# The Clover and the Cactus: Nineteenth-Century Life in Southeast Texas.

# By Julie Richko Labate

With the assistance and support of the local community, this is a co-operative archaeological project, conducted under the umbrella of a proposed Irish Diaspora Archaeology Research Project (IDARP) in University College Dublin. Texas is a quintessential example of the need for historic preservation in the context of a wider global exploration of Irish diaspora archaeology.

## Introduction

From 1820 to 1920, about five million people born in Ireland entered and settled in the United States of America (McCaffrey 1976: 1). For the most part these individuals originated from rural backgrounds, mostly from the west coast of Ireland, and settled in relatively industrial cities such as New York, Boston and Chicago. There is however, an urban bias in the historical analysis of the Irish American experience (Fitzgerald and King 1990: ix). This project aims to dispel some of the notions that have arisen as a result of this bias. Many Irish settled in southern states. For instance Mr. H. C. Bryson, from the north of Ireland, engaged in the cotton trade in South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi for forty years (Maguire 1868: 236). Although the Irish did settle in cities in large numbers, they also settled in the rural West (Fitzgerald and King 1990: 2). The sheer vastness of America was a driving force in the emigration and populating of the States in the nineteenth century.

Between 1825 and 1836, many Irish settled in California. These were principally masters or officers of American trading vessels (Maguire 1868: 264). Similarity of religion was greatly influential in building an alliance between the Spanish and the Irish. Many of these early settlers were men of fair education and good manners, and principally came from the Southern provinces of Ireland (Maguire 1868: 265). Some became proprietors of extensive land and raised stock, other practiced as physicians, while more acquired wealth and repute as enterprising merchants (Maguire 868: 265). For the most part, the earlier Irish groups emigrated to American because of a "want of capital" (Maguire 1868: 1). Religion is also important because it may have been a major reason that the emigrants left Ireland.

John Francis Maguire recorded the Irish in America during the nineteenth century and enquired if the Irish Catholics had lost their faith as a consequence of their emigration. He set out to learn whether the Irish Catholics had lost their faith, or had used their religion as a defense. He postulated that the loss of faith would be "fatal to their material progress, would disastrously interfere with the proper performance of their duties as citizens, and would be certain to turn the public opinion of American against them" (Maguire 1868: ix).

Although small in population, the Irish in Texas left their imprint in Texan history during the nineteenth century. Texas was settled and revolutionized and its frontiers were explored (Flannery 1980: 3). The Irish began to immigrate to Texas with the English defeat of Irish armies at the Battle of Kinsale, Ireland in 1602 (Flannery 1980: 3). The Irish reached Texas and became permanent land settlers in the 1820s, decades before Texas became part of the United States, but they were not the first Irish residents on Lone Star Soil. They were preceded by two centuries by "Irish soldiers, priests, administrators, explorers and pioneers under the flag of Spain" (Fitzgerald and King 1990: 199). Thus, Texas has had a long close relationship with Ireland.

## **Irish in Southeast Texas**

Colonies were built by such pioneers as John McMullen and James McGloin who received a contract for their colony, San Patricio, on 16th of August 1828. The Imperial Colonization Law of 1823 stated that the Governor of Texas was instructed to apportion land either directly among immigrant families or indirectly though emparsarios "who should agree to being in not less than two hundred families. Each family was to adopt as its occupation with farming or grazing. Each farming family was to have 177 acres of land; each grazing family 4,428 acres" (Stephenson 1921: 7 see also Fitzgerald and King 1990: 204). The weather conditions of Texas were quite different from those previously experienced by the Irish settlers. Upon arrival, the settlers' first concern was growing crops of corn and potatoes (Flannery 1980: 49). Crop planting began as a communal effort for protection from the Native Americans. They assisted each other in clearing the fields and platting the crops. Each harvest was distributed equally. Sugar and coffee were obtained by Mexican traders and Mexican culture played a great role in the lives of the new immigrants in Texas.

