The Newfoundland Ancestry of Maurice and Charles Prendergast

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The artist Maurice Prendergast (1858-1924) is the most important American Post-Impressionist of the early twentieth century. His colorful interpretations of his major theme, the rituals of seaside towns, have long been associated with the New England coast or the squares of Venice, but not with his birthplace, St. John's, Newfoundland. Yet the first ten years of his life spent in that busy North Atlantic port must surely have contributed to what Richard Wattenmaker calls Prendergast's "primary repertoire of motifs...his joyous response to humanity with a breadth of observation firmly rooted in concrete reality, with no narrative overlay, no deflection into the realm of the sentimental."

Prendergast could trace his roots in St. John's back to at least 1814, when his grandfather Richard Prendergast first appeared in the records of the city. Richard had come from Carrick-on-Suir, County Tipperary, Ireland, where he had been baptized in the parish of St. Nicholas, 22 February 1790, the son of James Prendergast and Mary Power. In 1818 Richard was described as a publican on Water Street in St. John's. By 1819 he was struggling to survive the fourth loss of his property by fire. The following year he was listed as part owner of the schooner Manly. The year 1820 also marked the birth of his son Maurice, who was to be the father of the famous painter.

The inscription on Richard's headstone in the Catholic cemetery is a terse reminder of a short life, of long journeys and of the demands of new beginnings. It reads:

Richard Prendergast, a native of Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary, died 18 February 1827; 36 yrs. Also his daughter Mary Ann, died 12 June 1827; 6 yrs. This stone erected by Mary Prendergast, who died 27 May 1854; 60 yrs and whose remains lie beneath with her husband and child.

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There is no documentation about when Richard arrived in St. John's, but according to John Mannion there were two discernible peaks in the Irish migration to Newfoundland, the first of which was 1810-1815, when over 14,000 arrived. Many of these emigrants sailed from the port of Waterford and came from places within a day's journey of the city.\(^4\) Carrick-on-Suir fits this description and Mannion's dates may suggest the time of Richard's arrival.

Richard first appeared in the Newfoundland court records on 23 May 1814, when at the age of twenty-three he sued Donald McPherson for £18/14/3.\(^5\) He won his case and was paid the sum in question for sawing boards. This suggests that he may have worked as a "sawyer" or carpenter when he first came to St. John's.\(^6\) Later that same year he witnessed the marriage in St. John's of John O'Neill of Carrick-on-Suir to Mary Walsh of Waterford City, demonstrating that he transferred his contacts with friends and neighbors from the old world to the new.\(^7\)

Richard Prendergast was back in the court records in June, 1816, when he was sued by Patrick Power for £24/18/4. The case went to arbitrators who awarded Power £15/7/17.\(^8\)

A year later, on 13 June 1817, Richard Prendergast and Mary Power presented their first child James for baptism at the Old Catholic Chapel on Henry Street.\(^9\) Richard and Mary may have married in St. John's, but no record of the marriage has been found. The records of both Carrick-on-Suir and St. John's have gaps for this period. Mannion has pointed out that there were many families named Power in St. John's; it was one of the leading surnames of the district, which he has traced back to the Waterford area of Ireland.\(^10\) Mary Power, born in 1794, may have met and married Richard in Ireland before joining the great wave of Irish emigration to the New World. Their first son James was baptized by Reverend Scallan; the sponsors were Mary Power and Patrick Moran. The former may have been a relative of the mother, and the latter was probably a sea captain from Wexford or New Ross who was in the St. John's passenger trade.\(^11\) All these contacts suggest a newly established Irish Catholic family with a continuing connection to the transatlantic migration between Newfoundland and southeast Ireland.

There are records of a series of court cases in 1818 and 1819. In January, 1818, Richard was sued by Jonathan Parsons, a shopkeeper in St. John's, for £60. This also went to arbitration, but Richard refused to accept the ruling, since the award to Parsons was made without the knowledge of the defendant. He asked that the award be set aside, but the judge declared that there was no reason for such action. Parsons, fearing that Richard might leave the country, requested that his property be attached. This is the first indication that Richard had already invested in property in the city. William Dawe and Dan Breen, who was a tool keeper and caretaker in the office of the Ordnance, went security for Richard. The case was appealed, but the outcome is unknown.\(^12\) In May, 1818, Lawrence
G. O'Brien won a suit against Richard for £1/6/8.  

In October, 1818, Michael Gallivan sued Richard for £4/18, claiming that he had left the country. Richard's brother acknowledged the debt and agreed to pay if Richard did not return. Richard did return and was able to prove that the sum sued for was not due. The next set of documents shows him caught up in a real estate deal and a subsequent lawsuit. A house on the Hutton estate, probably the Water Street property in which Richard bought an interest, had been advertised in 1817 as comprising four tenements and a garden at the back. Richard paid £198 for his interest in the house but could not get possession of the property from the tenant Robert Dooling. He took Dooling to court on 30 December 1818, and sued for £31/6/9. Dooling made default and the ejectment order went ahead.  

When Richard Prendergast gained possession of the property, he apparently set up a public house, since in 1819 he is on record as a publican. The venture proved to be a difficult one, for the Waterford Journal reported that he was burnt out four times that winter. The interest of two Waterford newspapers in Richard Prendergast as "housekeeper and publican" in St. John's suggests that he had kept close contact with Ireland during the first years of his residence in Newfoundland, and according to the court records was sometimes out of the country, probably on a return visit to family and friends in the vicinity of Carrick-on-Suir. The year 1819 is also the year accepted for the birth of a daughter Catherine to Richard and Mary Prendergast.  

The disasters referred to in the winter of 1819 continued into the following summer. A letter from Sir Charles Hamilton, the Governor of Newfoundland, to the Earl of Bathurst describes the fire which broke out on July 19 at 1 a.m. on the upper side of Water Street and, fanned by a west wind, extended to both sides of the street. No lives were lost, but the Governor wrote that "the whole of that part of the town comprising 120 Dwelling houses, Storehouses and Wharfs, composed entirely of wood, and containing chiefly dry goods, were totally destroyed in little more than three hours." The destruction was estimated at £150,000. Since the Prendergast property was on Water Street, we may assume that Richard was burnt out again. Richard appears once more in the court files of 1819 as being sued for £28 by Patrick Delaney.  

