

¹⁰⁰ New York Gazette, 1 January 1770.

¹⁰¹ 26 April 1751. "Report from the Committee relating to Chequed and Striped Linens," 296.

¹⁰² Reynell & Coates MSS. Vol. 1, 1744-1785.

¹⁰³ New York Gazette, 15 January 1770.

¹⁰⁴ Samuel and John Morton, Philadelphia, to Thomas Greer,

Dungannon, 25 September 1770. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/259.

¹⁰⁵ Benjamin Fuller, Philadelphia, to Messrs. John Scott and James Henderson, Belfast, 26 August 1768. Benjamin Fuller Letter Book.

¹⁰⁶ Templeton & Stewart Receipt Book. MS. at Columbia University.

¹⁰⁷ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Cunningham and Gardner, Philadelphia, 18 November 1750. Beekman Papers, I, 133; New York Mercury, 11 and 18 January 1762; New York Gazette, 8 January 1770.

¹⁰⁸ M. Egnal, "Economic Development of the Thirteen Colonies," 202.

¹⁰⁹ V. S. Clark, History of Manufactures, I, 35, 37.

¹¹⁰ William B. Weedon, Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789 (2 vols., Boston, 1890), II, 494-495.

¹¹¹ V. S. Clark, History of Manufactures, I, 154.

¹¹² Newport Mercury, 26 October 1767.

¹¹³ M. Egnal, "Economic Development of the Thirteen Colonies," 193-9.

¹¹⁴ L. M. Cullen, Economic History of Ireland, pp. 24-25, 59-64; W. H. Crawford, "Rise of the Linen Industry," 24.

¹¹⁵ Gov. Wentworth to the Lords of Trade, 25 March 1768. Cited in V. S. Clark, History of Manufactures, I, 141.

¹¹⁶ M. Egnal, "Economic Development of the Thirteen Colonies," 205.

¹¹⁷ William Fisher, Boston, to Champion & Hayley, London, 13 May 1765. Letterbook of William Fisher, Boston. Codman Papers. MS. in MHS.

¹¹⁸ James and Drinker, Philadelphia, to David Barclay & Sons, London, 4 November 1761. James and Drinker Letters, 1772-1786. Drinker Papers. MS. in HSP; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to David & William Ross, Newry, 14 January 1766. Beekman Papers, I, 490.

¹¹⁹ 100 bushels of wheat produced by a small farmer in Pennsylvania in the mid-1740s could command 150 yards of woollen cloth. The same 100 bushels of wheat could command over 250 yards of the same cloth in the early 1760s. M. Egnal, "Economic Development of the Thirteen Colonies," 205.

CHAPTER 9: FLAXSEED

¹ Jared Eliot, Essays Upon Field Husbandry in New England (Boston, 1760), p. 55.

² Thomas Prior, An Essay to Encourage and Extend the Linen-Manufacture in Ireland, by Premiums and Other Means, Second Edition (Dublin, 1749), p. 23.

³ Joseph Trumbull, London, to Richard Jackson, 24 January 1764.

Joseph Trumbull Papers, 1754-1766. MS. in CHS.

⁴Observations upon the Linen Trade . . . by the Drapers of Belfast (Belfast, 1763), p. 5.

⁵Journals of the Irish House of Commons, III, cccxxiv.

⁶Ibid.

⁷T. Prior, Essay to Encourage and Extend the Linen-Manufacture in Ireland, p. 24.

⁸"It may not be improper to remark another rivitted Prejudice that prevails, that the Seed raised at home is not as good as what is imported, and that every Time it is sown, it degenerates." Directions for the Better Cultivation of Land for Flax-Seed and for the Management of Flax (Dublin, 1764), 10n; The Farmer's Compleat Guide (London, 1760), pp. 260-261.

⁹Malachy Postlethwayt, The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce (2 vols., London, 1751), II, 80; T. Prior, Essay to Encourage and Extend the Linen-Manufacture in Ireland, pp. 6, 23.

¹⁰Pennsylvania Chronicle, 21 March 1768.

¹¹Journals of the Irish House of Commons, VII, lxxxviii.

¹²Robert Ross, Some Considerations on the Improvement of the Linen Manufacture in Ireland (Dublin, 1735), p. 5; Belfast News-Letter, 21 February 1766.

¹³Journals of the Irish House of Commons, III, cccxxv.

¹⁴Ibid., IX, clviii-clix; John Lord Sheffield, Observation on the Commerce of the American States (London, 1784), pp. 103-4; "The Dutch . . . have hardly any land cultivated for flax." Duke of Newcastle, Whitehall, to Primate Boulter [Dublin], 5 February 1736. PRONI, T.778; The Farmer's Compleat Guide, pp. 260-261.

¹⁵T. Prior, Essay to Encourage and Extend the Linen-Manufacture in Ireland, p. 23.

¹⁶Arthur Young, A Tour in Ireland, 1776-1779, edited by A. W. Houtton (2 vols., Shannon, Ireland, 1970) I, 120.

¹⁷T. Prior, Essay to Encourage and Extend the Linen-Manufacture in Ireland, pp. 23-24.

