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HENRY SHEA (1767-1830) — A TIPPERARY TRADER IN NEWFOUNDLAND

By John Mannion

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Southeastern Tipperary was an important source of servant migration to southeastern Newfoundland from 1760-1830. Virtually every town or parish between Clonmel and Killenaule and westwards to Ballingarry was involved. To the west of this migration-basin large centres such as Cahir and Cashel also contributed, and Thurles was a major source-area well to the north.

The primary point of exit from the county for most of these migrants was the river port of Carrick-on-Suir. Carrick was itself the leading supplier of servant labour from Tipperary. Located on the tidal limits of the Suir, one of Ireland's finest waterways, the town had close commercial and cultural ties with the great port of Waterford, long the pivot of the Irish-Newfoundland trade.

Here young men would gather each spring from Tipperary, south Kilkenny and east Waterford, and set sail for *Talamh an Éisc*. At its peak in the 1770s over 5,000 migrants departed annually from the hinterlands of Waterford and Ross. Initially this migration was largely seasonal; most migrants were home by Christmas, having worked through the summer in a faraway fishery.

But from around 1780 onwards, and especially after 1800, fewer and fewer returned. Seasonal migration had become emigration, and the resident population in Newfoundland grew dramatically. Some 15% of all Irish immigrants in Newfoundland came from Tipperary, compared to 22% from Waterford, 23% from southeast Wexford and 25% from south Kilkenny.

However, compared to Kilkenny, Tipperary emerged as an important source of Irish merchants in the cod fishery, particularly in the island's chief port of St. John's. They included Michael Kavanagh, Geoffrey Morris, Henry Shea and the brothers Laurence and William Smyth of Carrick; John Dillon, Timothy Hogan and John Howley of Clonmel; James Murphy and the O'Donnells of Kilcash; James Fox and Thomas Meagher of Ninemilehouse; Richard Howley of Glengoole near Gortnahoe, Thomas Mara of Thurles; Matthew Gleeson of Nenagh; several unrelated Ryans — and Oliver St. John, the Protestant from the heavily Catholic part of the county.

Although their social origins in the homeland are difficult to trace, and the reasons for the strength of this Tipperary trading class in Newfoundland hard to explain, most came out not as ordinary labourers but as young clerks, storekeepers, artisans, and sons of shopkeepers and publicans or perhaps middling and large farmers, all emigrants with some commercial skills or means.

This article attempts to trace the trading career and emigrant experience of one of them, Henry Shea, who gained considerable status in Newfoundland and is representative of the Tipperary merchant community there.

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Henry Shea was born in 1767 in or near Carrick-on-Suir and settled in St. John's around 1784.¹ Little is known of his background beyond the tradition that he came from a respectable family and that he ran away from home.² There is no evidence that Shea had any close blood relatives in Newfoundland.



In 1786 he commenced work as a clerk for Nathaniel Philips,³ a New Englander who had settled in St. John's around 1774⁴ and had built up a substantial mercantile trade. Shea entered this service during a period of economic adjustment occasioned by war, when St. John's trade with New England, apparently a cornerstone of Philip's early mercantile endeavours, was severely restricted and Britain, Ireland, Spain, Portugal and the West Indies were the principal areas of the colony's commerce overseas.

It was also a period of rapid demographic and economic growth. Cod exports, for example, increased from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a million quintals — 1 quintal = 112 lbs. — in the first five years or so of Shea's residency (1786 to 1791) and the St. John's merchant community had begun their long drive to engross the island's trade.

At the time of Shea's arrival the port accounted for $\frac{2}{5}$ of all tonnage inwards and over $\frac{1}{3}$ of cod exports; by the time he commenced trading on his own account, some 15 years later, St. John's absorbed over $\frac{2}{3}$ of all inbound shipping to the island and over $\frac{1}{2}$ of the cod sent overseas.⁵ Nathaniel Philips shared in this expansion, building up an extensive supply trade in St. John's and along the populous east coast, shipping fish from these places to markets, particularly in Barbados and Portugal.⁶

The late 18th century also witnessed a rapid growth of Irish participation in the fishery, especially in St. John's and the districts nearby. Like most protestant merchants Philips hired catholic Irish agents and accountants to help handle this Irish trade; four of the five employees recorded in his household in 1794, for example, were Irish.⁷

Partly through clerks such as Shea of Carrick and Nicholas Hanrahan of New Ross Philips established a considerable Irish *clientele* in St. John's, Conception Bay and the southern half of the Avalon Peninsula. Shea's lengthy term as an accountant afforded ample opportunity to learn the complex operations of the cod trade, to develop business contacts and to accumulate enough savings to become an independent mercantile career.

