Finding Margaret Haughery: The Forgotten and Remembered Lives of New Orleans’s “Bread Woman” In the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

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Finding Margaret Haughery:  
The Forgotten and Remembered Lives of New Orleans’s “Bread Woman”  
In the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
University of New Orleans  
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts  
in  
History  
Concentration in Public History

by

Katherine Adrienne Luck

B.A. Kent State University, 2011

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Abstract

Margaret Haughery (1813-1882), a widowed, illiterate Irish immigrant who became known as “the Bread Woman” of New Orleans and the “Angel of the Delta” had grossed over $40,000 by the time of her death. She owned and ran a dairy farm and nationally-known bakery, donated to orphanages, leased property, owned slaves, joined with business partners and brought lawsuits. Although Haughery accomplished much in her life, she is commonly remembered only for her benevolent work with orphans and the poor. In 1884, a statue of her, posed with orphans, was erected by the city’s elite, one of the earliest statues of a woman in the nation. This thesis argues that it was Haughery’s willingness to engage in the mundane business practices of the day, including slaveholding, that made her veneration as a benefactress possible. Using acts of sale, property records, wills, newspaper articles, advertisements, and representations of Haughery, this thesis explores the life behind the image of the “Bread Woman.”

Jacques Amans, bakery, businesswoman, Catholic, Sisters of Charity, Catholic, sisterly love
‘Mrs. Margaret Haughery,’ who was truly the valiant woman whose children now rise up and call her Blessed. Her name will long remain in veneration amongst us, for her goodness and Charity, which like that of her Divine Master knew no bounds. – From the Minutes of the New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum, March 29, 1882

On February 11, 1882, New Orleanians coordinated a funeral for Margaret Haughery. So many people attended that not everyone fit into the large Saint Patrick's Church. Her pallbearers consisted of Louisiana politicians and respected men of New Orleans, including Governor Samuel D. McEnery. Haughery had lost the last of her family when she was in her early twenties; therefore, Haughery depended on her relationships to organize her funeral. A few years after the funeral, citizens of New Orleans further honored her memory by erecting a statue of her at the triangle of Prytania and Camp streets, in the Lower Garden District of New Orleans, making Margaret Grapeshney Haughery one of the first women in the United States to have a statue erected in her likeness. In her own time, and in succeeding generations of the city’s residents, Margaret Haughery, became known as the “Bread Woman,” “Mother of the Orphans,” and “Angel of the Delta,” or simply as “Margaret.” Yet, local memory of the New Orleans bread woman and orphan caregiver carries with it a silence about just how it was that Haughery became successful enough to be immortalized in statue form in 1884. Haughery immigrated to Baltimore from Ireland as a child, was soon orphaned and grew up poor. She became a widow in her early twenties and scraped to get by. However, she was able to accomplish much more

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1 Copy of New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum Minutes 1843-1969, Wednesday March 29,1882, Daughters of Charity Province of St. Louise, Emmitsburg, Maryland (hereafter cited as NOFOA Minutes).
2 Demorest’s Monthly, “Margaret Haughery: The Woman whose Life was Given to New Orleans Orphans,” Bismark Daily Tribune, August 11, 1885. According to the article Haughery was the second woman to have a statue made in her likeness and that Harriet Martineau, in Boston was the first; “Statue of Harriet Martineau,” The New York Times, December 25, 1883. According to the article Harriet Martineau’s statue was unveiled on December 26, 1883 in Boston. She was best remembered as an abolitionist and her “Christians work for the American Slave”- John Jay No. 191 Second-Avenue New-York, Nov. 20, 1883.
than the majority of poor women. By the time of her death in 1882, she successfully owned and ran a dairy farm and a bakery, and was the benefactor to many of New Orleans’s orphanages, with a total net worth of some $40,000.

While there is published scholarship about Haughery, there are several popular accounts published about her. Only two histories mentioning Haughery use citations, both of them theses. The majority of work on Margaret Haughery in recent decades can be found in the popular press and is rife with errors. The stories written about Margaret Haughery for modern audiences seem more like folklore than histories, and they offer little in the way of support about activities during her lifetime.

The Catholic presence in New Orleans gave women an opportunity to remain single and still live out their obligations to their community through religious orders. Haughery made a connection with the Sisters of Charity soon after she moved to New Orleans. Her connection with the order gave her the opportunity to be a respected member of society. Once Haughery gained entrance into New Orleans through the Sisters, she began making business deals ranging from a dairy farm, a bakery, property ownership, slavery, and even challenged male business locals in lawsuits. Haughery was illiterate, forcing her to rely on others and making it harder for her to succeed. During Haughery’s life she had numerous business partners and lawyers, as well as an assistant, Louisa Catherine Jarboe, who became Haughery’s closest friend and advisor, and apparently, her lifelong companion. This thesis explores how Haughery, although illiterate,

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3 First came a Masters thesis from 1959 by Sister Zoe Glenski “The Work of the Daughters of Charity in New Orleans: 1830-1900.” The second is Masters thesis from 1993 by Marci McGrath “Margaret Haughery and the Establishing of St. Vincent’s Infant Orphan Asylum in New Orleans, 1858.” Glenski’s thesis centers on the Daughters of Charity, and only briefly touches on Haughery’s work. Her writings on Haughery are well cited from primary sources that unfortunately came from archives that do not exist anymore. The content on Haughery in McGrath’s thesis is based on secondary non academic writings that I have found to be primarily speculated.

became a respected businesswoman due to her ties to the Catholic Church, participation in slave economy, and property ownership. Indeed, along with her ties to the Catholic Church and her close relationship with Jarboe, it was Haughery’s willingness to engage in the mundane business practices of the day, including slaveholding that made her veneration as a benefactress possible. Yet these aspects of her life have been forgotten, replaced largely with the title “Bread Woman” and a sculpture of a motherly figure resting in a chair, with a child staring at her admirably. It is clear from the trail that she left in the archive, however, that Margaret Haughery rested little in her lifetime.

Margaret Haughery began her life in antebellum New Orleans with a fairly vulnerable social position: she was a young, poor, illiterate Irish immigrant, widowed at an early age, living without the support of a male family member. In order to understand Haughery’s life, therefore, one must look at the history of the Irish in New Orleans, gender relations in the antebellum South, single womanhood, and widowhood.

Irish immigrants had a difficult time gaining acceptance in America, including New Orleans where over 25,000 Irish immigrants came during the 1830s. The historiography surrounding the Irish in New Orleans supports this claim. Although the Irish had a large and lasting impact on the development of the city, little has been written on the Irish experience in New Orleans. Earl Neilhaus, S.J., published the sole book about the Irish in New Orleans, *The Irish in New Orleans, 1803-1862*, although there are a few dissertations and theses on the topic. Neilhaus’s book is a survey of the significance of Irish in New Orleans in the early nineteenth century. He describes the “new” immigrant as the “Irish peasant unchangeably attached to his miserable home until famine destroyed his potato patch. In a word the new emigration was

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proletarian.”  

By the mid-nineteenth century, the religious interests of Irish immigrants, had been firmly established, with the founding of the Americanized Catholic Church in most of the nation’s major ports. Such was not the case, however, in New Orleans. In Michael Doorley’s book on the Irish and the Church, critiques previous religious historians’ have claims that Catholic Church in Louisiana never Americanized because of a lack of Irish immigrants; Doorley instead that the lack of Americanization was the result of an already established Catholic population in the region, one shaped by the interests of French Creoles rather than Irish immigrants.  