¹⁸Observations upon the Linen Trade, p. 5; Philip L. White, The Beekmans of New York in Politics and Commerce, 1647-1877 (New York, 1956), pp. 242-243.

¹⁹T. Prior, Essay to Encourage and Extend the Linen-Manufacture in Ireland, p. 23.

²⁰PRO, Customs 15.

²¹Journals of the Irish House of Commons, III, xxxiv.

²²4 Anne, c. 4 [Irish].

- ²³ 6 Anne, c. 9 [Irish].
- ²⁴ Journals of the Irish House of Commons, III, xxxiv, xxxvi.
- ²⁵ 6 Anne, c. 9 [Irish]; Through oversight, the Act of 1707 failed to include the word 'flaxseed' in the technical language that dealt with the :5: bounty on imported foreign seed and remained inoperative until passage of amending legislation in 1709: 8 Anne, c. 12 [Irish].
- ²⁶ 2 George I, c. 13 [Irish].
- ²⁷ 7 George II, c. 10 [Irish]. The Act of 1733 required an oath by the importing merchant that the flaxseed upon which the bounty was paid was good seed and the growth of the previous summer.
- ²⁸ Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to William & John Ogle, Newry, 31 December 1770. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson, 1765-1774. Lee Family Papers. MS. in MHS; PRO, Customs 1/96, ff. 59, 80, 124.
- ²⁹ Daniel Mussenden & John Gordon, Belfast, to John McEvers, New York, 8 April 1735. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D354/693; L. M. Cullen, An Economic History of Ireland since 1660 (London, 1972), p. 95.
- ³⁰ T. Prior, Essay to Encourage and Extend the Linen-Manufacture in Ireland, p. 6.
- ³¹ "If the Winter Months of January, February, and March should be attended with tempestuous easterly Winds, in which Case no Ships with Flax-seed from America could come here Time enough for the sowing Season, and then the whole Linen Manufacture would be totally destroyed for an entire Year at least." Journals of the Irish House of Commons, IX, clix; John Colhoun, Strabane, to Earl of Abercorn, 8 February 1747. Abercorn Papers. PRONI, T.2541/IA1/1C/34; Observations upon the Linen Trade, pp. 3-4.
- ³² Journals of the Irish House of Commons, IX, clvii.
- ³³ A. Young, Tour in Ireland, I, 132-133.
- ³⁴ According to Stephenson, "If our Flax is not considerably lowered in Price, it will be impossible for us to ever enter into Competition with the Russians or Germans in the coarse Branches of the Linen Manufacture at foreign Markets." Journals of the Irish House of Commons, IX, clvii.
- ³⁵ Ibid., clix.
- ³⁶ 3 George III, c. 34 [Irish].
- ³⁷ "Many complaints have been made by the country people, of their often getting unsound seed, which never grows." Observations upon the Linen Trade, p. 5.
- ³⁸ "Some of our own [Irish] Merchants, taking advantage of our Want of Laws to punish such Frauds, send over to Scotland, and buy there, perhaps at half Price, unsound and damnified Flax-seed, such as the Laws will not permit the vending of there, and import such Seed here, vend it, and sell it as sound and good." Observations on the Several Matters offered to the Linen Board as Materials for a Linen Bill (Dublin, 1763), p. 8; Samuel and Thomas Fludyer, London to James Beekman, New York, 26 July 1766. The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1746-1799, edited by Philip L.

White (3 vols., New York, 1956), II, 706 [hereafter cited as Beekman Papers]; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Henry Lloyd, Boston, 6 April 1767. Ibid., I, 510-511; Belfast News-Letter, 7 and 14 April 1767.

³⁹Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to Issac Sears, New York, 28 January 1768. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson.

⁴⁰John Morton, Philadelphia, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 16 December 1768. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/161.

⁴¹William & John Ogle, Newry, to Trumbull, Fitch & Trumbull, Norwich [Connecticut], 20 June 1766. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers. MS. in CHS; In spite of weak enforcement, the Act of 1763 appears to have been a deterrent to the accumulation of large inventories of old seed. Cork Evening Post, 29 January, 5 and 30 March 1767.

⁴²"Extract of a Letter from Ireland, dated June 1, 1772, 'The law in force respecting flaxseed has rendered the sales of that article very precarious, there having been a verdict against Mr. Usher, of Dublin, for the value of £3 per hogshead, because it did not produce a sufficient crop. - A precedent which makes that trade very dangerous: For instance, I suppose 100 hogsheads of flaxseed to be consigned to me; I sell them, and the seed, either from the badness of the season, improper culter, or soil, doth not grow, then I am liable to an action for its value, and the £3 per hogshead more. Pray how am I to recover the freight (and £3 per hogshead) from any employer?'" New London Gazette, 4 September 1772.

⁴³Journals of the Irish House of Commons, IX, clviii.

⁴⁴PRO, C.O.5/1225/20.

⁴⁵Van Horne, McEvers, & Roosevelt, New York, to Daniel Mussenden & John Gordon, Belfast, 9 December 1734. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/687.

⁴⁶PRO, Customs 15; Anne Bezanson, Robert D. Gray, and Miriam Hussey, Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 68-69.

