

Another Irishman in Philadelphia:
Spanish Atlantic Dimensions of Mathew Carey's Worlds, 1760-1839

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Born in Ireland around 1760, he migrated to Philadelphia in the early 1780s. By the middle of the next decade, he had established himself in prominent business, social and Roman Catholic circles in the nation's capital, married, and had members of his growing family baptized in St. Joseph's Church. In the new century, he became deeply embroiled in the contentious politics of St. Mary's Church, particularly during the Hogan Schism. In the 1820s and 1830s, he pursued a variety of domestic economic opportunities and interests. After a full and successful life, he died in 1839. A thumbnail rendering of Mathew Carey's life to be sure, but the individual described here is one John Leamy, who built his substantial fortune initially by trading from Philadelphia with ports throughout the Spanish Atlantic.

The historical record, especially on this side of the Atlantic, reveals far more about Mathew Carey than his contemporary John Leamy, and even less about the nature of the relationship they enjoyed over the years. It is clear that they lived, worked, socialized, worshipped, and politicked in extremely close proximity not only to each other but also to an intriguing cast of characters from the Spanish Empire who moved through Philadelphia in the transformative years of the early republic. Naturally, these Peninsular and "Pan-American" Spaniards were attracted to the city that served as the political and cultural capital of the new nation from 1790 to 1800, but for them Philadelphia was also the North American port with pre-eminent and persistent ties to the Spanish Atlantic. Yet, it was precisely during this era of opportunity for personal advancement for Carey and Leamy that the Pennsylvania metropolis began to lose ground overall in foreign trade to rising competitors in New York and Baltimore. The overlapping worlds of Mathew Carey and John Leamy changed dramatically during their shared lifespan, and the concurrent reconfiguration of the Spanish Empire played a not insignificant role in this transformation. Indeed, what we can piece together about the career of

John Leamy may reflect the broader redefinition of Philadelphia's position in the North American and Atlantic economies.

The 1780s: Establishing a Network of Experience and Influence

While Mathew Carey left volumes of published works, including a series of autobiographical letters from the 1830s, there are no comparable sources generated by John Leamy; nor does a run of any of his business records appear to have been preserved. We do know that both life stories began in Ireland around 1760, perhaps a few years earlier for Leamy. There Carey learned the printer-bookseller's trade in the late 1770s, and then briefly fled from Ireland to France. By that point, Leamy had already departed permanently from Ireland, probably early in his adolescence, to be "educated" in southern Spain. We do know that he became fluent in Spanish. We do not know why or how he came to reside in Cádiz and/or Sevilla in the first place, nor for how long he stayed. Nor do we know how and why Leamy, identified in 1780 as a resident of Philadelphia, was commissioned as commander of the *Adventure*, a Pennsylvania privateer brig, although his connection to the city could have been made through the flour-trading Meade family.¹ Leamy then may have re-crossed the Atlantic, since the next year, he delivered letters, luxury goods and funds to Francisco Rendón, secretary of the Spanish legation who resided in Philadelphia for the first half of the decade. In the interlude between the death of Juan

¹ The *Adventure* is listed on American War of Independence- At Sea, at <http://www.awiatsea.com/Privateers/A/Adventure%20Pennsylvania%20Brig%20%5BLEamy%5D.html>, citing the Naval Records of the American Revolution, among other sources; a bond of \$20,000 had been given by the commander, Leamy, and one of the owners, Alexander Nelson. The Meade family also had roots in Ireland (Tipperary), with multi-generational connections both to Cádiz and to the Philadelphia flour trade. One of Richard W. Meade's sons had "Leamy" as his middle name.

de Miralles, the designated Spanish observer to the Continental Congress, and the arrival of Diego de Gardoqui, the first Minister Plenipotentiary of Spain to the United States, Rendón was just the right contact to nurture.² Leamy's attentions to the Spanish secretary appear to have advanced the Irishman's fortunes in fairly short order. By 1786, the same year that Rendón returned to Spain after ending a scandalous relationship with a Philadelphia merchant's daughter, Dr. Benjamin Rush referred to Leamy as a "respectable merchant" when recommending that his brother James, though an acknowledged Catholic, be admitted to the College of Carlisle. Rush pointed out that this would demonstrate the "liberal spirit" of both town and institution, and further implied (correctly, it turned out) that Leamy's appreciation would yield significant results in terms of future referrals.³

In 1788, Gardoqui, from a prominent merchant family in Bilbao, acknowledged that Leamy had assisted him with certain matters, including the recruitment of Pennsylvania artisans to settle and work in Spanish Louisiana.⁴ Moreover, Leamy also ingratiated himself with Gardoqui's two young subordinates, Josef de Jádenes y Nebot and José Ignacio Viar, who had settled in Philadelphia around 1784, the year of Mathew Carey's arrival in the city. It was also in 1784 that Spain tried to close off direct North American trade to Cuba, which had been allowed

² For a full discussion of Rendón, see Linda K. Salvucci, "Atlantic Intersections: Early American Commerce and the Rise of the Spanish West Indies (Cuba)," *Business History Review*, 79 (Winter 2005), 781-810, especially 785, 790-795. For Gardoqui and his subordinates, see Michael A. Otero, "The American Mission of Diego de Gardoqui, 1785-1789," Ph.D. diss., The University of California at Los Angeles, 1948; and José Antonio Armillas, in [no editor], *Suma de estudios homenaje a Dr. Canellas* (Zaragoza, 1969), pp. 51-76.

³ Dr. Benjamin Rush to John Montgomery, Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1786, Mss. Correspondence of Dr. Benjamin Rush, Dickinson College, part. two, vol. 42, Library Company manuscript at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁴ Diego Gardoqui to Esteban Miró, New York, Oct. 15 and Sept. 8, 1788, Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Cuba, legajo 104A.

during the Revolutionary war to feed both troops and the expanding population. Future prospects for trade with the island may have seemed bleak to some, but Leamy's assiduous cultivation of the Spaniards paid off within a few short years. When Jáudenes and Viar were charged with obtaining food supplies for the neighboring colony of Santo Domingo in 1791, they approached Leamy, who promptly diverted one of his ships, already loaded for a French Caribbean port, to the Spanish destination instead. The two Spaniards wrote to their superiors of Leamy's "zeal and partiality" for Spain and underscored his refusal to take excessive profits from the venture.⁵ These were the very men who were by then charged with issuing licenses (ostensibly free permits) for North Americans to trade with ports in Cuba, reopened partially and in stages between 1789 and 1793 by officials on the island. Thus, while the record yields maddeningly scant detail, it is clear that Leamy spent the 1780s shrewdly establishing himself as a respectable and well-connected merchant in Philadelphia, with first-hand experience in the commercial hub of Cádiz, as one who was ready and eager to trade as much as possible with Spain and its American colonies.

The Early 1790s: Deepening Ties in Philadelphia and around the Spanish Atlantic

The early 1790s proved to be exceptionally good years for John Leamy. While he continued to cultivate Jáudenes and Viar, he himself was listed in the 1791 Philadelphia City Directory as an "Agent for His Catholic Majesty," although it is not clear what his duties were, given the presence of so many Spanish diplomats in Philadelphia. Perhaps it served as a public signal that he was one of the privileged foreigners allowed to enjoy the benefits of imperial trade

⁵ Josef Jáudenes and José Antonio Viar to the Conde de Floridablanca, Phila., Oct. 18, 1791, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Estado, leg. 3894 bis.

that could not always be reserved solely for Spaniards under Charles IV. Business and personal relationships continued to overlap. When Jáudenes married the daughter of Boston trader and Spanish consul John Stoughton, the couple moved into a house in Philadelphia owned by Leamy.⁶ Still, he did not forget his Irish roots. Like Carey, and along with George Meade and other successful flour merchants, Leamy was an active member of both the Hibernian Society (1790) and the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick (1792).⁷ They also worshipped with the politically and diplomatically prominent, including members of the Spanish delegation, at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church. Once St. Augustine's Church opened in 1796, the list of original pew holders included both Carey and Leamy, and further reflected the Irish-Spanish-flour-trading nexus of Commodore John Barry, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Richard Meade and Joseph Viar.⁸ Extending beyond Irish Catholic circles, by the mid-1790s Leamy was recognized as a member of the "newer aristocracy"; he was admitted to the elite First City Troop and was active in "one of the city's major prestige organizations."⁹ Leamy was also one of the original 60 subscribers to the theater that came to Philadelphia (at Chesnut above Sixth) in 1794; he paid \$300 for one share.¹⁰ Like both Carey and the Spaniards, he too patronized City Tavern, which hosted the movers and shakers of national politics.