Patrick Brennan has argued that the first Irish immigrants in New Orleans were impoverished and stricken with fever, but as time went on the new Irish immigrants worked to make a political impact in the city. He writes that immigrants during the 1840s were “marked by alcoholism, violence and lawlessness not because of moral or racial inadequacies, but because there was little to live for.” Additionally, Brennan argues, like Doorley, that Catholicism did not lead to greater acceptance of the Irish by the city’s native Catholics, and in no way made it easier for the Irish to assimilate in New Orleans. Laura D. Kelley agrees with Brennan and Doorley, but with a view from the Irish perspective. In her dissertation, “Erin’s Enterprise: Immigration by Appropriation the Irish in Antebellum New Orleans,” Kelley argues that the Irish did not seek moral validation from Americans but instead from the Catholic Church.  

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9 Brennan, 7.
Irish women, in particular, were also subject to discrimination in New Orleans. Ashley E. Barckett, in her thesis “Bumbling Biddies and Drunken Pats: Anti-Irish Humor in Antebellum New Orleans,” analyzes the racist treatment of Irish immigrants in the pages of New Orleans newspapers. She argues that such portrayals made life harder for the Irish—particularly for women, who were often the butt of jokes—and that New Orleans was a difficult place for the Irish to make a living. For instance, The Daily Picayune published a mock trial that characterized an Irish woman as being too much of a drunk to remain with society so was sent to the House of Correction.\(^{11}\) Another joke depicted an Irish woman saying “I’m not fit to be in company with genimen. (Loud laughter).”\(^{12}\) Still another joke told the story of an Irish woman who left her husband for another man and took her dowry with her.\(^{13}\) Because Haughery was single, she could have easily been victim to the sexual jokes of Irish women in the newspapers. Her work as a laundress at St. Charles Hotel, in her early days in the city, might have made her experience quite typical for Irish women in New Orleans. Hotels were one of the city’s largest employers of Irish women.\(^{14}\)

Although Haughery may have been discriminated against for being Irish, opportunities for women in antebellum Louisiana were greater than other areas in the South. During this time, women in the North had begun to have options other than motherhood, but women in most of the South were still expected to only be mothers. Typically, a woman’s success was based on how many children she produced. But again, the Catholic Church’s history in Louisiana set it somewhat apart from the rest of the South. However, as Dolores Egger Labbe argues in her

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\(^{12}\) Barckett, 10; “Police-Sunday,” Daily Picayune, February 28, 1837.

\(^{13}\) Barckett, 12; “Elopement Extraordinary,” Daily Picayune, April 1, 1837.

article “Mothers and Children in Antebellum Louisiana,” that the strong Catholic presence in Louisiana allowed French Catholic women to have options other than motherhood. In Louisiana, a woman choosing religion over motherhood was sacred. A woman could have a public occupation through the church without criticism, unlike in other Southern states. Labbe concludes that although motherhood was not the most important occupation for Catholic Louisianans, the devotion to Mother Mary made the calling to motherhood more sacred than other Southern States. Labbe does not discuss the situations of other women in Louisiana including Catholic women of heritages other than French. The absence in her work of Irish Catholic women is troubling, due to the vast amount of Irish immigrants in New Orleans.

For Margaret Haughery to become respectable within antebellum New Orleans society, she needed to either display characteristics of middle-class white womanhood or join a religious order. Although she did not embrace traditional domesticity or motherhood and did not join an order, her life choices in New Orleans not only were acceptable to the city but raised her to a position of veneration and endearment that has spanned the decades, turning her unlikely origins as an Irish immigrant widow into a position of power and adoration that endures today. She gained respect in a man’s world because she successfully ran a prosperous business while also practicing a motherly benevolence towards orphans, with the assistance of the Catholic Church. She did not have children or a husband to divert her attention from business or volunteer work. However, providing for orphans gave her a maternal role in New Orleans society.

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15 Kristen E. Wood, *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 2-3. Mastery pertained to slaveholding men that did not just own their slaves, but were masters over them. The term ‘mastery’ became a synonym for “household head.” According to Wood, household mastery was made up of two key points: “governing domestic dependents and household property, and representing the household’s collective interest in the wider world.” Mastery was also defined by the ability to be financially independent and in some definitions it encompassed the ability to vote, which excluded women.
In 1813, Margaret Graphney was born in Tully, Carrigallen County Leitrim, Ireland. Five years later, she immigrated to Baltimore, Maryland, with her parents and two siblings. In 1822, a yellow fever epidemic killed her parents. Once orphaned, Margaret was taken in by a Mrs. Richards and earned her keep doing housework. Margaret’s early years started her on the familiar path of many Irish women: domestic service. In 1835, she married Charles Haughery; a month later they moved to New Orleans, due to his poor health. They had one daughter, Frances. Charles’s health took a turn for the worse and he moved back to Ireland, leaving Margaret and Frances in New Orleans. He died a short time after. A few months later, Frances died from yellow fever.

Now that Haughery was a widow she was able to own property and obtain wages. During the antebellum period, once a woman got married she lost her femme sole status and became a femme covert meaning that any previous property or wages attained by a wife belonged to the husband. Single women such as spinsters or widows could keep their own property and wages as femme sole. This law was not meant to free widows into independence. The law’s purpose was to help prevent a widow and her family from falling into unmanageable poverty. Although she was able to hold her own property, the life of a young widow was not easy, and in many cases she needed the help of men.

Although Haughery had mothered a child, her daughter had died after only a few months; remaining single enabled her to remain childless. Working with orphans gave Haughery the opportunity to play a maternal role within the local community. If Haughery married again, she

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16 “Margaret,” *The Daily Picayune*, February 10, 1882. No first name can be found for Mrs. Richards. Mrs. Richards was Baptist but brought Margaret up Catholic.
would have been restricted in the amount of time she volunteered and most likely would not have engaged in business endeavors.

In 1836 after her husband’s death, Haughery supported herself by working as a laundress at the St. Charles Hotel. Soon after, Haughery established her first significant relationship in New Orleans. Sister Frances Regis Barrett, known as Sister Regis, became Haughery’s good friend. Sister Regis, served as the Mother Superior for the Sisters of Charity, until her death in 1862. Most likely, it was Sister Regis who brought Haughery into the community of the Sisters of Charity. Haughery soon volunteered with the Sisters of Charity at Poydras Asylum. Sister Regis was already established as a respected member of the New Orleans community. Sister Regis’s friendship with Haughery gave Haughery accreditation in the community and her work with the Sisters of Charity also gave her a place in local society. Widowhood during the antebellum period put many women in economically vulnerable and marginal social positions.

Haughery’s relationship with Sister Regis was life changing for Haughery. Left without her husband Charles, Margaret had little with which to support herself. Although Haughery had served her womanly purpose as a wife and a mother, she was still an Irish immigrant. The argument that Irish woman were not respected may have made Haughery’s life harder as a widow. Sister Regis and the Sisters of Charity opened up an elevated social space for Margaret Haughery under the veil of religion and benevolence.