⁴⁷Munster Journal, 3 August 1749; W. T. Baxter, The House of Hancock: Business in Boston, 1724-1775 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1945), p. 114.

⁴⁸Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to William Snell, London, 16 November 1749. Beekman Papers, I, 92.

⁴⁹PRO, Customs 15.

⁵⁰PRO, C.O.5/1227/185-188a, 194-197; PRO, C.O.5/1228/90-91, 93-94.

⁵¹PRO, Customs 15; Virginia Gazette, 9 April 1767.

⁵²PRO, Customs 15.

⁵³A. Bezanson, et al. Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, pp. 70-74, 406-416.

⁵⁴Journals of the Irish House of Commons, IX, clix; Journal of Joseph Andrews, 1752-1787. MS. at MHS; George L. Clark, Silas Deane: A Connecticut Leader in the American Revolution (New York, 1913), p. 11.

⁵⁵P. L. White, Beekmans of New York, p. 236.

⁵⁶ Samuel Powel, Jr., Philadelphia, to David Barclay & Son, London, 16 June 1743. Cited in A. Bezanson, et al., Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, p. 267.

⁵⁷ John Lord Sheffield, Observations on the Commerce of the American States (London, 1784), p. 30; Percy W. Bidwell and John I. Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860 (Washington, D. C., 1925), pp. 134, 250; P. L. White, Beekmans of New York, p. 236.

⁵⁸ Acc'ts of Eli & Thaddeus Beecher, 1767+. MS.B-4 New Haven County Historical Society; Ledger of Thomas Clark [b. 1690]. MS.83 New Haven County Historical Society; 14 November 1763. Account Book of Daniel Goodwin, MS. in CHS; 10 November 1755. Josiah Dwight, Daybook. MS. at Connecticut Valley Historical Society [Springfield, Massachusetts]. Cited in Margaret E. Martin, "Merchants and Trade of the Connecticut River Valley, 1750-1820," SCSH, XXIV (October 1938-July 1939), 6.

⁵⁹ W. T. Baxter, "Accounting in Colonial America," Studies in the History of Accounting, edited by A. C. Littleton and B. S. Yamey (Homewood, Illinois, 1956).

⁶⁰ Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to James King, Portsmouth [New Hampshire], 21 October 1769. Jonathan Jackson Letterbook; M. E. Martin, "Merchants and Trade of the Connecticut River Valley," 6.

⁶¹ John O. Kelly, Warren [Rhode Island], to Christopher Champlin, Newport [Rhode Island], 20 October 1773. Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800 (2 vols., [Vol. IX and X of Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, 7th Series], 1914 and 1915), I, 456-457; Connecticut Journal, 26 October and 2 November 1770.

⁶² Richard L. Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee: Character and Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765 (New York, 1970), pp. 119-120; Connecticut Courant, 28 October 1765.

⁶³ The Colonial Merchant: Sources and Readings, edited by Stuart Bruchey (New York, 1966), p. 2.

⁶⁴ Connecticut Courant, 29 October 1764; Newport Mercury, 21 September and 26 October 1767, 21 September 1772; New London Gazette, 26 August 1765, 2 October 1772, 13 and 20 August 1773.

⁶⁵ Asa Champlin, to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 17 September 1773. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 457.

⁶⁶ New-London Gazette, 24 September 1773.

⁶⁷ Asa Champlin, to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 17 September 1773. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 457; Connecticut Courant, 2 September 1765; Newport Mercury, 21 September 1767 and 21 September 1772; New London Gazette, 13 August 1773; Gaspare John Saladino, "The Economic Revolution in Late Eighteenth-Century Connecticut" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1964), p. 3.

⁶⁸ "As you are bound to New England I desire You would truck it [220 bushels of salt] away for flaxseed to the Most advantage. It may be you Can git Two Bushels flaxseed and 1/4 for 1 bushel Salt." Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Captain Bloomer, New York, 5 August 1748. Beekman Papers, I, 57; Same to Cunningham & Schoals, Derry, 29 November 1756.

Ibid., 286; Same to Same, 2 February 1757. Ibid., 293-294; From Wethersfield [Connecticut], "there is 30,000 Bushells of Flax Seed sent to New York yearly, in Exchange for Salt." The Adams' Papers: Diary & Autobiography of John Adams, edited by L. H. Butterfield (4 vols., New York, 1964), II, 98-99 [hereafter cited as John Adams' Diary]; Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, to Greg, Cunningham & Co., New York, 13 August and 15 October 1766. Mercantile Letter Book of Nathaniel Shaw, Jr. [New London Historical Society, Collections, II] (New London, 1933), 181, 184; Newport Mercury, 21 September 1772.

⁶⁹ John McEvers, New York, to Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, 1 August 1734. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D354/684; Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, to Greg, Cunningham & Co., New York, 15 October 1766. Mercantile Letter Book, p. 184; Greg, Cunningham & Co., New York, to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, 24 October 1766. Shaw [Nathaniel & Thomas] Papers, Sterling Library, Yale University; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Peleg Thurston, Rhode Island, July 1747. Beekman Papers, I, 21-22; Holton Johnson, Reedy Island, to Reynell & Coates, Philadelphia, 21 November 1774. Reynell & Coates Mss., 1744-1785. Baker Library, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University; Connecticut Courant, 26 August 1765.