The year 1820 marked the birth of the son Maurice, who would become the father of two well-known Boston painters. Maurice was baptized in the Old Chapel on Henry Street on June 7. The sponsors were Patrick Hayes and Elizabeth Healey. Patrick Hayes was a schooner captain and a trader in St. John's. That year Richard Prendergast acquired part ownership in the schooner Manly. It was a 53 ton, two-masted schooner built in Argyle in 1816. He shared ownership with David Power, a planter, and John Boyd, a merchant. The captain was Patrick Power. This venture was short term, since on 19 December
1820 Prendergast and Power sold their interest in the vessel to Boyd.25

The harsh realities of life in St. John’s were outlined in a petition addressed on 24 October 1821 to Governor Hamilton by the merchants and principal inhabitants of the town. Richard Prendergast is one of the undersigned petitioners. The letter describes the grim facts of life in the city:

...the fishermen now returning from an unsuccessful fishery, return for the most part without the means of providing support for themselves or families during the approaching winter — a season in which your Excellency well knows there is no possibility of their earning it — But while the experience of former years of scarcity alarm us in the present emergency with just apprehensions for the public tranquillity, we yet feel confident in appealing to your Excellency....to render the cries of hunger and wretchedness unnecessary.26

The merchants continued with details as to why in their eyes the situation had reached the potential for a serious crisis:

The catch of Fish has been very small indeed — the foreign markets are so bad that the price here is necessarily low, the Merchants unpaid for their last winter supplies (and indeed successively so for those of former years) are both unwilling and unable to supply upon the credit of next years fishery and the general stagnation in trade consequent on these circumstances put it out of the power of the Shopkeepers, Tradesmen and other Householders to come forward with that assistance which they have most cheerfully afforded in former years of distress.27

The merchants, wishing to prevent food riots such as those of 1816 and 1817, offered some concrete solutions to this difficult situation:

We therefore entirely agree with the Grand Juries in submitting to Your Excellency the necessity of returning to their own country at the public expense such persons as are likely to become bothersome, and also of providing work for those having families whose removal is impossible whereby they might earn subsistence for them.28

After dealing with the problem within the city, the principal inhabitants of the town of St. John’s anticipated another problem:

...the same causes operating in the outports produce in them similar effects and...their population in time of scarcity habitually swarm to the capital — yet we are persuaded that the people there are generally in better condition than they are here, as nearly all the families in the out Ports have Houses and Potato Gardens, the produce of which latter though insufficient to support them the whole winter will enable them to struggle through some part of it, and we would therefore humbly submit to Your Excellency the expediency of relieving them in their respective districts, where it may effectually be done by extending moderate assistance, rather than suffer them to crowd to St. John’s where without House or Home they would be depending for their entire support.29

Richard Prendergast’s signature appears in the first column, the twenty-ninth of 132 names.
On 5 December 1821, Richard and Mary presented their second daughter Mary for baptism in the Old Chapel. Her sponsors were James Grant and Margaret Power.\textsuperscript{30}

Richard also joined with his neighbors to construct practical plans for dealing with life in St. John's. He supported the projects of Patrick Morris, who became the third president of the Benevolent Irish Society in 1823. As a goal of the Society, Morris advocated measures which would help to eliminate the causes of economic distress. "He was a firm believer in trying rather to prevent distress by encouraging industry and training people to avoid the causes of penury and want than to alleviate the effects by the distribution of alms."\textsuperscript{31} In the past, the Benevolent Irish Society had responded generously with contributions to the victims of the frequent disasters in St. John's. Now plans were projected for a program of education as a means of preventing, rather than relieving, distress. The Society would open a school for the free education of children and adults, with a curriculum which would prepare them to be self-sustaining members of society.

A second aspect of this self-help program was to encourage agriculture on the island. Cultivation of the soil was a resource for families to fall back on, if the fishery were poor in any particular year. In 1824, seed potatoes were purchased and distributed by the Society to sixty-two families. The program continued and other aid was given to those willing to rescue themselves from poverty by their own labor.\textsuperscript{32}

There is a record of Richard Prendergast signing a subscription for the Benevolent Irish Society of St. John's to erect a house for the support and education of orphan children. The subscription list was proposed at the meeting of the Society on 17 August 1823 at the Globe Tavern, and contained sixty names of people who together pledged £299/4.\textsuperscript{33} Richard not only supported Morris' program for the elimination of the causes of distress, but he also seems to have extended his personal admiration to the man. On 11 October 1823, Richard Prendergast placed his name on a list of the members of the Benevolent Irish Society who, as a mark of respect, were planning a farewell dinner for Morris on his temporary departure from the country.\textsuperscript{34}

Morris returned to Newfoundland to take up his duties as president of the Benevolent Irish Society, and at a meeting on 17 February 1825 he spoke of founding a school "from which the orphans themselves, as well as others in need of it, might derive the advantages of education."\textsuperscript{35} Land secured from the government supplied the site of the school, which was built and opened in August, 1827. The pupils, 136 boys and 70 girls, had been meeting in the house of a Mr. Gill since 1826. Although known as the "Orphan Asylum School," the orphan asylum itself was never established, and in 1845, when Morris was president for the last time, plans for the asylum were put aside as too costly.\textsuperscript{36}
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For some time, the running of the school absorbed most of the resources and attention of the Society. The curriculum reflected the purpose of the school, which was to prepare children to support themselves by future employment. They were taught “Navigation, Book-keeping, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Reading, Writing and Spelling.” Although no records of the enrollments have been found to date, Richard Prendergast must have sent his children to this school, since he was one of the original sponsors of the project. The occupations of his sons reflect the commitment of the school to prepare pupils for practical jobs. James became a cooper, Maurice became a shopkeeper, and Richard became a mariner. The two girls who lived beyond childhood married into prosperous middle class families. Although Ellenora, who was born in 1824, may have gone to the school for girls opened after 1833 by the Presentation Sisters, Catherine, who was about fourteen when the Presentation School opened, most probably attended the Orphan Asylum School.

The last years of Richard’s life seem to have been as energetic as those of his earlier career. It was in 1821 that he signed the petition discussed above to avert disasters after the failure of the fishery. In 1823 he served on a jury, signed the subscription for the Orphan Asylum School, in May was accused of arson but found not guilty for lack of evidence, and in October subscribed to the farewell dinner for Morris which was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, attended by fifty members of the Benevolent Irish Society.