During Haughery’s first several years volunteering with the Sisters of Charity, she was known to beg for food for the orphans. A local newspaper reported Haughery applying to a large grocery on Tchoupitoulas Street for provisions, and that a member of the firm laughingly told

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19 McGrath, 5.
20 Wood, 1.
her: “we’ll give you all you can pile on a wheel barrow, if you will take it to the asylum
yourself.”

She quickly accepted the offer and rolled the provisions back to the asylum. This
volunteerism for which she was to become known for began when the Sisters of Charity left the
Poydras Asylum. In October 1836, Poydras Asylum’s Protestant directresses and the Catholic
order of the Sisters of Charity had a dispute. This dispute forced the Sisters of Charity to move
their orphans to a new location. On October 25, 1836, the Sisters opened St. Patrick’s Asylum
on 169 New Levee Street, presently South Peters Street. During this time Haughery lived with
the Sisters of Charity at Saint Patrick’s Asylum; however, it is not known how long she lived
with them. The morning after the Sisters and orphans arrived in this house, Haughery
conducted “her first recorded act of charity toward the orphans” under the care of the Sisters of
Charity in New Orleans. In this act, she purchased and prepared breakfast for the household,
who had gone without dinner the previous night. From then on, Margaret Haughery repeatedly
supplied them milk, bread, and substantial donations.

In order to provide milk for the children, Haughery purchased two cows. Over time, she
gained a herd of cows, and developed a prospering dairy on Seventh Street. By 1839, the
orphanage could not house its growing number of orphans. Louis Foucher and his brother
Francis Saulet, donated land for a second orphanage, under the condition that an asylum and


22 McGrath, 5.
24 Glenski, 34.
25 Glenski, 34; Sisters of Charity, Annals 1893, 84.
26 Glenski, 34; Saint Vincent Orphan Asylum, Report 1859, 21, 23; 13, 17, 19, 20-26, 36, 38.
27 “Margaret,” Daily Picayune, February 10, 1882. There is no specific location for the dairy farm or
information on how many cows she had. McGrath’s thesis states that Haughery had 40 cows, however this
information is not cited.
chapel be erected by 1850.\textsuperscript{28} On February 16, 1840, the new asylum opened to 109 orphan girls and six Sisters of Charity. In 1843, the name of Saint Patrick’s Orphan Asylum’s changed to New Orleans Female Asylum.\textsuperscript{29} The deposit for construction of the orphanage was about $42,000; after ten years, Margaret’s dairy paid for a large amount of the debt from the construction of the orphanage and chapel.\textsuperscript{30}

In 1850, the Sisters of Charity and Margaret Haughery opened Saint Teresa’s Orphan Asylum on Camp Street. In order to pay down the $15,000-debt of the asylum, noted artist Jacques Amans painted a portrait of Haughery with two orphan girls. By 1837, Amans had become a prominent portraitist in Louisiana, and his paintings expensive.\textsuperscript{31}

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\textsuperscript{28} “New Orleans Female Orphanage 1314 Napoleon Ave. 1836-1936,” Catholic Charities New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum Early History Manuscripts, AR/00164, New Orleans Archdiocese Archives.
\textsuperscript{29} “New Orleans Female Orphanage 1314 Napoleon Ave. 1836-1936,” Catholic Charities New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum Early History Manuscripts, AR/00164, New Orleans Archdiocese Archives.
\textsuperscript{30} “Acts of Incorporation of the New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum 1314 Napoleon Ave.,” Catholic Charities, New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum Early History, New Orleans Archdiocese Archives. Saint Patrick’s Orphan Asylum’s name was changed in 1843 by Sister Regis and the friends of the Institution “fearing that at some future time its usefulness might be restricted within the limits of its own parish, or lack of mean to support which that parish might not be able to furnish, petitioned that the title of the Asylum be changed to ‘New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum,’ thus holding its doors open to all poor little orphan girls. . . This change was effected by the incorporating of the Asylum and the heartily approval of the Friends of the Institution.”
\textsuperscript{31}Louisiana State Museum, http://www.crt.state.la.us/Museum/collections/visual_arts/artist/Amans_Jacques.aspx
\end{flushright}
The portrait was raffled off under the condition that one thousand tickets be sold for one dollar a piece. The owner of the winning ticket was to have their name inscribed on the gilt frame; however, the portrait remained in the asylum. The newspapers first recognized Haughery through the portrait done by Amans. He spent seven days on the portrait and took nothing for his labor. Amans painting Haughery must have been an honor for her and the Sisters of Charity.

Amans was known for painting portraits of prominent individuals. Amans might have chosen to create the portrait for the Sisters of Charity because he knew it would gain him more

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32 Daily Picayune, December 26, 1850. In the article Haughery is called “Marguorite”.
33 Daily Picayune, December 26, 1850.
recognition. Although he was already prominent, the portrait linked him to a charitable event. The portrait was raffled off at an event; therefore affluent members of New Orleans attended, and would recognize his work. His work also had a greater chance to be publicized, and the charitable event could have put a favorable light on his name.

The portrait by Amans shows Haughery with two orphans in front of the tower of the Church of Saint Teresa of Avila, in New Orleans. Haughery is depicted as maternal as she holds one sleeping orphan and the other has her arms stretched up to her. Haughery is wearing plain clothes, portraying her as a woman of modesty. In an article from the *Daily Picayune* in 1850, the writer mentioned the accuracy of Haughery’s appearance in the painting. This article was the first where Haughery is recognized in New Orleans for her good works with the orphans. The reporter wrote that Haughery was known to do “most of the out-door work—milking sixteen of eighteen cows, selling the milk, driving around the city on all kinds of errands, and performing most of the drudgery in the asylum besides; always cheerful, active and kind; beloved and respected by all who know her character and labors, as worthy and honest a woman as ever lived.” Her connection with Amans gave Haughery recognition within New Orleans.

Due to the painting and article, residents of New Orleans now saw her as an important benefactor to the city’s orphans. There is no evidence that states who chose Haughery for the portrait, but because Haughery was chosen out of all the other citizens who helped the orphanage, it shows that she really was the most beloved and dutiful citizen caregiver to the orphans. The Sisters of Charity could have chosen Haughery for the portrait as a way to say thank you to her. Haughery had done so much for the Sisters of Charity’s orphans but what could the Sisters do for her? The portrait allowed the Sisters of Charity to recognize Haughery’s good deeds for the orphans.