⁷⁰ Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to Isaac Sears, New York, 28 December 1767 and 2 March 1768. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson; M. E. Martin, "Merchants and Trade of the Connecticut River Valley," 144.

⁷¹ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to David & William Ross, Newry, 18 October 1764. Beekman Papers, I, 475.

⁷² John Wright, New York, to [a merchant at Wethersfield], 25 October 1774. Henry R. Stiles, The History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut (New York, 1904), pp. 551-552.

⁷³ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Adam Schoals, Derry, 16 February 1758. Beekman Papers, I, 323; Connecticut Courant, 3 November 1766.

⁷⁴ Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Walter Marshall & Co., Derry, 7 November 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book, 1767-1769. MS. in HSP; Same to Benjamin Gault, Dublin, 25 January 1768. Ibid.; "Nothing but Cash will suit us in payment." Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to Robert Moodie, Boston, 14 September 1769. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson; "As to purchasing the Earlyist Seed to Obtain the Cheepist, There is No such thing with us as its not brought to Our Market as at Philadelphia in Small Parcells." Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to David & William Ross, Newry, 18 October 1764. Beekman Papers, I, 475.

⁷⁵ Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to Isaac Sears, New York, 11 August 1767. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson.

⁷⁶ Gerard G. Beekman, New York to Adam Schoales, Derry, 16 February 1758. Beekman Papers, I, 323; Virginia D. Harrington, The New York Merchant on the Eve of the American Revolution (New York, 1935), p. 73; Anne Bezanson, et al., Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, p. 3.

⁷⁷ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Adam Schoals, Derry, 16 February 1758. Beekman Papers, I, 323.

⁷⁸ Jonathan Lawrence, New York, to Lawrence & Tom, Dover, 8 January 1784. Papers of Jonathan Lawrence, 1765-1817. MS. in NYPL; James Thompson, New York, to Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, 27 July 1756. PRONI, D.354/702.

⁷⁹ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Mark Bellew, Derry, 29 January 1754. Beekman Papers, I, 204.

⁸⁰ "Trade in flaxseed involved the merchants in the risk of more sudden changes in price that was likely to occur in any other Colonial produce." A. Bezanson, et al., Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, p. 75; Woolsey & Salmon, Baltimore, to John Pringle, Philadelphia, 22 October 1774. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook, 1774-1784. The Peter Force Collection. MS. in LC; Richard Hockley, Philadelphia to Thomas Penn, 18 September and 1 November 1742. "Letters from the Letter-Book of Richard Hockley, 1739-1742" PMHB, XXVIII (1904), 35, 38; "There is no article that comes to this market so fluctuating as is Flaxseed and therefore it is impossible to know the proper time to sell." Stocker & Wharton, Philadelphia, to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 4 November 1773. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 459-460.

⁸¹ Joseph Trumbull, London, to Jonathan Trumbull, Lebanon [Connecticut] 16 August 1764. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers.

⁸² A. Bezanson, et al., Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, p. 416.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 339; P. L. White, Beekmans of New York, p. 237;

⁸⁴ Joseph Trumbull, London, to Jonathan Trumbull, Lebanon [Connecticut] 16 August 1764. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers.

⁸⁵ Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to James Forde, Drogheda, 7 January 1769. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson; Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia to William Beath & Co., Newry, 16 December 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book; Henry & John Lloyd, Stamford [Connecticut], to Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, 19 January 1756. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/715.

⁸⁶ Gerard G. Beekman, New York to Cunningham & Schoals, Derry, 17 January 1755. Beekman Papers, I, 243-245; Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Thomas Greg, Belfast, 30 November 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham, New York & Belfast, 1756-1757. MS. in NYHS; V. D. Harrington, New York Merchant, p. 68.

⁸⁷ Greg, Cunningham & Co., New York, to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, 24 October 1766. Shaw [Nathaniel & Thomas] Papers; Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Charles Cunningham, Belfast, 12 September 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham; Robert Pillson, New York, to Harry Brabazon, Drogheda, 5 April 1765. Townley Hall Papers. NLI, MS.10,360/4.

⁸⁸ "Petition of the Dublin Merchants", 8 May 1772. Journals of the Irish House of Commons, VIII, 246-247; Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Theophilus Thompson, Dublin, 31 December 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Cunningham & Gardner, Philadelphia, 18 November 1750. Beekman Papers, I, 133; "Am afraid to Purchase the seed till I am sure of Freight Which I believe I shall not get This Season and am of Oppinion a good deal Already Bought for Gentlemen in your Place will Lay on hand here this year for want of Vessels to Carry it." Same to Samuel McGeaugh, Newry, 3 January 1753. Ibid., 165.

⁸⁹ Same to David & William Ross, Newry, 10 February 1766. Ibid., 494.

⁹⁰ P. L. White, Beekmans of New York, p. 245.

