

NO EARTHLY DISTINCTIONS: IRISHNESS & IDENTITY IN 19TH C. ONT

**“NO EARTHLY DISTINCTIONS”: IRISHNESS AND IDENTITY
IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ONTARIO, 1823-1900**

By

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ABSTRACT

The historiography surrounding the Irish in Canada has generally adopted an American framework that has equated Irishness with Catholicism, thereby creating a very one dimensional picture of what it meant to be Irish in nineteenth century 'Amerikey'. Although historians have shown that the greatest emigrant outpouring for this period was not only an Irish one, but also a Protestant one, relatively little has been done to understand that group on its own terms. Where solid work does exist on Irish Protestant groups in Canada, rarely does one hear them speak in their own words. Rather, where and how quickly they settled, the singular importance of kin networks and the peculiarity of certain institutions is detailed. Little has been done with respect to understanding Irish Protestant identity: how they viewed their new world upon arrival and more importantly, how they would now and later view themselves. Indeed, the question 'Whatever Happened to the Irish?' was answered: Irish Protestants despite the strength of their numbers and their institutions, simply acculturated willingly and quickly into a larger, more encompassing 'British' identity. The assumption has followed that Irish Protestants were never very Irish in the first place. On the contrary, this thesis argues that far from simply fading away, a recognizably Irish Protestant culture – one that identified itself as *the* Irish nation - overcame early nineteenth century prejudice against 'things Irish' and eventually came to predominate many a local landscape in Ontario. Relying heavily on emigrant letters, this thesis emphasizes an Irish Protestant discourse that enjoyed a distinction and longevity that has yet to be recognized. It also maintains that Irish Catholicism was an integral component to the expression of that identity. Irish Protestants in Ontario remained distinctively Irish for a period longer than their countrymen in Ontario and their co-religionists in the homeland.

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In a somewhat strange twist of fate, or perhaps by cyclical design in a greater life plan, my research over these years has quite unwittingly 'brought me home' again. Without prior knowledge of any such ancestors, I was surprised and at times dismayed to find 'my people' (as genealogists like to call them): in Cavan as early settlers; in some of the hardest hit regions of Ireland during the Famine years; in works on the Irish Palatines; in the 18th century Co. Cork militia; and on perhaps the worst coffin ship to cross the Atlantic, the *Agnes* in 1847, and subsequently, at Grosse Isle. This work acknowledges the deprivation, hard work and sheer determination of those who came before me who by their sacrifices, have provided this student of Irish and Canadian history with the opportunity, the luxury, of being one who 'reposes' – historians have so labeled women from the past who recorded their observations – in contemplation of just such events.

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INTRODUCTION

BEYOND PADDY AND THE FAMINE

Sarah: It's about Ulster.

Ruth: I don't want to hear it.

Sarah: Why not, ma?

Ruth: Because it is not in our heritage, Sarah.

Sarah: But we're Irish.

Ruth: Our ancestors were Scottish. We're Irish but British too.

Sarah: And now we're livin in Canada, so what does that makes us?

Ruth: We're Scots Irish Canadian British subjects, Sarah. That's what we are.

From Heritage, a play by Nicola McCartney, a Traverse Theatre Programme Playscript, 1998.

“What it says at the beginning of my Confession is true enough. I did indeed come from the North of Ireland; though I thought it very unjust when they wrote down that both of the accused were from Ireland by their own admission. That made it sound like a crime, and I don't know that being from Ireland is a crime; although I have often seen it treated as such. But of course our family were Protestants, and that is different.”

From: Margaret Atwood, Alias Grace. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1996.

The subject of this thesis is identity. More specifically, this work proposes to look at the nineteenth century's largest immigrant group to Canada on a broader spectrum in order to include Protestantism in the definition of Irishness. By examining the character and breadth of the Protestant Irish experience in Canada and Upper Canada/Ontario in particular, it is hoped that a fuller picture of what it meant to be Irish in the nineteenth century colonial world will be drawn. Individual chapters detailing: themes to date in the Ireland to Canada historiography; the initial reactions and interactions of Irish Protestants with the new place; the discourse created by their perceptions toward their Catholic

countrymen; the worth, words, work and worries of Irish Protestant women as well as the ‘in-between’ world they stood part of; and the signal importance of two Irish Protestant institutions (the Orange Order and the Anglican Church) are used as lenses with which to view that scene. Each chapter argues for a persistent and pervasive presence in Ontario that was more Irish than it was Protestant or at least *as* Irish as it was Protestant in contrast to a historiography and collective memory that has largely equated Irishness with Catholicism. An Irish Protestant identity was transferred to Canada as solidly intact as any Irish Catholic identity was and it can even be argued that the former outlasted the latter with regard to late nineteenth-early twentieth century Canadianizing influences. That distinctive presence was changed or softened in only one regard. In time, with the space and distance that Canada afforded, abrading homeland identities might be abridged, and Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic on new soil found opportunities to simply be ‘Irish’. More and more, cultural distinction came to be defined by a cultural dependence – Protestant with Catholic and vice versa – as group solidarity, in the face of such wide open spaces and competing non-Irish identities, required the constant referencing (and thereby validation) of one another’s belief systems in order to legitimate their own. This turn toward one another, in Canada, eventually took on the character of a much more staged-battle, in which participants might be just as likely to hail one another as they would be to flail (if only symbolically) one another. Ancestry and ancient battles, religion and politics, land and leaving, were all things that the Irish in Canada could still agree to meet upon, but when they did so, they found they had far more than the setting – that agreed upon field, hill, street corner, fence rail or river bank - in common.

A brief look at just one small section of a map of today's Ontario reveals through such place names as Sligo, Tullamore, Ballycroy, Orangeville, Boyne, Clare, New Dublin, Carrick, Belfast, Ballinafad and Newry along with a host of others, that at one time in the nineteenth century, Ireland was recreated in Canada. By virtue of their numbers, the new Ireland was Protestant. Yet relatively little has been done historiographically toward a sustained scholarly monograph reflecting the identity of the people who so greatly impacted the landscape of this part of Canada for nearly an entire century. This is important because an understanding of the identity of the single largest immigrant group to nineteenth-century North America helps us to better understand that century as historians. According to Donald Akenson, "the Irish [particularly] in Upper Canada (later called Canada West and, later still, Ontario) were much more important to Canadian society than the American Irish were to that of the United States. ... From the end of the Napoleonic Wars until the mid-1860s, emigrants from Ireland to all parts of British North America exceeded those from England and Wales and from Scotland in almost every single year and, indeed, until the mid-1850s, usually exceeded the combined total from the rest of the British Isles. ... Not until 1891 were there more English-born than Irish-born in British North America."¹ Although they came in three separate, identifiable waves of migration, the nineteenth century in Canada was largely an Irish one² and yet so very little has been done to explain or describe the people who made up the larger portion of that significant event.

To date, the Irish have been studied as separate entities – one was either Irish (meaning Catholic) or Orange – this thesis proposes that all were Irish first, Protestants as

well as Catholics, Orange and otherwise. One cannot be properly understood without reference to the other and both in this sense, must be placed within the context of being Irish in an English world. To do this, one must first get beyond historiography's penchant for 'Paddy' and the 'Famine'; beyond the stereotype of the former and the temptation in the latter for the tragic yet dramatic. Indeed, 'Paddy' and the 'Famine' should serve more as signposts in diasporic history despite historians' and politicians' overemphasis and treatment of them as *the* definitive affect in the Irish experience. 'Paddy' did not just come when the potato failed, in fact, he had been here for some time already, and in truth, he was nothing like what everybody said he was. As David Noel Doyle states, famine studies of the Irish diaspora have revealed 'Paddy' to be more of an American phenomenon. "For the major scholars of Irish migrations to Britain, Australia and Canada have by now demonstrated that, while their Irish populations increased after 1845, that event neither reshaped nor originated Irish subcultures and communities therein to anything like the degree that was the case of the United States."³ Don Akenson has paved the way for historians of the Irish in Canada not only by including the entire Irish community (read: Protestants too) in his quantitative analyses, but also by declaring the story to be far different from the well known version of the Irish in America. Yet still more needs to be done to fill in the gaps toward explaining not only 'whatever happened to the Irish?', but who were they in the first place?

This thesis stands to answer Akenson's query and approach Canadianization theories by arguing that far from "disappearing" or "blending" too successfully and rapidly into an acculturated, "white majority", Anglo-Canadian identity fog, Irish

Protestants in Canada sustained a homeland identity which was at times, more potent than that of Irish Catholics and of greater longevity⁴. As both Chapters 4 and 6 confirm, Irish Orangemen and Irish Churchmen abroad showed that they could at times, become even ‘more Irish’ at a distance, as they continued the good fight (albeit largely symbolically) for battles being waged at home. This thesis also argues for greater accommodations amongst the Irish in Canada than have historically been recognized – Toronto, in true and fair comparison, was not really the ‘Belfast of Canada’ – few of its citizens lived in mortal fear of daily sectarian reprisal. In fact, most of the Irish in Canada, for most of the time, simply ‘got on’ with each other, though they did not always have to like one another in order to do so. They did, however, need one another, as Chapter 3, ‘The Green’, comprising a survey of the contemporary Irish Protestant discourse on Irish Catholicism, attests. The Irish in Canada continually turned and returned to their respective cultural stores of inherited, homeland prejudices regarding things ‘other’ and ‘Irish’ in order to reference and define their own sense of self in a new place. In Canada, as in Ireland, the vigor behind the claim to being a ‘Prod’ was merely enlivened by the ability, even the necessity, of turning and pointing the very same finger in the opposite direction but importantly, in near proximity, and declaring ‘Cat’. Still, although this thesis recognizes this larger Irish culture that enabled both sides to partake in on-going expressions of an intertwined identity – their own ‘imagined communities’ as Benedict Anderson has called them – that held history, land, battles, ancestry and even faith in common, it upholds that Irish Protestants were their own sort of Irish too and that they contributed a distinctively Irish culture to nineteenth-century Canada that endured into the next. Irish Protestant

women played a most significant role in that endurance, by keeping emigrant and even later-generation families tied to the homeland through the ‘fabrics of family’ – a material culture largely defined by women - that is examined in Chapter 5. In the end, Chapter 7 describes the ultimately inseparable nature of the Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant cultures that were transferred to Canada where despite the potency of their traditions, elbow room made way for more common ground. Indeed, the relationship was such that it is at times difficult to ascertain from the form observed in certain fraternal organizations’ recorded minutes whether the brethren in question were of the Ancient Order of Hibernians or their rival counterpart, the Orange Order. Still, each group managed to raise a distinctively Irish spectre in the nineteenth century in Canada and really needed each other in order to do so. The Irish in Canada, by relying so heavily not only on their own cultural forms for distinction, but also on those of the ‘other’ in the next neighbourhood over, may well have set an early standard for a multicultural Canada.

There has been a tendency, some might say conspiracy, in the history of the Irish diaspora to equate Irishness with Catholicism which has had the unfortunate result of obscuring the ethnicity and experiences of the larger portion of Irish migrants to North America. “Incredibly”, David Noel Doyle reports, even relatively recent contributions to the bibliographical information on the Irish “identify Irishness and Catholicism, as no historian in Ireland does anymore. ...[and where scant sources are identified], most of those from or about explicitly Protestant viewpoints are not on Protestant Irish settlers and their history, but on anti-Catholic and anti-Irish movements. Yet over half of self-denotingly Irish-Americans today say they are Protestant, the majority of these the

product of migration *since* American independence (i.e. not ‘Scots-Irish’ as historians use and misuse the term)...”⁵ For Doyle, the resulting lacunae in the scholarship on Protestant Irish away from the homeland, given that people’s preponderance and influence in various locale, is “bizarre”⁶ and evidence of a conscious attempt to emphasize separate national traditions and thereby quantify or lay claim to Irishness. Different, but still as inadequate as the post-war, post-Republic ‘spiritual empire’ thesis which by omission, intentionally wrote Protestants out of the Irish equation, the insistence on identifying “Scots-Irish”, Orangeism, or “the politics of Irish Protestantism”⁷ as the extent of Irish Protestantism materialized, ignores the real identity of a good portion of Irishmen and Irishwomen as well as the capacity of all Irish to identify beyond the well recognized influence of the Catholic Church. “The omission of all serious consideration of Irish Protestantism (and Irish rationalism) from diaspora studies reinforced and complements these trends, obscuring the degree to which, whether in Ireland or elsewhere, the varied religious convictions of its peoples were part of a European debate about substantive matters of theology, morality and lifestyles. Their differences were reinforced (at best) by intelligent mutual estimation (and at worst by sectarian or atavistic polarities).”⁸

Relatively little has changed since Don Akenson’s lament that he could “find only a single modern published article which deals directly with the Irish Protestants as a cultural and social group whose interplay and integration with the wider population in Ontario is dealt with at a satisfactory scholarly level.”⁹ Although most histories of the province make some reference to Irish Protestants, for Akenson, these are more “casual and stereotypic” than “thought-provoking”: “...political histories often introduce the

Irish Protestants, especially the Orangemen, as explanatory factors, in the same way that the Greeks introduced mechanical devices to resolve dramatic improbabilities. But studies which look straight at the Irish Protestants on their own historical terms. Where?”¹⁰ Akenson himself, momentarily, could not resist the draw of the dramatic label when he likened what he identified as a shared Irish Protestant attitude: an ‘assertiveness’, to “a cocked gun, always ready to go off”¹¹ in any direction, be it Old World or New, and showed just how easy it is, historiographically, to fall into equating Irish Protestantism with extremism. The disproportionate preference for studies emphasizing Orangeism’s physical vigor over its social, economic, cultural or political prowess in analyses of what has been defined as ‘Irish Protestantism’, is evidenced by the many works on Ireland and its people that have chosen to emphasize division over distinction. It is for this reason that the remarkable extent and influence of the Orange Order in Ontario, though rightfully recognized in this work, forms the basis for only a single chapter, Chapter 4, and is importantly examined from a new perspective, with a nod toward both the potent homeland history and Irish Catholicism that sustained it.¹²

That historians have floundered is perhaps not surprising. Orangemen themselves struggled to be understood, as is evidenced by their numerous institutional publications that were intended to “correct misrepresentations” and “remove misunderstandings” as well as explain or excuse instances where disgrace got the better part of discretion in its dealings.¹³ Unfortunately, time and time again, attempts to include managed more to insult, and the body that admitted it was but a “human institution” ended up alienating both “the broad-minded and tolerant Protestants who should be its mainstay” and the

Catholic “members” of the Roman Church they swore to resist, but whom they purportedly, personally, had no quarrel with.¹⁴ A perplexing institution still, despite the attention the Orange Order has received, how much more so the broader character of Irish Protestantism for which it did not always speak? More work is needed in not only the examination and expression, but ultimately, the expansion of Irish identity in the places where the Irish settled in such great nineteenth-century numbers. Where land and livelihood relative to Ireland were less threatened and scarce, did the articulation of things Irish change?¹⁵

Central to this thesis is the notion that Irishness in nineteenth-century Upper Canada, being just far enough from the pressures and provisos of the homeland, allowed for a broader and more inclusive definition of who was truly an Irishman, and this included Irish Protestants. In fact, Irish Protestants who came to Canada early in the nineteenth century could remain ‘Irish’ longer than their friends or relatives who remained in the homeland because ‘Ireland’ in the nineteenth century was quickly coming to denote a Catholic nation. Also, in Canada, on new soil, both Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics found that careful and sustained reference to one another rather than outright or immediate rejection, was often the most effective means toward making the Irish presence known in what was intended to be a new and very ‘English’ world. As a result, accommodations were made amongst Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants in Canada that were far less likely to have occurred in the homeland. Yet Irish Protestants still maintained a distinct identity. Contrary to both popular thought and current historiography and as Chapter 6, ‘Churchmen: Irish and Otherwise’ demonstrates, those

Irish Protestants who so thickly settled the Ontario countryside were not thinly veiled Englishmen at heart. Rather, they brought, maintained and handed down a culture of real Irishness that stood equal to that of their well-documented Catholic countrymen and was based in more than simple anti-Catholicism. Irish Protestants in nineteenth century Canada proved that in spite of the growing nationalist claim to one Ireland and one Irish people in the period between Catholic Emancipation and the new Republic, a Protestant Irishman, even far from home, might be just as likely in his own way, to have lived and died for Ireland. Surely the early settlers, Reverend James Magrath and Thomas Stewart did something of that sort when the former proudly declared his 200 acres north of Dundas Street on the Credit River, 'Erindale', while the latter named his, 'Auburn', after the village in South Meath, and gave not only local Famine relief and support, but eventually his own life, in an effort to stem the tide of typhus that had claimed so many of his countrymen in 1847.¹⁶ More needs to be done toward identifying and understanding those Irish who as Protestants, preferred English political association for their Irish home but chose to be Irish in their English home abroad.

David Noel Doyle's assessment of the bibliographies available to researchers on the Irish diaspora in Britain and America (with some reference to Canada and Australia) finds that the Irish remained Irish or retained their ethnic consciousness in the United States to a greater extent than did the Irish in Britain where a second class status typically denoted things Irish and outward expressions of such were therefore confined to segregated communities. Although Doyle states (contrary to popular understanding) that Irish politics and the question of nationalism and separatism were a greater preoccupation

for the Irish throughout the United Kingdom in comparison to the States, the present thesis holds that the similarity to the British experience for the Irish in Canada ends there. It would appear that with the growing distance across the Atlantic's waves, the sense of Irishness and connection to the 'Ould Sod' also grew, and for a good length of time in the nineteenth century, it was possible for Irish Protestants in Canada to be more Irish than the Irish themselves, or at least as Irish as Irish Catholic studies have so effectively demonstrated for that population in this time and place. Doyle attributes to Canada, "more spacious and relaxed" a "rough acceptance" for Irish identity that "outweighed official non-provision". He cites Akenson's work in describing Ontario as a place as late as 1871, where "a polity and culture embodying agreed Irish Protestant/Catholic priorities emerged"¹⁷ despite the holdover strains of homeland diversity that at times, still challenged the progress of New World cohesion.

The relative lack of studies on Irish Protestant identity may be due in part to the limitations of such studies. Identity is a troubling and elusive as well as individually varied concept - J.G.A. Pocock warns that it is "important but dangerous"¹⁸ - even in present times. Finding evidence for the way people viewed themselves in past societies, away from their centre, the homeland, requires due diligence in the selection of sources as well as great optimism that said sources contain enough self reference to form a sense of identity within and without a group. According to Doyle, "while immersed in the framework of ethnicity, no major bibliographers of the Irish abroad have any category on relations with other peoples, whether those of the host societies' majorities or the many others encountered by the Irish overseas. Yet one might suggest that, with Ireland itself

nowhere fully re-created, such encounters and interchanges may become the heart of the story. ... Self-expression by writers exploring a sub-culture and its interactions with the wider world was quite rare, articulate women rarer still.”¹⁹ The scarcity of sources on Irish identity in Canada may also have something to do with Doyle’s claim that because of the stigma that sometimes accompanied things Irish, in Britain (and consequently the United Kingdom), “being Irish was less to be talked and written of than it was in the United States.”²⁰

For this reason, reliance on sources outside of the traditional mainstream of evidence for historians bring welcome and new insight to the shadowy notion of identity amongst a people. The emigrant letter in particular, but also oral histories, local folklore, poetry, women’s needlework, artwork and even playscripts have had a part in supplying this thesis with a sense of being Irish that is not always accessible in the more traditional forms of primary documentation relied on by historians. The trend toward more inclusiveness regarding the material that informs the work of historians “may give diaspora studies a human dimension which the ranks of dissertations based on census, tax and press reports have tended to lack in the past.”²¹ Indeed, as much as we can know from the numerical minutia supplied by Don Akenson’s assessment of Leeds and Lansdowne Townships or even Gordon Darroch and Lee Soltow’s much broader analysis of the 1871 Census, about the proclivities of Irish citizens in agriculture, employment, land patents, home ownership, chattel, religious affiliation or illiteracy, rarely do we get to hear their Irishmen or better still, Irishwomen speak.²² When we do, as in the case of Ogle R. Gowan, Akenson’s most notable biographical subject, it is largely through the

voice of conjecture and fiction, making for a fantastic if strange, story, but one impossible for historians looking for the real man, to rely on. Although Darroch and Soltow's number crunching have provided a dependable picture of an unusually open (particularly for the Irish), small-propertyed but not entirely egalitarian Victorian Ontario and Akenson has led the way in many respects regarding things Irish in Canada, with *The Irish in Ontario* and *The Irish Diaspora*, these analyses still lack that quality – the 'human dimension' – that Doyle found to be the source of some pretty *big differences* historiographically speaking.

Inclusivity with regard to sources has helped to inform this study's Chapter 3, where Irish Protestant identity is only visible through the lens of 'The Green', being the contemporary understanding of Irish Catholicism as a discourse, not a reality, as it was defined by Irish Protestants out of necessity, toward their own self-assessment. Similarly, Chapter 5, 'Being Colleen, Or, Something In Between' is based in part, on the letters home to Ireland of Douro's Frances Stewart, which reveal a very *Irish* woman in spite of the local reputation she holds to this day, as a peer amongst the ranks of Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill, genteel nineteenth century *Englishwomen* writers. What has remained from Stewart's literary legacy, her daughter's compilation, censure and publication of *Our Forest Home*, has not been Stewart's Irishness which speaks so prominently from the pages of her private letters in entirety. Rather, a very local and Canadian portrait of the hardships of backwoods pioneering has been made from the longings and observations of a very '*transatlantic subject's*' heart. The focus in this regard is important, for as Nancy Christie has initiated amongst Canadian historians in her

compilation of that title: the ‘periphery’ must not be separated from the ‘metropolis’ according to the guidelines of the New Imperial history if the ‘transnational’ nature of Frances Stewart is to be truly understood.²³ *Our Forest Home*, clearly, was not Dublin-born and Dublin-minded Frances’ immediate idea of ‘home’ as is evidenced by her letters’ constant but tentatively hopeful, refrain that the future might somehow find her and her family ‘returned’. In the meantime, Frances and other Irish Protestant women like her, found ways to recreate Ireland in the isolated bush and in this way, they lived figuratively for a time, in two worlds. This is direct evidence of the significance of such theoretical perspectives as J.G.A. Pocock’s and Dror Wahrman’s which Christie highlights in *Transatlantic Subjects* as ‘the long eighteenth century’ and ‘*ancien regime* identities’ wherein cultural shifts rather than political events (such as the American Revolution) become the gauge on how people viewed themselves. This allowed for more fluidity and longevity amongst homeland identities in new places, resulting in more fragmented and unstable ‘Britishness’ than has previously been lauded.²⁴ With the nation-state thus effectively removed from the equation, it is now possible to view Frances Stewart more accurately through her own words, as an Irishwoman in transition rather than as a Canadian pioneer or even a British subject. The same may be said for the experience of Benjamin Cronyn, outlined in Chapter 6, ‘Churchmen: Irish and Otherwise’, whose experience as a Trinity College, Dublin-man in Canada, made him arguably more Irish than he had been before he emigrated.

Don Akenson has recognized the value of the emigrant letter in diaspora studies (despite qualifying its highly subjective content and the necessity for the portions

included as evidence to be representative of the entire document). “As a whole the correspondence provides an insight into qualitative and subjective matters that the cold demographic statistics and emigration figures leave unilluminated.”²⁵ Yet his own work has revealed a preference for leaving those very aspects ‘in the dark’ as he himself indicates, focusing much on the crunching of numbers, collecting of data and cross referencing of the quantitative, hard facts of Irish life in small communities. Even more subdued in his ‘enthusiasm’ for throwing light on the touchy subject of allowing emigrants to speak for themselves, E.R.R. Green extolled emigrant letters only for the “occasional scraps of valuable historical information” they might contain despite their apparently tedious similarities: “whatever the date,... containing a jumble of family news of little importance to anyone any more...”²⁶ Still, Green based work on them and even called for recognition of the ‘reverse letter’, being the response from home – Ulster, in his case, that often confirmed those ‘scraps’ – the economic indicators for land value, supply, and holding that *he* valued as an historian. In contrast, the current study attempts to make useful, some of that ‘jumble of family news’ that Green so readily dismissed, in an effort to highlight aspects of identity that have had much less attention, such as Chapter 5’s assessment of those ‘articulate but rare’ Irish Protestant women in Canada.

Relatively few emigrant letters of the millions once sent, survive; the largest collection being that held at the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland in Belfast. This sampling problem is compounded by the apparent illegibility to the untrained, twenty-first century eye of many letters, crosshatched and ink-laden, not transcribed by archivists as well as those where large portions are missing. Even where voluminous letters have

provided the background to major works, the subject can be open to interpretation as in the case of Kerby A. Miller's *Emigrants and Exiles* and Patrick O'Farrell's *Letters from Irish Australia, 1825-1929*. According to Akenson, "one scholar reads the emigrant letters as indicating the existence of a continuing cultural handicap [theme of exile] brought from the Old World, while the other sees them as texts that indicate an energizing form of social emancipation [freedom and self-reliance]. ... [Where] Miller reads the emigrant letters as having a mixture of Catholic piety, fatalism, superstition and fuzziness about the real world... O'Farrell says that "what is remarkable about emigrant correspondence is not its piety, but its consistent satisfied worldliness."²⁷ Both scholars view commonalities and worthy comparisons in the destinations of Irish migrants whether they were Canada, the United States or Australia, and yet Miller fails to apply any of his Irish Protestants to his theme of exile which he claims stemmed exclusively from an Irish Catholic worldview while O'Farrell makes much of the ability to make direct comparisons to experiences throughout the diaspora's destinations without satisfactory reference to Canada. This work proposes to fill this gap in particular by providing a sustained analysis of Irish Protestantism, in line with O'Farrell's depiction of capable and well-adjusted immigrants, but focused more on Miller's theatre which included Canada as a main player on the North American stage, while allowing that Irish Protestants too, may have experienced a sense of exile, exhibited through the determined search for familiarity, for sense of place, despite voluntary emigration.

This study has attempted, in a careful manner, to make much use of Irish Protestant emigrant letters in order to allow the principles in the diaspora to answer

Akenson's question for themselves: "who "really" was Irish in the era of the great diaspora: everyone born and raised in Ireland, or only Irish Catholics?"²⁸ Indeed, it finds that for a time in Canada 'really Irish' was a much more fluid concept, open to varying interpretations that *included* many forms of Irish Protestantism and multiple generations of Irish Protestants as this nineteenth century colony opened its doors and made a multiplicity of identities available to people in a monarchical culture. It is fortified by a keen sense of the contemporary public discourse that surrounded 'things Irish' in the nineteenth century and by considerable consumption of the private letters and journals and memoirs of somewhat privileged and ordinary, certainly literate, Irish Protestants and their descendants, that together, demonstrate that there was far more to being Irish and Protestant than explanations focusing on activated anti-Catholicism, hereditary violence, religious bigotry, secret ritual or solely on the Catholic Irish community, can relate.²⁹ This work allows for the absorption of some of the individual voices – even an interpretation of some of what might actually be being calmly said – out of what has been traditionally seen as the *en masse*, destructive movements and hollerings of the 'Orange mob' or 'Government Tools' that have been historiographically lumped as simply the watchdogs of Catholicism's inroads, or the mindless enforcers of an outdated *status quo*.

This public discourse/personal document approach is new in its contribution to studies of the Irish in Canada in that its methodology stands outside the once popular call for 'micro-studies' of ethnic identities answered by Mark McGowan, Brian Clarke, Donald Akenson, Bruce Elliott, and Glenn Lockwood.³⁰ Nor is its more in-depth assessment of private letters in keeping with the regional, historical geographic approach

of Cecil Houston and William Smyth or with the subject matter of John Mannion's study of cultural transfer and adaptation in three New World regions comprised largely of Catholic, Southern Irish.³¹ This work attempts to allow Irish Protestants: some Orange, some not, most from ordinary, some from privileged backgrounds, who were literate, had longstanding multi-generational histories in Ireland, were largely Anglo-Irish³² and sometimes female, who, as first generation immigrants from the 1820s on into the next century recorded their observations; to speak for themselves. Its strength lies in the breadth that this description, backed by a multiplicity of family, professional and personal letters as well as materials and contemporary publications can offer. What may seem like 'little things' taken individually (as the women of Chapter 5's 'Being Colleen' called the subjects that mattered most to them – their essential links to home - in their personal correspondence) in a compilation such as this, may actually have something new and important to say about larger cultural identities and the gendered nature of them. Indeed, as Chapter 5 will show, it was more the desired links of women to the homeland – the requests for Irish seed, of a loved one's locks, of views of Dublin, and simultaneous gazing of the same moon, the requirements of Irish frieze and Limerick Lace and blackthorn sticks – that kept newly displaced Irish emigrants and perhaps more importantly, their children in Canada, *still Irish, real Irish*, even if such 'nonsense' was often relegated to the back of a letter or a small paragraph within, after the 'business' of commodity prices, estate running, or political Ireland had been handled up front. By this lesson, it is hoped that the 'jumble of family news' that this thesis presents, may show

that Irish identity cannot strictly or satisfactorily be found in census reports, township allocation, or agricultural implements.

There are certainly limitations (as with any source) to the interpretive claims that one can make from a reliance on emigrant letters as primary documentation as has been already evidenced by the Miller-O'Farrell comparison and the particular perspective of any given historian on what he or she deems to be valuable historical information. In *Authors of Their Lives*, David Gerber warns that by their very nature as artifacts, emigrant letters present an unbalanced representation of contemporary thought or opinion. Absent from the source of course, are illiterates (unless someone wrote for them), children, those who chose to break ties altogether with the homeland, sometimes the recipient's voice and unfortunately, women, even those who were literate, are highly underrepresented. Similarly, the subject matter of letters is highly variable. Patterns or themes are difficult to observe unless a substantial quantity of letters by the same author are available. An author's honesty is always a potential issue – and often what is not said in letters is just as important to the immigrant experience as what is said. Sampling problems abound with the fact that *if* letters were saved within a family, they were often subjected to selective editing and compilations of letters, sold in Europe in the nineteenth century can have doubtful authenticity and motivation. Transcriptions too, while they may seem a welcome alternative to time spent in the archives, are subject to the human error of those who interpret them.

The good news is that the strengths of epistolary evidence perhaps outweigh its weaknesses. Indeed, with regard to the notion of identity amongst a people, personal

correspondence constitutes the frontline of that expression. As Gerber indicates, the singular importance of letters, which represented a physical bond with the homeland, cannot be overstated in their role as expressions of continuity and who their authors believed themselves to be. Personal identity is defined by relationships and a grounding in what may be called the homeplace. But this was not static, and this is where a collection of letters can maintain its greatest value in that it offers the opportunity to see development, to witness the growth of relationships and in this way, they “do not simply mirror worlds, they are world-making.”³³ Gerber elsewhere states that “Letters are not [simply] narratives, but a collaborative process of interpersonal communication that resists the type of closure that provides the poetic satisfaction for the narrative form. What we narrate about them is the history of the relationship that forms and is continued by correspondence.”³⁴ How else does one explain the urgency behind ‘stopping the presses’ on the editing of the substantial correspondence of Catharine Parr Traill to return to that of her sister, Susanna Moodie, merely months after the monumental publication of *Susanna Moodie: Letters of a Lifetime*, in the wake of ‘lost letters’ having been found in the possession of a great-great grandson, and the subsequent rush to publish the continuing story as *Letters of Love and Duty: The Correspondence of Susanna and John Moodie*³⁵ in order to cast new light on the less known character of the famous authoress’ husband? Emigrant letters are special in that they represent this transnational relationship – they directly connect the Old World with the New - and the opportunity to witness the very confluence of that connection (and therefore transatlantic identities) by incorporating life both here and there. And even where falsehoods or silences are detectable in letters,

this is not evidence of “faithlessness” but rather “the difficulties immigrants experienced in the sustaining of personal identities”³⁶ and as a source, they therefore do not lose their value. Letters, memoirs, reminiscences, care packages and mementos were absolutely essential to the maintenance of personal relationships – they kept a finger on where one came from and who one was – and passed among family and friends, they became only more important and that identity more permanent, upon the realization of many an immigrant that he or she would not be going home again.

Gerber has described a middle ground of sorts for the British immigrants his study of seventy-one collections of letters incorporates. He suggests that although it would be easy to presume that these “British peoples” (by whom he means Scots, English and Irish Protestants) readily assimilated into the “core Anglo-American” culture they encountered in North America, and therefore did not develop any group consciousness, this was not entirely the case. He allows that they possessed “ethnicity”, but certainly not to the extent of the “more culturally distinctive European immigrant peoples such as the Germans, Irish, Jews, or Poles...”³⁷ Not only has Gerber in this statement systematically separated his Irish Protestant ‘British immigrants’ from even being Irish, but he has suggested that their culture was non-descript enough to have made them an invisible or “neglected phenomenon in immigration studies” despite later admitting that very little could come close to resembling the “ethnic politics” of Irish Protestant Orangemen.³⁸ Gerber further claims that it is only outside of the ‘British cohort’ that we find “strong public ethnic group life, with durable institutions, organizations, political mobilizations and proximate settlement patterns that endured over many decades. ...in neither Canada nor in the

United States do we find strong evidence of this type of ethnicity...”³⁹ He finds that “their separate public identities were significantly submerged in emerging national and regional institutions of which they were the founders” and although all three “contributed to the formative populations of the major churches... the identity of such institutions was ultimately less ethnic than Canadian.”⁴⁰ This thesis has certainly found common ground with Gerber in its use of the personal letter and public discourse regarding Irishness and its emphasis on the singular value of the letter in recreating personal relationships and articulating notions of identity and self, but it finds otherwise when it comes to the actual evidence for Irish Protestants in Canada that such documentation provides. Irishness *could* be culturally distinct in the nineteenth century even if it were not of the Catholic variety and far from being invisible immigrants deserving the question: ‘whatever happened to them?’, examples of public group life, enduring institutions, political consciousness and consistent group settlement are readily available if historians would but look for them. Both Gerber and Akenson⁴¹ agree that any real sense of Anglo-Irishness in nineteenth century America has been lost to both historian’s lack of interest (as the ‘forgettable losers’ in the Irish dramas that unfolded in that country) as well as through ‘easy assimilation’, despite their numbers, into the larger crowd. It would be a shame if the same were to happen to the Irish Protestants of the nineteenth century in Canada who, as this work will show, were far too numerous, influential and distinct to fit into any story of neglect. For this reason, it becomes all the more important for historians to provide top-billing to personal letters, family documentation and even material culture – the evidence that Gerber finds to be *the* particular, if not only preserve of British

immigrant identities - in order to be able to see the finer, individual nuances, that particularly in Canada, could distinguish a Scot, an Englishman, and an Irish Protestant not only from one another, but from the all-encompassing misnomer of 'British immigrant' that tends to hide what were really competing identities.

David Fitzpatrick has looked in-depth at what he identifies as the 'art' of letter writing from a specifically Irish vantage point and claims optimistically that historians of migration are becoming "increasingly aware of the unique value of personal letters as a source for the mentality of emigrants ... Apart from supplying both public and private information, they served to maintain material and emotional links between separated brethren, and helped to shape future migration."⁴² Neither the literal nor figurative value of the nineteenth century letter can be underestimated. At the cost of what amounted to a week's worth of wages for a labourer in Ireland according to Fitzpatrick, letters were constructed with great pains toward their content which, with every square inch ink-laden, could signal life or death.⁴³ "So momentous an enterprise"⁴⁴ as writing or receiving a letter in the nineteenth century involved a number of observable things. To Fitzpatrick, although Irish emigrant letters cannot be boiled down to a specific 'type', letters produced by Irish emigrant writers, regardless of their destination, or their religion, exhibit certain 'regularities' that can be attributed to the development of a specifically Irish vernacular style of writing called various things by commentators: "charm of expression", "unlettered eloquence"⁴⁵ and even more stereotypical, contemporary descriptions. However, Fitzpatrick's point is that the vernacular came out of the singular importance of the 'American letter' – the simple practice, the 'art' of doing it – rather

than from letter-writing manuals, the education system, or other formal instruction. The degree to which an Irish ‘style’ of letter is discernible is perhaps then made even less imperative than the degree to which the very exercise was undertaken and adhered to by that people.

Although writing of a different period and place, historian, Helen Brown’s point that letters help both their authors and historians ‘negotiate space, time and identity’ (‘between now and then and between here and there’) is a particularly fitting one. For Brown, letters highlight the importance of individual lives as an “essential historical reality”⁴⁶ and not just the ‘jumble’ that Professor Green resented getting in the way of an historian’s pursuit of historic generalizations. Speaking of the World War II Hutton-Pellett Letters, that outlined and sustained the identity of young John Hutton, a child evacuee from Colchester to Canada from 1940-1945, Brown described how “the veritable web of letters that surrounded John functioned to create an integrated identity for him in the fractured circumstances of his life.”⁴⁷ This might as easily be applied to Frances Stewart in Douro, more than a century earlier. Letters can capture the mentality of the individual – indeed, Frances Stewart actually defied what David Gerber claims for the majority of letters, that rarely did their authors outwardly ask: “‘Who am I?’ and ‘What is the relationship between the person I was in my homeland, and the person I am now in North America?’”⁴⁸ She did so when she worried that Fanny Browne of Dublin had somehow become Frances Stewart of Douro, someone entirely different - changed by some Evil Fairy - until she recalled that her ‘friends’ remained the same, their letters, importantly, were her ‘delightful restoratives’ and through them, she was ‘Fanny Brown

still.⁴⁹ Those ‘fine folios’, the letters to and from Ireland that so comforted Frances, reveal that far from being a Canadian, a ‘British subject’, a Douro pioneer, or even an Irish emigrant, Frances – ‘Fanny’ – nearly a decade after her arrival in Canada, was through and through an Irishwoman, perhaps at times even a Dubliner, and this declaration was only made possible by the epistolary connections that she herself recognized, defined who she was. Historians would do well not to overlook them.

Although her stay in Canada was brief, the observances of Dublin-born, Anna Brownell Jameson of Indian and emigrant life have been admired for their depth and confirm that in 1837, an Irishman, no matter how long he had been in Canada, was still an Irishman. “There reigns here... no public or patriotic feeling, no recognition of general or generous principles of policy: as yet I have met with none of these. Canada is a colony, not a *country*; it is not yet identified with the dearest affections and associations, remembrances, and hopes of its inhabitants: it is to them an adopted, not a real mother. ...but a few more generations must change all this.”⁵⁰ Jameson proved to be a soothsayer of sorts. By the close of nineteenth century, the ‘few more generations’ that she had charged with the task, had brought about the recognition of Canada as a much more capable and mature, if not completely ready, maternal figure, as outlined in Chapter 7 – “The Irish Canadian”. In 1901, the editor of the *Catholic Register*, with remarkable coincidence and the tentative hope that putting it in print might make it so, appeared to directly address Jameson’s concerns:

Canada is a colony now growing to be a fine young lady ... She is no longer an infant and the time has passed when every inhabitant in this land must refer to some old-country centre as his birthplace. The majority of the people of this grand country were born right here; in very many cases their parents are natives of

this land too. While none can find fault in a Canadian feeling proud of his English, Irish, Scotch, or French-blood, nevertheless we have gotten beyond that stage where we feel that this is an adopted home only. The majority of our people are proud to acknowledge Canada as their native land, and while they always shall have a warm spot in their hearts towards the home of their forefathers, nevertheless there can never be the same feeling in that way there was some fifty years ago. ... When we have attained that growth in this country; when the inhabitants of this land know no other, then we shall have come to the stage where Canada will stand ready to declare herself to the world.⁵¹

The chance to do so would not begin until the First World War but prior to Canada's bloody declaration to the world, the roots of Canada's multicultural claim to fame lie, and contrary to the American model of conforming republican political culture, the Irish, in and of themselves, provide ample evidence of the possibility of varying ethnicities within a single national identity. It is time that the Irish, both Protestant and Catholic, were studied together as a people whose identities both recognized and relied upon one another for their expressions of themselves. Doing so, requires a sustained treatment of the historical construction of Irish Protestant identity in Canada that goes beyond the stereotype of Orangeism, in order to partner that which has been done for Irish Catholicism. Only then is it possible to see that 'no earthly distinctions' separated the Irish in Canada: Protestant Irish 'Canadianization' did not take place in advance of the Catholic version, longing for home was not solely a Catholic prerogative, 'Irishness' cannot be confined to a limited identity regional study nor to a denomination or an inner-city locale, and Irish Protestantism is not synonymous with extremism.

Brian P. Clarke and Mark G. McGowan have done much to advance our understanding of a small portion of the Irish community in Toronto in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and yet both have reinforced essentialist categories within 'Irishness'

by their virtual silence on the larger group of Irish who greatly influenced that Irish Catholic self-determination in Upper Canada and who had served regularly as homeland neighbours, Irish shipmates and again as neighbours in the new land. Although Clarke recognizes in *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895*, “the large number of Irish Protestants together with the presence of Irish Catholics [that] made Toronto the most Irish city in North America”, the former is automatically, if somewhat vaguely, identified as the “Orange presence”, “traditional opponents” who blended in too well with the “civic consensus among Toronto’s Protestants... vigilant in the defence of Protestant principles and British institutions... [and] confirmed... that poverty and nationality were intimately associated.”⁵² This, along with Clarke’s lack of reference to Irish Protestants in his analysis of the Irish Catholic experience (comprising two page references in his index in comparison to over fifteen for the Orange Order) in fact blends them in so well with the host society that not only do they disappear, they disavow being Irish. Clarke admits that “when Protestant- Catholic conflict broke out, it was not simply between Protestants of native stock and newly arrived Irish Catholics, as in the United States: it was largely a conflict between the Orange and the Green, with all the historical associations that those party labels evoked.”⁵³ Here is a direct and provocative reference to the influence of Irish Protestants on Irish Catholic community behaviour and yet little is done to flesh out the wider Irish dynamic in the city via reference to Irish Protestants and the transfer, largely intact, of old country identities. Could the latter, a key part in Clarke’s mysterious “Protestant majority”, not be one of the more significant factors behind the attraction of

Clarke's working class laymen to those voluntary associations with nationalist traditions that were slightly beyond the arm's reach of the Catholic Church? For the latter half of the nineteenth century, lay voluntary associations such as the Hibernian Benevolent Society and the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union operated as a field for specifically Irish, male community interaction and initiative, independent of the Catholic Church, but how much of the Church's inability to establish a cultural hegemony over its male parishioners during that time, had to do with the direct influence of Irish Protestantism (often perceived as Orangeism) at the door? In this period, Irishness often preceded religious adherence and it is for this reason, a shared history, that Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants must be understood in reference to one another.

Mark McGowan's study of Irish Catholics in Toronto, *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish and Identity in Toronto, 1887–1922*, builds upon Brian Clarke's. It brings "the study of English-speaking Catholics into the twentieth century, offering a view of change within the Catholic community from the inside in."⁵⁴ Essentially, McGowan has taken the same method of internal community study and showed us what happened to Toronto's Irish Catholics as they became more responsively Catholic and Canadian at the expense of their Irishness in the years following Clarke's focus. McGowan's repeated claim is to "reach behind the "Belfast' motif"⁵⁵ that has coloured Toronto's history in order to focus solely on Irish Catholic social and religious life as it transformed into the very fabric of Toronto's society. "While Protestant-Catholic relations are a recurring 'sub-theme' in this study, more emphasis is placed on the Canadianizing impulses arising among those in the pulpit and the people in the pews than

on the pressures allegedly exerted by the Protestant host community.”⁵⁶ In giving voice to what has been traditionally seen as an oppressed minority, McGowan reveals the very opposite, namely, “the English-speaking Catholic ambition to claim equal citizenship in Toronto”⁵⁷ the success of which, strongly hints at a level of accommodation between Protestant and Catholic communities that is in need of further illumination. In evidence of a community in transition, McGowan claims that Catholics in Toronto at the turn of the century had found a way to “fraternize with Protestants – on the shop floor, in political parties, in clubs, and in the marriage bed - ” and still keep the faith. Be this as it may, when it comes to any study of Irishness, the ‘two to tango’ rule needs to be applied and the experience of Irish Protestants, whether they led or were led in the fraternization toward Catholic-Protestant cooperation is worthy of inclusion beyond the level of a sub-theme. McGowan recognizes that “to be Irish in Toronto in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not necessarily mean one was Catholic. When ethnic origin or birth was included on the census, the total number of people claiming Irish birth often exceeded (sometimes doubled) the number of declared Catholics... ...for Ontario, Irish Protestant migrants outnumbered Irish Catholics by a margin of nearly two to one”⁵⁸ and yet there is little allowance that there was any ‘green’ on this side of the Irish divide to wear or wane in the first place. McGowan, like Clarke, has contributed a focused, well-researched and extremely interesting picture of Irish Catholics in transition at a pertinent time in Canadian history, and yet references within, such as the *Catholic Weekly Review’s* “The Queen is not English, not even British. It is well she is blessed with subjects who didn’t care what she is, so long as she is the lawful Queen. The Boyne and her crown are

thereby kept at a safe distance”⁵⁹, and “While Catholic editors abjured the Imperialist extremes of the ‘home-grown jingo’ and “colonial-bred jack-ass,” they created important bridges between Catholics and the moderate imperial ideas of their Protestant neighbours”⁶⁰, leave students of the Irish in Canada wanting more than the one reference in his index to “Irish Protestants” or two for ‘Protestant-Catholic relations’ can satisfy. An analysis of identity and Irishness in Canada, even for this later nineteenth century period, must allow for the influence and confluence of two Irelands and consider that similar forces of acculturation worked on Irish Protestants as did contrasting perspectives on what was ‘Irish’ at the street level of Catholic and Protestant interaction in the process of Canadianization. Perhaps there is more room for accommodation amongst the Irish in Canada than has been previously considered. For even McGowan allows that at one time, “to many French Canadian Catholics, their [Irish Catholic] cousins in Toronto were little more than ‘les orangistes’ in disguise.”⁶¹ Now here was a statement that could unite the Irish: all could agree to disagree upon it.

Don Akenson’s work has done much toward rescuing the history of the Irish in Canada from the American picture which has over-emphasized Paddy and the Famine. Simply, he has shown that the Irish had already been well established in North America before the few years surrounding ‘Black ‘47’ when the ‘great hordes’ of ‘Famine Irish’ began ‘washing up’ on eastern shores and filtering down the St. Lawrence into ill-equipped and unwelcoming settlements of supposedly French, English and Scottish origin. He has shown that the majority of those Irish who came both before, during and after the Famine years, left by choice, could afford to do so, and that both Catholic and

Protestant alike became well-adjusted, contributing settlers in a largely rural economy; a marked contrast to that depicted by the largely political and ghettoized, Irish Catholic histories of Big City, America. But more than anything else, and especially relevant to this study, Akenson, in *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer*, has emphatically spoken to the historiographical debate over the definition of Irishness in the nineteenth century and his answer is both “clear” and “simple”:

...who in, say, 1815 (or in 1845, or in 1895) was an Irish person? ... anyone who lived permanently within the social system that was the island of Ireland. This includes both Catholics and Protestants, Kerry men, Ulster men, descendants of Norman invaders and of Scottish planters as well as of earlier Celtic invaders, speakers of English as well as speakers of Irish Gaelic. ... It matters not if an individual was... a Catholic whose family during the penal times turned Protestant: he or she was Irish. It matters not if the person was the descendant of some Norman soldier whose family had Hibernicized and become more Irish than the Irish they conquered: he or she was Irish. It matters not if the individual came by descent from one of the Cromwellians or from the Confederacy soldiers whom Cromwell defeated: she or he was Irish. Ireland was a political and social system and Ireland formed everyone who lived in it. They could hate Ireland, love it, hate each other, it mattered not. They were of Ireland: hence Irish.⁶²

Irish Protestants must therefore be included in the depiction of the Irish contribution to Canada in the nineteenth century. Akenson is also very careful to demonstrate that ‘the Irish’ in Canada were a multigenerational group consisting not only of the Irish immigrant generation but also subsequent generations thereafter because “ethnicity can influence an individual’s behaviour even when she or he has lost all conscious sense of ethnic affiliation.”⁶³

Akenson’s primer teaches that Canada, specifically Ontario, is the ideal focus for the study of diaspora Irish by virtue of sheer numbers, which could not have helped but profoundly mark the landscape of this locale in the nineteenth century. “...Canada was

(and still is) much more Irish than the USA [and] ...whether Australia or Canada is the more Irish country... Australia wins (unless one factors out Quebec), but not by much. The results of the first Dominion of Canada census of 1871 leave no doubt that at Confederation the Irish were the largest non-French ethnic group in the dominion.”⁶⁴ Ontario, for its size, its urban and rural character, its reception of both Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics and the quality of the Canadian data base, offers a “clean laboratory” where good work on the Irish can be done. “In spite of the mislabeling of Ontario as being “English” or “Scottish,” the Irish in fact were the largest ethnic group, and had a direct impact greater than that of any other group in forming the institutional structure of the province, and probably a greater influence than in any other jurisdiction of comparable size throughout the Irish diaspora.”⁶⁵ Undoubtedly, Irish migrants and their subsequent generations had spread throughout New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec and Ontario in the nineteenth century, but Ontario “was the agora of their life, the place where most of them engaged the world of North American culture and commerce. ... This emphasis upon the primacy of Ontario is not meant to obviate the importance of the other provincial Irish population, but it is necessary to emphasize Ontario’s historical predominance in this matter because the present day emphasis upon Canadian regionalism can too easily distort historical realities.”⁶⁶ And, as Akenson has shown, from the early decades of the nineteenth century onwards, the reality for the Irish ethnic population in Ontario and Canada was that Protestants outnumbered Catholics 2:1 and yet incredibly, they have been historiographically ignored relative to these numbers and their influence.

In part, an explanation for the lack of historic monographs on Irish Protestants in Canada is the large shadow cast by ‘Irish-American’ history which has singularly detailed the Irish Catholic experience⁶⁷ in urban centres in the United States, particularly New York City, Boston, and Philadelphia. Irish Protestants, where they have made mention, usually fall into the category of pre-Revolutionary frontiersmen, renowned for their independence and fighting spirit who apparently gave up any real Irish ethnic affiliation⁶⁸ either with the coming of the American Republic or their arrival in it. Akenson states that historians of the Irish in America have turned a blind eye to data for the Canadian case “because the Irish who migrated to Canada were, in some vague way, too Protestant. This is not so much a rational argument as an ingrained habit of mind among historians of the Irish in America who usually wall off the Irish Protestants into some non-Irish category: calling the Irish Presbyterians ‘Scotch-Irish’ is the usual method, while the Anglo-Irish are simply ignored altogether. When clearly articulated, the reason why this method of proceeding is unacceptable is obvious: merely renaming or ignoring the Irish Protestants does not make them disappear.”⁶⁹ Far from being non-entities, “in Canada, at least from 1815 onwards, the majority of the Irish ethnic population was Protestant, as was the majority of the immigrants.”⁷⁰ And as this study’s Chapter 6, “Churchmen: Irish and Otherwise” illustrates, in parts of Ontario, the presence of Irish Protestants was near impossible to ignore. Akenson has demonstrated that the Canadian case for the Irish diaspora provides a much “cleaner laboratory”, a much “clearer historical window” for the study of identity in comparison to the “Irish-American edifice” that has been systematically and inaccurately built around Irish Catholic culture.⁷¹ Akenson’s lessons

provide an essential guideline to any study of the Irish outside of Ireland in the nineteenth century: one must look for and include evidence from well before the overemphasized Famine period; the Irish must be treated as an ethnic group, not merely as a single generation of immigrants; the Canadian case for Irish studies must not be persuaded by the well-established but biased and stereotypical history (Akenson says mythology) of the ‘American-Irish’ (read: Catholic and urban, technologically and culturally-backward - the epitome of ‘Paddy’) – for which the data are unreliable until a much later period; Catholicism is not the definitive symbol of Irishness; and finally, both Catholics and Protestants must be included in the definition of what is Irish.

Bruce Elliott’s work, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas* conforms to these dictates and is pivotal in that it has shed light on a significant grouping of Irish Protestants in sustained, endogamous communities in two of Ontario’s earliest Irish settlements. Admittedly, Elliott’s focus on the Ottawa Valley and the townships surrounding London results in findings that support a continuity thesis in the decision to leave Ireland for a limited North Tipperary population, yet the implication for a general Irish Protestant identity, largely through intermarriage with non-Tipperary emigrant Irish families, particularly in the Ottawa area, bodes well for an analysis of an extended group of Irish Protestant migrants. Elliott’s study of 775 immigrating families incorporates the “hard slogging”⁷² of genealogical research in his assessment of the migration process: not only identifying individual migrants by name but connecting them to family associations both at home and abroad over time. It begins with an economic and social assessment of the North Tipperary homeland and the environment therein that caused many to consider

emigration as a mechanism for maintaining their circumstances (this, akin to Charlotte Erickson's *Invisible Immigrants*). It then moves to the processes and people involved in the 1818 assisted emigration that brought the first Irish Protestant grouping of considerable size⁷³ (smaller groupings of Irish Protestants out of Wexford, Leinster, Cavan, Wicklow, Carlow, Kilkenny had already been established in the 'back' concessions along the St. Lawrence River) to settle in two particular areas of Upper Canada. These would remain the foci of Tipperary emigration for more than three decades, emphasizing the importance of the kinship tie in the Irish Protestant experience.⁷⁴

Elliott's Irish Protestants are small farmers who sold their interests in Ireland for various reasons. Local disturbances resulting from political and religious agitation in the decades surrounding the 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act, partial famines and 'declining fortunes', a 'taut' political atmosphere which caused people "...to seek for peace and quietness in... foreign land" and decreasing access to jobs outside of already ailing agricultural and service sectors were frustrations summarized as early as 1819 by soon-to-be migrant, George T. Fitzgerald when he inquired into Canadian passage and land grants: "Any implyment it is Papists gets it."⁷⁵ We know, from Elliott's intensive research: the family names, intermarriages and parish connections of the majority of his 775 families, we know when they settled, where they settled, why they settled there, and what re-locations they made in the years following their Canadian arrival. We know that the re-creation of 'Tipperary, Canada' (being the Richard Talbot Settlement near London, the related Richmond Military Settlement, the Carp Valley Settlements near Ottawa, as

well as subsequent settlements in Esquesing and Rougemont, Quebec) facilitated not only the initial stages of migration from Ireland but also subsequent chain and internal migrations, by generations who sought above all else in their move, Irish connections in Canada. We know that the primacy of securing the future for one's children on par with the *status quo* as it had been known in Ireland was the motivation behind emigration as a strategy of heirship on Canadian soil. We know that the pattern of both of the featured settlements in Elliott's work included what were generally known as 'Roman Lines' which separated Irish Protestants from Irish Catholic neighbours and that the establishment of such had as much to do with timing in arrival and/or soil quality as any inherited Irish bigotry. Yet we know very little about how these early Irish viewed themselves and their Irish neighbours, save what can be gleaned from the more sensational stories of others' detailing for example, the well-known story of the murdered Donnellys, which Elliott attributes to the homogeneity of Biddulph Township's Tipperary roots. As focused and statistically beefy as Elliott's work is, identity remains an elusive subject in his piece. His Irish Protestants are a predominantly rural people, of 'moderate means', below that of the average settler, they are 'land hungry' and 'land defensive' as a product of their Irish heritage, kin ties are extremely important as exhibited in cohesive family networks with high rates of endogamous marriage despite great distances, but beyond this, they rarely speak for themselves, we know only via a vague reference that they "...developed a general Protestant Irish-Canadian identity."⁷⁶ However, Elliott does make the crucial point that in this description, there is far more to unite the Canadian Irish - Catholic and Protestant - than there is to divide. The history of the Irish in America

(Catholic) needs to be revisited according to Elliott, for it more likely resembles that of the Irish in Canada and with regard to the latter, "...the Tipperary Protestant experience argues against as neat a dichotomization between Protestant and Catholic, modern and traditional, individualist and communitarian"⁷⁷ as historians have previously claimed. Indeed, those distinctions that did exist amongst the Irish in nineteenth century Canada may have been more 'heaven-based' than 'earthly', for as largely rural peoples, devoted to kin and securing the future, who tolerated well, both the process of bringing Ireland to Canada, and then being Irish in Canada, all that was perhaps left to distinguish them was the type of Church that one claimed to pray in and all that that implied.⁷⁸

This study documents evidence for the Irish Protestant, being largely the 'Anglo-Irish' side of things that were identifiably Irish in an effort to round out what has been a very Catholic picture of Irishness in the United States and by association, Canada as well.⁷⁹ This is essential because relative to their numbers and pervasive presence in nineteenth century British North America, there is no correspondingly vast and rich scholarship on a people so highly influential. If the Irish have disappeared, it is because historians have allowed them to. Even scholars devoted to the subject have managed perhaps unwittingly to circumscribe the Irish Protestant experience in Canada by emphasizing an early chameleon-like behaviour and insisting that no single 'type' of Irish identity is discernible in their determined efforts to dismantle that oh-so-pervasive American stereotype of 'Paddy'. Cecil Houston and William Smyth's broadly titled *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters* actually claims that the Irish (of whom they recognize, "the majority were Protestant") "were neither a minority

nor unusual and they blended in with the rest of the Canadians. They became Canadians early in the creation of the country, and for that reason they have tended to disappear.”⁸⁰ With the exception of Newfoundland, which the authors identify as a regional anomaly with its highly concentrated and culturally intact Irish Catholic flavour – the product of specific centres of economically motivated out-migration from Ireland - Houston and Smyth’s Irish remain for the most part, very elusive.

Despite copious maps, charts, tables, reproduced certificates and advertisements, and even the unusual and welcome inclusion of a substantial portion of three particular Protestant families’ personal correspondence, Irishness in Canada is “summarized” in Houston and Smyth’s work by the Catholic Church and the Orange Order. Although they admit that the latter did not represent the sum total of contemporary Protestant Irish sentiment, they claim that “Orange halls were the landscape indicators of their particular Irish outlook” and that Orangeism “enunciated a basic cultural identity”.⁸¹ Little is done toward further refining that ‘particular outlook’ or ‘basic identity’ with regard to analyses of the letters they reproduce beyond the additional biographical information that serves to introduce and supplement the Carrothers, White and Robb correspondence. Further, Houston and Smyth claim that despite the numerical preponderance of Irishmen and Irishwomen in the pews of Protestant churches, those very institutions acted more as “forums for ethnic fusion” – that “none of the Protestant denominations acquired an exclusively Irish identity.”⁸² Once again, Irish Protestant identity, beyond that which might be surmised from the minutes of private Lodge room meetings and public Orange parades is lost, and this stands in sharp contrast with the current study’s Chapter 6 which

describes the distinctly Irish nature of evangelical Anglicanism in the sizable and influential portions of western Ontario and other localized centres. Houston and Smyth insist on the presence of well-established Irish Protestant and Catholic communities in Canada long before the trauma of the Famine years, and claim for each of these, strong ‘organic’ links that tightly bound the homeland to the new Irish frontier, and yet the picture in the end is one that describes a very Irish landscape apparently without any very Irish people.

For example, where Houston and Smyth read Protestant Irishwoman, Jane White as having come to understand that her “own life had been integrated into a larger, national, even North American network”, this thesis finds that she may actually have been one of their “anomalous exceptions” as Orange (according to Houston and Smyth) or more accurately, an Irish Protestant who *did* in fact “conceive of emigration from Ireland as desertion or loss”. Indeed, her ‘own life’ it seems, instead of being ‘integrated’ in the new as they suggest, actually remained isolated and quite focused on the old, so-called “niceties” of County Down.⁸³ Where Houston and Smyth find Nathaniel Carrothers “a confirmed Canadian” for having bettered his condition years after emigrating to Westminster township in 1836, this work sees an Irishman still. It recognizes a man who took great pride in “fine gardens... a homeplace [Ulster] trait”, and the substantial author of the treasure-trove of letters that were pulled from behind the bureau in the family farmhouse in Farnaght, County Fermanagh, each time kinfolk abroad requested genealogical information. Eventually, Nathaniel’s own descendants would receive a typescript of the letters, in confirmation of the importance of those connections. A copy

which landed in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland as late as 1951, serves as a reflection of Houston and Smyth's 'unchanged' – yet unfortunately also undefined – enduring, social ties.⁸⁴

Although it recognizes that complex distinctions are inherent in any such regionally-varied emigration of so many thousands of people over so long a period as almost a half-century, this thesis insists on at least approaching the concept of 'type' for so large a group as Ontario's Anglo-Irish Protestants represented, because doing so is essential to understanding both that period and place. Contrary to Houston and Smyth's claims, this study finds evidence for an enduring 'Canadian Irish cultural continuity' *despite* the relative downturn in post-Famine Irish immigration. It also recognizes that Protestants *as well as* Catholics might have found themselves "more rooted, a function of heritage" in the homeland and that contact with Ireland might prove to have been less "curtailed" than has been proposed with regard to the second and even third generation children of Irish-born parents.⁸⁵ This study re-visits parts of Houston and Smyth's three core districts of contiguous, early-settled, Irish rural inhabitants in Ontario which changed little in their Protestant/Catholic patterns of settlement despite continuous Irish emigration, and revises the emphasis on separate, "persisting distinctive identities" by revealing how they, in many ways, inter-related and how one side in particular saw itself.⁸⁶ Without coming to terms with at least some of those aspects of an admittedly rich and varied Irish Protestant 'type', Houston and Smyth's mostly generalized aggregate study despite its scope and span of time, still leaves one asking 'WHO were these people?'