On 18 February 1827 Richard died at the age of 36, leaving his wife with six children. The Public Ledger and the Newfoundland Mercantile Journal carried the announcement:

Died on Sunday morning last, after a short illness, Mr. Richard Prendergast, aged 36 years. His remains were attended to the burial ground on Tuesday evening last by the Members of the Benevolent Irish Society and a vast concourse of people.

Three days before his death, Richard had made a will in which he appointed his wife Mary the sole “Executrix and Trustee.” He left her all his estate, real and personal. He directed that after the payment of his debts, the remainder of his estate be applied to the “maintenance and Education of herself and our children, and trusting to the fidelity of my wife in all things I appoint that my Children be forwarded in Business as they advance in years.”

These fragments from records, all that remain to us of Richard’s life in St. John’s, sketch the outline of an energetic, adventurous, ambitious and well-liked young man who was willing to risk his life and possessions on the uncertain economy of the Newfoundland fishery. He invested in real estate, opened a public house, bought and sold shares in a schooner, and survived being burnt out at least four times. He joined his fellow shopkeepers in petitioning the Governor of Newfoundland, used the legal system shrewdly to protect his interests, claimed fellowship with leading figures such as Patrick Morris, and was always able to find friends and relatives to stand up for him in court cases. He supported
the Benevolent Irish Society, particularly in its efforts to open a school, and associated himself in business and personal matters with sea captains, traders, planters, shopkeepers, and the middle-class Irish community of St. John's. He won the fidelity of a wife who shared his life and who, after his death, continued his business and brought up his children.

Mary Prendergast, left with six children all under ten, the Water Street public house and her husband's business connections, had to face a second death in 1827, when her six-year-old daughter Mary Ann died on June 12. Despite the personal losses of that year, Mary seems to have taken command of the family affairs in a manner that confirmed Richard's faith in her. For some reason, she did not have Richard's will probated immediately, but carried on quietly until 1836, when she became licensed as a publican on Water Street. On 23 February 1836, the estate of Richard Prendergast, Dealer, was granted probate and valued at £250. In the nine years that had lapsed since the will had been signed, both witnesses had died and a new group of people testified to the validity of Richard's will: Stephen Malone, shoemaker, James Coady, shopkeeper, and Thomas Morton, constable. The class of working men called upon to verify the document and signatures describe the class in which the Prendergasts moved in the daily life of St. John's.

After Richard's death, Mary had continued his leasehold on the Water Street property which had an unexpired term of sixteen years. She must have secured an extended lease, because when she was burned out in the 1846 fire, she lost a business valued at £830. The fire, started by a glue pot boiling over in the shop of a cabinet maker on the morning of June 9, was driven by a stiff wind, and fed by wooden structures and vats of oil; it eventually destroyed the waterfront and almost all the larger mercantile houses. Mary, described as a "Catholic shopkeeper," had somehow developed the business from the initial assessment of £250 in 1836 to £830 in 1846. In compensation for her losses, she received £83 from the government.

The fire also destroyed the firm of Parker and Gleeson at the end of Magotty Cove. This affected the Prendergast family as well, since Catherine had married James Gleeson in 1842. The marriage had been announced in the Newfoundland Patriot:

Married — On Wednesday, the 4th inst. by the Rev. T. Waldron, James Gleeson, Esq. of the Firm of Parker and Gleeson, Merchants, to Miss Catherine Prendergast, both of this town.

The Prendergasts had been neighbors of the Gleesons, for Patrick Gleeson, father of James, had his blacksmith shop on the west side of Holloway Street around the corner from the Water Street property of the Prendergast family. The prosperity of the Gleesons grew again after the fire and their hardware and imports business developed steadily. In the Directory of 1864, Gleeson's
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Ironmongery, Foundry, Depot and Manufacturing Smithy advertised every description of English and American hardware: all the necessary material for the fisheries including anchors, agricultural implements including ploughs, and sporting goods including rifles. In 1848, Patrick Gleeson made a will in which he settled almost all of his estate on his son James, husband of Catherine, giving him two farms, one of twenty acres, the other of fifty acres, on Torbay Road, his premises at River Head and Admiral’s Beach held under government leases, and his stock in trade, furniture, monies, and all his real and personal estate. James came into this inheritance in 1854 and added this new wealth to his own prosperous business on Water Street.

About this time Mary Prendergast extended her Water Street property. An 1865 document refers to a forty-year lease given to the Prendergasts on the Clapp property at the corner of Water and Prescott Streets to commence on 1 July 1848. The lease was formalized in 1855 with Maurice Prendergast as executor of Mary’s will, but the arrangement dates back to Mary’s tenure as manager of the family business. The following year Mary took out a mortgage of £150 for three years. The mortgage was given by Thomas J. Kough, barrister, on her land and houses on the north side of Gower Street, as well as on her gardens on the south side of Gower Street. Thomas Kough and Patrick Kough had witnessed the will of Patrick Gleeson, so Mary must have extended her business contacts to a wealthier class through her in-laws, the Gleesons, and used the opportunity to expand both the family real estate and her business.

In the 1840’s, Mary had seen Catherine married into a prosperous Catholic family and she must have been pleased with her new status as grandmother to Catherine’s children, James born in 1845, Mary in 1846, Ellen in 1850 and Margaret in 1852, but she continued to provide for her other daughter Ellen and three sons. Her oldest son James married Bridget Phelan on 11 October 1851, and moved to Boston. In 1852, Ellenora or Ellen married Joseph Strafford, merchant and auctioneer, and moved to Toronto. Mary’s son Richard had become a mariner, and so it was up to Maurice to carry on the family business.

A project that concerned Mary deeply during the last years of her life was the establishment of a family burial site. Land for a new Catholic cemetery to be called Belvedere was acquired by Bishop M.A. Fleming in 1848. Mary purchased a plot in the choicest part of the new burial ground and sent to Ireland for the headstone. A second headstone in the family plot marks the grave of her daughter Catherine and Catherine’s husband James Gleeson. Mary must have arranged for the new grave site and had the remains of Richard and Mary Ann brought to Belvedere from the first Roman Catholic cemetery on Long’s Hill. This reflected her effort to establish a permanent and visible presence of the Prendergast family in St. John’s.

Mary’s accomplishments were marked by quiet, determined perseverance. She had had to communicate her plans clearly, since she was dependent on others
to read and write for her. As a respected shopkeeper raising five children, she had steadily added to the value of her property, increasing it from £250 in 1836 to £830 in 1846 and eventually to £1000 in 1854.