⁶ Policy No. 2611, Fire Blotter, III, [1794], Insurance Company of North America Archives (INAA), on the house owned by Leamy in which Jáudenes and his wife resided.

⁷ John H. Campbell, History of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and of the Hibernian Society for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland (Phila., 1892), especially pp. 62-63, 92, 98, 115, 151. A silhouette of John Leamy faces p. 120.

⁸ John Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884 (Phila., 1884), vol. 2, p. 1377.

⁹ Ethel Elise Rasmussen, "Capital on the Delaware: the Philadelphia Upper Class in Transition, 1789-1801," Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1962, pp. 57-60, 172, 175.

¹⁰ Scharf and Thompson Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884, v. 2, p. 970.

John Leamy married Elizabeth Doughty on May 20, 1793; the trust for her dowry was executed by William Bradford and John Coxe. Their first child, Margaret, was born on April 13 of the following year; Josef and Matilda Stoughton de Jáudenes stood as her godparents.¹¹ Other known offspring included John Anthony, Louisa, Ann, and Elizabeth. From assorted bits of information from burial grounds and church records, it is possible to infer that, in addition to his brother James, John might have had a sister, and perhaps even his mother, residing at some point in Philadelphia as well.¹²

The Insurance Company of North America (INA) was founded in Philadelphia in 1792. Not only did John Leamy serve as one of its original directors, remaining in this position until 1806; he also soon became “one of its best customers,” taking out at least 200 policies during this

¹¹ For the Leamy marriage, see “Marriage Record of Christ Church, Philadelphia, 1709-1806,” printed in Record of Pa. Marriages prior to 1810, vol. 1 (1895), p. 161, as printed in Pennsylvania Archives, second series, vol. 8, accessible through USGenWeb Archives at <http://usgwarchives.net/pa/1pa/paarchivesseries/series2/vol8/pass85.html>.; for the trust, see The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania: Laws Passed Session 1824/25 (Harrisburg, 1911), accessible at <http://files.usgwarchives.net/pa/1pa/xmisc/1825laws.txt>. For Margaret’s baptism at St. Joseph’s Church on June 17, 1794, see “Sacramental Registers” in Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, vol. 16 (Phila. 1905), p. 59; for John, on July 5, 1796, same volume, p. 330; for Louisa, on May 7, 1798, RACHS, vol. 17 (1906), p. 14; and for “Anna” on Sept. 10, 1800, same volume, p. 475. I have not yet located Elizabeth’s baptismal record, although she is listed in sources from the 1850s (as Elizabeth HL Stout) as a surviving daughter. Eleanor Carey, the daughter of Mathew Carey and Bridget Flahavan, was baptized the same year as Louisa: RACHS, vol. 17 (1906), p. 8.

¹² Norris Stanley Barratt, Outline of the History of Old St. Paul’s Church, Philadelphia, PA, 1760-1898 (Colonial Society of PA, 1917), pp. 21-218, accessible at <http://www.usgwarchives.org/pa/1pa/1picts/StPaul/ospc1.html>. The Leamy family vault was opened for “Mrs. Leamy” on August 23, 1823, but John Leamy’s wife died in 1845. Likewise, another opening for “Ann Leamy” occurred on September 19, 1823, but John and Elizabeth’s daughter Ann did not die until the 1878.

tenure on the board.¹³ During 1792 and the first half of 1793, he purchased insurance to cover several voyages to New Orleans, although some cargoes were also insured for other Caribbean destinations. By the fall of 1793, once the Captain-General had opened Cuba's trade to ships from North America, Leamy shifted his focus principally to Havana.¹⁴ Around this time, brother James set up residence in the Cuban port, and it appears that Spanish functionaries there broke with established procedures to smooth the arrival of consignments to him. No wonder that John Stoughton was particularly anxious to meet James on his own frustrating voyage as a supercargo to the Spanish West Indies in 1794-95. Meanwhile, Leamy's most trusted supercargo became Patrick Hayes, another Irishman and nephew of Commodore John Barry.¹⁵

Leamy sent cargoes composed mainly of "Philadelphia flour" to Havana, whose expanding white, free black and black populations simply could not be fed, as they were expected to be in theory, by Spanish imperial producers in northern Spain and central Mexico. Between September 10, 1793 and March 8, 1794, Leamy took out eight different INA policies on Havana-bound ships, carrying on average some 2000 barrels of flour, which made him a large-scale exporter.¹⁶ The Cuban port was attractive for other reasons, however. Specie sent from Mexico often accumulated on the island, and needed to be shipped out to North America and Europe. In March 1794, Leamy purchased six separate INA policies to protect different vessels carrying

¹³ Marquis James, Biography of a Business, 1792-1942: Insurance Company of North America (New York, 1942), p. 36. The count of the policies is mine.

¹⁴ Leamy's policies for these years are scattered throughout the Marine Blotters, INAA, volumes A-D.

¹⁵ Campbell, Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick, p. 96-98. When Hayes died in 1856, he was worth \$16,000. Will of Captain Patrick Hayes, 1856, No. 295, Philadelphia City Archives.

¹⁶ Marine Blotters, INAA, vol. B, pp. 43, 71, 77, 107, 130 and vol. C, pp. 19, 21, 22.

specie from Havana in amounts ranging from \$7,000 to \$24,000. Six months later, he purchased another policy on \$80,000 worth of specie to be transported out of Cuba.¹⁷

Not unlike Mathew Carey, by the middle of the 1790s, John Leamy had made quite a success of himself in Philadelphia. He had his own counting-house near Third and Walnut Streets. By 1797, he had purchased a nice country estate north of the city.¹⁸ In addition to his position on the Board of the Insurance Company of North America, he served from 1793 to 1796 as a director of the Bank of Pennsylvania. The yellow fever epidemic of 1793 that loomed so large in Mathew Carey's world seems hardly to have affected Leamy's at all, as he continued to trade actively even during the worst months. The Spanish-speaking Irish immigrant thus appeared uniquely positioned to take even further advantage of his imperial connections and experience, as well as his ready access to insurance instruments that reduced risk. And then his—that is, the Atlantic-- world began to change at a dizzying pace.

1796-1807: Neutral Trade: Unparalleled Opportunities and Unforeseen Challenges

The most immediate indication of changes to come involved one of John Leamy's closest personal and commercial relationships. In 1796, Josef Jáudenes was named the Intendant of Majorca, in part, it was said, because he did not work well with Gardoqui's successor as Minister Plenipotentiary, Carlos Martínez de Irujo (after 1802, the Marqués de Casa Irujo). On July 20,

¹⁷ Marine Blotters, INAA, vol. C, pp. 15-19 and vol. D, p. 180.

¹⁸ Policy No. 531, Fire Blotter, I, INAA, dated Aug. 1, 1797, for \$5000 on a two-story stone house “on the west side of the Frankford Road about three and an half miles from Philadelphia called Tusculum.”

1796, Leamy took out a \$15,000 policy on the shipment across the Atlantic of “Plate, Jewells & Furniture” and other belongings from the Jáudenes’ household, and bade farewell to the friend who had facilitated his rise to prosperity; he also appeared to be in charge of assets that Jáudenes left behind for safekeeping in Philadelphia.¹⁹ Irujo, meanwhile, quickly cemented his own standing with the Philadelphia elite by marrying the teenaged daughter of Pennsylvania Chief Justice and Governor Thomas McKean; she converted to Roman Catholicism two days before her wedding.²⁰ How Irujo and Leamy interacted is not totally clear. Although the Spaniard later would defend Leamy against charges made against him by Valentín Foronda, the Spanish consul general from 1802-1807, Irujo soon formed his own business partnership-- not with Leamy, but with the Barry brothers of Baltimore, who were deeply involved with Mopox monopoly described below.