John Mannion's study of the material culture and settlement situations of three small pockets of rural Irish in the New World comprising the Avalon Peninsula in Newfoundland, the Miramichi in northeastern New Brunswick and the Peter Robinson settlement near Peterborough, Upper Canada might answer, that in their trials leaving Ireland, crossing the Atlantic and then facing the forests of Canada, the Irish became no longer recognizable. Although he admits that change and upheaval in the form of intensive demographic and economic growth, the loss of the Gaelic language, revolutions in agriculture, trade, communication, and transportation had already been acting on Irish peasant culture in the eighteenth-century, Mannion claims that it was the nineteenth-century migration of so many Irish immigrants to Canada that was without precedent in the scale of disruption and dislocation that it visited upon homeland traditions, causing the attrition, relatively quickly, of Irish cultural heritage. Although he finds evidence for some successful cultural transfer, he also finds a great deal of local adaptation in the field systems, settlement patterns, agricultural tools and techniques, and structure of Irish dwellings in the New World. Mannion concludes that it was the structure of the particular economy in each of the three areas that played the key role in the amount of cultural change that took place. In communities marked by subsistence economy and relatively isolated ethnicity (such as the Avalon), transferred material culture traits were more likely to be retained, whereas Peterborough, more commercialized and ethnically mixed, experienced greater abandonment of Old World methods and materials.

There are a number of key differences between Mannion's study and this one. Mannion's Irish are almost entirely Irish Roman Catholics – he calls them "Celtic and

Catholic... a rural, pre-industrial people”⁸⁷ and therefore those aspects of Irish material folk tradition and settlement morphology that he examines, may have been entirely different in the first place from those of Irish Protestants, for Ireland had for some time been characterized by two quite separate traditions. Mannion’s Irish appear to have been a more homogenous group with regard to class – he emphasizes that they are peasantry (though very individualized) and many of them, in some form or another are assisted to the New World whether it be through the aid of Peter Robinson or the empty hulls of returning fish or timber ships, now filled with labour. The fact that a good portion of this thesis relies on the personal letters of varying levels of literate Irish Protestants suggests if not a different class, then perhaps a different network (for Irish Protestants were also assisted) wherein fellow Irish might write in place of another, and that the richness of this written communication that crossed the Atlantic may be the very thing that stemmed much of the cultural attrition that Mannion describes. Once Mannion’s Irish peasant “left his native townland he had said farewell to kin and neighbours and to almost everything that was customary and familiar. For the first time, perhaps he faced the world virtually alone, as a stranger. ... The web of relationships and obligations that united them in the homeland was sundered and no similar social order could be reconstructed immediately in the New World.”⁸⁸ As this thesis will show, this was far from being the case for many Irish Protestants who worked quite quickly to reconstruct or relocate to what they called ‘thick neighbourhoods’ in their new surroundings. Still, the adaptability of Mannion’s Irish, it may be argued, may not have been so culturally damaging as his references to heritage-attrition seem to suggest for even to this day, his three locales – the Avalon, the

Miramichi and Peterborough - are well known if not remembered, for being perhaps *the* most Irish of places in Canada. The fact that the Irish flat sled was abandoned early on in the process of Irish migration does not imply that Irishness was.

This study has attempted to respect Akenson's guidelines, Elliott's specifics, Houston and Smyth's emphasis on the personal and Mannion's on cultural transfer, but not shy away from attempting to address that which has been uncomfortable for previous historians, namely, the co-existence of sectarian division as well as common ground, both literal and figurative, within a larger Irish community in Canada. Akenson's Primer on the Diaspora states that like the many-faceted and complex Fabergé Egg, all aspects of the Irish social system must be considered in order to appreciate the unified whole. Therefore, "...one must recognize not only that the Irish were both Catholic and Protestant, but also that sectarian hostilities brought from the Old World frequently had a continuation in the New. Sad to say, to study Irish history either of the homeland or of any part of the diaspora without considering sectarian divergencies is not to study the Irish at all."⁸⁹ Regarding this tendency of the profession toward 'not studying the Irish', Akenson explains:

...usually... cut out of discussions of the Irish diaspora... is the fact that sectarian religion was the hub around which the most important of Irish cultural beliefs and social practices revolved. Irish people lined up on either side of a great divide: they were either Catholic or Protestant. ... Crucially, neither Irish Catholics nor Irish Protestants can be discussed adequately without reference to the other. The two major religious groups were part of a dialectical system. It was the existence of the Irish Protestants that helped to make the Irish Catholics so distinct a group within the Roman Catholic world; and it was the Irish Catholics who helped to form the mentalities of the Irish Anglicans and Irish Presbyterians, two very unusual groups within the worldwide Protestant communion.⁹⁰

With the goal of expanding on this picture, this study draws the Irish landscape from a slightly broader vantage point in an effort not so much to scale the height of the great divide that separated two Irish worlds, but more importantly, to step back, and see that in common, two sides shared the same mountain, each called it 'Home', and were it not for those two sides, there would be no mountain. Indeed, as Akenson states, '...the two groups talked not to each other, but through each other, their two world views nevertheless had a great deal in common.'⁹¹ This is where the distinction for the Irish in Canada lies. Despite a popular history of political enmity, there was more similarity than difference between the Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic in nineteenth century Ontario. Houston and Smyth's as well as Elliott's focus on chain migration and the influence and importance of the kin network in Irish Protestant families has helped to narrow the divide and connect these as experiences now common in both communities, while Akenson is well known for his claim to 'small differences' when comparing Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic cultural factors in terms of major, empirical social or economic indices:

The economic behaviour of the Irish, Catholic and Protestant was not markedly different from that of the generality of their fellow 'English-Canadians'. Neither the Irish Protestants nor the Irish Catholics were a segregated minority, either geographically or socio-economically. Nor, as in the United States, was there a large twentieth century residuum who remained locked into the lower rungs of urban life after the majority of their fellows had passed upwards. Therefore, instead of requiring a separate ethnic mythology of their own, persons of Irish ethnicity shared the general cosmology of English-Canadianism – the Protestant Irish completely, the Catholics with some reservations. In a sense, the economic sense of the Irish in Canadian society and their numerical prepotence amongst "English-Canadians" meant that they did not need an historical mythology as part of their survival equipment.⁹²

Here is where the current piece diverges radically from Akenson's sturdy foundations. Where his Irish (and Houston and Smyth's and even John Mannion's Catholic Irish)

blend in too easily with the ‘English-Canadian’ consensus and eventually, without the necessity of a ‘survival mythology’ (such as that in Irish American history with its emphasis on Paddy and the Famine) simply fade away into historic unimportance, the Irish of the present work are much more prominent. This is directly relatable to an enduring distinctiveness - their Irishness - which, by virtue of numbers and continued and essential contact with the Old Country, is perhaps more responsible for consensus in Canada, for a longer period of time, than any ‘English’ contributions. Were it not for the reach of well-known ‘Irish America’, the nineteenth century in Ontario, or ‘English-Canada’, might more properly be referred to in the historiography as ‘Irish-Canada’. Although Akenson identifies the Irish – both Protestant and Catholic - in Canada as a “charter group” and if not a “founding people”- then close to it; a group whose numbers made them “harder to push around” here than they were in the United States, their demise is brought about, puzzlingly, by apparently being too successful in settlement.⁹³ This discrepancy, a ‘seeming contrariness’ to use Akenson’s own terminology, is best explained by the assumption that Irish Protestants “completely” and Irish Catholics “with some reservations” shed – too readily - any ethnic affiliation in the process of assimilation.⁹⁴ Despite hints at what became of the once solid and recognizable Irish Protestant communities throughout Ontario – that the Ulster-Scots became the mainstays of the Methodist and Baptist frontier churches, that the Anglo-Irish had much to do with the shaping of Canadian Anglicanism, and even that the very fabric of the social system in Ontario by 1870 was Irish inspired – Akenson claims that “all over the world, the fate of Irish immigrants, their children, and grand-children, was to disappear. Identifiable ‘Irish’

cultural strands still exist in every one of the diaspora countries, but the role of the children of the Irish immigrants was to become part of the white majority culture of whatever country in the English-speaking world they lived in. They joined the group which controlled things and in every overseas nation... they became privileged.”⁹⁵ They may have started with a political, social and economic bang, but they apparently according to Akenson, ended with a cultural whimper.

The evidence for this study finds otherwise. Much like their Catholic counterparts, whose sense of identity and community has been well documented elsewhere, Irish Protestants in nineteenth century Ontario though swayed by the softening influences of Canadian space, ‘society’ and settlement, *arrived Irish, were Irish, and remained Irish* until well into the turning of the next century. This means they did not, as many have assumed or accepted, quickly and willingly or even unconsciously, become absorbed into a larger, somehow all-encompassing, ‘English’ charter group. Ontario in fact, appears to have made more accommodation for the Irish than the Irish did for Ontario, as both the dissemination of Orange principles and the growth of the Order as well as the maintenance of Irish Protestant settlements and the predominance of the Irish Protestant strain of Anglicanism in various regions seem to indicate. Although the portrait of Irish Protestant culture in Ontario is far from complete, by the close of the nineteenth century, what may be identified as a religiously-defined culture, an innately conservative, landed, nuclear-family oriented, largely endogamous, homeland-connected and oriented, ‘confident’, evangelical and assertively activist, pro-Protestant, government-minded, patronage-seeking, distinctly loyal and constitutionalist tradition had held sway

(marching quite regularly to prove it) for some time in the local populations and institutional structures that formed the footings for turn-of-the-century Ontario. Irish Protestantism had not hesitated to reveal itself and at times, dominate the new setting. This work seeks to tease out a few of those strands of Irish Protestantism such as Orangeism – Ogle Gowan’s ‘great unifying cable’ – as well as its contemporary public discourse on Irish Catholicism, the essential role of women in the maintenance of the homeland connection and the distinctly *Irish* and influential branch of what was intended to be the Established Church of *England*, in an attempt to recapture some of the essence of nineteenth century Ontario that historiographically-speaking, appears to have been lost.

¹ Donald H. Akenson, “Ontario: Whatever Happened to the Irish?” in Gerald Tulchinsky, ed., Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives, (Toronto: Copp, Clark, Longman, 1994), p.87.

² Akenson, p.88. Akenson identifies the first period, (1815-1845) as one characterized by individuals with above-subsistence-level means emigrating from Ireland. The second (1846-1854), signals the Great Famine migration where the starving and dislocated Irish came in “floods”. Finally, from 1855 to the close of the century, Irish immigration continued at a slowed but significant rate.

³ David Noel Doyle, Review Article: “Cohesion and Diversity in the Irish Diaspora”, Irish Historical Studies, xxxi, no.123, (May 1999), p.414.

⁴ Both Akenson and Houston and Smyth claim that the Irish “disappeared”. For Akenson on this, see evidence in this chapter, pages 45-47 as well as fn 95. Houston and Smyth claim that “they were neither a minority nor unusual and they blended in with the rest of the Canadians. They became Canadians early in the creation of the country, and for that reason they have tended to disappear.” Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p.4.

⁵ David Noel Doyle, Review Article: “Small Differences? The Study of the Irish in the United States and Britain”, Irish Historical Studies, xxix, no. 113, (May 1994), p.117.

⁶ Doyle, “Small Differences?”, p.117.

⁷ Doyle, “Small Differences?”, p.117. Doyle’s term, identifying the classification used by Maureen Hartigan and Mary J. Hickman in their bibliographic study of the Irish in Britain. Maureen Hartigan and Mary J. Hickman, ed., The History of the Irish in Britain: A Bibliography, (London: Irish in Britain History Centre, 1986).

⁸ Doyle, “Small Differences?”, p.117.

⁹ Akenson, p.118. Here, Akenson refers to R. Cole Harris, Pauline Roulston and Chris de Freitas, “The Settlement of Mono Township” in The Canadian Geographer, 19 (1975), pp.1-17.

¹⁰ Akenson, p.118. The significance of this thesis lies in its answer to this question. Although it contradicts much of the current historiography which has either ignored Irish Protestants, considered them to not be ‘real Irish’ or seen them as too willing and eager a participant in a pan-British cultural conformity, it also highlights themes for Irish Protestants that have been recognized elsewhere amongst other cultures coming to Canada. Other versions of ‘the American wake’, the importance of kin to chain migration, the recreation of ‘thick neighbourhoods’, the sense of place that refused to emigrate, and the establishment of mutual

benefit societies can be found for other immigrant groups such as Franca Iacovetta's Such Hardworking People (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1992), the Italians of Toronto. But Iacovetta's work and that of many others (John Zucchi for example), relatively speaking, covers far fewer immigrants during a much later period. At the time of their writing, many of Iacovetta's and Zucchi's subjects could have spoken for themselves (Iacovetta's work in particular was strongly dependent on personal interviews). The early nineteenth century in Canada, over one hundred years earlier, is much more difficult to recall for historians and relative to their remarkable numbers, the Irish Protestants who characterized that period have not been given the same opportunity to speak. It has been much easier to simply lump Irish Protestants in with that well-ensconced but still somewhat mysterious 'Anglo-Canadian' majority that made life as an Italian immigrant in Canada 'so hard' and certainly less than welcoming. As historians of migration, we need to step back further in time to dissect the cultures of earlier people who, also immigrants, may have found the transition difficult and may actually have defied 'Anglo-conformity'.

¹¹ Akenson, p.119.

¹² Some of the more well-known sources focusing on Orangeism's negative influence and violence include: Scott See, Riots in New Brunswick: Orange Nativism and Social Violence in the 1840s, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Donald Harman Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984); Glenn Lockwood, 'Success and the Doubtful Image of Irish Immigrants in Upper Canada: the Case of Montague Township 1820-1890' in Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada, v.I, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), Robert McLaughlin, Irish Canadians and the Struggle for Irish Independence, 1912-1925: A Study of Ethnic Identity and Cultural Heritage", Ph.D. diss., University of Maine, 2004; Carol Wilton, Popular Politics and Political Culture in Upper Canada, 1800-1850, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000).

¹³ The Orange Association: Its Origins and History and its Mission in the Dominion of Canada, (Toronto: The Sentinel Publishing Co. Limited, 1927), p.3.

¹⁴ The Orange Association, p.22.

¹⁵ Catharine Anne Wilson's latest book on tenancy in Upper Canada makes the case for the importance of land and direct freehold ownership of such as the intended basis for settlement in nineteenth century, agrarian Ontario. Tenancy, in contrast, was seen as fraught with connotations of Old World (and Lower Canadian), 'feudal' inequalities which were quickly deemed undesirable in the years following the 1791 Constitutional Act which brought Upper Canada into existence. Rather than being a harbinger of hierarchy and corruption however, Wilson shows how tenancy in Upper Canada, although it was not seen as part of the liberal vision of a capitalist political economy, was certainly very much "part of its working reality." (p.7) With both land ownership and various forms of tenancy (different from that which might have been experienced at home) open to Irish immigrants in Canada as options for successful living and inheritance, *some* aspects of the Irish experience absolutely changed. Wilson has John Beverly Robinson claim the difference that the opportunity to pursue self-interest could make: "it was only when Irish labourers "become owners of property, with their families living on their farms, and their days occupied in labouring for their own benefit that the change in character takes place." The man who owned his own soil, who had incentive to improve, who had the self-esteem that comes with independence, who lived under the "wholesome influence" of God's sky, was "not" easily imbibed by other unwholesome sources." (p.26) Tenancy apparently offered similar gains, and not just to the Irish either. See Catharine Anne Wilson, Tenants in Time: Family Strategies, Land, and Liberalism in Upper Canada, 1799-1871, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009)

¹⁶ The Reverend James Magrath's son, Thomas W. Magrath, already an adult when the family emigrated from Co. Roscommon in 1827, wrote of Erindale and Ireland comparatively to the Reverend Thomas Radcliff in Dublin in 1832 and admitted that although "... it is true that every one who comes here, feels at the outset the difficulties of his new and trying circumstances; even the lowest peasant, on first entering his shanty, laments the loneliness of his situation, and experiences a sinking of the heart, and a longing after his potatoes and buttermilk at home; but as his comforts increase, he becomes reconciled to his lot; finding himself independent, he becomes happy, and experimentally learns that this is really a Paradise to him. ... We have frequently occupied the morning at work in a *potato field*, and passed the evening most agreeably

in the *ball* room at York!!! Even the fishing was better in Canada than Ireland for Magrath, with numbers so great that a spear was more useful than a rod in their taking. Still, Magrath's reference is obviously an Irish one, and even though the fishing method might have differed, the equipment, "... three pronged, ... twelve feet in length, of the best white ash; the thickness... [was] *well-known*, but better *handled*, in every fair in Ireland, under the title of a *shillelagh*." Magrath's letters can be found in Thomas William Magrath, Esq., Authentic Letters from Upper Canada, first published, Reverend Thomas Radcliff, ed., (Dublin: William Curry, Jun. & Co., 1833) and secondly, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1953), pp.64, 67, 68 and 175.

In 1847, the effects of the potato Famine in Ireland reached the Peterborough backwoods and Thomas A. Stewart, of Wilmont, near Belfast, Ireland, now Douro, Upper Canada, though unwell, joined the efforts at the temporary hospital on Little Lake to help recently arrived Irish Famine immigrants. Having contracted typhus sometime mid-August, Stewart passed away in September, leaving his family in a distressed financial state despite the fact that Stewart, though a second son, had come from Anglo-Irish gentry who had enjoyed successes in the linen industry and commerce in Ireland. Failed business ventures are what led Stewart to emigrate to Canada. His successes in Canada as a gentleman farmer were less than the decision to leave Ireland had hoped for, yet, Stewart was encouraged in 1825 by the arrival of Peter Robinson's Irish emigrants and their largely Catholic composition appeared to be the least of his worries. "You can form no idea how fast this country is getting on... The principal reason for this is the arrival and settling of 2000 Emigrants from Ireland. They have been settled all through these townships. The Hon. Mr. Robinson who was appointed by Govt. to conduct these people to their lands, fortunately for us, chose this place... Not one that is not making strides to being independent. ... Of course where there are so many, & those coming from the worst parts of Ireland there must be a few black sheep amongst them; but tho' they have been now 4 months encamped in this country and had during that time nothing to do, yet there was not one complaint against them." TUA, Frances Stewart Papers, 97-023/4, Thomas Alexander Stewart, Douro to Major Froot, December 12, 1825. It is likely that Stewart's willingness to aid his fellow countrymen, whether verbally in 1825 or physically in 1847, came from a defensiveness of the people of his country, aroused on both occasions, by local rumouring and furor over the arrival of large numbers of what were considered 'unwanted Irish'. Although originally of 17th century Scottish blood, the Stewart family's more than two centuries in Ireland had made Thomas as Irish as Robinson's companions.

¹⁷ David Noel Doyle, "Cohesion and Diversity", p.424.

¹⁸ See Pocock's Introduction to Nancy Christie, ed., Transatlantic Subjects: Ideas, Institutions, and Social Experience in Post-Revolutionary British North America, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), p.x.

¹⁹ Doyle, "Small Differences?", p.116.

²⁰ Doyle, "Small Differences?", p.119.

²¹ Doyle, "Small Differences?", pp.118-119.

²² Donald Harman Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984 and Gordon Darroch and Lee Soltow, Property and Inequality in Victorian Ontario: Structural Patterns and Cultural Communities in the 1871 Census, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994). Darroch and Soltow admit that as valuable an historical record as the 1871 Census is, its detailing of the cultural order (religious affiliation and ethnic origin) of Victorian Ontario is only two-dimensional and cannot provide the full picture. It "cannot capture the nuances of cultural expression and community experience of nineteenth-century men and women; this kind of evidence does not get 'under the skin' of social life." (p.48).

²³ Christie, "Introduction: Theorizing a Colonial Past" in Transatlantic Subjects, pp.3-41.

²⁴ Ibid., pp.5,7. Christie makes specific reference to J.G.A Pocock's "The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of the Unknown Subject" and Wahrman's *The Making of the Modern Self* as bolsters to a more "flexible transnational perspective." (p.5) Christie also puts forward the work of Catherine Hall and Kathleen Wilson who have encouraged the blending of 'core'/'periphery' histories (British history with Canadian history for example) which are "mutually constitutive" (p.7) toward a better understanding of nineteenth century identities. Christie both asks how British identities were redefined in the post-revolutionary period in Canada and answers that any transition toward modernity in the new settlements

required several steps backwards into “ancient localism” and “customary mores” as the “regional fragments” that comprised ‘Britishness’ competed for “social authority”. (pp.6,7) This contrasts markedly with the well known account of Linda Colley’s more cohesive Britons. (Yale: 1992).

²⁵ Don Akenson, ‘Reading the Texts of Rural Immigrants: Letters from the Irish in Australia, New Zealand, and North America’ Canadian Papers in Rural History, Vol. VII, 1990, p.387.

²⁶ E.R.R. Green, “Ulster Emigrants’ Letters” in E.R.R. Green, ed., Essays in Scotch-Irish History, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), p.92. Green writes, “It should hardly be necessary to point out that emigrant letters are a rich source for the economic history of the United States. They document the activities of all kinds of people, whether merchants, planters, professional men, storekeepers, farmers, or wage earners. They describe conditions in all kinds of industries and in different sections of the country. They are even a useful source of statistical information, for emigrants were fond of sending home lists of American wages and prices, knowing that they would be of interest. ... it is hoped that greater use will be made of such material by historians of emigration in the future.” pp.102,103

²⁷ Akenson, “Reading”, p.388.

²⁸ Akenson, “ Reading”, p.389.

²⁹ Although matters of class are not central to this thesis, it should be recognized that by the very nature of the sources that this work is most dependent upon, the very poor, the illiterate, as well as those who did not or could not, keep written ties to the homeland are underrepresented and left to some speculation. This includes the thousands of pauper Famine emigrants whose wherewithal in the mid-1840s was spent simply in survival mode. Some is known of the Peter Robinson emigrants (who were not all paupered, the group included some skilled tradesmen as well as some Protestants...) because of the writings of earlier settlers who observed them and the reports of Robinson himself. By all accounts – with the exception of contemporary rumours that circulated for a time accusing them of planning to make a run for the border and the overall cost of transporting the emigrants which was such that further schemes were not attempted – they performed well in their settlement duties. That they may be included in an assessment of the persistence of Irishness in Ontario stems not from any evidence written by their own hands, but from the reputation the Peterborough area where they settled still holds as an Irish enclave. This work includes examples of working class, middle class, and somewhat privileged but financially strained Anglo-Irish gentry. There were certainly some who did not ‘make it’ for although the New World offered possibilities for livelihoods not obtainable at home, the consensus appears to be that life in the colonies was difficult and that it could take a good ten to twenty years before a man might be adequately established on his farm with land cleared and title in hand. Frances Stewart had servants leave her now precarious situation – some appear to have returned to Ireland – which was a real possibility for wages for in-demand domestic service were decent. And many an Orange meeting recorded the ‘taking up’ of a few dollars and cents in the name of a Brother “who was burnt out and in hard circumstances.” TUA, B-76-001/2, LOL #80 (Diamond), Peterborough, Membership and Minute Book, Letter from LOL 240 (Frankford), Sept. 21, 1908, p.159.

³⁰ Mark C. McGowan, The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto, 1887-1922, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999); Brian Clarke, Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993); Donald Harman Akenson, The Irish in Ontario; Bruce Elliott, Irish Migrants in the Canadas, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988); Glenn J. Lockwood, “Success and the Doubtful Image of Irish Immigrants in Upper Canada: The Case of Montague Township, 1820-1900”, in Robert O’Driscoll & Lorna Reynolds, eds., The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988).

³¹ Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, and Letters, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990) and John J. Mannion, Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

³² Akenson provides some comfort that a focus largely on the Anglo-Irish is at least representative, given that “The data from the Old Country... make abundantly clear that most Irish Protestants were Anglicans... [and] from the Canadian data we know that Irishmen of Anglican background were more frequent migrants at least to that part of the New World, than were the Presbyterians.” Houston and Smyth confirm the same. Citing A. Gordon Darroch and Michael D. Ornstein’s study of the 1871 census, they show that “Irish

Protestants were more likely to be Anglicans... than Presbyterians” in all four original Canadian provinces with Methodism being a somewhat close-second only in Ontario. See Houston and Smyth, Irish Emigration p.229, Table 7.2. Certainly this study contains examples of Irishmen who were Ulster-Scot but the distinctions between those two sorts of Irish Protestantism in Canada must remain the focus of a future study. Much has been done historiographically on the Ulster-Scots in America for the colonial period – though they are inaccurately referred to according to Akenson as the “Scotch-Irish”. Donald Harman Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, p.349.

³³ David A. Gerber, Authors of Their Lives: The Personal Correspondence of British Immigrants to North America in the Nineteenth Century, (New York: New York University Press, 2006), p.4.

³⁴ David A. Gerber, “Epistolary Masquerades: Acts of Deceiving and Withholding in Immigrant Letters”, in Bruce S. Elliott, David A. Gerber and Suzanne M. Sinke, eds., Letters Across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p.144.

³⁵ See the Editorial Preface in Carl Ballstadt, Elizabeth Hopkins, Michael Peterman, eds., Letters of Love and Duty: The Correspondence of Susanna and John Moodie, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993) and Ballstadt, Hopkins, Peterman, eds., Sussana Moodie: Letters of a Lifetime, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985)

³⁶ Gerber, ‘Epistolary Masquerades’, p.155.

³⁷ Gerber, Authors, p.14.

³⁸ Ibid., pp.14,19.

³⁹ Ibid., pp.17,18.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp.18-19.

⁴¹ Donald Harman Akenson, The Irish Diaspora: A Primer, (Toronto and Belfast: P.D. Meany Company, Inc., Publishers and the Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen’s University of Belfast, 1996), pp.252-253.

⁴² David Fitzpatrick, “Irish Emigration and the Art of Letter-Writing”, in Letters Across Borders, p.97.

Fitzpatrick is the author of the significant epistolary study of Irish emigrants to Australia, Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

⁴³ Ibid. Fitzpatrick states that the mere arrival of a letter “was in itself a token of solidarity, while the absence of an expected letter was an endemic source of anxiety, even a harbinger of death.” (p.97) Repeat worry over the fate of letters sent is a constant in many of the letters consulted for this work. The arrival of a letter, outlined in black (announcing the death of a loved one), was often the cause for either an immediate response or sometimes, long pauses in communication.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.100. Fitzpatrick quoting Arnold Schrier from Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958).

⁴⁶ Helen Brown, “Negotiating Space, Time, and Identity: The Hutton-Pellet Letters and a British Child’s Wartime Evacuation to Canada” in Letters Across Borders, pp.234, 239.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.239.

⁴⁸ Gerber, Authors, p.14. Gerber states that it is “doubtful that these questions were posed directly or consciously, let alone in this particular language, which may strike the reader as having distinctly therapeutic resonances of contemporary Western culture. By their letter-writing however, they proved that these issues were very much on their minds.”

⁴⁹ See page 284 of Chapter 5, “Being Colleen” for this reference.

⁵⁰ Anna Brownell Jameson, “Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada”, entry for February 17, 1837, found in Thomas Thorner ed., “A Few Acres of Snow”: Documents in Canadian History, 1577-1867, (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1997), p.225.

⁵¹ Catholic Register for February 14, 1901 as quoted by Mark McGowan, The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto, 1887-1922, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999), p.211.

⁵² Brian P. Clarke, Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993), pp.16,17.

⁵³ Clarke, p.16.

⁵⁴ McGowan, p.11.

⁵⁵ McGowan, p.11.

⁵⁶ McGowan, p.11.

⁵⁷ McGowan, p.290.

⁵⁸ McGowan, p.20.

⁵⁹ Reference in McGowan to Catholic Weekly Review for June 4, 1892, during a period of increased social interaction between Protestants and Catholics in Toronto which was reflected in the Catholic press with the exception, according to McGowan, of the Irish Canadian, a lone hold-out for a time with regard to open displays of support for the monarchy. McGowan reveals how, in the face of more immediate concerns for Canada and particularly Catholics in Canada, the once Irish-flavoured Catholic press gradually let go a focus on Irish news and issues to the point where “Canada-first” became the guideline. McGowan, p.203.

⁶⁰ McGowan, p.209.

⁶¹ McGowan, p.289. Here, McGowan makes reference to the late nineteenth, early twentieth century “turf war” between English-speaking and French-speaking Catholics with regard to linguistic leadership and influence both within and without the Canadian Catholic Church. The inflammatory yet telling, association of the largely Irish-based English-speaking Catholics with their Irish ‘brethren’ on the part of French-speaking Catholics is fascinating, especially for this later period and indicative that the Irish in Canada, in the minds of other ‘native’ groups, had not yet been disassociated from their homeland roots. Indeed, the language debate in Canada appears to have served somewhat as a mediating influence in the Irish question at the turn of the century.

⁶² Akenson, The Irish Diaspora, p.7.

⁶³ Akenson, Diaspora, p.16. Akenson claims that distinction is important however when discussing the Irish-born or migrant generation in relation to their offspring, for whom Ireland is probably the primary focus of identity but who have not lived within that social or political system.

⁶⁴ Akenson, Diaspora, p.261.

⁶⁵ Akenson, Diaspora, p.269.

⁶⁶ Donald Harman Akenson, Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922, An International Perspective, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988), pp.90,91.

⁶⁷ Lawrence J. McCaffrey, “A Profile of Irish America” in David N. Doyle and Owen D. Edwards eds., America and Ireland, 1776-1976 The American Identity and the Irish Connection, (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1980); Dale T. Knobel, Paddy and the Republic: Ethnicity and Nationality in Antebellum America, (Middletown Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1986); Graham J. Murphy and E.W. Pitcher, The Irish in Popular Literature in the Early American Republic: Paddy Whacking, (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000); Noel Ignatiev, How The Irish Became White, (New York: Routledge, 1995); Robert E. Kennedy, The Irish: Emigration, Marriage, and Fertility, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

⁶⁸ See James H. Webb, Born Fighting: How the Scots-Irish Shaped America, (New York: Broadway Books, 2004) and Patrick Griffin, The People With No Name: Ireland’s Ulster Scots, America’s Scots-Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

⁶⁹ Akenson, Small Differences, p.100.

⁷⁰ Akenson, Diaspora, p.260.

⁷¹ See Akenson’s ‘triple play’ on the Irish and Diaspora studies which includes the already mentioned Small Differences (chapter 3) and The Irish Diaspora (p.264) as well as Donald Harman Akenson, Being Had: Historians, Evidence and the Irish in North America, (Toronto: P.D. Meany Publishers, 1985) (chapters 2 and 3). More specific examples of Akenson’s Irish can be found in his study of Leeds and Landsdowne Township in Eastern Ontario: Donald Harman Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1984). Akenson warns that the term ‘Irish-American’ should be banned in that it is code, referring only to Catholics. “It is a doubly dangerous term, because not only does it exclude, on sectarian or racist grounds, all Protestants from being “Irish”, but it seduces the unwary reader into thinking that he or she knows more than is really the case: any generalization that concerns the ‘Irish-American’ ethnic group (meaning the Irish Catholics) excludes more than half the ethnic group, the Protestants.” Diaspora, p.252. Instead, Akenson encourages the use of more

accurate terminology such as “Irish Catholic” and “Anglo-Irish” or “Ulster-Scot” where applicable although he acknowledges that the latter two would have identified themselves as simply “Irish”. Failure to use inclusive terminology when it comes to the Irish is tantamount to writing propaganda in place of history.

⁷² Akenson’s description, in his Foreword to Bruce S. Elliott, Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988), p.xiv.

⁷³ 42 families in 1818. Elliott, p.99.

⁷⁴ 64 families in 1819, 74 families in the period 1820-24, 51 from 1825-30, 123 in 1830-34, and then 60-70 families arriving every 5 years until the mid-1850s when numbers dropped to the 20s and 30s thereafter. Elliott, p.99.

⁷⁵ Elliott, p.100 and p.86 for Fitzgerald quote. See Chapter 3, “Tensions in an Agricultural Economy”.

⁷⁶ Elliott, p.145.

⁷⁷ Elliott, pp.241-242. Elliott’s focus here is particularly on the claims made in Kerby Miller’s Emigrants and Exiles.

⁷⁸ Akenson reminds us that “...among many of the Irish, identifying as Protestant or Catholic did not necessarily imply attendance at church but, rather, tribal identity...” Small Differences, p.53. Also, “It mattered not if an individual entered his church only to be baptized and to be buried, the life he lived between those two signal events was, in the eyes of those with whom he dealt, the life of either a Protestant or a Catholic.” Small Differences, 129.

⁷⁹ Some of the more prominent works on the Irish in Canada include the aforementioned Brian Clarke’s Piety and Nationalism and Mark McGowan’s The Waning of the Green, as well as Mark G. McGowan and Brian P. Clarke eds., Catholics at the “Gathering Place”: Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841-1991, (Toronto: The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1993); Donald MacKay, Flight from Famine: The Coming of the Irish to Canada, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1990); Margaret E. Fitzgerald & Joseph A. King, The Uncounted Irish in Canada and the United States, (Toronto: P.D. Meany Publishers, 1990); Robert O’Driscoll & Lorna Reynolds, eds., The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, Volumes I and II, 1988); John J. Mannion, Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Peter M. Toner, ed., New Ireland Remembered: Historical Essays on the Irish in New Brunswick, (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1988); Thomas P. Power, ed., The Irish in Atlantic Canada, 1780-1900, (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1991); David A. Wilson, The Irish in Canada, (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989); Bruce S. Elliott, Irish Migrants in the Canadas, A New Approach, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988); Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, and Letters, (Toronto and Belfast: University of Toronto Press, Ulster Historical Foundation, 1990); and of course, Donald Akenson’s previously recognized: The Irish in Ontario, The Irish Diaspora, Being Had and Small Differences. Few provide sustained reference to Irish Protestantism and the notion of identity in relation to Catholic counterparts, Akenson being the obvious exception. While Bruce Elliott’s work is devoted to the study of 775 immigrating Protestant families to Ontario from North Tipperary, for a sustained period both well before and after the most recognized Famine year, 1847, it deals mainly with the migration process from Ireland to Canada and within Ontario. Sheelagh Conway’s The Faraway Hills Are Green: Voices of Irish Women in Canada, (Toronto: Women’s Press, 1992) is an excellent source for assessing first-hand Irish identity in Canada from both Protestant and Catholic women’s perspectives, however, beyond the initial, brief ‘History’ section, the material is based solely on personal accounts of twentieth century events.

⁸⁰ Houston and Smyth, Irish Emigration, p.4.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp.140, 180. It is worth noting with regard to the current study’s Chapter 4, that both Houston and Smyth in their descriptions of the Orange influence in British North America, along with Glenn Lockwood re: the Irish in Montague have recognized that “Irish identity was primary” in the Order – that “many of them were Irish or sons or grandsons of Irishmen” (p.181) even as late as the end of the nineteenth century, and yet historians have tended to focus on the Order’s ability to unite varying strains of Protestantism (that of Scots, English, Germans and even Mohawks) over the persistence of its ethnic character.

⁸² Ibid., p.169.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp.186,287. The somewhat glib references to Jane White having been “suitably schooled” in the “niceties and haughtiness of bourgeois respectability”; of her having been “an only child” – and perhaps a spoiled one – for “in their luggage was Jane’s piano, and they were accompanied by a servant” (p.287); of her having been “an *unmarried* woman of twenty-nine” and then having “died... *unmarried*” (p.290); and the apparent incredulity that Jane could be “oblivious” to a unique system of land survey that distinguished mid-nineteenth century Goderich (and was obviously of interest to Historical Geographers), indicate that Houston and Smyth may not have fully appreciated the interests and perspective of a young (18-29 year old), Irish female far from home. They write that Jane “talks dispiritedly about marriage” (p.290) to her newly-married friend Eleanor in Ireland, when in fact Jane appears to have quite genuinely wished Eleanor well and rather resolutely “fully agree[d] with you in saying matrimony is fate, *so is a single life too*. Everyone has their vocations marked out so if we do our duty well and choose the one thing needful it is all that is required.” (p.301) Although the authors claim her letters as “fine examples of social honesty”, they also describe her “inspection” as “naïve”, her “ire” as “roused” and her “tongue”, “ascerbic” (see fn. 35, p.72, Chapter 2 of the current study). Jane White was literate, observant, reflective, somewhat privileged, opinionated and unmarried and some of these characteristics may indeed have been atypical for a woman in her time and place. However, by concluding that the great regional variation in point of origin for Irish emigrants to Canada negates the possibility of describing any Irish ‘type’ (except in Newfoundland) Houston and Smyth disregard the very purpose of Jane’s letters home which, like those of so many of her Irish Protestant sisters, served the important purpose of keeping her rooted in her Irishness. As Chapter 5 of this study shows, in many of the so-called ‘small’ ways, Jane’s experience as an “unwilling immigrant” (Houston and Smyth, p.290) was typical of Ireland’s daughters abroad. After more than a decade of living in Canada, Jane had *not* been integrated into “this strange country where I do not feel disposed for society as I would be at home.”(p.301) Emphasis mine.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.247,249,241, 251.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.339,337.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.235.

⁸⁷ Mannion, *Irish Settlements*, p.v.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.168-169.

⁸⁹ Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora*, p.9.

⁹⁰ Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora*, p.27.

⁹¹ Akenson, *Small Differences*, p.131.

⁹² Akenson, *Being Had*, p.194.

⁹³ Akenson, *Small Differences*, p.101.

⁹⁴ ‘Seeming Contrarities’ is the title of Akenson’s fourth chapter in *Small Differences*. Akenson, *Being Had*, p.194.

⁹⁵ Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora*, pp.273, 269 and 274. Although he does not completely commit, Akenson’s Irish as late as the 1870s, appear to be in charge in Ontario. “If we take... the year 1870 as our vantage point, a New World in which the Irish were prepotent *would have* (emphasis mine) been characterized by a tight sense of law and order, strong police services, an excellent system of public education, governmental financial support for Catholic schools, a strong sense of religious participation by both Protestant and Catholics, sectarian bickering between the two groups, an efficient agricultural economy and a rapidly modernizing urban sector, and a sense on the part of most persons of Irish ethnicity that it was a good thing that they (or their parents or their grandparents) had taken the heroic decision to leave Ireland and to create something new, half a world away.” p.269. In Ontario, it was so and Akenson’s point is not lost. Yes, as David Noel Doyle points out, the insight is brilliant, it argues for an “inter-Irish co-partnership” for a much longer period in Canada than in the US, but this is as close to a description of the characteristics of thriving Irish Protestant (and Catholic) identity as Akenson gets in this piece and from the current work’s standpoint, it does not coalesce for group identity to ‘disappear’ into privilege. See David Noel Doyle, “Review Article: Cohesion and Diversity in the Irish Diaspora” in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxi, no.123 (May 1999), p.424, fn41.

CHAPTER TWO**FROM GREEN FIELDS TO GOLDEN SHORES**

Hugh: What a view!

Sarah: What can you see?

Hugh: The whole world! I believe I can see the whole world – all the way back to Antrim. [HE WAVES.]
Afternoon, brother Henry. How ye doin'? I'm glad to hear it. Me? Oh I'm just dandy now. Can't
complain. The farm? As well as can be expected for a man only here three years. Four times the
size of your holding. And my barn's ten times the size of your'n! ... What do you think, wife? ...

Ruth: It's good as any I've seen.

Hugh: Better I think.

From Heritage, a play by Nicola McCartney, a Traverse Theatre Programme Playscript, 1998.

Sarah: Oh God! Oh my God! It's broke.

Michael: It's only an old jug.

Sarah: Did anybody see? ... So stupid! What am I goin to do? ... Quick! Pick the pieces up. ...

RUTH ENTERS.

Sarah: I'm sorry.

Ruth: I told you to be careful.

Sarah: I know my Granny gave it to you. ... I'm really, really sorry. ... Maybe Granny will send you a
new one if you ask her.

Ruth: I carried it with me the whole way here.

Sarah: Maybe we can get some of that glue and stick it back together again.

Ruth: It won't be fixed now.

Sarah: I can try.

Ruth: No. It's broken. Let it be.

From Heritage, a play by Nicola McCartney, a Traverse Theatre Programme Playscript, 1998.

In Heritage, Nicola McCartney's Irish Canadian characters struggle with the contrasts and transitions in life from old to new, male to female, generation to generation, and particularly, Irish to Canadian, dramatizing the focus for the following chapter: the initial process of bringing Ireland to Canada and the resulting transatlantic identity that lingered as long as the Irish continued to come to Canada. For nineteenth century Irish emigrants, Canada represented a place of opportunity but not of identity. Contrary to much of the current historiography on the Irish in Canada, Irish Protestants did not quickly and easily 'blend', 'disappear', 'become privileged' or in any other manner, adopt a transcending English-Canadian identity simply because of a religion, allegiance, class or colour that they may have held in common with what was intended to be the dominant culture. In fact, in the early decades of the nineteenth-century, Irish Protestants arrived in Canada largely in reaction to great political, social, cultural and religious upheavals in the homeland: they deliberately sought to replicate or re-establish the Ireland they had always known but was now seriously threatened by their Catholic countrymen's infant but growing claim on nationality. Canada, for a good portion of the nineteenth century offered the opportunity for Protestant Irishmen to be Irishmen still and sometimes, even more Irish than they had been before they left. Sense of place in this regard was extremely important for Irish Protestants who lamented not just the leaving, but also the potential losing of Ireland. The result was a transatlantic identity – one wherein the emigrant's frame of reference, despite decades in the new colony and very real opportunities for social and economic betterment, remained the homeland, sometimes for generations. The strength of that identity was based in more than just simple anti-

catholicism, it had much to do with a community solidarity that was the result of a strong historic folklore, local loyalties, kinship ties, and a commonly held determination to plant the familiar in new and uncertain territory.

This chapter attempts to describe Irish Protestant identity in the homeland as it stood on the eve of embarkation and suggests that the rapid politico-religious and social changes occurring in post-rebellion Ireland caused Irish Protestants in particular to seek elsewhere, more steady and familiar reflections of the Ireland they had known. For some, the initial determination, despite leaving, to have Ireland still, in Canada, was intended to be temporary. Some emigrants, like Wilson Benson and Frances Stewart, sought the means to return again more skilled and better off than they had been when they left. For most Irish emigrants however, (including Benson and Stewart) the decision to leave became a permanent one and therefore the necessity of recreating familiar Irish neighbourhoods and cultural forms took on urgent and important meaning. This chapter also probes some of the tensions that surrounded the concerns and fears of certain immigrants who sensed that such wild upheaval - emigration - had somehow 'changed them in their notions'. It finds that their subsequent and repeat affirmations of Irishness, of sustained connection, and recurring searches for sense of place, reveal that contrary to Canada being the 'next step over from Scotland in a process of continued migration', or to conforming early and quickly to a larger Anglo-Canadian identity, Irish Protestants arrived very Irish, were very Irish and stayed very Irish – for generations, in their new surroundings. The nineteenth century saw the building of a unique connection between

Ireland and Canada. The scale of Ireland's move to the New World had been without precedent:

Few countries in the world have ever experienced such rapid, intensive, and long-lasting demographic upheaval. Notwithstanding this upheaval and the implicit social separations, the Irish emigrations were not a haphazard process. The decision to emigrate took place in a social circle of kin and neighbours. Destinations were carefully chosen on the basis of knowledge gathered through the successive migrational experiences of other kin and other neighbours, and those accumulated experiences were firmly entrenched in local lore. Districts of Ireland were reproduced in the New World as micro-geographies of home, and the connections tended to be self-perpetuating and long-lasting.¹

Indeed, as will be seen, Irishman, Sam McAughtrey, a full century after the height of Ireland's transfer to Canada had been reached, would still recognize that place as the special preserve of Irish Protestants. And after many, many years in the new place, emigrants Edmund Lettson of Glenavy and William Hill of Ballynure, would prove to be most certainly, County Antrim men still. Likewise, the most memorable and important characteristics of immigrants like Wilson Benson and Frances Stewart were not their mobility or pioneering spirit as has been indicated, it was their Irishness. Sense of place and the ability to successfully reconstruct such in familiar terms in the New World, played a key role in the ability of so many Irish Protestants on Canadian soil in the nineteenth century to remain Irish until well into the next.

Nicola McCartney's playscript Heritage, introduces a number of the chapters in this thesis. It is special in that its focus is entirely and intensely upon 'identity' and how for the Irish in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, that could mean a multiplicity of very complex and historied things. McCartney's characters are captured at the very moment that they appear to be confronted with the fact that the future had the potential to

make them something new. For few, their response on new soil is to make a different, better day. For many, it is to become more deeply rooted in whence they came; mired in all that had once been requisite to keep them there, and determined to replicate that which may now be being lost at home. The Ireland they had left was certainly changing and for some, Canada became the chance to piece it back together. For much of the nineteenth century, Canada was a land of opportunity but not of identity. Emigration was both admired and pitied – the ‘curse of the country’ – at the same time, and success in settlement did not preclude loyalty to Ireland for either Catholic or Protestant far from home. In Heritage, third generation Irish Canadian, Michael Donaghue, a Catholic, states to his newly arrived, Irish Protestant neighbour and love interest, Sarah McCrae: “I will go to Ireland one day. ... To see where I come from.” Sarah assures him that “Canada is a far better country than Ireland. ... Because of lots of reasons. Because you can grow peaches here.”² Things grow in Canada that did not have the potential to do so in Ireland: witness their relationship. Both struggle with ‘who’ they are: Michael, the product of a mixed marriage, his Protestant mother mysteriously absent, but cursed by his Catholic paternal grandmother whose anger over her own son’s rejection of Irish nationalism knows no bounds, is the Canadian-born but inherently-Irish son of a declared Canadian father and Young Ireland grandfather. Sarah is torn by her close connection to her Orangeman father but rejection of the politics that keep him mentally more rooted in Ireland’s past than fictional Yorkton’s future. Sarah’s father’s Old World ambitions far outweigh his New World realities. Her mother’s bitterness for having had to leave her Irish home and suspicion of all things Catholic is equal to Michael’s grandmother’s, yet

ironically, Ruth rejects the institutional anti-Catholicism of her husband's Orangeism in favor of a more pious Protestantism, censuring drinking, swearing, and extolling hard work and above all, duty. Each claims 'Irishness' for themselves, but are far more concerned with that of each other, and in the end the similarities are impossible to deny. Both fathers, Donaghue and McCrae, agree on separate occasions: "Ah, well. We're all in the same boat out here, aren't we?" but "It's hard when they don't take after you."³

This chapter demonstrates that Irish Protestants in nineteenth century Ontario did not, as Hugh McCrae put it, "take after" either the host society, the 'English Canada' they joined or the strictly defined, but now rapidly changing society they left, when they uprooted themselves from Ireland's green fields seeking better fortunes on Canada's once fabled golden shores. Ireland's green fields would serve as a framework for a continued identity in Canada – the replication of such place names as Cavan, Omagh, Londonderry, Monaghan, Corktown, and Erin suggest that Ireland, perhaps especially Protestant Ireland by its numbers, was transplanted in Canada.⁴ A too easy acceptance that Irish Protestants on Canadian soil quickly adopted a transcending British identity has failed to capture the essence of more than half the Irish population in the nineteenth century, a period in which those who had regarded themselves for well over a century as *the* Irish Nation, were being challenged by Catholic Emancipation, rising Nationalism, and high volume emigration. In '*Religion and Irish Identity*', John A. Murphy probes the historical process of changing Irish identity and captures the uncertainty during the period of Ireland's greatest emigration, between the Act of Union and the apogee of O'Connellite agitation thus: "When I was a boy", said one of the Beresfords in some bewilderment, "the Irish

people” meant the Protestants: now it means the Roman Catholics.’ In J.C. Beckett’s words, ‘a Protestant might still be an Irishman; but he was on the way to becoming an Irishman with a difference.’”⁵ Canada offered the opportunity to stem that tide for a time: a Protestant Irishman here, could maintain his Irishness, but in a manner less threatened. The current study attempts to address in part, that “Protestant ethos” that for Murphy, outside of a siege mentality, allegiance to the Crown and politically motivated church attendance, as well as being *not* Catholic, “continues to elude definition.”⁶ Although Murphy hints that Protestant Irishness might also allow for a “sense of community solidarity based on an equally strong historical folklore and on local loyalties as well...” he emphasizes its alienation: “Protestant religious consciousness has had a largely negative expression, that is, fear and distrust of Catholicism.”⁷

There was, of course, much more to *the Irish nation* as it had been known and as it was ultimately transferred to Canada in the nineteenth century in the face of much upheaval in the homeland. According to J.C. Beckett, far from there having been an ‘English conquest’ of Ireland, as far back as the twelfth century, any English inroads in Ireland had been more the result of lack of ‘native Irish’ unity than any aggressive determination to subdue a people. Independence, resistance, and authority had all been very locally-based and therefore limited, and Ireland, by the end of the thirteenth century had not only had a history of submitting to the King’s authority, but also the benefit of its own parliament with which, it now began to view itself as somewhat of a parallel country in its colonized parts. Although Ireland had by this time seen its share of people inhabitants: from ‘Normans’ to ‘Old English’ (Catholics) to ‘Native Irish’, ‘Ulster-Scots’

and ‘New English’ (Protestants) to name but a few, any notion of Ireland as a nation state (as was to develop so prominently in the nineteenth century) up to this point, had been strictly an English-inspired idea. Indeed, Beckett points out that by the very beginning of the ‘Protestant century’ (1690-1800) in Ireland, some families prominent in that order, had had Irish connections for over a century themselves, thereby making the so-called ‘New English’ in Ireland, in fact, quite old and Irish.⁸ By the latter half of the seventeenth century, this group had come to strongly identify themselves as *the* Irish nation and Ireland as *their* country, such that the close of the Cromwellian Settlement/Restoration period marked the beginning of “a new intensity and a new meaning to the cleavage between Roman Catholic and Protestant; from this time onward religion and politics [somewhat artificially] were more closely identified than ever before.”⁹ The Williamite Wars eased some of the more immediate insecurities the soon-to-be Protestant Ascendancy/*the* Irish Nation had maintained prior to the signing of the Treaty of Limerick in 1691 and the subsequent enactment of the ‘penal laws’: “now they formed a large and well-established population spread through all ranks of society; still a minority, it is true, but a minority whose political and economic strength gave it a dominant position in the country.”¹⁰ However, this position was held jealously, along with the view that the loyalty of Roman Catholics could not be trusted, not so much because of the ‘error of their faith’ as S.J. Connolly indicates, but rather because the political stance of their Church was seen to require both total opposition to ‘heresy’ and total obedience to the Pope.¹¹

Using the 17th and 18th century voices of William Molyneux, Sir Jonah Barrington, Johnathan Swift, Henry Grattan, Edmund Burke and Theobald Wolfe Tone, Beckett constructs the Anglo-Irish tradition through time revealing that the Protestant Irish saw themselves as the inheritors and defenders of the separate but equal constitutional rights and liberties of the ancient Kingdom of Ireland against any encroachments from England. Subject to the Crown, but not England's parliament, the Anglo-Irish upheld the authority of the lawfully established Church of Ireland and were prepared to defend what they saw as their unique and sacred position as a self-governing, sister kingdom, representative of the people of Ireland, through such traditions as its volunteer army (established during the Revolutionary period and the subsequent threats of invasion to Ireland) and later, its yeomanry, the bulk of which, were made up of ordinary men. Reminiscent of what the Orange Order would look like in Ontario a century later, Beckett explains how

The volunteers, with their highly-coloured uniforms, brass cannons, parades and reviews, dominated the social life of the Anglo-Irish for the next few years. But they did much more: they provided a forum for public opinion. Their military services were not needed – there was no invasion and no fighting – and they were free to turn their attention to politics. They met to discuss the affairs of the kingdom as well as to exercise themselves in arms... Ireland's claim to constitutional equality with England took on a new character when supported by 100,000 armed men.¹²

Anglo-Ireland was also characterized by a certain level of fluidity amongst its classes, despite its prominent though not numerically dominant landlord class, in a way that was not as open to Irish Roman Catholics. This general Protestant combination allowed for the potential rise of sons of farmers and skilled labour into a gentleman's education and thereafter to "good society"¹³ and successful professional careers as seen through the life

and leadership of such men as Theobald Wolfe Tone. The Anglo-Irishmen of Beckett's portrait also demonstrated varying attitudes toward their fellow Catholic countrymen.¹⁴ A sense of separateness and distinction, of historic longevity and an ancient homeland, of being *the* people of Ireland, of loyalty and solidarity, of distrust for Englishmen, of continuing protection for the rights and interests of Ireland as they saw them, of Church authority and a particular brand of Anglicanism, of localised military tradition, and of "uneasiness"¹⁵ regarding their relations with their Catholic neighbours were all characteristics of the Protestant Irish who, in the early nineteenth century sought Canada, not accidentally, as a place to re-establish what appeared to be being lost at home. This piece attempts to describe the transplantation of these identities and systems of social relations in Canada as more than simply antecedent anti-Catholicism and do more, as the historian, John Murphy has indicated, toward "separating 'Catholic' from 'Irish', indeed separating 'religion' from 'Irish'... Desectionalising our identity and finding a wider and more transcendent base for our nationality is a vital task for our time. ...only through such a process of separation can we have any hope of reversing Swift's mordant judgement on our condition: 'We have just enough religion... to make us hate, but not enough to make us love one another.'"¹⁶

Murphy's 'wider and more transcendent base' for nationality is within the realm of what historian, John G.A. Pocock called for when his 'plea for a new subject' in the 1970s later sparked the 'new British history' of the 1990s and the subsequent view of British peoples (plural) forming an archipelago of histories, sometimes competing, sometimes seceding, in which the 'antipodean perspective' – being the colonial or 'lands

of settlement' view – is not always relegated to the periphery. Indeed, Pocock envisioned Britain itself as yet another archipelago (“not the promontory of a continent”¹⁷) within a much larger, oceanic transfer of culture and identities, settlements and contacts, wherein histories were transplanted, but were “never quite at home”¹⁸. For Pocock, reviving ‘British history’ requires a pluralist approach, one that considers the interactions of multiple nations and peoples – Pocock uses the term “derivative cultures” – since what has been presented before, has either been “histories of England” with Scots, Welsh, Irish, Americans, Canadians, etc. appearing in the wings as “peripheral peoples” responding to English events, or the writing of very separate, almost unrelated, nationally-based historiographic traditions.¹⁹ While Pocock readily admits an English dominance within the Atlantic Archipelago, and the value behind the study of that ‘old subject’ of English history, the new view promises to expand those senses of identity contained within the rubrics defined as Scottish, English and Irish and perhaps even further, within Ulster-Scot, Highlander, Anglo-Irish and Catholic Irish, although Pocock, for “simplicity’s sake” very tentatively states that the “Welshmen, Orangemen and Orkneymen” may not have the historiographic traditions of their own to sustain such.²⁰

According to Pocock, transatlantic settlement, extending to Canada, provided ‘British history’ particularly in the aftermath of the American Revolution, “with a continuing *outramer* in which the conflict of cultures and the creation of sub-cultures went on as it had been shaped in the archipelago proper. ... [So much so] that even today [1973] it may be desirable in parts of Ontario to know who is Loyalist, who is Orange, who is Catholic and who is Highland.”²¹ *The Discovery of Islands* then, is the

very important recognition of multiple identities within what has traditionally been known as a more narrowly defined British history. It inherently accepts and desires to probe, in the archipelagic sense, what may more accurately be described as transatlantic or ‘tangential’ identities by focusing on the tensions, transformations and interactions which characterized these cultures in direct reference to one another. Recognizing a shared British history or “inheritance” within Pocock’s archipelago is only half the battle however, what remains with respect to particular ‘islands’, is “to explain the internal development of each one of them.”²² This study seeks to connect several of Pocock’s islands more directly and respond to his nudging that history be presented, particularly by those who represent what he calls the “star clusters” amidst the larger system (those outside of the main historiographic traditions and in former colonial settings) by seeking not to classify one single heavenly body, but rather, find “new and interesting ways of defining... [each star’s] tangential identity by remapping the various systems within which it moves.”²³ Pocock’s emphasis on this type of movement is key to this work’s focus on the processes of bringing Ireland to Canada, for Irish Protestant identity arrived largely intact, and stayed that way (despite some change due to the softening influences of space and time) because of the deliberate, well-calculated and homeland-connected, recreation of identifiably Irish systems abroad. Away from home, these systems often found even more potent expression, and Irishness could at times bubble over, whether it be in the form of eagerness to greet a fellow Irishman regardless of his religion, the mind’s eye determination to see the Boyne River at Navan in the flowing of the Otonabee, the unsurpassed proliferation of Orange lodges in such far off places, the

necessity of maintaining ‘Roman lines’ with or without numbers of Roman Catholics, or the highly influential ‘enthusiasms’ of Trinity’s Churchmen as witnessed in the field. Throughout the nineteenth century, Irish emigrants, including Protestants, left Ireland’s green fields in order to come to Canada where they found the once-fabled golden shores to be in fact, quite green.

When Sam McAughtrey, an Irish Protestant reporter who identified Canada as the favorite place of Irish Protestants to emigrate, was lately asked to address Canadian curiosity about Irish Protestant identity, he made common cause with his audience and in effect, formed a one-man bridge between the two countries: past and the present. “I said, “Well, I know something about Canada – in 1943 I saw a Canadian regiment beating the tar out of a French Canadian regiment on the streets of Swindon!” It was a sight to see, we all came out to the door of the public house with our pints of beer in our hands and watched them. It was some fight, and I thought to myself, well, Northern Ireland is not the only place where they get excited about politics.”²⁴ Getting down to the nitty gritty, McAughtrey simply and effectively laid bare the centuries’ old, complex associations which have made Irish Protestant identity in both the homeland and Canada a confusing jumble of history and tribalism that has apparently best been left understood as something akin to being English or more accurately, *wanting* to be English. He revealed:

...here is the Protestant identity that you have come here to hear: it is this, that the Protestants where I was born and bred regarded themselves and still regard themselves as under threat, with their backs to the sea. Their friends are not in Britain, they know that. Their friends are not in the twenty-six counties and their friends are not in the half of the six counties where Catholics live. ... So this was our fear: that we were about to be swamped if we did not keep the Catholic’s down. It was never put in those words and I’m using my words for a retrospective situation. The slogan was “Not an inch – we would suffer.”²⁵

McAughtrey was far from being simply ‘British’, in fact he blamed Britain for a good portion of the escalation in Ireland’s historic troubles and although he was speaking from a twentieth century vantage point, his description of himself spoke for so many Irish Protestants, past and present. “...although I wished to remain a member of the United Kingdom, I am still Irish, I’m proud of being Irish, I don’t deny it - ... I don’t... manufacture my own history in order to un-Irish.”²⁶ It is highly conceivable (and indeed will be demonstrated) that a great many of the nineteenth-century Irish Protestants boarding ships in Cork, Londonderry, Belfast or Dublin a full century before McAughtrey’s twentieth century observations, probably shared much of his perspective. It is also highly conceivable that a great many of McAughtrey’s pugilistic Canadians in Swindon may have boasted Irish Protestant roots. Little changed regarding the Irish Protestant perspective – that concern over where they might find their friends – as McAughtrey so intimately shared, and holdover strains of the same could be found in Canada as late as World War II. Canada’s vastness offered an alternative to having to ‘un-Irish’ and this, in no small part was behind the decision of so many, feeling the ‘taut atmosphere’ of the great changes that would close ‘the Protestant century’ in Ireland, to open up a new one in Canada.