Probably the most significant step in this slow transition was Shea's marriage to Eleanor, the daughter of Timothy Ryan, a merchant, which took place two years after the death of Nathaniel Philips and the dissolution of that house.⁸ Ryan had been resident in St. John's some three decades; with his sons, particularly Patrick, he had by 1800 established a considerable trade.⁹

Another daughter of Ryan married Geoffrey Morris in St. John's in 1802 and a second firm, Ryan and Morris, was established in Burin, Placentia Bay, probably the focus of the Ryan's outharbour trade.¹⁰ Shortly afterwards the Ryans set up a third branch of the firm in Liverpool (then emerging as Britain's leading port in the Newfoundland trade) under the direction of Timothy's younger son, Joseph, and developed a pattern of commerce characteristic of the larger merchant houses engaged in the fishery.¹¹

Every spring Ryan and Sons sent out supplies to the parent house in St. John's or sometimes directly to Burin from Liverpool, and to a lesser extent from ports such as Bristol, Poole, Waterford, and Cork. Ryan and Sons conducted an extensive supply trade in St. John's and contiguous districts, as well as in Placentia Bay, and shipped fish back to Britain, Ireland, Spain and Portugal.

For much of the remainder of his life Henry Shea was intimately involved in this family enterprise, but he also traded on his own account and accepted commissions from other houses. By the autumn of 1801 he apparently had a store of his own in St. John's, had correspondents in the town of Placentia, had commenced issuing writs against debtors and was listed among the merchants and principal inhabitants expressing concern over the absence of a chief justice to settle disputes during the winter.¹²



It was, however, a modest trade. Shea did import goods on his own account, and received small cash payments from the local authorities for arranging or providing passages home for some distressed Irish. There is, however, no evidence, for example, that he ever owned a ship, or even a share in one.¹³ By comparison with other merchants and traders he issued few writs, and these were usually for small sums involving local Irish shopkeepers, artisans and fishermen.

In the autumn of 1810 Shea announced a formal partnership with Ryan & Sons of St. John's to be called Henry Shea & Co.¹⁴ The Ryans stressed that this new firm was separate from their existing house in St. John's, implying that Shea & Co. would trade on its own account. Shea joined at a time when the Ryans' enterprise was expanding rapidly, in response to rising demand and prices for fish in the European markets.

Ryans rented an extensive premises from a Devon planter at the far western end of the harbour in 1810, and also retained their old water-front premises near the centre of town.¹⁵ They owned at least two vessels, which annually made one and sometimes two round trips each across the Atlantic, and chartered a couple of other ships to facilitate this trade.¹⁶

Between late May and early November 1811, for example, almost £6,000 worth of supplies was shipped from St. John's to Burin alone.¹⁷ Ryan & Sons in St. John's received £700 worth of cod and oil back from Burin, and exported some £4,300 worth of fish to Lisbon, the latter almost exactly the amount shipped directly from Burin to the same port that autumn.

This Burin branch of Ryans' business grew rapidly, exceeding £30,000 by 1813, over half of which was channelled through St. John's. The family also had premises in Placentia, where one of Shea's earlier correspondents, Edmund Larkin, was employed. St. John's remained the pivot of their trade.

It is difficult to determine precisely the business arrangements between Henry Shea and his in-laws; but he did play a major role in Ryans' St. John's operations. In 1812 he resigned as captain of the St. John's Volunteer Corps because he planned to go to Britain during the winter and "as Pat Ryan has now joined the Corps it means we will be both away from our joint concerns".¹⁸ Shea went on to note that their "business interests were so intertwined, serious damage could result".

Pat Ryan's untimely death in 1814, at the peak of the company's trade, almost certainly meant that Shea succeeded as operating manager of Ryan & Sons in St. John's under Timothy, whose other son Joseph remained in Liverpool.¹⁹ Shea continued to trade on his own account. Between 1811-16, for example, he shipped over £800 worth of supplies — particularly butter but also pork, wine, nets, nails and stationery — to Burin and advertised foodstuffs for auction at his St. John's store.²⁰

In February 1817 Ryan's house in Liverpool was declared bankrupt, a victim of the depression in the cod economy after the war; three months later the parent house in St. John's collapsed.²¹ The company was owed over £18,000, and Henry Shea was appointed agent to assist the trustees to collect debts, pay creditors and sell off the insolvent estate.