Aside from the transfer of diplomats in and out of Philadelphia, far bigger changes were afoot in the Spanish imperial world. It is a very complicated story, but Spain, after fighting with Great Britain against Napoleon from 1793 to 1795, became an ally of the French in 1796 and then declared war on Great Britain that October. Trade, particularly between Spain and its colonies, was seriously disrupted by these hostilities; the transport of basic food supplies to Cuba was

¹⁹ Marine Blotter, INAA, vol. G, policy no. 3305. John Leamy to John Stoughton, Phila., March 13, 1797, Pennsylvania State Archives, MG-8, Pa. Collection (Misc.), No. 476, comments upon the uncertain situation in Spain: “...do your letters make any mention of Mr. Gardoqui being disgraced and confined in a Castle? If true, it is a serious charge and may eventually prove injurious to our Friend’s Family and connections, wherefore I think it a fortunate circumstance that he left so much secure at this side in case of accident.” Recall that Jáudenes’ wife was Stoughton’s own daughter.

²⁰ RACHS, vol. 17 (1906), p. 3; Eric Beerman, “Spanish Envoy to the United States: Marqués de Casa Irujo and his Philadelphia Wife Sally McKean,” The Americas, 37 (1981), 445-456; Sandra Sealove, “The Founding Fathers as Seen by the Marqués de Casa Irujo,” The Americas, 20 (1963), 37-42.

threatened just as its “sugar revolution” was taking off. To meet the projected shortages, both the Captain-General and the Intendant (officials who often took opposite positions on commercial matters) agreed that Havana should be opened to neutral shipping for three months²¹ Their decision was reluctantly approved post facto in Madrid in July, but then on November 18, 1797, a royal order opened all Atlantic and Caribbean ports of the Spanish Empire to neutral traders on a temporary basis, provoking the ire of the commercial establishment in Cádiz. This decree, in turn, was formally revoked on April 18, 1799 and colonial ports were presumably closed again to North American shipping, although they would be thrown open again between 1805 and 1807.

If these policy twists and turns are difficult enough to track, the situation in Cuba was even further complicated. In 1796, Manuel Godoy, the Court favorite responsible for the 1795 “peace” that effectively led to Spain’s going to war against Great Britain, had arranged for Charles IV to grant a “concession” to a young Cuban planter/aristocrat to sell rum directly in North America. The return cargoes would consist of up to 100,000 barrels of U.S. flour enjoying deeply reduced import duties. The Conde de Jaruco y Mopox enjoyed an unusually close relationship with Godoy, one that completely eclipsed any of Leamy’s links to lower-ranking Spanish diplomats in the United States or his former contacts in Cádiz.²² Throughout 1797 and 1798, Mopox’s agents bought up cargoes in the United States, transacting business with merchants such as John (not the Commodore) and James Barry of Baltimore. At the outset, there still seemed to be room for other

²¹ Stanley J. Stein, “Caribbean Counterpoint: Veracruz vs. Havana- War and Neutral Trade, 1797-1799,” in Jeanne Chase, ed., Géographie du capital marchand aux Amériques, 1760-1860 (Paris, 1987, pp. 21-44. The authoritative study of metropolitan efforts to keep New Spain and Cuba within the Spanish Empire during these years is Barbara H. Stein and Stanley J. Stein, Edge of Crisis: War and Trade in the Spanish Atlantic, 1798-1808 (Baltimore, 2009).

²² Levi Marrero, Cuba: Economía y Sociedad- Azúcar, Ilustración y Conciencia (1763-1868) IV, Vol. XII (Madrid, 1985), pp. 59-61, 64, 71-72, 122, and 157, for information on Mopox.

flour suppliers to the island, but then too many concurrent shipments from the U.S. mainland defied the previous dire predictions of shortages and at times glutted the Havana market. It became difficult, if not impossible, for North American shippers to time arrivals. Needless to say, these contradictory occurrences-- the granting of a substantial individual monopoly on the one hand and the proclamation of “free trade” on the other—wreaked havoc for those attempting to trade with Cuba.

How did John Leamy respond to these challenges? As usual, the historical record is incomplete. Aside from the policy on the Jáudenes’ personal effects mentioned above, Leamy took out only three INA policies in 1796, one at and from Philadelphia to Havana, one at and from Philadelphia to Hamburg, and one at and from Norfolk to “one port in France.”²³ In 1797, he had some 27 policies written or amended. Eight specified Havana as a destination, and two more involved the Cuban port of Nuevitas. Other ports listed included Hamburg (for specie as well as goods), La Guayra, Hispaniola, and Petit Guave. In addition, Leamy took out two policies on shipments of coffee and cacao from Philadelphia to Baltimore. He also purchased three policies on behalf of merchants trading out of Norfolk, including one Moses Myers. Between January 19 and March 15, 1798, Leamy took out five new policies, all involving Havana and the Cuban port of Trinidad, and amended three others. Then, unfortunately, there is a gap in the INA Marine Blotters that runs from March 20, 1798 through April 19, 1799. The next entries under Leamy were dated May 17, 1799 and specified two voyages between Martinique and Havana. There

²³ Marine Blotters, INAA, vol. G, pp. 52, 237, 299. The policy from Norfolk to “one port in France” very carefully stipulated: “The Assured warrants the above Vessel to be an American bottom, and that she carries with her the Documents necessary to prove her such, and it is hereby agreed that no Condemnation in a foreign Court shall operate to prevent the Assured’s recovery of loss provided he shall satisfactorily prove the Property to be such as is warranted in the City of Philadelphia, and shall in other respects comply with the terms of this policy.”

were a few more INA policies written for Leamy during the remainder of that year, involving “one port of Delivery in Spain,” another a voyage from Charleston to Surinam carrying property declared to be from Hamburg, one at and from Philadelphia to Havana and another to Cartagena, and two more for Moses Myers at and from Norfolk to Dominique and at and from St. Kitts to Norfolk. And then the subsequent (and complete) run of INA blotters contains nothing relating to Leamy until 1805.²⁴

We can surmise that John Leamy was not working closely with Mopox and his agents, such as José María Iznardi, since very few of the ships carrying flour on the Cuban’s account actually sailed from Philadelphia.²⁵ This may have been a deliberate attempt to cut Leamy out, as the extraordinarily well-connected creole developed and utilized his own network of American merchants and Spanish functionaries that he could control and from which he could profit. But what of James Leamy; how was he faring in Havana, particularly during those fourteen months in 1798-99, when the Insurance Company of North America records are missing? Here the proverbial plot thickens, as John Leamy did something during this interval that he appears not to have done for most of the previous two decades.

Records from the French Spoliation Claims reveal that a ship named “Pallas,” with Absalom L. Vernon as master, departed the United States in 1798 under Captain John Leamy of Philadelphia. This vessel was seized first by a French privateer and then recaptured by the

²⁴ Marine Blotters, INAA, vols. H and I for the policies from 1797 and early 1798, and vol. K for 1799. Vol. J is missing from the collection of these records.

²⁵ “Noticia de los Buques Neutrales que han exportado Arinas...,” undated, C.M. Perez, no. 107, v. 2, Biblioteca Nacional José Martí (Havana), for a list of ships that brought over 47, 000 barrels of North American flour into Cuba under the Mopox concession between July 28, 1797 and August 16, 1798. Hardly any of these vessels came from Philadelphia. The vast majority sailed from Baltimore; the remainder from various southern ports, New York, and ports in New England.