Since Texas was still owned by Mexico, all immigrants were to prove they were Roman Catholic (Stephenson 1921: 7). During this time, only the Spanish language was to be used in public transactions. Moreover, a colonist who married a Mexican was allowed more land than one who did not (Stephenson 1921: 9). These are a few examples of how the Mexican government influenced the Texan colonies.

In the late 1820s the government of newly independent Mexico, concerned about American encroachment into its territory, authorized four Irish-born empresarios, or land speculators, to attract settlers to its northern province of Texas. Small numbers of Irish people arrived between 1829 and 1834 to establish a home primarily in two places along the south Texas coast: Refugio, an old Spanish mission near Copano Bay, and San Patricio de Hibernica, located on the north side of Neuces River. Many died before they reached their destinations. Those that completed the journey found a hostile landscape in which they struggled to establish a long-term presence. In the 1835-36 Texas Revolution, the surviving settlers shifted their allegiance from Mexico to America. Many of them went on to play a significant role in American history.

Land commissioner José Antonio Saucedo arrived in October 1831 to issue land grants to eight settlers. A town site of four square leagues, called Villa de San Patricio de Hibernia in honor of Ireland's patron saint, had been laid out by surveyor William O'Docharty. In 1834 José María Balmaceda, the new land commissioner, returned to issue another seventy-six land grants. Local autonomy under Mexican rule was increased in 1834 when the municipality of San Patricio was established. Among those who confirmed grants in San Patricio de Hibernia were: James, Edward, John and Patrick McGloin; John McMullen; John McSheany; John Hefferman; and George O'Docharty (Flannery 1980: 40).

McGloin and McMullen received permission from the Mexican government on August 16, 1828, to settle 200 Irish Catholic families in Texas. After recruiting settlers in New York, the empresarios hired the New Packet and Albion to transport the colonists to their new home. Permission from the Mexican government was not an outright donation of land; the fulfillment of certain contractual agreements was imperative since the contract was only valid for 6 years (Flannery 1980: 31; Guthrie 1986). One of the stipulations of the contract stated that a certain number of the settlers must be of Mexican heritage. The agreement, however, was not met. Neither was the agreement that all should follow the Catholic religion (Davis 2002: 88).

The first settlers from New York and Philadelphia arrived at El Cópano on the New Packet and Mesquite Landing and Matagorda on the Albion in late October 1829 (Flannery 1980: 38). They made their way to the old mission at Refugio, where they remained for some time (Guthrie 1986). They eventually chose a town site where the Camino Real from Goliad to Laredo and the Atascosito Road from Louisiana crossed the Nueces River. It is not known just exactly when the settlers moved from Refugio to the Nueces River site; however, by November 18, 1830, the move was completed.

San Patricio de Hibernica was the new town at the centre of the Neuces empresa granted in 1828 to John McMullen (from Donegal) and James McGloin (from Sligo). John McMullen was born in eastern Donegal, Ireland in 1785 (Flannery 1980: 34). He moved to Baltimore, Maryland with is family and then later to Savannah, Georgia where he met and married Esther Cummings, a widow with 2 children, in 1810 (Flannery 1980: 34). He then moved to Matamoros, Mexico to operate a merchandising company in 1825. After 3 years, he went into the colonization business with is son-in-law James McGloin who was from Co. Sligo (Fitzgerald and King 1990: 206).

The grant of this empresa was made in 1828 (Guthrie 1986). The first settlers for San Patricio (35 Irish families, mainly from New York but also from Kentucky and New Orleans) arrived in south Texas in 1829. They stayed in Refugio as no settlement site was ready for them in the Neuces area. The new town of San Patricio was eventually laid out in 1830, with the survey being conducted by William O'Docharty and with McGloin himself taking responsibility for erecting the cabins ('factories'). According to an oral tradition the site chosen for the town had previously been occupied by Mexicans but was largely deserted as the result of an Indian raid.