In 1859, after a tour of Canada, the Scottish writer Charles Mackay showed he was familiar with this phenomenon when he answered his own question: ““Who then are the classes that should emigrate to Canada? ...should be well and thoroughly debated by all who, not having elbow room at home, imagine that they must of necessity have greater scope in America.””²⁷ ‘Elbow room’, in the first three decades of the nineteenth century

was exactly what the majority of Irish Protestants seeking passage on ships to the New World required in order to avoid what McAughtrey identified over a century later, as having to ‘un-Irish’. Indeed, *this* was the reason that Canada would become the ‘favourite place of Irish Protestants’. A new and quite Protestant Ireland had been being steadily recreated across the sea since the close of the Napoleonic Wars, and Canada, a place that had the potential to resemble the Ireland many Protestants had known before the rebellions and sectarian vigilantism, before the tithe agitations and restrictions on the Established Church, before the ‘Monster Meetings’ and the threat of Catholic Emancipation, allowed for the reclamation of an ‘Irishness’ that was quickly and exclusively being claimed by Catholics at home. Though he did not specifically identify the Irish as the perfect candidates for felling Canada’s forests for fields, Charles MacKay did speak to those “...who ought not to emigrate... as those who expect to live by their brains; by trade, commerce, or professions of any kind. Neither clerks or shipment, nor men with ready pens, or readier tongues, should try their fortunes in Canada. Such men are always to be had in young communities in greater number than young communities require, and are useless in a country where rough work is to be done; and where one good blacksmith, stonemason, or ploughman, is worth half-a-dozen clerks, and a score of barristers.”²⁸ In other words, Canada offered the opportunity of better fortune in the future for those who were willing to exert themselves physically; ideological or religious efforts were far less necessary, though these too most certainly and quite necessarily, filled the baggage of the Irish bound for Canada. As the Irish referred to it, *Hi Brasail Tír nan Óg*, was the Enchanted Land of the Young... the New World.”²⁹

When Thomas Magrath, formerly of Co. Roscommon, now Erindale, wrote home to Ireland comparatively some three decades earlier, he confirmed Mackay's depiction of the hard work required of preferably young, emigrants. He also confirmed that the trip had been worth it. "When we first came here, our hands were soft and delicate, as those of a lady, from being unused to laborious occupation, but seeing every one around us employed at manual works – magistrates, senators, counselors and colonels, without any feeling of degradation, we fairly set to, in the spirit of emulative industry, and have already exhibited pretty fair specimens of our efforts in clearing land, and afterwards ploughing it."³⁰ Magrath was convinced that he had found a new and perhaps better, Ireland in Canada. "When we contrast our peaceful and tranquil state here, with the turbulence of Ireland, our hearts overflow with gratitude to the Being who has cast our lot, where neither bars nor bolts are necessary, where neither Indian nor settler will molest; where we can leave our property lying carelessly around us, even in the solitude of the night, and where capital punishment has occurred only in three or four instances during many years."³¹ Still, Magrath comforted his audience [and conceivably himself]; not everything had changed, his locale might be different, but his sense of place remained the same:

We have had, however, lest you should suppose us to be too perfect a set of beings, an Irish row or two. Some of our countrymen, in a drunken *frolic*, lately attacked the landlord of a tavern in which they had been drinking; broke every thing in his bar and pursued him into the Bush. Fortunately for him, he met one of his own men with a loaded rifle, which he seized; being closely pressed, he took refuge in a shanty, where two of the ruffians attacked him in front, while a third endeavoured to pounce upon him through the roof, with the *benevolent* design of battering out his brains (à la Tipperary,) with a stave. [Magrath was unfazed.] A solitary instance of outrage need not alarm or deter a settler; let a man determine to *exert* himself, and, with even moderate capital, and health, he must prosper; if

he be devoid of energy and become embarrassed, he will be ruined here... But the vexatious and useless severities of the English laws, as they relate to debtor and creditor are mitigated in this colony by local statutes; no one here can be arrested for debt on mesne process.³²

Sense of place was also an important comfort to William Radcliff. Writing to Arthur Radcliff in 1832, from Adelaide, Upper Canada, William believed his new environment was almost as perfect as it could be, save only one regard: it was not Ireland. “I have now told you many of the favourable circumstances of the country, which are decidedly very great; still, however, an *Irish* day of recollection, sinking the spirits down, down! will occur; and sometimes, notwithstanding the outrages and the murders, the politics, and the poverty of that unhappy country, I would give all I am worth to be walking beside you, shooting the Enfield bottoms, as in those happy days we have spent together; again these feeling vanish, when I look at my rich land, unencumbered by rent or taxes, and ask myself, if I *were* back again, how could I command such certain independence. ... They say here, that once we see the crops growing, we shall never think of home again, but this is a bold assertion.”³³ Mary O’Brien, an Englishwoman, married to an Irishman neighbour, whose “Irishisms” kept her thoroughly amused, left an invaluable account of emigrant life in Upper Canada in the early decades of the nineteenth century. She had been told that “People do not fully appreciate the advantages of this country till they have returned from it... [There were] numberless instances of persons who had come here and who had grumbled at the inconveniences to which they were subjected... [but] when they returned... [home] they found that they could not be at rest till they came back again.” For Mary, like William, the great struggle for that all-important sense of place, that gave one a “feeling of

strangeness... was well nigh done away with as we walked through the streets where everything and everybody looked so perfectly English.”³⁴ Relatively few emigrants would have had the opportunity to test O’Brien’s or Radcliff’s indulgent thoughts about the returned immigrant, for in most cases, especially in this early period, family resources were used up in the getting here; the going home again would be left only for the mind’s eye.

The New World may have looked “perfectly English” to Mary O’Brien, but it was in fact, particularly Irish. The six surviving letters of Jane White, of Goderich, U.C. formerly County Down, Ireland, reveal something of the national tensions, prominence and solidarity amongst Irish Protestants that existed in her community after the mid-century mark. Cecil Houston and William Smyth highlight the great value that

Jane’s letters offer [being] a rare glimpse at the unabashed and simple prejudice that marked much of the Protestant Irish bourgeoisie in British North America. ... She liked neither Americans nor Catholics, and her love for the English was not much greater. Except for the Irish Protestant group to which she belonged, the other ethnic groups in the town fared badly under Jane’s naïve inspection and felt her acerbic tongue. ... All in all she did not like most of the people, she did not like the town, and she would have preferred to have been in Ireland.³⁵

Jane’s own clergyman and his family were not immune to the critical opinion which readily filled the descriptive pages she provided her Irish friend, Eleanor, when comparing her new home to her old. However, happily for the rector, he belonged to a particularly large and influential group that Jane obviously identified as her ‘type’ of people (being Irish and Protestant) and was therefore spared further measurement than merely being ‘cocked up’ and cold to the Orangemen. “If they were an English family I would have no mercy for them but seeing they are Irish I would put up with their every

fault because there will always be a kind feeling remaining but I declare the English here would have no objection to bore the ears of the Irish through like the Bond servants of old but they are not able for the Irish; they are too numerous for them. The Scotch too lean to Ireland most.”³⁶ Although Jane “suggested an Irish empathy for Scots”³⁷, perhaps as natives of another country that had experienced English oppression, her own considerations like those of McGrath and Radcliff, were obviously for Ireland and eleven years after her arrival at Grosse-Isle, she was perhaps more Irish than when she left. Even though “the grain never looked better than it does this year [and] there is a prospect of an abundance of everything which should make everyone thankful...”, the past decade had not yet mitigated the hardships of “...this strange country where I do not feel disposed for society as I would be at home. The people are not so good or simple in their habits as in Ireland, not the same humility.”³⁸ Jane White in Goderich was fully surrounded by the people of her homeland but her sense of place, her home, was at varying times, still half the world away. “I would like one of those long walks with you up the Belfast road. Sometimes when alone and I begin to think I often wish for my old home and then change again in my notion and try to fancy myself happier here.”³⁹ As Jane attempted to surround herself with the things of ‘home’, (“...enclose me a little Mignonette seed and a little wallflower seed you will do me a great favour”⁴⁰), and planted old prejudices in new soil, (“The Roman Catholics seem an enthusiastic people. I never liked any I ever knew”⁴¹), she inadvertently revealed that Upper Canada’s “restless changing spirit”⁴² may have held some sway over her sectarian inheritance, perhaps ‘changing her in her notion’, for she did admit to being “...slightly acquainted with a lady *here* of that persuasion”⁴³,

but had dropped such upon her mother's 'advice'. In her search for the familiar, for social companions, and for new opportunities, Jane White declared herself to be Irish, which in her time and place, meant she was not English, assuredly not Catholic, neither Colonial nor Republican, definitely not Canadian, but as she herself recognized, if she was not entirely different yet, she was also not quite the same. Jane White was an Irishwoman who had become open, for a time, to the idea of an extended friendship with a fellow countrywoman of the Catholic persuasion. She had also revealed herself to have been quite charmed by the "pretty", "gaily dressed" steamboat pleasure cruise that had sailed out of Quebec on the Sunday after her arrival at Grosse Isle and greeted her ship with its band playing that most Irish of songs: "Garry Owen" despite it being the "Lord's Day" and its passengers, "Papists".⁴⁴

In the Introduction to their voluminous collection of scholarly works on the Irish in Canada, The Untold Story, Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds claim that "From the very beginning, both the Northern Protestant and the Southern Catholic were sensitive to the subtle suggestions of their new land. ... Whatever it was about Canada – the sense of vast space extending in all directions, or the alteration of clearly defined seasons – the clear air of Canada has produced a psychologically calming effect on the Northern Irish Protestant and the Southern Irish Catholic."⁴⁵ This is not to suggest that emigrants, particularly Irish Protestants (who hailed from the South too), in nineteenth century Canada experienced a loosening or rejecting of their Irishness. In fact, for many, the ties to home became even more important. Like Jane White, Frances Stewart, Thomas Magrath, and others, author William Perkins Bull points to

The Verners, [who] if present, would have interesting stories to tell. They crossed from Enniskillen to Montreal in 1843 [later ending up in Peel County], taking thirteen weeks for the journey. James brought his wife, his three daughters and three sons... Through Thomas, the eldest, a clergyman who remained in Ireland, the Verners were in constant touch with their kindred who had played so large a part in Orange history in Counties Tyrone, Derry and Fermanagh. They knew what was going on at home and they knew it with a wealth of intimate detail.⁴⁶

For a good portion of the Irish Protestant identity of families like the Verners to be parlayed successfully in Canada, frequent reference to homeland history (and subsequently Irish Catholics) was required. The Verners took pains to connect themselves, despite the miles now between them, to their kindred whose sense of place in the homeland had been defined by Orangeism and in this way, their sense of importance in establishing community in the new place, came right along with them. In the New World however, frequent referencing to homeland cultural traits – such as views on Irish Catholics - did not always constitute a negative thing. Jane White had contemplated taking up an acquaintance with an Irish Catholic woman and were it not for her mother's 'timely' interference, she may have had reason to feel less lonely in Goderich. Thomas McGrath seemed almost comforted by occasions for the 'outrage' of an 'Irish row or two'⁴⁷, and as we shall see, it is the arrival of Peter Robinson's Catholic settlers in the near woods that determine not only the Thomas Stewart family's decision to press on in Douro as neighbours, but also to support their fellow countrymen in a very public way. Indeed, recognition (if not acceptance) rather than rejection was often the case between Irishmen and Irishwomen in Canada. Kildare Dobbs has explained that "the story of the Irish in Canada is one of gradual reconciliation ... between the two kinds of Irishmen. ... it has been possible for Irish Canadians, with the detachment of their new allegiance [in

time], to see that whatever causes may have divided the Irish and set them against one another, the two kinds of Irish are more alike than they are different. The very rigidity with which they cling to their divisions is a common trait.”⁴⁸ Accommodations between both sides, such that the proposed construction of a Catholic Church might find subscriptions from Protestant neighbours – events far less likely to have occurred in Ireland - were possible in Irish Canada where the one thing that truly united the two sides was an Irish identity without earthly distinction.

Irish identity was not only important in the relations of emigrants, Protestant to Catholic and vice versa, it was also important with regard to the stamp it placed on Canada as an emerging colony of new emigrants. It can be argued that it took much longer for the Irish in Canada to become Canadian than it did for parts of Canada to become quite Irish. Despite some of historiography’s accusations, the Protestant Irish do not appear to have too readily or too willingly blended in with any dominant, anglo-culture in ‘amerikey’.⁴⁹ Irishness, it seems, was far too distinct, and in the case of nineteenth century Irish Protestants, that was best exhibited in Ontario by numerous place names on maps, loyal lodges at crossroads, a quite separate Anglican tradition and school system, and on a smaller but no less important scale, the presence of orange lilies in gardens, and Belfast newspapers on tables. William M. Baker, rejecting not only any Catholic claim on Irishness, but also the sobriquet of ‘God’s Unfortunate People’ that historiography has fostered, points to Canada as a place where Irishness had influence. “...‘adjustment’ was a two-way process. Canadian society ‘accommodated’ to the Irish not just the reverse.”⁵⁰ Akenson explains that “The Irish adapted to their new physical

surroundings and assimilated with the existing society: but, because of the numerical prepotence and the singular institutional strengths of the Irish, the existing culture made an equally great adjustment. To a remarkable degree, it underwent assimilation to them.”⁵¹ Although one might be tempted to expand on Akenson’s refutation of the Irish being specific to ‘the cities’, and, incorporating the greater populace of rural Irish, claim: “the Irish were more important to [Canada] than [Canada was] to the Irish”⁵², a more accurate reflection probably lies somewhere in between. The Irish were undoubtedly important to Canada but to the Irish, Canada was new and uncontested ground and because there was so much of it, the victories of ancient Irish battles in the homeland that had claimed essential territories, lost some of their most immediate potency. In Canada, Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant found they could now meet in a much more symbolic contest, where all that was required of the loser was to shrug his shoulders and assent to the *next best* piece of land over in an unsurveyed or unpopulated township. Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein have shown, “...ethnic affiliations should not be understood as ascribed states, inherited from the past,... [rather] ethnic identities and communities are generated,... in the interaction between prior cultural standards and immediate conditions.”⁵³ Jane White’s and her neighbours’ Irishness therefore is best understood as a transatlantic identity, one in transition, one that takes to task the notion of an all-encompassing Englishness forming just one half (the other being French) of Canada’s nineteenth-century identity but also one that searched for and found new ways to respond to, the ‘things of home’ even if sometimes, they were Catholic. Irish Protestants arrived in Canada as undoubtedly Irish, and the strengths of that culture

straddled distance and generations. How else does one explain a fourth generation Irish Canadian, interviewing a third generation Irish Canadian defending a well-known ancestor of the second, recording: ““Sir Sam Hughes was no more crazy than you are. His only trouble was he was at least 115% Irish”?”⁵⁴

In *The People of Hamilton, Canada West*, Michael Katz introduces Belfast-born Wilson Benson as a “representative man”, an Irish Protestant immigrant to Canada in 1841 whose life “...merits considerably more than a passing look” because its themes “...were woven through the lives of most people who lived and worked in mid-nineteenth century Ontario.”⁵⁵ Katz emphasizes the transiency and social mobility of emigrant life in the mid-nineteenth century, calculating that upon arriving in Canada, Benson changed employment no less than ten times in the span of a little over five years, operating variously as weaver, farmer, porter, baker, shoemaker, labourer, peddler and ship’s cook. Benson’s residence was also subject to change, having re-located six times within his first decade in Canada West. However, atypical for his time, Benson, thirty-five years after his arrival, left a fifty-six paged autobiography documenting his “Life and Adventures” both in Ireland and Canada which contained a very typical explanation for his and his wife’s decision to journey from the former to the latter. “The customary preparations for an Atlantic voyage were soon made; leave-taking – messages from friends in Ireland to friends in Canada. ... Seven, eight, nine, and as high as thirteen weeks were not unfrequently occupied by sailing vessels on the voyage; and the consequent suffering experienced on such occasions, the news of which, when transmitted by the sufferers to relatives at home, had spread universal dread of a trip to America, and I must confess that

I was not without my misgivings; but the incentive to brave the danger was caused by my desire to achieve a home and independence in the Western World which the force of circumstances denied me in the land of my birth.”⁵⁶ Also typical of emigrant sentiment of the time, Benson wrote: “The thought of returning to Ireland, however, I had never abandoned, and my only desire was to acquire a trade which would serve me better there than weaving.”⁵⁷ Like many Irish before him, Benson’s plan in emigrating had been to find a way to subsist back home, for him, Canada was the land of opportunity but not identity.

For the current study, the most valuable indication of Wilson Benson’s sense of place or identity as an Irishman in Canada occurs as a rare occasion within a primary document wherein the author speaks directly to that subject: Benson captures a moment when he, like Jane White in Goderich, appeared to be ‘changing in his notion’ in that regard. Benson recalled as pivotal, the spring of 1844 when he served as cook on the steamer *Brockville*: “The only route of travel between the West and Montreal was by the St. Lawrence steamers and it furnished me frequent opportunities of becoming acquainted with the persons of many of the leading men of that day, many of whom have passed to their long home. Politics were at that time carried on in the most violent partizan spirit, the zeal of the different advocates leading them to such an excess of ardour that the merits or demerits of their respective causes were lost sight of in personal praise or abuse of the party leaders they severally worshipped. These occasional episodes in my steamboat life not only amused me, but furnished food for reflection, and awakened in me a new and lively interest in the country, and begat a feeling of identity in its welfare which

supplanted the yearning desire I had hitherto entertained of returning to my native land.”⁵⁸

By this, Michael Katz understands that “Gradually and unconsciously, despite himself, Wilson Benson had become a Canadian.”⁵⁹

One must remember however, that at the time of Benson’s recording, he is looking back through time, over the course of his life in Canada, with all the benefits of hindsight and an obvious interest in preserving his place (as humble as it may be, as he himself indicates) in the “stride of prosperity made by the County of Grey, and indeed the country at large, [which] has been gigantic; and it is a source of extreme gratification to me, as it no doubt will be to all the pioneers of my early days, that their sacrifice of worldly comforts and exposure to toil and suffering have so largely contributed to the development of our country and the welfare of succeeding generations.”⁶⁰ Benson had connected himself, however distantly, by steamboat association with the ‘leading men of the day’ and in his stated aim ‘to exhibit his own life’, “...with all its imperfections, as a guide to the reader in the path of his own journey through life”,⁶¹ Benson claimed for the layman, a piece of Canada’s construction. This however, was surely not indicative of his perspective in the early days, as a young man ‘fresh off the boat’, in the heated scramble for a way to make a living that his many vocations and shifting homes make evident. The Irishman Wilson Benson, it may be argued, became more of a Canadian in the writing of his memoirs in the latter half of his life, or perhaps more so in the *reading* of his memoirs do we wish to identify a Canadian, for although he obviously gained a familiarity and sentiment for his new found home, his decision to stay was based largely in the simultaneous loss of his father, and therefore most immediate connection to Ireland.

That Benson's efforts toward Canadianization were in themselves, of a pioneering nature, is perhaps best evidenced by Katz's confusing claim that although his "identification had become complete", "through a gradual and unconscious process" he "did not shed his Irish identity completely".⁶²

Where Katz gropes for descriptives of what he surmises might have been "aspects of Irish culture", namely Benson's "generosity and trust" and "openness toward other people", Benson in his own words, is clearer on those details of his inheritance that labeled him an Irishman. Too simply, Katz ascribes to Benson a naïveté that enabled him to take "a gift to his miller friends and [in return] accept... a supernatural explanation when his grain disappeared from their doorway."⁶³ Benson's own words, reveal the contrary, that he was well aware and quite familiar with the following 'bait and switch' that fostered for him, not credulity, but rather, a knowing nostalgia for home.

The second year my grain was remarkably good, which awakened within me an inconceivable impulse in the performance of my arduous duties. With the first sleighing, myself and a neighbour, Mr. Christopher Irwin, each started with a small 'grist'... and went to McLaughlin's mill, Mono Village. ... When about ready to start, I went to the only hotel in the village for a bottle of whiskey to treat the miller, Michael McLaughlin, Mr. Dodds, also an acquaintance, Mr. Irwin and myself. My bags, containing the proceeds of eight bushels of wheat were standing not far from the door of the mill; but to my surprise, on returning, the grist was gone, "bag and baggage." One thing I was assured of, neither Mr. Irwin nor Mr. Dodds took it; and the only supposititious [sic] idea I entertain on the subject is, that the relative fairies of the McLaughlins had followed them from Ireland – for I often there heard they were great meal thieves – and spirited away my flour, shorts, bran, bags and all. Whether it was a knowledge of this fact that pricked the conscience of the honest miller, Mick McLaughlin, he reimbursed me with a generous donation of *ninety* pounds of very black flour. My expectations of the manner in which they "did things in the country" were considerably damped by this specimen of legerdemain, and caused me to sigh for the happy days I spent on my loom in Ireland, with its witches, warlocks, fairies and all.⁶⁴

Despite Katz's errant sympathy, Wilson Benson was far from being 'taken in', his Irishness allowed that he was already familiar with 'fairies' and the way they apparently 'did things in this country' too. Describing the fights that sometimes broke out amongst Irishmen employed in the building of the canals, Benson again expressed a familiarity with Irish ways that were often misunderstood by outsiders. "My countrymen earned for themselves an unenviable notoriety, and produced an impression, especially among the rural population of Canada at that time, that the Irish, one and all, were "hard cases."⁶⁵ Benson's own flexibility and endurance, his ability to peddle goods, his labour to establish home in a myriad of places, but especially his choice to autobiographify the theme of 'getting on' or 'making do' in times of adversity, proved what he seems to have intended: that there were indeed Irish who were not such 'hard cases' after all.

Michael Katz searchingly tries to define that there was "...something about Wilson Benson's attitudes and behaviour that distinguished him from people today."⁶⁶ He decides that "although it is tempting to attribute that peculiarity to his Irishness and thereby endow it with special charm, it is safer and probably more accurate to identify it as premodern."⁶⁷ In this regard, although Nancy Christie⁶⁸ has shown that British immigrant groups to Canada (in her case, Scots Presbyterians and their use of Kirk Sessions) certainly transplanted and reinvented premodern cultural forms that had not been exercised for some time back home to both express fundamental identities and ethnic cohesion in a colonial setting as well as mitigate and in some ways, delay, the transition from traditional, patriarchal, premodern structures to a modern, capitalist social order, in this case, contrary to Katz's label, Benson's 'peculiarity' does indeed seem to

stem from his Irishness. Benson's knowing acceptance and tongue-in-cheek relation of the grain incident in fact reveals a quite rational and modern understanding of the way business may have been being done in Mono – a particularly Irish Protestant Township - at the Mill. And his recognition that the 'McLaughlin fairies' had followed the family from Ireland was in fact made long before his grain disappeared from the doorway when he made certain that his first move was to treat the miller to some whiskey. In turn, McLaughlin's 'generous donation of ninety pounds of black flour' was most certainly in recognition of the fact that the real transaction of business had begun in the pub. Both Irishmen had an obvious grasp of modern capitalism and as is suggested here, understood one another far better than the witnesses to that day did, or even Michael Katz did. In line with Christie, Benson employed a transplanted, premodern, very Irish cultural form – the blaming of fairies for things unexpected or things unexplained – in the telling of this story as a means to express both his and his miller's Irishness as well as his most astute understanding (that was both somewhat resigned and sentimental) of commerce and human nature. Benson was far more Irish than he was 'premodern'.

Free from the strict disciplines of time, technology, industry, dependence and personal life plans, Katz eventually sees Benson's transiency in Canada as representative of a complete transformation, a shift from Old World to New, premodern to modern, Irish to Canadian, whereas Benson himself seemed to describe the process that saw him not so much transform into a 'complete Canadian' as Katz would have it, but rather fulfill his determination as an Irishman to "try America"⁶⁹ and then, as his story played out, *keep* 'trying America'. When Benson described how "the black flies and mosquitoes assailed

one in myriads, coming through the Township of Malancthon especially; but even these torments seem frivolous when you “get used to it””, he was perhaps alluding to more than just the bug bites with which he physically purchased the acres of Grey County farmland that would see him settled for the longest period in his life. Wilson Benson admitted that he had only come to Canada to become skilled in something that would further his economic prospects in Ireland, if he was indeed representative of the nineteenth century man in Ontario, he would be noted more so because of his Irishness than his mobility.⁷⁰

Arnold Schrier also identified key characteristics of the nineteenth century Irish emigrant in his study of the ‘letter from America’, home to Ireland, which detailed much of the experience of the “New Ireland beyond the sea”⁷¹. Schrier found that especially during the latter half of the nineteenth century, throughout Ireland, emigration to ‘Amerikey’ became a coping strategy, as indeed, it was for Wilson Benson, for lack of opportunity or employment at home. The trend was not entirely new, for the same had been occurring since the close of the Napoleonic Wars and had been enhanced by periods of political unrest and growing sectarianism in the Irish countryside. Historians have debated elsewhere the amounts of ‘push’ or ‘pull’ that influenced the Irish decision to leave home, but the end result remains the same: “emigration... became more than a corollary to the Irish; it became an accepted [though difficult] fact of life.”⁷² The custom of emigration then, was largely influenced and characterized by the system of chain migration that saw Irish friends and family reuniting in the new land, which in turn, owed much to the power of the emigrant letter. What Wilson Benson identified as the ‘customary preparations for leave-taking’ – the ‘messages from friends in Ireland to

friends in Canada’ – had created a most intimate and enduring link between the two places.⁷³

Schrier states that for the most part, information in the emigrant letter was “reasonably free of embellishment and hyperbole” and “except in rare instances of deliberate misrepresentation, the immigrants appear to have had no wish to mislead their friends and family at home.”⁷⁴ In general, emigrant letters appear to have held consensus in a number of areas. Most, according to Schrier, agreed that ‘America’ offered opportunities toward improving one’s station in life that were not possible in Ireland. Various phrased, relatives, friends and former neighbours (for letters were circulated amongst private circles) were informed that ‘here’, one could ‘be one’s own master, sooner’, and while one might not “...make a fortune in America, they could “earn an honest living.”⁷⁵ In addition, prospective emigrants were warned that youth, sobriety and a willingness to work hard were the required accoutrements of such a venture. The truth of the experience probably lay somewhere in between Isaac Topley’s description that “...everyday is like a Christmas day here for eating and drinking there is so many things on the table we do not know what to eat first...”⁷⁶ and Moses Staunton’s warning: “I do not want people to think this so splendid a place that money and the comforts of life can be got easily for if I had not laid off my coat and went and done my own... here I believe I would have been beat... all my children have to work – there is no getting on without hard work here until you get quite rich.”⁷⁷ The decision to leave Ireland was often treated as a ‘last resort’ effort and it was not uncommon for letters to remind that “...any person who can make a fair living at home are better stay there.”⁷⁸ Certainly this

was the preferred plan of Frances Stewart and her Irish circle within weeks of her boarding the *King George*, bound for Quebec, as is evidenced by the ‘eleventh hour’ efforts of friends and family to stay her husband’s Canadian course.

...might not some place be procured for Tom if all his friends and all his wives friends were to join their interest together – and Mrs Wilkins said all these difficulties coming in the way seemed as if it was not the will of providence that the plan should take place and Mrs. Stewart said she thought if Harriet was to write to you and suggest if a civil employment could be procured for Tom that it might be better than the plan of emigration - ... I told her that many had been the letter and many had been the arguments used by your friends to do anything in their Country rather than go to Canada... that we are all of opinion it would be better to stay in this Country - ... I cannot but hope the delay which has arisen may induce a change of plan and I do strongly wish Tom would consider if something might not be done in some other way to prevent this emigration intirely.⁷⁹

Frances submitted to the “plan irrevocably fixed in Tom’s mind”,⁸⁰ but wrote home upon her arrival in Canada and indicated that, like Wilson Benson, her view was to return, but in the meantime, they would seek ‘independence’.

...if there could be some kind of glass to see how you all go on, how delightful it would be – but I try to prevent myself from regretting what cannot be helped – and I try to look forward with a hope that we may be allowed the happiness of meeting again in four or five years – in the meantime I must turn my mind to the many blessings I enjoy – and be thankful for them - ... the greatest trial ever met with was leaving my friends – but I believe in my heart it was the best thing we could do – and I am sure it was a right thing to do ... I must now feel rejoiced for I see every reason to hope that we shall be very comfortable and quite independent...⁸¹

Nearly three years passed and Frances was still hopeful.

...if I think there is the smallest chance of our returning home next year... - but I am beginning to fear that my hopes and wishes as to going next year were too silly to be accomplished – I was ill and certainly very feverish and very miserable when I wrote those letters which I have since been much ashamed of for they exposed my weakness so glaringly – and weak and foolish I was – and am still, for I still wish to return home more than anything else in the world – but I am not so wildly impatient – and see how nearly impossible and imprudent it would be to

think of going so soon as next year for several reasons – but I know that we and all belonging to us are in the hands of one who knows what is best - ... so I must wait my darling till we are permitted an opportunity of conversing peaceably and quietly at my own best loved of all places Sweet Old Allenstown.⁸²

Although Frances would compare Canada to the West of Ireland (upon hearing reports of the failure of the potato crop in 1821) as “...truly a land flowing with milk and honey - [where] there is no such thing as poverty -”⁸³ having been sustained by the bread and milk of farm houses along her journey from La Chine to Kingston, even the countless Irish she encountered, who were “always anxious to know where we came from and asked innumerable questions about home”⁸⁴ were no substitute for home.

When Edmund Lettson left Glenavy, County Antrim for Haldimand in 1863, his ‘leave-taking’ was purposely designed to be short and sweet. In an attempt to avoid the pain of parting that was the ‘American wake’ or in Antrim, the ‘convoy’ - that which contemplation of, sent the Stewart’s relations into a tailspin for alternatives, Lettson decided to face Belfast Lough by himself. He left both his parents and apparently his heart in Ireland. In Canada, he offered his explanation.

My dear parents I now lift my pen to write to you to let you know of my safe arrival in Canada. Dear mother you will feel sorry no doubt about my going away especially without telling you. The reason for me not telling you was this. Had I have told you I could not have bore the final parting from you. The day I was down last in Glenavy I was up with you that night I came down to the town to tell you but I came no farther than the end of town. The next morning I went to Belfast...

... We then got on board the serene steamship “Nova Scotian” at 4 o’clock and set sail at 6 o’clock after giving three cheers for old Ireland.

... Although the deep blue waters of the rolling Atlantic does now divide me from the home of my childhood and surrounded by loving parents and everything that I can desire I shall not forget the land of my birth and they who reared and kept me. ... Let me know how the pretty girls around Glenavy are for I have not seen one since the last night I left it...⁸⁵

A change of country and six years passing had not changed Edmund's view of home, though he himself, he stated, had changed for the better. Written from New Orleans, Edmund's letter at first glance appears somewhat contradictory: he is able to recall *plenty* of the supposedly 'few attractions' Ireland held, despite some of the benefits of being a new world man.

Sometimes I think of going to Ireland, and settle down there to some business. But it has few attractions for me. Its climate is more healthy, than here, no burning summers or frozen winter. No mosquitos, nor serpents, neither cholera or yellow fever. It is also the land of my birth, and the home of the majority of my relatives. But few there know me now, I must have passed from the memory of nearly all, then too I am changed. Never could I live in a country and pay taxes for a creed in which I do not believe. Even if I wanted to amuse myself or pass the time away in fishing or hunting, I would have to get a lisenche, here all is free – "free as the air we breathe". I scarcely believe that an individual who has spent a few years in America would wish to leave it. In looking at the past and contrasting myself now with what I was in Ireland before I left, I can hardly realize the great change that has occurred in so short a period. Do not however think that any change for the worse has occurred to me. I have improved in education and religion, morals and philosophy.⁸⁶

In what reads like an effort to convince himself of the choice he had made to leave home, it is clear that although Lettson would not be returning to Ireland, his reference point always did. In the process of bringing Ireland to Canada, Edmund had acquired a transatlantic identity.

Kerby Miller provides a sense of the length of time and influences required before an Irishman or Irishwoman to the Americas might have considered themselves something other than Irish through the example of Ballynure, Co. Antrim man, William Hill. Arguing that many factors, including age at emigration, the level of, and length of time it took to achieve new world 'success', the reason behind the decision to emigrate, the connections that remained at home, as well as the political associations and developments

that either drew or withdrew public favour for that homeland, had influence on one's commitment to the adopted country; the consensus is that the process took time, and sometimes even a lifetime. "Throughout his life, Hill wrote regularly to his brother, David, back in Ballynure, and, using his correspondence in conjunction with what is known about his career... we can try to reconstruct the changes in his sense of ethnic identity. One of Hill's obituaries described him as 'a most enthusiastic Irishman, never being entirely weaned of his love for his native land'."⁸⁷ Although Miller claims that it is the earliest of Hill's correspondence that best reveals his connection to Ireland, he offers the following, where Hill "...chides his brother for not writing more often: '[t]here is little or nothing here... to concern you', he admonished, but 'every nook and corner of the neighbourhood of Ballynure teems with absorbing interest to me. Although it is upwards of thirty-two years since I left "the green hills of my youth", I can still luxuriate in fancy ... young again, strolling over the old green sod.' Repeatedly in such letters, Hill declared his longing to return to his native land, if only for a visit."⁸⁸ Miller suggests that it is not until 1867, some 45 years after his arrival, that Hill's sense of ethnic identity and national sympathy for his 'home' in America had evolved enough that he could criticize the Irish-American hand in the fall of the Confederacy and have learned to distinguish himself from the now well dispersed Famine Irish who had "'reflect[ed] discredit on the better class of their countrymen'."⁸⁹ In an almost Judas-like fashion, Miller has Hill, under pressure for his own Irish background by the Know-Nothing candidate he opposes in a run for probate judge, "for the first time... distinguish between his own people and what he called 'the *real* Irish, of papist stock'."⁹⁰ For certain, in the wake of prejudices

fuelled by the arrival of poverty-stricken Famine Irish, Irish Protestants attempted to disassociate as different, but certainly not as un-Irish. As late as 1865, according to Miller, William Hill is yearning “to go back even in my old age to the dear land wherein I first drew breath”⁹¹, and manages to do so, two years later. This is hardly the picture of a man whose Irish identity had completely ‘evolved’ or ‘dissolved’, ‘blended’ or ‘disappeared’, but as Miller then admits, “what may be more significant is that apparently today,... many of the present descendants of the William Hills... once again regard themselves as... ‘Irish’.”⁹²

The historian Ruth-Ann Harris has offered an intriguing study of the process by which Irish emigrants, dispersed in the transition from old world to new, ‘knit’ themselves back together as relatives, friends and neighbours through the columns entitled ‘Missing Friends’ in the Boston *Pilot* during the middle third of the nineteenth century. The paper had extensive distribution and readership which included Ireland and Canada, the latter boasting for a time, the single most important port of entry for the Irish, Quebec. Harris’ analysis is based on a sample of 30,286 individuals who were sought through the paper’s columns, including Irish in Canada whom Harris states, were “well represented in the *Pilot* advertisements.”⁹³ While Harris’ work suggests a number of important venues for further study including the indication statistically that women were less likely to get ‘lost’ in America, that searches tended to be economically motivated, that females were more likely to be ‘searching’ than be ‘sought after’ in the advertisements, and that the majority of searches were intra-generational, emphasizing the importance of the sibling relationship, it has particular implications for the present study

and the notion of an enduring transatlantic identity. Harris writes: “The seekers and sought represented here were part of a transnational community of individuals from the same area in Ireland. Bound first by attachment to townland, then to parish and in some cases to barony, they saw themselves as emigrants from Kenmare or Carrickmacross or Omagh. It would take the experience of being in America to create a national Irish identity.”⁹⁴ Although this thesis also recognizes the phenomenon of the transfer of strong, local Irish identities, it finds that the experience of *coming* to ‘America’ was more accurately what was needed to create or evoke a national identity. With respect to Harris’ evidence, it is not difficult to see how, when in correspondence with a presumably small and localized Irish readership, Irishwomen and Irishmen would narrow the field of search by identifying themselves or their loved ones via their townland, parish or barony. Co. Antrim man, William Hill did much the same thing in his letters home where he revealed himself to be a most- devoted Ballynure man, yet his obituary, published within a community of competing non-Irish identities, would herald his most enduring quality as an ‘enthusiastic Irishman’. Similarly, Frances Stewart would comfort herself with the very personal thought on paper that perhaps nothing – not even the great distance and time that now stood between her and whence she came - could ever change her from being ‘Fanny Brown of Dublin’ still. At varying times in her letters, Frances Stewart identified with Hatch Street, with Merrion Street, with ‘Sweet Old Allentown’ and Edgeworthstown, with Dublin, and with ‘Northerns’ (presumably meaning Protestants, since she herself was not from the North), but far more often, she identified with Ireland. Surrounded by earlier English and Scot settlers, Frances no longer had the luxury of

presuming her community would understand what coming from ‘Hatch Street’ meant – and so as she settled into her isolated woods, she became more and more an Irishwoman at a distance. Never was she the backwoods Canadian pioneer she is remembered as being today.

Identity should perhaps be more deliberately considered by historians of the Irish in Canada who emphasize the theme of persistence in the Irish experience of the New World. In Montague Township, Lanark County, Irish Protestants fared well (better than non-Irish), on poor soil, for a long period of time, a testament for historian Glenn Lockwood, to this “largely Irish society’s” “spirit of mutuality” and “interdependence”, and an “intense single-minded concern... in acquiring land”⁹⁵ and an adaptability that might be just as easily understood with further research, as aspects of persisting Irishness. These were the qualities or modes of survival, brought from home, that coloured the character of the Township for much of the century. As Lockwood illustrates, using the journals of the emigrant Scot and Presbyterian, Reverend William Bell at Perth, some characteristics were notably Irish (however accurate or inaccurate) to contemporary observers. What the Reverend Bell identified as begging, to another, might have been resourcefulness in the pursuit of improvements. ““The applicants... were generally Irish people. *They* seem to feel less aversion to begging than either Scotch or English.”” Almost twenty years later, now more descriptive, Bell’s view of ‘begging’ and more importantly, of the Irish, had apparently not changed.

One day a ragged Irishman called upon me, begging for old clothes. I told him to call in the afternoon and I would look out something for him. He did so, and I gave him an old coat, thinking from his appearance, that he was an object of charity. On enquiry, however, I learned to my surprise, that he owned a farm in

Montague, on which he had paid 50 pounds. He had another 25 pounds to make soon and was saving all he could for that purpose. In the mean time, he said he was begging clothes for himself and the childer.⁹⁶

Given Lockwood's research which indicates that on average, it took 20 years (30 to 40 years for the poorest Irish in the worst concessions) for Montague's Irish to acquire ownership of their land, and that in 1831, settler, James Covell knew of a "purchaser or two... who can pay-20 or 30£ down and by installments the Remainder yearly... [and knew of others] who have bought [who] have punctually paid 2 or 3 payments"⁹⁷, one may surmise that Bell's 'ragged Irishman' was not only well on his way to owning his own farm in Montague, but had likely been in Canada for decades. What is most revealing in all of these calculations however, is Reverend Bell's perspective, for even though he substantively re-wrote his diaries late in his life, his view from the early decades to past the mid-century mark, was unchanging.⁹⁸ His words show him to have been more impressed upon by the neighbouring (and apparently enduring) Irishness of settlers long present, than he was by the neighbourly request of one of them.

For many decades in the nineteenth century, 'English Ontario' was more accurately, Irish Ontario. The Irish Protestant on Canadian soil cannot be presumed to have too readily and too willingly assimilated into Ontario society on the basis of common language, religion, colour, or loyalty to the point of never having been Irish in the first place. In the early part of the period of greatest Irish Protestant emigration to Canada, that people in Ireland believed they constituted *the* Irish nation; a sentiment that would not be severely challenged until some time later, during Ireland's sweeping, post O'Connellite new nationalism. Early enough, and plenty enough, Irish Protestants arrived

upon Canada's supposed golden shores to replant the familiarities of their homeland's green fields such that their expressions of Irishness became well rooted in Ontario's history and vice versa, Ontario's character came to reflect many an Irishman's perspective. Their identity, however, was not static. Though it remained Irish Protestant in an English Canadian colonial setting, it followed a much less violent and contentious path in the atmosphere of Canada's open spaces toward a quite different reconciliation and accommodation of two Irelands.

¹ Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, and Letters, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p.79.

² Nicola McCartney, *Heritage*, Traverse Theatre, Edinburgh, 16 October 1998, p.9.

³ McCartney, pp.48, 76.

⁴ This thesis recognizes that place names are problematic as ethnic indicators with regard to timing, name changes, and who might be doing the naming (Postmaster Generals, Lt. Governors, local settlers, etc.) The suggestion is not that any given locale with an Irish name necessarily has an Irish population, but rather that the *proliferation* of recognizably Irish place names throughout Ontario may be representative of a once-formidable presence on the part of *the* largest immigrant population to Ontario during its crucial settlement phase.

⁵ John A. Murphy, "Religion and Irish Identity" in Irishness in a Changing Society, (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble Books, 1988), p.138.

⁶ Murphy, p.142. Murphy does make distinctions within Protestantism, particularly with respect to the North and South following the establishment of the Free State, but this is beyond the scope of the current piece's focus. Murphy also exempts evangelical Protestantism from his somewhat searching depiction of Irish Protestant identity as having more to do with Irish politics than religious conviction. Chapter 6 of the current study certainly finds evidence for the latter in view of the persuasive and pervasive nature of evangelical Irish Protestantism in parts of Ontario.

⁷ Murphy, p.139.

⁸ J.C. Beckett, The Anglo-Irish Tradition, (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1976), p.39.

⁹ Ibid., p.35.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.43. Along with Beckett, S.J. Connolly in Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660-1760, (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1992) emphasizes that the "Ruling class that emerged from the crisis of the mid-17th century had deeper roots in Ireland than its enemies cared to admit" (p.16) however he is careful to distinguish that far from there being a 'Protestant Mind' as is often referred to in discussions about the Ascendancy, Protestant opinion was quite polarized on the question of Catholic policy and that in fact, the term "Ascendancy" itself is really a "muddled, anachronistic label" with no real analysis of the variations within it. What has since been termed the "Anglo-Irish kleptocracy" is deserving of more serious consideration than has been traditionally provided, for as Connolly states, both the Anglo-

Irish parliament and church were forums for both rational and even principled behaviour. (p.4) Connolly acknowledges that out of the Ulster Rising of 1641 came the predominant view amongst Irish Protestants of themselves as a threatened minority, encircled by a dangerous and treacherous Catholic majority, but “at the same time it would be a mistake to see this sense of constant vulnerability formalized as it was in a highly visible literary and ecclesiastical tradition, as reflecting the sum total of Protestant attitudes.” (p.30) Pointing out that the fear of “Popish Plots” was not confined to Ireland at this time, Connolly distinguishes variations within the ‘Protestant mind’ that included genuine alarm, political motivation, distrust of only the Catholic gentry and clergy and those who believed danger to be ‘remote’ and Catholics ‘disposed to quietness’. (p.30) Indeed, Connolly suggests that notions of ‘Catholic conspiracy’ may have held more credence in England and that economic interdependence required the Irish Protestant to be more reconciled to the Irish Catholic *as he was* than the English Protestant. The resulting relationship was, however, a “begrudging accommodation” or a “superficial peace” according to Connolly, as the maintenance of the ‘Protestant Century’ required the flexibility amongst Irish Protestants to be for whatever meant the most stable government in England if their own position in Ireland was to be held. (p.11) The Penal Laws (the legal political, economic and religious restrictions imposed upon Irish Catholics) were not, according to Connolly, the systematic code of oppression that they have often been presented as, but rather more a “rag-bag of measures” (p.263), aimed at landed Catholics, enacted piecemeal over 50 years, irregularly enforced and presented purposely vague as an immediate, if less than resolute, response to specific Protestant grievances in the aftermath of a hard-won, Boyne Victory that merely reinforced the transfer of power and property to Protestant hands in Ireland that had begun much earlier. For Connolly, although the Penal Laws were certainly a source of religious discrimination and real grievance, they did not have the role in shaping the structure of Irish society (which was already underway) that they have been identified with. The ‘Protestant Century’ in Ireland then, was characterized for the most part by a landed Protestant sense of being *the* natural leaders of Ireland, of seeming relative peace, economic prosperity, societal order in areas of previous lawlessness, the spread of “metropolitan standards of behaviour” (p.314), and an overall “wary confidence” in the face of a real but containable Catholic threat. (p.3) More direct references to an “unhappy Ireland” defining both a ruling class “tortured by its own insecurity” and the “rapid disintegration of an apparently orderly society” (p.315) as well as American and French Revolution-inspired plebian radicalism and reformers’ push for the relaxation of legal restrictions, depict a different, later time when Ireland’s once “containable problem” had now become explosive. For Connolly, religious conflict was the “extra ingredient” in Ireland which following the Restoration, provided the key difference in comparison to other *ancien regime* based political and social orders in Western Europe; this distinguishing feature was to remain and in fact become even more magnified after the collapse of the ‘Protestant Century’ and the completion of the shift in power to the Catholic bourgeoisie.

¹¹ Connolly, p.285.

¹² Beckett, p.50. All this led to the eventual establishment of the ‘Constitution of 1782’ which solidified the legislative independence of the Irish parliament – though this was short-lived as the executive was still held under British thumbs and eventually, in the aftermath of the failed Rebellion of 1798, the Act of Union in 1801, put much of this to the sidelines and what was once seen as “the possibility of peaceful and gradual reform faded away.” (p.51)

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.58.

¹⁴ Beckett emphasizes the differences that existed within the Anglo-Irish tradition regarding Catholic fellow countrymen: where Swift pushed for a more narrow interpretation of *the* Irish nation, believing the task of governing the independent nation should fall to Church of Ireland adherents (although he did not involve himself in theological criticism of Catholic doctrine), Grattan and Burke recognized and advocated the necessity of political rights for Irish Catholics. Tone went further, advocating an independent Irish republic and the union to that end, of its varying peoples. All four were Trinity College, Dublinmen. For more, see Beckett, Chapter III, “The Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation”, pp.44-62.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.53.

¹⁶ Murphy, p.151.

¹⁷ J.G.A. Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.23.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.19.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp.26,27.

²⁰ Ibid., p.38.

²¹ Ibid., pp.40,41.

²² Ibid., p.42. Interestingly, Patrick Griffin, speaking of the Ulster-Scots, reminds us that there can be obstacles to using Pocock's approach. Claiming that identity on the whole can be a most slippery concept, the term needs definition, Griffin reveals that some groups, like his People With No Name, defy easy definition: being neither Scot nor Irish nor representative of a political nation, the search for their 'Britishness' must take a back seat to understanding them on their own terms first. According to Griffin, this requires the detailed reconstruction of the world they left as well as the one they created. Identity for Griffin's Ulster Presbyterians "did not amount to the group's acceptance of unifying cultural markers – quite the contrary. Ulster's Presbyterians continually remade themselves as they struggled to make sense of experience in rapidly changing contexts by giving a useable past a number of different and often contradictory meanings." See Patrick Griffin, The People With No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p.7. This certainly appears to be one marker of distinction amongst Irish Protestants for in contrast, the Anglo-Irish, as this study contends, continually returned to and referenced old, established traditions rather than invent new ones (though they were flexible in their approach to this), in their efforts to extend their sense of self in the colonial setting.

²³ Ibid., p.43.

²⁴ Sam McAughtry, "Protestant Identity in Northern Ireland", in Cecil J. Houston and Joseph Leydon, eds., Ireland: The Haunted Ark, (Toronto: Celtic Arts, 1996), p.139.

²⁵ McAughtrey, pp.156-157.

²⁶ McAughtrey, p.156.

²⁷ Charles Mackay, "Who Should Emigrate to Canada?" (1859) in J. Alex. Edmison, Q.C., ed., Through the Years in Douro, (Peterborough: A.D. Newson Co. Ltd., 1967), p.316.

²⁸ Mackay, p.316.

²⁹ Mrs. D. Amos, quoting H.T. Pammett, "Progress of Peterborough", article No.13, in "Robinson's Irish Emigrant Settlers 1825" in J. Alex Edmison, Q.C., ed., Through the Years in Douro, (Peterborough: A.D. Newson Co. Ltd., 1967), p.16.

³⁰ Thomas W. Magrath, Erindale, U.C. to Reverend Thomas Radcliff, Dublin, January 1832, in Thomas William Magrath, Authentic Letters from Upper Canada, Rev. Thomas Radcliff, ed., first published (Dublin: William Curry, Jun. and Co., 1833) secondly by (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1953), p.66.

³¹ Magrath to Radcliff, pp.67-67.

³² Magrath to Radcliff, p.68.

³³ William Radcliff, Adelaide, UC to Arthur Radcliff, Dublin, December 1832, in Magrath, p.110.

³⁴ Audrey Saunders Miller, ed., The Journals of Mary O'Brien, 1828-1838, (entry date, October 4, 1828), (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968), pp.15,10. This was upon disembarking the ship 'Warrior' in New York. The reference to her husband's "Irishisms" is dated August 13, 1829 and is found on p.68. The English/Irish dichotomy in the O'Brien marriage is most interesting and although it did not stop the two from uniting in matrimony, (the two families were neighbours in early Richmond Hill and had close ties politically as well as socially) it is clear (at least from Mary's perspective) that their identities, from a national perspective, were quite distinct. On November 9, 1829, Mary wrote: "Mr. O'Brien went after breakfast to engage a pair of old Yorkshire folk... I believe he is about to civilize himself so far as to divide himself from his [Irish] domestics. By this change of plan and of domestics, we shall lose as many droll Irish stories as he will gain English comforts." (p.69.) A year earlier, 'Irishisms' had caught Mary's ear enough for her to recount on November 14, 1828, that "In the evening the old Irish lady who keeps a school in the village came with her daughter to drink tea with us. She is a very good-tempered cheerful little lady with a happy but not vulgar combination of Irish brogue and Canadian dialect. Her daughter is a good looking unaffected girl who has somehow nearly escaped both." (p.25) One wonders which was the greater 'disability': the Irishism or the Colonialism.

³⁵ Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, & Letters, (Toronto and Belfast: University of Toronto Press and Ulster Historical Foundation, 1990), p.289.

³⁶ Jane White, Goderich, U.C. to Eleanor Wallace, Newtownards, County Down, Ireland, July 19, 1859 in Houston and Smyth, (p.299). The Irish used the term ‘cocked up’ to describe a person of pretensions beyond their actual means. Jane wrote: “He is so much in debt now and acts so queerly, the people do not think so much of him as they did. He has a very large and extravagant family who are for ever showing off their aristocratic origin, and looking down on the congregation. *This* [emphasis mine, according to Jane was] quite hurtful to the cause of Christ. [Though she admitted] One does not like to be too tight upon their clergyman.” (p.299) Jane was happy to report that locally there were now six clergymen from Dublin, most very talented, though she had not yet had the opportunity to hear Mr. Sullivan, whose sermons had drawn such crowds despite his “name... [which] has a Popish sound with it.” p.299.

³⁷ Houston and Smyth, p.289. The “Irish empathy for Scots’ alluded to here is perhaps somewhat suggestive of more than simply a ‘celtic’ combination in the face of English dominance. It may in fact reflect the recognized association and identification of the Ulster Scots as Irish Protestants too. The finer points of identity or sub-identity within Irish Protestantism in Ontario, as stated before, must be left for a later, separate study, however Patrick Griffin’s work on the Ulster Scots certainly suggests a far less ‘Irish’ connection for this group than the current piece finds for the Anglo-Irish. Griffin’s work however, focuses not only on the Ulster Scots in America but also on a much earlier time period. For more on Griffin, see fn. 22, above, for this chapter.

³⁸ Jane White to Eleanor, July 19, 1859 and December 28, 1860, in Houston and Smyth, pp.300,301.

³⁹ Jane White to Eleanor, April 1, 1856, in Houston and Smyth, p.292.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.293.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.293.

⁴² Jane White to Eleanor, September 22, 1856, in Houston and Smyth, p.294 Describing Upper Canada as distinct from Lower Canada where the inhabitants have “steady habits and quiet unassuming manners”(p.294), Jane White quotes the observances of a traveling French gentleman who likened the Upper Canadian spirit to the mannerisms found in America. Jane observed, “Indeed, I must say Goderich is as much changed lately as could well be imagined. It is becoming an abominably Yankified place...” (p.295) She too, felt herself changing. “I have not the same light heart I used to have. I do not know how it is. I just feel like an old woman. There is only happiness in childhood.” (p.294) Her outlook was only slightly more positive for her new world surroundings. “British America is said to be more improved in the last seven years that it ever was before especially Upper Canada. I expect seven more years will make Goderich a fine city. ... We are all fond of gathering but do not know who will enjoy it in this changing world.” (p.294)

⁴³ Jane White to Eleanor, April 1, 1856, in Houston and Smyth, p.293. Emphasis on the word, “here” is mine, referring to the easing influence of Canada’s wide open spaces, upon traditional Irish antagonisms.

⁴⁴ Jane White to Eleanor, June 29, 1849, in Houston and Smyth, p.291.

⁴⁵ Robert O’Driscoll & Lorna Reynolds, eds., The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada, Volume I, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), p.xvii.

⁴⁶ William Perkins Bull, From the Boyne to Brampton or John the Orangeman at Home and Abroad, (Toronto: The Perkins Bull Foundation, George J. McLeod Ltd., 1936), p.154.

⁴⁷ Magrath’s brother Charles would also appear to heartily relish the opportunity to take part in and then recount a “tug of war” during which, he and “the Boys” of the 2nd Riding of York supposedly “immortalized” themselves by running Mackenzie and his “Rebels” through the Credit River at Streetsville in 1837. Magrath wrote Ogle Gowan with the details claiming that he could still “break out into fits of laughter even yet when I think of the figure those Rebels cut when running” – Magrath was proud of, and happy to re-live the “small sample of Irish Oak” that had been given that day. NAC, MG27IE30, File 1, Ferguson Collection, Charles Magrath to Ogle Gowan, August 16, 1837.

⁴⁸ Kildare Dobbs, “Ireland and the Irish Canadians” in O’Driscoll and Reynolds, eds., Untold Story, vol.I, p.7.

⁴⁹ Arnold Schrier claims that it was a “prevailing Protestant sentiment”, revealed largely through the Protestant Irish press, that one of the benefits of emigration to Ireland would be achieved “by settling in

such large numbers in America, their own national qualities would help modify the “narrowness and rigidity of the Anglo-Saxon type” so dominant there.” This, most assuredly speaks for the view of an Irish Protestant identity, quite different from and even in conflict with, a dominant and difficult English one. See Arnold Schrier, Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1959), p.56. For the most part, emigration was looked upon as a ‘slow bleed’ in Ireland, draining the country of potentially valuable resources. Differences in opinion amongst the various Catholic and Protestant press and pulpits varied however in their proposed solutions to the problem and also for some, in their support of emigration as a temporary measure toward economic relief in the pressured Irish countryside.

⁵⁰ William M. Baker, ““God’s Unfortunate People”: Historiography of Irish Catholics in Nineteenth-Century Canada”, in O’Driscoll and Reynolds, eds., Untold Story, vol.I, p.68.

⁵¹ Donald Harman Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1984), p.282. Akenson identifies the ‘institutional strengths’ of the Irish in Canada as the Orange Order, the “Irish-based common schools and the Irish-influenced Anglican Church.”(p.282) Although Akenson along with others such as Darroch and Ornstein have equated the Irish ‘doing well’ in Canada as evidence of ‘assimilation’ or “absorption... into the mainstream” or ‘filling the gap between the Irish and the rest of Canadian society’, this work provides evidence that this was not an immediate occurrence, even for Irish Protestants who have been assumed to have immediately ‘blended in’ to the point of complete camouflage. Rather, becoming Canadian, which may be taken to mean something more than successful economic adaptation to the new land, took time. It was a process that spanned a good portion of the nineteenth century in part because of the continual arrival of Irish emigrants, largely through chain migration, but also because of the potency of inherited traditions amongst Irish Protestants that have been ignored as being more ‘British’ than anything else and Irish Protestants more ‘West Briton’ than Irish in their identity. For a summary of Darroch and Ornstein’s work on the vertical mosaic in nineteenth century Canada including an assessment of the Irish Catholic propensity to virtually mirror the occupation status of other ethnicities, particularly in farming and merchant/manufacturing and the professions, see A. Gordon Darroch and Michael D. Ornstein, “Ethnicity and Occupational Structure in Canada in 1871: The Vertical Mosaic in Historical Perspective” in Canadian Historical Review, LXI, 3, 1980, pp.305-333.

⁵² Donald H. Akenson, “Ontario: Whatever Happened to the Irish?” in Gerald Tulchinsky, ed., Immigration In Canada: Historical Perspectives, (Toronto: Copp Clark Longman, 1994), p.117.

⁵³ Darroch and Ornstein, p.330.

⁵⁴ TUA, Eliza Hughes McAlpine Fonds, 97-1037, Bernard McAlpine to Wallace MacAlpine, 1988. The reference records the response of Bernard MacAlpine, nephew of Sir Sam Hughes, Canada’s General and Minister of Militia and Defense during the First World War, to passages in Ralph Allen’s 1961 Ordeal By Fire which critically and varyingly identified Hughes, “in spite of the Irish strain”, as a “devoted – though by no means an inflexible or uncritical – Imperialist”, “insubordinate” in his “self-assertion”, “difficult”, a man of “extraordinary eccentricities” and “perverse [in the] nature of his speech and conduct”, “paranoid” and even “crazy”. See Ralph Allen, Ordeal By Fire: Canada, 1910-1945, (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1961), pp.36, 37, 39, 111, and 62. The reference to remaining Irish, within the family of an ardent Imperialist with decided Canadian Nationalist leanings, is most interesting and informative. Sam Hughes and Eliza Jane Hughes were 2 of 11 children of Irish emigrant parents, John Hughes and Caroline Laughlin. The former, educated at Trinity College, Dublin, was a leading Orangeman with a noted fighting spirit, and was once “amateur boxing and wrestling champion for all Ireland”. (p.70) They settled near Bowmanville in 1844. Bernard McAlpine’s description of his uncle as ‘more than Irish’ came over a century after the Hughes connection in Canada had been established.

⁵⁵ Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), p.95.

⁵⁶ CIHM 02314, “Life and Adventures of Wilson Benson Written by Himself”, (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., Printers, 1876), p.18.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p.24.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp.26-27.

⁵⁹ Katz, p.99.

⁶⁰ “Life and Adventures of Wilson Benson”, pp.47-48.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.55.

⁶² Katz, p.109.

⁶³ Katz, p.109.

⁶⁴ “Life and Adventures of Wilson Benson”, pp.39-40.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.28.

⁶⁶ Katz, p.110.

⁶⁷ Katz, p.110.

⁶⁸ See Nancy Christie, “Carnal Connection and Other Misdemeanours: Continuity and Change in Presbyterian Church Courts, 1830-1890” in Michael Gauvreau and Ollivier Hubert, eds., The Churches and Social Order in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Canada, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006), pp.66-108, for some very interesting parallels regarding the New World resurrection of Old World/homeland traditions and the push to have particular ethnic identities recognized within a culture of competing multiple nationalities or ‘Britishness’.

⁶⁹ “Life and Adventures of Wilson Benson”, p.17.

⁷⁰ See Darrell A. Norris, “Migration, Pioneer Settlement, and the Life Course: The First Families of an Ontario Township” in Canadian Papers in Rural History, v.4, (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1984) for an assessment of one “solidly” Irish Protestant township (p.139), Euphrasia, in Grey County where Norris finds relative stability, not transiency, to be the norm amongst a nuclear family based, landed, economically individualistic settlement. The value of land for Euphrasia’s settlers was in the “luxury of family immobility”, (p.148) their experience “converged on property, security, and persistence in a new rural landscape.” (p.131) However, Norris cautions, pointing to the contrasting experience of Toronto Gore Township, where the Irish Protestant half was just as transient as the Irish Catholic, that “the very notion of a Protestant Irish bush township warrants close scrutiny, particularly of its settlers’ prior experience and assimilation.” (p.133)

⁷¹ Schrier, p.23.