This latter proved difficult because of the depression, and was compounded by fires in the autumn which also destroyed Shea's part of the premises. He commenced rebuilding and in spring 1819 advised "his friends and the public in general that his shop, stores and warehouse in the premises lately held by Ryan & Sons, Water St., are now nearly completed.

"He will import all kinds of goods to sell on commission by private or public sales. He has a long experience in the trade and promises unremitting assiduity and attention to those who may favour him with their business. He will render prompt satisfaction in sales and returns so as to merit their future confidence".²²



Private and public sales did ensue as trade recovered and supplies arrived at Shea's premises from Waterford, Ross, Dublin, Liverpool and the mainland.²³ The Ryans' transatlantic trade also resumed, with their ships concentrating on supplies from Liverpool to St. John's and return cargoes of cod from St. John's and Burin to British and Iberian markets.²⁴

There was no significant change in the deployment of principal personnel. Joseph Ryan remained in Liverpool, Geoffrey Morris in Burin and Henry Shea, together with a second son John, worked closely with the aging Timothy Ryan in St. John's.²⁵ This trade had little of its former vigour, however, and finally collapsed with the death of Timothy Ryan. His son Joseph returned from Liverpool to administer the disposition of the estate and then moved to Burin following the death of Geoffrey Morris and continued to trade there.²⁶

Shea's own trade was also precarious after a mild recovery in the early 1820s. Its vulnerability was exposed in 1823 when he was declared insolvent because apparently he was unable to pay a small debt.²⁷ Trustees were appointed, but Shea recovered and, with his son John, continued his modest business to the end.

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Despite his long and not very successful struggle to gain prominence as a trader, Henry Shea was one of the most respected residents in St. John's. This was true not only among the Irish but also among the protestant community, local officials and the governor. His long residence in the town, his understanding of its character, his loyalty and his integrity resulted in recognition in a world where economic circumstance and ethno-religious origins defined social rank.

Shea was one of only a handful of catholic Irish empanelled to serve on the grand jury of Newfoundland's supreme court in the first decade of the century.²⁸ He served also on petty and special juries and as an expert witness, sometimes in precedent-setting or important cases relating to property right, shipping and the customs of trade.

His talents were sought as an arbitrator, as an assessor of property or goods and as trustee, executor or administrator of wills.²⁹ Between 1808 and 1814, for example, Shea was appointed joint administrator of eight wills whose value amounted to almost £7,000. All were made by Irish immigrants, six of them residents of St. John's.

Shea's popularity among local authorities, civil and military, led in 1806 to an appointment as joint lieutenant of one of the five companies of the St. John's Volunteers, $\frac{2}{3}$ of whose ordinary members were Irish.³⁰ He was the first Irish catholic to be awarded this rank and two years later was promoted as captain, a position he had transferred in 1812 to his, by then even more popular, brother-in-law and trading partner, Patrick Ryan.

Shea was also distinguished by another appointment early in 1806, when he was elected first secretary of the Benevolent Irish Society. The Society was established to alleviate distress amongst the Irish poor, whose numbers were increasing in St. John's and, in the absence of any regular form of official aid, frequently needed support. Membership was open to males of Irish birth or descent.

Catholics comprised around 90% of the original body, but the mass of catholic Irish were regarded with suspicion, at least by the official authorities. Partly to meet these concerns, members of the executive and one of two special committees were drawn overwhelmingly from the upper ranks of the military and from the small protestant Irish community in St. John's.³¹ Shea's selection as the only catholic on the executive proved his general acceptability to all parties.

He held this position until 1814, when he was promoted to vice-president, and he acted as



chairman of the Society with the departure in 1817 of the president, James MacBraire, of Enniscorthy until the latter's replacement as president by Patrick Morris of Waterford in 1823.³² Shea resigned as vice-president and was toasted at the annual dinner as "the eldest and best servant of the Institution". His allegiance continued; in the following year he delivered the St. Patrick's Day address to 118 members in the absence of the new president.

The last 15 years of Henry Shea's life were a period of considerable economic difficulty in Newfoundland and witnessed the growth of public protest and the politicisation of the colony's woes. As the migratory fishery faded and residency grew, the need to reform an archaic system of colonial government became more evident, and was articulated especially by a growing middle class in St. John's.