- ⁹¹Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Greg, Cunningham & Co., New York, 23 December 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book; New York Mercury, 18 January 1762.
- ⁹²Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Mathew Henderson, Dublin, 4 December 1750. Beekman Papers, I, 136; Same to Samuel Fowler, Rhode Island, 3 January 1753. Ibid., 165-166.
- ⁹³Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Andrew Orr, Dublin, 9 November and 16 December 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book.
- ⁹⁴Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to John Channing, Rhode Island, 4 November 1747. Beekman Papers, I, 29;
- ⁹⁵Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to Isaac Sears, New York, 2 March 1768. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson.
- ⁹⁶William & John Ogle, Newry, to Trumbull, Fitch & Trumbull, Norwich [Connecticut], 20 June 1766. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers; Robert Pillson, New York, to Harry Brabazon, Drogheda, 5 April 1765. Townley Hall Papers. NLI, MS.10,360/4.
- ⁹⁷New York Mercury, 5 January 1767; Pennsylvania Journal, 11 January 1770; Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to Isaac Sears, New York, 5 November 1767. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson; Edward Forbes, Dublin, to Christopher Champlin and Samuel Fowler & Son, Newport, 19 April 1786. Commerce of Rhode Island, II, 275-176.
- ⁹⁸Same to Same, 24 May 1785. Ibid. 251-252.
- ⁹⁹William & John Ogle, Newry, to Trumbull, Fitch & Trumbull, Norwich [Connecticut], 20 June 1766. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers.
- ¹⁰⁰Edward Forbes, Dublin, to Christopher Champlin and Samuel Fowler & Son, Newport, 24 May 1785. Commerce of Rhode Island, II, 251-252.
- ¹⁰¹Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to William Bant, 22 October 1768. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson.
- ¹⁰²Edward Forbes, Dublin, to Christopher Champlin and Samuel Fowler & Son, Newport, 24 May 1785. Commerce of Rhode Island, II, 251-252; Directions for the Better Cultivation, p. 11n.
- ¹⁰³Robert Pillson, New York, to Harry Brabazon, Drogheda, 5 April 1764. Townley Hall Papers. NLI, MS.10/360/4; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to William Snell, London, 22 December 1749. Beekman Papers, I, 97-98.
- ¹⁰⁴Henry Lloyd, Boston, to Gerard G. Beekman, New York, 14 October 1765. Letterbook of Henry Lloyd, Boston, 1765-1767. MS in Baker Library, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University; V. D. Harrington, New York Merchant, pp. 166, 174-175; John O. Kelly, Warren [Rhode Island], to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 20 October 1773. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 456-457.
- ¹⁰⁵PRO, C.O.5/1226/153, 179, 189-192.
- ¹⁰⁶Ibid. 74-76, 78, 85.
- ¹⁰⁷Ibid. C.O.5/1228/90-94; New York Mercury, 9 March 1767.

¹⁰⁸Woolsey & Salmon, Baltimore to Thomas McCabe, Dublin, 25 January 1775. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook.

¹⁰⁹Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to Samuel & Jonathan Smith, Philadelphia, 1 December 1766. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson; Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, to Thomas & Isaac Wharton, Philadelphia, 4 December 1771. Mercantile Letter Book, p. 233; Woolsey & Salmon, Baltimore, to John Pringle, Philadelphia, 28 October 1774. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook.

¹¹⁰Quoted in Arthur L. Jensen, The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia (Madison, Wisconsin, 1963), p. 86.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Papers of Benjamin Franklin, XIII, 147; Israel Acrelius, A History of New Sweden (Philadelphia, 1874), p. 142.

¹¹³Anne Bezanson, et al., Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, p. 67; Woolsey & Salmon, Baltimore to Thomas McCabe, Dublin, 25 January 1775. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook.

¹¹⁴PRO, CO 5/1227/187, 244; CO 5/1228/6, 90-91; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Cunningham & Gardner, Philadelphia, 18 November 1750. Beekman Papers, I, 133; Same to Thomas Gilbert, Philadelphia, 22 and 29 October 1750. Ibid., 126-128; Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Scott & McMichael, Philadelphia, 6 November 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham; Henry Drinker, Philadelphia, to John Woodward, New York, 8 & 20 January 1774. James & Drinker Letters, 1772-86, Drinker Papers. MS. in HSP.

¹¹⁵Woolsey & Salmon, Baltimore to Thomas McCabe, Dublin, 25 January 1775. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook; Lewis Cecil Grey, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860 (Washington, D.C., 1933), p. 182.

¹¹⁶13 and 22 January 1753. Henry Bromfield & Co., Bill of Lading Book. Bromfield Papers, 1750-1764. MS. at MHS; Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to James Hudson [present], 19 December 1771. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson; Connecticut Courant, 28 October 1765; Supplement to the Connecticut Gazette, 5 November 1763; Limerick Chronicle, 13 March 1769; Connecticut Journal, 9 November 1770.

¹¹⁷Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to James Forde, Drogheda, 7 January 1769. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson.

¹¹⁸William & John Ogle, Newry, to Trumbull, Fitch & Trumbull, Norwich [Connecticut], 20 June 1766. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers; Same to Same, 16 July 1766. Ibid.

¹¹⁹James Hudson, Cork, to Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, 9 February 1772. Hudson-Rogers Papers, Hudson Collection. NYPL.

¹²⁰William Barron, Philadelphia, to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 22 November 1773. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 463.