In 1834, the population of the settlement increased with the arrival of some Anglo-Americans, hitherto prohibited from holding empresa land, and of a further boatload of Irish colonists, this time directly from Ireland. The population was now sufficiently large for San Patricio to possess an *ayuntamiento* (town council) with elected officers (an *alcalde*, or mayor, and four *regidores*, or councilmen). The town did not survive the revolutionary wars of 1835-6 as a significant settlement. Today San Patricio

is a rural locale (population 200) that shows barely a hint that it was intended to be a substantial township.

After 1834, transacting public business in English was permitted and the freedom of the workshop was enacted (Stephenson 1921: 54). This reform marked the beginning of the Mexican government's loss of power over their Texan colonies. It appears that the residents of San Patricio were not caught up immediately in the revolutionary spirit that prevailed over most of Mexican Texas in 1835; however, representatives from San Patricio participated in all conventions except the first. With the help of men from San Patricio, Capt. Ira Westover and his men from Goliad captured Fort Lipantitlán in December 1835. In early 1836 the Matamoros expedition began to move to the front, with the intention of marching on Mexico; on February 27 Gen. José Urrea surprised Col. Francis W. Johnson's men in San Patricio and killed or captured most of the unit:

Toward the south near the coast the army of Grant and Johnson occupied in town of San Patricio, for, hearing that Matamoras has been strongly reinforced they has lost heart for their venture and knew not which way to turn. In the thru plane, Fannin with his expedition was at Goliad near Johnson and Grant (Stephenson 1921: 70).

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of February, Travis, whose force was concentrated an Alamo, reported that Mexicans occupied San Antonio across the river. Three thousand Mexicans were closing in on one hundred and fifty Texans. But so unfaltering was the attitude of the Texans that one can sympathize with the great scholar of Texas who called 'the letter in which Travis announced the opening of the siege the most heroic document made in American historical record" (Stephenson 1921: 70).

Johnson lingered in San Patricio without a definite purpose. Suddenly "Mexicans fell upon them; their force was annihilated and Grant was killed. Though news of this disaster reached Fannin at Goliad, he continued to do nothing for another week. The Mexicans for once were more active than the Americans" (Stephenson 1921: 72)

San Patricio was ravaged and pillaged (Davis 2002: 128). The Texans were buried in the Old Cemetery on the Hill at San Patricio. After the battle of San Patricio the Mexican army became an ever-present menace. San Patricio became a ghost town as the colonists fled to Victoria and other refuges, leaving their homes and livestock unprotected. James McGloin devoted himself to the development of San Patricio Colony

and died on June 19, 1856. He is buried in Old San Patricio Cemetery. Later the municipality was declared a depopulated area, and so it remained until Gen. Zachary Taylor arrived in South Texas in 1845. He stationed a dragoon of troops in San Patricio and returned a semblance of law and order to the frontier town.

For the next two decades the city grew, as more and more settlers arrived and farming and ranching became more profitable. The overland Cotton Road crossed the Nueces River at San Patricio, and the wagon crews stopped to buy supplies and drink in the local saloon. Outlaws preyed on the wagon trains, giving rise to tales about crews who buried their gold south of the river (Guthrie 1986). Descendents of the Doughertys of San Patricio played a major role in the local education system. Robert Dougherty was a highly educated man who grew up in Donegal, Ireland and had taught school in San Patricio. Afterwards, he taught the Hidalgo Seminary in Corpus Christi and then returned as a teacher to San Patricio. It was at this time that he organized and established a boys' boarding school (Flannery 1986: 115). This two-story building is excellently preserved and stands near the McGloin house at Round Lake just west of San Patricio. In the 1880s San Patricio had several churches, schools, cotton gins, a gristmill, and a population of 200. St. Joseph's Convent, a school for girls and St. Paul's Academy for boys were established in 1876. By 1890 the population was 400. After Sinton became the county seat in June 1894, San Patricio began to decline. In 1901 a citizens' group persuaded the state legislature to disincorporate the city.