She disbursed her estate with the same careful attention to detail that must have marked her methods of acquiring it. Her will provided for each member of the family, with the exception of James. Mary left to her son Maurice her leasehold premises which she occupied, her stock in trade, her money, furniture, household and all personal effects that would remain after the payment of her debts. Land that she had acquired on the south side of Gower Street was to be held in trust for her son Richard until his marriage, when it would be transferred to him and his heirs, but should he die unmarried, the land would go to Maurice. She bequeathed to Maurice the freehold land on the north side of Water Street, opposite the premises of Hunter and Company, as well as the freehold land on the north side of Gower Street, opposite the land held in trust for Richard. One third of the rents and profits from the two parcels of land were to be paid to Catherine Gleeson and one third to Ellen Strafford and their heirs, free and clear of any debts, claims or control of any present or future husbands. There was an additional provision concerning Ellen’s inheritance which dealt with the possibility of Ellen’s dying and leaving a child or children. In this case the land was to be held in trust for them. Should Ellen leave no children, the land was to be divided equally between Maurice and Richard. Since Ellen had a son, Richard Strafford, baptized in St. John’s on 16 August 1853, whose sponsors were John and Catherine Gleeson, it would seem that the will had been made out some months before it was signed and witnessed on 23 May 1854.

The property on the corner of Prescott and Water Streets that Mary had leased for forty years in 1848 is not specified in her will, so it must have been among those items referred to as “all those leasehold premises now in my occupation.” This property was left to Maurice. Maurice was to be the sole executor and trustee of Mary’s will, but she did specify that he would need the permission of Catherine and James Gleeson to sell the land on the north side of Water Street and the north side of Gower Street. The will was signed with an “X” as Mary Prendergast’s mark and witnessed by Thomas Hearne, Samuel Carson and Thomas Butler.

Mary died on 27 May 1854. The Royal Gazette carried the notice:

Died on Saturday morning last, Mrs. Mary Prendergast, an old and respectable inhabitant of this town.

She had consolidated and expanded all that Richard had begun. She had raised the children, “forwarded them in business”, and settled the daughters in good families. She had given the sons the means of providing their own livelihood. She had created a stable basis for the Prendergasts to continue to be respected inhabitants of St. John’s.

The thirty-four-year old Maurice, now responsible for carrying forward the
family business and attending to the details of his mother’s will, launched a more aggressive program of mortgaging property than Mary had followed. A document bearing the date 29 May 1854, only two days after his mother’s death, refers to an indenture made on 22 March 1849 between Mary Prendergast and Thomas Kough, formalizing the receipt of a mortgage loan of £150 on Mary’s land and houses on the north side of Gower Street, as well as on the land on the south side of Gower Street, for three years at 8% interest. What had been an informal arrangement and perhaps a personal favor on the part of Kough was now presented to Maurice as a debt carried by the estate. In October, 1854, Maurice mortgaged the land and houses on the north side of Gower Street and on the north side of Water Street opposite Hunter and Company to Hugh W. Hoyles for £400 at 7%. The agreement included not only Maurice, but also Ellen Strafford and James and Catherine Gleeson, and recorded the presence of Thomas Kough.

In September 1856, a second mortgage was negotiated on the same two parcels of land for £300 at 7% from Hugh Hoyles for five years. The transaction took place five months before the wedding of Maurice to Mary Malvina Germaine. The same beneficiaries were named, Maurice Prendergast, Ellen Strafford, James and Catherine Gleeson. James Gleeson acted as attorney for Ellen and acknowledged the indenture on behalf of the group. Perhaps Mary Prendergast had not foreseen the speed with which her heirs would turn their land into cash, but since they were all in business, the pressure to have liquid assets was always present.

Maurice, unlike his brothers and sisters, chose a spouse, Mary Malvina Germaine, who did not live in St. John’s but who was the daughter of a Boston physician. In the 1850 American census she is listed as a sixteen-year-old living with her father, who practiced medicine in the North End, and with her older brother Charles Napoleon, who had just graduated from Harvard Medical School. She had a seventeen-year-old brother Thomas who was a student and eventually became a leather finisher, and two older sisters, Lucy, twenty-four, and Julia, twenty-two.

It is not known how Maurice met the Germaines, but boats from St. John’s docked regularly in Boston. Maurice’s brother James, who had moved in 1851 with his wife Bridget to Boston, where he was employed as a cooper, had died suddenly on 4 July 1854. The 1863 Boston Directory lists a Bridget Prendergast, widow, living in Washington Place, Fort Hill, a once fashionable area of the city overlooking the harbor and in the 1860’s an area crowded with Irish immigrants. When the city began to level the area in 1867, Bridget moved to Haymarket Place. Both of these areas, adjacent to the North End, were frequently the residence of Newfoundlanders who moved to Boston during times of economic stress at home.

Perhaps Maurice, as representative of the family in their concern for the
widowed sister-in-law, visited Boston in the mid-1850's and met the Germaines at that time. He married the youngest daughter of Dr. Thomas Hutchinson Germaine in St. John's on 23 February 1857. At the time Mary Malvina was twenty-three and Maurice was thirty-seven. The doctor's daughter became a grocer's wife. Hutchinson's Directory for 1864-1865 describes Maurice Prendergast as a grocer living at 138 Water Street, where the proprietors usually lived over their shops. Although Mary Malvina was probably aware of waterfront activity while growing up in Boston's North End, she might not have been prepared for the impact of living on the street that faced the wharves and warehouses of St. John's where Maurice had his business.

At the east end of Water Street, John Wood's dock handled barques and brigantines of over 100 tons. Beside this was Archibald's tobacco factory and soap factory. McKay's lumber yard was also in Archibald's Cove. The merchant house of Brookings next door sent vessels to foreign ports as well as to the Newfoundland seal fishery. At Shea's Wharf a line of packet boats running to Galway in Ireland called every month. "The day on which the Galway boat arrived was a great occasion in the East End and practically the whole community turned out and went down to the Galway wharf to see the passengers landing. The same large gathering visited the place on the day of sailing." Next were the brick stores of Clift's auction mart beside King's Wharf where the Prince of Wales landed in July 1860. This beach also contained a bond store for customs. Beside King's Wharf was March's coal business and Lesk's engineering business. The latter made boilers and engines for boats, among the most celebrated of which was Ambrose Shea's bait skiff, "the wonder of the time. All the city turned out to see her cross the harbor under steam for the first time." The next block was occupied by the offices and wharves of Harvey and Company, whose brigantines sailed to the West Indies. The name of Prendergast frequently appears in their records. Richard Prendergast, master mariner and brother of Maurice, was captain of the Alert and sailed for Harvey. As we will see, in 1868 Maurice was a passenger on one of Harvey's clippers, bound for Montreal.