⁷² Schrier, p.15.

⁷³ This is the very premise for Elizabeth Jane Errington’s recent work, Emigrant Worlds and Transatlantic Communities. Consulting substantial quantities of emigrant correspondence, Errington argues that ‘emigrant worlds’ – both the physical reality and the imagined shared community – owed much to the writing and receiving of letters to and from home. The intimate bond to people, place and memory that emigrant letters provided served literally and figuratively as a bridge over the Atlantic for families (which Errington identifies as particularly crucial to identity) on the somewhat extended threshold or ‘nether world’ of transitioning from the Old World to the New. See Elizabeth Jane Errington, Emigrant Worlds and Transatlantic Communities: Migration to Upper Canada in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007).

⁷⁴ Schrier, p.24. A note should be made here that there were certainly cases where emigrant letters were less than genuine in some respects. Somewhat ‘contrived’ examples of the immigrant experience can be found for example in Wendy Cameron, Sheila Haines and Mary McDougall Maude, eds., English Immigrant Voices: Labourer’s Letters From Upper Canada in the 1830s, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), comprising 144 letters, written by some of the 1800 assisted emigrants of the Petworth Emigration Committee out of the South of England from 1832 to 1837 who settled in Upper Canada. Organized by the Reverend Thomas Sockett, the rector of Petworth, and patronized by George O’Brien Wyndham, 3rd Earl of Egremont, the scheme, operating under parish poor laws, sought to aid the establishment of some 100 parishes’ labouring people in Upper Canada where an adequate demand for labour was assumed. The venture began in the early 1830s in what has been called a distinct “period of enthusiastic discovery” (p.xviii) in Upper Canada and with travel provisions, transportation and landing money provided by Egremont and other sponsors as well as Sockett’s determination to follow up on the emigrants’ experience via publication (also sponsored) of their letters with the goal of further emigration, questions regarding editing, motivation, and accuracy of the experience are automatically raised. Sockett’s continued promotion of emigration to Canada in the years following the initial venture were based on letters that captured a period of particularly rapid expansion and were certainly less reliable in this regard, in

subsequent years. Still, it is important to note that emigrant letters – even of this kind of group sponsored venture – when regarded as narrative forms for the promotion or perseverance of identity, do not lose their value. Errington's Emigrant Worlds makes substantial use of both published and unpublished collections of emigrant letters and while she is careful to caution (p.175) that the former (like the Petworth letters) are/were often carefully edited and claims a preference for the latter, her thesis rests quite heavily on the presumption that not only did emigrant correspondence play a major role in emigrants' understanding of their own nineteenth century 'worlds', it stands to do likewise for today's historians.

⁷⁵ Schrier, pp, 24,25.

⁷⁶ PRONI, T/2149/1, Isaac Topley, Montreal, to his father, Abraham Topley, Co. Armagh, February 1850.

⁷⁷ PRONI, T2035/13, Moses Staunton, Toronto to his mother and sister, Glasgow, September 25, 1856.

⁷⁸ Schrier, p.34.

⁷⁹ TUA, Frances Stewart Papers, 78-008/1/6, Anna Maria Nangle to Frances Stewart, White Abbey, near Belfast, May 20, 1822.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 'Submit' is the appropriate term to use here for the decision to leave Ireland was not Frances', but her husband's. She, along with her family in Ireland, had a sense of desperation about the move that led her to believe that procurement of *any* position of employment in Ireland would be better than chancing what the New World might offer. Frances, as an Irish Protestant woman – and an evangelical Anglican one at that – would have taken seriously her marital vow and the biblical calling for wives to 'submit' to their husbands. ("I... reasoned and entreated Tom as much as I could before we came but his mind was bent on it and nothing could change it and I thought my duty then was to yield" – 78-008/2/15, Frances to Harriet Beaufort, May 27, 1826) As the God-ordained head of the family, Thomas Stewart made the decision about how he could best provide for his family, and his wife and children – even if they were consulted – were expected to follow his lead. Frances seems to have struggled for years in the aftermath of the decision, fighting off regret and the pain of separation with at least the written determination to make-do and be contented with her lot. Her letters reveal her great sense of loss, a mood – a 'weakness' she called it - for which she is sometimes apologetic to her letter's recipient. She confided that she did not want her husband to be aware of her ongoing, emotional battle over her now very-changed circumstances. It is plausible that Thomas Stewart consulted more with his brother-in-law and business partner, Robert Reid over their two families' plans to emigrate than he did with his wife – such was the gendered nature of family dynamics in the nineteenth century. Reid and Stewart, whose textile business in County Antrim had suffered bankruptcy, were each granted 1200 acres in unsurveyed Douro Township, Newcastle District in 1822. Upon his death from typhus in 1847, Stewart's property (the remaining 1200 acres of the original land grant) passed to his heirs and not his wife – despite the great personal 'purchase' it had required of Frances. Stewart's will however provided Frances with his Irish rents and 'Auburn' (though she removed herself from it in 1854 to 'Goodwood' in order to make way for her son William's wife as Auburn's new mistress) but such was the state of Thomas' financial affairs that Frances did not see any income for several years. She lived at 'Goodwood' until her death in 1872. The decision to uproot from Ireland and the practice that saw relatively few wives holding property, are nineteenth century reminders that despite the evidence of an apparently loving and successful marriage (Frances was absolutely grief-stricken upon Thomas' untimely death) their relationship, like so many others, was far from being an equal partnership. For more detail on female-headed households and female-held property, as well as the drive for property ownership documented particularly amongst the Irish, see Gordon Darroch and Lee Soltow, Property and Inequality in Victorian Ontario, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp.74-77.

⁸¹ Frances Stewart to Mrs. Waller, Allenstown, Navan, Ireland, December 14, 1823.

⁸² Frances Stewart, Douro to Maria Noble, Navan, Ireland, August 2, 1826.

⁸³ Frances Stewart to Louisa Beaufort, September 11, 1822.

⁸⁴ Frances Stewart to Harriet Beaufort, September 18, 1822.

⁸⁵ PRONI, D/3673/1, Edmund Lettson, Haldimand, C.W. to his parents, Glenavy, Co. Antrim, November 25, 1863. For a discussion of the varied expressions of the 'American Wake' – the gathering of family and friends that bid farewell to an emigrant on the eve of departure – that was known throughout Ireland, see Schrier's Chapter V "The Invisible Result: Cant and Custom", pp.83-100.

⁸⁶ Edmund Lettson, New Orleans to his parents, Glenavy, Co. Antrim, April 1, 1869.

⁸⁷ Kerby A. Miller, “‘Scotch-Irish’, ‘Black Irish’ and ‘Real Irish’: Emigrants and Identities in the Old South” in Andy Bielenberg, ed., The Irish Diaspora, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2000), p.151.

⁸⁸ Miller, p.151.

⁸⁹ Miller, p.152.

⁹⁰ Miller, pp.152-153.

⁹¹ Miller, p.153.

⁹² Miller, p.153.

⁹³ Ruth-Ann Harris, “Searching for Missing Friends in the Boston *Pilot* Newspaper, 1831-1863” in Bielenberg, ed., p.159.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p.172. Elizabeth Jane Errington’s previously mentioned study also looks at the “information wanted” columns of local newspapers in Upper Canada with an eye toward understanding who these emigrants of varying ethnicities, often women, were, and what happened to them during the process of emigration that saw them neither ‘here’ nor ‘there’ but uniquely “betwixt and between” (p.141) homeland and new township in their own, self-created and sustained ‘liminal space’ or ‘emigrant world’ that was according to Errington, very much defined by family and a shared sense of community. Of the more than 350 notices posted by new arrivals that Errington consulted, approximately 70% were Irish, a reflection perhaps of not only population but as this study indicates, ethnic affinity too. See Errington, Emigrant Worlds, p.179.

⁹⁵ Glenn J. Lockwood, “Irish Immigrants and the ‘Critical Years’ in Eastern Ontario: The Case of Montague Township, 1821-1881” in Canadian Papers in Rural History, v.4, (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1984), pp.175,176. Lockwood makes mention of another enduring, particularly Irish Protestant quality to Montague Township by pointing out that in the north of the Township, which was the predominantly Irish section of poor quality soil, as opposed to the southern half, which was mostly non-Irish and well established, the Orange lodge was the “sole friendly society north of the fourth concession” (p.170) in contrast to the other half’s agricultural and temperance societies and more permanent churches.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.167.

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp.163,164.

⁹⁸ For more on the Reverend William Bell, see the biography by H. J. Bridgman in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, VIII, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp.76-77.

CHAPTER 3

THE GREEN

Sarah: There's somebody coming up the road!

Hugh: Who is it?

Sarah: Mister Donaghue! And Michael!

Ruth: What're they doing here?

Hugh: Now! We have to be neighbourly. Donaghue's a polite, quiet sort of fella. The Cathelickes here is of a differ'nt nature to the Irish ones.

Ruth: They're just as sleekit here as anywhere. The only thing as bad as a Cathelicke is a Yankee in my book.

From Heritage, a play by Nicola McCartney, a Traverse Theatre Programme Playscript, 1998.

On February 9, 1828, Colonel James Fitzgibbon, of War of 1812 repute, wrote enthusiastically to fellow Irishman John Huston, a land surveyor and one-time assistant to Peter Robinson's Irish settlement in the Newcastle District, regarding petitions for land and a growing community spirit amongst the Irish that encouraged him:

...our exertions to make our countrymen friends with each other you may depend will one day be rewarded by the thanks and gratitude of both parties. Therefore do not be disheartened by opposition now, or even for a long time to come, for all will yet see that God Almighty is best served by loving one another even our enemies. ... Our countrymen of all parties are growing more and more respectable every day. They are growing in property too and helping each other to a greater extent even than I had hoped for.¹

Fitzgibbon had reason to be hopeful. As an Irish Protestant who spoke native Irish, he had acted successfully as intermediary on more than one occasion in the colony's young history between Irish factions where Irish Catholic settlers had been challenged by earlier

Irish Protestant emigrants. The Ballygiblin Riots in 1824² in the Ottawa Valley, the result of Peter Robinson's first foray into assisted emigration, and the subsequent settlement in 1825 that peopled much of the Peterborough area, saw Fitzgibbon come forward as a spokesman for the possibilities of peace amongst Irishmen. Fitzgibbon had indicted the Orange Order as the instigator in the Ballygiblin Affair despite the fact that only Irish Catholics were convicted and having encouraged disgruntled Irish Rideau Canal workers to stand down, he gave his word a couple years later that government-assisted Irish emigrants were as trustworthy as those who had performed settlement duties on their own. "I find the immigrants for the greater part gone to the lands allotted to them... and are making great exertions, some of them to an extent almost incredible", he stated. "My countrymen are proving to be all honest men in this province ... better deserving favourable opinion than... slanders..."³

Although Fitzgibbon had once had reservations regarding the ability of the Irish to co-exist peacefully, these had given way to the belief that Canada was large enough for common sense to rule. "When the Irish emigrants began to arrive in Canada," he wrote, "the old inhabitants often expressed their fears that the evils so unhappily rooted in Ireland would be transplanted into these hitherto peaceful provinces, and I could not help participating in their fears. I was also afraid that even if party strife were not revived, individual Irishmen would be found more prone to irregular habits than the other immigrants, and such was also the general opinion in this province. I cannot express how great my satisfaction has been to see that my countrymen, individually, are as orderly and well behaved as I could, under all the circumstances, have expected of them, nor have I

any fear for the future...”⁴ Fitzgibbon provided personal example for his vision of future relations in an address specific to Irishmen, wherein he explained that “If... the Catholics and Protestants cannot go on in [harmonious] manner here, it must be supposed, and I fear it will be said, that it is because they are Irishmen – which Irishmen should certainly be the last to admit – and they ought, therefore, no longer to pursue a course of conduct which must subject themselves to this reproach. ... I shall ever desire to be the true friend of every fellow-countryman, or, in other words, the friend of all such as I feel you must wish to be – worthy Irishmen.”⁵ Fitzgibbon’s optimism for Irish relations in Upper Canada was echoed by another Irishman, Nicholas Flood Davin who somewhat more cautiously asked and exhorted:

Why... is it that Irishmen of the more cultivated class are sometimes found to run down the less cultivated class of Irish, so that, as somebody has said, whenever an Irishman is to be roasted, another is always at hand to turn the spit?let any Irishman who reads these lines ponder what I say: - You can never lose your own respect and keep the respect of others; you can never be happy and dress yourself solely in the glass of other men’s approval; you may as well seek to fly from your shadow as to escape from your nationality. If you find any men mistaken, or low down in type, or in popular esteem, it is your duty to raise them, especially if they have on you national or family claims.⁶

Davin knew, as did the Reverend Joseph Henry Hilts, who wrote “Experiences of A Backwoods Preacher” and the pioneer vignettes found in “Among the Forest Trees”, in 1888, that

it is often the case that national distinctions have a good deal to do with giving an impetus to settlement in certain localities. ... Roman Catholics would not settle among Protestants, if they could just as easily settle among their co-religionists. Nor would Protestants settle among Catholics as readily as among those of the Protestant faith. And there have been instances where coercion was used to prevent the one sect from settling among the other. ... And even among Protestants there is a denominational feeling that has its influence, to a greater or

less extent. A good staunch Presbyterian would go a few lots farther back, if by so doing he could get beside another good staunch Presbyterian. And so with a Methodist or an Episcopalian, and more especially so with a Baptist or a Disciple.⁷

Hilts went on in a footnote to explain from his own personal experience, that in the early to mid-nineteenth century, many identities co-existed in Upper Canada, some peacefully, others less so. “The Township of Esquesing, where the writer was brought up, was once divided up into the “Scotch Block,” the “Irish Block,” and the “Canadian Block.” And rough times there used to be among some of the representatives of these Blocks. But [by the late nineteenth century] these differences are dying out there.”⁸ Despite the more positive outlook and instruction of men like Fitzgibbon and Davin, according to historian H.I. Cowan, abrading identities in the early years of settlement in Upper Canada swelled the baggage of the Irish emigrants in particular. ““Roman Catholic emigrants of 1825 had been settled close to Protestant Irish who had been in Cavan since 1817 and the belief was widely accepted that the two could not live peaceably side by side.”⁹ Much of what occurred in Cavan at the hands of the Blazers as outlined in the following chapter would appear at first glance, to lend proof to that contemporary view.

The Scottish-born, professional traveler and author Henry David Inglis who toured Ireland in 1834, and whose observations for the most part have been praised for their breadth and relative accuracy in comparison to contemporary travel journals, was once quoted as saying of Ireland: “The very name forces to our recollection images of shillelaghs, and broken heads, and turbulence of every kind.”¹⁰ As sensitive as some of Inglis’ views as an outsider may have been, *this* was the stereotypical image of Ireland that held power in the nineteenth century. This was the Ireland that many feared would

traverse the Atlantic Ocean and result in the felling of Canadian woods for Irish weapons rather than settler's cabins, in the face of great waves of Irish immigration. This image may be in part to blame for the fact that even at one of the most local of levels, the Township of Emily, 400 Protestants from Fermanagh and 700 Catholics from Cork, arriving within five years of one another in the earliest decades of the nineteenth-century, could make from the Canadian wilderness: "North Emily... as solidly Catholic as South Emily was... Protestant, while both were Irish."¹¹ Although the image of the Irish as continually at loggerheads helped in the creation of such boundaries, the reality of co-existing in the bush in the years that followed witnessed the blurring of them. An image once fed by imported hatred and prejudice, over time, gave way to a new reality, and such views were in time, designated to folklore and custom:

A tradition has been handed down in Protestant Emily that no work was done in the northern [Catholic] concessions until all the government rations had been eaten up. Official statistics, however, show this bitter tale to be born of prejudice and not of truth. During the first year, though fever and ague left every family to mourn its dead and touched the living with a constant palsy, these Catholic pioneers cleared away 351 acres of pine forest, raised 22,200 bushels of potatoes, 7,700 bushels of turnips and 3,442 bushels of Indian corn, sowed 44 bushels of fall wheat for the next season's crop, and made 22,880 pounds of maple sugar. They also purchased on their own account, 6 oxen, 10 cows, and 47 hogs. It is evident that they did not eat the bread of idleness.¹²

Protestant perspectives on Catholic Ireland were myriad in the nineteenth century: from Orangeism's strictures on its Brethren, to Fitzgibbon's hopes for brotherhood, how the Protestant Irish in Canada defined their 'Green' counterparts as separate from themselves reveals much about an identity that has been presumed to have too easily conformed to a dominant English or 'British' cultural vision; something that did not truly come about until some years into the next century. Indeed, it took historian, Kerby

Miller's Ballynure-man, William Hill (as introduced in Chapter 2) some time, in fact a lifetime, to discover in himself something of the new country he had emigrated to. Even then, after forty-seven years of New World experience, Hill sought only to return to his Irish roots and the still-*homeland* that called him and later even his descendants, to return to its shores and memory for their identity. This pattern was characteristic, and for a good many of the Irish Protestants who settled in Canada throughout the nineteenth century, their identity remained a solidly Irish one. In some cases, it became more Irish than it had been before they left – a testament to the power of memory - but also a reflection of the fact that the reactivation of Old World customs by emigrants in New World settings could profoundly and importantly distinguish and establish *who* they were in the new cultural mix. Any real sense of an overarching British Canadian identity – one that could subdue the nationally-based sub-identities that competed for recognition in the colonial portrait, would have to wait until the next century, and particularly the cohesive influence of the First World War, to have an obvious expression. Linda Colley has found that nationally-based identities were secondary at best to locally and regionally-focused loyalties until the late nineteenth century amongst Englishmen, Scotsmen, Welshmen and Irishmen, and that a broader British Protestantism (on guard against Catholic Europe) played a role in forging the identities of the first three and a portion of the fourth. This piece however, finds that in the Canadian (colonial) setting, an Irishman – be he Dubliner or Derry-man - was more often distinctly and quickly made an Irishman, one who was well-equipped and quite happy to carry, the cultural baggage he had inherited that made him so. He was also

quite prepared to wave the flag of his identity in the face of ‘others’ in order to make his new home resemble the homeland.¹³

Irish Protestants struggled to define themselves in the nineteenth century as something other than ‘Paddy’ or ‘wild Irish’ whom contemporaries generally understood to mean a Catholic Irishman or poor Irishman, with all his stereotypical baggage: drunkenness, laziness, given to emotion and violence, whilst still retaining their Irish roots. This conflict is captured in the late nineteenth century poetic debate highlighted by historian Bruce Elliott, between first and second generation Tipperary Irishmen in Western Ontario who appear to have struggled with who they were as immigrants and loyal British subjects, but also sons of Erin, now in Canada. In a poem entitled “Erin” in the *Lucan Enterprise*, in 1883, John S. Atkinson, an 1837 immigrant now in Biddulph, urged Irish friends to return home to his beloved Ireland to retrieve Irish wives ““to add to our blessings and people our land” despite recognizing that almost 50 years had changed his Ireland: ““Who is THERE left to greet me with one welcome smile?””¹⁴ This sparked the response of Leonard D. Stanley of St. Mary’s, the son of Irish immigrants and a generation behind Atkinson. Stanley asked “how Atkinson could retain any affection for “a land tortured for ages / With dynamite fiends spreading terror and woe / ... Her crimes twenty centuries can not efface.” He concluded: “Away with you, Erin, I love you no more.”¹⁵ It is left to speculation how Stanley would have identified his own Irish parentage – perhaps as ‘loyal Irish’ – but clearly, simply ‘Irishmen’ they were not.

For wherever you find an Irishman planted
 If whiskey indeed can be got in the land,
 With unceasing tumult that place will be haunted,
 And Donnybrook fairs will be ever on hand ...

Where'er you may find them, no matter what nation –
They're constantly raising a hulla-balloo.¹⁶

Elliott explains that “Stanley was at heart a British Canadian, with attitudes that incorporated strong elements of Irish Protestant defensiveness. To him Ireland was a land in which “true British laws are respected not nearly” and “love for Britannia” did not fill loyal hearts.”¹⁷ Atkinson countered that Stanley was without firsthand knowledge of Ireland, he knew not its “generous hearted people” and that he himself could continue “loving his country while hating her crimes.”¹⁸ Atkinson asked Stanley to consider that being Irish and being loyal were not mutually exclusive and to remember that recently, a very loyal Irishman had led very loyal Irish forces in the name of Great Britain against a formidable foe in Egypt and secured the Suez Canal.

You think Pat is less loyal than Sandy his neighbor,
And that Britain might look on the Irish as foes,
But look back a few months to the famed Tel-el-Keber,
Was the Shamrock led there by the thistle or rose.¹⁹

Despite their differing opinions on the extent to which the homeland now reflected their particular sense of Irishness, as Irish Protestant emigrants and the sons of Irish Protestants, Atkinson and Stanley both agreed that Ireland was British and that their Irishness could not be fully considered without this understanding which distinguished the latter's ‘Paddy’ of the “Donnybrook” from the former's “loyal Pat” and his “Shamrocks”. Britishness and loyalty were certainly hallmarks of nineteenth century Irish Protestant identity in Canada, but even more so was a very keen sense of being Irish in an English world. Even Stanley's pained rejection of Ireland over the murders and the anger and the hatred, could not hide what was ultimately a very personal sense of loss and

love for the home his parents had left, and by 1883, perhaps appeared to have lost.

Ireland had certainly changed in the time between Atkinson's 1837 and Stanley's 1883.

This chapter analyses Irish Protestant identity in nineteenth century Upper Canada and finds it first and foremost, Irish; it also attempts to define the Irish Protestant perspective on 'the Green' - being their Catholic countrymen - as a public discourse, not a reality, that played a key role in helping to solidify the Irish Protestant community's own sense of identity. The way Irish Protestants viewed their Catholic counterparts as "other" served as a construct for their own identification as 'the better sort' of settler/citizen and yet they were careful to maintain their own sense of being Irish, even being 'Green', in an English world. The focus here will be on what might best be termed the 'banter' between the Irish denominations; the ritualistic conflagration that served to legitimate Irish Protestantism by circumscribing the other. Despite the seriousness of the physical eruptions on occasion by extremist parties, the tension between Irish Catholics and Protestants in Canada has too often been described as blind denominational violence and institutionalized bigotry when it served more as street theatre in the building of folklore and custom within the Irish Protestant tradition. Though still a very different colour all together, the intensity of the relationship between what were known as the 'Orange' and the 'Green' softened when on new soil, and paler shades of Irish identity sprang from 'co-existence by necessity', in new communities. In Canada, for the better part of the nineteenth century, it was possible to be Irish but not Catholic, Protestant but not Orange (or only sometimes Orange), and on occasion, simply Irish, without any reference to religion or political association. This approach bodes well for it attempts to address both

the methods and subject matter of historians like Mark McGowan and Brian Clarke, whose work on the Catholic Irish in Canada have placed too great an emphasis on internal community study without satisfactory reference to the influences and interactions of the wider Irish experience. In contrast, this work argues that with respect to the Irish, which rightly includes Protestants along with Catholics, one cannot be fully understood without reference to the other and where monographs exist in detail for the latter, the former community, though numerous and influential, has not had the same treatment. This may in part be because the Irish Protestant community has been presumed to have been more English or British in their loyalty and religion than they were Irish in their hearts. Yet, in many instances, when pressed, Irish Protestant identity revealed an allegiance which was displayed in precisely that order: national first and religious second. As Sir Samuel Ferguson, lawyer and Irish poet and contributor to the Celtic Revival of literary Ireland, once observed: ““I am an Irishman and a Protestant... but I was an Irishman before I was a Protestant.””²⁰

Despite the predominance of the Orange Order in historic treatments of Irish Protestantism, Irish Protestants in nineteenth century Canada should not all be defined as sworn Brethren or their supportive (some might say long-suffering) spouses or silent assenters, for some identified more with Ireland than they did with religion or in the case of Orangeism, what amounted to Irish expressions of political imperialism in the name of religion. Historian Patrick O’Farrell points to one particular example:

Fervour in personal religion did not necessarily produce intolerance, or even the primacy of religious criteria in evaluating one’s fellows. Mrs. Flemming, who traveled, newly married, from Bunrana, Co. Donegal, ... was intensely religious, much taken up with Methodism, and addicted to spiritual reading of the emotional kind. Warm and

tolerant towards individuals, what irked Mrs. Flemming about her fellow immigrants *en masse* was nothing to do with their religion, or lack of it, but their loud Englishness;

I am thoroughly sick of the English, their abominable jargon sounds hateful to my Celtic ears and whenever I hear the Irish accent, whether North or South, it seems like music after the other.²¹

Even though Mrs. Flemming as a Methodist, might have well been considered one of the more ‘Protestant’ (as a dissenter) of nineteenth century Irish Protestants, what appealed to her sense of self and place on board a ship crowded with immigrants from many points of origin was her *Irishness*, indeed her *Celticness* as she went so far as to describe it:

There are some very nice Irish people on board and we generally are together in a group on deck chatting reading sewing knitting and enjoying ourselves. Young Walker and his half brother T. Sloane are great friends with us, and there is a Miss Pedlow from Lurgan who is very civil and obliging. I am not fretting as I expected. I hope to go home again sometime and see all the old familiar faces once more. Every night I am with them in my dreams. It is very strange but every time I sleep I am wandering away to the Emerald Isle ... Our friends on board as a general rule are either Irish or Scotch. We don’t mix much with the English.²²

O’Farrell notes that from Mrs. Flemming’s listing of her shipboard acquaintances, it is obvious that some were Catholic Irish – she indicated no preference, ‘North or South’, *Irish* voices were like sweet music. Adhering to an innate sense of Irishness was not only the privilege of Irish Protestants who could afford first and second class passage from the homeland. In the case of Samuel Shaw, of Oughley, Saintfield, Co. Down, aboard the *Tyburnia* in 1877, he and a neighbour found themselves combined in their steerage mess with Roman Catholics: “but we have agreed very well.”²³ Indeed, the agreement was such that “At tea-time we had the greatest fight yet, between a Scotchman and a Englishman, and as we messed in the same part of the ship as the English, we were all against him. It nearly came to a general row in the end, as all the Irish in the vessel were

with the Scotchman, but it was quietened by some who had more sense.”²⁴ According to O’Farrell, Samuel Shaw’s experiences reveal that “such tensions and animosities as existed on the ship were national, not religious, and it was revealed that a common antipathy to the English ... was far stronger in uniting the steerage Irish than any religious division among them.”²⁵ Nineteenth-century United Kingdom identities were quite often understood and referenced in specifically national terms rather than in overarching ‘British’ ones.²⁶ Charlie Barton wrote his mother in Ireland from the *Stirlingshire* in 1884 describing how the “... food as a general rule is good, only it is served by *Scotch people*, for it is a Scotch boat, therefore Scotch crew.” His first-class cabin was excellent save for his having to share it with “the most selfish suspicious old Scotchman” who “keeps up to being a Scotchman by his canny movements...”²⁷ Presumably, Barton’s mother had a shared understanding of all that *Scotch* as a particular descriptive meant to him.

As for outward expressions of some Protestantism, O’Farrell maintains that in many instances, those aspects which could form its social structure: “sabbatarianism, teetotalism, opposition to all appearance of the profane or disrespectful” were seriously challenged onboard ships which acted as the “colony in advance and in miniature.”²⁸ Where such order was much more difficult to maintain, weekly onboard Protestant Divine Services often suffered from lack of attendance toward the close of the emigrants’ long journeys despite their popular beginnings. Although the same forces acted upon Catholic passengers, O’Farrell suggests in his employment of the notes of a well-liked Catholic Priest returning from Ireland in 1863, that Catholic reverence and familiarity (he suggests

“superstitious awe”) with the forms and personages of their religion did not imply “comprehension of its meaning” or its social structure, and that this might explain Charles Elliott’s experience on the *Prince of the Seas* in 1861.²⁹ From Scarva, Co. Armagh, Elliott was very much a product of an Ulster upbringing that was characterized by sensitivity and intolerance on both sides of the Irish gap that divided Protestant and Catholic. Obviously bigoted, Elliott defined himself accordingly as *other* than “an *Irish man* “wild””: he was a first class observer of Irish steerage and an Irish Protestant who disapproved of the dwindling and now defunct Protestant worship services *en route* while the “wild” Irish faithfully continued their “*parrot rhyme*” Sunday service.³⁰ All this points for O’Farrell to evidence that the New World forces of secularization and assimilation acted upon emigrants before they even reached their colonial destinations and that they did so in direct proportion to the degree of distance and danger that separated the emigrant from the familiarity and comfort of home:

It was as if the hallowed religious aura, and traditional sense of the sacred habitual to the old world, waned with nautical distance. ... So the voyage out became a kind of pilgrimage – away from religion. Its length was sufficient to disrupt the ordered tenor of old established life patterns... The unpredictable encounter with the elements and the perils of the ocean encouraged the spontaneous prayer of fear, but dissolved or weakened the fabric of organized church-oriented religion.
31

If this was the case, then it is possible to envision Irish Protestants for whom identity, by the time they reached Canada, might have had slightly more to do with being Irish than with being Protestant.

Although the title of the 1877 poem *A Protestant Irishman to His Wife*, presents a particular order in its personal identification that favours religion, the poem itself by

Thomas Young, speaks more of an Irishness held in common in Canada, which had the potential to overcome religious dissonance – even Ireland’s. The key to Young’s common ground was not only origins in a “common land” (Irishness) but also the Canadian soil which over time (forty years for Young, presumably less for ‘Parson E.’) tempered Old World feuds and ultimately suggested a new grouping of Irish brethren which makes the poem worth quoting in its entirety:

Just forty years to-day, my dear,
We sail’d from Irish waters,
And bade farewell, with many a tear,
To Erin’s sons and daughters.

You’ll recollect how ach’d our hearts,
That day in Tipperary,
When we set forth for foreign parts,
For distant woods or prairie.
You know our very hearts were rent
With grief, almost asunder,
And if we thought all joy was spent,
No exil’d heart will wonder.

But soon we reach’d our strange, new home,
Where mighty forests flourish’d
With others, forc’d like us to roam,
Who in our isle were nourish’d.

But now I’m fairly happy here,
And so are you, my Mary,
But still I’ve seen you drop a tear
Betimes, for Tipperary.

We’ve many friends from home, here, now,
And some we call our brothers,
While some we meet with clouded brow,-
Their creed, our feeling, smothers.

There’s some from Dublin, Cork, indeed
There’s some from distant Galway,
But ev’ry man, whate’er his creed,

Should own his country, always.

Tho' one attends the church, and one
Devoutly seeks the chapel,
Agreeably they yet might run,
Nor have one discord apple.

True Irishmen have often met,
One common cause to feel,
And with many a furious onset met,
With valor's clashing steel.

And surely there will come a day,
When common thoughts and aims,
Will shed a pure and healthy ray,
And show what duty claims.

Sure Parson E. went o'er the sea,
And back he came so smily,
With stick so fine from black-thorn tree,
For father John O'Rielly.

Thus we, as Irishmen, should ne'er
Forget our common land,
Or claims of breth'ren ev'rywhere
Upon our heart and hand.³²

Even though Young was Protestant, his poetry reveals him still more to be a loyal son to Erin who invoked 'Erin, mavourneen' and cried 'Erin-go-bragh'. In *Ireland*, in the same publication, Young hoped for peace in his native isle and although his vision of unity was obviously Protestant – 'the sons of Fermanagh and Limerick's daughters' would join in 'loyalty' and 'Religion's bright form' with 'healing pinion' would bring 'truth' 'to all hearts' – his identification of himself as Irish is not hindered in the least by the thousands of miles of sea that separate him from his native land:

Thou green isle of sorrows, I think of thee daily,
And sad are the thoughts that come into my brain,
When here, to my home, o'er the wide, rolling ocean,

Is wafted the news of they trouble and pain.

Oh, Erin! I love thee in spite of thine errors,
 And now for thee, Erin, my heart is forlorn,
 Disturb'd as thou art by such various terrors,
 Thou beautiful isle, where my kindred were born.

E'en now, in my thoughts, I can climb thy steep mountains,
 Or roam through thy valleys, where green shamrocks
 grow,
 Or over they meadows, where hedges of hawthorn
 Stand gracefully clipp'd, an impassable row.

...

Oh, Erin, I roam, in my thoughts, by the rivers,
 I stand by the lakes, in delight at the view,
 And ever I pray for the time, that delivers
 This nation from strife, and from misery, too.

...

And then, in his home, afar o'er the ocean,
 Or by the turf fire, upon Erin's old sod,
 Each Irishman, kneeling in humble devotion,
 Would love all his brothers, while praying to God.

Oh Erin, mavourneen! Let Love's joyous fingers
 Strike out from your harps, one glad, resonant strain,
 And, if one discordant, harsh, jarring note lingers,
 Oh, strike for your country, together again!
 And then, when your hands and your hearts are united,
 When you kneel at one shrine, when you bow to one
 law.
 With a sea of glad brightness, your isle shall be lighted,
 While thunders the chorus, of Erin-go-bragh.³³

In a similar mood, Young wrote a poem entitled *St. Patrick's Day* in which he laid claim to St. Patrick for not only Ireland but for *all* of her Christians, Protestants included:

The Shamrock! May our hearts entwine,
 And meet in one, as it, tho' three;
 And may your patron Saint, and mine,
 Our patron saint forever be.³⁴

Ultimately, Young dedicated one of the largest poems in the publication to *Canada* and in it he evidenced the fact that sometime within his 40 years in Canada he had perhaps become a New World man:

Then to our country's future we may gaze
With gladden'd eyes, and hearts with hope aglow,
That our young country still its head will raise,
And stand 'mid nations, in the foremost row, ...³⁵

Yet Young's vision of his country's future could not help but be largely defined by his own Irish and Protestant past and so he wrote: "When demagogues of party shall retire, Or curb their selfish zeal, their land to save", only then could there be a time "When peacefully the British flag shall wave,..."³⁶ It is not hard to see Thomas Young as an Irishman in his art. The words he left behind show a man who loved his country and had learned to love yet another, despite the fact that he was an Irishman of the Protestant persuasion and very obviously saw Ireland as properly British.

Herein is the problem according to Elizabeth Jane Birch, "Nineteenth century Irish ... immigrants brought to Canada their particular cultural baggage which included class and religious differences. [The] problem in defining who was 'Irish' is that the Anglo-Irish in Canada tended to be members of the established Church of Ireland (Anglican) and so identified with English immigrants of the same ilk with whom they shared a perception of themselves as British subjects."³⁷ This view however, does not coalesce with the findings of the present study's Chapter 6 "Churchmen: Irish and Otherwise" or the words of Mrs. Flemming several pages ago, for whom English voices were a form of torture. Neither does it fit with the choice of Samuel Shaw to 'throw in' with all the Irish in his mess 'with whom he agreed very well', against the Englishman during a shipboard fight.

Nor does it address the fact that Irish immigrants like Frances Stewart never identified themselves specifically as ‘Anglo-Irish’ but rather consistently as ‘Irish’ and only occasionally (for whom it applied) as ‘Northerns’. As for identifying as British subjects, from the Act of Union in 1801 to the creation of the Irish Free State 1920-22, all of Ireland, including all the Irish in Canada did so, it was mostly Orangemen who occasionally and sometimes neurotically strove to drive the point home. Birch claims that the term ‘Irish’ became more exclusively Catholic and Southern Ireland after the Famine years of 1840s and 1850s, but this had more to do with now larger numbers in Catholic Irish emigration and substantial homeland political changes than with any willing, ready surrender of a Irish Protestant identity. Both Mrs. Flemming and Samuel Shaw were writing as late as the 1870s and they obviously claimed for themselves an Irish – even Celtic - inheritance. Birch recoups somewhat, albeit confusingly, later on, when she states that the position of the ‘Anglo-Irish’ in the British hierarchy “is worth noting; for where the indigenous [read: Catholic] Irish saw... [them] as being English, the English-born saw them as being Irish. ... Such confusion continues to haunt us as we strive to define “Irish’ identity both in Ireland itself and in countries such as Canada, which offered fresh hope to Irish emigrants of all classes and religions, particularly in the nineteenth century.”³⁸ For the purposes of this study, what matters is how Irish Protestants in Canada viewed themselves and for the better part of the nineteenth century, until the ‘Troubles’ of the next, that was most certainly as ‘Irish’. Determined to make this very point, the indignant editor of the *Bytown Packet* in 1849 bristled against the *Montreal Herald* ‘s failure to recognize that Protestant Irish were simply ‘Irish’ no matter

what end of the Emerald Isle they came from, and in doing so, he revealed a vision of Irish inclusivity that at the same time, saw him defending the settlement prowess of his fellow Catholic countrymen: ““The Herald is again at fault when he asserts that the real Settlers are Protestants, from the North of Ireland. There is a great majority in Carleton, whether Protestant or Catholic from the South of Ireland, and the Herald is, therefore, grossly mistaken when he supposes that they are ‘Scotch Irishmen’ generally ... You are not Irish ... oh! no; you are a sort of improved, Scotchified Irish!””³⁹ The suggestion then, is that for a time, ‘Irish’ was much more inclusive of all peoples from the Emerald Isle and in some instances, even more Protestant than it was Catholic. Although in its infancy in the 1840s and growing rapidly, the real Catholic corner on Irishness (when Protestantism would be systematically written out of an ‘Irish’ history) came later than Birch claims. It was certainly solidified by the establishment of the Free State, but this would largely be the work of the next century and until that time, Irish Protestants continued to see themselves as quite properly Irish.

A fair portion of the Irish Protestants of this study (those who were Anglo-Irish) had for some time, recognized and reaped benefits from Ireland’s connection to Great Britain, for it was this relationship that had established and sustained a Protestant hegemony in Ireland from Cromwell through the Penal Laws, to Daniel O’Connell, the failed Rebellion and on to Home Rule. Yet even Irish Protestants who associated themselves with Britain saw themselves as entirely individual from the English; as independent partners in defense of Britishness *so long as* it did not interfere with their *Irishness* in any way. This perspective represented the epitome of ‘being Colleen, or,

something in between’: an aspect of Irish Protestantism which is fleshed out more fully in this study’s Chapter 5. This image of the Irish Protestant as Irish (Colleen), but with the prerequisite of the British connection (and therefore in between), was captured by Isabella Valancy Crawford, the young Dublin emigrant in 1857 and subsequent poetess of the Canadian wilderness in *My Irish Love* wherein Crawford, according to Elizabeth Jane Birch, “presents an illusion that Ireland and England exist[ed] in perfect harmony:”

She sat, my Irish love, slim, light and tall ...
Then up sprang the flame
Mad for her eyes;

O worlds, those eyes! There laughter tossed
His gleaming cymbals; large and most divine,
... in her pure depths
Moved Modesty, chaste goddess, snow-white of brow
And shining vestal limbs; rose-fronted stood
Blushing yet strong, young Courage, knightly in
His virgin arms

‘True knight, said she,
‘Your English heart with Irish shamrocks bound!’

A golden prophet of eternal truth,”⁴⁰

Here was the picture of an equal partnership where Crawford’s Ireland stood strong, courageous, even knightly, though blushing, in an eternal embrace (the Act of Union – 1801) with an England dedicated to keeping her that way. Although as commentator, Birch sees only “illusion” and “optimis[m] in the extreme” in this depiction of the relationship between Ireland and England “which went from bad to worse in the nineteenth century”⁴¹, Crawford the poem’s Irish author, is actually quite explicit that *her* focus is singular: her love is Irish, and only Irish, she merely calls upon England to remember that if it be ‘true’, it is ‘bound’ in duty to the interests that best serve Ireland .

Contrary to Birch's claim, there is no illusion here, no irony, simply an identity for Crawford ("an underlying Celtic heritage")⁴² that has been assumed by Birch and other critics to have taken a back seat. They find that Crawford's fairy stories are more "Canadian folklore" than "Celtic" and that her Ireland "was almost totally Anglicised... by the nineteenth century" despite then comparing her work to Oscar Wilde's: "representing the cosmological vision of more than just one Celtic immigrant who had imaginative flair and a facility with language"⁴³ The resulting confusion begs the question: was Crawford Celtic or Canadian? Birch has Crawford answer for herself using a biographical statement penned not long before her death in 1887: "I am of mingl[e]d Scotch, French and English descent, born in Dublin, Ireland."⁴⁴ For Crawford, "born in Ireland" obviously more directly reflected her family's near three centuries in that place than did her vague reference to a distant and mixed pedigree of unnamed ancestors and yet for Birch, Crawford appears silent on her Irishness. Her "*underlying Celtic heritage*" and "*submerged Celtic imagination*" force us to "face the problem of how the Irish perceive themselves."⁴⁵ Birch claims that Canadian society would have greeted the Crawfords as Irish and yet that Isabella could not possibly have identified with the Gaelic/Catholic Irish poor despite her own genteel poverty, a father with an alcohol problem and the loss of *nine* siblings in a post-Famine Ireland. This may itself be representative of what Birch identifies as those "contradictions which exist within the Irish psyche" for she is left trying, with difficulty, to use Crawford's work as representative of Irish women writers, but qualified, as "more in tune with the Canadian landscape than with her childhood homeland" and even where she manages to locate

some Irishness, it is apparently not of the right sort: the silenced, female, presumably Catholic, servant class being preferred. Excerpts from Crawford's *A Hungry Day* – written in dialect - and *Mavourneen* speak otherwise:

I mind him well, he was a quare old chap,
Come like myself from swate old Erin's sod;
He hired me wanst to help his harvest –
The crops were fine that summer, praised be to God!

He found us, Rosie, Mickie and myself,
Just landed in the emigration shed;
Meself was tyn' on their bits of clothes;
Their mother – rest her tender sowl! Was dead.

And whin they spread the daisies thick an' white,
Above her head that wanst lay on me breast,
I had no tears, but took the childher's hands,
An' says, 'We'll lave the mother to her rest.'⁴⁶

Still, there is hope at the end of Crawford's *A Hungry Day*, for this was Canada and according to Margo Dunn, 'the main thrust of Crawford's literary vision grows out of her desire to see Canada created as a new Eden apart from Britain but built in Britain's image.'⁴⁷ That new Eden – the continuation of the independent sister kingdom – would be the vision of many an Irish Protestant now come to Canada. What followed was therefore *a very Irish Protestant view* of New World possibilities from what has been demonstrated to be a very Irish emigrant's heart:

'Twould make yer heart lape just to take a look
At the green fields upon me own big farm;
An' God be praised! All men may have the same
That owns an axe an' has a strong right arm!⁴⁸

In *Mavourneen*, Crawford appears to lament not only the loss of ‘Ireland My Darling’ as the title suggests, but perhaps also the loss of so many siblings buried in the homeland before her family’s transatlantic crossing when she was a young girl:

Cheerless the songs of the thrushes, Mavourneen
 Scentless the blossom of each hawthorn tree;
 Salt is the hot tear that bitterly rushes
 Kneeling by green altar sacred to thee.

Waters of sorrow are soundless, Mavourneen,
 Black as the depths of the deeply hewn grave;
 Heaven above me, so blue, bright and boundless,
 Smiles from the breast of the motionless wave.

And from its black, sullen bosom, Mavourneen,
 Slips up a lily, all snowy to see;
 On sorrow’s dark waters lies star-like the blossom
 Of hope and mem’ry, my Moyna, of thee.⁴⁹

In Canada, a country where “in the 1840s [St. Patrick’s Day] celebrations included mixed Protestant-Catholic dinners at which toasts were made to the Queen, the Pope, the day, the Governor-General and other dignitaries”⁵⁰ it was entirely possible that an Irish Protestant, newly emigrated or not, could figuratively ‘kneel by the green altar’, in ‘sacred’ memory of an Irish homeland, despite a language and religion in common with what was intended (and has certainly been depicted) to be a more dominant English consensus.

An anonymous correspondent with the *Weekly Despatch* in Peterborough fumed at that paper’s competition, the *Gazette*, in 1848 over this very issue and demanded that Irish Protestants be properly identified in the press and elsewhere as not all Orangemen (“We dislike things of this kind, they have a tendency to engender bad feeling.”)⁵¹ but certainly *all Irish*. Claiming that the Orange body held no monopoly on loyalty and

patriotism in the Kingdom, our writer railed against the *Gazette's* editor for “forgetting we suppose that protestants are also Irishmen, he publishes sketches of Irish character, evidently for the purpose of gratifying an ill feeling which persons of his stamp generally entertain towards a majority of the Irish people. We are not to suppose that because many of the people of that country who came to Canada are poor and distressed, that they are all so, or that because some of them are ignorant it has not produced its stars. There are times when every well wisher of his country should endeavour to allay religious or party strifes and we trust that the press of Canada, however humble or obscure, will set the example.”⁵² Perhaps smarting over the far-reaching effects of the previous year in Ireland, such “times” for the *Despatch* man undoubtedly referred to Black '47, but he showed that such ‘times’ could also find an Irishman more nationally identified than religiously. A few weeks later, the *Despatch* carried yet another account of personal identity in its attack on the *Gazette* when “Letters to the Editor” included the following, this time, signed, by **A PROTESTANT IRISHMAN**.

Mr. Editor – The contemptible and slanderous effusions weekly issuing from the ‘Peterborough Gazette’ a paper claiming and receiving the support of Irishmen throughout this District, are of such a prejudiced and abusive nature, as should lead every man having the slightest claims on Ireland to withdraw his support from that calumniating and filthy print.

Week after week his reptile attacks have been made, etc. we have not answered. That indigenous hate which he bears to every thing Irish, is an acidity in his nature which produces a weekly effervescence of genuine John Bullism but paupers as he would have Irishmen called, and ‘State Felon’ as many of them would be called, he and the class to which he belongs will not only receive an answer from them, but also an answer from the poor oppressed paupers of England and Scotland. You pauper Irishmen, you pauper Orange and Popish Irishmen, hear the clerical ‘Peterborough Gazette’, ye wholesale national paupers, Listen to him and his fellow, who would disunite and keep ye in bondage, and who would quench that spirit of nationality which is almost all that has been left you by that impartial and conciliating government of which he is a ‘state prisoner’. Go join with him in

vilifying your own warm hearted hospitable and deluded countrymen, go extol the liberality and disinterestedness of that policy, which has marked them as paupers, - with the hollow eye and the sunken cheek, and the foul foul stamp of famine and misery, go with them and submit unconditionally to the hireling priests, the bloated bishops, and the dissipated aristocracy of that government, whose... breath has weakened your energies, and which, for centuries, has been scathing and blighting everything fair and beautiful in your native land.⁵³

It was perhaps the same ‘Protestant Irishman’ who had taken pains to distinguish *both* Irishmen from their English tormentors who then distinguished himself from an ‘Orangeman’ who had written the *Despatch* during that unsettling post-Rebellion/Famine/pre-Responsible Government period, over the competing daily’s claim that without the loyalty of the large and growing number of Orangemen, British power in Canada could not stand the year. “Indeed! We wonder if that unflinching loyalty... could save the crops,” he declared, “if so, it would be well for our farmers to obtain a sprinkling of it or does this wonderfully loyal and intelligent gentleman mean to say, that our form of Government has had anything to do with the failure of the crop for the last few years, and the inevitable consequence. Nor do we believe that wheat grows any better under a Republican form of Government, than under our own.”⁵⁴ Though our correspondent believed the *Gazette’s* “daub at the Orangemen... too ridiculous to notice”⁵⁵, he apparently could not resist the urge to explain that Orangemen were being given far too much credit for the progress of Canada wherein the farmer, more attentive to his crops than anything a secret society might yield, was in actuality, the more loyal citizen. A third paper, the *Peterboro’ Review*, published the fulminations of “Weasel” in 1854 who, in apparent frustration over the increasing stranglehold being enjoyed in local politics by the Orange Order, reminded that paper’s editor that his literary “labours on behalf of

sound Protestantism are appreciated. Protestantism is not confined to the lodge room, and there are thousands of firm protestants who are not, never was, and never will be orangemen, that will be found to rally round the standard of Civil and Religious Liberty, in the hour of need.”⁵⁶ Here, in public print, were voices representative of the many Irish Protestants who were not Orangemen and yet by ‘Weasel’s’ own admission, they were not a clarion equal to their numbers in comparison to the blast by which its more ‘colourful’ Irish brethren made themselves known. ‘Weasel’ had demurred in the very opening of his lines that he was “a very retired, sly sort of animal, and not much given to gossiping, I can only get my information from listening from my retreat or reading the papers;... .. from my holes and crannys, [I] am enabled to hear both the indoors and outdoors talk...”⁵⁷ So it is for historians of Irish Protestantism in Canada, in the long shadow cast by the Order’s institutionalized persuasion, we are left attempting to describe the everyday lives of those who knew the organization well but for whatever reason, chose to reject it, and are therefore less trumpeted in the annals of the Irish Protestant experience. As Weasel said himself, he “could multiply cases of common folks who, to use a familiar expression, come out of the small end of the horn.”⁵⁸

If nineteenth-century Irish Protestants in Canada, Orange and otherwise, were demonstrably Irish, then they were also demonstrably not Catholic in their perception of themselves and it is perhaps only the means and vigour behind that claim that separated the two. Where an Orangemen might rely once a year on the Lambeg drum to drive his Catholic neighbour to distraction, a non-Orange, Irish Protestant might attempt to do the same more quietly: perhaps the authoring or at least the reading, of a monthly editorial

that warned of Rome's seducing powers. Both forms accepted a very particular vision of what life should be like in a Protestant Ireland and it is not surprising that this vision accompanied those who sought to re-establish themselves in comfortable communities across the sea. Inherent in this identity was a defensiveness and a stubborn prejudice that was born of centuries of religious conflict with Catholic neighbours who, though far less advantaged, were far more numerous and who, after centuries of oppression were becoming more politically astute. Frances Stewart had been in Canada for a little over ten years when she received a letter from Harriet Beaufort, her cousin and former governess, worrying over what appeared to be cataclysmic changes in Protestant Ireland in the aftermath of the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829) and then the reforms to the British Constitution by Lord Althorp's Whigs (the Church Temporalities (Ireland) Act of 1833 specifically, which seriously eroded the Church of Ireland's self-governing status). Beaufort surmised that Ireland's loss might be Canada's gain but her comparison of the relations between Protestants and Catholics in Ireland to End Times is most revealing:

... did you ever read anything like L'd Althorpe's [sic] bill for Church Reform? Think of cutting off ten Bishops at once – and what is still more – taxing the incomes of all the clergy in such an enormous degree. I think you will soon be well supplied with clergy in Canada for I am sure members will flee from the tyranny and injustice here – more indeed I may say – for every thing we hear – and every measure of government shows plainly that it is their intention to put down the protestant church in Ireland – and to let the Cats be established church here – the consequence will be that many will leave Ireland – perhaps indeed will be forced to do so – it seems as if the very dreadful time of wrath foretold in the Revelations was now coming – all we can do is to look forward with faithful hope to the time when the great last struggle will be over – and the happy time of universal peace will come – but who among us will be alive to see that blessed time when the Lion and the Lamb shall lie down together. O'Connell has been making a most violent speech in the house against martial law in Ireland – which I will send...⁵⁹

Harriet worried over the constitution of Frances' neighbourhood too. In a letter dated April 17, 1844, Harriet most intimately asked: "Is Mrs. Traill a Cat. or a Prot.? Every one says Agnes S. [Strickland?, Traill's sister] is a Cat. – but I do not believe it – as to Mrs. Traill – I am sorry Anna has lost her as a near neighbour - " Obviously Harriet had had word of Catherine Parr Traill's qualities as a good neighbour but what interested "Your Ever Loving Old Prosy"⁶⁰ to an apparently greater degree, was the character implied by the woman's religious adherence. Being a "Cat." for a good many Irish Protestants (and Protestants in general for that matter in the nineteenth century) implied many things – none of which were particularly positive. Presumably because of her outstanding role as a solid acquaintance in the bush, Harriet would have had a difficult time believing that Catherine Parr Traill was a Catholic either. It was something to gossip over however, and apparently the rumouring went both ways. Harriet responded in 1850 to Fanny's

very odd question in your last letter - ...viz... poor George Tuite. He did not marry a papist – nor way beneath him - His wife was Miss Wood, daughter of Colonel Wood of Littleton a Gentleman of large fortune in England. ... Hugh Tuite was the eldest – had several years ago married Miss O'Connor – a person of good family – but connected with several R.C. families – for he was brought into Parliament by the R.C. interest – she was a Protestant however herself. She became quite insane having first got into debt in a most terrible degree... she is now in [an asylum] in Paris. She had two children... who are now grown up and are at present in Paris, I believe, where they went to see their unfortunate mother and their Aunt her sister Miss Julia O'Connor – she turned Cat. two or three years ago – and I much fear she will drive them after her.⁶¹

Being 'Cat.' was only a little better than turning 'Cat. '; from a Protestant perspective, the former implied an inherited ignorance which provoked sympathy, while the latter required some unforgiveable mental surrender. Second generation Irish cousins,

Sarah Anne Peebles and Ellen Stewart Dunlop discussed this very matter sometime around 1845 when Peebles wrote Frances' daughter in excitement over the work of the Irish Society both in Dublin and the more remote Dingle peninsula to convert Roman Catholics to Protestantism and confided: "I really wonder how people can be Roman Catholics. About 3 miles from Dingle there is a very bad priest he has divided his chapel into three parts, opposite him is purgatory for all the old men and women, on one side little hell for the young women and on the other, big hell for the young men as he thinks nothing bad enough for them, when any one has offended him he says, their division and all that are in it are cursed for ever."⁶² If this was not bad enough for Ellen, Sarah continued, this time with the dialect mimicked for full effect: "Before last Lent he preached a course of sermons on the blessedness of Matrimony. "Tere are girls enough" he said "but the young men haven't the spirit of cats why don't ye'es up to the girls and make love to them, I havn't a horse, if, I had the horse, I havn't a saddle, I havn't a bridle, I havn't even the spurs and how am I to ride at all why don't ye'es get married and pay me my dues" these sermons were very effectual as before Lent they came in such crowds to him that he had not time to marry them all. When a man is married he has to pay all the money due for masses for the souls of all his relations that have died..."⁶³ Wit and witlessness were often descriptives applied to priests and parishioners respectively, for it was assumed that it took some cunning to seduce masses of people into believing those aspects of Catholicism's Christianity that were distinct from Protestantism. The diary of William McKinney, an Antrim man who spent time in both the United States and Canada mid-century, implies a similar drone-like quality to Catholic observance in an entry

describing when William “Went to the funeral of a man that was killed on the railway - the procession called at the Romish Chapel and the coffin was carried into the house and laid down and their priest began and jabbled over it and when he tired doing that he began and threw water on the people and they got up and took the coffin away to the graveyard then and left it there...”⁶⁴ With less than the empathy of an anthropologist observing some foreign cultural rite in a previously unknown and remote community, McKinney’s references to ‘jabbling’ and ‘throwing water’ reveal the level of segregation in the Irish divide that enabled a fellow countryman, a Sunday School Teacher even, to distance himself during a Christian ceremony for a man whom he knew well enough to attend his funeral but not value its solemnity.

Irishman Henry Johnson was even less empathetic than McKinney in his report to his wife in 1848 describing his onboard experiences with fellow countrymen sailing from Ireland to New York via Liverpool. In rough waters off the Irish Coast, with a ship taking on water, Johnson not only revealed the character of uncertainty and danger in nineteenth century Atlantic crossings, he revealed his own.

There was fur-five hundred onboard all Roman Catholics with the exception of about forty protestants and a more Cowardly Set of hounds than the same papists I never seen. In the time of danger they would do nothing but sprinkle holy water, cry, pray, cross themselves and all sorts of Tomfoolery instead of giving a hand to pump the ship and then when danger was over they could carry on all sorts of wickedness and they are just the same any place you meet them at home or abroad. ... One old fellow Kept me laughing nearly the whole time at the way he was getting on. The very Senses were frightened out of him Cursing and praying in one breath. I got such a disgust at the party of papists at this Scene that I felt almost as if I could have submitted to go down if I had got them all with me. “God forgive me.”⁶⁵

A remarkably similar account comes from William Campbell, a physician from Templepatrick, Co. Antrim, who emigrated in 1832 and came face to face with danger at sea as well as cultural prejudice in his encounter with an obviously Catholic fellow-countryman. “There was one however that I could not but remark, when the storm was at the worst he was upon his knees with his hands clasped around the mast beating his breast and vociferating with religious fear, ‘Hail Mary! Sweet Mary! Mother of God Save Us.’ I gave him a kick on the posterior and ordered him up to assist, told him there was no time to be lost in praying upon such an occasion, he turned round with a face... that would have made a complete frontispiece to the Book of Lamentation, and sung out ‘Sweet Mary Save Us.’⁶⁶ Both records attest to a very Protestant sense of ‘getting on’ in times of peril and a prejudice toward the notion of ‘works’ in salvation: incantation or ritual would save neither ship nor soul, but applying muscle and mindset to bales of water would do both. The former, from a Methodist (a “truculent Protestant” according to the letter’s editor, the author’s ancestor) recently released from Carrickfergus Jail for debt during the Famine, to his Presbyterian wife, and the latter, by a young Protestant doctor early in the settlement of Upper Canada to his Minister father, are rare given Ulster’s illiteracy rates, but also because of their directness of feeling and honesty.⁶⁷ The harshness of the embittered anti-Catholicism from these sources which do not appear to have had obvious Orange connections, is perhaps a measure of both Henry’s and William’s station in their journey from Ireland to Canada: the relative space and tolerance that Canada would invoke, had not yet opportunity to act accordingly upon their

prejudice and the only ‘work toward saving’ they could contemplate was the kind predestined to be accompanied by aching muscles.

This was certainly the case for the aforementioned Charles Elliott aboard the *Prince of the Seas* who like Campbell, made distinctions between an “*Irish man* “wild”” and an Irishman otherwise. Elliott admitted that he had “never had such an opportunity of judging [such] – a most infernal lot of blackguards [as] are the dirty Irish Papists... [who] had what they called prayers in the steerage as usual in the morning and were hardly off their knees till they had a hard box among themselves...”⁶⁸ According to Patrick O’Farrell, Elliott’s “was a classic case of the intolerant attitudes generated by the separation of the religious communities in Ulster being confirmed and hardened by the shipboard proximity. ... Until the end of the voyage the Irish Papists in the steerage persisted with what Elliott called their ‘*parrot rhyme*’ Sunday service.”⁶⁹ O’Farrell claims that when Irish passengers boarded ships bound for destinations far from home, they “entered as inhabitants of the weekly cycle of an old and rigid world: [but] many emerged already transformed, loosened by the chaos of sea and sky and by the social flux into which they had been drawn.”⁷⁰ At the near end of her long journey, anchored at quarantine off Grosse Isle in 1849, Jane White appeared slightly more forgiving than Elliott in her Sunday observations to friend, Eleanor Wallace in Ireland. “The Roman Catholic religion is established here, I saw a very pretty steamer boat on Sunday afternoon last, which was St. John’s day, it came past here on a pleasure excursion from Quebec, full of people gaily dressed... they were accompanied by a ... Band and played, The Troubadore, Garry Owen and other tunes, it was a very handsome sight... but it

showed a very bad respect for the Lord's Day they are only to be excused on account of being Papists..."⁷¹ White, like Johnson, Campbell and Elliott, all held varying degrees of homeland prejudices that had not yet been shaken to the point of release, but they would find that life in Canada would surely be a catalyst, for this "was to board another strange ship, engage in further unpredictable and uncertain voyages, with an even more various assembly of unfamiliar traveling companions, where Sunday vanished and had to be built again, and where once more the elements and emptiness sought dominion of the earth."⁷² Both Irish, Catholic and Protestant, arrived in Canada with their identities intact: letters home often reassured and confirmed to friends and family that little in that regard had changed. Yet here, where there was more elbow room and other competing senses of identity and place, they found themselves increasingly more reliant on one another's presence in their efforts to establish their own. The result in time was that men like Elliott, who were finally given the opportunity to judge their fellow countrymen by their own experiences rather than solely by inherited rhetoric, found they could make accommodations not possible in the homeland and still 'keep the faith'.