35 *Daily Picayune*, December 26, 1850. The Church is located in 1404 Erato St., New Orleans, LA 70130
36 *Daily Picayune*, December 26, 1850.
With Haughery’s connection to the Sisters of Charity, Haughery laid the foundations of her career as a businesswoman. By 1852, she opened a large dairy farm of forty cows on Seventh Street in the Fourth District of the city.\(^{37}\) In 1836, she had supplied milk with the Sisters of Charity using only two cows. This two-cow dairy farm slowly grew in size, and helped pay off a large amount of the debt of Saint Teresa Orphan Asylum.\(^{38}\) The dairy farm was also for her private income. Her new dairy farm allowed her to donate even more money to the orphans and the poor and earned her an even greater respect in the community. However, records do show that she charged the Catholic Church for milk. Receipts between Haughery and Archbishop Anthony Blanc show from 1853-1858, the Catholic Church paid her for milk.\(^{39}\)

Haughery’s business endeavors did not end with the dairy farm. In the late 1850s, she saved up a few hundred dollars and lent it to a male friend to open a bakery; in 1859, when the business did not do well she was forced to take the bakery from him.\(^{40}\) This was most likely the D’Aquin Bakery.\(^{41}\) At first Haughery did not know what to do with the bakery because she knew nothing of baking, but she soon decided to put in as much effort to the bakery as she had done with the dairy farm.\(^{42}\) The bakery started off small and was first advertised as “Margaret Haughery . . . Bread and Cracker Baker.”\(^{43}\) In 1868, she officially purchased the building.\(^{44}\) According to a surviving advertisement, her bread was made by machinery and sold at the

\(^{38}\) “Margaret,” \textit{The Daily Picayune}, February 10, 1882.
\(^{39}\) “Haughery, Margaret Gaffney” University of Notre Dame Archive. \texttt{http://archives.nd.edu/calendar/authors/}. The receipts are from 1853-1858.
\(^{40}\) “Margaret Haughery, the Woman Whose Light was Given to New Orleans Orphans,” \textit{Bismark Daily Tribune}, August 11, 1885. Article is an interview with a Sister who had been a very close friend with Margaret Haughery.
\(^{42}\) “Margaret Haughery, the Woman Who’s Light was Given to New Orleans Orphans,” \textit{Bismark Daily Tribune}, August 11, 1885.
\(^{43}\) \textit{The Daily True Delta}, October 16, 1859. Earliest advertisement to her bakery that I have found thus far.
“lowest market price.” At this time, her baked goods were being sold through eighteen different companies and various grocers. Over time, Haughery’s bakery grew into Margaret’s Steam and Mechanical Bakery, 74, 76 and 78 New Levee Street, present-day South Peters Street, between Lafayette and Poydras streets. Margaret’s baked goods were not just popular in New Orleans, but in other states as well. According to The Daily Picayune, over many years she came in second and third place in the United States for her bread.

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45 The Daily True Delta, October 16, 1859.
46 The Daily True Delta, October 16, 1859.
One of Haughery’s most influential relationships was with Louise Jarboe. Although Margaret Haughery ran two successful businesses, the bakery and the dairy, she would have needed help in doing so, because she could not write and could only read a little, making her
dependent on others for matters involving literacy. During Haughery’s time with the Sisters of Charity, she met Sister Irene, whose birth name was Louise Catherine Jarboe. Haughery and Jarboe became close friends. In 1853 Jarboe became ill and it was thought best for her to leave the work of the Sisters of Charity; however, she continued to help assist with the orphanages run by the Sisters of Charity. After she gave up her role with the Sisters of Charity, Jarboe became Haughery’s personal assistant and most likely managed Haughery’s private and business correspondence.

Margaret Haughery’s friendship with Sister Frances Regis Barrett and Louisa Catherine Jarboe were not the only relationships that shaped Haughery’s life as a businesswoman in New Orleans. She purchased slaves, bought and sold property, and took out mortgages. The first slave purchased by Haughery was a “mulatto boy slave” named Bartlett, about 40 years old, for $750. She made this purchase through Henry Rogrigues of New Orleans. Next, she purchased two slaves, a mother, 22-year-old Nancy, and her child, 9-year-old Henry, for the sum of $1,750. This purchase was made from her close friend Louisa Catherine Jarboe. On October 21, 1859, Haughery purchased three young slaves from Jonathan E. Price: 14-year-old Preston for $1,400, 14-year-old Anthony for $13,000, and 12-year-old Charles for $1,200.

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48 “With Margaret. Miss Jarboe Followed to the Grave by Many Orphans, and is Laid in Sisters of Charity Tomb, Opened only to Her and Her Benefactor.” Daily Picayune, July 25, 1902. At an early age Jarboe started sisterhood with the Sisters of Charity order of St. Vincent de Paul in Emmitsburg, Maryland. Once deemed a nun she went by the name of “Sister Irene” and was send to New Orleans.

49 “With Margaret. Miss Jarboe Followed to the Grave by Many Orphans, and is Laid in sisters of Charity Tomb, Opened only to Her and Her Benefactor.” Daily Picayune July 25, 1902. Sisters of Charity take annual vows for a certain amount of years, at the expiration of Jarboe’s vow she gave up her active role.

50 Charles Stringer Notary Public, Vol. 1, March 29, 1859, Civil District Court of Orleans Parish Notarial Archives Research Center.

51 Charles Stringer Notary Public, Vol. 1. March 29, 1859, Civil District Court of Orleans Parish Notorial Archives Research Center. Henry Rogriguez got Bartlett from the “succession of the F.B. Duquin” on April 8, 1856

52 Charles Stringer Notary Public, Vol. 1, August 6, 1859, Civil District Court of Orleans Parish Notorial Archives Research Center. This purchase form Jarboe depicts that Jarboe possibly came from a wealthy family.

53 Charles Stringer Notary Public, Vol. 1, October 21, 1859, Civil District Court of Orleans Parish Notorial Archives Research Center.
1860, Haughery purchased 22-year-old John Bull for $2,000 from Meels John Banel and Jules Blineau. Records show Haughery only sold one slave, Nancy, about a year and a half after she purchased her. This meant that she separated Nancy from her son Henry, then 10 or 11, and she separated them by a great deal of distance. She sold Nancy to Mary Ellen Augusta Kirklaud from Baton Rouge.54

Haughery’s sale of Nancy was not uncommon for a female slave owner. Slaveholding widows typically cared more for their financial interests than their slaves’ needs or interests.55 Haughery probably did not beat her slaves, but hired a man to carry out punishments. An article from the New York Times reported that one of Haughery’s slaves, “John Smith,” is mocked for believing Haughery’s sarcasm that General Butler would give him “a rocking-chair and a fan.”56 The article goes on to say that Haughery “reprimanded him for using such language” and that she never told him to go to the Yankees. Smith was then sentenced to one month of jail. Smith receiving jail time relates to Woods argument that some slaveholding widows looked to the law to punish their slaves. According to the article, Haughery did not carry out the punishment, instead the law did. This article makes fun of Smith and (to today’s eyes) does not put Haughery in a favorable light. If the story is true it demonstrates that Haughery was a full member of the slaveholding class.

In addition to slaves, Haughery also purchased machinery and property. Throughout her life she owned 13 separate properties. On March 29, 1859, Haughery purchased “a certain lot of machinery consisting of Horse Power: Two sets of rollers: One Bruce’s cutting machine and cutters now in the premises situated on Commerce Street between Poydras and Lafayette streets

55 Wood, 36.
in the first District of the City.”57 The machinery fixtures were valued at $1,500. On May 15, 1860, Haughery bought two lots of land in the Fourth District of the city.58 This property roved to be the beginning of her legal battles.

Haughery was illiterate. She relied on others to help her with her businesses and legal dealings more than most people of her stature. In order to help her with her business and legal dealings, Haughery appointed lawyer John M. Lee to have “full power of her and her name to sue, and in her behalf.”59 This meant that he could open and respond to all her letters of correspondence and sign off on all legal matters for her. However, Haughery appeared personally at every notarized act.60 She was an active participant in all her legal affairs, despite (or perhaps because of) her illiteracy and her lawyers’ ability to sign for her. At each juncture, she was there to make her mark on the notarized document. Just a year after she took on John M. Lee, she revoked his power over her name.61 The revocation of his power possibly had to do with a lawsuit in 1860 involving Haughery v. Lee.