In 1811, for example, the government decided to lease the ancient and outmoded "fishing ships' rooms" in St. John's for private development. These "rooms", long used as commons, were perceived, however, locally as public property. At a meeting of the principal inhabitants, which Shea attended, it was proposed that the substantial income from the leases be used to help pave and light the streets of the town, to establish a market-place, to build schools, to extend relief to the poor and establish a police force.³³ These suggestions fell on deaf ears.

Shea was also involved, both as expert witness and special juror in a case brought by the government against John Ryan, a St. John's merchant tailor. Ryan had rented part of a ship's room in 1811 and proceeded to build a substantial premises there that encroached, the government claimed, on public space. Ryan won the ensuing case; but Chief Justice Tremblett overturned the jury verdict and then advertised the property for sale. Ryan protested vigorously and mustered substantial local support. He was sued by the crown for libel; but a special jury, of which Shea was a member, acquitted him of all charges and the unpopular Tremblett, in the meantime, was replaced.³⁴

The most significant advance in the struggle for reform came in November 1820, following a blatant miscarriage of justice involving two Irish planters from Conception Bay. Both men were in debt to merchants and, after they resisted the sheriff's efforts to confiscate their properties, were flogged. They were persuaded to sue the magistrates involved, but the jury dismissed the charges.

A committee was quickly formed under the chairmanship of Patrick Morris and a memorial sent to London expressing shock at the treatment of the planters.³⁵ While proclaiming total loyalty to the King, constitution, and the laws of the land, the committee, composed of eight catholic Irish merchants including Henry Shea, four Englishmen and a Scot, William Carson, vowed to pursue every legal and constitutional means in their power to initiate judicial reform.

A second memorial signed by 180 inhabitants (the vast majority Irish) at a public meeting in St. John's in late December 1820 lambasted the surrogate courts for permitting merchant houses to abscond with huge local debts, for siding with merchants over rights to property and for taxing small open boats from which the surrogates drew a commission.³⁶ The inhabitants also complained over the delay in enacting legislation in London relating to the rebuilding of St. John's after the fires of 1817, and wondered why Newfoundland did not have a local legislature like other colonies.

Official reaction was cool, so the committee prepared a more detailed account of Newfoundland's difficulties and suggested some solutions.³⁷ The fishery could be lucrative, but large English firms took away the profits and did not reinvest locally. The committee asserted that civil servants and surrogates also took their money away from the colony, and that over £30,000 was remitted annually to Britain in rents from St. John's alone; this amount would support a local legislature.



The merchants, moreover, belittled the potential for farming, which could be developed to cut the costs of cod production and to stem the tide of outmigration. There was a need also for roads and for government support analogous to that accorded to the French and American cod fisheries.

This seminal statement on Newfoundland reform did draw some response from London, but the proposals were deemed inadequate by what Morris called “the most numerous and most respectable meeting ever held in St. John’s”.³⁸ A fresh set of proposals were submitted by an expanded committee, dominated for the first time by protestant merchants. These resulted in some important juridical reforms in 1824.

Although Henry Shea was a consistent member of the influential committee of inhabitants prompting these and later changes, he was overshadowed by the youthful, vigorous and successful Waterford merchant Patrick Morris, who emerged as the clear leader of the Irish community. Although much more experienced, Shea had less personal financial resources than Morris, had a large family, perhaps did not have the literary or oratorical skills, was aging and was politically moderate in an age when class and sectarian feelings were on the rise.

He did not, for example, become involved, as Morris did, in the local conflict over the charter of incorporation for St. John’s, a proposition which his brother-in-law, Joseph Ryan, actually opposed — the only catholic merchant known to do so.³⁹ Shea’s political philosophy is probably best expressed in the prospectus submitted to the governor for *The Newfoundlander*, a paper established by his second son and mercantile partner, John (1803-’58) in 1827. The paper was “to be conducted on liberal principles, the object being to unite in the bonds of social harmony all classes of British subjects.

“With Religion, when unmixed with Politics, no matter of what sect or denomination its votaries may be, the *Newfoundlander* shall never meddle.”⁴⁰ These accorded by and large with the views of the catholic hierarchy, from James Louis O’Donel, who arrived in St. John’s at the same time as Henry Shea, to the ecumenical Bishop Scallon, to much of the catholic middle class and to liberal protestants.