While reminiscing, author Harry Boyle offered proof that Irish communities transferred their animosities unchanged to Canada when he answered his own question: "Am I Really As Celtic As They Say?" in Volume II of *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*. Boyle gave an example of how early settlements in Canada could mirror those of the Irish parent where well-known boundaries separated the "us" from the "them". Like Peterborough to Cavan and North Emily to South Emily, Boyle's mostly Catholic, 'St. Augustine, Ontario' literally had its own 'Belfast, Ontario', "where the drums

resounded menacingly on summer nights leading up to the glorious twelfth.”⁷³ Within this territory, where according to Boyle, “there were only two races – “The Irish” and “Them””, Boyle’s people, even as third generation Irish, claimed they felt more akin to the English Methodists of Donnybrook or the Scots of Lucknow than they did their own Protestant countrymen and “if a Celtic tie had been suggested between ourselves and ‘Them’, it certainly would have provoked an argument, to say the least, or more likely a bloodied nose, depending on the circumstances.”⁷⁴ They apparently found the local Scots to be ““Good men when you were cornered,” the proportion for conflict being, as I remember, eight of “Them” against two of us: one Irish, one Scot, a fair proportion.”⁷⁵ And yet as a purveyor of the oral tradition, handed down to him by his “superb” storytelling grandfather, Boyle reveals who his people were via reference to the very “thems” they claimed to be separate from. Catholics and Protestants from Ireland found ways to coexist with one another in Canada and eventually, define themselves in terms of the other, before surrendering themselves, generations later, as Canadians. Indeed, Boyle later concedes that “in the case of our antagonism towards the Belfast men, it was more a matter of words than of violence. I remember a staunch adherent of the Orange Order dying and a great uncle of mine pronouncing, “Ah well, where old Tom is going he’ll have a great advantage – being able to light his pipe with his finger in place of a match.”⁷⁶ Still more, Boyle admits that many accommodations were in fact made. “The Murphys lived across the concession road from the Chammeys [and] on the seventeenth of March a green flag floated over the Murphy home – and they exchanged no words with the Chammeys. The same thing happened on the twelfth of July, when the Orange emblem

flew from a pole in the Chammeey yard. On other days they were civil and even worked cooperatively; and it is still recalled as being a day of great reconciliation when Mrs. Chammeey provided a plate of fried eggs for Mike Murphy when he happened to be helping on a Friday.”⁷⁷ Despite his memories of very distinct identities in rural Ontario, in the end, Boyle’s work provides more evidence of an accepted bantering amongst the Irish than it does any actual battering or bloodied noses.

No matter what lens one looks through, Protestant or Catholic, Elliott’s or Boyle’s, the ‘us’-es often spoke of the ‘thems’ in the exact same terms as the other side’s ‘thems’ did of ‘us’: on both sides, there was a mutual understanding. Writing home to his brother in Dublin from Peterborough in 1836, lawyer and Church of Ireland man, Stafford Kirkpatrick admitted to as much when he enthusiastically reported: “...My business I am happy to say is very good and likely to get better. Being an old country man goes a great way among a population composed exclusively of that set but being an Irishman goes much farther with those from the Emerald Isle.”⁷⁸ Kirkpatrick’s news of happy prospects revealed that there *were* times when an attachment to Ireland could unite both its peoples, now far away. Such accord did not preclude criticisms however, and from the Protestant perspective, these often took the form of questioning the ‘other’s’ intelligence despite the entertainment it provided. Kirkpatrick wrote again after a return trip home, from the ship *Patrick Henry* in 1840 in which he condemned, out of all “Our passengers [who] are English Irish and Yankee merchants who have not one idea beyond dollars and cents... One man and I regret to say a country man did nothing the whole voyage but abuse everything British – he used to tell the most outrageous stories I ever

heard, one was that when in Dublin he saw in the library of TCD [Trinity College Dublin] a work on Mexico which cost £30,000!!! ...the other was that the mail from Limerick to Dublin performed the distance in 8 hours.”⁷⁹ It is likely that Kirkpatrick’s talkative braggart was an Irish Catholic given his widespread disdain for things British, and yet he was both memorable and noteworthy for the value he held as ‘other’, the very picture of how not to be, which, once confirmed by Stafford’s brother, Alexander, solidified the two Irishmen’s own sense of identity.

With similar purpose, the Hughes family, “Anglo-Irish and loyal to the core,” were entertained for several generations with the tale of an unidentified Irishman in Fenelon Falls whom they chose to call ‘Paddy Shannon’ who

Every Saturday night... walked over the hills to one of the taverns. He took the shortcut through the Anglican cemetery, which was on top of a very high hill above the village. At closing time Paddy, well fortified, retraced his steps and, as he crossed the cemetery, he bated [sic] the dead Protestants lying there.

This weekly escapade became known and aroused the ire of the Anglicans. Some young men decided Paddy must be taught a lesson. The next Saturday, at midnight, Paddy climbed the hill, opened the gate, and shouted: “Come on, you Protestant sons of bitches, arise and burn forever in hell!”

From behind the tombstones, white-sheeted figures rose with shrieks and groans. Paddy stopped dead in his tracks, speechless with fright. Recovering some of his composure, he exclaimed: “Aw, go on back to your graves, ye damn fools; Sure it’s only poor old Paddy Shannon coming home drunk on a Saturday night.”⁸⁰

William Perkins Bull also recorded an “amusing anecdote” for posterity in his record of the Orangemen and Irish Protestants of Peel County which included an unnamed Roman Catholic in Alton who was down on his luck:

... No one would help him he said; even prayer had failed.

“Well, said his addressee, an Orangeman named Waters, “why don’t you write to God?”

The idea seemed good, so the grumbler wrote, “Dear lord – me and the missus and children are starving. I am among a bunch of freethinkers and Orangemen. I pray you to send me \$50.00, so I can get something to eat and get away from here.”⁸¹

After the Derry West District Lodgemen had “frowned a little [and] laughed a little” they passed the hat and collected \$25.00 for their Catholic neighbour who, with suspicion asked:

“Did you deliver my letter?”...

“Yes,” said Waters, “I delivered your letter and here is \$25.00.”

“Gosh,” he said, “I asked for fifty. God wouldn’t hold out on me like that. The damned Orangemen must have kept back twenty-five.”⁸²

Alton’s ‘Roman Catholic’ along with ‘Paddy Shannon’ and the ‘countryman’ aboard the *Patrick Henry* with Stafford Kirkpatrick, were worth recording in family and local histories and in letters home because they represented a form of ‘theatre’ which bound and confirmed the audience’s own identities and assured, through familiar homeland stereotyping, that their own sense of Irish Protestant community would continue in the New World. Although it is beyond the scope of the present study, Irish Catholic productions probably recorded very similar sentiments.⁸³

In Canada, distance, space, other national interests and identities and eventually time, softened the Irish determination to have at one another, and serious confrontation gave way to a more ritualistic discourse that enabled ‘Paddy’ to be assailed more by word than deed and sometimes, not at all. The former Fermanagh man, Nathaniel Carrothers, now some thirty years in Canada, commented on the change. “The Cathelickes hear are quite different from what the[y] are in Ireland the[y] are happy and content under the british crown; but I see the[y] have been making a considerle rising with youes this month

and the[y] have ben eisy put down;”⁸⁴ Even in response to Fenian threats, Carrothers was convinced that Irish Catholics in Canada comprised a new breed of people: “as we are all loyal hear the[y] will get no aid or assistance on the soil of Canada. The[y] have no simpothisers hear, the roman Cathelickes hear are all loyal and our volintears are made up with a great many of them.”⁸⁵ Not all Irish Protestants shared the level of magnanimity in Carrothers’ vision, but ‘otherness’ in Canada was more likely to be distantly tolerated than insistently purged. Patrick Maguire wrote to John Huston in Cavan from Port Hope in 1840 defending his loyalty despite his Roman Catholicism in the face of

the narrow mindedness and long cherished bigotry which ha[d] existed in... [his] Regiment since its first organization. ... With regard to my being attached to the 2nd Durham... my commission dated the 4th Oct. 1828 speaks for itself without any comments from me. ...this is not a time to indulge in any unfriendly feelings – rather let each do what we can to promote unity of feeling for the benefit of all and for the ultimate advantage of our Sovereign whom we are bound to serve and obey. ...when my services are required in the defence of my Country I know where to look for a Company.⁸⁶

As the only Irish Catholic in an all-Irish Protestant Township and the focus of the latter’s intimidation and entertainment, Patrick, of the “To Hell with the Pope and Paddy Maguire!”⁸⁷ fame, must have at times wondered if New World transformation was entirely possible for the Protestant countrymen who were his neighbours. However, his fifty-one prosperous years in Cavan, his Justice of the Peace appointment, his rank as Lieutenant-Colonel in the local militia, his esteemed reputation and the fact that he signed his letter to Huston: “believe me to remain as usual your devoted friend in haste,”⁸⁸ is perhaps evidence that he believed they already had.

Maguire's call to 'promote unity of feeling for the benefit of all' certainly seemed to be echoed by Dr. Thomas Hay, husband to Frances Stewart's eldest daughter, Anna Maria, who wrote Irish relatives describing Canada as the new haven of Irish ecumenism some decades later. He viewed Canada as the elixir for Irish extremism, even that of the "Phoenix Park Assassins"⁸⁹, the Irish National Invincibles, who had murdered two high profile Dublin Castle representatives nine months previous. Hay indicated that "such dreadful events" might be avoided by the offer of Canada's "boundless prairie" that would scatter abrading Irish identities. "What a pity the Government does not spend more money in getting passages to this Country for them [Irish emigrants]. A very large proportion of our population are Irish or descendents of Irish and a more peaceable and law abiding people never existed. We never hear a word of revolution or anything of the kind. A man may be of what ever religion he chooses and hold whatever political views he likes."⁹⁰ William Hutton of Sidney, near Belleville would have concurred. Twenty years after his emigration from near Dublin, schoolteacher, farmer, public servant and Protestant, Hutton seemed to have gained the clarity of perspective that comes with distance on the antagonisms that plagued his Protestant and Catholic countrymen at home. In response to his perusal of the weekly papers he still received from Ireland, Hutton wrote his in-laws in Strabane, Co. Tyrone in disgust over the religious fracas coming from the General Assembly's published discussions. He found them all "very interesting" but "more than all Mr. Dill's tirade against the Roman Catholics" inspired his treatise on Irish relations:

It is truly absurd to suppose that such a document as that could be of any use in proselitysing them. It is much to be regretted that Christian ministers display so

much bigoted feeling to gain a short lived popularity with vicious politicians, instead of endeavouring to reclaim vicious professing Christians. Dill knows right well that every Catholic who reads his tirade (if one does read it) will only cling the closer to his creed on account of the species of persecution inflicted by him – every Protestant who reads it (unless his mind be well regulated) would in self exaltation ‘thank heaven that he was not as other men are’. Not one good Christian feeling would occur to either Protestant or Catholic on its perusal. Many of these red hot Protestant Divines will, I hope, wonder with mighty wonder and no doubt rejoice too to see many Roman Catholics higher up than themselves in the Mansions of our Father’s house. ... It is a great pity that an assembly of Divines should allow it to be said of them frequently, and I fear deservedly, that they are not a whit better than other men in their collective capacity.⁹¹

And then, distinguishing Ireland’s “thems” and “others” from Canada’s, Hutton, on the eve of the secularization of the clergy reserves, imparted that “In our state of society it is most desirable to have perfect religious equality – no one church a whit better than another except morally – as the conduct of those attached to it either raises or sinks it.”⁹²

Hutton’s letters emphasized distinguishing characteristics in Canada that could not be found at home in Ireland: the “free grants”, the “260 acres at present”, “the distances in Toronto [which were] monstrous”, the “too much prosperity” and the “blessing... peculiar to Canada” of too many children, all of which meant that “young lads have plenty of room here and are not elbowed and jostled through life as they are at home.”⁹³

Hutton’s ability to see the hypocrisy on both sides of the religious divide in Ireland as well as his hope for the conduct of denominations in Canada where there was ‘elbow room’, reveal him to be one of his suggested few, ‘well-regulated’ Protestant minds who chose to emphasize Christian similarity over doctrinal or cultural difference. The fact that Nathaniel Carrothers saw loyalty in Irish Catholic Canadians and Thomas Hay saw potential settlers, suggests that his was not the only one.

Certainly in Irish Canada there was “narrow mindedness and long cherished bigotry” as Patrick Maguire described from experience, but the Hughes’ “Paddy Shannon” in Fenelon Falls was just as likely to be a valued neighbour in time of need as the source for good story-telling and amusement amongst successive generations. Admittedly “playing down the presence of religious rivalry in the early days”, Aileen Young recounts the oral traditions of Martin Coughlin, “a colourful Douro character in the old tradition” in one of “the most Irish of the townships around Peterborough”⁹⁴ who provided a similar example:

Martin told me of one place where all on one side of the line were Protestant Orangemen and on the other Irish Catholic. All the neighbours had agreed to help raise a barn on a certain day, when they suddenly remembered that it would be the 12th of July. ‘Sorry, we can’t come, we’ll be away that day’ some said. ‘But promptly on the morning of the 13th everybody turned out to a man’, Martin recalled, “and merrily joined in the job of raising the barn together.”⁹⁵

This same source, in telling “More about Persons and Places in Douro” details a visit to Young’s Point and the home of one Harry Ayotte which was enlightening for its universal flavour which struck our author when invited to perform “Road to the Isles” at the Ayotte’s piano. “To find in the heart of Irish Douro a song of Scotland so beloved in the home of a French-Canadian [and his Irish wife] seemed to me further evidence of the healthy cosmopolitan spirit that has contributed so much to the growth of Douro down through the years.”⁹⁶ J.A. Edmison claimed that these very qualities of ‘community’ in Douro’s past would serve it best in the future. “This is a township of tolerance as regards religions and races. It is true that there have been occasional ‘incidents’ on such ‘ominous’ days as March 17th and July 12th, but all that is “far away and long ago”. ... There have always been, on a personal basis, strong inter-faith friendships and mutual co-

operation when same was needed.”⁹⁷ Even ‘far away and long ago’, on those same ‘ominous’ days, and during those same ‘incidents’, co-existence if not co-operation could be had in the manning of the big bass drum by Catholic neighbours on parade day and in the borrowing of money at Lodge for Catholic neighbours in need, and of names for Irish Catholic boys who happened to be born on the twelfth. The latter was the case for “One of the children of Owen Garvey, a confirmed Roman Catholic... A neighbouring lady of Orange sympathies suggested that he be called William in honour of the day, and the family listened equably to all her arguments. There was something to what she said, they admitted, and topical names were interesting, so, since they had no Williams in their family, they would just compromise by calling the boy Patrick.”⁹⁸

What turned out to be no compromise at all in northern Peel, reveals that two distinct Irish identities on Canadian soil, had found a way to both rally *and* rely on one another. “That was a great day,” admit two ‘old-timers’ in Perkins Bull’s study of the Irish in Peel County when “by mutual consent both parties, equipped with sticks, adjourned to fight their quarrel[s]”, in a time and place when an “old fashioned free-for-all put up by... Irishmen” could make one “glad I was to have the chance of putting this blackthorn shillelagh to the use for which nature designed it.”⁹⁹ In places like Ballycroy, “that tough little Irish settlement on the county line”, “the recognized Protestant-Romanist fighting ground in those fire-eating days”, “embattled Orangemen” would thrill to rendezvous under cover of night to Lodge while Inn-keeper Fealey’s “Papist toughs” would comply by turning awaiting, lone horse and cutter in the opposite direction just to announce that they had been there.¹⁰⁰ “Those were the days”¹⁰¹ claim Perkins Bull’s

informants, summing up the sentiment that required one to be chased in order for running in the schoolyard to be truly fun. With ‘recognized fighting grounds’, ‘mutual consent’ and shillelaghs of Irish blackthorn ‘designed by nature’, there was something very acceptable in the ritualistic format that fellow Irishmen of different religious persuasions chose to meet one another with on Canadian soil. J. McGregor, an Englishman in the Maritimes in the early nineteenth century, was confident that this was because Irishmen, once in Canada, were different; they were “neither turbulent nor immoral. That they soon become... *in all the... colonies*, very different people to what they were before they left Ireland is very certain. The cause is obvious – they are more comfortable, and they work cheerfully.”¹⁰² Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants in Canada most certainly maintained their identities as such, but they did so with increasing reference and mutual opposition to one another and in a manner that had more to do with defining who they were not, than with any forceful demonstration of who they were. In the expanse of good Canadian soil and in the maze of thick Canadian woods, traditional Irish battles gave way to a banter that suggested both sides were open to revisions.

According to Gregory S. Kealey, serious demonstrations of Irish identity in Canada coincided quite tightly with the well-known Orange and Green calendar, being March 17, July 12, and November 5, and never reached the level of riot experienced in the Irish model. The wholesale destruction of property and wanton violence that were the hallmarks of Irish clashes in places like Belfast, were not so of Irish communities co-existing across the sea, even in those ‘tough, little Irish’ places like Ballycroy. Where there was what might be termed Irish ‘rioting’ in Canada, it was highly ritualized, with a

recognizable set of informal limits and it had much more to do with marking territory or ‘trailing coats’ as Kealey recalls, than with shedding blood. “Orangemen and Irish Catholics clashed 22 times in the 25 years between 1867 and 1892. On only two of these occasions did serious violence occur to fracture the pattern of restrained ritual riot. ... The pattern should not surprise us, for collective violence of this kind is neither random nor spontaneous but is most often ‘given some structure by the situation of worship or the procession that was the occasion for the disturbance.’”¹⁰³ In effect, the pattern reveals how Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants defined themselves: according to each ‘other’ and in the case of Irish Protestantism, in terms of what they were not – ‘No Popery!’ and ‘No Surrender!’ – than with what they truly were. In this way, both identities came to rely heavily on the other for their own sense of community and self-awareness. It was only when these unofficially agreed upon terms (or ‘set informal limits’) were transgressed that there was occasion for extraordinary circumstance, or ‘fracturing of the pattern’, such as that in 1875 with the Jubilee Riots and the O’Donavon Rossa Riot of 1878. Still, according to Kealey, the former was marked by a crowd whose relative self-control outweighed its immense numbers, and the latter, where the only casualties were the windows of Cosgrove’s Hotel, St. Patrick’s Hall and various stores up Jarvis Street, appears more worthy for the fact that its one night duration marked the beginning of a decade of relative quiet. “In both cases the Orange crowds were aroused by the transgression of the informal limits set upon sectarian display by years of ritual riot. In both cases, Toronto Catholics seemed to be extending their territory beyond previous definition.”¹⁰⁴ Both cases were outside of the usually “localized and slight” displays of

Irish territorialism and domination-for-the-day and both cases were characterized by extenuating circumstances on an international scale.¹⁰⁵ The exceptions, though serious eruptions, should not prove the rule, and for the better part of the nineteenth century in Ontario with regard to the Irish, “shows of strife more often resembled rugged games than vicious riot.”¹⁰⁶ Of the “notable restraint” that accompanied the breaking of heads in Irish faction fights, Kildare Dobbs confirms that “There was commonly more violence in the newspaper reports and street ballads that followed than in the events themselves.”¹⁰⁷

That the Irish in Canada met under such unofficially agreed upon terms, is a measure of aspects of a shared Irish identity. Though neither side chose to consistently emphasize or celebrate a mutual national identity or common Christianity, according to Don Akenson, who cites an Irish Protestant emigrant boasting of himself and his ability with the blarney as a “thoroughbred Paddy”, with regard to Irishness, “neither Catholics nor Protestants had any doubt that they were Irish.”¹⁰⁸ Akenson’s Irishman admitted in a rare moment of candidness and reassurance, that even far from home, ‘I do not neglect to read the Bible daily... It is a habit which from being so accustomed to both at home and with uncle that I would feel uncomfortable were I to break it off’ and yet, in general, such references in emigrant letters to religion and sense of origin were “so much taken for granted that [they] rarely required[d] comment.”¹⁰⁹

With this being the case, the following Irish Catholic settler highlighted by Akenson, probably speaks for the great silent majority of *both* faiths whose ‘habits so accustomed to at home’ accompanied them overseas. Referring to World War I and the twentieth century as the great harbinger of change he recalled how previously, “Without

having given it a thought, I had accepted my family's values and mentally regarded myself as Irish. I remember distinctly the day I recognized that I was something else as well."¹¹⁰ For the time being and for the better part of the nineteenth century, the Irish in Canada were Irish long before they became Canadians and with respect to one another, they were almost interchangeably: 'low Irish', 'loyal Irish', 'damned Irish', 'dirty Irish', 'countrymen', 'northerns', 'southerns', 'wild Irish', 'the better sort of Irish', or put simply, both 'Cats.' and 'Prods.' were the 'other' side of a very complicated but intertwined, Irish identity. Evidence to this common yet conflicted identity was provided by the Roman Catholic Chaplain of the Provincial Penitentiary who warned in 1853 that "persons must not... judge of the Irish character from that of many of those we see in this Country, nor from the lying accounts with which the English Press generally teem. ... this prejudice was really carried so far, that I have known a certain Judge for whom the knowledge of one being an Irishman, and particularly an Irish Roman Catholic, was a sufficient evidence to obtain conviction..."¹¹¹ When the Scotch engineer and surveyor, John MacTaggart wrote of his Three Years in Canada in 1829, he did not distinguish according to religion in his descriptions of the 'low Irish'; he held Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic equally in contempt. Describing Irish canal workers (who were of both faiths), MacTaggart complained that "The common people of Ireland seem to me to be awkward and unhandy. What they have been used to they can do very well; but when put out of their old track, it is almost impossible to teach them any thing. ... You cannot get the low Irish to wash their faces, even were you to lay before them ewers of crystal water and scented soap: you cannot get them to dress decently, although you supply them with

ready-made clothes; they will smoke, drink, eat murphies, brawl, box, and set the house on fire about their ears, even though you had a sentinel standing over with fixed gun and bayonet to prevent them.”¹¹² MacTaggart’s Irish were thus ‘Irish’ regardless of their faith and that meant they were more likely to fell trees upon themselves or square their own shins than hatchet out an existence in the Canadian wilderness. The prevalence of such views may help to explain the necessity of organizations like the Orange Order for Irish Protestants. Irish Catholics in isolated settlements on the other hand, faced a somewhat more difficult task. Sydney Smith outlined the problem that faced both when he stated: “The moment the very name of Ireland is mentioned, the English [and obviously others] seem to bid adieu to common feeling, common prudence, and common sense.”¹¹³

Perhaps it was this challenge to Irishness in general, despite the intricacies of how Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics labeled and greeted each other and what side was more maligned, along with the potential for change that Canada’s newness offered, that enabled Irishmen of both persuasions to remain Irish enough to oppose one another and yet do so in a very Canadian way. Distinguishing “Ireland and the Irish Canadians”, Kildare Dobbs recognized that while traditional conflict *had* been imported, “coming to terms with the new country kept us too busy to indulge obsessions... .. There is something about the Canadian air that gradually heals fanaticisms. Ours is a country made possible by accepting the otherness of other people, by agreeing to differ and so learning to become what we are.”¹¹⁴ To use the phrase of Dobbs’ editors, Robert O’Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, ‘When it mattered’ in Canada, the linking of the Irish: Orange, Green and even those in between, was both possible and practicable such as in

the 1836 elections which united both sides of the Irish interest in support of Sir Francis Bond Head and the Tories over Mackenzie's increasingly threatening Reformers. When Irish Protestant voted for Irish Catholic and vice versa throughout Upper Canada's Counties, the *Toronto Patriot* and *Hamilton Gazette* had reason to acknowledge that "the Irish have been astonishingly effective, manifesting... an unanimity unspeakably praiseworthy and as invincible as admirable. All petty jealousies, party feuds, religious differences were thrown overboard with common consent and hearty goodwill."¹¹⁵ Hereward Senior shows that although not typical, this kind of community among the Irish was not exceptional. There were many occasions where Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics found cause with one another enough to march together in support or defiance of Tenants Leagues, Famine Relief, Confederation, Fenianism, Irish politics and personages, and of course, St. Patrick's Day was held sacred to both.¹¹⁶ Indeed, Senior reminds us of the many times that "Ogle Gowan declared himself to be a Celt."¹¹⁷ "In spite of their differences, which could be a matter of life or death, Irishmen of all shades remained Irish in their hearts and minds. The Orange and Green often quarrel, are usually in a state of armed neutrality, but have a shrewd sense of their own interests [and consequently, the others'] and seem to enjoy working together when they think it wise."¹¹⁸

For a good portion of the nineteenth century in Canada, national identities remained intact and it was not uncommon to find such distinctions celebrated as a hallmark of the new way of 'getting on' in a large and relatively unpopulated country. Although for Irish Protestants an overseas neighbourhood of Irish Protestants was always

preferable, it was quite possible to remain Irish Protestant in a very mixed society and still get along. Isaac Sloane, a latecomer in the history of the diaspora, wrote in 1892 of his new community which he identified as being ‘Orange’, literally, in name only. Sloane, already an elderly man when he left Ireland that same year, was struck that any divisions in his new surroundings had more to do with horse racing than politics and he seemed genuinely relieved by the change. “‘There is a lot of Irish papests in and about Orange but politicks is at a very low eb. It seems that if there was an election and a race meeting on the same day there would be few at the pole.’ Later he was to note ‘no open bigots here’... ‘You won’t be ast what you are at least I haven’t yet’”¹¹⁹ What he was in his new environment was an Irish Protestant freed to discuss racing odds with his Catholic neighbours, to wish Home Rule upon his homeland, to drink a little, play “the rough Irish man” to those he judged ‘too fine’ and wish, specifically as an Irishman, for a little “something green to look at” in his arid climate.¹²⁰ According to Patrick O’Farrell, Isaac Sloane had become a New World man – he “was a convert to colonial ways – or most of them...”¹²¹ Obviously Sloane was not a complete colonial *convert*, he appears in several ways to be a man who felt free to *revert* to familiar Irish ways – politically aware regarding Home Rule, self-aware enough to ‘play’ the Irishman, and agonizingly aware of the great distance that now separated him from ‘something green’, *had* Sloane been asked ‘what he was’, and had ‘politicks’ *not* been at such a ‘low eb’, he most likely would have claimed his Irish Protestantism. Still, New World influences had acted upon his condition enough that he might disclose his perception that here, the Irish were at least not *openly* against one another.

Aspects of an Irish heritage that lingered had much to do with an intertwined identity, with territory and accessibility and especially with perceived threats to the same. Joseph Witherow was automatically of the opinion that his removal from his job in North Queensland was the result of two new Roman Catholic Managers and not some personal character flaw or inability:

Whenever they found out that I was an Irish Protestant they both had a set on me, with the result I had to leave my Billet to make room for a man who owed the firm a lot of money. The rumour went round that I would have to leave to let this man get my situation... ..I was advised to not give in my resignation until I first asked this *Mr. Doyle* if there were any truth in the rumour... He said to me... Witherow & don't believe any lying reports, so I took his word as truth &... one week after that he came to me & said Witherow your time will finish in a week so what do you think of an old scoundrel like that.¹²²

Whether or not Witherow was challenged in personal and professional relations, his perception of his situation was based in Old World hostilities. However, for a Derry-man to have been the employee of 2 Irish Catholic bosses: some aspects of life in the colonies had certainly proved to be more accommodating than was possible in Ireland. In 1850, Marianne Gurd wrote home to Co. Longford to her sister Fanny Payne and admitted that although it was always more happy and advantageous for one to be able to remain in Ireland as an Irishwoman “amongst their friends [than] to come to a distant land... [but] if so circumstanced...one may be as well here. There's for and against any place. [But] I'd be very glad if Providence sent some of my own to live near me.”¹²³ Still, Marianne accepted her lot and found acceptance herself amongst a very

interesting mixture of French, Scotch, English and Irish. Our neighbour is English, his wife north of Ireland. All manner and kind of houses of worship. I go regularly to the English Church. Joe minds Baby and has dinner ready, he goes for the evening... St. Ann's Church is mine now, a nice young English clergyman.¹²⁴

Marianne had been three years in ‘America’ and had already become familiar with “The Yankees [who] have the name of being very knowing and great rogues, [and] the Canadians [who] are really nice people... unsuspecting, and a quiet people”¹²⁵ both of whom, she obviously distinguished herself from. In her own words, she was Irish, and would remain so while she ‘longed to hear from and dreamt continually of home’¹²⁶. She did her part with the news of home as well and saw fit to relay that “Old Ned Murray of Longford is here and turned Protestant... I never see him but he works and drinks by turn.”¹²⁷ Keeping tabs on her countryman, especially his spiritual welfare, was a worthy task for Gurd because knowing the ‘Green’, even if it had turned ‘Orange’, was an important means to self-awareness and expression in a neighbourhood that, despite one’s best efforts, no longer resembled what it used to.

The colonial life of James Hamilton Twigg of Cookstown, Co. Tyrone, toward the close of the nineteenth century, provides a fitting demonstration of the changes that had taken place in Irishmen on new soil, in new situations and with a new sense of their old selves. Though terribly homesick, and desirous of news from home, James did not find comfort in religion or status in politics. Although he attended a Protestant church, he found the local clergymen to be ““some awful rotters here, the cast-off dregs of the old country””¹²⁸ and he felt more privileged as the recipient of his Aunt Jane’s gift of socks than the Bible she sent his brother. He worried that the ‘illuminated texts’ she included to decorate the walls of his shanty might make ‘the boys’ think it was a church. He worried too that Ireland had changed too much in his absence and he was annoyed that all Irishmen suffered the reputation of agitators in the face of Nationalist extremism. “He

was himself a moderate loyalist and was irked by the disruptive reputation which spilled over from the activities of Irish nationalists to affect all Irishmen. ... ‘Those damned Nationalists give Irishmen a bad name for loyalty all the world over but it is all bark.’”¹²⁹ James was determined that his work plastering his new house was “going to be a credit to “Ould Ireland” and yet when his family enquired about another form of local shelter, the Orange Lodge, Twigg must have appeared a much paler shade of his former self. He replied: “Re Orangeism I believe there are lodges in the larger towns... but I live so far from either, and money is all their cry, that I seldom pass myself as an Orangeman, and doubt whether I remember enough to get admitted to a lodge.”¹³⁰ Like Old Ned Murray, Twigg would have sounded to some like he had ‘turned’. If he hadn’t, with lodge too far away, too expensive, and even too hard to recollect, then the New World had certainly made him less Orange. As a colonial, he did not pass himself as anything other than an Irishman who was willing to work “all the hours the Lord sends and at top speed” to fill his stomach, reminding those at home: “You have no idea what heart a man wants to tackle the making of a home here with only his hands. He literally carves it out of the forest.” “A man here of 30 is to all appearance as old as a man of 45 in the old country.”¹³¹ When it was no longer possible to recognize oneself in one’s new overseas situation, identifying with the things of home became ever more important and this sometimes ‘muddied’ the original colour barrier, widening the definition of what was ‘Irish’. Both young James Hamilton and old Isaac Sloane in their new situations, could simply be Irishmen, more in need of ‘something green’ as Sloane pined, than anything the little orange that Twigg remembered, might have offered. Still, where one came from and

what one believed was essential to what one was in the new surroundings. Patrick O'Farrell explains it best by describing how the narrow search for familiar character in the emigrant's experience away from home, something that was common to all diasporic Irish, could result in the broadening of the definition of what was Irish:

The days of any... merging of identities and cultures into a general indifference to anything but a person's immediately experienced character lay in the far distant future. Placing oneself in the midst of a known and familiar human context in this faraway and strange land was much more than mere convenience, or even sentiment. It was to affirm, to family and to self, that one was home away from home, still part of the old world, not to be accounted somehow lost, to have become a stranger. But the old world had been significantly, indeed radically, widened. Its core and focus remained, but it had broadened from a small place and a county... to a region and a religion. Even that was not rigid or exclusive, stretching to embrace [for example]... Scots... and... Southern Irish Catholic[s] as part of a Celtic cultural totality, a stance towards life, as intangible and as difficult to define precisely as it was real. ... [The new] world offered familiar ground, in which the presence of those traditionally defined in Ireland as outsiders or enemies were as important to... [a] sense of belonging as were friends: the accepted contradictions, eccentricities and oddities of the Irish cultural mix were somehow in harmonious place on the other side of the earth. ... 'home' [was] now... the wider concept of all Ireland.¹³²

Far from being the invisible supports of an English or British Canadian Protestant consensus, Irish Protestants in the nineteenth century carried their own solid and distinctive community identity with them across the sea, but they also shared a community of spirit with Irish Catholics in the new place that requires the expansion of what has been perceived to be 'the Green' in this period. This is what inspired Colonel James Fitzgibbon as noted in the beginning lines of this chapter with regard to the mutual service and growth he witnessed in the larger Irish community away from home. Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics should not be represented as complete strangers in the work of historians for this period. Patrick O'Farrell reminds us that for the Irish, the

meaning of ‘stranger’ in its widest application was simply, ‘not Irish’. “‘Strangers’ were not necessarily people unknown, but rather those whose names, background and social position could not be securely and appropriately placed and called upon by reference to the known foundations and rules of a familiar traditional world.”¹³³ In this regard, Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics were very well known to one another. To show who they were in a new and unfamiliar setting, and to replicate as best they could, the world they had left behind, the ‘Green’, the Irish, being both Catholic and Protestant, relied on one another’s Irishness to fully express their own. After a full two years of separation from Ireland, Hugh Maxwell had discovered ‘one great thing’: the formula for successfully ‘mixing’ in the colonial setting was simply being himself. “Although the Irish are always hard spoken of everywhere, I find that an Irishman takes as well with the people generally as any other countryman. One great thing is never try to hide it; I never do.”¹³⁴

¹ Trent University Archives, John Huston Papers, 71-006 – Series A – Box 1 Folder 3: Letter No. 126, James Fitzgibbon, York, to John Huston, Cavan, February 9, 1828.

² In 1823 Peter Robinson headed the assisted emigration of over 500 Irish men, women and children from the disturbed Blackwater Region of County Cork, Ireland to the Bathurst District of Upper Canada. From this group, a small band of young men named the Ballygibblins (after their village in Ireland) with a reputation for troublemaking, sought restitution for what they perceived as insult after being called out for militia drill and then pointedly ignored by the largely Scottish and English officers during drinks at the end of the day. Interestingly, the real troublemakers may have been the Lowland Scots of Ramsay Township whose cultural baggage contained ample portions of radical, secessionist ideology which had become magnified by hard times in local settlement. An Anglo-Irishman’s toast to “loyal” subjects and a Captain who “never was backward” whilst treating Robinson’s Irish settlers to some whiskey at the close of the day appears to have been too much for the Lowland Scots who were smarting over the location and government assistance of so many Irish Catholics in the area when their own success in settlement had not been keeping apace with Irish Beckwith and Scottish (Highland) Beckwith. The faction fight that ensued consisted of skirmishes over several days until a posse of (largely Lowland) Orangemen turned the local scuffle into an insurrection in word and deed by marching in two detachments on the following Sunday and firing on unarmed Catholics gathering for Service at Shipman’s Mills. In the end, with one man killed and several wounded, the Orangemen had convinced local settlers that they were no longer safe in their beds at night and the Lieutenant Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland sent Colonel James Fitzgibbon to conduct a hearing in place of sending troops. Fitzgibbon’s hope for his countrymen may have been predicated on the fact that

both Catholic and Protestant Irish appear to have stood together both in the tavern and in the faction fight that ensued despite history's subsequent focus on yet more Irish "murderous violence", presuming a more typical make-up of "Orange" and "Green". For more, see Chapter 4 of Donald MacKay, Flight From Famine: The Coming of the Irish to Canada, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990), pp.70-80 and especially Glenn Lockwood's chapter entitled "Irish Beckwith" in Beckwith: Irish and Scottish Identities in a Canadian Community, (Carleton Place: Township of Beckwith, 1991), pp.52-75.

³ MacKay, p.100.

⁴ CIHM 03110, Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon, "A Veteran of 1812: the life of James Fitzgibbon", (Toronto: 1894), p.152.

⁵ CIHM 03110, Fitzgibbon, pp.154,155.

⁶ Nicholas Flood Davin, The Irishman in Canada, (Toronto: Maclear and Company, 1877), p.vi, vii.

⁷ CIHM 05620, Reverend Joseph Henry Hilts, "Among the Forest Trees or, How the Bushman Family Got Their Homes, Being A Book of Facts and Incidents of Pioneer Life in Upper Canada, Arranged in the Form of a Story", (Toronto: William Briggs, 1888),pp.235,236,237.

⁸ CIHM 05620, Hilts, fn.p.236.

⁹ H.I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America: The First Hundred Years, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), quoted in Quentin Brown, ed., This Green & Pleasant Land: Chronicles of Cavan Township, (Millbrook: Millbrook and Cavan Historical Society, 1990), p.36.

¹⁰ Richard Ned Lebow, White Britain and Black Ireland: the Influence of Stereotypes on Colonial Policy, (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976), p.43.

¹¹ Watson Kirkconnell, County of Victoria Centennial History, (Lindsay: Victoria County Council, 1st ed., 1921, revised and updated, 1967), p.17. The former group arrived as individual families beginning around 1819-1820 while the latter represented a portion of Peter Robinson's 1825 government assisted emigration scheme for populating the colonies. This in itself was a source of rancor as the earlier settlers viewed themselves as having had to live up to the same settlement duties without the aid of government tools, rations, livestock and support. The relative condition of these settlers as emigrants at the point of embarkation (one being quite capable of independent removal from Ireland and the other not) obviously, did not play into such feelings of ill will.

¹² Kirkconnell, p.18. Here Kirkconnell quotes from the Third Report of Emigration Committee, British Parliament, 1827; p.431.

¹³ See Linda Colley, "Britishness and Otherness: An Argument" in Journal of British Studies, Vol.31, No. 4, (Oct. 1992), p.314. See also Linda Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

¹⁴ Bruce S. Elliott, Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), p.242.

¹⁵ Elliott, p.242.

¹⁶ Elliott, p.243.

¹⁷ Elliott, p.243.

¹⁸ Elliott, pp.242, 243.

¹⁹ Elliott, p.243. Tel-el-Keber was the decisive battle led by Dubliner Sir Garnet Wolseley in Egypt in 1882, when Britain decided to intervene against Egyptian rebels opposing Turkish rule. Stabilizing a highly prized geographic location, the Suez Canal, led to Sir Garnet being promoted to full General, his popularity already recognized as "the very model of a modern Major-General" in The Pirates of Penzance earlier that year. For time to come, the phrase "all Sir Garnet" referred to everything being in perfect order in recognition of this Irishman's contributions to the Empire. For more, see O.A. Cooke, "Wolseley, Garnet Joseph, 1st Viscount Wolseley", Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, [database on-line], (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000, accessed 9 June 2006), available from <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=41902>, Internet.

²⁰ Robert O'Driscoll, "A Return to the Hearthstone" in Robert O'Driscoll & Lorna Reynolds, eds., The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada, Vol.II, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), p.939.

²¹ Patrick O'Farrell, Letters from Irish Australia, 1825-1929, (Sydney and Belfast: New South Wales University Press and Ulster Historical Foundation, 1984), p.30.

²² O'Farrell, p.30.

²³ O'Farrell, p.29.

²⁴ O'Farrell, p.29.

²⁵ O'Farrell, p.29. O'Farrell is very clear that the shipboard or newly arrived writings of Irish emigrants must be the consideration of all historians of the Irish, regardless of diasporic focus or the ultimate destination of the emigrant authors since they capture, in common, the Irish experience on the moment it was about to become subject to something else.

²⁶ See Colley, Britons.

²⁷ O'Farrell, p.30.

²⁸ O'Farrell, p.27.

²⁹ O'Farrell, p.27.

³⁰ O'Farrell, p.28.

³¹ O'Farrell, p.31.

³² CIHM 26168, Thomas Frederick Young, "A Protestant Irishman To His Wife" in "Canada, and Other Poems", (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., Printers, 1887), pp.78-79.

³³ CIHM 26168, Young, "Ireland", pp.49-50,51.

³⁴ CIHM 26168, Young, "St. Patrick's Day", p.117.

³⁵ CIHM 26168, Young, "Canada", p.39.

³⁶ CIHM 26168, Young, p.38.

³⁷ Elizabeth Jane Birch, "Picking Up New Threads for Kathleen Mavourneen: the Irish Female Presence in Nineteenth Century Ontario", (MA Thesis, Trent University, 1997), p.19.

³⁸ Birch, p.22.

³⁹ Elliott, quoting the October 8, 1849 *Bytown Packet*, p.123.

⁴⁰ Isabella Valancy Crawford, "My Irish Love", quoted in Birch, p.62.

⁴¹ Birch, p.62.

⁴² Birch, p.62.

⁴³ Birch, 62. 'They', meaning the 'other critics', refers to Birch and her employment of Margo Dunn's "Crawford's Early Work" in Frank M. Tierney, ed., The Isabella Valancy Crawford Symposium. Reappraisals: Canadian Writers, (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979).

⁴⁴ Birch, p.56.

⁴⁵ Birch, pp.62,60,56. Emphasis is mine.

⁴⁶ Crawford, "A Hungry Day" quoted in Birch, p.57.

⁴⁷ Dunn, "Crawford's Early Work", quoted in Birch, p.58.

⁴⁸ Crawford, "Hungry Day", in Birch, p.58.

⁴⁹ Crawford, "Mavourneen" in Birch, p.59. Emphasis mine.

⁵⁰ Murray W. Nicolson, "The Education of a Minority: The Irish Family Urbanized" in O'Driscoll and Reynolds, eds., The Untold Story, Vol. II, p.771. Despite the title of this piece and its presence in an admirably balanced two volume set on the Irish in Canada, Nicolson's Irish family is very much a Catholic Irish family, living in a Protestant Toronto amongst many other Irishmen of the latter persuasion but whom Nicolson fails to mention in any detail. Nicolson states that "the greatest day in the year for entertaining", St. Patrick's Day, became a strictly Irish Catholic affair in the 1890s when religion and nationality in terms of Irishness became much more narrowly defined. Other historians give earlier and later dates by a couple of decades for this transition. See fn 116.

⁵¹ TUA, Peterborough Newspaper Files, 88-025/1, *Weekly Despatch*, Vol.2, No.22, May 4, 1848.

⁵² *Weekly Despatch*, May 4, 1848.

⁵³ TUA, 88-025/1/24, *Weekly Despatch*, Vol.2, No.30, July 6, 1848. The reference here to 'Orange and Popish Irishmen' reveals that there were times when contemporaries might refer to all Irish Protestants as 'Orange'. The colour reference was sometimes a convenient dividing line amongst the Irish whether or not the Protestants it referenced actually had Orange affiliation.

⁵⁴ TUA, 88-025/2/4, *Weekly Despatch*, Vol.2, No.43, September 28, 1848.

⁵⁵ *Despatch*, September 28, 1848.

⁵⁶ TUA, 88-025/1/19, *Peterboro' Review*, Vol.2, No.7, February 24, 1854. See Chapter 4, “Orangemen and Othermen”, fn 113 (pp.211-212) for more on ‘Weasel’s’ critical musings in the 1854 *Review*.

⁵⁷ *Review*, February 24, 1854.

⁵⁸ *Review*, February 24, 1854.

⁵⁹ TUA, Frances Stewart Papers, 78-008/2/8, Harriet Beaufort, Merrion Street, Dublin to Frances Stewart, Douro, February 21 and 22, 1833.

⁶⁰ Stewart Papers, 78-008/2/10, Harriet Beaufort, Hatch Street, Dublin to Frances Stewart, Douro, April 17, 1844.

⁶¹ Stewart Papers 78-008/2/11, Harriet Beaufort, Edgeworthstown to Frances Stewart, Douro, December 4, 1850. Of interest as an aside in this letter is Beaufort’s other Catholic reference wherein she alludes to a most dangerous time in the Irish countryside where few ventured out after dark for fear of the activities of Catholic vigilante groups in response to the Protestant Peep ‘O Day Boys. She complains that “a Dublin life is in itself a constant fuss in some degree and very different from this quiet country life – where there is only an odd visitor now and then – and no going out in the evening to dinner or parties... ..only... to luncheon... This I think something in the style of your early dinners in Canada – It is just like the way we managed in the Co. Meath at the time of the Defenders.”

⁶² TUA, Stewart-Dunlop Papers, 94-007/1/2, Sarah Anne Peebles, Ireland to Ellen Stewart Dunlop, Douro, n.d. File 2 in this collection consists of a number of incomplete or fragmented letters. In the case of this letter, the author was determined to be Sarah Anne Peebles because of the obvious match in handwriting to an April 3, 1845 letter to Ellen wherein the author is identified and the subject matter also provides enough continuity to conclude this probability.

⁶³ Peebles to Dunlop, n.d.

⁶⁴ PRONI, T/3234/1, Diary of William McKinney of Sentry Hill, Carrmoney, Co. Antrim, Ireland, Sunday, September 14, 1851. Mr. McKinney was obviously a man of strong opinion, moral and otherwise. Subsequent entries in his diary for the year 1852 include the following notations: “Mrs. Wilson had a young son this a.m. which is considered very remarkable as her husband is nearly 3 years dead and she has had 13 children before this one.” (Monday January 26) “Heard Dr. Cooke lecture on the rise, progress and prospects of the papacy at Mr. Carson’s meeting house.” (March 21) “Went with John Harvey and John Carlisle to James Moores to argue with Mormons.” (October 26) McKinney was involved in the Evangelical Revival Movement in Ireland but what appears more passionately as rabid anti-Catholicism is most obvious enroute to America aboard the *Kangaroo* when he refers to the “Romanists on board [who] would eat no flesh nor taste any soup but they did eat fish and potatoes and butter and drank whiskey and blasphemed at an awful rate. Some of them appeared to be a kind of hybrids between evil spirits and swine.” (Friday, March 30, 1860) Later references describe “followers of Antichrist” and a Catholic procession as a “heathenized conglomeration.” (June 3, 1860)

⁶⁵ Louise Wyatt, ed., “The Johnson Letters” in *Ontario History*, Papers and Records, Vol. XL, (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1948), p.35.

⁶⁶ PRONI, D.693/7/1, William Campbell, c/o James Ferguson, Peterborough, Upper Canada to Reverend Robert Campbell, Templepatrick, Co. Antrim, Ireland, October 28, 1832. The same portion of this letter is reproduced (but dated, 1839) in Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, and Letters*, (Toronto and Belfast: University of Toronto Press and Ulster Historical Foundation, 1990), p.112. Further in this letter, William again exposes his view of his Catholic counterparts when he proposes in a future correspondence to provide his father with “a wonderful history of the manners of the French Canadians, the Yankees, the Indians of the country, the canny Scotchman and the *Wild Irishman*...”. (emphasis mine).

⁶⁷ Wyatt, ed., p.30. Wyatt claims that the illiteracy rate in Ulster at this time was “almost 1/3” (p.29) but is more direct in quoting William Forbes Adams for 1841 and 1851 as 42% and 32% respectively. See William Forbes Adams, *Ireland and Irish Migration to the New World*, (Yale: 1932). R. Cole Harris quotes illiteracy rates for the pre-1855 period from the principal regions from which his Mono Township settlers came, as “Armagh, 44%; Tyrone, 45%; Monaghan, 52%” and cites Thomas W. Freeman, *Pre-Famine Ireland: A Study in Historical Geography*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956) as his source.

⁶⁸ Patrick O'Farrell, Letters from Irish Australia 1825-1929, (Sydney and Belfast: New South Wales University Press and Ulster Historical Foundation, 1984), p.28. O'Farrell indicates that Charles Elliott's observance of his fellow countrymen, Catholic passengers, was from the comfort and distance of first class accommodation upon steerage and this may in part explain some of its inveterate prejudice. He makes the case that there were some Irish Protestants in steerage who, "while maintaining their own beliefs and practices... swiftly adopted a position of practical friendliness and tolerance, and of any opposition to any expression of bigotry." p.29. This was despite "their expectations, conditioned as they were to sensitivity to the religious difference..."p.29.

⁶⁹ O'Farrell, p.28.

⁷⁰ O'Farrell, p.31.

⁷¹ PRONI, D/1195/3/5, Jane White, anchored at Grosse Isle to Eleanor Wallace, Ireland, June 27, 1849.

⁷² O'Farrell, pp.31-32.

⁷³ Harry J. Boyle, "Am I Really As Celtic As They Say?" in O'Driscoll and Reynolds, eds, Untold Story, Vol.II, p.729.

⁷⁴ Boyle, in O'Driscoll and Reynolds, eds., p.729.

⁷⁵ Boyle, p.729.

⁷⁶ Boyle, p.729.

⁷⁷ Boyle, pp.729-730.

⁷⁸ TUA, Stafford F. Kirkpatrick Fonds, 75-011, Stafford Kirkpatrick, Peterborough to Alexander Kirkpatrick, Dublin, January 29, 1836.

⁷⁹ Stafford Kirkpatrick aboard *Patrick Henry* near New York to Alexander Kirkpatrick, Dublin, May 27, 1840. The reference to TCD refers to Trinity College Dublin which was, for its first two centuries, the University of the Protestant Ascendancy.

⁸⁰ TUA, Eliza Hughes McAlpine Fonds, 97-1037, Biography of Eliza Hughes McAlpine written by her grandson, Wallace MacAlpine in 1988, vol.2, p.55 and p.102.

⁸¹ William Perkins Bull, From the Boyne to Brampton or John the Orangeman at Home and Abroad, (Toronto: The Perkins Bull Foundation, George J. McLeod Ltd., 1936), p.292.

⁸² Bull, p.292. It should be noted that although it is difficult to substantiate Perkins-Bull's tales with hard evidence (he rarely used footnotes) they are still valuable in and of themselves, particularly as local folklore and as 'street theatre' in the telling of an Irish Protestant point of view. Accuracy in this regard, is less important than the perspective on the 'Green' that the tale provided.

⁸³ In David Fitzpatrick's voluminous work on Irish Emigrant Letters from Australia, he details one Michael Normile of County Clare, a Roman Catholic who found the irreligion of the frontier both shameful and beguiling at the same time. Normile was shocked by the denominational variety within Protestantism and although he was erroneously comforted that there were "more roman catholics in the town than all the others & to put all of them together" (65) meant for bragging rights when it came to arguing doctrine with Evangelicals and others. In 1860 as he put it, there was "great discussion between the Catholics and Presbyterians Minister. They broke the church down &. &. And gave the Minister a good thrashing." "Almost as bad as denying God altogether, Protestantism for Normile was a great curiosity: "They Come down here some times with as many as half a Dozen at a time and get them Baptized and the whole of them well able to talk to the Priest." (65) See David Fitzpatrick, Oceans of Consolation Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia, (Ithaca; Cornell University Press, 1994).

⁸⁴ Linenhall Library, Belfast, E.N. Carrothers, "Irish Emigrants Letter from Canada, 1839-1870", (Belfast, Northern Ireland, 1951), p.34. Nathaniel Carrothers, Westminster, Ontario to William Carrothers, Lisbellaw, Co. Fermanagh, March 22, 1867. The Carrothers brothers, Nathaniel and Joseph, were descendants of Edward Carrothers of Enniskillin (Farnought, Co. Fermanagh) and were two of seventeen grandchildren to emigrate from Ireland to Canada in 1835 to 1847 respectively. They settled in Westminster Township near London, Ontario and in London itself. Nathaniel, along with a good portion of his family, adhered to the Church of Ireland while Joseph and some other siblings were Methodists although originally, the Carrothers family had been Presbyterian. This denominationalism within one Irish Protestant family was not unusual according to Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth who dedicate a chapter to the Carrothers papers which were found in the back of the Irish family's bureau in Farnought and

are now available as copies at the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland and the Linen Hall Library in Belfast, Northern Ireland. For more see Houston and Smyth, Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement.

⁸⁵ N. Carrothers to Wm. Carrothers, March 22, 1867.

⁸⁶ TUA, John Huston Fonds, 71-006/A/3/1/Letter 305, Patrick Maguire, Port Hope to John Huston, Cavan, May 27, 1840.

⁸⁷ See fn. 22 and fn. 23 (p. 176) of this study's Chapter 4, "Orangemen and Othermen".

⁸⁸ TUA, Huston Fonds, Maguire to Huston, May 27, 1840.

⁸⁹ On May 6, 1882, members of the Irish National Invincibles or "the Invincibles", composed largely of former Irish Republican Brotherhood members, slashed Thomas Henry Burke to death. Burke was the Permanent Under Secretary for the British Dublin Castle government. Nephew to Prime Minister William Gladstone, Lord Frederick Cavendish, the newly appointed Chief Secretary, was also murdered as he accompanied Burke through Phoenix Park in Dublin although his demise was not part of the group's original plan. Burke was murdered for his well known position in the government which labeled him a 'Castle Catholic' amongst nationalists. The murderers and their accomplices were eventually turned on by their own leader, James Carey, who testified against them. They were hanged in the Spring of 1883 and Carey was shot to death in retaliation several weeks later. For more, see Sean Moloney, The Phoenix Murders: Conspiracy, Betrayal and Retribution, (Dublin: Mercier Press, 2006) and

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phoenix_Park_Murders

⁹⁰ PRONI, D/1604/289, Tom Hay, Peterborough to George Kirkpatrick, Clongill/Hazelbank?, Ireland, February 18, 1883.

⁹¹ PRONI, D/2298/4/2, William Hutton, Quebec to John McCrea Junior, Strabane, Co. Tyrone, Ireland, September 1, 1854.

⁹² Hutton to McCrea, September 1, 1854.

⁹³ Hutton to McCrea, December 24, 1856; October 20, 1848; March 29, 1856; September 1, 1854; September 1, 1854 and October 20, 1848.

⁹⁴ Aileen Young, "Visits with North Douro Families and Personalities", and Mrs. D. Amos, "Douro Centennial 1925" in J. Alex. Edmison, Q.C., ed., Through the Years in Douro, (Peterborough: A.D. Newson Co. Ltd., 1967), p.123 and p.194.

⁹⁵ Young, "Visits" in Through the Years, p.123.

⁹⁶ Young, "More About Persons" in Through the Years, p.193

⁹⁷ J.A. Edmison, "Douro's Future" in Through the Years, p.212.

⁹⁸ Bull, p.176. The former case of the conscripting of a Catholic neighbour to beat the big bass drum in the Orange Parade is described by Sherrell Branton Leetooze in "Irish, Orange and Proud" A Brief History of Cavan Township (Bowmanville: Lynn Michael-John Associates, 1999), pp. 61-62. This was not a one-time occasion, apparently Billy Flynn kept the beat for 20 years or more in Blackstock in Cartwright Township, Durham County. It is interesting to note that Leetooze's choice of title recognizes an Irish Protestant identity that claimed it was Irish before it was Orange. A good portion of Leetooze's work however, chooses to focus on Orangeism with particular attention to the Cavan Blazers whose activities and subsequent notoriety were not representative of Irish Protestantism or even general Orangeism in Upper Canada. The latter's ties to Ireland and the distinctive cultural transfer of Irish associations and antecedents is well established here. Identifying the population of Cavan Township as "most specifically from Ireland" (p.49), Leetooze cites early evidence that "'Orangemen re-enacted the battle of the Boyne, parading with King Billy astride his white horse, marching with fife and drum through the Green districts and banging the heads of any who objected.'" They were described as *hired bullies*, many of whom had learned their arts of intimidation in oppressed Ireland."(p.62) Yet Leetooze also makes the point that aspects of Irish Protestantism, specifically Orangeism in Canada became something else. "Even though the Orange and Green still clash in Belfast, Portadown and other Northern Ireland towns, we have learned to live quietly side by side with neighbours of differing faiths. ...today it is a celebration of brotherhood rather than one of affront and hostility."(p.62).

⁹⁹ Bull, p.270 and 299. Perkins Bull attributes the first melancholic remembrance to Robert George Logan of the Enniskillin L.O.L. no. 260 and the second reference (fn. 101) to John Rutledge whose Peel County family provides the main characters to his somewhat glorified history of Orangeism there.

¹⁰⁰ Bull, pp.298-299.

¹⁰¹ Bull, p.299.

¹⁰² J. McGregor, "Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Maritime Colonies of British America, 1828" in Thomas Thorne, "A Few Acres of Snow": Documents in Canadian History 1577 – 1867, (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1997), p.198. Emphasis mine.

¹⁰³ Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p.115. Kealey shows that 17 out of the 22 confrontations amongst Irishmen took place on either July 12, during the annual celebration of the Battle of the Boyne, March 17 during St. Patrick's Day festivities or on November 5 which marked the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot for Orangemen. The remaining 5 occasions which occurred outside of the fetes calendar were largely due to the activities of groups like the Orange Young Britons and the Young Irishmen, adolescents who, resembling "modern street gangs" acted outside of the official adult male circles of Orangeism or Hibernianism and were a source of great frustration for the latter's cooler, more mature heads who recognized in it, the "spirit of braggadocio and rowdyism" that had attended their own youth. p.117.

¹⁰⁴ Kealey, p.119. Even Cosgrove's Hotel experienced the cycle of ritual confrontation, being stoned successively in 1870, 1875, and 1878, and providing "the one example of the Irish model of wrecking in sectarian strife." p.116. Owen Cosgrove was a prominent Irish Catholic and sometime marshal in the St. Patrick's Day parades. It was rumored that his tavern was a haven for Fenian activity. The latter was reason for an automatic attraction to Orangemen who would serenade the establishment with "their lusty performance[s] of 'Protestant Boys'" during July 12 celebrations. p.116. It should be noted that the Roman Catholic Church banned marching in St. Patrick's Day parades from 1877 to 1885 because of the potential for this kind of ritual violence.

¹⁰⁵ Kealey, p.116. Briefly, the Jubilee Riots were the result of Pope Pius IX's proclamation of 1875 as a Jubilee year and Archbishop John Joseph Lynch of Toronto's subsequent letter to his diocese regarding the conditions for a special Jubilee indulgence that required 15 pilgrimages to each of 4 churches over the summer of 1875 as well as the proposed procession of visiting Bishops for the Roman Catholic Provincial Council that September. Both the Bishops' procession and the Papal indulgence procession proved too much in one day, the Lord's Day, for some Protestant onlookers, and the hurling of insults, stone throwing, police presence and shots being fired were the result. This took place at a time when "the Protestant mind... was currently inflamed" against what was perceived to be widespread Ultramontane ideas which threatened civil liberty. The Catholic expression of faith appeared as a demonstration to already twitchy Protestants and the importation of 'outside' Catholic Bishops fuelled the disturbance beyond the recognized local regimen. For more, see, Martin A. Galvin, "The Jubilee Riots in Toronto, 1875" in CCHA, Report, 26 (1959), pp.93-107. The above quote comes from Galvin, p.98. The O'Donovan Rossa Riots were ignited by the invitation of the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union to Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, Head Centre of the Irish Fenian Brotherhood to come to Toronto and provide a lecture. According to Brian P. Clarke, "Rossa's reputation as a cold-blooded terrorist who advocated dynamiting British targets preceded him. For many Torontonians, Rossa's presence in the city was itself a blatant attack on the cherished institutions of Canadian society." See Brian P. Clarke, Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), p.210. Obviously, Rossa represented a very different type of Irish Catholic Nationalist than had been prevalent in Canada (despite local suspicions about the goings-on in Cosgrove's Hotel) and the extended association of the Fenians in the United States after failed attempts on Canada, brought an additional international and anti-Republican flavour to the foray.

¹⁰⁶ Kealey, p.121.

¹⁰⁷ Kildare Dobbs, "Ireland and the Irish Canadians" in O'Driscoll and Reynolds, eds., Untold Story, Vol.I, p.5.

¹⁰⁸ Don Akenson, "Reading the Texts of Rural Immigrants: Letters from the Irish in Australia, New Zealand, and North America" in Canadian Papers in Rural History, v.7, (Ganonoque: Langdale Press, 1990), p.404.

¹⁰⁹ Akenson, p.404.

¹¹⁰ Akenson, p.404.

¹¹¹ “Report of the Roman Catholic Chaplain of the Provincial Penitentiary, January 24, 1853”, in Thorner, ed., Few Acres, pp.366-367. According to Thomas Thorner, the author of this report, the Chaplain, is unknown.

¹¹² John MacTaggart, “Three Years in Canada, 1829” in Thorner, pp.364,365. Obviously bigoted, MacTaggart’s view provides example of the very ‘prejudice’ that the Chaplain in the previous footnote warned against. MacTaggart mused that “If I had any work to perform in Canada of my own, I would not employ any Irish, were it not for mere charity.” For him, the “native French Canadians” provided a much more reliable work force as opposed to the “Irish [who] are always growling and quarreling, and never contented with their wages...” (p365) What sounds like the makings of a potentially unified and successful unskilled labour group (were they able to maintain worker’s rights over religious fights) was distasteful to MacTaggart who believed any “Glasgow weaver” (p.364) the superior settler. Ironically, MacTaggart was to lose his own job as a surveyor for the Rideau Canal due to drunkenness. He removed from Canada and published his Canadian observations from England in 1829.