Maurice's brother-in-law James Gleeson occupied the premises on the corner of Water and Holloway Streets about a block from Maurice's grocery store and adjacent to the Gleeson family forge. Gleeson had maintained a coal business known as Parker and Gleeson, but at the death of William Parker in 1858 Gleeson took over the business and gradually built up one of the largest hardware enterprises in the city.

Another great merchant house across from the Prendergast property belonged to Laurence O'Brien, who had begun life in St. John's as a cooper when he came from Ireland in 1793, and who brought his nephews the Staffords into the business. These may have been relatives of Joseph Strafford who had married Ellen Prendergast.
Across the street from Mary Prendergast's old public house was Hunter and Company, importers, with ships sailing to Europe. Their familiar blue and white striped flags flew over their property on Hunter's Cove until the business closed in the mid 1860's. Directly across the street from the Prendergast grocery store was one of the branches of Job's wholesale dry goods business of London, that had other branches in Liverpool, New York and Halifax.88

Next door was Barnes and Company, whose ships traded with Hamburg, Poole, Bristol, Tynemouth, Newcastle, Exeter and the West Indies. Richard Prendergast, Maurice's brother, sailed their ships, as well as those of Harvey and Company.89 The next block housed James' lumber yard, which did an extensive business with Boston, especially in passenger traffic, and Malloy's auction office. On Water Street, to the west of Prendergast's, were the wholesale grocer John Edens, and Meehan's, which carried on trade in coal and spirits. As the street developed westward, the wharves of W. H. Thomas' merchant business flew red and white flags over their numerous vessels.

This neighborhood, filled with the excitement of international shipping and constant departures and arrivals from all over the world, was the home to which Maurice brought Mary Malvina in 1857. Water Street was at the time an unpaved road along which commercial traffic passed each day. Life in Boston must have seemed quiet and restrained by comparison with the noisy colonial port. As far as we know, Mary Malvina never left a record of what she remembered about it, but her son Maurice missed nothing and in his later paintings of distant cities he captured life as an endless procession along a rockbound harbor with flags and ships and colorful costumes. To him a single remembered city, his birthplace, was to become the source of all the harbors of the world.

The first children born to Maurice and Mary Malvina were twins, Maurice Brazil – the painter – and Lucy Catherine. They were baptized on 10 October 1858 at the Roman Catholic cathedral. Maurice's sponsors were Patrick Brazil and Catherine Gleeson; Lucy's were John Gleeson and Catherine Young.90 The family were to live in St. John's at some of the most exciting moments in its history.

Two months before the birth of the twins the first transatlantic cable from Newfoundland to Ireland had been laid in August, 1858. The ships that had taken part in the event entered St. John's harbor to the ringing of bells and the firing of guns. Cyrus Field, the man responsible for the ocean telegraph, was celebrated with a ball and a regatta.91 The Prince of Wales visited the city in July, 1860. His ship entered the Narrows to the firing of guns, the ringing of bells, the waving of flags and the cheering of crowds by the waterfront. The following day the Prince was driven to Government House; the home of the Governor, accompanied by a great procession of public officials and societies. The city was decorated with bunting and evergreens. Three days of festivities marked the stay of Albert Edward, the future Edward VII, and thousands of people gathered at the
waterfront to bid him farewell.92

The following November, Mary Malvina gave birth to Richard Thomas, whose twin sister was stillborn. He was baptized 19 November 1860, and his godparents were James Hearne and Ellen Mary Gleeson.93

Not all the excitement on Water Street was celebratory. During the Hogsett-Furey election riots of 1861, a mob attacked the shop across from James Gleeson’s business, broke all the windows, “looted the store and scattered the furnishings about Water Street.”94 When a group of eighty soldiers arrived to stop the progress of the mob, shots were fired.95 Three persons were killed and about twenty wounded, among whom was a priest who had been trying to quiet the rebellion. Only Bishop J.T. Mullock, who rang the bells of the Cathedral, was finally successful in disbanding the rioters.96

Maurice and Mary Malvina, with three children under the age of three and living opposite the scene of the looting, must have been concerned for the security of their shop and home. A London report remarked that “the adherents of the several mercantile houses were on the premises with loaded arms, and prepared to use them in case the property was attacked, and many private houses and individuals were furnished with muskets and revolvers, to be determinately employed should an assault be made on them.”97 Hugh Hoyles, the attorney-general, had his country house burned down at this time, and the Prendergasts must have been uncomfortably aware that Hoyles held two mortgages on their property.

After his marriage, Maurice continued his pattern of mortgaging his property for cash. On 29 December 1857 he mortgaged the property at the corner of Prescott and Water Streets to Gilbert Clapp, who lived in the residence next door, for £100 for three years at 6%. There were other deals specified in this agreement. Prendergast sold Clapp the western half of the western wall of his house, together with the right to run flues down the wall. All was recorded on 29 February 1858 in the presence of Hugh Hoyles.98

Clapp released Prendergast from the mortgage on 6 January 1860, when he received his £100, but kept his right to the west wall.99 Apparently Prendergast got the money from another mortgage of the same land to Thomas W. Allen, since in January, 1860, he received £300 for three years at 6%.100 The generous Allen loaned Prendergast another £200 before he (Allen) was declared bankrupt two years later. The trustees, who were trying to settle the estate, accepted in 1865 from Prendergast £125 to satisfy the debt of £500.101

Mary Malvina’s father, Dr. Thomas Hutchinson Germaine, died in Boston on 27 March 1862. A third son, one destined to become another well-known American painter, was born to Maurice and Mary Malvina on 27 May 1863. He was baptized Charles James at St. John’s on June 24102 with James Gleeson and Mary Prendergast103 as godparents. The family Bible records in the following year, on June 28, the death of the Prendergasts’ second son, Richard Thomas, at
the age of three.