Shea was a loyal supporter of the catholic Church. He was one of 18 Irish laymen petitioning for the elevation of O’Donel to the episcopacy and vicar apostolic vacancy in 1794. He acted as joint executor with O’Donel’s successor, Bishop Lambert, of wills where substantial cash or property was bequeathed to the church; he managed the financial aspect of the extension to the chapel and worked closely with the clergy in the affairs of the Benevolent Irish Society.⁴¹ He did not live to witness the serious sectarian strife between Irish and English that emerged in 1832 with the first elections to the new legislature — strife that deepened subsequently despite the efforts of the Sheas, mainly through *The Newfoundlander*, to steer a moderate course.

Henry Shea was an immigrant in a port and town dominated by newcomers. Many came from in and around Carrick-on-Suir, after Waterford and New Ross the leading centre of Irish-Newfoundland migrations. One of the striking features of Shea’s social and economic life was the close links he gradually forged with people from southeast Tipperary. He married the daughter of a merchant who was almost certainly from there, and the ceremony was performed by a close friend, Bishop O’Donel, a native of Knocklofty.

Various members of the Ryan clan acted as godparents for at least six of Shea’s nine children. Other godparents were drawn from leading Tipperary families — Geoffrey Morris, Thomas Meagher, Fr. Michael O’Donel (a nephew of the Bishop), Mary O’Donnell, and the Keating sisters.⁴² Shea himself was witness with Patrick Ryan, to an important Ryan marriage and (with his wife and sons) godparents to various Ryan and Morris children: as well as to the children of John O’Donnell of Kilcash, another merchant in St. John’s.



Much of Shea's mercantile life was woven around these and other Tipperary families. Thomas Meagher for example was an important source of Waterford provisions and was the trustee or administrator for the estates of Pat Ryan (1816), Tim Ryan and Sons (1817) and Henry Shea himself (1823).⁴³ Patrick Ryan of Halifax, possibly a member of the clan, supplied Shea and the Ryans with mainland and West Indies produce in exchange for fish.

Shea had close social and economic links with Cornelius Quirke of Kilcash, clerk and barracks master in the garrison, whose marriage he witnessed in 1798. Quirke was the owner of the London Tavern, where the Benevolent Irish Society was founded and met regularly. In 1803 Shea leased his waterside premises to two merchant partners, James Murphy of Kilcash and Matthew Gleason of Nenagh. He conducted trade with yet another branch of the O'Donnells of Kilcash, wealthy planters in Merasheen, Placentia Bay, and sometimes agents for Ryan and Morris at Burin.

Finally, Shea acted as trustee or executor for a number of Tipperary families. In 1805, for example, he was appointed trustee and executor for the estate of his intimate friend, Michael Morrissey, who bequeathed money for masses for his soul and the souls of his parents to the regular priests of Waterford city and Carrick-on-Suir. Other estates administered by Shea included those of Patrick Shea of Kilcash and Conception Bay, Johanna Burris, the widow of Patrick Mara of Carrick-on-Suir, and Joseph Kavanagh of Clonmel, whose property and effects exceeded £3,000 in value.

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Shea's popularity endured to the end; he died in 1830. "We have seldom heard such universal regret expressed for any person's death as for Mr. Shea's", began the obituary in the *Royal Gazette*. "His kind and pleasing manners made him deservedly a favourite with all classes of the community".⁴⁴ In a eulogy, Stephen Lawlor, a fellow-merchant and fellow-member of the original Benevolent Irish Society and now its president, described him as "kind, unaffected, generous, sincere, patriotic", with a heart that was "truly Irish".

Shea's funeral was honoured by a slow march through the streets and a day of general mourning. It was reported as the largest funeral for a private person in St. John's since the death of his brother-in-law, Patrick Ryan in 1814, when most stores were closed and about 4,000 persons of all classes and denominations attended. Timothy Ryan, and his father-in-law, died one month before, and Geoffrey Morris three months, after Henry Shea, leaving Joseph Ryan, who returned to St. John's from Liverpool and his sister Mrs. Morris at Burin in charge of a much depleted firm. John Shea inherited his father's trade, importing livestock, timber and coal from the Maritimes and offering a wide range of foodstuffs and manufactured goods from Britain and Ireland for sale at his wharf or store.⁴⁵

The Sheas emerged as one of the most talented and respected families in 19th century Newfoundland. Henry's eldest son, Joseph, born in 1801 qualified as a medical doctor in Britain and set up a practice in his native St. John's three years before his father's death.⁴⁶ He married a daughter of the radical reformer Dr. William Carson, whom he nominated for the district of St. John's in the election of 1832. It was a mixed marriage, not uncharacteristic of the Sheas and other middle class Irish catholic families in early St. John's.