For over seventy years San Patricio was all but forgotten, until in 1972 the city of Corpus Christi sought to annex an area on the Nueces River that would have given it jurisdiction over the old town. The citizens of San Patricio rose to the challenge and defeated the annexation attempt; they reincorporated on August 12, 1972. An awareness of the heritage of San Patricio has caused renewed interest in its history. The San Patricio Restoration Society has used annual world championship rattlesnake races on St. Patrick's Day as a means to raise funds to preserve the city's landmarks. Enough money was raised to rebuild the courthouse of 1872 according to original specifications; it was dedicated in 1987. In 1990 the population of San Patricio was 369.



# Refugio

Pronounced 'Refurio' by locals today, Refugio was the empresa of the two other Irish empresarios, James Hewetson (from Kilkenny) and James Power (from Wexford). The site of the town of Refugio had been occupied in the eighteenth century by Karankawan Copane Indians and in 1795 it was the location of the last Spanish mission in Texas. The mission was abandoned in 1830.

Hewetson and Power applied for the Refugio empresa in 1826, proposing to settle 400 families, half of them Mexican, half of them Irish. Their application was approved in 1828, though only 200 settler families, again half Mexican and half Irish, were required by the terms of their contract. Moreover, their contract stipulated that their town – to be located at the mission site – would only be established once 100 families had arrived.

Various legal battles over the rights of Hewetson and Power to Refugio ensued and were not resolved until 1832. The first settlers for the Hewetson/Power empresa had arrived in 1829, and they shared the settlement site with some families awaiting grants in the McMullen/McGloin empresa of San Patricio. Once the legal disputes over Refugio were resolved in favour of the Irish empresarios, Power traveled to Ireland to attract more settlers, and he arrived back in Texas in May 1834 with, it seems, more than 100 colonists, although as many again had died in transit. The majority of the new settlers came from Ballygarret in Wexford.

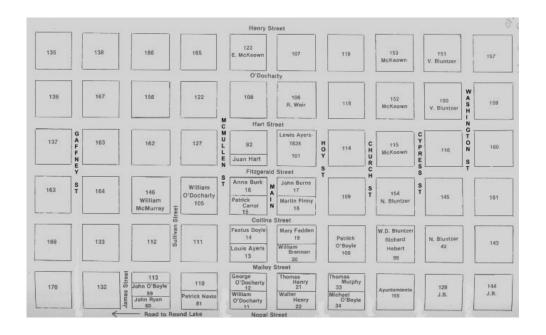
The town was laid out in 1834, with the survey conducted by James Bray. Unlike San Patricio, it remains a significant settlement with a modern population of several thousand people.

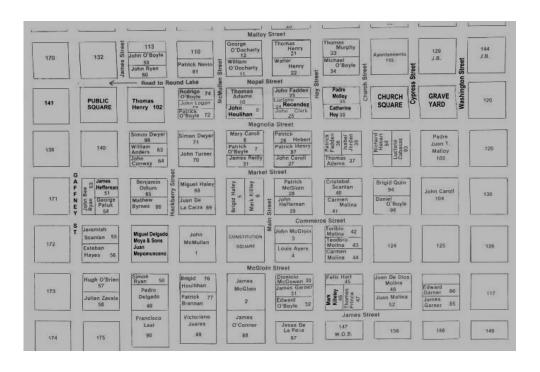
## The Town Plans

Both towns were laid out following the legal conventions for colonial towns in Spanish and later Mexican territories. House lots (solares) were square in plan and arranged along regularly-measured grid-patterned streets, with certain lots earmarked for public buildings, public spaces, and utilities. In each case, the central square was to be named Constitution Square and to contain the courthouse. We have especially good documentary detail for the layout of Refugio; Article 13 of its foundation charter, for example, tells us that

The block fronting the principal square, upon the east side, shall be destined for a church, curate's dwelling and other ecclesiastical edifices; and that on the west, for municipal buildings or town halls. In another suitable place he [the surveyor] shall point out a block for a market square, one for a jail and house of correction, one for a school and other buildings for public instruction, and another without the limits of the town for a burial ground.

Nineteenth-century drawn plans of the towns – town plats – survive for both San Patricio and Refugio. An inspection of the copy of Bray's plat preserved in the Deed Records of Refugio County suggests the original street systems and property lots of the 1830s are visible in both places.