British, brought to St. Nicholas Môle, and libeled for salvage. On May 1, 1798, the ship was purchased by Leamy; he then returned it to the United States and sold it to one John Pourcent.²⁶ But the question remains: why did Leamy decide, so uncharacteristically, to sail personally to the Caribbean at this particular juncture, leaving behind his wife and three children under four years of age? Again, there is no complete record, but scraps of information from archives in Cuba suggest that brother James not only had become embroiled in a difficult lawsuit on behalf of Pragers and Company of Philadelphia against Patrick Ferrall, a resident of Saint Croix who owed Pragers at least 23,000 pesos on an advance of 85,000 pesos, but also that James Leamy had fallen gravely ill and had had to withdraw from the case by May 16, 1798. Had John received word of these legal proceedings and/or his brother's illness and consequently tried to travel to Havana to assist him? If so, he did not appear to make it in time and, in all likelihood, he never made it at all. Cuban notarial records indicate that James Leamy died in Havana sometime before December 1, 1798. The executor of his estate there later had to deal with claims that John would not honor letters of exchange from James drawn upon him, but Viar could be relied upon to send certification from Philadelphia, dated January 25, 1799, that the merchant had indeed satisfied this obligation the previous July.²⁷

²⁶ Greg H. Williams, The French Assault on American Shipping, 1793-1813: A History and Comprehensive Record of Merchant Marine Losses (Jefferson, NC, 2009), p. 274. Recall that John's daughter Louisa, born April 2, was baptized on May 7, 1798. James Leamy was listed as her sponsor, as represented by the priest: RACHS, vol. 17 (1906), p. 14.

²⁷ There are a few notarial documents in the Archivo Nacional de Cuba (Havana) relating to the estate of James Leamy; however, they are in very poor condition and almost impossible to read. One file from the Tribunal del Comercio, "Autos, Juan Felix Cadiot, sobre averiguar si varias letras encomendadas para su cobro, a Don. Diego Leamy, fueron cobradas... ante Francisco Betancourt, Havana, Dec. 1, 1798" confirms that James was dead by this point. On February 22, 1799, the same notary recorded receipt of Viar's certification from Philadelphia. From Dec. 20, 1798 was incomplete testimony that James Leamy might have owed Juan Andres Poey, from a

The departure of Jáudenes, who left not long after Gardoqui himself had returned to an uncertain future in Spain, coupled with the granting of the Mopox monopoly, meant that the relationships John Leamy so carefully nurtured since the 1780s no longer worked to secure his privileged position in the Havana market. Likewise, the opening of all Spanish Atlantic ports to neutral traders brought new competition, particularly from the aforementioned merchants in Baltimore, as well as from emerging traders elsewhere up and down the eastern seaboard. Moreover, the death of his brother deprived Leamy of his resident correspondent in Havana, at precisely the moment when even fellow Philadelphian Stephen Girard moved his trusted agent from the French islands to Cuba to facilitate his growing involvement there.²⁸ Leamy responded by taking new risks and venturing into new markets. He was the first North American to send a ship to the Rio de la Plata (Montevideo and Buenos Aires) in 1798.²⁹ Between 1798 and 1801, he was involved, often as underwriter, in at least 15 separate ventures to the Caribbean and Europe that later became part of the French Spoliation Claims arising from the Quasi-War with France. But as of 1886, not a single one of these claims had been accepted by the governments of United States, Spain, or France.³⁰ In the absence of any INA policies in Leamy's name from 1799 to

very prominent Havana merchant family, approximately 20,000 pesos, but there were no fuller nor further references to this possible debt. Interestingly, "John Andrew" Poey was godfather by proxy to Leamy's son, John Anthony, who was baptized in Philadelphia on July 5, 1796: RACHS, vol. 16 (1905), p. 330.

²⁸ Linda K. Salvucci, "Supply, Demand and the Making of a Market: Philadelphia and Havana, 1780-1830," in Franklin W. Knight and Peggy K. Liss, eds., Atlantic Port Cities: Economy, Culture and Society in the Atlantic World, 1650-1850 (Knoxville, 1991), pp. 40-57, esp. 45-48.

²⁹ Charles Lyon Chandler, "The River Plate Voyages, 1798-1800," Hispanic American Historical Review, 23 (1918), 816-824.

³⁰ Report of the Secretary of State relative to... French Spoliations.... (Washington, D.C., 1886), pp. 87-88, for the listing and disposition of Leamy's 12 claims from 1800 and one each from 1798, 1799 and 1801.

1805, it is difficult to know how he fared in covering potential losses. He did serve as the agent for Commodore John Barry, informing him of the award of \$1,000 for six captures late in 1799.³¹ Still, there is no evidence to indicate that the substantial fortune Leamy had already accumulated was much diminished. However, one can surmise that as the Atlantic world moved further away from the traditional mercantilist system, John Leamy felt pressure to adjust his commercial activities.

Perhaps he hoped that the lull associated with the Peace of Amiens would allow him to regroup. But in 1802, another Spanish diplomat had arrived in Philadelphia to serve a stormy five-year term as Consul General. Valentín Foronda was a staunch defender of the Crown's (mercantilist) interests on the one hand and an avid student of contemporary (Smithian) political economy on the other. The latter of these contradictory impulses should have attracted the attention of another political economist, Mathew Carey, but there is little evidence that the two had much of an influence upon each other's later writings.³² What is very apparent, however, is that the manner in which Foronda discharged his consular duties put him at odds, not surprisingly, with many merchants along the eastern seaboard, including John Leamy, and with the Marqués de Casa Irujo, the top-ranking Spaniard in the United States. Indeed, Foronda and Irujo's long-running quarrel came to a head over the latter's apparent endorsement of Leamy, although the

³¹ Tim McGrath, John Barry: An American Hero in the Age of Sail (Yardley, 2010), p. 479

³² See Salvucci, "Atlantic Intersections," cited in note 2, 796-806, for a fuller discussion of Foronda's tenure in Philadelphia and later career. José Manuel Barrenechea, "Valentín de Foronda ante la fisiocracia," in Ernest Lluch y Lluís Argemí i D'Abadal, eds., Agronomía y fisiocracia en España (1750-1820), (Valencia, 1985), 153-183, makes a point of downplaying the impact of the Consul General's years in America upon his writings.

nature and extent of that support remains unclear.³³ It must have been extraordinarily difficult for Leamy to negotiate these volatile relationships at precisely the moment when transatlantic trading conditions changed so dramatically and continuously.

Late in 1806, John Leamy made a momentous decision. He resigned from the Board of Directors of the Insurance Company of North America and placed advertisements in the Philadelphia newspapers that announced the opening of the Marine and Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia, with an office at 121 South Third Street and with himself as President.³⁴ From this point onward, Leamy appears mostly to have disengaged from direct trade as a merchant within the Spanish Empire, but to have used his experience as an underwriter to take advantage of another opening of the formal reopening of the carrying trade in 1805. Not surprisingly, several other insurance companies also appeared in Philadelphia around this time. Without business records, it is impossible to determine how profitable a venture Leamy's proved over the short or long run, although the Marine and Fire Insurance Company remained in existence until 1844, some five years after his death.³⁵ Moreover, it is an interesting coincidence that, as Leamy pulled back from the trade, in 1807, other key players under the old system also left the scene. Former fellow INA director John Craig, an extremely successful and well-connected trader to the Spanish

³³ Carlos Martínez de Irujo to [¿], Phila., Mar. 28, 1806, Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Indiferente General, leg. 1603.

³⁴ James, Biography of a Business, p. 71 judges that “the loss of so experienced and useful a man was bound to be felt” by the Insurance Company of North America. Clippings from two of the advertisements for the Marine and Fire Insurance Company made it all the way across the Atlantic; they are preserved in Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Estado, leg. 6175.

³⁵ Harrold E. Gillingham, Marine Insurance in Philadelphia, 1721-1800 (Phila., 1933), p. 124, reports that Leamy's company commenced business with a capital of \$300,000; its affairs were wound up in 1844 “after a disastrous experience.”