Dr. Shea played a leading role in the fight for an extension of the Catholic Relief Bill to Newfoundland and with his brothers, was prominent in the movement for repeal of the Union. John Shea followed in the footsteps of his father, serving as a regular member of the Grand Jury panel from 1826, secretary of the Benevolent Irish Society from 1828, secretary of the Newfoundland Fishermen's and Shoremen's Society from 1830, secretary to Directors of the Market House committee, 1832, secretary for the Commissioners of Lighthouses in 1836.⁴⁷



He continued to publish *The Newfoundlander* after his father's death, and the restraining voice of Henry Shea was discernible in its pages through the politically tumultuous decade that followed. He refused, for example, to publish a rebuttal by Bishop Fleming, a close family friend from Carrick-on-Suir who had helped found the paper, to Henry Winton's editorial assault in the *Public Ledger* because he felt that the Bishop's language was intemperate. He also refused to publish the sectarian speeches of the liberal candidate, John Kent, a native of Waterford.

The Sheas were assailed as "Orange", "Tory" or "conservative" Catholics but this did not prevent John Shea from being elected in 1836, a member of the House of Assembly for Burin, where his uncle Joseph Ryan resided. He abandoned his father's trade in 1835.

In 1837, disillusioned with sectarian politics, he moved permanently to Cork city where he married Mary Corbett of the South Mall, was elected councillor and eventually mayor. Joseph also left the island for a decade in 1837. Another of Henry Shea's sons, Patrick, agent for a Poole firm in Carbonear, died in 1833. His four other sons, William, Henry, Ambrose and Edward remained in St. John's as editors and publishers of the family newspaper and made a major contribution to Newfoundland's political and literary life through the nineteenth century.

Ambrose (1916-1905) became an important merchant and was one of Newfoundland's leading politicians. He was a member of John Kent's ruling Liberal Party with his younger brother, Edward (1820-1913). A strong supporter of union with Canada, Ambrose Shea was selected to lead the Liberal delegation to the Quebec conference on confederation in 1864.

The large-scale Protestant merchants in St. John's and — for different reasons — many Irish Catholics generally were opposed to it. Confederation was defeated, and Ambrose Shea faced a hostile Newfoundland-Irish electorate. His political skills ensured his return to the House of Assembly, however, and both he and his brother received knightships. Sir Ambrose was appointed Governor of the Bahamas in 1887, the highest office awarded to a Catholic Irish Newfoundlander up to that time.

FOOTNOTES

ABBREVIATIONS:

- C.O.: Colonial Office (correspondence).
G.N.: Government of Newfoundland.
M.H.A.: Maritime History Archive (Memorial University, St. John's)
P.: Private Papers.
R.G.: Royal Gazette.

1. RG 2 November 1830. See query in the *Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society Journal* XVI (1913): p199 on Shea "from the neighbourhood of Carrick"; obituary, "forty-six years in Newfoundland". (all primary sources are at the Provincial Archives, St. John's, unless stated otherwise). The general background of the Irish in Newfoundland is contained in John Mannion, ed. *The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography* (St. John's: Institute For Social and Economic Research, 1977)
2. Interview with his great-grandson, Ambrose Shea (1908-78) in 1972. A writer in *The Times* (St. John's) 16 July 1845 referred to Henry Shea as "an Irish gentleman of a respectable family".
3. GNS/2/A/1 - 1817 Supreme Court of Newfoundland, minute-books, 17 August. Shea testified that he was "thirty one years in Newfoundland as an accountant and a merchant". GN5/2/A/9 — 1798 Supreme Court. estates, Dec. Will of Nathaniel Philips" . . . shall continue in the company two very deserving young men who lived with him . . ." Almost certainly these were George Lilly, later a judge, and Henry Shea. See *Public Ledger*, 6 February 1844; D.W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (Belleville: reprint, 1895) ed., (1972): 347-48.
4. GN2/39/A - 1795, Census, District of St. John's.
5. C.O. 194/36 (1785): 103, /21 (1789): 173-81, /23 (1800) 509, ADM 1/475 (1800): 11-12.
6. Maritime History (M.H.A.) Archives, Memorial University, St. John's; Nathaniel Philips, name files; Prowse, op. cit.: 347-48; GN5/2/A/9 - 1798, 10 December.