In addition to her dairy farm and bakery, Haughery also leased property. During her early leasings, Haughery and Jarboe may have been naïve about the legal operations. At some point before October 20, 1859, she came into owning two lots “designated by the numbers 13 and 14

57 Charles Stringer Notary Public, Vol. 1, March 29, 1859, The Civil District Court of Orleans Parish Notarial Archive Research Center. Haughery purchased the machinery from Henry Rogrigues, who she also purchased Bartlett from. The two purchases were done on the same day in the same act, and came to a total of $2,250.00.

58 Michael Gernon Notary Public, Vol. 12, May 15, 1860, Civil District Court of Orleans Parish Notarial Archives Research Center. Sale of Property by Samuel Barret to Margaret Haughery. The buildings were designated at 13 and 14 of the 101 square, surrounded by Seventh, Eighth, Prytania and Nayades streets. The buildings that the purchased were designed and built by architect H. Moelhousen on May 4, 1844. Her new property measured 31 feet fronting Eighth Street and was 125 feet in depth. On June 12, 1860 she was forced take a mortgage out on this property from Allain Eustis for $6,000.


60 Her mark was made on every notarized document involving her that I have found.

of Square number 101 comprised within Seventh, Eighth, Prytania and Nyades Streets.”

According to Haughery, she leased this property to John M. Lee around October 20, 1859, and that he “should pay her a reasonable rent.” After Lee moved in, he failed to pay her any rent. On December 22, 1860, Margaret Haughery filed a petition against John M. Lee for $820. Haughery lost this case and the appeal. Haughery made her mark on a document claiming that on December 7, 1860, Lee without her consent, removed furniture from the house “and that she has good reason to believe and does really believe and fear, that Defendant will remove from the premises the furniture and other moveables there in, and on which Petitioner has of rights a lien and privilege as Leaser, and that she may lose her said lien and privilege.” Because the lease stated “reasonable rent,” the judge decided that it implied that a third party would decide upon the rent; because no third party decided upon the rent, rent could not be determined.

The case appears to show that Margaret Haughery trusted others to do the right thing. Why Haughery made the lease out for John Lee to pay a reasonable rent instead of a set amount is unknown. What can be said is that she probably trusted him to pay her a reasonable amount. Because she was illiterate, she was forced to rely on the trust of those of whom she did business dealings with. Before she made a name for herself, she could have easily been cheated in business. The judge in the case even stated that he respected Margaret Haughery, but that he had to rule in favor of Lee due to the law.

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62 Notice of Trial Filed January 11, 1861, Margaret Haughery vs. John M. Lee. No. 8916. The State of Louisiana District Court of New Orleans.
63 Appeal from the 6th District Court. Brief of Appealer. No. 189 Margaret Haughery vs. John M. Lee. Supreme Court of Louisiana.
64 Margaret Haughery vs. John M. Lee. No. 8916, State of Louisiana Sixth District Court of New Orleans, 2.
66 Appeal from the 6th District Court. Brief of Appealer, Margaret Haughery vs. John M. Lee No. 189, Supreme Court of Louisiana.
Margaret Haughery’s court case with Lee was not the only case that she fought and lost. In 1856, Haughery partnered with Hosa Ball to invent a bake oven that ended up being used in her bakery. Ball patented the oven on September 23, 1856 for a period of fourteen years. On October 12, 1869, the original patent was surrendered, and granted reissue. The second reissue was granted on June 14, 1870. This extension of the patent was granted by the Circuit Court for a period of seven years from September 23, 1870. In 1875, Ball and Haughery claimed that Justin Langles and N.A. Baumgarden, of the firm of Baumgarden & Langles, infringed “their patent right to the same.” That same year Ball and Haughery took Langles and Baumgarden to the United States Circuit Court. The official charge was “the defendants have constructed such an oven as that patented, with intent to use it.” The Circuit Court dismissed the bill, and Ball and Margaret appealed. In 1880, the appeal went to the United States Supreme Court. Apparently, Ball changed aspects of the oven to improve it, between the time of the first and second patents issued. Therefore, the “Commissioner of Patents had no authority to grant the patents, and consequently they are void.” Haughery’s partnership with Ball allowed her to better her business. The oven that they invented together would have given her bakery a step up on competing bakeries. Unfortunately, due to her illiteracy, Haughery was forced to rely on Ball to make the proper decisions for the patents. Haughery lost both cases on technicalities.

Although relying on others made it harder to succeed, Haughery grossed over $30,000 by the end of her life. In the years prior to her death, Haughery sold most of her properties. On September 13, 1878, for $8,000, Haughery sold four properties to B.F. Glover. On December 2, 1879, William Joseph Castell Notary Public, September 13, 1878, Civil District Court of Orleans Parish Notarial Archive Research Center. Lots 13 and 14, and lots 24 and 25, both of square 101. The properties were in

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67 Ball v. Langles Appeal from the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Louisiana. 102 U.S. 128 (. 26 L.Ed. 104) U.S. Supreme Court.
68 The Daily Picayune, September 3, 1875.
69 Ball v. Langles
70 Ball v. Langles.
71 William Joseph Castell Notary Public, September 13, 1878, Civil District Court of Orleans Parish Notarial Archive Research Center. Lots 13 and 14, and lots 24 and 25, both of square 101. The properties were in
1879, Haughery again sold property to Glover for $3,000.\(^{72}\) Surprisingly, Haughery also purchased property close to the time of her death. On October 15, 1879, she purchased two properties from John Thomas Moore ESG, one with Bernard Klotz and one on her own, for the sum of $15,500.\(^{73}\)

On July 1, 1878, Haughery announced a co-partnership between herself and Bernard Klotz for her bakery, which would remain under the name of Margaret Haughery & Co.\(^{74}\)

Haughery likely co-partnered with Klotz because of her diminishing health, since she died only three years later. In the co-partnership Haughery leased the bakery with “machinery engines and so forth” to Klotz.\(^{75}\) Haughery rented the property to Klotz for $2,400 annually. On October 31, 1878, only a few months after the co-partnership with Klotz, Haughery appointed Klotz as her lawyer.\(^{76}\) After her death, the bakery still ran under the name of Margaret’s Steam and Mechanical Bakery.\(^{77}\)

Although Haughery co-partnered with Klotz, she did not intend to leave him the business after she died. On November 23, 1878, Haughery recounted her last will and testament. In the will she declared that she had $10,000 invested in her bakery, and that the money would remain

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72 William Joseph Castell Notary Public, Vol. 60, December 2, 1879, Civil District Court of Orleans Parish Notarial Archive Research Center. Haughery sold properties 26, 27, and 18 of square 101. The property was bounded by Seventh, Eighth, St. Charles and Prytania streets. It was 31 feet long fronting Seventh Street by 125 feet in depth.