Empire from Philadelphia, died in the city, as did John Stoughton's brother, Thomas, in Havana.³⁶ And it is highly likely that Foronda's scrupulous efforts to control the North American trade with Spain and Spanish America may have given Philadelphia's competitors an edge, as they were more removed from his direct surveillance. In many respects, then, 1807 was a watershed, bringing to a close a distinct phase in the North American trade with Cuba. But that year is noteworthy in another respect, as John Leamy suffered a terrible loss close to home and heart. His first-born child, Margaret, the Jáudenes' goddaughter, died on June 22 of unknown causes, at the age of thirteen years, two months and nine days. She was buried in the graveyard at St. Mary's Catholic Church.³⁷

1803-1831: Closer to Home: New Relationships and Interests

The nature of extant sources shedding light on the activities of John Leamy changes around the turn of the century; they suggest that, aside from the underwriting business, he focused more of his time and attention upon domestic (in the sense of both local and familial) concerns after 1800. Sources from the Spanish and INA archives go silent; however, some personal correspondence in Leamy's own hand has been preserved in Philadelphia. We know that this Son

³⁶ Copia de una declaración original ante José Rodríguez, Archivo Nacional de Cuba (Havana), contains an inventory and other papers, dated Oct. 1, 1807, relating to Thomas Stoughton's death. Irujo was his patron, but Stoughton also seems to have been deeply involved in the Ouvrard scheme to transfer huge sums of silver to Europe; it was noted that he was in the pay of the Spanish government. When Stoughton realized he was dying, he gave letters of exchange amounting to \$700,000 pesos girados to three trusted acquaintances on the scene. Stoughton died in the home of a merchant from Bilbao; his inventory included 17 pesos, a gold watch, a few books and letters, and some other personal effects. Coincidentally, George Meade died shortly thereafter, in 1808; son Richard was heavily involved in Spanish commercial matters by this point.

³⁷ Campbell, Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, p. 120, for Margaret's untimely death.

of St. Patrick stood by Commodore John Barry during his last illness and death in 1803 and served, along with Barry's wife, Sarah, and Patrick Hayes, as executor of his estate. Until her own death in 1831, Leamy handled numerous transactions for the widow, dubbed the "Mother of the American Navy," as she lent thousands of dollars to merchant captains and invested in their goods.³⁸ He frequently provided advice and guidance to Sarah Barry, such as in 1804, with regard to the disposition of shares in the Marine Insurance Company of Norfolk. Leamy not only transmitted the certificate, but also noted that the stock is "now worth ten percent more than it cost and may probably yet rise, as the Company by a late Law are authorized to Discount 60 day notes, with their surplus money."³⁹ In March of 1810, he cautioned Mrs. Barry against paying the same claim twice.⁴⁰ Two months later, in May, Leamy advised her of a sheriff's advertisement of "the House in Spruce Street on which we hold a mortgage for \$5,000 besides about Seventeen Months Interest to be sold on the 21st instant subject to our claim"; he asked her "please to consider on it" and announced that he "will wait on you in a day or two."⁴¹ In 1817, Leamy purchased some

³⁸ McGrath, John Barry, p. 503.

³⁹ John Leamy to Sara [sic] Barry, Feb. 16, 1804, accessed at <http://digital.library.villanova.edu/Independence%20Seaport%20Museum/Barry-Hayes/Series%20II%20Sarah%20Barry/SeriesIISarahBarry-00001.xml>. The Barry-Hayes Papers are housed at the Independence Seaport Museum in Philadelphia and also are part of Villanova University's Digital Library.

⁴⁰ John Leamy to Sarah Barry, March 13, 1810, accessed at [http://digital.library.villanova.edu/Independence Seaport Museum/Barry-Hayes/Series II Sarah Barry/SeriesIISarahBarry-00002.xml](http://digital.library.villanova.edu/Independence%20Seaport%20Museum/Barry-Hayes/Series%20II%20Sarah%20Barry/SeriesIISarahBarry-00002.xml).

⁴¹ John Leamy to Sarah Barry, May 15, 1810, accessed at [http://digital.library.villanova.edu/Independence Seaport Museum/Barry-Hayes/Series II Sarah Barry/SeriesIISarahBarry-00006.xml](http://digital.library.villanova.edu/Independence%20Seaport%20Museum/Barry-Hayes/Series%20II%20Sarah%20Barry/SeriesIISarahBarry-00006.xml).

stocks and then transferred ownership to her.⁴² In 1827, nearly a quarter century after the Commodore's death, John Leamy was still writing to and visiting Sarah Barry, to offer his counsel and advice.⁴³

In addition to keeping a close eye on Mrs. Barry's affairs, Leamy took pains to oversee the education of his son John. In the summer of 1811, he began to pen letters to James Hamilton, Esq., of Carlisle, principally with regard to John's activities at Dickinson College, where James Leamy had been sent in the late 1780s. Through this correspondence, Leamy reveals a bit of his own personality and his intimate involvement with his children. In the first letter, dated July 9, Leamy insisted that his son devote time to the study of Spanish in particular: "the Spanish I am persuaded is become a very necessary Language for our Youths and will be more so by and by." While John already had acquired "some knowledge of it," the father offered to send a young Spanish gentleman to Dickinson who would live with the boy so that they could improve on their Spanish and English respectively.⁴⁴ This aspect of John's education seemed to be Leamy's highest priority.

Several days later, Leamy wrote another letter expressing his gratitude to Hamilton for his attention "to my Boys [sic] morals and will thank you to order him to attend the Roman Catholic

⁴² Receipt to Sarah Barry from John Leamy, July 19, 1817, accessed at http://digital.library.villanova.edu/Independence_Seaport_Museum/Barry-Hayes/Series_II_Sarah_Barry/SeriesIISarahBarry-00011.xml

⁴³ John Leamy to Sarah Barry, October 25, 1827, accessed at http://digital.library.villanova.edu/Independence_Seaport_Museum/Barry-Hayes/Series_II_Sarah_Barry/SeriesIISarahBarry-00007.xml.

⁴⁴ John Leamy to James Hamilton, Esq., Philadelphia, July 9, 1811, James Hamilton (1752-1819) Collection, No. 1612, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Leamy also sent the respects of Mrs. Leamy and "my little girls," further suggesting that John was their only son. All of the correspondence cited below comes from this collection.

Church when there shall be service and in defect thereof to attend the Episcopal Church.”

Referring to a letter from his son, he hoped that the fourth of July “frolick,” during which the students drank wine and punch and marched through the town with music, had been “well conducted with moderation and prudence,” under the direction of the Principal and Trustees of the College. Leamy also relayed some general information regarding Hamilton’s account at the Bank of Pennsylvania and his transactions with a Mr. Toland, regarding receipt of the shipment of 22 barrels of flour. And while he pointed out that his daughter Louisa would be delighted to pay a visit to her friend Miss [Mary] Hamilton, Leamy remarked that “...without papa, she could not go and I cannot leave my Office at present.”⁴⁵

Leamy’s correspondent, James Hamilton (1752-1819), was born in Ireland: he had settled before the American Revolution in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and practiced law in Cumberland County. In 1802, Thomas Jefferson appointed him deputy attorney general of the Western District of Pennsylvania; in 1806, he became the president judge of the Ninth Judicial District. Hamilton was very active in the Presbyterian Church (which makes Leamy’s admonitions about steering his son to Roman Catholic or Episcopal services interesting) and served on the Board of Trustees of Dickinson College.⁴⁶ How he and Leamy first met and then developed their personal and business relationships is unclear, but all throughout the 1810s, Leamy continued to write letters that blended familial tidings, commercial information, and political commentary in virtually every one. For example, in his letter dated August 20, 1811, the Philadelphian picked up on previous themes, promising that the young Spanish friend would arrive before the next session

⁴⁵ Leamy to Hamilton, Phila., July 18, 1811, JHC, HSP.