¹²¹Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Captain Beatty, [present], 11 July 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letterbook; Same to Andrew Orr, Dublin, 11 and 26 July 1767. Ibid.; Pennsylvania Chronicle, 2 and 30 November 1767; Pennsylvania Journal, 25 October 1770; Cork Evening Post, 2 March 1767; Freeman's Journal, 29 March 1766 and 9 March 1775;

Public Gazetteer, 20 April 1773.

¹²²Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme to Walter Marshall & Co., Derry, 21 February 1768. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book.

¹²³William & John Ogle, Newry, to Trumbull, Fitch & Trumbull, Norwich [Connecticut], 20 June 1766. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers; Belfast News-Letter, 14 and 24 January 1766, 3 February 1767; Directions for the Better Cultivation, p. 6; Farmer's Compleat Guide, p. 259.

¹²⁴John Ford, Dublin, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 16 April 1765. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/71; Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Thomas Greg, Belfast, 6 December 1756. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham.

¹²⁵Edward Forbes, Dublin to Christopher Champlin and Samuel Fowler & Son, Newport, 13 March 1784. Commerce of Rhode Island, II, 197

¹²⁶John Ford, Dublin, to Thomas Greer, Dungannon, 16 April 1765. Greer Family Papers. PRONI, D.1044/71.

¹²⁷Freeman's Journal, 2 March 1765; John Colhoun, Strabane, to Earl of Abercorn, 24 April 1753. Abercorn Papers. PRONI, T2541/IA1/2/151.

¹²⁸Belfast News-Letter, 29 February 1740, 28 March 1755, 1 April 1766, and 14 April 1767; Munster Journal, 26 April 1750.

¹²⁹William & John Ogle, Newry, to Trumbull, Fitch & Trumbull, Norwich [Connecticut], 20 June 1766. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers.

¹³⁰Edward Forbes, Dublin to Christopher Champlin and Samuel Fowler & Son, Newport, 5 April 1787. Commerce of Rhode Island, II, 308.

¹³¹Ibid.; Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Thomas Greg, Belfast, 18 May 1756 and 13 January 1757. Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham.

¹³²Cork Evening Post, 8 January, 12 and 19 February, 9 and 30 March, and 13 April 1767; Belfast News-Letter, 28 March 1766; Freeman Journal, 15 April 1766; Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to Captain James Hudson [present], 19 December 1771. Hudson-Rogers Papers.

¹³³Cork Evening Post, 19 February 1767.

¹³⁴Belfast News-Letter, 7 February 1769.

¹³⁵Robert Pillson, Newry, to Philip Brabazon, Carrstown [near Drogheda], 27 March 1762. Townley Hall Papers. NLI, MS. 10,360/4; Belfast News-Letter, 1 May 1739 and 4 April 1766; Munster Journal, 31 July 1749; Dublin Gazette, 18 May 1754.

¹³⁶Edward Forbes, Dublin to Christopher Champlin and Samuel Fowler & Son, Newport, 19 April 1786. Commerce of Rhode Island, II, 275-276.

¹³⁷William & John Ogle, Newry, to Captain James Hudson, Cork, 13 February 1772. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson.

¹³⁸Same to Trumbull, Fitch & Trumbull, Norwich [Connecticut], 20 June 1766. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers.

¹³⁹Ibid.

¹⁴⁰Belfast News-Letter, 7 April 1767.

- ¹⁴¹ Ibid., 14 April 1767.
- ¹⁴² Ibid., 7 April 1767.
- ¹⁴³ Munster Journal, 26 April 1750; Observations upon the Linen Trade by the Drapers of Belfast (Belfast, [1763]), p 5.
- ¹⁴⁴ "Report on the State of the Linen Manufacture" 1773, Journals of the Irish House of Commons, IX, clviii.
- ¹⁴⁵ A. Young, Tour in Ireland, I, 122.
- ¹⁴⁶ James Hamilton, Cross, to Earl of Abercorn, 27 April 1759. Abercorn Papers. PRONI, T.1541/IA1/5/84; Journals of the Irish House of Commons, IX, clviii-clix.
- ¹⁴⁷ Ibid., clviii; Ibid., VIII, 246-247.
- ¹⁴⁸ Observations on the Several Matters offered to the Linen Board, p. 9.
- ¹⁴⁹ Samuel Powel, Jr., Philadelphia, to John Barclay, London, 1 December 1737. Cited in Anne Bezanson, et al. Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania, p. 68; Gerard G. Beekman, New York to William Snell, London, 16 November 1749. Beekman Papers, I, 92-93.
- ¹⁵⁰ Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Bigger & Hulbert, London, 4 July 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme LetterBook; Same to Same, 7 November 1767. Ibid.
- ¹⁵¹ Journals of the Irish House of Commons, VIII, 246-247; Occasionally, an American merchant set up temporarily in one of the Irish ports. In the spring of 1764, for example, Peter Vandervoort of New York arrived at Newry to gather passengers and indentured servants. "He has a Quantity of good New-York Flax-seed, Wheel-Timber, Barrel Staves, and some But Staves and Headings; also some American Pig Iron, which he will sell on the most reasonable Terms." Belfast News-Letter, 6 April 1764.
- ¹⁵² Daniel Mussenden & John Gordon, Belfast, to John McEvers, New York, 8 April 1735. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D354/693.
- ¹⁵³ Same to James Van Horne, New York, 8 April and 11 June 1735. Ibid., 692, 696; Accounts of the Catherine & Elizabeth, 11 July 1735. Ibid., 505; Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Captain Owen Hughes [present], 25 November 1747. Beekman Papers, I, 34; Accounts of Willing & Shipen, Philadelphia. Ledger A, 1729-1740, ff. 75, 93. Account Books Collection. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
- ¹⁵⁴ Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Mark Bellew, Derry, 29 January 1754. Beekman Papers, I, 204.
- ¹⁵⁵ William & John Ogle, Newry, to Trumbull, Fitch & Trumbull, Norwich [Connecticut], 20 June 1766. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers.
- ¹⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁷ Stocker and Wharton, Philadelphia to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 17 February 1774. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 485.
- ¹⁵⁸ Edward Forbes, Dublin to Christopher Champlin and Samuel Fowler