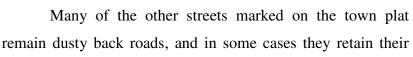




# **Archaeological Potential of Southeast Texas**

San Patricio's largely abandoned (or undeveloped) character renders it the more

archaeologically promising of the two towns. The modern north-south highway at San Patricio, with its scattering of modern houses, is the original Main Street and it still bears that name. Constitution Square still qualifies as the centre of the settlement if only for the fact that the Historical Marker for the settlement is located here (*right*).





1830 names (for example, McMullen and McGloin streets, *below left*), while other streets have been encroached upon by vegetation through lack of use.

A number of the lots have modern buildings on them, but most are empty, and of these a good many are under fairly thick vegetation and cannot be safely traversed due to the presence of rattlesnakes. Constitution Square, with its rebuilt courthouse, is one of a number of fully cleared lots (**below**, *right*).





The lots that are of special interest archaeologically are those that are (a) closest to Constitution Square and can be identified as having belonged to the empresarios themselves or to their closest associates, and (b) are sufficiently overgrown to have deterred relic hunters. The McMullen and (James) McGloin plots (Nos 1 and 2 respectively on the town plat) are of particular interest.

Outside the town and close to Round Lake are two important mid-nineteenthcentury houses associated with the early settlers. James McGloin built a new, one-story house in 1855. It is entirely of timber with two rooms (divided by a wide hall) and a long attic room. A detached kitchen at the rear was later connected to the house. The second house, the Docharty House of 1875, is a very substantial, two-storied, L-shaped house. No records have been recovered as to the layout of these houses, although according to one traveler, oral tradition explains in 1834 all the houses were the same.

The McMullen lot has seen some excavation in recent years by local amateur archaeologists. It is claimed that within the excavated area (which seems to have been less than one-fifth of the total area) the foundations of McMullen's house were found. Bill Havelka and Jerry Bauman, the principal investigators of the San Patricio excavations, recovered artifacts typical to a historical house site (i.e. military buttons, beads, a thimble, and other miscellanea) along with a site plan.

Through 1996 to present, Bill Havelka and Jerry Bauman have performed excavations in San Patricio. Approximately 1200-1500 artifacts were collected from 20 30 x 25 ft. units, which were 2 to 4" in depth (Havelka and Bauman 1996; 1997). These Artifacts lend insight into the settlement. For instance, cups and bowls do not comprise a majority of the kitchenware found while little nor no plate material was recorded, suggesting a communal settlement. English trade is evident from the (c.1830) hand painted ceramic fragments recovered. This costly ceramic is to be expected as most of the McGloin and McMullen family was affluent (Havelka and Bauman 1996; 1997). One of the most interesting pieces recovered is a thimble that is inscribed with "I WILL PROTECT THEE" No. 549. There is evidence of similar thimbles found in Ireland. A small pair of iron sewing scissors and a thimble were excavated in the northern cabin at the Nary site. The scissors, "found in two pieces were approximately 6.5 cm long and 4 cm wide, and either had rounded tips or had the pointed tips broken off" (Hull 2004:10).

The thimble is of a copper or brass alloy and has a phrase "FORGET ME NOT" scrolled along the bottom (Hull 2004:10). Thimbles were usually considered appropriate gifts from young men to young women since they were not too personal (Griggs 2001:82). These thimbles usually had inscriptions such as: "A PRESENT," "LOVE," "FORGET ME NOT," and "FROM A FRIEND," as seen in thimbles excavated at the Five Points site in New York (Griggs 2001:82). The Five Points area in New York City was one of the major urban centers that saw an influx of immigrants during the nineteenth century. This sewing object indicates hand stitching was a common activity, probably performed by women, and practiced in this household in Ireland. The fact that no cisterns, waste pits or outbuildings were recovered suggests that there is much more to be investigated in that lot.