⁴⁶ Biographical information on Hamilton is drawn from the HSP finding aid at <http://www.hsp.org/sites/www.hsp.org/files/migrated/findingaid1612hamilton.pdf>.

of the college; he remonstrated further against the students' celebration of the fourth of July, noting that "indeed it should not be permitted to Young Gentlemen whose sole time, attention and mind should be devoted to their studies." Leamy then laid out additional requests relating to his son's instruction in Composition, French, Latin and Arithmetic, although on this occasion he did concede to Hamilton power "on the score of church," to direct his son as he (Hamilton) pleased and as circumstances permitted. Yet, however involved in micromanaging John's life he seemed to be at this juncture, it is obvious that Leamy was following developments in Spain as well. "The Cause of Spain and Portugal goes on well- I hope the Peninsula will 'ere long be cleared of its invaders," he wrote on July 18. This wish gave way to more pointed commentary a month later:

I am much gratified by your friendly and patriotic sentiments respecting the virtuous Cause of Spain- they are a brave good people, alltho [sic] unfortunately without a well established Government and deserve a better fate- God grant they may fully succeed in exterminating every hostile Frenchman from the Peninsula.⁴⁷

On September 13, 1811, Leamy advised Hamilton on how to affect a particular stock transfer and also confirmed that the "Fire Company" (which particular one was not stated) had not yet made any dividend. He then asked whether it would be too indulgent to accede to John's request to come home during the recess of classes. Several weeks later, on November 3, Leamy confessed that he had hoped for John to fill to advantage the time of vacation, but that "those Boys now a days require more indulgence and get it from their Mothers...and thus are we obliged in many instances to give up our own wishes on the good of our Children to prevailing Customs."

⁴⁷ Leamy to Hamilton, Phila., August 20, 1811, JHC, HSP.

He then shifted attention back to economic matters: “I know of no favorable speculations that could be made at present- the times are very gloomy and precarious...we are in my opinion fast approaching general ruin.”⁴⁸

In subsequent letters in 1812, 1814 and 1816, it became clear that Leamy not only was providing commercial assistance to James Hamilton in return for oversight of his son’s education, but also that he was reciprocating in kind by arranging to place Hamilton’s two daughters in a female seminary near Philadelphia. Moreover, Leamy assisted young James Hamilton (the son) in obtaining medical care in Philadelphia and New York, and even ventured to recommend fencing to speed recovery from a chest ailment.⁴⁹ At the same time, Leamy did not neglect his own business interests. On September 29, 1815, he wrote: “I am in the City every day attending to my official duties,” while on February 12, 1816, he lamented “my constant confinement to the Insurance business” in declining an invitation to bring his daughters to Carlisle for a visit. He did report, however vaguely, that his son was “agreeably situated and usefully employed.” Towards the end of that year, on Christmas Day, Leamy reported that “our son ...was well at the last dates of his letters in October and has been so fortunate as to merit the full approbation of the highly respectable Gentlemen in whose House he is.” Unlike daughter Louisa, son John was not referred to by name on these two or most other occasions. Likewise, there is no indication of where the child once so indulged by his mother was living and working. By June 1819, however, young John was back from his undisclosed location, at home in Philadelphia, as he appended a cryptic note in his own hand to one written by his father to James Hamilton, Jr., urging his friend to travel

⁴⁸ Leamy to Hamilton, Phila., Nov. 3, 1811, JHC, HSP.

⁴⁹ Leamy to Hamilton, Phila., May 3, 1812; Feb. 12, 1816; Feb. 25, 1816; June 27, 1814, JHC, HSP.

at once to meet him: “*Venez tout de suite a Philadelphie, je vous attends avec impatience.*”⁵⁰ This marks son John’s only direct appearance in the HSP records.

There was another, long-running set of favors that John Leamy performed for John Hamilton in the 1810s. Starting on September 29, 1815, he wrote of trying to find two boy servants to send to Hamilton. First, he reported that none had come up recently from Delaware, “which is generally the source for supplying this City.” Then he advised that a boy advertised in “the Democratic press” had already been engaged. Subsequently, Leamy went on to detail how he had been negotiating with a neighbor for a “very fine Boy” of 15, who was “stout, strong, sober and honest,” for whom he would pay \$250. However, the master, with whom he had been for five years, had grown very fond of the boy and had promised not to send him to Carlisle unless he agreed. The latter proved unwilling to go. Leamy was left to pledge to “continue my inquiries and unremitted endeavours to accommodate you as you wish.”⁵¹

He was as good as his word. On February 12, 1816, Leamy reported that he had not yet had any success. Over one year later, on July 8, 1817, he detailed new efforts to secure the purchase of a black girl, who had come two years before from Maryland. Unsure of why the family with whom she lived on Race Street for the past six months was trying to sell her, Leamy advised that, despite her “excellent Character,” \$260 was too high a price to pay. The owner dropped to \$240, but the sale appears not to have been made.⁵² There is, unsurprisingly, no mention of her being offered any opportunity to decline to go to Carlisle. By January of 1818,

⁵⁰ Leamy to James Hamilton, Jr. [son], Phila., June 19, 1819, JHC, HSP. By this date, the elder Hamilton had died.

⁵¹ Leamy to Hamilton, Phila., Sept. 29, 1815, JHC, HSP.

⁵² Leamy to Hamilton, Phila., July 8, 1817, JHC, HSP.

Leamy was trying to obtain a German immigrant couple; some five months later, he was looking for a boy of 14 or 16 and perhaps a girl from Holland for Hamilton.⁵³ On October 6 of the same year, he recounted that he had arrived too late at vessels carrying Germans; all the girls were gone and the remaining males were too old. But then Leamy went on to note: “You appear to prefer a Negro boy for your purposes and I think you are right, for they certainly understand our Country work better than foreigners, who generally become free or run away by the time they have become useful.” He vowed to keep trying to locate two servants-- and a carriage.⁵⁴ This was the last letter addressed to the senior James Hamilton, who died by the middle of the next year.

Most of this correspondence looks inward, focused upon Leamy’s own family, or westward, towards Hamilton’s. But there was one rather atypical reflection upon larger affairs, expressed by John Leamy late in February of 1816:

The Collection of the War or Direct Tax goes over very successfully. It may answer tolerably well in our large Cities, but I should apprehend the Collection thro’ the Country will be attended with much delay and great expense. What do you think of the proposed Tariff of Duties? We are about working great changes in our Republic in consequence of the heavy war expenses, but certain purposes are answered and that is the great end.⁵⁵

⁵³ Leamy to Hamilton, Phila., Jan 20, 1818 and May 5, 1818, JHC, HSP.

⁵⁴ Leamy to Hamilton, Phila., Oct. 6, 1818, JHC, HSP.

⁵⁵ Leamy to Hamilton, Phila., Feb. 25, 1816, JHC, HSP.

One cannot help but wonder if John Leamy had been engaged in discussions of such matters with fellow Hibernian and co-religionist, the political economist Mathew Carey.

1822-1839: Unexpected Turns-- Religious Turmoil and Imperial Realignments

On June 27, 1822, John Leamy wrote the second of only two letters—and the last of his preserved in the Hamilton Collection-- to James Hamilton, Jr. First, he advised the son in great detail on precisely what steps to take to redeem two certificates that had been lost by his late father and presumably had to be replaced to settle the estate. Then, towards the end of the letter, Leamy queried his Presbyterian correspondent: “We are still combating with our antagonists in the Church and so far, have defeated them in every attack—pray what is the matter at Carlisle—we have a curious report about the Rev’d. Hogan—will you let me know.”⁵⁶

Of course, this refers to the bitterly contentious, if not epic, battle that was underway in St. Mary’s Church in Philadelphia. John Leamy, along with Richard W. Meade, was one of the leaders of the lay trustees who, in short, had challenged the authority of Bishop Henry Conwell to make pastoral appointments. Much has been written of this dispute, also known as the Hogan Schism, and it is clear that Leamy played a major role in the controversy through 1827.⁵⁷ Unlike Carey’s extensive body of writings, Leamy’s only “published work” is the “Address of the Trustees of St. Mary’s Church to their Fellow-Citizens”; it is not surprising that Leamy is

⁵⁶ Leamy to James Hamilton, Jr., Phila., June 27, 1822, JHC, HSP.