7. Census, St. John's, 1795; Prowse, op. cit.: 347-8.
8. Roman Catholic Parish Register, St. John's, 20 November 1800.
9. Census, St. John's, 1795; GN2/1/12 Letter Book, Colonial Secretary's Office, (1795): 357; 14 (1798): 314, 361, 368, 377, 393, 399; 15 (1798): 28, 44, 243; P7/A/6 (1798) D. Fogo Island, misc.; C.O. 194/42 (1799): 30, 42, 303; GN5/2/A/1 - 1799, 15 October; Governor Pole Papers, 30 August, 1800; RG 22 May 1818. Although not documented, Timothy Ryan was almost certainly from Tipperary.
10. Roman Catholic Parish Register, St. John's, 5 May 1802; Geoffrey Morris to Ryan & Sons, Liverpool, 14 October 1816, Letter Book, Ryan and Morris, Burin.
11. GN5/1/A/1 - 1805, Surrogate Court minutes 1 October, 4 November; P3/B/6 17 August 1807 John Drapes, New Ross to Patrick Morris, St. John's; 17 September 1807; Bisop O'Donel, Bristol to Fr. Michael O'Donel, Clashmore, County Waterford in M.F. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland* (Boston: Doyle and Whittle, 1888): 218 - 19; *Waterford Mirror*, 10 May 1807, 23 January, 17 April 1808; (MHA) *Lloyds Lists*, 27 January 1809; (MHA) Duckworth Papers P. 1/5/9 15 15 & 16 November 1809, 20 January, 5 & 22 May, July 12 & 25, 27 & 29 October 1810.
12. GN5/2/A/1 - 1801, 23 October; GN5/1/A/4 - 1801 writs, 27 November; 2, 30 December: 94; - 1802 2 December 76; 1803 5 May: 27 May 163-4, 183-4; C.O. 194/43 (1801): 124; /50 (1802): 55
13. GN5/2/A/1 - 1809, 26 June; Letter Book, George Welsh Ledgard, Carbonear, August 1809; GN/2/1/20 (1809): GN2/1/20: 149; /25 (1813): 5; Duckworth Papers 14/417 27 November 1810; Letter Book, Morris & Ryan, 19 November 1818; GN2/1/32 (1820) 32: 324.
14. RG 29 November 1810.
15. Duckworth Papers 11/7 (1810) 11/128 (1812); RG 26 July 1815; *Mercantile Journal* 22 May & 3 July 1818, 10 February 1819, *Newfoundlander*, 7 October, 1829
16. Duckworth Papers, 1810, 5/9 15, 16, 34, 35; 1811, 5/39, 42, 43, 46, 49, 51, 52, 53; RG 5 & 22 May 1810; 3 June, 24 October 1811; *Waterford Mirror* 13 March 1811; *Lloyds List* 3 July, 1811.
17. Ledger, Invoices, Ryan and Morris, Burin 21 May - 30 November 1811.
18. Duckworth Papers 1812, 4/51 5 August; Henry Shea to Major James MacBraire.
19. RG 10 February 1814. Shea was appointed administrator of Patrick Ryan's estate.
20. Burin Ledger 18 October 1811; 6 May & 25 November 1814; 20 September 1815; June; 17 October 1816; RG 29 July 1813.
21. GN5/2/A/1 - 1818, 7 February; 11 January 1819; *Mercantile Journal* 29 May, 16 December 1817; 27 February, 22 May, 3 July 1818; 18 July 1819; RG 2 December 1817; 9 January, 24 February, 19 & 25 November 1818.
22. *Mercantile Journal* 6 May 1819, 18 January 1820; see also Geoffrey Morris, Burin to William Harrison, Poole, 19 November 1819, seeking commissions and auctions for Henry Shea,
23. *Mercantile Journal* 19 August, 7 October, 4 November 1819; 25 May 1820; 15 March & 28 June 1821; 5 August 1824; GN2/1/32, 20 October 1820; GN5/1/A/4 - 1821, writs, 5 November 1825, 7 December; Edward Kough, Ross to John Bland, St. John's, Kough Letter Book 1818-34, D2935/5 P.R.O.N.I., Belfast; *Public Ledger*, 2 January, 29 June 1827; 18 May 1830; GN5/2/A/1 - 1829, 29 October; *Newfoundlander*, 15 July 1830.
24. RG 19 August, 15 September, 3 November 1819; 18 May, 7 June, 5 & 29 July 1820; 10 January, 2 February, 15 May, 1 & 16 June, 23 July 1821; 5 November, 14 December 1827; 28 April, 9 May, 14 July 1828; 22 June, 25 July, 1829; Morris Letter Book & Ledger, Burin, 10 & 26 November 1821, 1 May 1823, 25 January, 24 October 1825.
25. GN5/1/C/1 - 1820 Surrogate Court, minutes Burin 7 April; Morris Letter Book & Ledger, Burin, 10 November 1820; 10 January 1821; 25 September, 1 November 1823, 30 June 1826; GN5/2/A/1 - 1822 24 January.
26. *Newfoundlander*, 7 October 1829; GN5/2/A/1 - 1829, 27 October; RG 17 November 1829, 28 September 1830; GN2/2 (1832): 239: Register of shipping, St. John's, 95/1833
27. GN5/1/A/4 - 1823, writ 8 May; C.O. 194/66 (1823): 380; RG 13 May 1823.
28. GN5/2/A/1 16 October, 2 & 6 November 1798; 16 October 1799; 14 October 1800; 29 September 1802; 20 August, 14 November, 12 December 1804; 3 August 1805, 1 September, 31 December 1806, 1 September 1808, 1 September 1809, 18 May, 2 July 1810, 30 May, 6 June, 2 September, 11 & 17 October 1811; 22 March, 6 September, 13 & 16 December, 25 April, 8 December 1814, 5 & 18 August 1817, 21 September 1818, 4 January, 2 May, 23 July, 29 August 1821, 19 June 1823, 22 April, 8 July, 4 November 1824, 1 July, 27 October 1826.
29. GN5/2/A/1, 18 December 1799, 18 June 1803, 31 December 1806, 2 May 1821, 19 June 1823, 19 December 1829, 4 August 1830, c.o. 194/50 (1802): 55; GN5/1/A/9 - estates - 12 April, 16 September 1808, 1 October, 1 December 1809, 13 October 1810, 17 September 1811, 29 July 1813, 31 May 1814, 1 July, 1 August, 7 & 23 November 1826; RG 7 February 1814, 28 October 1817; *Mercantile Journal* 16 December 1817.
30. C.O. 194/45 (1806): 22; Duckworth Papers 4/10 (1810): 18 October.
31. "List of Original Member of the Newfoundland Irish Society" *Centenary Volume, Benevolent Irish Society, 1806-1906* (Cork: Guy & Co. Printers, 1906): 195-196; GN2/1/19 (1806): 7-8, 17.
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33. C.O. 194/51 2 (1811): 51-67.