The question of where the Prendergast twins, Maurice and Lucy, attended school is open to speculation, but there are some assumptions which seem justified. The Prendergast name had always been associated with the school run by the Benevolent Irish Society. The Gleeson's were active in the society and Patrick Brazil, Maurice's godfather, served for many years as the chairman of their school committee. It might have seemed the logical place to send Maurice. Lucy, on the other hand, would probably have been sent to the Presentation Sisters, who had been brought from Ireland in 1833 to open a school for girls. Thereafter, the Benevolent Irish Society continued the education of boys only, with a curriculum of orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry and the delineation of maps for all students. In the upper level there were additional courses in grammar, book-keeping, geometry, algebra, trigonometry, mensuration and practical geometry, surveying and navigation, a curriculum for boys who would make their living from the sea and a mercantile economy.

The years in which young Maurice would have attended the Orphan Asylum School were years of transition and reorganization, the least successful period in the annals of the institution. Since Bishop Mullock had failed to find a religious order to undertake the instruction of the boys on a long term basis, the instruction was divided between Brother Frances Grace, who had taught there since 1832, and Thomas McGrath, a teacher recruited in Dublin and brought to St. John's in 1857. Attendance was irregular, since many children were kept home in the summer to help their parents in the fishery, and the lack of shoes and warm clothing kept them home in the winter. The Society tried to help meet these needs, but irregular attendance continued to be a problem. In 1862 the government inspector criticized the lack of books and went on to say that the proficiency of the children in spelling was "very indifferent." Young Maurice, who would always have difficulties with spelling, may have been caught in the middle of the pedagogical debate. In November, 1864, the Society discussed closing the school, since the Christian Brothers could not be brought from Ireland to take charge. McGrath resigned in February, 1865, putting the entire school under Brother Grace, a most unsatisfactory situation. In February, 1866, Michael O'Donnell was hired to take charge of the school.

Amid the shifting fortunes of the school, young Maurice surely found an atmosphere and an emphasis that would linger in his later perceptions and methods of recording space. The Society bought the most current navigational equipment on the market for their pupils. They sent to London for sextants, compasses, quadrants, globes, astronomical telescopes, almanacs and charts. These were kept in the "observatory" at the top of the lofty portico that crowned the building fronting on Queen's Road and commanding an unobstructed view of the harbor.
The integration of these nautical instruments into the curriculum was the subject of a report by Brother Grace. He wrote to the Society's school committee: the maps and charts being on a large scale, enable the youth the more readily to trace the boundaries of the different countries, while the splendid pair of globes afford means for the application and illustration of spherical trigonometry.

The azimuth compass, while it enables minor classes in navigation to acquire correct altitudes and azimuths, also assists the higher classes in taking the bearings of celestial objects.

It also enables the youthful astronomers to distinguish the planets from the fixed stars, and to trace them through the various constellations, bringing to view at the same time, stars and planets not otherwise available.

Its use as a transit instrument is invaluable. By it the passage of the sun, moon, or stars over the meridian, or of a planet over the sun's disc, is observed with great accuracy. Aided by the use of your valuable sextant, the calculation of the apparent sidereal and mean time is reduced to great simplicity, affording as it does an unerring method of ascertaining the rate of the chronometer.\textsuperscript{111}

This description by Brother Grace may account for the extraordinary presentation in Prendergast's later paintings of time and space, of fixed forms against a moving, fluctuating background, of illusions of many levels of space passing through each other in transparent planes. The child who might have related the flat charts to concave spheres, to objects moving in the arc of the sky and to the measured turning of the surface of the ocean must have been impressed by the power of these concurrent rhythms. Prendergast's unusual grasp and personal expression of the flux of space and time would thus have been rooted in his childhood experiences of telescopes focused on the throbbing harbor of St. John's and the instruments that calculated the earth's turning and the position of the stars and planets moving in multileveled intersections. This pulsating universe is the context of his measured painted processions and becomes stronger in the more abstract compositions of his late oils, where remembered images dominate his motifs. The memories of those visual demonstrations, whether made in the school observatory or on his uncle's ship, remained in the mind of the young artist, giving Prendergast a method of perceiving light, space and motion that he was to apply to his work. It was the language of everyday life in St. John's.

In the meantime, the finances of the family were becoming more precarious. Maurice may have secured from James Gleeson the money to pay the Allen debt, since Gleeson gave him a mortgage of £100 on 23 September 1864 on the land already twice mortgaged to Hugh Hoyles. The most unusual aspect of the document written to confirm the receipt of £100 from Gleeson is found in the middle of the usual legal terminology, where it is stated that "he the said Maurice Prendergast now has in himself good right, full power and lawful and absolute authority to assign and convey the said land and premises to the said James Gleeson."\textsuperscript{112} This sentence may represent family pressure to turn the estate
of Mary Prendergast over to James and Catherine Gleeson, whose hardware business showed stability in the fluctuating economy of St. John's, while Maurice's grocery store was much more vulnerable to the periodic failure of the fisheries. In retrospect, the family could have been concerned that they might lose the land, if Maurice's creditors became demanding. Perhaps the conservative Gleesons were alarmed by the risky and creative methods of financing that marked Maurice's manner of carrying on the family business.

A few months later, in April of 1865, his sister Ellen joined in the family effort to save the estate, giving Maurice $800 interest free for the property at the corner of Water and Prescott Streets for two years. The document specifies that the property be the parcel of land described in the original indenture of lease written on 30 June 1855.\textsuperscript{113}

The document seems to be less concerned with the loan than with the release of the estate of Mary Prendergast from the complex arrangements that Maurice had laid upon it over the years.\textsuperscript{114} With his signature on this indenture, he had accepted the description of the property in its 1848 condition and rescinded any deals on the store and dwellings on the corner of Water and Prescott Street that he had made as executor. His sisters, Ellen and Catherine, could now place a strong claim on both the Water Street properties, as well as those on Gower Street, if Maurice could not save his foundering business. Unfortunately, things did not improve. The fisheries were not good and in 1868 the economy was in desperate shape.\textsuperscript{115}

The population had grown to the point where it could not be sustained by the fisheries, and in 1864 pauperism was the subject of the Governor's speech opening the session of the legislature. In 1866 the fisheries failed again, and the Governor advised union with Canada to solve the economic difficulties; but no action was taken. The years 1867 and 1868 brought no relief, and in 1868 the Prendergast family decided to emigrate to Boston.