⁵⁷ Dale B. Light, Rome and the New Republic: Conflict and Community in Philadelphia Catholicism between their Revolution and the Civil War (Notre Dame, 1996), esp. pp. 113 and 218; Michael Steven Carter, “Mathew Carey and the Public Emergence of Catholicism in the New Republic” (Ph. D. diss., University of So. California, 2006); Rodney Hessinger, “‘A Base and Unmanly Conspiracy’: Catholicism and the Hogan Schism in the Gendered Religious Marketplace of Philadelphia,” Journal of the Early Republic, 31 (Fall 2011), 357-396.

identified as the author this and other collected documents because he served as chairman of the eight-member committee of lay trustees.⁵⁸

Space does not permit a detailed rendering of this dispute; nor is it necessary, given the recent fine scholarship on the subject. In fact, when I first prepared my paper proposal last summer, I thought that that this trustees' controversy, in which Mathew Carey also played a role, might provide a key to understanding why Leamy withdrew from direct trade with the Spanish Empire in the nineteenth century. After all, the traditional Catholic identity and ties so integral to his commercial successes in the 1780s and 1790s would have been distinctly eroded by a high-profile embrace of "republican Catholicism," or worse, by a defection to the Episcopal Church.⁵⁹ If Leamy did renounce Roman Catholicism in the 1820s, would not this decision have been received poorly in Spanish imperial circles? It turns out that, again, the story is much more complex, particularly when viewed from a transatlantic lens.

First, there is the curious case of the Leamy interments in the family vault in St. Paul's (Episcopal) Cemetery. The vault was first opened for "Mrs. Leamy" on August 23 and then a second time for "Ann Leamy" on September 19, 1823.⁶⁰ Were these for the actual interments of a possible mother and sister of John, as postulated earlier? Or might the remains of daughter

⁵⁸ John Leamy, Address of the Trustees of St. Mary's Church, to Their Fellow Citizens; containing a Correspondence between them and the Right Reverend Bishop Conwell, on a late attempt at a reconciliation between the contending parties of the congregation of said church (Phila., 1823).

⁵⁹ Remember, Sally McKean had had to convert in order to wed Carlos Martínez de Irujo. She was baptized two days before her wedding, with José Antonio Viar standing as her sponsor: RACHS, vol., 17 (1906), p. 3. Of course, she became the wife of a high-profile Spanish diplomat and this occurred in 1798, a quarter-century prior to the blow-up at St. Mary's. This speaks to the larger point that the world, and perhaps expectations, changed very quickly during these years.

⁶⁰ See note 12 for information on the family vault.

Margaret have been moved from the grounds of St. Mary's to St. Paul's by John's wife and adult daughter during the controversy? [The wording of the source I used is imprecise and must be checked on-site the next time I am in Philadelphia.] In any event, it is clear that by 1823, John Leamy had decided that the remains of loved ones henceforth would rest in an Episcopal, not Roman Catholic cemetery. However, this was hardly Leamy's first encounter with the Protestant church. Recall that in 1811 he had urged the elder Hamilton to send son John to Episcopal services if Catholic ones were unavailable. And, John Leamy's wife may well have been Episcopalian, for they were married in 1793, not in St. Mary's or St. Joseph's (Roman Catholic), but rather in Christ's Church (Episcopal). Elizabeth Leamy is listed as "Catholic" in only one of her children's four baptismal records from St. Joseph's (with the youngest one's not yet located); this could have been a clerical error, or perhaps she had formally converted at some point.⁶¹ Still, it does appear that the Leamys had a somewhat fluid—and decidedly not Peninsular—outlook towards cross-denominational activities from the earliest years of their marriage. Perhaps it was this ecumenical mindset that helped frame and sustain his antagonism against ecclesiastical authority at St. Mary's.

Nevertheless, the religious controversy cannot in itself fully explain John Leamy's shifting relationship with the Spanish Empire for another compelling reason. The chronology is off by at least a decade; recall that he barely alluded to Spain and its colonies in any of the letters to the Hamiltons throughout the 1810s, well before the troubles at St. Mary's commenced. Moreover, his recorded business interests seemed centered firmly upon underwriting activities and other possible investments in Philadelphia during that decade. It appeared as if John Leamy had gone in

⁶¹ RACHS, vol. 16 (1905), p. 330, for "John and his wife Elizabeth, Catholics" in 1796. For the other baptisms, he was listed separately as "Catholic" and no designation followed her name.

another direction, pulling back and away from the destabilized Spanish Empire. But then, in that final letter to James Hamilton, Jr. in 1822, Leamy dropped a bombshell regarding his son: “John is in the Island of Porto Rico where he has been since the latter part of 1820 deeply engaged in commercial pursuits.”⁶² There is no further elaboration or explanation of this unexpected piece of news in sources on this side of the Atlantic. However, some documents from Spain confirm that Leamy had successfully petitioned the Spanish Court in 1818 to grant lands to his son to establish himself in Puerto Rico. The value of the lands was set at the equivalent of the loss of over 13,000 pesos that Leamy had suffered in the service of Spain while trying to send foodstuffs to the Yucatán.⁶³

So how and why did the younger John end up in Puerto Rico in 1820? John Leamy certainly had the wherewithal to set up his only son either in Philadelphia, where he had numerous irons in commercial fires, or in western Pennsylvania, where opportunities certainly existed after the War of 1812 and the Hamiltons could be relied upon to smooth the way. This is an intriguing—and probably unanswerable-- question. Perhaps there was an estrangement or scandal, and the son needed to be removed from Philadelphia. Perhaps it was the younger John himself who chose to leave home. Perhaps the father judged his son incapable of carrying on the family insurance business or of doing well if placed with nearby associates. But any speculation

⁶² Leamy to James Hamilton, Jr., Phila., June 27, 1822, JHC, HSP.

⁶³ Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Estado, 17, n. 28, 1-4. On June 23, 1818, Don Luis de Onís, Minister of Spain to the United States, had written to recommend that John Leamy be granted lands in Puerto Rico “equivalent in value to the losses he had suffered” in the “service of Spain.” A royal order approving this concession was issued on October 27, 1818. Leamy was identified as “an Irish merchant established in Philadelphia, educated in Seville and very attached to Spain [‘muy adicto a España’].” “Juan Antonio,” his son, was described as “a young man of talent and exemplary conduct,” although such language was used frequently to portray petitioners in the most favorable light.

must take into account where and when the junior Leamy went, to a location that just might have been perceived as a promising new frontier, perhaps even the next Cuba.

In other words, it is possible that John Leamy made the strategic decision to install his son on Spain's eastern Caribbean island, in light of several dramatic changes throughout the Spanish Empire. In the Peninsula itself, the 1810s had been an incredibly tumultuous time, as the Napoleonic Wars played out. His close friend, Richard Meade, was caught up in a series of difficulties while serving then as U.S. consul in Cádiz.⁶⁴ If the metropolitan situation was so volatile, then Leamy's prior contacts no longer proved useful, a point underscored when he tried to help out his former fellow directors at the Insurance Company of North America.⁶⁵ This may have driven home to Leamy the realization that the mercantilist system of the 1780s and 1790s, under which he had thrived, truly had crumbled. In this time of upheaval, it certainly made sense to focus on domestic investment, to buy real estate in Philadelphia, as well as stock in banks, canal and coal companies.⁶⁶

Moreover, several regions of the Spanish American mainland were in revolt, a fact continually reinforced by the arrival of many "displaced Pan-Americans," such as Manuel Torres, in Philadelphia.⁶⁷ The presence of such revolutionaries in the city was undoubtedly what inspired

⁶⁴ U.S. Senate [24th Congress, 1st session], "Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the petition of Margaret Meade, widow and executrix of Richard W. Meade, March 11, 1836, (Washington, D.C., 1836).

⁶⁵ James, Biography of a Business, p. 116. In the 1810s, The INA tried unsuccessfully to settle claims against Spain by working through the widow of Maurice Roberts, a Cádiz merchant John Leamy had known.

⁶⁶ Last Will and Testament of John Leamy, July 18, 1839, Philadelphia City Archives. Unfortunately, the will does not specify what years his domestic assets were acquired.

⁶⁷ Richard A. Warren, "Displaced "Pan-Americans" and the Transformation of the Catholic Church in Philadelphia, 1789-1850," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, CXXVIII, No. 4 (October 2004), 343- 366.