& Son, Newport, 19 April 1786. *Ibid.*, II, 275-276.

¹⁵⁹ Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, to John McEvers, New York, 11 June 1735. *Mussenden Papers*. PRONI D354/695

¹⁶⁰ Fludyer, Marsh, & Hudson, London, to James Beekman, New York, 14 April 1770. *Beekman Papers*, II, 726; Same to Same, 25 March 1773. *Ibid.*, 744-746.

¹⁶¹ Daniel Mussenden, Belfast, to Abraham Vanhorne, New York, 11 July 1735. *Mussenden Papers*. PRONI, D.354/697; Same to John McEvers, New York, 11 June 1735. *Ibid.*, D. 354/695.

¹⁶² William & John Ogle, Newry, to Trumbull, Fitch & Trumbull, Norwich [Connecticut], 20 June 1766. *Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers*.

¹⁶³ The Countryman's Letter Containing a Few Remarks Concerning the Bounty Flax-Seed Imported into Ireland (Dublin, 1731), pp. 2-13; Waddell Cunningham, New York, to Thomas Greg, Belfast, 18 May 1756. *Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham*; Belfast News-Letter, 27 July 1739; Dublin Gazette, 1 January 1740.

¹⁶⁴ Edward Forbes, Dublin to Christopher Champlin and Samuel Fowler & Son, Newport, 24 May 1785. Commerce of Rhode Island, II, 251-252.

¹⁶⁵ PRO, Customs 15.

¹⁶⁶ Stocker & Wharton, Philadelphia, to Christopher Champlin, Newport, 25 October 1774. Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 518.

¹⁶⁷ PRO, Customs 15.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*; Greg, Cunningham & Co. of New York and Belfast shipped large quantities of flaxseed to each of the Irish ports that dealt in the article. *Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham*.

¹⁶⁹ PRO, Customs 15.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Daniel Clark, Philadelphia, to Edward Corkran, Sligo, 5 December 1761. Daniel Clark, *Invoices & Letters, 1760-1762*. MS. in HSP; Waterford Chronicle, 4 June 1771; PRO, Customs 15.

¹⁷² A. Young, Tour in Ireland, I, 277; Limerick Chronicle, 12 March 1770.

CHAPTER 10: OTHER COLONIAL EXPORTS

¹ Malachy Postlethwayt, Britain's Commercial Interest Explained and Improved (2 vols., London, 1757), I, 151; John Bush, Hibernia Curiosa (London, 1769), p. 41; Observations on the Trade between Ireland and the English and Foreign Colonies in America (London, 1731), p. 19.

² Arthur Young, A Tour in Ireland, 1776-1779, edited by A. W. Hutton, (2 vols., Shannon, Ireland, 1970) II, 84.

³Belfast News-Letter, 11 February 1766; Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to James Leckey, Dublin, 2 December 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book, 1767-1769. MS. in HSP; Letter Book of Greg & Cunningham, New York & Belfast, 1756-1757. MS. in NYHS; Invoice of walnut plank for Daniel Mussenden [Belfast], carried aboard the Fanny from Philadelphia, 2 February 1754. Mussenden Papers. PRONI, D.354/541; Woolsey & Salmon, Baltimore, to John Pringle, Philadelphia, 25 January 1775. Woolsey & Salmon Letterbook, 1774-1784. The Peter Force Collection. MS. in LC; William, Samuel & Arthur Bryan, Dublin, to George Bryan, Philadelphia, 24 March 1767. Bryan Papers. MS. in HSP; Same to Same, 31 March 1767. Ibid.

⁴Theophilus Morgan, Jr., Killingworth [Connecticut], to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, 24 November 1764. Shaw [Nathaniel & Thomas] Papers. MS. in Sterling Library, Yale University.

⁵William & John Ogle, Newry, to Trumbull, Fitch & Trumbull, Norwich [Connecticut], 16 July 1766. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., Papers. MS. in CHS.

⁶PRO, Customs 15; J. Frederick Kelly, The Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut (New York, 1963), pp. 21-43.

⁷William & John Ogle, Newry, to Trumbull, Fitch & Trumbull, Norwich [Connecticut], 16 July 1766. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., Papers.

⁸Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Messrs. William Beath & Co., Newry, 7 January 1768. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book.