73 William Joseph Castell, Vol. 60, October 15, 1879, Civil District Court of Orleans Parish Notarial Archive Research Center. The property she purchased with Klotz was 11 and 12 Commerce Street in the 1st District of the City. S. Peters, Commerce, Poydras, and Lafayette streets bound the second property she purchased that day. The property bounded by S. Peters, Commerce, Poydras, ad Lafayette streets measured 21 feet 5 inches on S. Peters, 21 feet 2 inches front Commerce Street, by 132 feet in depth on Lafayette Street and 130 feet 4 inches in depth on Poydras Street. The property 11 and 12 Commerce Street ran 21 feet 1 inch by a depth of 130 feet by 4 inches on the Lafayette side with 128 feet 8 inches on the Poydras Side.

74 \textit{The Daily Picayune}, July 20, 1879.

75 William Joseph Castell Notary Public, September 2, 1878, Civil District Court of Orleans Parish Notarial Archives Research Center.

76 William Joseph Castell Notary Public, October 31, 1878, Civil District Court of Orleans Parish Notarial Archives Research Center.

77 \textit{The Daily Picayune}, January 14, 1882. “The death of Mrs. Margaret Haughery will not interfere with the firm, which will be continued heretofore. MARGARET HAUGHERY & CO.”; \textit{The Daily Picayune}, May 26, 1883.
with Klotz up to five years without interest. After the five years Haughery wanted $3,000 of the amount given to the Little Sisters of the Poor of New Orleans. Additionally, on November 27, 1878, Haughery donated the property and all of the mechanics of Margaret’s Steam and Mechanical Bakery to the Society of the Daughters of Charity for Saint Vincent Infant Asylum.

Even after death, Margaret Haughery was the subject of court cases. In 1878, Haughery had partnered with Bernard Klotz. In her will she stated that she believed she invested $30,000 in the bakery establishment of M. Haughery & Co. She bequeathed this amount to the “the society of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, Emittsburg, State of Maryland, for the use and benefit of its St. Vincent Infant Asylum” on Magazine Street. The executors of her will Charles Macroady and Nicholas Burke claimed that the profits from 1881-1882 were $18,000 which added to her estate. Therefore they argued that $35,000 be given to St. Vincent Infant Asylum. However, Klotz only wanted to give $32,000. After many legal battles Klotz lost.

At the end of her life Haughery’s net worth was over $49,000. The money was dealt out to numerous orphanages in New Orleans, Louisa Catherine Jarboe and a former companion named Clothlide Prentiss. Haughery left a total of $13,000 dispersed between: Little Sisters of the Poor, Sisters of the Good Shepherd of New Orleans, Saint Alphoneu Convent of Mercy Orphan Asylum, Catholic Boys’ Orphan Asylum, German Orphan Asylum, Widows and Orphans’ Jews Asylum.

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78 William Joseph Castell Notary Public, Vol. 57, November 23, 1878, Civil District Court of Orleans Parish Notarial Archives Research Center.
79 William Joseph Castell, November 27, 1878, Civil District Court of Orleans Parish Notarial Archives Research Center. Daughters of Charity are the same as the Sisters of Charity in this thesis.
80 “Margaret’s Succession,” The Daily Picayune, March 24, 1887.
81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid. This trial started soon after Margaret Haughery’s death, originally won by Klotz. However, appeals went all the way to the US Supreme Court.; “Margaret Haughery’s Estate. The Rule of Bernard Klotz for Liquidation” The Daily Picayune, August 30, 1882; “Succession of Margaret: Judge Tissori Decides in Favor of Klotz.” The Daily Picayune, September 5, 1882.
84 “Margaret’s Succession” Daily Picayune, March 24, 1887.
Louisa Catherine Jarboe  -$5,000
-Interest in the rent during her natural life of the stores adjoining the bakery property
-All moveable property connected with her private apartments

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<td>St. Vincents Infant Asylum</td>
<td>$30,000 – the amount she believed she invested into the bakery of M. Haughery &amp; Co.</td>
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Money bequeathed from Margaret Haughery’s will
Figure 3. Taken from the excerpt of Margaret Haughery’s Will from “Margaret’s Succession” Daily Picayune 03-24-1887.

Haughery left Clothlide Prentiss $1,000, who had lived with Margaret Haughery as a “companion.” In 1880, when Prentiss was 22 years old, she lived with Haughery at 74 Tchoupitoulas Street in New Orleans. There is nothing written on Prentiss and Haughery’s relationship, but it is likely that Prentiss lived with Haughery for more than just the year of 1880. Prentiss was likely a friend of Haughery’s and helped her with her home, businesses, and orphanages. In 1900, the Federal Census reports Prentiss living with five other women, including Louisa Catherine Jarboe, at 1037 Thalia Street as a “boarder” under the household head, Emily Barnett, a 50-year-old widow. This shows that all three women had a close friendship.

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86 1900 United States Census, s.v. “Clotilde Prentiss,” 10th District, Orleans Parish, Louisiana, Accessed through Ancestry.com. It is likely that Prentiss’s name is misspelled in the census.
The money left to Louisa Catherine Jarboe is especially surprising. Haughery left Jarhoe $5,000 with interest in the rent to be given during Jarboe’s life of the stores adjoining the bakery property, and all moveable property connected with her private apartments.\footnote{“Margaret’s Succession,” \textit{The Daily Picayune}, March 24, 1887.} The interest that Haughery left Jarboe is what an individual would leave a spouse. There is no evidence that Haughery and Jarboe lived together. However, the strength of their friendship is clear. Although single women commonly relied on one another, Haughery and Jarboe’s friendship was uncommonly strong. Most single women would not have left so much to one of their friends. The strength of the relationship was further revealed when Jarhoe died in 1902, the \textit{Daily Picayune} reported that “Her one desire was to be placed in the same vault as her beloved ‘Margaret,’ and only a few days before her death she again preferred her request to the Sister Superior of the Charity Hospital”\footnote{“With Margaret. Miss Jarboe Followed to the Grave by Many Orphans, and is Laid in sisters of Charity Tomb, Opened only to Her and Her Benefactor,” \textit{The Daily Picayune}, July 25, 1902.} The Sister Superior granted her request; and on July 24, 1902, the two friends were side by side once again.

During the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, female-female friendships were often accepted. Historians agree that society viewed these relationships as pure and loving friendships. This is primarily because society did not think well brought up women would have or desire sex outside of marriage and because they believed sex could not happen without penetration. Although there is no proof, it could be speculated that Haughery and Jarboe were more than friends. However, Jarboe’s obituary, in the \textit{Daily Picayune} describes their friendship as a sisterly love.