On 30 July 1868, Maurice, father of the painters, left St. John's for Montreal on the \textit{Lady Bird}.\textsuperscript{116} This might have been the first portion of the journey which brought him to Boston to prepare a house for the rest of the family, who reached Boston on the brig \textit{America} in September, 1868.\textsuperscript{117} The same day Maurice sailed out of the harbor, his brother Richard was bringing back the
series of arrivals and departures in the flux of the port of St. John’s. They were joining the procession of departures and were now counted for the records as “Mary Malvina Prendergast age 37, born U.S.A., Maurice and Lucy age 9, born Newfoundland, Charles age 4, born Newfoundland.”

As they sailed out of the harbor, they passed the “great cliffs of dark-red sandstone piled in broken masses on a foundation of grey slate-rock.” On one side Signal Hill stood over 500 feet above sea level; on the other side rose the rocky cliffs over Fort Amherst. The channel passed through the Narrows, at its narrowest point only 560 feet across, and then the city disappeared, and before the travelers stretched unbroken the vast North Atlantic.

Were they drawn to Boston to escape the disastrous financial pressures in St. John’s, against which the family had no reserves? Or were they impelled by the chaotic school situation that could not promise the same quality of education as the public schools in Boston? Or did Mary Malvina wish to be near her family after the death of her father and her sister Lucy? The reasons for their exodus have never been fully explained.

Maurice, the artist-to-be, two weeks short of his tenth birthday, would have the images of St. John’s firmly set in his memory. Over and over again the town with its celebrating population going to the harbor to welcome or bid goodbye to visitors, the hills rising up to enclose the town, the arrivals and departures of fishing boats, the regattas, the measured procession of the sun over the meridian and the pull of the moon on the tides were all stored in the young boy’s fund of images, to be recalled years later when he selected compositions for his paintings.

The Prendergast brothers, Maurice and Charles, were eventually to become known as “Boston” artists, their Newfoundland roots forgotten or unrecognized, but it was the endless excitement of life on Water Street and the busy harbor of St. John’s that would become the prototype of Maurice’s scenes of celebrating crowds against a background of cliffs, boats and ocean.

Notes
2He appears in the 1799 census of Carrick-on-Suir, ref. 00408 078. He is ten years old. His mother is forty and her occupation is given as “washerwoman.” She is married and not widowed, but the husband is not named as living at the address. He may be away in Newfoundland on the yearly fishing expedition that went regularly from the port of Waterford. Letter from Michael Coady to Ellen Glavin, 8 February 1994.
3Edward-Vincent Chafe, editor, Belvedere Cemetery vol. 2 of 6; “Graves in Section IV,” H 789 i, published by the Newfoundland and Labrador Genealogical Society. Chafe contributed substantially to the research for this article, especially in the area of nineteenth-century Newfoundlanders who moved to Boston. According to Chafe, the stone would have been carved in Ireland, because Newfoundland had no local stone
carvers. The memory of this beautiful headstone from Carrick may have inspired Charles to give his own carving shop the name "Carrig-Rohane."


6 Letter from John Mannion to Ellen Glavin, 23 June 1993.

7 Ibid.

8 Chafe, unpublished research notes, August, 1993.

9 St. John’s Baptisms 1817-1820, Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (PANL) Roman Catholic Basilica Baptisms, Box 1, File 3, p. 118.


12 Mannion, unpublished research.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Letter from John Mannion to Ellen Glavin, 23 June 1993.

16 Waterford Journal, 19 July 1819. Also reported in Waterford Chronicle, 21 July 1819.

17 Waterford Journal, 19 July 1819.

18 No records have been found for Catherine’s baptism, but her age at her death on 21 September 1898, was given as 78. Since we have a record of baptisms for her brother Maurice on 7 June 1820, and her sister Mary on 5 December 1821, we conclude Catherine was born in 1819.


20 Chafe, unpublished research. The case also appears in the Name File of Dr. Keith Matthews, Maritime History Archives, Memorial University, St. John’s, Newfoundland.

21 PANL Roman Catholic Baptisms 1817-1820, Box 1, File 6, p. 8.

22 Letter from John Mannion to Ellen Glavin, 23 June 1993.

23 Newfoundland Registered Vessels 1820-1840 (Maritime History Archives, Memorial University, St. John’s, Newfoundland), p. 192.

24 Index to Newfoundland Captains (Maritime History Archives, Memorial University, St. John’s), p. 173.

25 Mannion, unpublished research.

26 Letter to Sir Charles Hamilton 24 October 1821. PANL C.O. 194 Vol. 64, 1821 p. 129.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 PANL Roman Catholic Baptisms Box 1, File 6, p. 70.


32 Centenary Volume, p. 56.

33 PANL Minutes of the Benevolent Irish Society 1822-1859, B.5.1.
100 Glavin

34Ibid.
35Centenary Volume, p. 62.
36Centenary Volume, p. 140.
37Centenary Volume, p. 66.
38PANL Roman Catholic Baptisms, File 7, p. 157. Ellenora was baptized on 28 January 1824, when she was three days old.
39We are uncertain of the age of Richard, the son, since no baptismal records have been found for him. He is first mentioned in his mother's will in 1854.
40Letter from John Mannion to Ellen Glavin, 23 June 1993.
41Ibid.
42Newfoundland Mercantile Journal, 22 February 1827, and Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser, 23 February 1827.
43Court Records, Court House, Duckworth Street, St. John's, Newfoundland. See also PANL GN 5/1 Vol 1, p. 215.
44Letter from Edward Chafe to Ellen Glavin, 19 June 1993.
45Court Records, Court House, Duckworth Street, St. John's, Newfoundland.
46Ibid. Stephen Malone verified the signature of witness Richard Cooke, grocer, who had died four years earlier. He further testified that the other witness Samuel S. F. Burgess had left the country eight or nine years earlier for Ireland and was believed to have died there. James Coady verified the writing of Samuel Burgess, and Thomas Morton verified the writing of Richard Prendergast.
49Prowse, op. cit., p. 458.
50Newfoundland Patriot, 18 May 1842.
54Registry of Deeds, Confederation Building, St. John's, Vol. 21, p. 4. “Maurice Prendergast to Ellen Strafford.” Prowse lists the premises of Gilbert Clapp as one of the businesses destroyed in the fire of 1846; op. cit., p. 460.
56PANL Will of Patrick Gleeson, op. cit. Patrick Kough also served as Vice President of the Benevolent Irish Society at this time. See Centenary Volume, p. 138.
57Edward Chafe, unpublished research.
58PANL Roman Catholic Basilica Marriage Records, Box 8.
60Royal Gazette, 31 August 1852. From Gertrude Crosbie's “Index of Births, Deaths and Marriages in Newfoundland Papers,” p. 318. PANL.
61PANL Roman Catholic Baptisms, 1858 records. The second child of Joseph Strafford and Ellen Prendergast was “born at Toronto.”
62Public Ledger, 27 January 1857. The marriage announcement refers to “Captain
Richard Prendergast of the Brig. *Flirt.*

61Will of Mary Prendergast, Court Records, Court House, Duckworth Street, St. John's, Newfoundland.