¹¹³ Lebow, p.25.

¹¹⁴ Dobbs, p.3.

¹¹⁵ *Toronto Patriot*, July 8, 1836, quoted in *Hamilton Gazette* July 13, 1836 as found in W. B. Kerr, “When Orange and Green United 1832-9; The Alliance of Macdonell and Gowan”, Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, v.34, (1942), p.40 and in part, in Hereward Senior, “The Orange and the Green with the Snow in Between” in O’Driscoll and Reynolds, eds., Untold Story, Vol. II, p.569. Senior identifies the counties of Durham, Frontenac, Simcoe, Hastings, Northumberland, as well as Grenville, Toronto, Prescott and Hawkesbury as locations for united Irish political support.

¹¹⁶ While recognizing a common Irish claim on St. Patrick’s Day for the first half of the nineteenth century, Michael Cottrell claims that gradually, St. Patrick’s Day and its celebration became the demonstration and distinction of a specifically Irish Catholic community, away from its more ecumenical Irish roots. Changes were evident by the 1850s and were largely the result of Famine immigrants’ destitution and subsequent anti-Irish sentiment among the host society which prompted Irish Protestant disassociation from Irish Catholicism as well as more exclusivity amongst the latter. “By the 1860s, the polarization of Irish immigrants along religious and cultural lines was complete and observers noted that the ‘Irish constitute in some sort two peoples: the line of division being one of religion and ... one of race.’”(p.38) As we have seen, many Irish Protestants, while not protesting the former distinction, would probably take issue with the latter with regard to its exclusive claim to Ireland or an Irish Nation. See Michael Cottrell, “St. Patrick’s Day Parades in Nineteenth Century Toronto: A Study of Immigrant Adjustment and Elite Control” in Franca Iacovetta, Paula Draper and Robert Ventresca, eds., A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s-1960s, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp.35-54. Cooperation amongst Irishmen with regard to St. Patrick’s Day is also supported by Nancy Schmidt in Irish For A Day: Saint Patrick’s Day Celebrations in Quebec City, 1765-1990, (Ste-Foy: Carraig Books, 1991). Schmidt states that “...the feast has always been celebrated by both Protestants and Catholics” (p.24) but that it gradually took on a more Catholic character during the nineteenth century with increasing numbers of Irish Catholic immigrants and the deliberate absorption of the fete by the Catholic Church. “For many years, the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society held a divine service in honour of Saint Patrick’s Day... ...at different churches in different years [from 1865 to 1900]. ... The Protestant services did not conflict with the Catholic Mass, thus allowing the members of the Catholic and Protestant congregations to participate fully with their Irish fellow citizens.”(p.28) Also, the Saint Patrick’s Society, founded in 1836, “...attracted both Catholics and Protetants into its ranks, since one of the articles of its constitution strictly prohibited all religious or political subjects or discussions.”(pp.28-29) In 1848, one account of the parade in Quebec City detailed the band’s various salutes which appear positively international in flavour: “...stopping at the... Saint Jean Baptiste Society, towards which the Band will face and play “A la Claire Fontaine,” after which the Band will... play the “Sprig of Shillelagh”; the procession will then... salute the Saint George’s Society... playing “the Roast Beef of Old England”. It will then proceed... and salute the Saint Andrew’s Society, the band facing round and playing “Auld Lang Syne”-”(p.35) The final air to be played sealed the day with “the Coulin” – which directly heralded the Irish determination not to be English.

Scmidt notes that the early Saint Patrick's Day Dinners were exclusively all-male events and often comprised of toast after toast to "...the King..., ...the Governor, ...[other] authorities, and after those, patron Saint of the day, and the "heroes, orators and poets of our own Green Isle"; the Shamrock; the Rose and Thistle, "our fellow Canadian subjects; the land we left and the land we live in"; and others to the ladies..." So much to be raising a glass to, may have prompted one woman, though a "Friendly Daughter of Saint Patrick" to register her disgust at having been so involved in the preparation but not the partaking, in the *Quebec Mercury*, calling the event "a stupid gormandizing dinner."(pp.46 and 50)

¹¹⁷ Senior, p.569.

¹¹⁸ Senior, p.569.

¹¹⁹ O'Farrell, p.57.

¹²⁰ O'Farrell, pp.57,58. Sloane came to Orange, New South Wales in 1892, joining his married daughter, Elizabeth.

¹²¹ O'Farrell, p.58.

¹²² O'Farrell, p.60. Interestingly, Witherow reported this to an uncle in Ireland who eventually offered him a "dream" situation back home in "Old Ireland", settling on some of his extensive property. Joseph and his family, two years after writing about discrimination in the workplace, removed back home to Co. Londonderry. The papers of this correspondence survive because of a subsequent lawsuit taken against Joseph by his Uncle over ownership of the "dream". (p.61)

¹²³ PRONI, T/3664/1, Marianne Gurd, Montreal to Fanny Payne, Edgeworthstown, Co. Longford, May 4, 1850.

¹²⁴ Marianne Gurd to Fanny Payne, May 4, 1850.

¹²⁵ Gurd to Payne, May 4, 1850.

¹²⁶ Gurd to Payne, May 4, 1850.

¹²⁷ Gurd to Payne, May 4, 1850.

¹²⁸ O'Farrell, p.84.

¹²⁹ O'Farrell, pp. 110, 84.

¹³⁰ O'Farrell, p.114, 112.

¹³¹ O'Farrell, pp.111,107,104.

¹³² O'Farrell, p.141. The author uses the May 13, 1885 letter home of Hugh Maxwell, a young Presbyterian Orangeman ("but not [an] enthusiast... in that cause") from Bangor, now Heathcote, Australia to make the point. Maxwell stated his condition quite well, saying "I am getting along pretty well in my new quarters... We have got a new hand in the grocery store Mr. Cathcart. ... He served his time in Beaties's in Ballymena... The other drapery assistant Mr. Vance is from Magherafelt Co. Derry. Our bookkeeper Mr. Brown is a Belfast man;... The miller Mr. Grant is from Co. Armagh and the engine man his nephew Mr. Walsh is from Tyrone. The senior governor Mr. Moore is from Co. Down... Mr. Christie is a Scotchman;... Mr. Spinks is from Dublin; he is a Presbyterian also Mr. Moore. Mr. Christie goes to Church (English) rather odd for a Scotchman. ... The lady we stop with is a widow with two daughters an Irish woman from Co. Clare and an RC. One of the daughters teaches music and she often gives us a tune in the evening which helps to pass the time. ... There is a debating club... which holds a meeting every fortnight. ... It is always worth hearing and one always learns something."(pp.140-141)

¹³³ O'Farrell, p.142.

¹³⁴ O'Farrell, p.142. Maxwell spoke directly to the Irish-English association when he claimed that the colonies were a much easier place to make friends because of the mix of people that typically made up the burgeoning settlements. This was a far cry from his experience in England which he found much less friendly and much less to his liking as an Irishman "hard spoken of". He accounted for this simply but tellingly as the result of England being a place "where everybody is English." (p.142)

CHAPTER 4

ORANGEMEN AND OTHERMEN THE ORANGE ORDER AND IDENTITY IN UPPER CANADA

HUGH [CONTINUING THE LETTER]: God, Willy, I never knew I was alive until I got out of Ireland and woke up. What a country this British North America is! Good land with the finest soil and all your own to do with as you see fit with no older brother Henry at your back givin' orders and no landlord to come and claim his share of your toil... We will walk on the Twelfth this year again. Young John will play the flute he is comin' on well at it the Orange Order is strong out here. Tell Reverend Acheson that on account of his letter and the certificate of transfer he give me, the Brethren here have been very good 'til us. I hear talk that the Ulster Volunteers has landed rifles at Larne this month it is a sorry business bloodshed but better that than Home Rule. Remember me to the Brethren. Write soon and send us news of home..."

From: Heritage, a play by Nicola McCartney, a Traverse Theatre Programme Playscript, 1998.

"Ireland is a paradise for the Official. There may be other paradises for him in the world, but I doubt of the existence of any so completely satisfying as Ireland. ... They know that they are always in the right, and having power to enforce their will they do it with a clear conscience. So Ireland is the country to which worthy officials hope to go when they die. Under these circumstances it is natural that we should all wish to be officials. Whatever the original position of an Irishman may be, there is always some official post for him to look forward to. ... In any case, what he has got to do is to make himself agreeable to the people who have the giving of the particular job he wants. ... The public has the greatest respect for the high officials who have given no evidence of being qualified for their posts."

From: George A. Birmingham (a.k.a. James Owen Hannay), The Lighter Side of Irish Life. (London: T.N. Foulis, 1911), pp.93-97.

On November 18, 1907, at the regular meeting of Loyal Orange Lodge #80 – the Diamond Lodge – in Peterborough, Ontario, there was much cause for excitement when Brothers Wilson and Cunningham reported the successful 'rescue' of a destitute Mrs. Andrews and her child "...from the [very] clutches of Rome... the local Roman Catholic Institution" which had been caring for the pair, and the subsequent need for Orange Brothers to approve a donation of \$5.00 toward the costs of placing mother and child

“under Protestant influence in the City”.¹ One month later, this very incident was serving as fodder for the story-telling of Reverend A.N. Brace who had evidently piqued the interest of the Lodge named for the birthplace of Orangeism in County Armagh, Ireland, with the lengthy details of the wayward journey and proper homecoming of the two prodigal Protestants. That night, Reverend Brace, as “...the only Minister of the Gospel... to grace the floor of the Orange Lodge No.80... [and] find [the] time to be with the brethren in their Lodge room...”² gave an account that re-affirmed and collected the Diamond-men to one of the very principles which had lead them to the Lodge in the first place - the need for vigilance in the patrolling of Protestantism – a long-standing, inherited tradition of protecting their particular brand of Irishness. After almost 100 years of just such regular meetings, ‘rescues’, and motivational speeches, the Orange Order, a distinctly Irish, ultra-protestant and loyalist organization, had evidently found the ground in Ontario fertile enough to successfully cultivate an Old World Tradition into a New World phenomenon, demonstrating the significance of the Irish transatlantic identity.

The roots of the Orange Society have been traced to 1795 in the village of Loughgall, County Armagh in the province of Ulster, Ireland, in response to an intensifying socio-economic confrontation between a largely Protestant landed gentry and a comparatively landless, politically-limited, Catholic majority. An expanding population and equally stagnating rural economy in eighteenth century Ireland meant that access to power was inextricably bound by access to land and increasingly, local jobs.³ Consequently, “farms were labeled Protestant or Catholic and leases were jealously

guarded... [in this regard, Orangeism served] ...to better coordinate local protestant defenses.”⁴ The Orange Order was so titled in honour of ‘The Great Deliverer’, King William III, Prince of Orange, who secured Protestantism and constitutional monarchy for the British throne with his victory over King James II at the Battle of the Boyne River on July 12, 1690. Throughout the following century, oath-bound Protestant societies like the Peep O’Day Boys would develop out of what were little more than local, lawless banditti and in their efforts to secure local hegemony, they would eventually define themselves around the symbol of William III and the legend of his victory on ‘The Twelfth’. How then, does one explain the remarkable conveyance, persistence, and ultimately, the persuasion of this - what was once an entirely local, sectarian and vigilante Irish countryside response, now Irish institution - to Canada, a distant country with far fewer constraints on matters of religion or land? Why and how was it, that over two centuries later, the ‘Diamond men’, now of Peterborough, Ontario, Canada, were still fighting the battles of their ancestors long past and far away? The answer lies in the understanding that Orangeism served as an expression of Irish Protestantism *in relation* to Irish Catholicism – it was much more than simply transferred sectarianism. Orangeism would come to represent one of Protestant Ireland’s most enduring cultural features in the New World – old victories now being lost at home had the opportunity to be won again in Canada as nineteenth century Ireland became more recognizably Catholic, and parts of Canada, Irish Protestant.

Although there is a great paucity of sources on nineteenth century Irish Protestants relative to their numbers and influence, when historians have taken up the topic, it has

largely been Orangemen who have taken centre stage. Historically, ‘Orange’ was sometimes used to describe Irish Protestantism regardless of any political fervour or actual institutional affiliation – sometimes it simply denoted non-Catholic Irishmen. There are records of Irish Protestant men reminding others that one did not have to be an Orangemen to be a Protestant Irishman. Certainly paler shades of Orange and Green existed on the margins of both sides of the growing nineteenth century Irish divide. When actual Orangemen and their Order have been treated, they have often been described as entrenched, backward nativists, early gangs representative of codified, prejudicial behaviour, violent extremists, divisive and static in their anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant stance. Despite this general tendency to focus on the negative and the sensational, historians have disagreed on a definition for the role of the Orange Order in Upper Canada: some portray it as a moderate and Tory political machine; others emphasize it as a forum for early labour organization and fraternal networking; still more focus on the social functions of the Order as an immigrant-aid society and a source of conviviality and security in the bush; while in recent years, some have pushed to return to the very picture of bigotry and social control described above. The latest collaboration is forced to ask all over again, “Who Are These People?”⁵ Herein lies the answer to the success of Orangeism in Canada: the historiography of the Orange Order, though in seeming contradiction, is essentially correct. The Order was all of these things. Throughout the nineteenth century it represented many things to many people in many different places – and in spite of contemporary objections and suspicion regarding the transfer of traditional Irish denominational enmity – the Orange Order eventually created

for itself (at times via any means necessary): a far-reaching and familial identity for the immigrant in the backwoods, a powerful presence in Upper Canadian politics, a chain of brotherhood in business (be it the shop floor or the halls of civic administration), and finally, and most importantly, an identity, largely defined by an Irish Protestant system of belief which focused on the “other”, that which the Orangeman was *not*, which through time, came to be viewed as publicly acceptable rather than simply Irish and extremist, in late Victorian Upper Canada. Any serious study of Irish Protestantism in Ontario must include at least a nod toward its most obvious expression: Orangeism, because as David Wilson has indicated, “the Orange Order was by far the most important transplanted Irish institution in Canadian history.”⁶

The intent of this chapter then, is to examine the metamorphosis of the Orange Order in Upper Canada from ‘Irish and reprehensible’ to importantly, *still Irish*, but now ‘representative’ as it adjusted its identity and role from rather humble beginnings as local, Irish fraternal social clubs to its zenith as a prominent political force at all levels of government as well as in the economic world of an ‘established’ workingman. What began as anachronistic survival based in Old World religious hostilities, became a late nineteenth century *revival* of largely Irish Protestant principles as Upper Canadian sentiment became almost synonymous with much of what the Orange Order had always stood for: loyalty, Protestantism, constitutional authority, and moderate-conservative middle class values. As Cecil Houston and William Smyth claim, “at the outset the order represented an ethnic and immigration institution, but while *retaining its principles* it came to be much more”.⁷ Historians have chosen to focus on the Order as an all-

Protestant institution that had the unique ability to unify men of that faith from many different nations – England, Scotland, Germany, and even the Mohawk – as if the Order readily underwent some kind of cultural dilution because of the origins of a minority. Very few have emphasized that it in fact began and *remained* a distinctly Irish institution whose reach, reputation, principles and endurance attracted and indoctrinated a broader spectrum of membership to a potent and invasive Irish Protestant culture in Ontario. The Order remained an expression of Irish Protestantism until the twentieth century and by then it boasted a membership of some who may fairly be said to have become ‘more Irish than the Irish themselves’, in some ways. The Order’s anti-catholicism has been what has stood out about it, and yes, this characteristic extended to peoples other than Irish Protestants in the nineteenth century, such that certainly some membership may have been based solely on that negative motivation. But the Order was much more than simply a watchdog – and some of the more winsome characteristics of Lodge and Brethren were responsible for winning members over to an Irish Protestant way of being.

As the largest immigrant group to arrive in Canada throughout the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that the Irish coloured the landscape of the Upper Canadian countryside and towns with their songs, their folklore and their fraternal lodges. What is more worthy of comment however, is the degree to which the separation from Erin’s Green Shores caused uncertainty in an emigrant’s heart despite the preponderance of fellow countrymen on the journey. As a verse from “The Orange Emigrant’s Lament” attests, the function of the Orange Lodge as a source of assurance and familiarity for Irish

Protestants in a foreign land was duly relied upon; it promised that the New World was shaping up to be a proper rendition of the Old:

They tell me I go to a nation,
Where I'll meet Orange brothers sincere
Who glow with as strong a pulsation
As beats in the hearts we have here.⁸

A certificate of membership from the homeland served to establish credibility for the newly arrived Irish emigrant and opened doors to opportunities otherwise achieved through years of having to establish personal repute. It is for this reason that many Brethren secured passage to the new destination for their Lodge papers as well as for their families and themselves. There was no small comfort in the confirmation that a significant characteristic of Irish Protestantism from the homeland was being fortified in Canada as quickly as newcomers could step off the boat. Not long after leaving Coraghy, Ireland, and just prior to his being appointed Government Surveyor, John Huston received assurances in 1818 from his brother-in-law, William Middleton back home, that he had complied as "...you requested of me to get a certificate from the lodge which I have got and is about going this day to Captain John Adams to have a recommendation and your time of Service in the Core under Him... I think... the one will strengthen the other..."⁹ In this way, Old World documentation could supply the measure of the New World man, for not only a soldier, but a 'Brother' committed to both country and cause was surely a man to be relied upon.

Such sentiment traveled in both directions. The sincerity, even, necessity, of the transatlantic connection between Orangemen in Ireland and Orangemen in Canada was such that it sometimes produced a twist in familial relations where the progeny committed

to raise the parent institution in times of trouble. In the midst of ‘Black ‘47’ the Rector of Devenish, Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, Loftus G. Reade, speaking for the District Lodge of Magheraboy, acknowledged with deep gratitude “...the order on the Canada Company for Five pounds twelve shillings being the contribution of Loyal Orange Lodge No 40 (Millbrook) for the relief of some of our Protestant brethren in this immediate neighbourhood, who are now suffering under the afflicting dispensation of Providence who for an all wise purpose has deprived the greater part of the population of this your native country of their usual food.”¹⁰ Believing his people to be in God’s hands despite the fevers and the starvation, Reade was “excited” by the opportunity to buy meal for local Protestants and Orangemen in need, but even “more cheered” by “...the great principle which binds the Brethren of the Loyal Orange Institution, ...*one which neither time nor space can even sever*, and the simple word, “Love”, that which the word of God inculcates, that which shines forth in every page of “The Bible”, is in our Institution, not merely a “bye word” but the same active abiding principle in every clime and country...”¹¹ For many, the goodwill and the guarantee that even far-flung Orangeism held, was better sustenance than the too-small rations of stirabout (grain meal) meant to stay a demoralized people. It was a travel necessity, for if it survived ship’s fever, it was likely to not only find, but greatly benefit from, an extended family welcome in the woods across the waves.

Perhaps the success of the initial transfer of Orangemen to the Canadian frontier and the confidence that more would likely follow, is best represented by the fact that the Orange Hall was often the first institutional building to be erected, before both churches

and schools, in many pioneering settlements. Often situated at a crossroads, the Lodge represented an important physical bond and a particularly Irish claim for the Irish Protestant community.¹² The ability to be part of, and have regular interaction with an organization much larger than oneself – indeed, that of the independent, loyal sister kingdom to England - was essential for combating the hardship of uncleared land, seasonal extremes and distant neighbours. Within the Lodge, new members of the Irish community were provided with not only an important set of contacts, but also with a powerfully reminiscent sense of group consciousness. The former made a difference when it came time for finding employment, erecting a barn, learning the secrets of local agriculture, and obtaining a fair price at the local store, while the latter was essential to knitting back together that sense of Irishness, and of place, that had appeared to be becoming a little more threadbare in the homeland since their departure.

The lodges provided conviviality and socializing and allowed men of varying character and demeanour to discuss their lives without the usual impediments to social mixing. Wexfordmen found their commonality with Derrymen, and Canadians could join with their immigrant parents' people. The lodges linked members of different Protestant denominations and mixed together the generations, the infirm and the healthy, the well-off and the not so well off. They were local [Irish] community centres.¹³

These social networks, established and reinforced every lodge meeting amidst an atmosphere of mystery - with secret signs, rites and symbols, - and militancy - where duty and honour were punctuated by the necessity of armed guards outside the door - ensured a continued sense of identity and place, of self-importance and of usefulness. What was becoming increasingly more difficult to guard against at home, was becoming even more sacred in the forest far away: the closer Ireland came to making Catholic Emancipation a

reality, the more important both the Lodge door and the Tyler's job became. Ontario represented a second 'battleground', the opportunity to meet again – this time, with victory more likely – in the Irish Protestant determination to 'right' or perhaps 're-write' the history of the Irish Protestant century as they had known it up until now – but with a better ending. The rapid proliferation of Lodges throughout rural Ontario, so early in its history, was equally a measure of what was going on in Ireland as it was a local statement.

The Order served as a friendly face in the wilderness for newly arrived Irish Protestants in need of land, employment and at times, charity, which was all the more important for a people immediately suspect not only for being new, but also for being Irish.¹⁴ Darrell A. Norris who has studied the very Irish Protestant Township of Euphrasia in what was known as 'the Queen's Bush' in Grey County, has claimed that the "strength of the Orange Order lay less in its relatively modest membership than in the remarkable proliferation of its lodges within the province. It is pertinent to ask [and therein answer] whether the Order's success, particularly on the farming frontier, reflected something more basic and informal in the shared Irish experience of migration and settlement."¹⁵ For Euphrasia's Irish Protestant settlers, the basic necessities were land, family, security and importantly, a continued sense of place. The Orange Order by its very nature met every one of these and more. The Lodge stood as the physical manifestation of the guarantee that a goodly portion of the Irishness of home would be continued in the new place, no matter how far off. One of the Lodge's greatest attractions had to have been the opportunity to escape the heavy responsibilities of family and farm

in order to witness someone “Ride the Goat” in the same manner that their fathers and fathers’ fathers had. ‘Riding the Goat’ was an impromptu but longstanding rite whereby initiate brethren were blindfolded, thrown into a blanket and tossed about repeatedly. This ritual, with roots deeply embedded in the agrarian history of the Irish countryside, is one that is perhaps best explained by the expense budget of Loyal Orange Lodge 215 in Leslieville, Ontario which dedicated most of its funds in 1839 to whiskey, beer, brown sugar, tobacco and candles.¹⁶ In later years, Lodge money would be spent on a myriad of more sophisticated, mysterious and symbolic costumes and props, easily found by leafing through one of The Dominion Regalia Company Limited’s catalogues. There seemed no limit to the sort of entertainment the brethren might enjoy in subjecting initiates to such “Orange supplies” as curly blonde wigs, papier-mâché Goliath heads, sateen-lined, blue velvet skirts with tassels and bells, slings of leather, sandals, rubber snakes, trumpets, swords, foam-filled clubs, 12 feet of “flexible but very strong” rope, and the very latest in hoodwinks which was “...superior to all others for while completely excluding the light, it allows the eye to remain open in its natural position. It can be opened or closed instantly, enabling 1 man to easily handle 3 or 4 candidates...”¹⁷

The irresistible combination of both release and restoration inherent in such loosely-biblical initiatives, as well as the pride of membership amongst ‘true’ fellows, was best summed up by Joseph Cunningham of Belfast, L.O.L. 713 in Cloughfern. “I enjoyed the company of these brethren who were very kind and considerate, until they were conferring another degree which they described as “Riding the Goat’. On this occasion I did not consider them a bit kind or considerate but I had the satisfaction of

knowing that I was then equal to any other member. ... When I walked on the first 12th July I was real proud of myself; I felt that the objects and the initiation address of the Order were very good, instructing its members to live a temperate Christian life and a good citizen. ...”¹⁸ As Cunningham demonstrated, Orangemen were often willing to overlook a few bumps and bruises for what was perceived in their diversions, as the greater good. Initiation into the Lodge assured candidates of a common experience, one that was filled with the signs and symbols of a darker time in Irish rural history when an allied brotherhood meant survival, and in this way, Irish Protestant Canadians were tied not only to their home and history, but now to one another in the new place. Membership was about stature in the community – about belonging and being ‘up’ where others might be ‘down’ – which harkens fittingly back to Sam McAughtry’s colloquial but honest explanation of Irish Protestantism in Chapter 2, wherein he identified its essential components: knowing who and where your friends were, and avoiding getting ‘swamped’.¹⁹

Orange collectivity in some parts of the province took on the character of moral authority as in the case of the legendary Orangemen of Cavan Township. Long known as the ‘Cavan Blazers’, these local and probably young, Orangemen meted out their particular brand of country justice from the 9th Line – as if their ‘backs were to the sea’ - upon local offenders whose ‘crimes’ might consist of: *too* virtuous a zeal for regular Sunday church attendance, or ‘worse’, *weeknight* prayer meetings; parental interference with the suits of young Blazers; “too ready [a] tongue” in local bragging rights; or more seriously, being an *unapproved* Catholic in an almost all-Protestant Township.²⁰ The

Orangemen apparently held sway over who could and who could not make Cavan Township home, and for the former, life could be just as circumscribed by Orange ritual as it was by riot for the latter. Patrick Maguire, the head of one of two Roman Catholic families living in Cavan in its early days, was as prominent a fixture in the Township as a “refined, educated Irish Roman Catholic who settled early... a Justice of the Peace and... a successful farmer”²¹ as he became in legend for taking the Blazer’s so-called ‘pranks’ in stride. Local lore claims that “whenever an Orangeman passed Maguire’s farm he would vociferously shout: “To hell with the Pope and Paddy Maguire!”²² More provocative however is the measure of form observed in the corrections made to the story by Maguire’s own descendants, who claimed the greeting ran: “To hell with Paddy Maguire and the Pope!”²³, thereby prioritizing their progenitor’s local esteem ahead of his ‘Holiness’. Perhaps Maguire’s marriage to a ‘refined’ Port Hope Protestant, Miss Choate, spared him the type of reception given a number of ‘dissatisfied’ Irish Catholic immigrants from Peter Robinson’s 1825 Settlement who were reportedly encouraged to leave the Peterborough area and settle in Cavan by the Cavanville druggist and postmaster, John Knowlson, who was accused of having “forsook the Protestant faith and became a Roman Catholic”.²⁴ Just as the newcomers were adapting themselves to the new locale, “...the news leaked out [that] they were all Catholics. A band of young farmers organized and made a night assault on the immigrants; their buildings were demolished and burned and they were driven out of the Township.”²⁵

Between the two extremes in these displays of prejudice lay a contemporary acceptance for Blazer activity which could easily be explained, but never quite dismissed,

as the caprice of such “rough and ready pioneers”.²⁶ Indeed, well-immersed in the collecting and dispersing of Cavan’s Irish localism and Irish memory, E.S.Clarry claimed that a definitive explanation for the removal of a large number of Catholic families to other districts was impossible²⁷, and reasoned that the Blazers “...were not the desperadoes they have been pictured [as]. True they did commit unethical and unconventional acts but they performed many acts of kindness and good deeds for unfortunate pioneers of the Township and many of their exploits though somewhat lawless, were intended to be mere jokes. I never heard of any prosecution or conviction having been registered against any of them and as “going to law” in those days was a common diversion it may be fairly concluded the Blazers were not such a bad lot after all.”²⁸ Apparently nothing less could be expected from a Township long known to be not only Irish Protestant, but a ‘hot-bed’ of Orangeism too.

What was and is remembered about the Orange presence in Cavan is the raiding of chicken coops, the plugging of chimneys with straw, wagons on barn roofs, pigs painted green and cows decorated with the Union Jack, the moonlight harvesting of ill neighbours’ crops, the stealing of saddles, guns, and daughters’ hearts, and the sodding of log house windows while the occupants slept,²⁹ all of which was often excused and acknowledged rather sympathetically with a nod as, ‘The Blazers Again’. According to the Millbrook Reporter in 1913, “a person travelling through Durham in the Blazer days beheld sights that would rival some of those found in the “Arabian Nights” [and other popular literature as the Blazers even] ...outstripped Robin Hood in follies and destructiveness, if not in romance.”³⁰ Certainly Old Davey Bennet, an apple grower, had

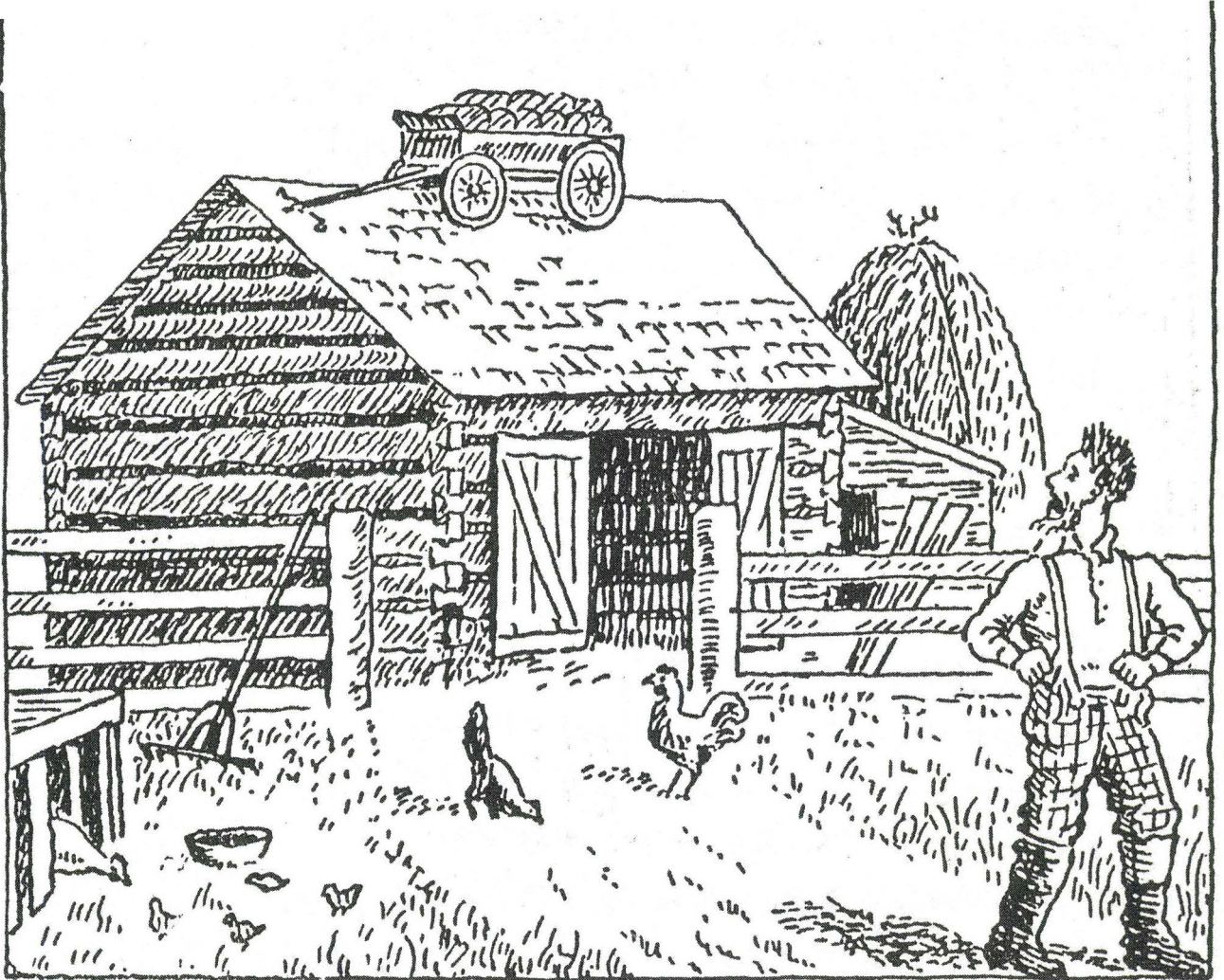
reason to believe in a little magic after three-quarters of his fruit crop disappeared overnight from secured storage. Incredulous, Bennet "...declared that 'it was witches' because there was no outside door or window to the room, but when he found a pair of new boots, containing forty dollars, he decided that 'it was fairies.'"³¹ With careful stepping and the aid of a pitch fork and an old stove-pipe hole in the floor above the fruit cellar, the Blazers had managed to turn trespassing and stealing into the stuff of legend in local entertainment. Whether the Blazers were compelling their detractors to literally 'eat their words' by forcing mouthfuls of any dissenting opinion on paper, or squashing the silk hats of newly arrived Dubliners in the roadway to curb pretention, their collective aggression and mentality has been explained as "the high lights, the moving spirits of a time when life went by at a slower pace."³² This is perhaps more extraordinary than Old Bennet's claims to a miracle. Rather than simply a tonic for rural boredom, at the heart of Blazer bullying in Cavan, (as is almost always the case on modern playgrounds), was the ironic insecurity that accompanied a very potent Irish diasporic consciousness (the very thing Sam McAughtrey tried to pinpoint) in the nineteenth century, despite the fact that in this place as in others, Protestants vastly outnumbered Catholics.

The only logic that can be found in Blazer aggression toward so few Catholics in the immediate township is that it reflected "their own sense of history", their exile from Ireland, and the fear of the potential for that history to be repeated in Canada. Indeed, in the absence of Catholics, oftentimes Blazer aggression was directed toward fellow Protestants as continual reminders of the dictates of the group's historical consciousness. Such expressions of enforced conformity and "anxiety about Protestant annihilation",

according to Albert Braz, were direct by-products of the strength of their ancestral ties, for “the Blazers, Ireland continues to be home” – and are proof that for them, “history is clearly not a mere storehouse of past events but a living force.”³³ The settling of nearly 2000 Irish Catholics by Peter Robinson in 11 of the Newcastle District townships surrounding Cavan, probably served to drive this home. As playwright, Robert Winslow in his Cavan Blazers shows, Orangemen feared ““More catholics! By the hundreds! In a few years they’ll overrun this township. And it’ll end up bein’ worse than what we left back in Ireland!””³⁴ Likewise, the memory of the Catholic, Patrick Maguire’s family’s local feuds extended well back in Ireland’s history to “just yesterday – in 1607”³⁵ Together, the collective Irish memory was one of hostility and victimization and for both Cavan’s Blazers and few local Catholics, the grievances that served as the very essence of their separate identities were held entirely in common. Intriguingly, Braz points out using Winslow’s work, that even as the premature Catholic Settlement in Cavan is torn to pieces and set afire, standing before the flames set by his very own men, the Blazer’s leader invokes God’s direction to Moses against Pharoah to ‘Let my people go’ because “even as his brethren chase the Catholics out of the Promised Land, Swain still conceives of himself not as the Pharoah he plainly is but as Moses.”³⁶ In the aftermath’s ashes, Swain confronts Maguire only to find that Maguire’s ‘people’ had actually arrived in Cavan Township a full year before his own and that his ancestral grievances against Catholics in Ireland “in the shadow of Vinegar Hill”³⁷ in County Wexford, were matched equally in atrocity by Maguire’s forbears at the hands of Protestants in County Fermanagh.

A shared transatlantic identity then, required the very close proximity of the ‘other’ (even if at times it was not Catholic) in order for the severed hand that one of Winslow’s Blazers kept as talisman of his Grandmother’s harrowing trials ‘back in ’98’ in Ireland to truly have group significance. The Cavan Blazers needed exceptions to the rule, but more importantly, they needed Paddy Maguire – indeed, they would probably not have been at all ‘legendary’ without him – in order to secure their foothold this time, in Canada’s Cavan Township and to legitimate the same in their Irish past. The very act of *being* an Orangeman thus *required* one to approach and walk the perimeter of Maguire’s farm and fire off the routine though offensive, local ‘greeting’ in order to maintain the mystique of Ulster’s (and Rutherford’s Grandmother’s) ‘Red Hand’ in Ontario, but without the extreme level of bloodshed that had brought it there in the first place. Orangeism in Canada represented a connection to a long and richly storied, hard-won Irish past as well as the opportunity to play a role in shaping an uncertain, yet in reality, much less threatening and violent, Canadian future. The Order offered familiarity and the potential for stability to Irish Protestants even when its patrolling of such took the form of ‘mere’ pranks. Indeed, in Winslow’s play, Maguire ends up leaving Cavan for Warsaw, invoking Swain to “Make it the Protestant Heaven you always wanted to. Make it a place of persecution and intolerance. Just like dear old Ireland”³⁸, even though in reality, Patrick Maguire made Cavan home until his 74th year and ‘Maguire Castle’ stood until 1956.³⁹ Orangeism guaranteed a well balanced program of religious ceremony,

The Cavan Blazers: ““The social regulators of the early days””



AN UNUSUAL SIGHT

“There was one mean fellow whose conduct was such as to call for a little discipline.”

ILLUSTRATION 1

From ‘The Cavan Blazers’ in W.L. Smith’s Chapter, ‘Strong Drink, Religion and Law’ in *The Pioneers of Ontario*, Toronto: George N. Morang, 1923, p.321.

solemn Lodge formality, intellectual stimulation, financial security, a progressive hierarchy through which to pass, a potent if at times, inaccurate, history lesson, and a direct tie to an increasingly heroic Irish ancestry, but as Houston and Smyth state, there *were* times when the Lodge in Canada “...seemed to exist just to get up a right good jollification.”⁴⁰ The experience of that jollification however, obviously depended on which side of the pitch fork (or fence) one found himself.

The mutual aid character of the Orange Organization served to maintain a network of committed brethren sworn to give care and guidance to one another in times of difficulty: the unemployed would receive donations; the sick were visited free-of-charge by the Lodge doctor; and essential for all Irishmen, the deceased would be assured of having a proper send-off with funeral costs covered and the knowledge that family members would be looked after. Gregory Kealey has shown not only the importance of the latter but the very claim to Irishness that the funeral procession maintained wherever Orangeism grew:

Funerals played a crucial role in traditional Irish society. ... “Every man in death can command a multitude. To stay away, to make no recognition of the day, is to give deadly affront.” The Orange ceremony involved a eulogistic review of the deceased brother’s achievements, a renewal of the solemn oaths of the remaining Orangemen over the grave of their late brother, ‘sealed’ by dropping the rosette of each member’s degree into the open grave.⁴¹

In these ways, being an Orangemen gave a sense of purpose, prosperity, pride and particular Irish persistence. In 1877, Nicholas Flood Davin wrote about the sort of settler an Irishman made:

When we first ask ourselves what are the qualities which make a man a good settler, we think chiefly of *stern perseverance*, and scarcely give a

thought to the softer and more winning human characteristics. Yet very little reflection would have convinced us that kindness, generosity, good humour, sprightliness and nobleness, are of almost more importance in the bush... [here] you must look to the heart of those you are brought in contact with for it.

Convinced that this was the Irish experience, Davin used the example of Susanna

Moodie:

...7/8ths of those who helped her husband and herself efficiently were Irish, and while she had to complain of the conduct of many, amongst the many there was not one with Irish blood in his veins.⁴²

This type of Irish community and continuity was celebrated annually at July 12th Orange parades which enforced public recognition of the private sphere of Orangeism. These called for great ceremony and regalia (including orange lilies, orange ribbons, and at one time, orange canaries) as Orangemen, marching in sequence according to the degree of achievement they had obtained within the society, proudly reminded ‘who was boss’ on that day. The procession also served as propaganda for Orange recruitment as on-lookers, impressed by the formality and splendour, converged on the local lodge to commit themselves. Some of the companies that later came to manufacture Orange uniforms and degree equipment practically guaranteed that an ample portion of admiration would be included with every mail-order purchase. When “ON THE MARCH – The distinctive dress cap for ALL members. Shows strength – shows purpose. ... A dress CAP, a satin TIE with your white shirt and blue trousers constitutes a uniform of ENVY and RESPECT in the eyes of all who watch or march.”⁴³ According to Mark Carnes, the search for this kind of veneration and approval – ‘trailing of the coat’ as the Irish have called it - was at the heart of the function and popularity of all secret

societies in the nineteenth century. However, for the Orange Order there was more to it, ‘trailing the coat’ implied things of great and complex historical significance: it was done not only in confirmation of past, specifically Irish victories, but also in claim and reassurance of future ones.

In some ways, the Orange Order was more Irish than Irish Protestant in its identity. It was apparently through the Lodge and not the Church, which according to Carnes and Lynn Marks, was becoming an increasingly ‘feminized’ arena of worship, that men could resolve the Victorian era’s bifurcation of gender and generation that seriously threatened established notions of masculinity, by returning to their ‘ancient’ Irish fathers.⁴⁴ Raised in an increasingly female-dominated home and Church, boys supposedly suffered identity crises from the absence of fathers who were plunged deeper into the exigencies of middle class capitalism in the work place. Resolution was found as the blindfolded and near-naked initiate traversed the dangers of each stage of the solemn ritual (representing his childhood and adolescence), after which, confronted by his own ‘death’ at the hands of father figures, he emerged, re-born into a new family of accepting brethren and patriarchs.⁴⁵ Psychological fulfillment through the re-union of father and son could be achieved, even if only symbolically, through the donning of the generational Orange sash and the entering into a Brotherhood whose collective manhood was celebrated and demonstrated through a shared legacy of Irish history and song. In this way, at least part of the turmoil that was the fragmentation of the nineteenth century Irish diaspora could be addressed if not completely resolved, as sons of Ireland found fathers again in Canada.

In seeming confirmation of at least *this* part of Carnes' theory, Charles E. Perry in his late nineteenth century "Lectures on Orangeism" revealed that becoming an Orangeman included the privileges of the son as successor and the preservation of memory, for as "...the offspring of the patriotic fathers, as we certainly are, then are we also their heirs and successors, and should ascertain what they have left us and how we should preserve and use it. They bestowed upon us a rich inheritance of independence, namely, enterprise, free institutions, freedom of thought, of action and of religion, respect for law, the rights of fellow men and an Open Bible. These have made our race strong, enlightened, powerful, and prosperous, the foremost in the march of progress and civilization."⁴⁶ As Orange Grand Chaplain and Grand Organizer of Canada West, Perry was also a Methodist preacher who had come from a long line of ministers – both Churchmen and Methodists – and in direct *contrast* to Marks' and Carnes' supposedly feminized Church, Perry, like his forebears, preached the absolute necessity of defending, body and soul, the ground already won by the Irish patriarchs of the past, including Perry's own. Perry's "maternal grandfather, the Reverend Andrew Taylor, was a Methodist minister in Ireland for about 40 years. He nearly lost his life several times during the rebellion of 1798, and was on his knees on Wexford Bridge, expecting to be piked."⁴⁷ For Perry, Canada had the opportunity to become "the Greater Britain"⁴⁸ and it was therefore the duty of the younger Canadian members of the Orange Association to stand vigilant in the protection of the civil and religious freedoms that had been hard-won by their forebears in Ireland. As W.H. Scott wrote in his Introduction to Perry's Lectures:

To them will be committed the consideration of the deeds of those heroic men who, in days of old, fought and bled for the cause of civil and religious liberty.

They must, if they intend to perpetuate the memory of the men who fought at Derry, Aughrim and the Boyne, carefully and diligently acquire accurate information regarding the period and circumstances under which our forefathers contended for the faith once delivered to the saints. And in the study of the [ongoing] conflict between Protestantism and Romanism, it must be clearly ascertained what was the great principle that was at stake. [That is, that we may] worship God according to the dictates of our own conscience without fear of popish intervention, ...[and] read God's Holy Word without being afraid of a Jesuit inquisition. To us, the descendents of the men who secured by their blood these latter day liberties is committed a sacred trust, an obligation of vital importance to posterity.⁴⁹

Perry's was not the example of the feminized, tolerant, peaceful Christ, born of the new liberal theology, rather, his was an all-out battle that was far from over and Canada stood as the ground still contested just outside of Derry's walls. Far from a supposedly softer, more feminized and therefore male-evacuated Church, Perry's widely circulated opinions along with those of the Churchmen of Chapter 6 in this study, reveal expressions of Irishness that were not only very masculine but also well within the Church's sphere and not confined solely to the clergy. Although expressions of a very male Irish Protestantism (as will be discussed in Chapter 6) could thus be made quite vocally on the outskirts of Orangeism, mutual aid, whether it be in the form of funds, unity on parade, the whisking away of boys and men from the domestic sphere, the adoption of new sons to 'The Sash My Father Wore', or the tie and living duty to an historic Irish victory, accounted in large part for the Order's attraction.

On "the other side of [Orange] communal help, [fanfare and familial identity] however, was [the requisite] suspicion of 'outsiders' and intense hostility towards members of the rival faction"⁵⁰ that came with Irishness and sometimes with secret society membership. As the printed form to be observed in the dedication of an Orange

Hall or Lodge Room in 1856 shows, after the perimeters were checked, the passwords given, the procession of Degrees concluded, the trumpets blasted, and the bonds of an Irish brotherhood re-affirmed, somewhere between the Scripture reading and the Lord's Prayer was the singing of "God Save the Queen" with the lesser known second verse as follows:

O Lord our God! Arise,
Scatter her enemies,
 And make them fall!
Confound their politics,
Frustrate their popish tricks,
On her our hearts we fix, -
 God save us all!⁵¹

The ritualistic and occasionally, riotous confrontations that occurred regularly between the Orange and the Green on March 17 and July 12 served for some, more as physical proof of the contemporary belief that "...the Irish were given to letting their hostilities erupt into open conflict"⁵² than of the tensions inherent in a persistent and competing, but also *shared* Irish identity. Indeed, occasions which saw Irish Catholics tying up a mare in heat to 'disrupt' the parade route of 'King Billy's' stallion, or a Catholic 'King Billy' mockingly astride a white horse performing obscene gestures, were readily and routinely matched by Orange-ribboned carts being driven through St. Patrick's Day parades and the boisterous playing of tunes such as "Croppies Lie Down", "The Protestant Boys" and "Kick the Pope" by the Orange Band.⁵³ Writing to his cousin in Belfast, Francis Hincks, former Liberal Prime Minister of United Canada, brought some perspective to the Irish stereotype when he alluded to a connection between testosterone levels and unchecked Irish animosity, identifying the *youth* of Irish-Canada on both sides of the religious

divide, as the more dangerous of assemblages. He lamented the latest “abominable” practice of the day’s young men - the carrying of guns in Montreal by “almost exclusively... Orangemen and Irish Catholics”⁵⁴ – as well as the resulting half-cocked, trigger-happy atmosphere that both inexperience and bulging pockets created. This precarious combination led Hincks to recognize that Ireland had been recreated in Canada and, tongue-in-cheek, claim of his countrymen that:

We have improved on old Ireland. Orangeism was introduced here some 50 years ago most absurdly and wickedly by an Irishman named Ogle R. Gowan whom I knew very well. His son founded a new body called “Orange Young Britons”... They enter at the age of 14! ...and at 21 I think are gratified to join the Orange Society. It is these Orange Young Britons a set of boys from 17 or 18 to 20 or 21 who cause the trouble. The older Orangemen are not half so bad and the Catholics have a Catholic Union also chiefly boys, and at night in the Catholic sector of the city, these fellows meet and fire revolvers at one another especially when an Orange concert is going on...⁵⁵

Some such ‘concerts’ were undoubtedly designed to provoke as some of the lyrics commemorating ‘The Battle of Slabtown’ attest. Hardly a ‘battle’, the ruckus that took place in Centreville, later, Merritton, (St. Catharines) Ontario, on July 12, 1849, saw 23 Orangemen of L.O.L. 77 drive a “mob of papists” off from Duffin’s Inn into infamy with:

They came too late for pudd’ an’ pie

But not too late for a ball in the thigh.⁵⁶

Proving that hooliganism could be made over and over again into heroism, that year, the Grand Lodge “marked the noble stand of these loyalists” by presenting either silver or bronze medals (depending on who is telling the story) to the participants who had “sallied out, [and] wounded several” in between courses at the dinner table.⁵⁷ The fray merited enlarged commemorative photographs of Duffin’s Inn, and even a musket ball,

interestingly retrieved not from the thigh of an ‘Irish Romanist’, but from what would become a landmark-poplar tree, as well as the 1876 verse which still boasted almost thirty years later, about the gathering for the 12th in Toronto in 1852.

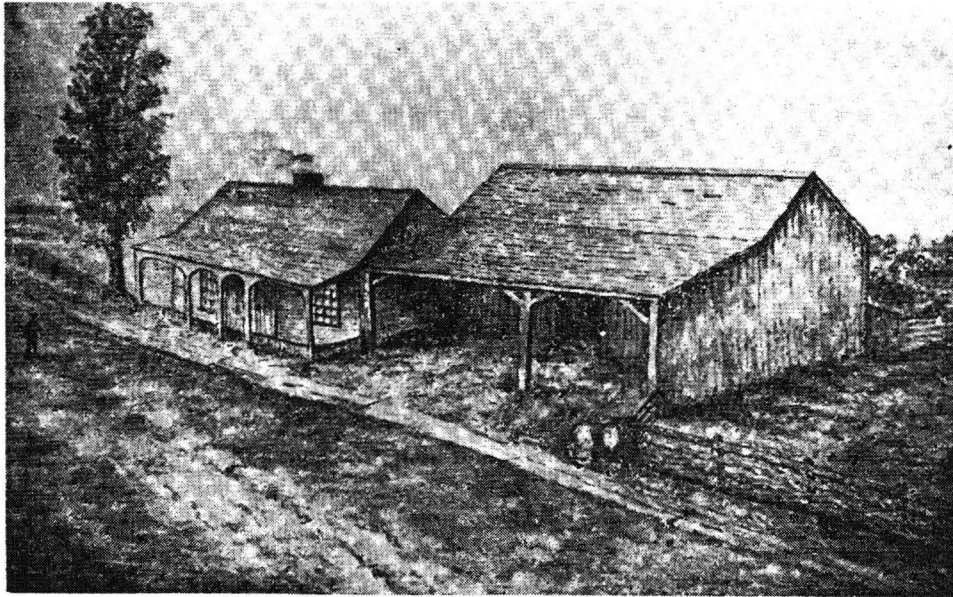
With transports of joy they respond to the call,
Oh’ tell me their numbers – I can’t count them all;
But from Hamilton, Whitby, and Brantford they came,
One thousand brave men, in William’s great name;
And next came those heroes who gained their renown
In making at Slabtown the Croppies lie down.⁵⁸

Once again, the ‘Battle of the Diamond’ had been successfully reenacted – even if this time, it was by canalers instead of soldiers or Protestant weavers – and once again, Ireland’s history became part of Canada’s as Duffin’s Inn of Merriton for a time, took on the prestige of Dan Winter’s Loughgall cottage in the heart of the Diamond. The Orange Order gave youth an opportunity to stage the battles of the old country and reclaim victory in the new, and in this way, aspects of an Irish culture were quite potently handed down to the next generation. Regardless that more bravado than blood was displayed during such donnybrooks, bullying and intimidation – even if the older ones were ‘not half so bad’ - as well as the Order’s Irish immigrant character and perceived anti-Catholicism, had for a time, clashed with the largely English, Scottish and American-born elite’s perception of what was acceptable and respectable.

Robert Henry an American-born magistrate and millwright in Cobourg, warned John Huston, Surveyor and J.P. of Cavan against an Orange gathering on the 12th of 1828 prior to the Election for the County of Durham: “...I never herd [sic] of an Orange meeting where there happened to be Catholicks [sic], but what some affray or other took place, and it certainly is in the Interest of both Parties to live in peace and brotherly

ILLUSTRATION 2

For a time mid-century, Duffin's Inn and the 'Battle of Slabtown' took on the mystique of Dan Winter's Cottage and the Battle of the Diamond in Co. Armagh, Ireland. A July 12th donnybrook between Irish Catholics and Orangemen in 1849 warranted commemoration by L.O.L., No. 77 of silver medals, poems, songs, pictures of the Inn and 'relics' such as a musket ball retrieved from what was to become a landmark poplar tree.



DUFFIN'S INN



Musket Ball and Medal: 'The Glorious Memory', 'Presented to Edwd. McLaughlin By The Loyal Orange Association B.N.A. For Valiant Conduct At Centreville... On 12 July 1849'

From University of Western Ontario Archives, J.J. Talman Collection, Orange Lodge Records, *Souvenir Program of the 100th Anniversary of the Grand Orange Lodge Ontario West and the 84th Annual Session of the Grand Black Chapter*, St Catherines: May 12, 1960.

feeling therefore I wish you and all the officers and respectable people to do your endeavours to put a stop to it. ... This party feeling should be buried in oblivion, and I think it the duty of every reputable person to expect himself to put an end to these things in this Country.”⁵⁹ Two years later, Huston was again cautioned, this time by magistrate, physician and Scot, John Hutchison in Peterborough, after rumours circulated that the Cavan Orangemen intended marching to that village on the 12th. Hutchison asked Huston to reconsider “...so useless and even dangerous a display of party spirit here... such exhibitions even now and in this Country serve no good and; but on the contrary, tend to perpetuate that religious feud which has so long destroyed the peace of your native Isle – and to endanger the public peace here by the collision of parties – for Heaven’s sake why transplant that rancorous party feeling to this peaceful country; where no earthly distinction is made between Catholic and Protestant...? This village and its vicinity has many Catholic inhabitants as you well know, and the selection of this place for the scene of their... exhibitions throws a dark suspicion on the motive of the Orangemen in coming here.”⁶⁰ Having thus taken Huston to task, Hutchison reminded him of the present Administration’s determination to suppress party distinction and closed asking: “How much happier should we not be, if, forgetting all religious differences, we should draw not distinction, but that between the good and the bad without reference to their religious creed?”⁶¹ The lesson was lost on Huston, for those very ‘earthly distinctions’ missing in Ontario in the mind of the Scottish Doctor, were the requisite ingredients for the recreation of Protestant Ireland in Huston’s Cavan most immediately – the same year as Catholic Emancipation - and for elsewhere in time.

For the government in Upper Canada in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Orange Order as a decidedly foreign institution, undoubtedly counted amongst Hutchison's 'bad', and any claims to the contrary were regarded with as much suspicion as the brethren were themselves. After repeated warnings, including the latest from Government House on the behalf of his Roman Catholic neighbour, John Huston fired back in a July 1831 letter to the Lieutenant-Governor which revealed that it was precisely *because* there were Catholics in the area that an Orange 'exhibition' was necessary while it clamoured:

It appears from Mr. Maguire's letter that he wants to persuade you that he entertains a wish for the peace of the Country – ...I am convinced of the contrary and can prove the same. If there is any display of Protestants and Orangemen walking in procession... the cause must be attached to Mr. Maguire and him only. He has roused that religious fiend which has so long destroyed the peace of unhappy Ireland which here ought to rest obscure he has told Protestants that they would be ashamed to acknowledge themselves to be Protestants in a few years and how unworthy they are to be noticed in civil or Military appointments he also boasts of his weight of interest and power. The Catholicks [sic] he tells 'contend for your rights resist the orangemen (whom he calls all Protestants) to the last. I am your friend you are shamefully trampled upon I will support you'. What intolerant language this is to be used in this peaceful country where no earthly distinctions are made between Catholics and Protestants... ...some of the Catholics told me after the last townmeeting in Emily that they were encouraged by Mr. Maguire... to [quarrel with their Protestant neighbours] but they would not, others said they were sorry for what had happened. You may assure his Excellency and I will be accountable that if the Orangemen and Protestants do meet and walk in procession they will only go to Church and will not give the slightest offence to any person if unmolested.⁶²

In his own provocative language, which appeared to serve as awkward proof of the very 'earthly distinctions' between the Irish Catholics and Protestants of Emily, Ops and Cavan he denied, Huston revealed the inherited need for Orangemen to display their colour simply as a result of the existence of neighbours who were doubly threatening,

being both Catholic and vociferous in their political opinions. Huston, despite references to his word as a gentleman and hints of connections to the Church, closed with a warning that revealed the Orange determination that they were ‘here to stay’ and perhaps, best left alone. The point was driven home a decade later, when Huston fatally struck John Marshall, circuit rider for the Peterborough area, after the latter emerged from the Newtonville polling station having voted Reform over Huston’s Tory candidate, George Strange Boulton, M.P.P. for Durham Riding. After six weeks of hiding, Huston turned himself in only to be found guilty of “hot-headedness”, not murder, at the Spring Assizes in Cobourg, 1842.⁶³ Huston’s four days of time-served during the proceedings, along with a fine of £4, was apparently reprimand enough in the face of mounting Orange collusion and local Irish Protestant determination.

An Orangeman’s toast from 1856 readily attests to both the spirit in which they met and the mythology and ferocity behind how Orange Irishmen identified themselves, as well as the kind of language and provocation that might have turned up the nose of a ‘Family Compact’ man:

To the glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the great and good King William, not forgetting Oliver Cromwell, who assisted in redeeming us from popery, slavery, arbitrary power, brass-money and wooden shoes. May we never want [for] a Williamite to kick the ----- of a Jacobite! ... And he that won’t drink this... may a north wind blow him to the south, and a west wind to the east! May he have dark night, a lee shore, a rank storm, and a leaky vessel to carry him over the river Styx! May the dog Cerebus make a meal of his rump, and Pluto a snuff-box of his skull, and may the devil jump down his throat with a red hot harrow... tear out a gut, and blow him with a clean carcass to hell! AMEN.⁶⁴

Indeed, the Order’s association with social aid and a unique Irish inheritance has always attracted less attention than this kind of colourful rhetoric which, mirrored by Huston’s,

aroused and confirmed the fears of some early settlers that Ireland's 'troubles' really were washing up on Canadian shores. In 1853 Susanna Moodie assessed both Catholic and Protestant Irish, and saw the rise of the latter's Orange Order as a "moral leprosy", polluting "the free institutions of the country, and effectually preventing any friendly feeling which might grow up between the members of these rival and hostile creeds."⁶⁵ Although from her own experience with 'Irish domestics' Moodie had attempted to distinguish Protestant from Catholic through such things as who was harder on the crockery, and how remarkably chaste *they* all were, politically, she saw the Irish much more darkly:

In Canada, where all religions are tolerated, it appears a useless aggravation of an old national grievance to perpetuate the memory of the battle of the Boyne. What have we to do with the hatreds and animosities of a more barbarous age. These things belong to the past: "Let the dead bury their dead," and let us form for ourselves a holier and truer present. The old quarrel between Irish Catholics and Protestants should have been sunk in the ocean when they left their native country to find a home, unpolluted by the tyrannies of bygone ages, in the wilds of Canada⁶⁶

Others had a similar vision of what Canada could and should be and the problem was not so much with such 'celebrated' Irish fiction as Moodie's – that Biddy could break the pot and find "It is not a hair the worse!"⁶⁷ – but with Irish faction, though both were evidence to the prevalence of anti-Irish sentiment. In 1876, William Best looked back with nostalgia on the early days of his family's settlement in Emily Township in 1819 when "schools and meeting houses were then few and far apart [and] politics were... little known. The law was then very deficient and badly administered [but] there were no party feuds to disturb the harmony that then existed among the first settlers. ... [He then compared his day of seemingly greater disturbance and squarely laid the blame on] Party

politics [which] has now grown to be dangerous to this country, *as it was in Ireland*” even as late as 1876.⁶⁸ The more Irish that arrived in Canada, the more both Reformers and Tories would distrust the potential power of the Orange Order as a politically influential group. William Lyon Mackenzie had registered public disapproval much earlier for what he viewed as an obviously Irish movement containing dangerous, “disorderly mob[s]” of “Irish hogs and backwood savages” while William W. Baldwin would describe Ireland, his own homeland, as “the most miserable part of Europe” for the horrors that had driven its native people away and reportedly, the Orangemen as “uncalled for here” and “the scum of the earth”.⁶⁹ The Orange Order eventually would become ‘dangerous’ - but only in its capacity as a political force, having attracted vast numbers of Irish Protestants in the nineteenth century and later, non-Irish members of all Protestant persuasions, regardless of class.⁷⁰ That the Order was regarded at all, especially by the two political factions of the time, is the best evidence for Orangeism having sought to identify itself as a contender in the political arena and more broadly, for Irish Protestantism – along with its antecedents - to have well-infiltrated the social and political milieu of Upper Canada.