Mathew Carey to reprint works ordered from Spain for distribution in South America.⁶⁸ Still, the situation remained highly volatile in the 1810s, not to mention that Leamy lacked trusted contacts in these soon-to-be former colonies. Meanwhile, although Cuba remained loyal to the Spanish Crown, creoles exacted a price for that loyalty. In 1818, Spain was forced by its planter-merchant class to open the “ever faithful isle” to free trade. Hundreds, if not thousands of shippers from North America, Great Britain, France and Spain competed in this expanding market. For Leamy, the time had passed to profit from once privileged trading opportunities with the island. But might he have utilized his knowledge of and experiences within the Spanish Empire to forecast that the next Cuba would be Puerto Rico? Was it here, in this emerging corner of a realigned Spanish Atlantic, that John Leamy saw opportunity for his son?

Between 1878 and 1881, some four decades after Leamy’s death, a file slowly made its way through government offices in Madrid.⁶⁹ It tells a very convoluted and incomplete tale. Representatives of “the heirs of John Leamy” were trying to claim 13,086 pesos, the value of the royal concession from 1818, from which his son had been supposed to receive the equivalent in lands in Puerto Rico. Bureaucrats in the Ministerio de Ultramar kept writing to authorities on the island for information regarding the claim. Eventually, after insisting that offices there had been turned upside down, the archivist for the Intendant of Puerto Rico conceded that, while they had found references to the grant, they could not determine in which jurisdiction any such lands might

⁶⁸Earl L. Bradsher, Mathew Carey: Editor, Author and Publisher, A Study in American Literary Development (New York, 1966), p. 68. Efforts to supply Buenos Aires failed, but Carey then tried to send works to Caracas. In 1822, he also printed a two-volume Spanish dictionary.

⁶⁹ Expediente promovido por D. Julián Castellanos y Velasco, apoderado de Doña Georgiana Chacón que a su vez lo es de los herederos de D. Juan Leamy..., Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Ultramar, 1244, exp. 3, 1878-1881. I have not been able to identify Georgiana Chacón, who is named on the title page only, but recall that Ann Leamy died in 1878.

have laid. In effect, the lack of proper documentation meant that the heirs' claim could not be substantiated. So in the end, it appears that Leamy's "services to Spain" went unrewarded.

Still, from the 1818 concession, it is evident that John Leamy had not given up on trying to profit from ventures set in what remained of the Spanish Empire. By the mid-1820s, while embroiled in the lay trustees' controversy at St. Mary's, he was listed in the Philadelphia city directories as vice-consul for Spain. Perhaps Leamy believed that the political situation in the Peninsula had stabilized, and that he would be able to renew or develop imperial contacts that might benefit his son. As for the younger Leamy, there are a few tantalizing references in the Papers of Henry Clay that suggest that he was busy pursuing other opportunities beyond landholding in Puerto Rico. Rather, with one James Ledlie he had set up a firm, Ledlie and Leamy, on Martinique, as early as 1817, thus predating his father's efforts on his behalf in the Spanish colony. But by 1825, this partnership had dissolved and Leamy had authorized his father in Philadelphia to act on his behalf "in [his] absence."⁷⁰ That same year, the younger Leamy made several inquiries to the U.S. Department of State, expressing impatience with the settlement of a claim against the Colombian government involving the ship *Liberty* in 1817. Finally, Clay himself replied on September 5, 1825:

If there has been some incidental official delays [sic] in the transmission of that bill, occasioning you the loss of a small amount of interest, you should reflect upon the multifarious duties belonging to the Office, which prevent an exclusive attention to any one matter, however important to the individual particularly interested that matter may be. Besides the arrangement with the Colombian

Government is marked by a high degree of liberality towards you.⁷¹

Following this brush off, the trail of the son goes dry for nearly a decade, until February 2, 1835. On this date, the family vault at Old St. Paul's was opened for "John Leamy." He was then but a few months shy of his fortieth birthday.

The Leamy Legacy

Both Mathew Carey and John Leamy died in Philadelphia in 1839, on September 16 and in early December respectively. That year, his entry in the Philadelphia Directory read: "John Leamy, gent. 5 York buildings."⁷² On July 18, Leamy, "merchant and late President of the Marine Insurance Co. of Philadelphia," signed his last will and testament. It is a relatively brief document, listing three homes (on Arch and Walnut Streets and in Blackberry Alley) from which he drew mortgage payments or rents. The country home north of the city was never even mentioned. To his heir, "wife Elizabeth Leamy for herself and oldest daughter Ann," he left "all the residue and remainder of my Estate real and personal," listing unspecified amounts of stock and loans in the Union Canal Co., the Schuylkill Navigation Co., the Mechanics' Bank of Philadelphia, the Marine Insurance Company of Philadelphia, the Lehigh Coal and Navigation

⁷⁰ James F. Hopkins, ed., The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume 4, Secretary of State, 1825 (Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1972), pp. 124, 245-246, 394, 585, 599, 606, 617.

⁷¹ H. Clay to John A. Leamy, Esqr., Department of State, 5th September 1825, in Hopkins, ed., Papers of Henry Clay, vol. 4, pp. 620-621.

⁷² A. McElroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1839... (Phila., Isaac Ashmead Co., 1839), p. 143.

Co., and the Bank of the United States of Pennsylvania.⁷³ None of these assets was valued, so we cannot estimate the size of his fortune. Then, on December 5, the vault was opened again, and John Leamy, the Irish-born “gentleman” who was educated in Spain and who prospered so well for so long in Philadelphia, was laid to rest at St. Paul’s.⁷⁴

His estate must have held considerable value. And, in a very interesting twist, the lay trustees’ controversy at St. Mary’s probably prevented the Roman Catholic Church from receiving a most generous philanthropic legacy. In 1852, Miss Ann Leamy and her sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Stout, donated “the home of their parents and the resort of their own youth” to the Episcopal Church. The summer mansion and grounds near Front Street and Lehigh Avenue served as the initial site of the Hospital of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. Later, the sisters’ own wills established trust funds that endowed the construction of a retirement home in Mt. Airy for Episcopal women; “Leamy Home” opened in 1903.⁷⁵ Furthermore, on December 15, 1878, The New York Times reported that the late Ann Leamy had also bequeathed \$5,000 to a half-dozen benevolent societies and additional funds from her inheritance for a home for old men.⁷⁶

⁷³ Last Will and Testament of John Leamy, July 18, 1839, Philadelphia City Archives.

⁷⁴ The family vault was opened for Elizabeth Leamy on Sept. 5, 1845; see Barratt, as cited in note 12. The final resting place of Ann Leamy has not been ascertained.

⁷⁵ The Hospital of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia: Its Origin, Progress, Work, and Wants (Phila., 1869), pp. 12-13, 16, 19, 27 excerpted at <http://kennethwmilano.com/page/LinkClick.aspx?link=152&tabid=234>. For more on The Leamy Home, also see <http://www.cathedralvillage.com/downloads/OurHistory.pdf>.

⁷⁶ The New York Times, General Notes, December 15, 1878, at <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F30B1EF73E5A137B93C7A81789D95F4C8784F9>.

Like Mathew Carey, John Leamy began his long life in Ireland and then spent most of it rooted firmly in Philadelphia. He assumed a highly visible role in what was arguably the most contentious dispute to rock the City of Brother Love in the early nineteenth century. Yet, aside from some occasional glances westward towards Carlisle, Leamy's gaze remained focused squarely upon the Spanish Atlantic for most of his years. During his adult lifetime, the Spanish Empire changed rapidly and repeatedly, enduring war, reform, colonial rebellion, metropolitan invasion, economic transformation, and political realignment. Leamy always managed to adapt, as the traditional mercantilist system gave way to a freer system of trade; likewise, he embraced and profited from revolutions in transportation and business at home. He seized opportunities and took risks in this era of unprecedented change, always willing, it seemed, to embrace the next challenge. John Leamy embodied an identity and outlook that truly were "Atlantic" and, in so doing, helped connect Philadelphia to a much wider world.