64James died in Boston in 1854, five weeks after his mother's death and before the mother’s will was probated. Letter from Edward Chafe to Ellen Glavin, 15 July 1993.

65Court Records, Court House, Duckworth Street, St. John's, Newfoundland.

66*PANL* Roman Catholic Baptisms, 1853.

67Court Records, Court House, Duckworth Street, St. John's, Newfoundland.

68Ibid.

69*Royal Gazette*, 30 May 1854.

70Registry of Deeds, Confederation Building, St. John's, Newfoundland, Central District Vol. 14, p. 314.


74Family Bible in the Prendergast Archives at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts. See also *Gertrude Crosbie Index*, p. 270.

75Information supplied September 1986 by Reference Librarian Mary Van Winkle from the records of the Francis A. Countway Library, Harvard University.

76*Boston Directory* 1870-1880.

77*PANL* Basilica, St. John's Marriage Records, Box 9, October 11, 1851. See also Boston passenger list: “James Prendergast, 30 years, cooper, born in Newfoundland; Bridget Prendergast, 27 years, born in Newfoundland. Arrived in Boston on the Schooner *General Washington* from St. John's, Nfld., 23 December 1851.”

78Massachusetts State Archives, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Boston.


80*Boston Directory* 1867.

81Edward-Vincent Chafe, “A New Life on 'Uncle Sam's Farm' Newfoundlanders in Massachusetts 1846-1859,” unpublished thesis, 1982, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland.

82*PANL* Basilica, St. John's Marriages 1855-1874, Box 9, p. 37.

83“Water Street in the Sixties,” *Colonial Commerce* 25 (31 December 1915):50. The information about Water Street in the 60's is taken from this article.

84Ibid., p. 50.

85Ibid., p. 51.

86Maritime History Archives, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland, “Newfoundland Registered Vessels, 1820-1940,” p. 174.

87*The Newfoundland*, 4 August 1868.

88*Water Street in the Sixties,* p. 52. The leading men in the business “wore their beaver hats going to and from their work.” The Job family residence was above their store and all unmarried clerks boarded on the premises. “All the stores had shutters in those days and had to be put up from the outside one by one. This work was the dread of the junior clerks on a cold evening in winter and much profanity was spent in fitting the
shutters into position in a high wind.”

88Maritime History Archives, loc. cit.
89Records at the Basilica Parish Office, Baptisms 1855-1867, p. 104.
93Family Bible and Records at the Basilica Parish Office, Baptisms 1855-1867, p. 275.
95Pedley, The History of Newfoundland, pp. 436-443. This history, published in London, gave a more dramatic account of this disturbance: “the news was bruited about that there was a serious rioting in the principal street of the city. A Roman Catholic, politically obnoxious to the mob, had his premises attacked, the windows broken to the very frames, and all the contents of the establishment carried away, or strewn over the street. This wreck being completed, the multitude proceeded to the larger premises of another Roman Catholic, and there pursued the work of ruthless demolition, accompanying it with the most unblushing robbery.”
96Ibid.
97Ibid.
102Basilica Parish Office, Baptisms 1855-1867, p. 104. The month delay between birth and baptism is unusual and may indicate that Charles was born in another city, possibly wherever his uncle Charles was practicing medicine. The uncle had left Boston in 1852, according to the city directory, and Harvard Medical School records state that he left the state to practice in Syracuse, New York. An announcement in the Syracuse Standard for June 14, 1852, states that Charles N. Germaine would teach obstetrics in the new medical school starting Sept., 1852. Mary Malvina, who had lost a child in 1860, would probably have sought her brother’s help in 1863.
103This Mary Prendergast may be the wife of Richard Prendergast, who on 14 January 1857 married Mary McCarthy in St. John’s at the Basilica. The witnesses were Stephen Henry Knight and Bridget Walsh. See PANL, Basilica Marriages 1855-1874, Book 1, p. 35. The Public Ledger of 27 January 1857 carried the notice: “Married — on Wednesday the 14th inst. by Rev. K. Walsh, Captain Richard Prendergast of the Brigt. Flirt to Mary Ellen, oldest daughter of the late W. McCarthy, Esq.” Richard had married a month before Maurice but claimed his inheritance from his mother only in 1861, land which he sold immediately to the Southcott Builders for £134. The baptismal registers at St. John’s record three daughters born to Richard Prendergast and Mary McCarthy, Mary Florence, 1 January 1858, Johanna Joseph, 11 October 1859, and Sophia Joseph, 26 March 1861.
104PANL Minutes of the Benevolent Irish Society 1822-1859, B 51. Members of the committee visited the school three times a week and reported each week to the full committee. See Centenary Volume, p. 88.
105 Centenary Volume, p. 164. A group of Franciscan monks had staffed the school in the late 1840's but left between 1850 and 1852 to return to Ireland.
106 Centenary Volume, p. 164.
107 Centenary Volume, pp. 178-180.
108 Centenary Volume, pp. 188-190.
110 Centenary Volume, p. 110.
111 Centenary Volume, p. 118.
113 Registry of Deeds, Vol. 21, p. 4.
114 Ibid. The deed specified that the property be "freed from all claims of equity of redemption or otherwise of him the said Maurice Prendergast, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns or any person or persons claiming or to claim the same by, from or under him or them or the said Mary Prendergast,"
115 Joseph Hatton and M. Harvey, Newfoundland, the Oldest British Colony (London: Chapman and Hall, 1883), p. 117.
116 The Newfoundland, 4 August 1868.
117 Chafe, unpublished research.
118 The Newfoundland, 4 August 1868.
119 Passenger List, Brig America, from the Port of Halifax to Boston, Boston Public Library.
120 Hatton and Harvey, pp. 147-148.