A large portion of the credit for the eventual political energy of the Orange Order is due to Ogle R. Gowan, a Wexford Irishman, who upon his arrival in Brockville in 1829, set out to organize a formal network of district, county and provincial lodges in Upper Canada to replace what had been a loose, but very Irish-based arrangement, operating in isolation. Gowan tailored Irish Orangeism to Canadian standards by emphasizing the social and benevolent aspects of membership over the parent-modeled, sectarian militarism all the while, eyeing the political potential of a Grand Lodge of British North

America. “By Irish standards [Gowan] was a moderate, but an able demagogue who understood the management of patronage and the use of the shillelagh at election times. His moderation was to be exercised in the interest of higher political combinations which were essential if the influence of the Orange vote was to extend beyond areas where the Orangeman had a local majority.”⁷¹ According to Gordon Sanderson and Hereward Senior, Gowan, who identified himself not only as an Irishman but as a ‘Celt’, “disapproved of religious intolerance and declared that Protestants and Catholics should work together”⁷², having “been convinced that it was folly to fight with Catholics”⁷³ sometime between his leave of Ireland and Canadian arrival. Gowan it seems, was more politician than bigot: “his gifts for the rough and tumble of rural politics were enhanced by a vision which instead of setting the Orange against the Green would unite them in a single party. Perceiving their common interests and searching for a political formula which would be relevant to the Canadian context, he endeavoured to make “loyalism” the property of the Irish.”⁷⁴

It is perhaps evidence of Gowan’s ‘kinder, gentler’, more Irish-based Orangeism in Canada that perfumes the letter written by the Grand Masters of Counties Northumberland and Durham in 1832 to the Church of England clergyman, Reverend Alexander Bethune requesting a special Church service for the “Orange Societies at York, Cavan and Peterborough in like manner with those in the old country...”⁷⁵ in celebration of the 12th in Cobourg that year. Grand Masters Beamish and Little set to work rallying Bethune’s approval (despite the fact that Bethune was not Irish but Canadian-born and High Church in his persuasion and therefore presumably unfamiliar with ‘old-country’,

‘Low’ Orange church services) for the Orange presence in his pews with perhaps overly zealous but no less sincere, promises “lest you should be of opinion you were countenancing a Society of an objectionable character.”⁷⁶ Ripe with the type of politicking that saw Gowan able to emphasize Irishness over religious difference, the two spokesmen wrote:

To meet the wishes of the Government, and to evince our friendly feelings towards our Catholic brethren, it is intended on the day of our public meeting... to propose certain resolutions... with a view of exchanging the name of Orangemen for that of the Union Society, which we think will be less obnoxious and more acceptable to the community at large... [and] to make a collection... in the church for the support of our indigent and sick countrymen – Catholics as well as Protestants. We shall also propose at our next general meeting certain resolutions, holding out the hand of friendship and goodwill to the Catholics, with a view of doing away with the present prejudices which unhappily exist among the catholic and protestant portion of our population – as there exist no justifiable reasons why these parties should not unite their energies for their mutual benefit and the public good.⁷⁷

Honeyed though their letter may have been, Beamish and Little would hardly have been able to attract the assent of some of those more ‘sensitive’ Orangemen who, in the spirit of ‘no surrender’, would have recoiled at the application’s undertone, reeking of petition and compliance. Indeed, before the ink had dried, the two Orange officials had singlehandedly managed to eliminate the air of suspicion that surrounded the very *raison d’être* in the Orange creed that had to be against Catholicism if it was for William’s ‘immortal’ memory. Obviously, the new appellation of ‘Union Society’, hopeful and indicative though it may have been, went the way of the wind, while Reverend Bethune’s response, either on paper or in the pulpit, is left to speculation. Either way, Beamish and Little’s appeal to a friendlier ‘Ireland-within-Canada’ sought to make the descent of so

many Orangemen on the village of Cobourg a less contentious issue by putting Irish loyalty above religion and waving the potential of a white flag in the faces of any criticism—a measure that certain compromises between the two Irelands were at times possible on Canadian soil.

Although Gowan's Order officially professed to work 'above reproach' in its political dealings, in reality, it was quite willing to work well below it. For example, despite Grand Lodge resolutions that Orangemen should support independent candidates and not party politics in elections, some lodges practiced a voting discipline that threatened members with censure if they failed to support particular Brethren or expulsion, if (unapproved) Catholics were voted for. Working to create an initially independent Irish immigrant party voice in Upper Canadian affairs, Gowan created his own voting bloc by obtaining title deeds for recent immigrants through personal connections and began to focus on local issues in a less-than-effective effort to stem the widespread association of the Order with an alien (Irish) influence. In 1830, he had presented himself as a candidate for Leeds County but was met with views such as those expressed by William Pitt in the Brockville Gazette "...against the presumption of a recently arrived Irishman in presenting himself for office where "there were natives of talent, education and property able to serve.""⁷⁸ Well-spoken, well-connected, and well-backed, Gowan was the man to represent the potential that lay within each emigrant to Canada, assisted or otherwise. At times, Gowan's Irishness was capable of speaking for all "Pauper immigrants among us [who] should be treated with kindness". He certainly spoke for all new arrivals against the obvious prejudiced undertone of established

‘natives’ in Canada when he declared himself proudly: ““An European by birth, education and predilection””⁷⁹. Although Gowan failed to gain a seat in the House of Assembly, he and his Orange supporters had managed to surround themselves with a substantial following and manipulated “...immigrant aspirations and the loyalty issue [enough] to squeeze between Reformers and Tories as a separate political force.”⁸⁰ The contentious William Lyon Mackenzie, whose columns in the *Colonial Advocate* had denigrated Irishmen both Orange and Green, had for a time served as a focal point for a united Irish indignation over his depiction of Irish ‘crowds’ in York as ‘soup kitchen’ dependents and ‘vagrants’ accompanied by puppet political interests, and kowtowing, corrupt officials. Mackenzie’s sometimes inflammatory press and republican-style politics actually united the Irish interests in Ontario under several umbrellas: as ‘suspect’ Irish, as immigrants, as conservative religionists, and as the new loyalists. In 1832, Gowan wrote: ““It must be obvious to every philosophical mind that a civil union between Protestant and Roman Catholic against the gloomy Yankee faction ... is called for alike by the dictates of policies, justice and mutual security to keep up the British ascendancy over the Yankee and American interests.””⁸¹ In subsequent elections in 1834, 1835, and 1836 Gowan and his boys would employ such tactics as sabotaging a Reform public meeting, verbally abusing Compact Families in the Order’s paper the *Antidote*, transferring a designated polling centre to an area where Orangeism was more lively, and blocking the opposition’s ability to vote via mob violence at the hustings. As one account has it, “On the second day of the poll several supporters of the reform ticket... were hit, kicked and had their clothes ripped, and some took small knife wounds as they tried to

vote... On the third and fourth days the same... continued with Gowan's Irish supporters intimidating reformers who wished to vote."⁸² A measure of irony and growing, effectual Irish Protestant persuasion are found in the fact that Gowan was later granted both an Assembly seat and a committee seat to investigate electoral violence and fraud.

Gowan's and his Orangemen's political astuteness was not limited by non-partisanship the way the Irish organization's professed principles were to an Open Bible and a Protestant throne. On the contrary, they seized an opportunity for political patronage and ascendancy in 1836 by openly agreeing to an alliance with the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church against the rising menace of Mackenzie's 'republican' reformers. Willing again to place Irishness and loyalty ahead of any claim to Protestantism, the Order was well aware of the Tory need for Orange support to secure the election. "This convenient alliance, which allowed for the trading of bloc votes, though formed in the interests of patriotism, could be made to serve the interests of patronage and was, therefore, particularly attractive..."⁸³ What Orangeman and historian W.B. Kerr defined as "wonders... come to pass"⁸⁴ in this perhaps not-so-unlikely Irish alliance on Canadian soil, might more accurately be called "workings" in light of the fact that the Tory victory enabled Lieutenant Governor Bond Head to reject Reform petitions against Orange processions and meetings. This was far from being the only occasion in Canada's history when Irishmen of both the Catholic and Protestant persuasion would make common cause from a convenient meeting of the minds, but in this particular period, the more Mackenzie became identified as 'that Scot', the more loyal and cooperative his Irish opponents appeared.⁸⁵ Both the election of 1836 and the Rebellion

the following year served to heighten the recognition that Irishmen and the Orange Order had been slowly cultivating. As Orangemen and Irishmen from throughout Upper Canada joined government forces in putting down Mackenzie's uprising, the wounds they received in the scuffles later served as prestigious proof that they had taken part in another 'War of 1812' or 'Battle of the Boyne' - and were thus deserving of better recognition and repute in place of their former characterization as purely Irish and immigrant. Such would be difficult to come by, however. Orangemen in Canada would experience a continuation of their relationship with the crown much like it had been in Ireland: too often, from the Orange perspective, physical proofs of loyalty had been given, but official recognition or favour was ultimately, denied.⁸⁶ Still, by the "winter of 1838 Gowan and the Orangemen had reason to believe that the conditions necessary for a new ultra-loyalist ascendancy had matured in Canada"; a formula well-tested in Ireland.⁸⁷ They also had reason to celebrate the building of a formidable and influential reputation, even beyond that of their Irish Brothers', having built an admirable network of patronage upon the wreckage of Tory Party monopoly and Reform radicalism.

That the Orange Order in Upper Canada was able to speak to and for so many, is evidenced by the Baldwin/Lafontaine Government's largely ineffectual Party Processions Act of 1843. Through proscription of July 12th rioting, public displays of party colours, and the activities of Orange electoral gangs at the polls, Reformers had sought to control the political influence specifically of Orangemen amidst counter charges of banning 'the opposition'. Indeed, there was something to the Order's claims to representing the public voice against unpopular government reforms. Gowan's wife, Frances Anne Turner,

writing their son Harcourt that same year, revealed a much more general support and public turning toward things Orange than the new legislation suggested. She revealed that “there are numbers looking for orange and purple ribbon previous to the twelfth of July. Almost all the Protestants whether Orange or not are determined to walk on that day – “⁸⁸ Within a few years of its enactment, the Processions regulation was openly violated and rarely enforced as it was near impossible to find a jury willing to convict regardless of the evidence. Apparently Orange political sway had permeated the legal system too – the Act was repealed in 1851. By mid-century, even some of the sons of Family Compact members had begun to join the Orange Order – a testimony to Gowan’s ability to nurture the informal alliance established with Tory interests in the aftermath of the Rebellion. Henry Ruttan, as the Canadian-born Sherriff of the Newcastle District, identified the linking of the two as the result of a stampede mentality which imagined hoards of disaffected behind MacKenzie’s outbreak. He explained that although this was far from being the case, Upper Canada appeared to have become full of “Hunters” out of the Rebellion, and Orangemen used this tenuous atmosphere to push their version of ‘loyalty’ in Conservative arenas even further and enjoy potential swellings in their ranks. Ruttan claimed that general interest in things Orange was “...caused by the same panic which actuates some of the most loyal men and men too high in office who I have heard openly declare that “The country is gone!!!”... and... I verily believe that very little would cause them to become “Hunters” upon the same principle that hundreds of those joined that secret society!! Yes, the country is full of those croakers... If the heads and leaders of the Loyal men have not reserve how can they expect others to possess it?”⁸⁹ Despite

Ruttan's discrediting of such 'wild alarm', Orangemen *had* managed to identify themselves as the 'ultra' loyal during a time of political crisis and as the self-declared defenders of the side that won, they used this connection toward a much broader appeal and Irish influence. Sherriff Ruttan had been concerned that the formation of a such a general combination would prove to be official license for continuing the Orange practice of laying out any Tory opposition in the name of loyalty, which he feared, would only drive up the ranks of Reform, but ultimately, Orangemen would show that they "...could be liberal as well as loyal..."⁹⁰ as Gowan claimed in his 1839 statement on Responsible Government and his rejection of a 'state priesthood' (the clergy reserves) revealed.

A rather cryptic reference to Gowan during the height of the Rebellion crisis seems to confirm the notion that he could simultaneously challenge as well as champion Government interests. As George Elliott, Esq. wrote to Huston, a fellow 2nd Durham Militia Volunteer and Orangeman in 1838, "I regret with you on the steps which our friend O.R.G. is taking I have spoken often to him on the subject but he seems to pay no attention but still proceeds in his own way, I believe he means well but this is not time as I tell him to reflect on the Government and in stead of opposing he should strive with all the eloquence he possesses to support the present administration."⁹¹ Even as Gowan's loyalty was leading his company of the Queen's Own Rifles during the capture of Hickory Island near Gananoque, and receiving wounds (even if they were chiefly in the buttocks⁹²) at the Battle of the Windmill near Prescott, his at times unpredictable, and individual political maneuverings could cause even his most staunch supporters to have to refer to him by initials only, even in their private letters. Whether he was dodging bullets

or pressing the flesh (both literally and figuratively), Gowan showed a flexibility that enabled him to appear at times to speak for both the Irish *and* the people. This ability was recognized in the 1840 Sketches of the 13th Parliament of Upper Canada, where Gowan was presented as the

...Gentleman [who had] for eight or nine years, occupied a prominent position in the politics of the country; not only as the head of a powerful Body, but in consequence of a talent he possesses of engaging the minds of the popular assemblies, and leading them with him. As a speaker, he is fluent and energetic; very often powerful in his appeals to feeling and evidently speaks for the audience more than the House. His sarcasm is bitter, and possessing great evenness of temper you seldom see him ruffled at any remarks which may be made. He is an active, well made man, rather low, with a prepossessing face, and easy, insinuating manners; very mild in his address, and with talents, which, if rightly applied, would soon raise him to an eminent situation.⁹³

In June of 1856, the first Lodge that Gowan founded, the No. 1 Brockville Lodge, in a formal address, hailed his efforts over the last 26 years in not only planting the ‘Orange lily’ in Canada but bringing repute and recruits to the Order and perhaps even to the Irish, despite much initial opposition:

The great Orange Tree which now flourishes so rapidly and spreads its goodly branches over... British America, was first planted on this spot. Then... it was thought little of, and when thought of by the Govt., and by the wealthy and influential of the land, it was only received as a noxious weed, introduced to scatter discord, foment division and perpetuate dissension. Then, its few admirers, (like its founder) had to suffer taunts and scorn, to bear up against the tide of prejudice by which it was assailed, to devote their time, and pour out their means in its sustenance.those of us who are old enough to remember those days of trial, can never forget the Father who founded us, the guardian of our infant pillow who lulled us to repose when assailed by the storm - ...the paternal vigilance with which you stood by the cradle of our order, nor the bold energy and manly talent you called to our aid, and the acknowledged abilities you have displayed in leading us on to defend the sacred principles of Our Noble Order and grip them deeper in the hearts of all good men.⁹⁴

As the mindful ‘parent’ and opportunistic politician, Gowan’s ability to trestle at times, very broad expanses of opinion, caste, faith and enmity made him the perfect candidate to draw the once shadowy and Irish, Orange Order into the light. “Gowan [had] evolved by degrees from an independent reformer into a moderate conservative. In this capacity he became the agency through which the lodges were to be tied to the rising star of John A. Macdonald, who had been made an Orangeman in 1841. The two were closely associated, with Macdonald using his influence to help Gowan in matters of patronage and Gowan’s influence being employed to make Macdonald’s policy acceptable to so many Orangemen.”⁹⁵ Macdonald confirmed both a distrust and an admiration for Gowan’s abilities in an effort to harness the same in 1847 when he pointed out that “Whatever may have been his original demerits, he has long been gladly received and welcomed by all sections of our party as an ally, and during the present Parliament been courted by every Ministerialist. We cannot expect to obtain his services and refuse the reward, and, highly as I appreciate his powers of benefiting us, I confess that I fear his means of doing mischief more. ...I think I have most influence with him, and would almost undertake to secure his support, by promise of office... all would then go well.”⁹⁶ Although the Orange Order would never constitute a political body unto itself – its members being too divided on particular contemporary issues – it did however represent a powerful voice in politics, one that was “...always enough to swing the balance of power to the party it supported”⁹⁷ and therein lay a goodly portion of its evolving purpose as the harbinger and guarantor of a still Irish Protestant Ontario.

In the latter decades of the nineteenth century the Order's association with the national Liberal-Conservative Party was well established. "Conservative cabinets usually included two Orangemen who provided the link with a critical vote. Sir Richard Cartwright, a Liberal... in parliament... estimated that 'from 1870 to 1891, the fate of several governments of the Dominion depended to an unusual degree, as far as Ontario was concerned, on the action of the Orange Order.'"⁹⁸ According to Christopher J. Sheil, Government Emigration agent for Ontario in Co. Galway in 1873, the fate of the province's future emigrant population was also distressingly in the hands of Orangemen. Convinced that the re-creation of Protestant Ireland was ongoing *still*, that various Immigration Societies were recruiting from the Protestant sector of the United Kingdom at the expense of Irish Catholics, Sheil wrote to John O'Donohoe, County Crown Attorney, Toronto, with his fear that '...under the auspices of these societies, Ontario is being filled up with Orangemen, from the North of Ireland, and why? - simply because... the Dominion Governments agents are working like beavers to get every man of their "brethren" to go there and make a second Belfast of the whole province. ... Don't we in Ontario want [good, honest Irish Catholics] better than we do insulting, intolerant Orangemen? If we had a few hundreds of their votes to court on last election, you and a few others of "our element" would have been in the House to day instead of being defeated by the help of those same English, Scotch and Orangemen, who were a year or two before assisted to Ontario by the same process that is going on now.'"⁹⁹ Obviously for Shiel, distinguishing Irish Protestants from Orangemen was an unnecessary exercise. By 1908, the absorption of Orangemen into the political arena (and arguably political

Ontario into the fabric of Irish Protestantism) was such that the Grand Lodge proceedings in Port Hope advanced “...the strong advice... to forget party lines and stand together as one body and vote straight Orangeism...”¹⁰⁰ This body and its keen political influence had obviously transcended local and domestic Irish immigrant matters and even Irish Protestant matters whilst still maintaining those larger Irish familial attachments evidenced in the 1925 communication of F. Daul, Imperial Grand Orange Council of the World, Toronto, to Sir James Craig, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, which gushed:

The Premier of Ontario [Hon. G.H. Ferguson] is leaving for the Old Country to-day. He will be in Belfast during July. One of our own sort in every way. Solid friend of Ulster. I wish you would get in touch with him. ... I am keeping in close touch with you. The Daily Belfast Telegraph comes as regular as the Sun. You have done well, and I hope the way will open for greater things in Ulster. I have implicit faith in the future.¹⁰¹

Again recalling the earlier words of Sam McAughtrey, as late as 1925, it was obvious that a now well-established and apparently quite influential, Orange and Irish Protestant Ontario knew, who and where its most ‘solid friends’ were.

The Orange Order was uniquely able to promote an ideological and social platform at the local level while it also pursued political aspirations beyond, to include the parent Lodge. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that Orangeism enjoyed its greatest influence whilst it maintained strong connections to the homeland and this it did until well into the twentieth century. According to William Jenkins, although Canadian issues repeatedly and prominently showed up on the agendas of each Lodge meeting, “events in Ireland continued to capture the attention of both its leadership and its rank and file. Attempts to legislate home rule on the island had been closely monitored in Canadian Orange circles since the 1880s... [and] the *Sentinel*’s articles and the annual addresses by

grand masters indicate continued interest in Irish affairs. Support for Protestant Ulster was not seen simply in terms of protecting the ‘homeland’, but as something that had long-term consequences for the empire and Canada’s place within it.”¹⁰² This was because Protestant Ireland had now become part of Canada. As Daul’s letter clearly indicated, his ‘implicit faith in the future’ had everything to do with an Irish brokerage; with ‘keeping in close touch’ with those of his ‘own sort in every way’ across the pond. In fact, Jenkin’s work suggests that Irish Protestants in Canada may have retained their Irishness even longer than their Irish Catholic neighbours. As late as the early decades of the twentieth century, thousands of Canadian dollars were still making the transatlantic journey to ‘head quarters’ in Northern Ireland only this time, it was in an effort to stem the tide of the Home Rule campaign. Determined to “keep the lamp of freedom burning that our forefathers died for at Derry, Aughrim, Enniskillin and the Boyne”, Jenkins uses the example of Toronto Orangemen who mixed a powerful cocktail of marching tunes, political discourse, prophetic evangelicalism and imperial duty in order to keep alive the “epic myths” of the “Protestant struggle” that was Ulster Unionism now centred in the Empire’s new “hub”.¹⁰³ In contrast, Toronto’s “Irish-Catholic population had become largely Canadianized, middle-class, politically unthreatening and ‘loyal’... They rarely paraded the streets on St. Patrick’s Day, and while the rhetoric of Irish republicanism found space to express itself in eastern American cities, such language no longer resonated among the majority of Toronto’s English-speaking Catholics.”¹⁰⁴ Conceivably, diasporic language held more potency in Orange circles than in Green for a longer period

in Canada, a country which, in *this* regard, and not because of any serious tenure of ongoing sectarian violence, *may* have been able to boast of being a new Belfast.

The Orange Order in Canada not only called Protestants forward to monitor the progress of Catholicism in their neighbourhoods, it also harkened its Irishmen - sons, grandsons and great-grandsons - back, to the defense of battles already won, by figuratively fighting them over and over again, and thereby claiming and proclaiming an inherited identity. The Orange Order's "success and longevity were determined by needs for a social ordering greater than that provided by churches and more direct than that provided by parties. The Order, while... adapting to changing conditions, was at the same time constant, an essential bulwark to encircled Protestants and a natural vehicle for their political influence"¹⁰⁵ and establishment of a Protestant Ireland across the sea. Simultaneously, the Order in Ontario could decry the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland and the threat of a more neighbouring fenianism; it could rail against the fearful direction of an Oxford-influenced Anglican church in Ontario as well as the dangers that would inevitably stem from allowing Home Rule. The Orange Order had kept close ties with its Irish beginnings whilst still coming a long way in terms of its public image. "At one time, Orangemen were reviled as public brawlers. By 1900, they were found in the highest public offices."¹⁰⁶ In many ways, Ireland's concerns had become Canada's and the spokesmen for such were now considered quite legitimate.

The arrival of Orangemen to the level of public office was well received by fellow Brothers expecting to benefit from the 'trickle down effect' of patronage and promotion in the working world. Don Akenson puts it best in his somewhat racy biography of Ogle

Gowan that “Jobs for the boys were available in large numbers”¹⁰⁷ in many different sectors of Ontario’s industry. This in itself, encouraged the flow of recruits into the Orange Lodge of largely Irish but some non-Irish too, regardless of social standing. For example, “a Red Cross Sir Knight awaiting the opportunity of being transferred to this country’s R.B.P.[Royal Black Knights of Ireland]”, Brother Robert Allison of Hackett Lodge, L.O.L. 805 applied to his “Worthy Master and Bro., ...I have only been in this country about 12 months I had been working on a farm but not having enough experience I had to quit and coming here I find it very hard to find a job and my money is getting very short as I have a wife and 4 of a young family to provide for in Scotland and I am so anxious to have them out here beside me as I had to leave home to try and better our position so I would take it as a great favour if you could use your influence on my behalf in finding me any sort of work so as I could help my wife and family at home as it is very hard on me at present time. I may also state that my wife was the first Worthy Mistress to set the Orange Flag flying in our town at home hoping Worthy Master that you may keep this private as I ... don’t know many of the Brothers here or where they work.”¹⁰⁸

According to Scott See, the Order had become a potential “...ticket to economic... prosperity... a clearing house where the enterprising could meet the “right” people, where connections could be made and bargains struck”¹⁰⁹ but it also importantly identified the ‘sort’ of people – regardless of one’s ambitions - one might more easily contend with: it was a place where specifically Irish identities would be accepted and applied more widely. Robert Allison’s letter reveals that not only had the Order become a vehicle for the cultural acceptance of Irishmen, “it caused other ethnic groups, especially Englishmen

and Scots, to adopt the Irish Protestant definition of colonial loyalism” amongst other things, and as the largest ethnic population, it “bonded to its Irish base a much wider constituency”.¹¹⁰ In this regard, nineteenth century Ontario can be identified more as an Irish Canada than an English Canada. One wonders if Robert Allison’s twelve months’ time of difficulty might have been somewhat lessened had the Scot been able to boast Irish roots as well as the Orange connection.

For some Orangemen, membership ensured hegemony on the shop floor over what the Loyalist and Conservative Advocate called “...the dreary prospect... [of] several thousand immigrants... catholic, ignorant, bigoted and pauper[ed]...”¹¹¹ competing for work, while for others it opened the doors to city hall and council, licensing, and labour positions, it granted the right to respond to the “Orange call to arms”- the fire bells in Toronto’s fire companies,¹¹² and credential for a position on the Toronto police force. The Order’s association with success in business was spelled out in black and white in the Peterborough Review in 1854 when the Editor of that paper received a response from ‘Weasel’ regarding his consternation over the seemingly extraordinary publication of County Lodge proceedings in his competitor’s daily, the Peterborough Despatch, a paper up to this point, known to be ‘a Catholic journal’. Astounded, the Review’s Mr. White, who had exclusively spoken out against ‘popery’ during the Gavazzi Riots and offered his columns to the service of the Orangemen, *gratis*, was informed:

Wasn’t you miserably taken in? ... You don’t know why they don’t more generally support your paper. You don’t know why the Orangemen opposed your election for School Trustee [in favour of the Despatch’s Mr. Haslehurst]. You don’t know why they did not request you to publish the proceedings of the last County Meeting; though you did last year. You don’t know why some of them are trying to injure you by throwing out insinuations about your motives in

support of Protestantism. You can't tell how it happens that some of them who professed so much friendship for you... now give you the cold side of the road. It is a perfect mystery to you how it is that the Dispatch, who had not moral courage to touch the Riot question, and never wrote ten spirited lines in support of Protestantism, is supported in preference to you by that party... The same answer will do for all: That is – you did not become an Orangeman – the Editor of the Dispatch did! That is the whole secret, and... you may write yourself blind, and talk till you can talk no more, it will avail you nothing as far as the Orangemen are concerned; the fiat has gone forth – he that is not with us is against us.¹¹³

In the late nineteenth century as the Orange Order became more economically entrenched in Ontario's working world, greater vigilance over tangible opportunity – be it political or economic - became more requisite for the Brethren than spiritual opportunity. Genuine applications or expressions of that 'enthusiastic'/evangelical Irish Protestant faith or theological accuracy in the monitoring of others' had become more the preserve of the now well-established, Irish and remarkably influential, 'Low' Anglican Church in Ontario. Indeed, some Brothers might enjoy all the benefits of membership as Orangemen without ever having set foot in a Protestant Church – Irish or otherwise – as contemporary sermons often accused, and still consider himself to be a most devoted Irish Protestant. Whilst still maintaining the 'Protestant' connection to the homeland through the transferred certificates of Irish recruits as well as through the inherited political concerns and interests of the Canadian-born sons and grandsons of its Irish members, the Order in actual practice was less interested in any real conversion of souls than it was in keeping those objects of its *raison d'être*, its Catholic neighbours, close – very close. Indeed, the relationship between Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic on Canadian soil was more symbiotic in its mutual scrutiny and certainly less violent than it had been in Ireland where the 'other' was to be kept accordingly at a distance. With this being the case,

Donald Akenson warns that we must doubt “Arthur Lower’s classic dictum, [that] “The coming of the Irish completed the great Trinity of Protestant Upper Canadian or Ontarian hates: hatred of the ‘Yankees’, hatred of the French, hatred of the Pope of Rome.””¹¹⁴

Some ‘arguments’, ‘fist-fights’ and ‘bar brawls’ were just that, and historians must be careful how much they attribute Ontario’s tensions and difficulties to Irish sectarian violence and religious intolerance. “...at least a superficial veneer of tolerance and amity overlay whatever religious difficulties there were... ..[opening] the possibility that the Orangemen’s ritual denunciations of the papacy had little or nothing to do with their Catholic neighbours. Locally, the Orangemen went through their anti-Roman rituals with all the solemnity of a politician deprecating governmental waste, while day by day they got along peacefully with the Catholics who lived on the next farm.”¹¹⁵

Wallace McAlpine, the grandnephew of Sir Sam Hughes, has recorded evidence of just such an arrangement. He recalled that

Sam was a prominent Orangeman and in the [Lindsay] Warder he fulminated without respite against the power wielded by the Papacy. After a particularly scathing editorial on Pope Leo XIII, the men of St. Mary’s... decided Sam had finally gone too far. Sam was standing in the corner window of the Warder and saw a delegation walking up Kent Street and he thought he knew why. The group came into his office, Mr. Baker produced the editorial and said these attacks just had to stop. Sam told them not to take it personally, it was journalism “and besides,” he added with shattering candor, “they like it in Haliburton.”

Despite his militant Protestantism, Sam did have Catholic supporters. No doubt they reasoned he was just Sam, so why worry about it.¹¹⁶

The March 12, 1888 edition of the *Orange Record* hinted at quite a broad practice of this type of co-existence in Canada when it urged, in ‘solemn warning’ and frustration, that ‘ignorant Protestants’ (which included Orangemen only interested in parties and parades

as well as Protestants outside Orange membership), were in fact, “the best tools of the papacy”, being more “anxious to “draw,” i.e., to make inroads on neighbouring congregations, and to gather round them easy-going people of all sorts...” than they were to “expose any... error” on the part of the ‘other’.¹¹⁷ The paper huffed that in the greater public sphere:

If Romanism is touched at all it is only to show in how many points it agrees with the Reformed Churches, and how much charity and heroic self-denial are manifested by priests, nuns, and Jesuit missionaries. Do we not all believe in the one God – in the Trinity, the divinity of the Son and the Spirit, the inspiration of Scripture, the unity and catholicity of the Church, the necessity of good works, the efficacy of prayer, and the desire to reach the same heaven in the end? ... It is an impertinence to meddle with any man’s creed; and, therefore, instead of criticizing and opposing Romanism, it is the duty of all enlightened citizens to seek to dwell together in unity and peace in this goodly land which the Lord has given us as our common heritage.

[And then...] This is one, and a very common way of viewing the matter among those whose ignorance is dense, and who are apparently unwilling to inform themselves.¹¹⁸

Although it thus wrote itself out of any such generosity in its ‘wisdom’, the *Orange Record* revealed (despite its previous pages’ dedication to confirming the strength and surety of Orangeism) that “the popular thing to do” was find common cause amongst Christianity and with neighbours and that outside of regular Orange rants, Church obligations and the overall trend toward anti-Catholicism, most folks, just got along.¹¹⁹

In 1853 the evangelical, Reverend Johnathan Shortt, Rector of St. John’s Church in Port Hope, seemed with some consternation, to confirm the same. He reminded the Brethren gathered for that year’s 12th celebrations that their Society simply had to be much more than “a mere political engine... [for] it then would become all that its worst foes have ever declared it to be; and would deserve to be hooted out of the sight and

hearing of every true Protestant, as “a delusion, a mockery and a snare.”¹²⁰ Shortt condemned the political uniting of the Orange and Green as nothing more than the self-aggrandizing action of power seekers, the real call, he thundered, was for the “Brethren, ... [as] the friends of Roman Catholics”¹²¹ to oppose the Papal system that ensnared them. Using the logic then, that demonstrated that what was ‘good for the goose...’, Reverend Shortt defended the Orange right to wear colours, play tunes, and walk in procession without the perception of a public snub because, well, *they* did it too. Though he faltered somewhat by focusing on *their* “peculiar opinions”, by hinting at the secret codes behind their colours, and invoking their “idolatrous” parading of the Host through the streets, Shortt insisted Protestants were never so “ultra sensitive as to insist on imagining themselves injured and insulted” by legal processions with good intent, and so, “Roman Catholic should have some charity – and not be so ready to take needless offence.”¹²² This was as inadvertently close to consensus as the Reverend would get. After apologizing for taking up so much of the Brethren’s time, Reverend Shortt closed with the reminder that the real banner they marched under was the banner of Christianity, the cross of Jesus Christ, and had he not then referred to that banner in Ireland as the “Banner of Protestant truth, as contained in the Bible”¹²³, he might have had cause to include *them* in the pews too, allowing both sides to practice a bit of what he preached. Despite what they shared in common, which was far more than either side was willing to openly admit, Orangemen and ‘Othermen’, the Irish in Canada, relied deeply on each other’s differences in the effort to promote their own interests. Storyteller Alice Kane demonstrated this when she introduced that “Even in being Irish there were qualifications” and without

identifying her own religion, she shared that “We came from the North and, as everyone knows, the North is best.”¹²⁴ Then, perhaps speaking both to and for each side, she employed Rudyard Kipling in her subtle narrowing of the Irish divide:

Father and Mother and me,
Sister and Auntie say,
People who do like us are We,
Everyone else is They,
And They live over the sea
But We live over the way,
Yet isn't it shocking that They look at Us
As a simply disgusting They.¹²⁵

Orangemen were quick to apply the broader concerns in late Victorian Ontario to their own interests such that it would be clear to all, just who counted amongst Kipling's ‘we’ and who was to remain a separate ‘they’.

The Order underwent a series of ‘internal improvements’ in an effort to “...keep its name and escutcheon clean.”¹²⁶ Problems such as drunkenness, blasphemy, mismatched parade uniforms, wife desertion, failure to pay loans, non-attendance on the ‘12th’, and secret divulging were addressed in part by a new emphasis on temperance, lodge libraries, specially manufactured Orange regalia, private censure, Orange savings banks and music lessons. LOL No. 80 in November of 1875 even appointed a specific committee “...to devise the best means for resuscitating the Lodge and the course to be followed by it in the future... [part of which was to prohibit] walking in procession on the 12th... and that the day be celebrated in such other manner... [given] the fact that the association is almost always brought into disgrace by the drunkenness and misconduct of many who may or may not be members of the order but whose misconduct is always attributed to the association... ...steps [were] also to be taken to increase the membership

and to induce the members who are at present in connection with the Lodge to attend the regular meetings better than they have done heretofore...”¹²⁷ Not surprisingly, the new reforms were met with the same historic mixture of compliance, partial approval and outright rejection throughout Orange Ontario. Indeed, LOL No.80, less than one year later, was ‘moving and seconding’ that the boys throw in with Cobourg’s procession on the 12th. And yet the Order had become a very visible representative of the rising, new middle class consensus and it skillfully rode this ‘new and improved’ image by extending its right hand in confirmation of a fellow member in a new employment venture while the left molded the Order’s once very suspect and immigrant image, into the very definition of Victorian, Irish Protestant, good sense. A popular and pervasive anti-catholic sentiment that extended beyond even the Lodge in Ontario made this transition all the more natural. Orangemen were perfectly placed to become the spokesmen for Protestant Ontario – a Protestantism that maintained significantly Irish overtones.

Recalling the mid-century words of Jane White who had entertained the idea of striking up an acquaintance with a Roman Catholic woman in Goderich until her mother encouraged her to end any possibility of such a friendship: “I did so and do not regret it, they are so bigoted and uncharitable” demonstrates that Irish Protestant attitudes toward the ‘other’ could be handed down rather forcefully.¹²⁸ And in its matter-of-fact tone, Jane’s ready acquiescence perhaps reveals something of contemporary Goderich as well as her own personal Irish Protestant experience. Indeed, it demonstrates “...more deeply rooted divisions within Canadian society which created the atmosphere in which Orangeism thrived. ...the Order was simply the vehicle through which... Protestantism

channeled its grievances, and, as such, the Order was symptomatic of broader and more serious social problems.”¹²⁹ J.R. Miller explains that hostility to Roman Catholicism in the Victorian period had become a common and emotive force in Canada and Orangeism had certainly been its longtime voice. “In the 1840s and 1850s there was anxiety about the impact of Catholic immigration, particularly the famine Irish... from the 1870s onward the preoccupation was... with the Catholic Church in Quebec and its role in preserving and, it was feared, extending the French-Canadian presence within Confederation.”¹³⁰ Although scant logic is to be found within contemporary arguments, Catholicism was seen to be “...inimical to the social well-being and material progress of any state... critics... [simply] began with antipathy towards a social group or anger over a given issue and then reached for popular prejudices to articulate and justify their enmity.”¹³¹ As an untitled, anonymous Orange speech reveals, widespread anti-catholicism bred bizarre explanations for contemporary stereotypes: “Cain was the first Papist... and God put a mark upon Cain, that he might be distinguished from other men. ...there are some who profess Popery who are good looking men, but they are mixed with Protestant Blood, and owe all they have and are to that cause.”¹³² It is obvious that Orangemen considered themselves a ‘chosen lot’. The banners they paraded each July 12th - direct connections to a shared Irish past – attested to that: ‘Sons of William’, ‘True Defenders’, ‘Purple Heroes’, ‘Ulster’s Chosen Few’, and ‘Cocks of the North’. What is less so in traditional histories is the fact that the Order had become even more popular now in its well-recognized role as *the* channel for Protestant Ontario’s voice. It had become “the spokesman for the threatened Protestant majority, defending its bastions

against... the growth of Catholic economic power and [competing] ascendancy...”and neighbouring Catholicism – just as it was in the homeland - was the essential ingredient to that place of power.¹³³

A very Irish tradition had coloured the mainstream. This is well evidenced by the much anticipated but ultimately disappointing visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada in the summer of 1860. In the incendiary and embarrassing debacle that saw the Prince and his escort, the Duke of Newcastle, steaming past select towns on the tour where dockside welcoming parties appeared too Orange, and swerving carriage in order to avoid Orange arches erected in others, a general Protestant indignation began to foment around Orange disgust over the Prince’s official slight in contrast to the perceived favour he gave to Roman Catholic institutions and leaders while in French Lower Canada. According to John A. Macdonald’s personal secretary, Joseph Pope, despite the former’s efforts to inform the Duke by a deputation in Brockville “that an excited *state of feeling among the Orangemen extended to many Protestants* not belonging to that body”¹³⁴ and therefore the necessity of some compromise, Kingston’s and Brockville’s Orange receptions were royally slighted in the by-pass. In the end, ‘mortified’ by this ‘wanton insult’, Macdonald, as leader of the Liberal-Conservative party was forced to account for the fiasco in an effort to mollify both Orange and Protestant sensibilities which were really starting to appear to be indistinguishable.¹³⁵ Thomas D’arcy McGee was concerned about this very thing when in a letter to James Moylan, editor of the *Freeman*, he recommended Moylan “commence a series of strong, preparatory articles, on “who keep the 12th”, [in order to distinguish] the names of those politicians (those “pro-Orange public men, of all

parties”) who abet and encourage the next parade though they may not overtly join in it themselves.” McGee’s prompting came hard on the heels of “the Duke of Newcastle’s course” which he worried would be cause for “extraordinary zeal” not only on the part of the brethren at the next ‘12th’, but of their perceptibly widespread supporters at the upcoming General Election.¹³⁶ The perception of preferred status for McGee’s Montreal and other Quebec (the rival province) stops during the Prince’s stay had further blurred any distinctions between the two Upper Canadian “isms”, Orange and Protestant, and characteristically, Gowan seized the opportunity to defend the ‘cause of freedom’, even if it was against the Crown itself. “Wherever you go, into whatever company you enter, you will hear among men of all classes, and of all political opinions, the highest feeling of admiration for the firm stand taken and held by the men of Kingston, and of the stronger reprobation of the course pursued by the Duke of Newcastle and the Canadian Authority... The *sympathy of the Electors with the Orangemen* and against the Authorities is the more precious because when all those connected with the matter are known, it will command the respect of future historians and every lover of freedom throughout the land. ... In this matter we have no separate interests... we must be united among ourselves to put down the first attempt to deprive any class of its rights...”¹³⁷ Orangemen had gone from being ‘anomalous exceptions’ as Irish newcomers in the Upper Canadian backcountry, to being the real ‘pioneers of Imperialism’, extending the loyal domain – even via criticism against the crown’s own representative - as the most vocal proponents of the Protestant ideals of British North America which had come to look very much like those of the Protestants in Ireland.¹³⁸

The anti-catholic fervour that swept across Canada, opportunistically spearheaded and vocalized by Orangeism, was in part symptomatic of a larger papal conspiracy mythology in vogue internationally in the late nineteenth century. Spurred on by Garibaldi's attack on the Papal States and Pius IX's appointment of bishops to Sees in England, Canada's transatlantic temper was elevated at home by the Gavazzi Riots, George Brown's provocative Globe, the abrading Union of the Canadas, the Fenian invasions, the Riel Rebellion, the Jesuits' Estates Act, and the Manitoba Schools Controversy. Paranoia, whether real, or merely the fashion, seemed to pervade the country as indicated by Toronto's Orange newspaper, the Sentinel's warning that "All Roman Catholic teachers, nurses and social service workers may be regarded with suspicion. Any... may be... a nun in disguise... interested more in the promotion of Romanism than in caring for her [pupils or her] patients."¹³⁹ Miller called the rage of the day 'pornography for puritans', referring to the many ex-priests and nuns who toured about Canada speaking on the 'evils' of the Roman Catholic Church to Protestants, Orange and otherwise, eager for both salacious details and a sense of self-righteousness. For as Miller explains, "A society which enjoined its young people to avoid eating red meat and spices, to avoid the theatre, dances, novels, and even the sight of one's own spouse undressing could easily believe that corruption [of women in particular] would result from questions about intimate behaviour in the confessional."¹⁴⁰ In a later confession of his own, *I Was A Priest*, Lucien Vinet warned that auricular confession was the vehicle through which Rome controlled not only governments and school boards, but the consciences of children and the bodies of women. "Poor Roman Catholic women!

We know so well that your kind souls are tortured to death by this terrible obligation of telling, not only your sins, but also the most intimate secrets of your married life. ...

...these... are not a prescription of the Saviour of mankind to obtain forgiveness of your sins, but are pure inventions of men to keep your minds and hearts under the control of a system, the torturous Roman religious organization. ... The confessional, far from being a place of forgiveness of sin, is very often the scene of the most disgusting sex crimes.”¹⁴¹

Such was the expected outcome of a religion which reportedly discouraged its adherents from thinking for themselves. Orangemen used this, their own long-held, and now popular perception, to espouse the benefits of the Order as the necessary bulwark behind which Protestants of all denominations should unite against the ‘onslaught’ of Roman cunning.

William Jenkins reminds us of the potency of the nineteenth century link that directly connected Ireland to Canada, enabling such sentiments to endure; most blatantly in the form of a copy of the Toronto-based, Sentinel on an Ulster kitchen table or a well circulated letter to its editor sent from Belfast, which helped Irishmen and their ideas to move as freely as William Perkins Bull indicated in his story of Orangeism in Peel, ‘from the Boyne all the way to Brampton’. Such ‘transnational’ dimensions meant that ‘the relief of Derry’ could and would be celebrated at Oakville in 1907 and that as late as the 1910s, four of Toronto’s latest Orange lodges to boast of Ulster transfers would be named ‘Magherafelt’, ‘Sandy Row’, ‘Aughrim Rose of Derry’ and more locally, ‘E.F. Clarke’, after the city’s former mayor, a Cavan-born Ulsterman.¹⁴² Although into the twentieth century, English and Scots-born immigrants in and around Toronto now outnumbered the

still increasing numbers of Irish-born, according to Jenkins, “the overall impact [of the Irish] on lodge development could have been locally significant”¹⁴³, and was particularly so, when considering the additional influence of native-born, Irish-descended members.

Irish prejudices in this period had become widespread, they had come to represent what has been described as

...ritual anti-Catholicism. It was the thing to say and the thing to do. It was part of the times and what was expected. It was part of a tradition. The enemy was publicly flayed. The demon was exorcised, and everyone had a good time.¹⁴⁴

According to Akenson, “Systems of belief are like that. They are complex interworkings of attitudes, faiths, accurate and inaccurate empirical observations, which... have not so much a defensible logic, but to their adherents, a satisfying psychologic...”¹⁴⁵ Yet a focus on a broader anti-catholicism does not begin to address the remarkable similarity that the late nineteenth century ‘Protestant Ontario’ mentality appeared to share with a much older Protestant Ireland. Ontario had been peopled for many decades by so many Protestant Irish and the Protestant Irish had been peppered for even longer by the traditions of Orangeism. The Orange Order’s conception of the world and of itself had been born of a once bitterly-held and now fiercely remembered defensive position – the view from inside Derry’s beleaguered walls or Ireland’s frustrated parliament. Sworn to remain on the offensive – with ‘backs to the sea’ - Orangeism was dependent upon the presence of the ‘other’, just ‘outside the gates’ or ‘within its midst’, to justify its own existence and because of this, Orangemen have been less recognized for their own characteristics than they have for denouncing those of the other side’s.¹⁴⁶ This is evidenced by so many Orange complaints that those Brethren voted to offices were not

always the most capable or worthy, but merely the loudest in their ‘noisy’ opposition to ‘Rome’.¹⁴⁷ In defining itself according to what it was *not*, the Orange Order continued to create a mythology “...for facts and perceptions had to be bent to fit the pre-existing mental categories. Therefore, when either group made an observation or a generalization about the other side, they were more concerned with its credibility within their own system than with its necessarily being accurate or verifiable...”¹⁴⁸ Witness the old joke:

“I’ve never heard of King Billy,” the Catholic farmer remarked to his Orange neighbour.

“Och, away and read your Bible, man!” was the reply.¹⁴⁹

Group solidarity and self-perception were encouraged just as much through the insults and stereotyping of the ‘otherman’, as they were through more positive forms of inter-relating. The irony of these “small differences” as Akenson calls them, between Irish Protestants and Catholics is perhaps best demonstrated by the funeral for Ogle Gowan upon his death on August 21, 1876. The ceremony, according to one paper, “...was attended by so many men in strange robes, aprons, sashes and clanging metals that it would have done honour to the last lay cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church.”¹⁵⁰ The Reverend and Brother, John Hilton gives us a glimpse which is rare in its self-proscriptive, and critically analytical tone, into the way Orangemen attempted to distinguish themselves from the Roman Catholic ‘Othermen’ who were perplexingly also brethren in nationality and Christianity. In his 1859 “Address to the Orangemen of Canada”, Hilton sought to “make all men think well of us” by calling the membership to “probity and correctness... [in] their lives”¹⁵¹ by stressing the importance of religion over politics in Orangeism and in so doing, he managed to demonstrate that the opposite was

the case. He drew some very interesting parallels between the Orange and Green's perceptively small differences:

As Protestants, we declare that we protest against the errors of Rome, and one of those errors is the anathematising, or cursing of those who are disobedient and heretical, by the Pope or his subordinates; yet how often have not Orangemen and Protestants (so-called) been heard cursing the Pope... and... *each other*, for mere trifles, wishing the souls of their fellow men... in hell. ...

Again, Orangemen declare that they protest against... pray[ing] to the Virgin and to the Saints... when the man who protests, worships *no* God, and seeks no mediator. Are there not men admitted into the Orange Lodges, who scarcely know the Lord's prayer; who have a decided reluctance to shew [sic] themselves in the House of God...? ...

Again, Orangemen declare loudly against the doctrine of transubstantiation, as set forth and taught in the Romish mass,... but how many of you *keep* the Scripture with regard to this subject by being earnest participators... at the Lord's table? ... And in like manner, while we protest against the sale of 'Indulgences,' there are thousands of Orangemen who take to themselves all kind of indulgences, the only difference being, that the Romanists buy them from the Pope, and Orangemen... giv[e] themselves up [freely] to wickedness...¹⁵²

Then, with Inquisition-like precision, Hilton's solution called for a new Protestant reformation, or at least an Orange one, "...with stricter rules for the regulation of our members, and we require such rules put in force and insisted upon, and any man who refuses to be reformed – any man who willfully continues in his errors after being duly admonished, should be expelled from the Lodge, as being a disgrace to himself and to his fellows."¹⁵³ Such ex-communications, had they been acted upon in earnest, would have been legion, for the great strength and endurance of the Orange Order in Ontario had much to do with the very same mixing of the sacred with the profane that Reverend Hilton claimed was hypocritical. Certainly many an Orangeman counted himself 'a good Christian, aye, and an even better Protestant Irishman' for having reinforced ancient Bible teachings by dressing and acting the part of David the shepherd boy, King Solomon, the

exiled Adam, or any other Old Testament father at Lodge on initiation night. Was this not part of what was intended by an ‘Open Bible’? Apparently for some, involvement in the faith in this way precluded the necessity of regular Church attendance on the Sabbath day or even a personally definitive relationship with Christ which Protestantism, and evangelical Irish Protestantism in particular, held inherently essential. So, despite the fact that Orangeism vowed to defend the one, ‘true’ faith, from the ‘irreligious rituals of Romanism’, it was possible for Brother Hilton to question whether there was any genuine belief left in the Order, for “whilst we keep the *form* of religion mingled with our ceremonies, we have not kept the spirit of religion among us, either in our Lodges, or generally speaking in our hearts”¹⁵⁴ – ironically the very details which were believed so problematic about Catholicism.

Similarly, Orange distrust for the supposed secret workings of the priesthood as well as the claim to a divided Catholic loyalty, could be precisely mirrored by the Green as Francis Hincks revealed in 1877: “I regret very much to find that an opinion prevails among some Roman Catholics that the Protestant clergy are insincere in their opposition to Orange processions and that they secretly encourage them”. Indeed, the truth of such would demonstrate that very Anglo-Irish tradition of favouring Orangeism at times even over Her Majesty’s law.¹⁵⁵ Few Orangemen or Irishmen would have raised an eyebrow at the seemingly contradictory call to “Then put your trust in God, my boys, and keep your powder dry”¹⁵⁶, for it was this very notion that true manhood actively guarded the Maker and thereby a Protestant version of religiosity that appealed to the Orange and Irish Protestant sense of identity. In the same way that Brian Clarke’s Irish Roman Catholic

men formed Lay Voluntary Associations based on Irish Nationalism outside of the Catholic Church in Toronto in the 1850s, many Orangemen developed an expression of Christian faith that had little to do with church-going or subscribing to official Protestant doctrine. There was less need to ‘go to the Lord’ in the pew on any given Sunday, when He apparently came to you each and every day through the activities and interactions of the Brethren in His army:

There’s times I think the Lord himself
Must take a skeely down
To listen to His own wee drums,
The drums of County Down.¹⁵⁷

Toward the close of the 19th century, Irish Protestant-inspired Orangeism had become so successful that it was represented in almost every settled township in Ontario. Almost 1/3 of all English speaking, Canadian, adult men boasted membership¹⁵⁸ and lodges in Canada actually outnumbered those of the Irish parent. Such widespread acceptance indicates that the Orange Order in Canada eventually became more than simply a throwback to stagnant, historic, Irish battlelines despite the 1858 reminder of the strength of these roots still, by *The Progressionist* of Kemptville that claimed “In the land which had given both the honorable gentlemen [Mr. [Thomas D’Arcy] McGee and Mr. [Ogle] Gowan] birth, the Orangemen had been the sentinels of the Royal Castle, the Ribbonmen the skulking assassins of a Tipperary Cabbage Garden”¹⁵⁹. In nineteenth century Canada, Orangemen pervasively shared not only a collective memory of an Irish past, but an attitude of progress and assertion: “...they were as capable of being left wing as right, democratic as authoritarian, revolutionary as reactionary. The one thing they were not likely to be was quiet.”¹⁶⁰ More concerned with the persistent threat of

‘otherness’, than with distinguishing itself from what it defined as ‘other’, the Orange Order like Irish Protestantism in general, was strongest when on the offensive. By declaring at one time or another, the dangers of oligarchy, republicanism, feminism, French Canada, America, communism, continentalism, and yes, Catholicism, the once strictly Irish institution had become the official organ of a colonial population for whom Protestantism and loyalty were now also ingrained truths.¹⁶¹ Irish Protestants had found a quick and effective ride to the top of whatever ladder was currently attempting to breach the walls of their accepted vision of Canada, such that by the turn of the twentieth century, being an Orangeman guaranteed much more than simply a sense of communal Irish identity. Whether the current concern was education, immigration, Confederation, urbanization or industrialization, such matters had become tangible things that Lodgemen found they could affect when they got together for a good time. Personal isolation and identification had become much less a corporate *raison d’être*, as the umbrella of the Order became in part, spokesman, sounding the alarm when more than just the standard ‘patrolling of the perimeter’ of what was essentially an Irish Protestant-inspired, middle class, conservative consensus was required. By the close of the nineteenth century, the national network had become more important than the local meeting. It is for this reason that membership in the Order during this period corresponds directly with spikes in local and national concern over contemporary issues. The volatility of Lodge membership meant that “there were probably as many ex-Orangemen as current members at any one time. Thus the political and social importance of the order always transcended its official membership.”¹⁶²

Having reached its peak around 1920, the Orange Order suffered demise into redundancy in the twentieth century. The emergence of a new Canadian nationalism and subsequent turn from the homeland in the aftermath of the sacrifice of World Wars I and II, the questioning of government and the welfare state during the Depression, the forces of urbanization, modernization and secularization as well as the growing acceptance of a more multicultural Canada, eventually tipped the scales and put the Orange Order too far back in a distant and now much less relevant, Irish past.¹⁶³ In some places more than others, this took longer. As late as Canada's centenary celebrations in 1967, the leadership of the London District Orange Lodge under Robert Manson (an area long known for its Irish, evangelical roots), was struggling to be festive with the recognition that ties to the Loyal Institution in the parent country had been stretched to the point of insignificance. They had overheard with a little sadness and a lot of incredulity, "...some of our Loyal Orange Brethren say we are not interested in what they do in Ireland"¹⁶⁴. Such had not always been the case, it had once been very easy "to stimulate the members of our beloved order to more enthusiasm" with tales of the Brethren in the Irish homeland in times when "there is nothing of interest to bring them together... in a town of the size of Peterboro"¹⁶⁵. In fact the Diamond Lodge, L.O.L. No.80, had resolved in September of 1888 that "the present month would be a good time" to "get a full and complete account" from their "Right Worshipful Brother Collins, Grand Master of Ontario East, who was one of the delegates from Ontario to the triennial council in the old land, held at Carrickfergus, the place where William III first set foot on Irish Soil, the land which our forefathers fought bled and died to defend against popery and popish intolerance" and

who could “entertain” by relating “how our beloved society is prospering there...”¹⁶⁶

Three years prior, the same group had been just as moved to denounce “the advancement of the so called Nationalist (Parnellists)” movement in concern for “the present condition of Ireland” as they were to call for the execution of Louis Riel¹⁶⁷. The long tie to Ireland that had stretched so lithely throughout the nineteenth century for Irish Protestants had finally become taut in the twentieth and Ontario’s Orangemen began to express less interest in where they came from. By the eve of the centenary, Robert Manson was scrambling to find something of interest to address the Lodge with, so he chose to focus on the most pressing domestic issue of the day which was “...what has been killing our Loyal Orange Order here.”¹⁶⁸ Far from the unity of the Irish pioneer meeting place, offspring of a beloved and long-commemorated parent, what Manson described was a house divided and teetering, if not already collapsed, under the weight of self-interest and corruption. Calling for ‘one roof in the one House’, Manson pointed a finger

First of all [at] lack of interest in projects... how many of our Brethren who profess to be Orangemen, when some project arises these Brethren sit back and let a few Brethren work their heads off to make a go of it and amongst the drones you will find some one to stick out his chest and do some criticizing in order to make a big shot of himself in other peoples eyes. No one expects anyone to kill themselves but if these Brethren would just do a little and show their interest. It would make all the difference and make a better and healthier Loyal Orange Association today.

Secondly to get inside our Hall Doors we find so many Brethren finding fault with each other and cutting other throats behind each other[’s] backs. Buying votes as it were at Elections and Installations of Officers to achieve higher marks for their friends. Then asking what did he say, was he mad, when they have put some willing hard working Bro out of office. Mind you Brethren these things are killing and have killed our Loyal Orange Order here in Canada.¹⁶⁹

Distanced from Orangemen in the homeland and coming unglued in the wake of twentieth century definitions of patriotism, brotherhood and service, some might argue

that Manson's London District was even longer in the tooth than he suspected. Four years prior, Thomas H. Spence, as District Recording Secretary had received a polite but tense letter from the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration in Ottawa discounting Orange efforts to stem the flow of Roman Catholics to Canada. The letter hinted that the Lodge might want to get its head out of its own 'glorious past' and accept that "It has been a long-standing policy of the Immigration Department that a prospective immigrant's religious beliefs are his own private affair... and neither a disqualification nor a qualification for immigration to Canada."¹⁷⁰

Orangemen, who from the 1840s till into the '90s had appeared to test and at times, tailor, every seam and stitch in the unfolding Canadian fabric, were ultimately unable to apply their Irish Protestant principles to the modern era of twentieth century Canada where so much had changed. According to Mark Carnes, by the early decades of the twentieth century, it was only via "...the encouragement or insistence of their fathers, fathers-in-law, or bosses [that] many... young men agreed to join the lodge",¹⁷¹ although William Forbes Adams' 1932 publication on Irish emigration found them "still a pernicious influence in the politics of Ontario."¹⁷² The legacy of membership eventually transformed from one of aggrandizement to reluctant obligation for the new generation who had also

...walked past Jachin and Boaz, stared at the leonine portraits in the lobby, and fidgeted in the preparation room, trying to understand the muffled low voices beyond the door. But after their blindfolded procession, while the lodge official droned on about mystical symbols and secret meanings, their attention flagged. They thought about the picture show they had seen the night before or the dance planned for later in the week. And when the blindfolds were removed, they looked around the room, blinked at the lights and skeletons, and gazed remotely at these mature men in Indian costumes and lambskin aprons."¹⁷³

By 1953, the Lodge was still clinging to the conviction that it was “important to know the past in order to better understand the present”¹⁷⁴ and thereby revealed the lack of progressivism and adaptability that had once characterized its leadership and was now even more necessary in the aftermath of the Irish War for Independence and World Wars which had left Ireland and the beloved Crown and its Empire, now seriously transformed. Instead of focusing on the future, the Lodge was doing what it had always done: indulging and yet now endangering itself by “Looking back to the beginning, [and finding] it... remarkable how faithfully the generations of Orangemen... have followed in the footsteps of the founders. The lectures and instructions by which the members become educated in Orange principles have not varied. Modernism has not sapped the vitality of Holy Writ to the members of the association”¹⁷⁵ and yet it had obliterated all but six of the most recognizably Protestant counties in Ireland. The homeland had been seriously transformed and to the world, ‘Ireland’ was now a nation of Catholics. Herein lay the greatest challenge to even the most stalwart of Canadian Orangemen, now fewer in number, and less swaggered in their step on marching day: domestic policy and practice was well on its way to eventually declaring the Union Jack be replaced by the Canadian flag, ‘God Save the Queen’ was to make way for “O Canada” and the Open Bible now belonged in the private sphere. Unable to modify these, the basic tenets of Orangeism, and equally unable to apply the homeland’s increasingly unstable and insular tenor to its own situation, the Order in Canada declined in the twentieth century as quickly as it ascended in the nineteenth. Irish Protestantism may not have changed but the nineteenth century world it had worked so hard to define, certainly had.

Historian Kevin Haddick-Flynn has described the zeal of Irish Protestants for William of Orange as a one-sided affair. He claims that although the Prince of Orange successfully ‘delivered’ the Protestants from the Catholic House of Stuart, “he did not have to love them to do so” for in fact, William “saw the war in Ireland as an irritating sideshow” and “Ireland... an expendable pawn in a greater game”.¹⁷⁶ Even though William showed great commitment in the face of danger, suffering field gun fire into his right shoulder along the banks of the Boyne, his stay in Ireland was an ‘enforced’ one “no more than twelve weeks – in a land that was of little importance to him, and to which he never saw fit to return, [and this] ... seem[s] a tenuous basis on which to establish a tradition.”¹⁷⁷ Further, Flynn suggests that had William been able to personally meet the legions of nineteenth century Orangemen who would gather in his name, he probably would not have liked them – for he himself was highly tolerant of Catholicism, employing its adherents in commanding positions and keeping in direct relation with the Pope.¹⁷⁸ It is a measure of the potency of the identity that Irish Protestant Orangeism provided then, that saw the institution with his name thriving centuries later not only in Ireland, but thousands of miles away in Canada, where new ‘Cavan’, ‘Londonderry’, ‘Dublin’ and ‘Tara’ were again being sworn to be defended. As the more predominant of the largest immigrant group in nineteenth century British North America,¹⁷⁹ Irish Protestants brought with them the Orange institution that had been inspired by the Williamite wars and rooted deeply in Old World sectarian hostilities which admittedly, “were the very marrow of nineteenth-century Irish life.”¹⁸⁰ In Canada, as in Ireland, Orangeism was about the importance of identity and the need to secure such in the face of

thick and isolating woods and suspicion regarding things Irish – even if they were loyal and Protestant – and about the reclamation of territory and status being lost at home. However, where Orangeism protected an ensconced Ascendancy in the Homeland, in Canada it worked to elevate the marginalised.