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35. GN5/2/A/1 - 1820, 7 - 8 November; C.O. 194/64 (1821): 237; *Public Ledger* 23 November 1820.
36. C.O. 194/64 (1821): 47-50; GN2/1/31 (1821): 351
37. C.O. 194/66 (1822): 68-73; Patrick Morris, *Observations on the Government, Trade, Fisheries and Agriculture of Newfoundland* . . . (London: A. Handcock, 1824).
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40. GN 2/2/ (1827) 19 May.
41. M.F. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland* 198-199; GN5/2/A/9 - 1808 12 April, 26 September - 1810, 13 October, RG 31 May 1810; C.O. 194/59 (1817): 96; Minutes, Benevolent Irish Society, 11 & 18 February 1822, 12 May 1824; GN2/2 (1828): 212.
42. Roman Catholic Parish Register, St. John's, 2 July 1803, 21 June 1805, 15 May, 12 June 1807, 16 October 1808, 19 February, 17 June, 7 December 1809, November 1812, September 1813, 8 May 1815, February, March 1817, 29 June 1820, 23 January 1821.
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45. *Newfoundlander* 4 and 11 November, 2 December 1830, 18 August, 22 September, 27 October 1831, 28 June 1823, 21 February, 18 April 1833, 12 June, 4 September 1834; *Patriot*, 6 October, 1835.
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47. GN5/2/A/1 - 1826, 27 October - 1827 10 January, 5 December - 1828 July, 14 October - 1829, 6 May - 1830 25 November; GN5/2/2/10 - 1832, 14 August; RG 12 & 18 February 1828, 17 February 1829, 2 March 1830; *Newfoundlander* 18 February 1828, 4 March 1830; 5 July, 13 September 1832, 14 February, 4 March 1833, 14 November 1836, 12 January, 16 & 23 February, 4 March, 25 May, 23 November 1837, 13 August 1840, 17 November 1842; *Public Ledger* 21 September, 1832, 5 August, 9 December 1836, 23 November 1841; *Times* 30 October 1833, 23 & 30 March 1836; *Patriot* 15 March 1836.

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