Margaret Haughery’s death not only affected the individuals and establishments bequeathed in her Will, but the wider community of New Orleans. Her obituary took up two columns outlined in thick ink on the front page of the \textit{Daily Picayune}, and was simply titled “Margaret.” On February 11, 1882, Margaret Haughery’s funeral took place at Saint Vincent’s...
Infant Asylum; a half hour later the funeral services took place at Saint Patrick’s Church.\textsuperscript{89} The members of the Howard Association, an all male organization known for its humanitarian services, was requested by their president, J.M. Vandergriff, to attended the funeral services. Foreman Ralph Morgan, invited the officers and members (active, exempts, and honorary) to attend her funeral a half hour before processions started.\textsuperscript{90} Her pall bearers were Governor Samuel D. McEnery, ex-Governor Francis T. Shakspeare, Mayor Joseph J. Semmes, William B. Schmidt of the house of Schmidt & Seigler, Charles Macready of the firm of Stauller Macready & Company, George Nicholson of the \textit{Daily Picayune}, Michel Musson, President of New Orleans Insurance Association who was deemed “one of our most venerable and respected citizens representing the French population,” Micholas Burko of Burko and Thompson, Bernard Klotz, John G. Devereux Vice President of the Hibernia National Bank, and Charles Taylor Gaucho who was called “Margaret’s favorite godson.”\textsuperscript{91} In attendance were General Frederick N. Ogden, Thomas Cilmore, Esq, a prominent lawyer, William J. Castell, a notary public, as well as many other prominent citizens of the city. Both Cilmore and Castell were old and good friends of hers.\textsuperscript{92} The pall-bearers and attendants were all respected men in the community. Haughery did not have family to organize her funeral, but relied on the community of New Orleans to organize it. The prominence of the city and state leaders in her funeral shows her importance to the elite of New Orleans.

Even after death, Margaret Haughery had not been forgotten. In 1884, only few years after her death, a statue of her likeness was erected in the Lower Garden District, where it remains. She is mentioned in numerous tourist guidebooks about New Orleans. There have even

\textsuperscript{89} “Died,” \textit{The Daily Picayune}, February 11, 1882.
\textsuperscript{90} “Died.” \textit{Daily Picayune}, February 11, 1882.
\textsuperscript{91} “Margaret’s Pall Bearers,” \textit{The Daily Picayune}, February 12, 1882. Have found nothing else on “her favorite godson.”
\textsuperscript{92} “Margaret’s Pall Bearers,” \textit{The Daily Picayune}, February 12, 1882.
been two books written about her, by New Orleanians. However, the information written about her is exaggerated. The authors consider some facts about her life, but the most stories of her are speculative at best. There is no doubt that Margaret Haughery made an impact on the city of New Orleans. This second section will analyze how she has been and is remembered, and consider why her life became the focus of speculation and glorification. She was first memorialized through her statue, and then by stories of her retold or fabricated.

Margaret Haughery is commonly regarded in New Orleans as simply ‘Margaret.’ Her first name stands alone as though everyone knew her name and there were no other Margarets that could be confused with her. Her obituary was titled ‘MARGARET,’ and numerous other New Orleans newspaper articles refer to her as ‘our Margaret.’ Even the Sisters of Charity refer to her as simply ‘Margaret’ in quotes, in their board minutes. The use of “Margaret” in quotes distinguishes her from others. The frequent use of her name in quotes shows her importance to the community. One article explained “everyone called her by her Christian name as is done in speaking of queens.” Many other dignified citizens at the time were referred to as, for example, ‘Mr. Joseph Smith’ or ‘Mrs. Smith.’ The use of her first name displays that people viewed her as one of their own.

The day after Haughery died, G. Macready thought of the idea to have a monument constructed in her honor. On March 29, 1882, G. Macready and other members of New Orleans made the decision to erect a statue of Haughery in the triangular lot fronting the New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum on Clio Street. Macready and a “committee consisting of the best

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94 “Margaret’s Monument,” The Daily Picayune, June 10, 1884.
95 Ibid.
citizens of New Orleans” took measures to have a statue erected of Haughery.\textsuperscript{96} The statue, made of carrara marble, was designed and sculpted by Alexander Doyle in Italy.\textsuperscript{97} Doyle is remembered for sculpting numerous Civil War heroes. On June 9, 1884, Haughery’s statue reached New York, and on July 7, it finally reached New Orleans.\textsuperscript{98} On July 10, at six in the afternoon, the statue was unveiled by orphans.\textsuperscript{99}

Catholic as well as Jewish and Protestant orphans from almost every New Orleans asylum, numbering nearly 1,000, surrounded the monument, on the triangle that was to be known henceforth as “Margaret’s Place.”\textsuperscript{100} Around 100 orphans, ages five to thirteen from the NOFOA, attended the ceremony. They wore pink dresses, pink bonnets and white aprons and laid flowers around the veiled monument.\textsuperscript{101} The orphans all held a cord and drew at the same time to reveal the statue.\textsuperscript{102} Numerous citizens, mostly women, attended the unveiling. Distinguished guests sat on a large platform build over the sidewalk on Clio Street in front of the NOFOA. Those on that platform included the lady commissioners, the Executive committee, Mayor J.V. Guillotte and the members of the City Council, and Michael Musson.\textsuperscript{103}

\textsuperscript{96} Acts of Incorporation of the New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum 1314 Napoleon, Catholic Charities New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum Early History, AR/00164, New Orleans Archdiocese Archives, 5.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid.; “Margaret’s Monument,” \textit{The Daily Picayune}, June 10, 1884.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{99} “Margaret’s Monument,” \textit{The Daily Picayune}, June 10, 1884. According to \textit{The Daily Picayune} the unveiling was set for 3 P.M. but it was too hot out.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{102} “Margaret’s Monument,” \textit{The Daily Picayune}, June 10,1884; Acts of Incorporation of the new Orleans Female Orphan Asylum 1314 Napoleon Ave., Catholic Charities, New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum Early History, AR/00164, New Orleans Archdiocese Archives, 5.
\textsuperscript{103} “Margaret’s Monument,” \textit{The Daily Picayune}, June 10, 1884.
There is no evidence that the Sisters of Charity helped develop the idea for the statue, although the Sisters of Charity’s minutes show that the order agreed to have the statue erected on its property.\textsuperscript{104} However, the property may have only been given up because it was seen as an eye sore that the Sisters used for their cows to graze on.\textsuperscript{105} The choice of the sculptor is even more interesting. While in New Orleans, Doyle had sculpted statues of General Robert E. Lee,

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\textsuperscript{104} Copy of New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum Minuets 1843-1969, March 29, 1882, Daughters of Charity Province of St. Louise, Emmitsburg, Maryland.
\textsuperscript{105} “Margaret’s Monument,” \textit{The Daily Picayune}, June 10, 1884. The article states that the property used for Margaret Haughery’s statue was an eye sore.
\end{flushright}
General P.G.T. Beauregard, and Albert Sydney Johnston. Possibly the citizens of New Orleans chose Doyle because he happened to be erecting statues in New Orleans at the time. However, the citizens may have also agreed that their Margaret earned the honor of being sculpted by a well-known artist, whose work in the city focused on Confederate heroes.

The erection of a statue in her honor shows the respect and adoration of the community of New Orleans, especially because Michael Musson and other citizens helped raise the money for the statue. The idea for Haughery’s statue may have been a current trend; throughout the South white southerners were putting up monuments to commemorate of their memory. Additionally, the choice to honor Haughery’s statue form could have meant that the citizens wanted her image to remain unchanged forever. Kirk Savage insists that statues “attempt to mold a landscape of collective memory, to conserve what is worth remembering and discard the rest.”

Therefore, New Orleans would forever have the image of Haughery as a caregiver to orphans. However, one cannot tell that the child in the monument is an orphan from its appearance. A plaque on the momnument reads “Margaret,” but does not explain who she is or who the child is. Possibly, those responsible for erecting the statue assumed that the citizens of New Orleans would always know of the orphans’ caregiver Margaret.