## Other features of the San Patricio landscape

Old San Patricio cemetery is an unenclosed (and therefore indeterminately-sized) cemetery on a low rise to the north-east of the town. An oral tradition maintained that it was established by the pre-1830 Mexican community. The Old San Patricio Cemetery is said to be established on Native American burial sites. Some members of the DeLeon family could possibly be buried in this cemetery as well. The most interesting aspect of this area is that James McGloin's grave is lost in the cemetery due to family feuding. Bill Havelka found new graves over the summer 2006.

The cemetery was ordained in the colonization laws of Coahuila and Texas, which stated that cemeteries had to be incorporated into the platted layouts of new towns, and accordingly San Patricio was given a cemetery within its town area in 1830, so it is unlikely that this hillside cemetery would have been founded after that date. Nonetheless, Irish settlers continued to use the old cemetery up to 1872 when the local parish priest, Father Maury, claimed it to be unconsecrated – note that it is not associated with a church nor does it ever seem to have been – and insisted that the main town cemetery be used instead.

The old cemetery's condition is poor: many of the headstones are damaged and identifications are not possible. Among its most interesting features is the (c.1900?)railing that surrounds the grave of the Hart family.





# Archaeological Analysis

Given the large scale of emigration, Irish emigrants clearly fulfilled a number of vital functions within Ireland and the world economy. Firstly, they contributed to the magnetization of Ireland by transforming the geolinguistic map of Ireland and

"greatly reducing the number of Irish speakers in the country. Secondly, it facilitated the commercialization of Irish agriculture and made Ireland a major emigrant business in the world economy. Thirdly, it intensified the eastward drift of political power in Ireland and exacerbated its socio-spatial concentration in the rich agricultural heartlands and in the east of the country. Fourthly, emigration, particulars after the Famine, reseal end the extent to chichi socio-economic lie in Ireland was determined by forced operating at the level of the international not jut the national economy. Fifthly, together with the Great Famine – and other Famines preceding the 'Hungry Forties' – emigration fundamentally altered power relations in Ireland by removing large numbers of young adults from the land just when they came of political age. Finally, as the century progressed, emigration contributed to the abatement of social tensions in family farms in the rich agricultural regions and in peripheral areas in the west and northwest of the country"

(Mac Laughlin 1994: 5-6).

Using selected case studies, the primary aims in this research are to document aspects of the material culture and domestic-spatial organisation of Irish peasant society and the diaspora during the mid-1800s. Secondly, this work will explore the transformation or resistance to transformation, of materialities and spatialities during the post-Famine era rent strikes and evictions leading to transnational diaspora. Finally, this research will explore how those transformations, or resistances to transformation, reflect four particular conceptualisations and negotiations of identity at critical moments of political, social, geographical or ecological rupture: the national/political/ethnic ('Irish'), the social ('peasant'), the gendered, and the 'self'. The principle guiding this research holds that society is constituted materially and spatially, and that sensitive analysis of any society's objects and landscapes of habitation, from the household-scale upwards, is necessary if it is to be understood in any holistic sense.

#### **Future Goals**

Our project would be inter-disciplinary and inter-institutional. It would integrate conventional archaeological research (survey, excavation) with historical research and ethnography. It could be considered under the umbrella of public archaeology; indeed, given the importance of the Irish in Texan history (e.g. the Alamo) and of Irish identity in America, it could be conceptualised as a public archaeology project (akin to the project at New Philadelphia, a settlement with which San Patricio has affinities). Concepts such as the frontier (the Neuces valley was a frontier in the 1830s), memory (folk memories of San Patricio in the Mex-Tex war and in the Civil War, for example) and identity (the transformation of Irish and Mexican identities in the early 1800s) would be advertised strongly in the project.

This project should lead to an application to have the entire town site nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. Thinking of the larger context, this project can be considered as part of a bigger IDARP (Irish Diaspora Archaeology Research Project); UCD's membership of the Universitas 21 group may be useful here. We could generate (a) an historical-archaeological methodology for the investigation of diaspora communities and for the integration of the different types of relevant data, and (b) a format for its on-line presence. We might envisage in five years from now an on-line compilation of archaeological data on the Irish overseas, curated by us. Texas today, Argentina tomorrow?

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