⁹Same to Lane, Benson & Vaughan, Cork, 25 July 1767. Ibid.; Belfast News-Letter, 12 February 1740.

¹⁰Ibid., 29 March 1766.

¹¹William & John Ogle, Newry, to Trumbull, Fitch & Trumbull, Norwich, 16 July 1766. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. Papers.

¹²Connecticut Courant, 28 October 1765.

¹³Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to William Hogg, Derry, 10 January 1759. The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1746-1799, edited by Philip L. White (3 vols., New York, 1956), I, 337 [hereafter cited as Beekman Papers].

¹⁴4 George III, c. 15 [English].

¹⁵Pennsylvania Assembly: Instructions to Richard Jackson [signed: Benjamin Franklin, speaker], 22 September 1764. Papers of Benjamin Franklin, edited by Leonard W. Labaree, et al. (24 vols., New Haven, 1959-), XI, 351.

¹⁶Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, to Richard Jackson, London, 25 June 1764. Ibid., XI, 235.

¹⁷Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations [January 1764 to December 1767], p. 169.

¹⁸PRO, Customs 15.

¹⁹A. Young, Tour in Ireland, I, 333.

²⁰Virginia Gazette, 12 May 1775.

- ²¹A. Young, Tour in Ireland, I, 333.
- ²²New York Mercury, 8 February 1762.
- ²³Theophilus Morgan, Jr., Killingworth [Connecticut] to Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., New London, 24 November 1766. Shaw [Nathaniel & Thomas] Papers.
- ²⁴Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, to Richard Jackson, London, 25 June 1764. Papers of Benjamin Franklin, XI, 235.
- ²⁵Arthur Cecil Bining, British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 77.
- ²⁶PRO, C.O.5/1228.
- ²⁷Virginia Gazette, 9 April 1767.
- ²⁸⁴ George III, c. 15 [English]; Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, to Richard Jackson, London, 25 June 1764. Papers of Benjamin Franklin, XI, 235.
- ²⁹⁵ George III, c. 45 [English].
- ³⁰Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to Andrew Orr, Derry, 26 July 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme Letter Book.
- ³¹PRO, Customs 15.
- ³²John Lord Sheffield, Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and Present State of Ireland (London, 1785), pp. 323-324.
- ³³"Ship Registers for the Port of Philadelphia, 1726-1775," PMBH, XXVII (1903), 355-370, 482-498; Ibid., XXVIII (1904), 84-100, 218-235, 346-374, 470-507; For a detailed look at the mechanics of purchase and payment for a colonial-built vessel [snow Morning Star] by merchant interests in Ireland, see Gerard G. Beekman, New York, to Thomas & Samuel Knox, and George Alcock, Sligo, 6 September 1757. Beekman Papers, I, 303-304; Same to Same, 18 October 1757. Ibid., 312-313 Same to Same, 25 July 1758. Ibid., 330; Same to Arnold, Albert, & Alexander Nesbitt, London, 6 September 1757. Ibid., 303; Same to Same, 18 October 1757. Ibid., 312; Same to Michal Walsh, Philadelphia, 10 October 1757. Ibid., 311-312; Philip L. White, The Beekmans of New York in Politic and Commerce, 1747-1877 (New York, 1956), p. 291n.
- ³⁴Frances Manwaring Caulkins, History of New London, Connecticut (New London, 1852), p. 242.
- ³⁵Cork Evening Post, 26 March 1767.
- ³⁶Dublin Journal, 2 April 1765; PRO, C.O.5/1228.
- ³⁷Orr, Dunlope & Glenholme, Philadelphia, to John Pooler, Antigua, 5 August 1767. Orr, Dunlope & Glenhome Letter Book.
- ³⁸Virginia Gazette, 9 April 1767; For more on the value of colonial ship sales abroad, see Jacob M. Price, "A Note on the Value of Colonial Exports in Shipping," JEH, XXXVI (September 1976), pp.704-723, and James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America (Cambridge, 1972), pp.

241-245.

³⁹ Richard Hockley, Philadelphia, to Thomas Penn, 1 November 1742. "Letters from Letter-Book of Richard Hockley, 1739-1742," PMHB, XXVIII (1904), 38-39.

⁴⁰ "Report on the State of the Manufacture of Irish Ashes," Journals of the Irish House of Commons, XII, dcllxvi.

⁴¹ Ibid., dcllxvii.

⁴² 4 George III, c. 15 [English].

⁴³ William & John Ogle, Newry, to Trumbull, Fitch & Trumbull, Norwich [Connecticut] 16 July 1766. Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., Papers.

⁴⁴ Belfast News-Letter, 31 January 1769; Even as late as 1771, the legal status of the potash trade to Ireland was unclear in the minds of colonial merchants: "In Case you find their is an enforce Act of Parliament against Landing of Pot Ash in Ireland, you must deliver the Twelve barrells now ship'd by you at Greenock." Jackson & Bromfield, Newburyport, to John Dunn [ship captain], January 1771. Letterbook of Jonathan Jackson, 1765-1774. Lee Family Papers. MS. in MHS.

⁴⁵ Journals of the Irish House of Commons, XII, dcllxvii.

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