The statue of Margaret Haughery shows her as a large woman seated, with her arm around a young child. Haughery is dressed in a simple dress and sweater, with her hair pulled up. The chair she sits upon appears to be wooden and plain. Both Haughery and the orphan are depicted as simple, yet they stand upon a grand stone pedestal, with “MARGARET” carved into it. Her appearance is plain. In 1907 Haughery had been described to have had “little beauty or

sprightliness, or any exterior attraction whatever. In the later years she had no shape. According to some writers, her face was broad, red, impassive and inexpressive; her hands and feet large. She always wore a ‘course, gray dress, with no frills or ruffles, and a gray Shaker bonnet on her head.’

This description of Haughery is not as surprising as it may seem. Typically, the description of her could have been considered an insult, and even if it was, Irish women were often described as manly.

Despite her looks, Haughery is best remembered for her charitable deeds and generosity; however, the Catholic Church has records of only a few of her donations. Margaret Haughery is remembered for helping establish Saint Patrick Orphan Asylum, but she is only mentioned in one of the New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum’s early reports located at the New Orleans Archdiocese Archives. According to the Acts of Incorporation of the NOFOA, the first money raised for the Asylum was $20,000 “from a fair given by the ladies of New Orleans, in the old St. Louis Hotel.” Throughout this specific document the only mention of Haughery is the erection of the statue in her likeness, although many other contributors and their donations were mentioned. In another report, Haughery was acknowledged for her charity: “... donations from the benevolent, fairs and the product of the dairy, which is attended by the well (known) Margaret, who milks the cows and sells the product herself, increases the revenue several thousand dollars.”

The NOFOA only mention her after her death briefly in its minutes, recognizing that she left half of her life insurance amounting to $5,000; and that “on a former

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109 Acts of Incorporation of the New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum 1314 Napoleon. Catholic Charities, New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum Early History. AR/ 00164, 2
110 Excerpt from Diary April 17, 1850. Catholic Charities, New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum AR/00164., 2
occasion she likewise donated $7,000 to be paid in annual installments of $1,000 each.”

In this meeting, the Sisters do not acknowledge Haughery for her time spent with the orphans.

Although she was not well remembered by the Sisters of Charity, she was well remembered for her business ventures. After her death, during the Klotz trial, the Daily Picayune called her “an ignorant woman—but a woman of good common sense, although entirely uneducated.” In 1907, a few decades after her death, she was still remembered as an ignorant woman, but one who chose intelligent counselors and that she used the head merchants in New Orleans as her advisors. In recent writings on Margaret Haughery, authors tend to add that she was illiterate at the end of telling her story. These authors focus on her accomplishments rather than her struggles, while past recollections of Haughery focus on her lack of education, but being able to work with others to overcome the obstacle.

Those who remembered Haughery as a woman of good sense were correct. She is often remembered for not charging the orphanages for milk or bread. However, that would have taken a gross amount of her product and profits to feed all of the children and nuns. She may have given some milk and bread to the orphanages, but the receipts between Bishop Blanc and Margaret Haughery reveal that she did charge them for at least milk. Otherwise, her profits from her businesses would have been unlikely.

Margaret Haughery is remembered as the “Bread Woman,” and this idea of her includes the federal occupation of New Orleans. According to stories about Margaret Haughery she provided bread to Confederate soldiers during the first year of the Civil War. During the occupation of New Orleans, General Benjamin Butler put up barriers around the city. According to the legend,

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111 Ibid.
112 “Margaret’s Succession,” The Daily Picayune, March 24, 1887.
she obtained flour from across Lake Pontchartrain, in an unoccupied town. This meant that she passed through enemy lines. Supposedly, Butler found out and called upon her. According to one story, Haughery told Butler “I will continue until you hang me. I wonder if you feel it is Mr. Lincoln’s opinion there is military advantage in starving helpless people to death. Or I am wondering now if you have any reverence for God. If so, you will not hang me, for I’m needed here.”

Every variation of this story claims that Haughery stood up against Butler, and that Butler excused her. Because she agreed to also feed Union soldiers, Butler wrote her a pass to cross the borders to obtain the flour. There is no proof of this story’s veracity. Butler makes no note in his autobiography or papers of a woman feeding Union soldiers or crossing the border.

The story of Haughery and Butler was possibly passed down through memory and/or fabricated, many of the stories about Margaret Haughery are hard to confirm or refute due to lack of documents. For example, there is no current evidence that her bakery continued to run during the occupation years; however there is also no proof that it shut down. If her bakery remained open during the occupation then she would have had to obtain resources past the border. If any part of the incident is true, there is a possibility that the story was enlarged as it was passed down. The conflict between Margaret Haughery and General Butler fits with the citizens of New Orleans distaste for Butler. This was said to be especially true for New Orleans white women, due to Butler’s General Order No. 28, also referred to as Butler’s Woman Order. Butler’s famous Women’s Order allowed soldiers to treat women as prostitutes if they defied them. In the story Haughery overcomes a Union soldier attempting to restrain her from crossing the

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114 Raymond J. Martinez, The Immortal Margaret Haughery (New Orleans: Hope Publications, 1956), 40. There is no original source for the conversation between Butler and Haughery. This is a fabricated conversation by Martinez of how he thought the conversation would have happened.
border, and ultimately defeated General Butler’s restrictions. The story of General Butler and Margaret Haughery cannot be proven true. However, the story has circulated around New Orleans. The story brings light to how important Haughery is preserved in New Orleans history; she does her best to protect southern soldiers from the North. The story portrays her as a motherly figure to confederate soldiers; who would stop at nothing in order to feed them. Over time additional stories of Margaret Haughery have surfaced, although some of them cannot be proven.

Haughery’s businesses, and the orphanages that she helped raise no longer exist; and the city has grown and changed over time. However, Margaret Haughery still sits with an orphan at the triangle of Prytania and Camp streets. Her statue is surrounded by a low iron fence for protection. There is no explanation of who she was or what she accomplished. In 2008, the Monumental Task Committee, Inc. and Mary Jablonki made an assessment of the Margaret Haughery monument. Currently the committee and Jablonki are raising funds to professionally assess and restore the monument.¹¹⁷ Due to the need for funds, a new interest has peaked in the story of “Margaret.” On March 8, 2013, Fox 8 in New Orleans did a special on Margaret Haughery title: *Heart of Louisiana: Margaret of New Orleans,* to make people aware of the statue and of Haughery’s story.

The tales told about the life of Margaret Haughery may have happened, but it is unlikely that they all did. Instead, Margaret Haughery has been idealized as a woman who rose up in wealth, but never used her money for herself. As the nineteenth century brought change to the view of the single woman, it became accepted for single women to be able to help out their immediate family. However, since Haughery had no immediate family left in the United States, the beloved Margaret became the treasured single aunt to the citizens of New Orleans.

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Appendix

Figure 6 Margaret Haughery. Courtesy of Wikimedia.
Margaret Haughery's Obituary.

"Margaret," The Daily Picayune, February 10, 1882
Figure 8. 1880 map of New Orleans. This map shows properties that were associated with Margaret Haughery. P represents the private property she owned. B represents Margaret’s Steam and Mechanical Bakery. S represents the statue of Margaret Haughery. S.V represents Saint Vincent’s Orphan Asylum. S.T represents Saint Teresa of Avail Church, where Haughery’s portrait was drawn.
Vita

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