This process was so successful that what was considered pronounced ‘Irishness’ in Canada in the nineteenth century eventually became an expression of consensus in the next, as Upper Canadian sentiments such as loyalty, Protestantism, constitutional authority and middle class values conformed and became indistinguishable from the Orange platform in the face of a growing French Canadian and Roman Catholic presence. Indeed, the ‘otherness’ of the latter eventually became more of a concern than the divide that had separated other ethnicities from Irish Protestantism and Protestantism from Orangeism had once been, and Orangeism readily claimed the strongest voice on that now co-mingled side. Ogle Gowan boasted of just such a leading role at a Town Hall Meeting in Ingersoll: “The [Orange] Society obliterates the dividing line between the people, and unites the John Bull, the Sawney, and the Paddy in one common brotherhood. ... The Protestant religion, without the Orange Society, would be like an army without a leader and without organization; the enemy could then attack the different divisions and destroy them in detail... The different branches of the Protestant Church are the strands of the cable; take them singly and they are easily cut; the Orange Institution is the perfect cable, in which all the strands are bound together; and the ship is the civil and religious liberty we enjoy, and which will remain in safety so long as the cable holds.”¹⁸¹ Although Gowan’s ‘cable’, the ‘Great Protestant Alliance’ was decidedly more concerned with its

‘Romanist’ enemies than it was with any real combining of its Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, or Baptist members, it represented the extent to which Upper Canadian identity had conformed to the early rules and regulations laid down by Irish Protestants and their potent traditions. Indeed, the staying power and the ability of essential portions of the Irish Protestant identity to transcend the nineteenth century is impressive.

The Orange Order in Ontario began, grew and remained a largely Irish-influenced institution for the better part of the nineteenth-century. This chapter has used the Order’s remarkable evolution from ‘reprehensible’ to ‘representative’ as a vehicle to show the larger picture – the significant impact of this, perhaps the most well-known political brand of Irish Protestantism on Ontario in this period. It has argued for a more tenacious and continuing relationship between Protestant Ireland and Canada than historians have recognized, one that served as the Order’s lifeblood from its early provision of that crucial sense of place in settlement, to its much later and vociferous denunciations of Home Rule or declarations for Ulster’s sacrifice at the Somme. Irish Protestantism did not ‘disappear’, ‘blend’ ‘un-Irish’ or ‘pathetically endure’ within a larger, diluting, Anglo-Canadian culture as some have accused. Most of Ontario was audibly if not visually reminded of that every July 12th. There was a reason that Canada became the ‘favourite place of Irish Protestants’ as Sam McAughtrey quite readily revealed, and that had a great deal to do with the influence of the Orange Order on the landscape of Ontario which made it look an awful lot like home. Even the pub brawls according to McAughtrey, had the air of familiarity. However, in Canada, as opposed to an increasingly sectarian homeland, it was more likely that the two sides in the fight might

find common ground – sometimes literally – such as that certain office in the Lindsay *Warder* that witnessed the men of St. Mary’s receive the enthusiastic (if less than apologetic) reassurances of a most ardent Orangeman. Indeed, outside of the Orange rants in newspapers and sermons and public addresses, most Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants ‘got along’ or at least ‘got on’ with each other. They certainly needed one another to do so. The process of becoming publicly legitimate *required* the Orange Order to circumscribe an ‘other’ in its bid to create an attractive mythology and sense of place outside of Ireland. This is perhaps best illustrated by the Order’s choice to claim Yonge Street yearly with the most brilliant banners depicting a valiant William astride a white horse crossing the Boyne instead of the more realistic picture of his being forced to dismount mid-river, near Drogheda, in order to have his horse, now stuck in deep mud, dragged to the bank. Ironically, the same Orange ethos which had once enabled an Orange District Master to declare “‘If William had not existed, than we should have to invent him’”¹⁸² was responsible for creating an Irish Protestant discourse - the longevity of which owed much to the strength of homeland connections as well as to skilled and constant editing of the group’s historical consciousness – that was ultimately, in the wake of the twentieth century, no longer able to rationalize the ongoing relationship between Irish antecedents and Canadian modernity.

ILLUSTRATION 3

“CHIEFLY WITH THE IRISH” - LOYALISM & PROTESTANTISM ON THE OTONABEE:

“Wellington, L.O.L. No. 457, A.D. 1852” and Historic Plaque



Duke of Wellington Orange Hall

The Orange Order started in Ireland in 1795, and after the formation of the Grand Lodge of British North America in 1829 spread across Canada, most notably in Ontario and in New Brunswick. The first two Peterborough County lodges were established in 1846, and at least twenty more had been formed by 1868. This Orange Hall, home to the Duke of Wellington Loyal Orange Lodge, which was built in 1852, promoted loyalism and Protestantism, chiefly with the Irish in this area, and also served as a community centre for the lumbering hamlet of Nassau Mills. After Trent University acquired the property in 1963 the building was closed, and the chapter was relocated first to Smith Township and later to Peterborough.

Erected by the
**PETERBOROUGH
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**



Photos by Brenda Goranson, Peterborough, Ontario, November 23, 2008

¹ Trent University Archives, “Orange Lodge Records 76-001/2”, L O.L. (Diamond) #80 Peterborough Membership and Minute Book, (Nov.18,1907), p.131 and (Dec.16,1907),p.134.

² TUA, (Diamond) #80 Minutes, (Dec. 16,1907), p.134 and (April 20, 1908), p.149. The Orange Order was not a religious institution. It did not identify with Church but with Protestantism as its particular brand of Irishness. One never really needed to step inside a Church to be considered a good Irish Protestant (though Anglicans of that brand certainly sought to bolster the Church). This was also the case with Irish Catholic Lay societies. The men who regularly attended these lay voluntary associations could quite easily be regarded as good Catholics according to public perception without necessarily being good Church-goers. Obviously, Irishmen held this in common. The somewhat novel nature of Reverend Brace’s appearance for an evening in Lodge No.80 is therefore not surprising.

³ Peter Gibbon, “The Origins of the Orange Order and the United Irishmen” *Economy and Society*, Vol.1, No.2, (May 1972), pp.134-163. Gibbon argues that increasingly, secret societies (regional and denominational in character but non-political in their anti-landlordism), developed in areas where the proletarianisation of former small scale farmers into the developing linen trade added an industrial flavour to formerly rural sectarianism. In *Orangeism: The Making of a Tradition*, (Dublin: Wolfhound Press Ltd., 1999), p.11-12, Kevin Haddick-Flynn confirms this in the claim that Orangeism arose from a long dormant Williamite tradition amongst Protestant weavers and tenant farmers – the descendants of the defenders of the Walls of Derry and the Boyne men - in response to “a continuing spiral of economic rivalry and sectarian bitterness with their Catholic neighbours” along the Ulster borderlands.

⁴ Cecil Houston, William J. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p.10.

⁵ In consecutive reference, see William Mood, “The Orange Order in Canadian Politics, 1841-1867”, MA Thesis, (University of Toronto, 1950) and Hereward Senior, *Orangeism: The Canadian Phase*, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972); Gregory S. Kealey, *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980) and H. Clare Pentland, *Labour and Capital in Canada 1650-1860*, Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1981); Donald Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1984) and Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); Scott See, *Riots in New Brunswick: Orange Nativism and Social Violence in the 1840s*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993) and Robert McLaughlin, “Irish Canadians and the Struggle for Irish Independence, 1912-1925: A Study of Ethnic Identity and Cultural Heritage”, *PhD Thesis*, (University of Maine, 2004) and finally, David A. Wilson, ed., *The Orange Order in Canada*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007).

⁶ Wilson, p.11. Donald M. MacRaidl in the same source, states that early Irish Lodge international meetings recognized that “Canadians... were the most successful Orangemen outside Ulster [and] led the way in matters of mutual benevolence.” See “The Associationalism of the Orange Diaspora” in Wilson, ed., p.30.

⁷ Houston and Smyth, *The Sash*, p.7. Emphasis mine.

⁸ Cecil Houston and William Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, & Letters*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p.181. The date of the poem, published out of Dublin, is 1869.

⁹ TUA, John Huston Papers, 71-006, Series A, Box 1, Wm. Middleton to J. Huston, April 20, 1818.

¹⁰ TUA, Millbrook and Cavan Township Historical Society – 95-002-2-22, Loftus George Reade to James Fallis, July 3, 1847.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Emphasis mine.

¹² See Glenn Lockwood, “Irish Immigrants and the ‘Critical Years’ in Eastern Ontario: The Case of Montague Township, 1821-1881” in *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, v.4, (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1984), p.170, where Lockwood indicates that it was the northern portion of Montague Township that was solidly Irish Protestant and there, north of the fourth concession, that the Orange Lodges stood as the ‘sole friendly society’ whereas the southern portion (non-Irish) boasted of temperance and agricultural societies as well as permanent churches.

¹³ Houston and Smyth, *Irish Emigration*, p.184.

- ¹⁴ Hereward Senior, “Ogle Gowan, Orangeism, and the Immigrant Question, 1830-1833”, Ontario History, vol.66, no.4, (1974), p.193.
- ¹⁵ Darrell A. Norris, “Migration, Pioneer Settlement, and the Life Course: The First Families of an Ontario Township” in Don Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History, v.4, (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1984), p.134.
- ¹⁶ Houston and Smyth, The Sash, pp.121,113.
- ¹⁷ University of Western, Ontario Archives, J.J. Talman Regional Collection, “The Orange Order”, Box 4785, Folder 28, Ambrose Kent and Sons, Ltd., Regalia Manufacturing, 156 Yonge Street, Toronto, Catalogue #91, n.d. and The Dominion Regalia Company Limited Catalogue, Toronto, n.d. pp.11-14, 16.
- ¹⁸ PRONI, D/1288/1A&B, “Particulars of My Life” by Senator Joseph Cunningham, Belfast, 1964.
- ¹⁹ See Chapter 2, ‘From Green Fields to Golden Shores’, pp.67-68.
- ²⁰ TUA, Millbrook and Cavan Township Fonds, 74-021, “The Cavan Blazers”, Reminiscences of Harriet Kellett as recorded by her son, 1920-1940 and The Norman R. McBain Collection, 97-1018, “Early Cavan Days Recalled”, unidentified newspaper clipping, n.d. It is noted (and perhaps obvious from the nature of their behaviour/“pranks” that ‘enlivened’ the community) that the “Blazers” were in actuality, the young sons of more established Cavan Orangemen. Brian Greer identifies them as the “more radical section” of Cavan’s Loyal Orange Lodge and explains that their family names can be culled from the earliest Irish Protestant settlers to Cavan. They were most active around the middle decades of the century, and by 1870, their exploits were such that the Association in general in Cavan Township was referred to as “The Cavan Blazers”. See Brian Greer, “The Cavan Blazers” in Quentin Brown, ed., This Green and Pleasant Land: Chronicles of Cavan Township, (Millbrook: Millbrook and Cavan Historical Society, 1990), pp.34-38.
- ²¹ TUA, Millbrook and Cavan Fonds, “Patrick Maguire”, Reminiscences, 1920-40.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Millbrook Reporter, “They Wanted A Roman Catholic Church in Cavan” by E.S. Clarry, Thursday, March, n.d.
- ²⁴ TUA, Millbrook and Cavan Fonds, “Cavan Blazers”, Reminiscences, 1920-40.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Reporter, “They Wanted...”
- ²⁸ TUA, Millbrook and Cavan Fonds, “Cavan Blazers”, Reminiscences.
- ²⁹ Ibid.; McBain Collection, “Early Cavan Days...” and The Millbrook Reporter, “The Cavan Blazers”, Thursday, Feb. 6, 1913; Mary Sloane Eakins, Brief Historical Research of the Township of Cavan and Millbrook From 1816-1937, Millbrook: Mirror Reporter Print, n.d., pp5-6.
- ³⁰ Reporter, Feb.6, 1913.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Eakins, p.5.
- ³³ Albert Braz, “United in Oppression: Religious Strife and Group Identity in *The Cavan Blazers*” in Literature and Theology, Vol.16, No.2, (June) 2002, pp.162-163.
- ³⁴ Braz, (quoting Robert Winslow, The Cavan Blazers, (Ennismore: Ordinary Press, 1993 and 2004), p.11), p.163.
- ³⁵ Ibid. (Winslow, p.69).
- ³⁶ Ibid., p.164. (Winslow, p.74.)
- ³⁷ Winslow, pp.75,76.
- ³⁸ Ibid., p.78.
- ³⁹ An argument can be made here that the historical inaccuracies at the close of Robert Winslow’s play represent a more dramatic and tellingly moral story – often the goal of story tellers and playwrights. There is also the possibility however, that Winslow, as a member of the fifth generation of Irish Protestants from County Fermanagh to remain on the original, early settled farm, may still be fighting the same battles lost in Ireland, but ensuring artistic victory this time. Winslow, whose ancestor is carefully recorded as having fallen at the Battle of Benburb in County Tyrone in 1646 to Owen Roe O’Neill’s Irish Confederate Ulster Army (Brown, p.449), at the end of his play has Paddy Maguire, the last of the Cavan Catholics, driven from the township despite the conciliating lessons that both Cavan Protestants and Catholics “share a

common guilt for the tragedy of this day” and that both loved “their people”, “wanted peace” and they perhaps “should have talked”. A sickening close is driven even further as children, armed with stick-guns, play ‘Catholic vs. Protestant’ to the beat of a lambeg drum. More noteworthy perhaps, are Maguire’s final words: “**You may not have won, Swain. But you have won.**” In reality, Patrick Maguire was not driven from the township and other Catholics would eventually follow. However, with the same cultural inheritance that saw his fallen ancestor’s back to the River Blackwater in 1646, Winslow has his neighbours’ ancestors (Coes, Staples, Swains and Rutherfords and presumably his own) defending ‘tooth and nail’ an area that was not immediately threatened, but perhaps within range of Peter Robinson’s Catholic Irish and thereby demonstrates that **it was possible to win in Cavan, Canada, what had been lost in Tyrone and Fermanagh, Ireland.** See Quentin Brown, ed., This Green and Pleasant Land and Winslow, The Cavan Blazers, pp.76-78.

⁴⁰ Houston and Smyth, Irish Emigration, p.184.

⁴¹ Kealey, pp.105-106.

⁴² Nicholas Flood Davin, The Irishman in Canada, (Toronto: Maclear and Company, 1877), pp.132-133. Emphasis mine.

⁴³ UWOA, Talman Collection, Dominion Regalia Company Catalogue, Toronto, n.d., p.10.

⁴⁴ Mark Carnes, Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989) and Lynn Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in Late Nineteenth Century Small-town Ontario, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). Both authors claim that with the ‘Revival’ of Evangelical Protestantism in North America, came a new liberal theology which emphasized the forgiving, tolerant and peaceful nature of Christ, characteristics associated with contemporary Victorian women. In concert with the new emphasis was an increase in female involvement in Church activities and associations which ‘emasculated’ and diminished any male presence in the pews. In response, men sought out ‘mostly male worlds’ (Marks) of ‘darkness, masks, secrets and fathers’ (Carnes) in Lodges where they created a more masculine religion based on a distant and harsh, Old Testament God in place of the ‘feminized’ Christ. This was inevitably to the consternation of the Ministers who worried about the absence of the bread winners in the Church coffers and of the wives whose husbands enjoyed an exclusive and secret ‘other’ existence on a regular basis. Carnes does not offer explanation for the experience of a large number of working class males in secret societies and how the ‘middle class phenomenon’ of working fathers affected them, nor does Marks reconcile Victorian women’s confinement to the domestic sphere with the extent of the power and influence she affords them in the ‘feminized’ church. Chapter 6 of this study certainly challenges Carnes’ and Marks’ theories of masculine expressions being solely outside of the Church. Bishop Benjamin Cronyn and ‘his boys’ of the Huron Diocese – who were both clergymen and laymen – exhibited an Irish-inspired identity that much like Orangeism, was ‘party’-based, quite unforgiving, intolerant and far from ‘peaceful’- all within the confines of the Church that in consequence, appeared far from ‘feminine’.

⁴⁵ Carnes, p.125.

⁴⁶ CIHM 11988, Charles Ebenezer Perry, “Lectures on Orangeism and Other Subjects” (Toronto: William Briggs, 1892), pp.60-61.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.14.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 19. This is the title of one of Perry’s lectures.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.iv.

⁵⁰ Ruth Bleasdale, “Class Conflict on the Canals of Upper Canada in the 1840s”, Labour/Le Travailleur, 7(Spring 1981), p.21.

⁵¹ UWOA, Talman Collection, “The Orange Order”, Charges to be Delivered at the Initiation of Members to the Several Orders of the Loyal Orange Association to which are Added Services for the Burial of Orangemen, the Dedication of an Orange Lodge, and for the Installation of Officers, (Toronto: Bro. J. Cleland, Printer, 1856), p.19. A variation is also found in The Patriot, Toronto, Wednesday, January 4, 1860.

⁵² Bleasdale, p.22.

⁵³ R. Pennefather, The Orange and the Black: Documents in the History of the Orange Order in Ontario and the West, (Toronto: T.H. Best Printing Co., 1984), p.30 and Kealey, p.116.

⁵⁴ PRONI, D.729/38, Correspondence and Papers of Sir Francis Hincks, F. Hincks to Dr. J.S. Drennan, May 17, 1878.

⁵⁵ Ibid. Hincks had struggled for years to understand the real purpose for Orangeism in Canada which he knew was not simply a replica of Ireland's Orange pledge for a 'Protestant Ascendancy'. He readily recognized the political platform that Canadian Orangeism had provided but worried that what was really being publicly flaunted by Orange processions was not the historic victory at the Boyne, but rather the years of Irish Roman Catholic oppression wrought by the penal laws and in this, saw the potential to have in Canada, "as formerly in Ireland, a 12th of July from the 1st of January to the 31st of December." (p.16) Hincks believed that ignorance of that dark history allowed for Protestant Orangemen to insist upon walking in territory that was populated by a Roman Catholic majority. He urged fellow Irishmen to consider what aspects of an Irish heritage they truly wanted replicated in Canada and encouraged a common "Christian course" by pointing out in 1877 that processions were not so much the problem on either side as was the 'divided loyalties' of both that placed the Queen (symbolic of the law) in the unattainable middling territory between the Pope and the Orangeman's Oath. See CIHM 24154, "The Orange Question Treated by Sir Francis Hincks and The London "Times" Being Composed of two Letters to the Montreal Gazette and an Editorial from the London Times condemnatory of Orangeism" (Montreal: Printed at the "True Witness" Office, 1877).

⁵⁶ UWOA, Talman Collection, "The Orange Order", Box 4785, "The Battle of Slabtown", 100th Anniversary of Grand Lodge of Ontario West and the 84th Annual Session of the Grand Black Chapter, (St. Catharines, May 1960), p.15.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p.15 and "Orangeism in Canada", 1942 Orange Directory and Programme, p.57,51.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.16,14.

⁵⁹ TUA, John Huston Papers, 71-006, R. Henry to J. Huston, July 9, 1828.

⁶⁰ Huston Papers, J. Hutchison to J. Huston, July 6, 1830. Emphasis Hutchison's.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid., Huston to E. McMahon, Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor, July 1830.

⁶³ Sherrell Branton Leetooze, Irish, Orange and Proud: A Brief History of Cavan Township, (Bowmanville: Lynn Michael-John Associates, 1999), pp.58-59. Branton Leetooze identifies John Huston as an Orangeman and "possibly a *Blazer* as well" (p.57) and blames the failure of the punishment to fit the crime on a jury and bench packed with Tory supporters. The thickness of the association of some Tories with Orange influence though is not captured here however, as Leetooze fails to mention that although George Strange Boulton (whose patronage in the area was heavily dependent upon Huston's local influence and abilities) denied that he had "hired Bullies or Loafers" (claiming rather that his supporters had "taken up sticks in self-defence") he accepted responsibility for the demise of the preacher, in the form of a subscription for Marshall's widow and children. See Hereward Senior, "Boulton, George Strange", Dictionary of Canadian Biography, v.9, (1976), p.68. A small portion of justice was perhaps met by the electoral victory of John Tucker Williams that year, over Boulton, as Marshall had intended. Although neither Leetooze nor Senior identify Preacher Marshall as a Methodist, it is likely he was, as the descriptive "Circuit Rider" denotes. This fits also with the fact that the Methodist Church had experienced remarkable growth in the area by 1840 and also with the fact that a number of Methodists were known to have voted Reform in both 1836 and certainly in 1841 when the electors of Durham County succeeded in bringing Reform candidate, Williams to victory. Other sources highlight the details surrounding the tragedy by emphasizing the quantities of free whiskey and axe helms/handles that invariably accompanied the open vote at this time. See the commentaries on the character of county politics at <http://www.ontariogenealogy.com/Victoria/politics.html> and http://www.canadiangenealogy.net/ontario/victoriacounty/uc_house.htm

⁶⁴ from Jonah Barrington, Personal Sketches of his own times, (New York, 1856) in Hereward Senior, Orangeism: The Canadian Phase, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited), p.3. Yet another version of the same ran: "To the pious and immortal memory of King Billy, who saved us from knaves and knavery, slaves and slavery, popes and popery, brass money and wooden shoes. And if any man among us refuse to rise to this toast, may he be slammed, crammed and jammed into the Great Gun of Athlone. And may the gun be fired into the Pope's belly and the Pope into the Devil's belly and the Devil into the roasting pit of

hell. And may the doors of hell be banged shut and the key kept in the pocket of a brave Orange boy. And may there never lack a good Protestant to kick hell out of a Papist.”” Jack Cahill, “Its power gone but Orange flag flutters”, Toronto Star, Saturday, July 12, 1980.

⁶⁵ CIHM 43989, Susanna Moodie, Life in the Clearings Versus the Bush, (London: 1853), p.12.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp.12-13.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.13.

⁶⁸ TUA, Cavan and Millbrook Historical Society, William Best, “A Short History of the Emigration and Early Settlement of the First Settlers of the Township of Emily”, 1876, p.2,4. Emphasis mine.

⁶⁹ Cobourg Star, March 14, 1832 and Hereward Senior, “Ogle Gowan” and “The Genesis of Canadian Orangeism”, Ontario History, 60(1968), pp.193, 17.

⁷⁰ According to Glenn J. Lockwood, the composition of the Orange Lodges in Montague Township by the turn of the twentieth century was “not as narrowly Irish as at mid-century, but the Irish element continued to predominate. The Orange Lodge certainly was regarded as an Irish institution locally.” (pp.336-337). Lockwood however, points out that there is great variety in the Irish experience in Ontario as demonstrated by the success in agriculture, local politics, and education of Donald Akenson’s Irish in Leeds and Landsdowne, Murray Nicolson’s victimized Irish in Victorian Toronto and his own, unwelcomed, stereotyped (by Lockwood at times too), but relatively successful and certainly persistent Irish in the northern concessions of Montague Township. Although perhaps not the case for the four Orange Lodges in the north of Montague, other Lodges throughout the province would absorb some non-Irish members. Houston and Smyth also state that eventually, the Order moved beyond its ethnic roots to include Englishmen, Scotsmen, Canadians, Germans and some First Nations peoples, but they emphasize that through the membership of sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of Irishmen, the “Irish identity was primary.” See Houston and Smyth, Irish Emigration, p.181. For more on the Montague Irish, see Glenn J. Lockwood, “Success and the Doubtful Image of Irish Immigrants in Upper Canada: the Case of Montague Township 1820-1890” in Robert O’Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada, v.I, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), pp.319-341. Lockwood represents the Irish in Montague (who settled on far inferior land in the northern concessions) as the pariahs of the region, affecting the very reputation of Montague, by both the stereotype and the apparent reality of their illiteracy, squatting, drunkenness, begging, civic inactivity, inferior dwellings and ignorance of the value of education. Much of this appears to fit with the contemporary Scottish and English stereotypical view of the Irish. Lockwood makes much more of this ethnic division than he does any division amongst the Irish, be it Protestant/Catholic or within the former’s denominations. Although Lockwood attributes some of the disparity to the inadequacy of the northern concession’s soils as well as the aforementioned ethnic bias, his Irish mainly fall victim to “the unfortunate legacy of their native country, a legacy which preceded their mass arrival...” but apparently only rooted in particular places. Confusingly, despite all the obstacles the Montague Irish faced amidst this ‘doubtful image’, they were ambitious and believed themselves successful, yet their “pathetic alternative...was to endure.” (p.340) Even the Orange Lodge in Montague was apparently incapable of harnessing any progress or prestige for its members. Lockwood dismisses the efforts of “a few [of its] members” toward temperance mid-century, in the light of successful prohibitory legislation in the southern concessions by other groups whose zeal was apparently greater than that of “the drinking Orangemen in northern concessions...” (p.338). In the same vein, and where Lockwood addresses the Irish Protestant/Catholic relationship (albeit in a footnote to an illustration), he emphasizes the role of the Orange Lodge as an instrument of ‘terror’, being “paramilitary illegal lodges” prone to ‘open violence’. He states that the “Orange Lodge cannot be dismissed either as a raffish collection of farmers’ sons indulging in sporadic recreational drinking sprees, nor as a social organization whose ritual denunciations of the papacy had little or nothing to do with their Catholic neighbours” (Plate 9: fn, p.337) and yet the main body of his piece hardly gives them this extent of recognition or ability. This thesis argues that there was more interest by ‘raffish farmers’ sons’ in ‘drinking sprees’, in securing a neighbourhood of well-known friends from one of strangers, and in recreating a sense of place in the new country that was based on the old, than there was in any need or desire to transplant real, homegrown ‘terror’ in Canada.

⁷¹ Hereward Senior, “The Character of Canadian Orangeism”, Thought, from the Learned Societies of Canada, 2, (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1961), p.179.

⁷² Gordon J. Sanderson, The Luck of the Irish in Canada: A History of the Irish Benevolent Society of London and Middlesex, (The Aylmer Express Ltd., 2000), p.xxx.

⁷³ Hereward Senior, “The Orange and the Green with the Snow in Between”, in O’Driscoll and Reynolds, eds., Untold Story, v.II, p.566.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.567.

⁷⁵ Cobourg Star, Wednesday, July 11th, 1832.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Senior, “Ogle Gowan”, p.196.

⁷⁹ Senior, “Orange and the Green”, p.567

⁸⁰ Sean T. Cadigan, “Paternalism and Politics: Sir Francis Bond Head, the Orange Order, and the Election of 1836”, Canadian Historical Review, vol.72, no.3, (September 1991), p.327.

⁸¹ Senior, “The Orange and the Green”, p.567.

⁸² Senior, “Ogle Gowan”, p.183.

⁸³ Senior, “Character”, p.180.

⁸⁴ W.B. Kerr, “When Orange and Green United 1832-9; The Alliance of Macdonell and Gowan”, Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, 34, (1942), p.38.

⁸⁵ Senior briefly summarizes other occasions of Canadian Irish collective agreement and activity including the forming of a Tenant’s League in Prince Edward Island, common St. Patrick’s Day celebrations, Catholic support of fellow anti-Confederation Orange candidates in New Brunswick, Protestant support for O’Connell’s Repeal Movement as well as recognition of the Protestant role in the 1798 Rebellion. See Senior, “Orange and the Green”, p.569. Many more could be recited, including the prominent role of the Irish Benevolent Society of London and Middlesex and its predecessors which united the Irish repeatedly at the mid-century mark and beyond. Other contemporary sources record similar epithets for Mackenzie. The Journals of Mary O’Brien, though they do not reference Mackenzie’s ethnic origin, refer to him as “our contemptible little demagogue” and “the tormentor of our peace.” Audrey Saunders Miller, ed., The Journals of Mary O’Brien, 1828-1838, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, Toronto, 1968), pp.172,180.

⁸⁶ See Ian Radforth, “Orangemen and the Crown” in Wilson, ed., pp.69-88. The love affair between Orangemen and the Crown was in many ways, a one-sided affair. Over and over again the Crown proved itself ambivalent to the Orangemen in Ireland and Canada: employing their ‘services’ in desperate times such as during the Rebellion of 1798 and 1837 in Canada but then enacting hostile measures such as the Unlawful Oaths Act, Unlawful Societies Act and Party Processions Act in order to curb overactive Orangeism that was perceived as intended to provoke. For their part, Orangemen could also defy the very Crown they swore to uphold (or at least its representatives), by choosing to march in defiance of anti-marching legislation and in the case of the 1860 visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada, publicly censuring the Duke of Newcastle who had guided the Prince’s tour and been the means of the Prince subverting so many Orange demonstrations.

⁸⁷ Hereward Senior, “A Bid for Rural Ascendancy: The Upper Canadian Orangemen, 1836-1840”, D. Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History, 5, (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1986), p.230.

⁸⁸ NAC, MG-27IE30, Vol.1, File 1, Ferguson Collection, Frances Anne Gowan to Harcourt Gowan, June 30, 1843.

⁸⁹ TUA, Henry Ruttan Report – 92-1000, H. Ruttan in Response to Lord Sydenham’s Circular Letter, 1840, p.99. The Hunters Lodges were a secret society that formed from Montreal to Detroit along the border in U.S. locales such as Lockport, N.Y. Sworn to rid North America of royal influence, its members ‘sympathized’ with Canada’s ‘plight’ against Britain and envisioned a Canadian Republic(s) and an end to British ‘tyranny’. See www.nnygenealogy.com/html/lodges for more.

⁹⁰ Senior, “Orangeism”, p.36. Much to the chagrin of John Strachan, Irish Churchmen showed this same ‘liberal’ attitude on occasion. Although as Churchmen of what was intended to be the Established Church, their ‘loyalty’ was never in question, Benjamin Cronyn and other Church of Ireland clergymen remained conspicuously silent on the Clergy Reserves issue in contrast to Strachan’s very public frustration over the matter. Gowan appears to have used this phrase in the Statesman July 13, 1839. See NAC, MG27IE30, vol.7, file 10, “Orangeism”.

- ⁹¹ Huston Papers, G. Elliott to J. Huston, Jan. 28, 1838. In 1836, Orange Lodges in Great Britain were dissolved under pressure from anti-Orange legislation which now loomed heavy in Canadian politics as Lieutenant-Governors Sir Francis Bond Head and his successor, Sir George Arthur considered the same for Upper Canada and increasingly appeared to be unwilling to give official recognition to the Orange Order for the part played by its members during the late Rebellion. This swayed Gowan somewhat in a more liberal direction as evidenced by his Statement on Responsible Government which in turn led to his removal from the position of Crown Lands agent in the Johnstown District and calls for his removal as Grand Master of the Orange Lodges of British North America from the more die-hard Tories within the Order. For more, see Hereward Senior, "Ogle Robert Gowan", in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, v.10, (1972), p.311.
- ⁹² See Akenson's fascinating discussion of the makings of myth and legend around Gananoque and the suggestion that Gowan's "hip" wound was the result of being slow enough to be bayoneted in the behind while fleeing the enemy. Donald Harman Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), p.196.
- ⁹³ NAC, MG27IE30, vol.7, file 5, "Lineage of the Family", p.21.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid., vol.2, file 3, "Copy of Address given Ogle R. Gowan by No 1 Brockville Lodge, which he opened and was the first W. Master and also first Grand Master of G.O.L.B.A. in 1830", June 17, 1856.
- ⁹⁵ Senior, "Character", p.181.
- ⁹⁶ Sir Joseph Pope, Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald, (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Ltd., 1894), pp.51-52. Interestingly, Gowan's Papers in the NAC, Ferguson Collection, MG27IE30, vol.1-2, file 3, include a typescript copy of portions of this same record which Macdonald had sent to Gowan – however in it, Macdonald's politicking had him claim to fear Gowan's "opposition" rather than his "means of doing mischief". Macdonald closed the letter to Gowan with "Keep this to your self – most sacredly – and come up as soon as you can, so as to talk to the Boys." Macdonald did not hesitate to encourage Gowan on editorial subjects for the *Statesmen* and he expressed the desire in November of 1847 regarding the upcoming election to "carry the great body of [Irish] protestants with me", something that Gowan would be crucial to obtaining.
- ⁹⁷ William Mood, "The Orange Order in Canadian Politics, 1841-1867", MA Thesis, (University of Toronto, 1950), p.174.
- ⁹⁸ Houston and Smyth, The Sash, p.149.
- ⁹⁹ NAC, MG27IE12, O'Donohoe Papers, Christopher J. Sheil, Ballinasloe, Co. Galway to John O'Donohoe, Toronto, March 10, 1873.
- ¹⁰⁰ TUA, Diamond Membership and Minute Book, April 6, 1908, p.147.
- ¹⁰¹ PRONI, PM.6/1, File, 1925, F. Daul to Sir James Craig, June, 9, 1925.
- ¹⁰² William Jenkins, "Views from 'the Hub of the Empire': Loyal Orange Lodges in Early Twentieth Century Toronto" in Wilson, ed., p.139.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid., p.141.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp.141-142.
- ¹⁰⁵ Houston and Smyth, The Sash, p.156.
- ¹⁰⁶ Pennefather, p.4.
- ¹⁰⁷ Don Akenson, The Orangeman: The Life and Times of Ogle Gowan, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, 1986), p.273.
- ¹⁰⁸ UWOA, Talman Collection, "Orange Lodge-London District", Box 4267, Robert Allison to Grand Master of L.O.L. 805, n.d.
- ¹⁰⁹ Scott See, "The Fortunes of the Orange Order in 19th Century New Brunswick", P.M. Toner, ed., New Ireland Remembered: Historical Essays on the Irish in New Brunswick, (Federicton: New Ireland Press, 1988), p.104.
- ¹¹⁰ Akenson, Irish in Ontario, p.281.
- ¹¹¹ Loyalist and Colonial Advocate, Saint John, August 13,20,27, 1847, in Scott See, "The Orange Order and Social Violence in Mid-Nineteenth Century Saint John", Toner, ed., p.75.
- ¹¹² Gregory S. Kealey, "Orangemen and the Corporation, the Politics of Class During the Union of the Canadas", Victor L. Russell, ed., Forging A Consensus: Historical Essays on Toronto, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 184), p.59.

¹¹³ Peterborough Review, vol.2, no.7, February 24, 1854.

¹¹⁴ Akenson, Irish in Ontario, p.280.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p.280.

¹¹⁶ TUA, Eliza Hughes McAlpine Fonds, 97-1037, p.73.

¹¹⁷ CIHM, P04444, The Orange Record, “The Foe of Our Freedom”, (Toronto: March 12, 1888, Vol.1, No.8), p.7.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p.7.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p.7. The Orange Record tied the presence of any consensus to a political agenda. It asked, “When will Protestant electors abandon their shameless hypocrisy which leads many at least of them to pray on Sunday for the speedy conversion of Roman Catholics, and then, during the week, to yield implicit support to the political institutions and parties which abet the Romish hierarchy in keeping millions of our fellow-country-men in degrading spiritual bondage?” (p.7) Pointing out differences or more appropriately, accepting them, “where wealth, fashion and politics, with their frequent concomitant ignorance, rule... [was] deemed in bad taste, narrow, ungenerous and illiberal to expose any respectable error.” (p.7) Although the paper was decidedly against the presence of any such middle ground, its temper served as proof of the very existence of same.

¹²⁰ CIHM, 59167, The Gospel Banner: A Sermon Preached to the L.O.Ls Assembled in St. John’s Church Port Hope, July 12, 1853 by the Rev. Johnathan Shortt, (Montreal: Wilson & Nolan, 1853), p.2.

¹²¹ Ibid., pp.4-5.

¹²² Ibid., pp.5,6.

¹²³ Ibid., p.11.

¹²⁴ Alice Kane, (Edith Fowke, ed.), Songs and Sayings of An Ulster Childhood, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1983), p.176.

¹²⁵ Kane, p.176.

¹²⁶ Leslie H. Saunders, The Story of Orangeism, (Toronto: Britannia Printers, 1960), p.35.

¹²⁷ TUA, Diamond Membership and Minute Book, Nov.1, 1875.

¹²⁸ PRONI, D.1195/3/9, Correspondence to Eleanor Wallace, J.White to E. Wallace, April 1, 1856.

¹²⁹ J.D. Livermore, “The Orange Order and the Election of 1861 in Kingston”, G. Tulchinsky, ed., To Preserve and Defend: Essays on Kingston in the Nineteenth Century, (Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1976), p.248.

¹³⁰ J.R. Miller, “Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada”, Canadian Historical Review, vol.66, no.4 (Dec. 1985), p.477.

¹³¹ Miller, p.478.

¹³² NAC, MG 271 E30, Ferguson Collection, vol.2, also quoted in Miller, p.482.

¹³³ Livermore, p.249.

¹³⁴ Pope, p.239. Emphasis mine. See also J.M.S. Careless, Brown of the Globe, vol.2, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1963), pp.29-32. Careless explains that although Canadian Orangemen were aware of the illegality of their Order in Great Britain and Ireland during this period, they “were no less determined to display their loyalty and themselves” to the Prince, but more importantly, “to their loyalism was added a righteously indignant Protestantism” which, combined, sounded the rallying cry of race and religion in Upper Canada. This united Orangeism for the moment with a more general Protestant objection to the Prince’s parleys with an allegedly already too-influential Catholic presence in Canada. (Careless, p.30.) According to Ian Radforth, the resulting ‘spectacle’ or occasions of “public ceremony gone completely awry” (p.165) revealed an identity crisis within nineteenth century ‘Britishness’ showing “who was in and who was out” (p.379) and far less unity within the interconnected culture of Empire between the metropole and the colonies than other historians have suggested and certainly less than the pomp of the Prince’s royal visit was meant to display. See Ian Radforth, Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004). Radforth describes the upset and subsequent display by Orangemen, particularly in Kingston, “the Derry of Canada” (p.165) and Toronto, “the Belfast of Canada” (p.166), as well as points in between (Belleville), as the “biggest controversy of the royal visit”(p.164), uniquely expressed in Upper Canada. He associates this phenomenon with the “heavy immigration... especially from Ireland” (p.169) of Protestants who caused

Upper Canada's growth to outstrip other regions of British North America. Radforth also explains that these Orangemen "drew on a heritage of fierce sectarian troubles in Ireland" (p.165); that they "built impressive arches of welcome [replicas of the Bishop's Gate of Derry in fact] emblazoned with the talismanic dates and slogans of their brotherhood" (p.164) and held their 'banners high'. He even recognizes the "Irish accent" and "appeals to Irish nationalism" (p.165) that flavoured the doings of their long-standing opposition, the Catholic Church, and yet Radforth then appears to dismiss the notion of a sustained, culturally and ethnically self-aware, vocal Irish Protestantism within that same Order. Confusingly, Radforth downplays the Order at this time as "by no means simply an ethnic or immigrant organization of Irish Protestants" despite its "roots" (p.167) and commemoration-based rituals, preferring instead to emphasize its compatibility with "a British nationalism that had deep anti-French and anti-Catholic roots" (p.169) common in Upper Canada, in seeming contrast to so many earlier references to its unique and obviously influential Irish heritage. One such example surrounds Radforth's recognition that Kingston Orangemen equated 'the Orange difficulty' of 1860 with that of the Prentice Boys in 1688, describing one James R. Burke, who, during the 'siege of Kingston', determined as in the days of old during the 'siege of Derry', not to yield to his 'arch rivals' after his wife's advice became "'the staff which supported me during that trying day, and recalled to my mind the time when our liberties were crushed in my native land.'" (p.184) Secondly, Radforth points out that the Duke of Newcastle would have seen the conflict in an Imperial context and that privately, he suspected the strings of Canadian Orangemen were being pulled by their fellow brethren in Ireland. Radforth even has the *New York Times*, *Sun* and *Evening Post* pointing the finger for 'Canada's Troubles' singularly at the Irishness of the colonial population – the *Irish-American* outright identified the "paying off of old scores" (p.198) – and yet the Irishness of Radforth's Orangemen is overshadowed in his account by their Protestantism and even their 'Englishness' in comparison to Lower Canada's French. Still, the point that beneath the seemingly smooth surface of nineteenth century British nationalism ("a common imagined identity" p.280) were many varying and competing identities coming to a boil, is not lost. Though in agreement that Orangeism and Protestantism in Upper Canada at this time made for convenient bedfellows, this chapter seeks to tease out those aspects of the former that were specifically Irish Protestant and argues that a good portion of the resulting liaison's accommodations were made in that particular direction.

¹³⁵ Pope, pp.240,241.

¹³⁶ *NAC*, MG29D15, Moylan Papers, file 2, Thomas Darcy McGee, Montreal, to James Moylam, June 3, 1861.

¹³⁷ *NAC*, MG27IE30, Ferguson Collection, vol.2, file 2, "Speeches and Addresses", n.d. (1860?), pp.1,2. Emphasis mine.

¹³⁸ That the Order could ease and tighten its strictures on the principles it espoused is best revealed by the disgruntled distance the Order maintained from what would have been gushing accounts of the Prince's tour after his return home had the Order been so recognized. There were some die-hards however, whose loyalty to the Crown could withstand even a breach from Orangeism. John Hughes, devoted Irishman and Orangeman, a Trinity College Dublin man, reportedly reacted to the Prince's rebuff at Belleville by returning "...home to Solina incoherent with rage. He took the lid off the stove, took off his regalia, and threw it in the fire. In answer to [his family's] pleas... John wailed: 'If the Prince of the realm cannot land beneath an Orange arch, I am done with the Order!'" *TUA*, Eliza Hughes McAlpine Fonds, p.16. Gowan and his political body could espouse the 'cause of freedom' as easily as they could the banner of loyalty. This had long been an Irish Protestant tradition – Orangemen and Irishmen could distrust, disapprove and even disregard English laws and strictures that they found inimical to the interests of 'Britons' in Ireland whilst still promoting themselves as the true defenders of Britain's Crown and Constitution.

¹³⁹ *The Sentinel*, (April 8, 1920), p.1, quoted in Pennefather, pp.125-126.

¹⁴⁰ Miller, p.484. Miller cites R. Hofstadter as the origin of the phrase 'the pornography of the puritan'.

¹⁴¹ Lucien Vinet, *I Was A Priest*, (Winnipeg: Author's Publication, 1949), pp.61, 66-67,65.

¹⁴² William Jenkins, "Views from 'the Hub of the Empire': Loyal Orange Lodges in early twentieth century Toronto", in Wilson, ed., p.137,133,131.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.131.

¹⁴⁴ Pennefather, p.30.

¹⁴⁵ Don Akenson, Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922, An International Perspective, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), p.127.

¹⁴⁶ See Chapter 6 "Churchmen: Irish and Otherwise" for an analysis of Protestant Irishmen's confirmation of their own identity.

¹⁴⁷ UWOA, Talman Collection, "The Orange Order", Box 4785, Folder 14, John Hilton, An Address to the Orangemen of Canada, (Port Hope: Printed at the Guide Job Office, 1859), p.6. In an unusual example of public self-censure, Reverend Hilton (an Orangeman himself) sought to remind Orangemen of their duties to Protestantism in deed as well as in word. Seeking to bolster the moral habits and therefore reputation of Orangemen, Hilton railed against the more obvious Orange public failings such as: drinking, swearing, verbal abuse of Catholics, non-attendance on Sundays, as well as those less obvious, the lack of 'unity of religion' amongst Orange Brethren and Christians against the 'work of the Evil One' and the 'feeling... cultivated among Orangemen, towards the Romanists' that bred hatred rather than conversion to Protestantism through living example. Hilton's message at times reads as a more liberal perspective on Orange relations with the Green, calling for 'love', 'peace', and 'prayer' in place of 'hate', 'bloodshed' and 'cursing' but his bias is obvious in his directives that this was the means to convert Catholics and more 'powerfully resist Papal aggression'. Hilton opened his letter explaining that he was 'constrained to write', 'as God's ambassador', an interesting contradiction to his own doctrine, given that he closes proclaiming Christ Jesus 'the only "Mediator between God and man"', and tellingly, himself, a "sincere well wisher" to the Orange Order.

¹⁴⁸ Akenson, Small Differences, p.148.

¹⁴⁹ Akenson, Small Differences, p.128.

¹⁵⁰ Akenson, The Orangeman, p.310.

¹⁵¹ UWOA, Talman Collection, "The Orange Order", Hilton, An Address to the Orangemen, 1859), p.1.

¹⁵² Ibid., pp.3-5.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p.7.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p.2.

¹⁵⁵ CIHM 24154, "The Orange Question Treated by Sir Francis Hincks", pp.16,14. Hincks related that "The Orangemen are fond of charging Roman Catholics with owing a divided allegiance to the Queen and to Pope, but lay themselves open to the charge of owing a divided allegiance to the Queen and to the Orange Society. It is the imperative duty of loyal men to obey the law; but Orangemen have not obeyed any law forbidding them to march in procession with banners and badges." (p.14) Hincks called on Orangemen to be even more loyal to their Irish forebearers and refuse to march in cities or towns where the inhabitants were majority Catholic (as was the case in 1877 in Montreal which, despite measures to control the potential conflict such invited, resulted in the clash of Orangemen with Irish Catholics and the death of Orangeman, Thomas Hackett who was duly immortalized in the aftermath as a martyr for the right to 'walk') as was observed in Ireland. "Canadian Orangemen should no more think of celebrating the anniversary in Montreal than Irish Orangemen in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, or Waterford. Though I should not presume to call on Orangemen to adopt a course that is not sanctioned by the practice of their own order, I venture to hope that most of them will have some regard for the opinion of their fellow Protestants." (p.15) Represented in Hincks' lengthy statement on the "Orange Troubles" is the broader but less vocalized, and therefore valuable, opinion of Irish Protestants who were not Orangemen.

¹⁵⁶ CIHM 89955, Nassau C. Gowan, "Future of Orangeism, Being a Lecture Delivered by Mr. N.C. Gowan, Grand Lecturer", (Ontario, 1863?), p.3.

¹⁵⁷ Kane, p.186.

¹⁵⁸ Houston and Smyth, Irish Emigration, p.181.

¹⁵⁹ Ferguson Collection, MG27IE30, vol.4, file 4, The Progressionist, Kemptville, Canada West, August 18, 1858.

¹⁶⁰ Don Akenson, "Ontario: Whatever Happened to the Irish?", Donald Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History, vol.3, Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1982), p.119.

¹⁶¹ Houston and Smyth, The Sash, p.49.

¹⁶² Kealey, p.107. Kealey notes that in the city of Toronto, the Orange Order had an overwhelmingly working class composition. Where Houston and Smyth emphasize the cross-class capability that the Lodge

boasted, Kealey finds that those who Houston and Smyth identify as ‘middle class’ were often new ‘graduates’ to that distinction, being upwardly mobile and were more often dependent (as shop keepers for example) on the business of working class members for their own financial success. Kealey claims that at the level of the Lodge, Orange standards were more a reflection of the control of working class members than that of middle class leadership and were therefore more focused on local political and economic machinations than on anti-Catholicism. Kealey disclaims Toronto as the ‘Belfast of Canada’ and demonstrates that Orange and Green interactions in the nineteenth century were just that, ritualistic demonstrations based in Irish traditions of marching and meeting, and rarely, riots of the sectarian type, bent on murder and wanton destruction. “Orangemen and Irish Catholics clashed 22 times in the 25 years between 1867 and 1892. On only two of these occasions did serious violence occur to fracture the pattern of restrained ritual riot. ... 17 of the 22 riots accompanied celebrations of import in the annual Orange and Green calendars.” (p.115) For Kealey, this is evidence of structured disturbance, not random violence.

¹⁶³ See José E. Igartua, The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-71, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006) for an interesting discourse on how ‘nationalism’ in Canada changed from once very prominent ethnic definitions to civic ones over a surprisingly brief period of time in the 1960s. The potency and endurance of what appeared to be an exclusive (“of the breed” p.21) and impenetrable ‘British’ identity in English-speaking Canada is well fleshed out in Igartua’s assessment of Canada-wide newspaper editorials, high school textbooks, public opinion polls, and House of Commons debates in the post-war period. Igartua claims that the transformation for English-speaking Canadians from ‘British’ subjects (‘ethnic definition’) to individual Canadian ‘citizens’ (‘civic definition’) was “truly revolutionary” (p.13) not only by its pace, but also in the fact that historians have done little to recognize what was essentially a parallel ‘Quiet Revolution’ to that of Quebec. Once staunch and solid definitions of English-speaking Canadians as British/Commonwealth subjects were “quickly discarded” (p.13) in the face of such contentious events as the internment of Japanese Canadians, the Suez Crisis, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and Britain’s contemplation of a move toward joining the European Common Market. Although the Conservative Party had served in many ways as the last bastion of a ‘British-identified Canada’, signaling loudly against the turn from Empire when ‘Dominion Day’ became ‘Canada Day’, when the Red Ensign was replaced by the Canadian Flag and when a Canadian was appointed Governor General, it suffered a serious loss of popular support when Diefenbaker’s government ultimately and ironically, challenged Britain itself over the decision to join the ECM. This may have been influential in the now speedy downfall of the Orange Order during the twentieth century with the link between the Brethren and the Conservatives now broken.

¹⁶⁴ UWOA, Talman Collection, Orange Lodge-London District Records, Box 4267, “L.O.L. Association Miscellaneous Correspondence”, Robert Manson’s New Year’s Address to Most Worshipful Sirs and Brethren, 1966-67.

¹⁶⁵ TUA, “Orange Lodge Records”, B-76-001, Loyal Diamond Orange Lodge No.80 (Peterborough) Minute Books, September 4, 1888.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ UWOA, Talman Collection, Orange Lodge – London District Records, Box 4267, Manson’s New Year’s Address.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., R.A Bell to T.H. Spence, February 21, 1963

¹⁷¹ Carnes, p.156.

¹⁷² William Forbes Adams, Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine, (Yale University Press, 1932), p.376.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ UWOA, Talman Collection, Box 4785, “The Orange Order”, Folder 14, 4), J.W. Carson, History of Hackett L.O.L. No. 805, (London, 1953), p.10.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p.10.

¹⁷⁶ Haddick-Flynn, p.92.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p.93.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.86.

¹⁷⁹ Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario*, pp.9, 22-28. Akenson's work on the Irish in Canada and elsewhere has made that of a good number of historians of the diaspora indebted and lighter because of his intrepidity in tackling 'the numbers', the statistics surrounding the Irish presence in the New World, something that he himself recognizes as quite daunting to historians who are traditionally "content to deal in words" (p.26). Akenson has shown that contrary to the once popular perception of a pre-Famine, financially independent, Irish Protestant migration which was followed by that of the down-trodden, slum-dwelling, Famine Catholic 'hoardes', the relation of Protestant/Catholic emigration remained relatively constant in the pre-Famine period at 2:1 and that this 'dual stream' of migrants continued into the later period. Also, Akenson has dispelled other myths by showing that both groups in Canada were of predominantly rural character and that each had their share of both well-to-do and pauper emigrants. Elsewhere, Akenson has claimed that "what is misleadingly called the "English-Canadian" cultural identity is more Irish than anything else" and in line with his earlier work, this might more precisely be amended as a majority Irish Protestant identity. See Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer*, (Toronto and Belfast: P.D. Meany Company, Inc., Publishers and The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 1996), p.6.

¹⁸⁰ Akenson, *Diaspora*, p.8.

¹⁸¹ *NAC*, MG27IE30, vol.4, file 4, "Orangeism", *Ingersoll Chronicle*, Dec. 9, 18__?

¹⁸² Haddick-Flynn, pp.67, 14.

CHAPTER 5

BEING ‘COLLEEN’, OR, SOMETHING IN BETWEEN: IRISH PROTESTANT WOMEN IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY UPPER CANADA

- MICHAEL: This is about freedom. You wouldn't understand.
- SARAH: Then don't talk to me anymore.
- MICHAEL: I'm an Irishman.
- SARAH: You're as Irish as the grass in the big pasture – the seed may have come from Ireland but the soil it grows in and the rain that waters it is Canadian.
- MICHAEL: I know more of Irish history than you do.
- SARAH: I was born there.
- MICHAEL: I speak Irish.
- SARAH: I was born there.
- MICHAEL: You don't have to be born in a country to belong to it.

From: Heritage, a play by Nicola McCartney, a Traverse Theatre Programme Playscript, 1998.

HUGH [CONTINUING THE LETTER]: It was a right thing I done in coming here. If I'd stayed at home as you are doing, I would still be in rags working in the dirt and the mud with nothing to show for it. If only you would pluck up the courage and come too I wonder would you send me seeds of Balm of Gilead and also some of the lily I have it in mind to sow a flower garden out in front of the house, a memory walk so that Ruth can have all the colours and scents of home about her.

From: Heritage, a play by Nicola McCartney, a Traverse Theatre Programme Playscript, 1998.

It is remarkable that although the Irish counted for the largest ethnic contingent to North America throughout the 1800s and are therefore in large part responsible for defining that century, ‘Colleen’, the Irish woman who represents the periodically greater portion of that immigration, has remained relatively silent in the historical record and elusive to curious historians. Don Akenson has called this gap ‘The Great Unknown’ and explains that “the single most severe limitation on our knowledge of the Irish

diaspora is this: we know surprisingly little about Irish women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, either in the homeland or in their New Worlds. With any ethnic group this sort of deficit would be a serious problem, but with the Irish it is especially debilitating...”¹ because of the sheer volume of Irish women to Canada whose experience and work remains unexamined and unappreciated. “Between the Act of Union of 1800 and the independence of southern Ireland in 1922 about 4 million Irish females left the homeland.”² Akenson believes that this disparity in the history of the women of Ireland and especially the Diaspora will be addressed in the next two or three decades, much like the history of the working class saw an impressive body of scholarship grow from early interest in the 1960s. However, “as with society’s working- and under-classes, women have left behind many fewer records than have privileged males and therefore it demands a lot more effort and ingenuity to do good women’s history... It requires greater assiduousness in finding and more subtlety in interpreting obscure sources.”³

Over a decade ago, two of the subject’s more front line proponents, Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O’Dowd introduced their “discovery-stage” volume on women’s role in Early Modern Irish history by describing “The historiography of women’s history in Ireland [and subsequently, the Diaspora, as] ...largely a story of neglect with only a small number of pioneers quietly insisting on establishing the significance of the subject.”⁴ One such pioneer, Hasia Diner, in her study of Irish immigrant women and their cultural persistence in nineteenth-century America, also regrets that with regard to the Irish, “most of what we know about the decision to leave one’s ancestral home, about the nature of the migratory process, and about the forces of adaptation in the marketplace,

church, and club concerns men.”⁵ More regrettable however, is the fact that in Diner’s much needed study, “Irishness” is determined solely by religious persuasion (“Irish” = Catholic) with the result being that in trying to give voice to what she sees as the neglected half of the Irish migration, Diner silences over half of that same neglected half. Any and all Protestant Irish women’s voices are presumably relegated to the same category as the “Protestants” or “Anglo-Saxons” whom she sees as propagating Irish stereotypes: mocking “Bridget” the servant girl for breaking all the crockery and condemning “Paddy” for being perpetually drunk and controlling his wife with a shillelagh.⁶ Diner gives no occasion for her economically important, self-sufficient, loyal family member—sending remittances back Home, working girl, nor her family wage-controlling, religiously-minded, middle-class-focused wife and mother, to be *Protestant* in her *Irishness*. Diner asserts that “Politics and saloon life, clubs and organizations belonged to men, but the home and its purse strings as well as its future belonged to women. The immigrant women knew which sphere was more important.”⁷ We have certainly seen from Chapter 4, ‘Orangemen and Othermen’, that the former was very true but to claim that the decision to leave Ireland, enter the work force, marry Irish, uphold Christian church-based values and social requirements, and succour relatives who remained on the “ould sod” were the hallmarks of a “commitment to a [specifically] Irish Catholic culture and to its way of life”⁸ is to ignore the complexities of Irish identity and the contributions of a great many female Irish Protestant immigrants to these same ‘ways’ in both Canada and the United States as well as Ireland.

This chapter intends to expand the theme of identity and Irishness in Canada to include the other half of the Diaspora, female settlers, and the neglected larger portion of that half, Irish Protestants, in an effort to provide a plank or two in bridging the knowledge gap as it currently exists for so many. It argues that Irish Protestant women of varying classes, played essential roles in the process of colonial settlement, first as highly-valued wives and then as the specific keepers of those familial ties to the homeland that kept Irish Protestant culture rooted in Ontario for a good length of time. Irish Protestants had a great stake in recreating recognizably Irish neighbourhoods across the sea – particularly as those at home appeared to be changing - and once they were established, it fell largely to women to keep them that way. This chapter shows that they did so via what have often been dismissed as ‘the small things’- aspects of a continued culture that were usually relegated to the margins in the correspondence of men and in the subsequent historiography that has assessed those records. Remaining Irish, even generations after arriving, was in many ways, the special preserve of women. Through such things as the keeping of familial records, homeland ‘vewes’ and newspapers, needlework that proclaimed an Irish inheritance, or the planting of Ireland’s seeds (both literally and figuratively) in Canadian gardens and homes, Irish Protestant women demonstrated that they too, were Irish, they too, were ‘Colleens’. This chapter also steps outside a specifically gendered focus toward its close in order to show how Irish Protestantism in Ontario could represent ‘something in between’. In the milieu of competing identities that was nineteenth century Upper Canada, Irish Protestantism could trestle the gulf between nationalities by its Protestantism as well as the gulf between

religions by its nationality. Such disparate communions were not without their contentions. Being Protestant rather than Catholic, and Irish rather than English, made for a very unique position in the new Canadian place and the words and works of contemporary Englishwoman, Susannah Moodie – who has represented the ideal ‘type’ of emigrant intended for Canada in both past and present perspectives – are used as a lens in this chapter to demonstrate that peculiar standing. Moodie, even as an outsider, is valued here for her role as a literate and intelligent, contemporary female who recorded widely read and accepted observations that were specific to the two Irelands that characterized Upper Canada.

Much debate surrounds why and when Irishwomen emigrated to North America⁹ but little is known about how they viewed their decision to leave and their world once they got here. Indeed, the question has been asked: “Whatever Happened to the Irish?” with specific reference to the historiographic disappearance of the “largest ethnic group in Ontario for much, or most, of the nineteenth century... [of which] ...roughly two-thirds... were Protestants”.¹⁰ The response has been that for historians, both the Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants of Canada have been ‘forgettable losers’, the former because they ‘failed’ to congregate in urban ghettos and be “shoved about... by the embittered buy-the-dynamite, God-free-Ireland nationalism with which so many Irish Americans reacted”¹¹ and the latter because they were inter-denominational, well-dispersed, overshadowed by the Orange Order but mostly, not the ‘right sort’ of Irish in the first place.¹² With the picture of the Irish people in Canada this cloudy, how much thicker is the fog for Irish Protestant Immigrant women? Given the aforementioned

obstacles to the study of the emigrant, the Irish, women, and those who were Protestant, admittedly, this chapter may raise more questions than it provides answers in this relatively untouched and sensitive field of inquiry. Still, it seeks to survey the range of Irishness in nineteenth century British North America from the perspective of a disenfranchised many, being not only Irish, but female and Protestant too – what were the politics of this type of femininity amidst ‘English Canada’s’ world of masculine ethnic and cultural fraternity?

To be certain, the Irish immigrant woman has been elusive, but this is true for both Catholics and their Protestant sisters, and where studies like Hasia Diner’s now exist for the former, there is no comparable work on the latter. How did so-called “Orangewomen”¹³ view Lodge night? Did it mean more to them than the simple ‘thanks’ tendered to the wives in so many recorded Lodge minutes for the refreshments and adornments provided on Marching Day and Meeting nights would indicate? Does the anonymous poem published in the Peterborough Review for December 1854 provide a clue to their perspective?

Oh dear how selfish the gentlemen are,
They will congregate down in friend Perkins’ Bar;
To concoct their great dinners, and railway humbugs;
To smoke, and to call for their hot water jugs.

If I were a wife, I would raise such a splutter,
I’d soon end the thoughts of a dinner or supper,
Oh why don’t the ladies rise up in a body,
And smother them all in their smoke and their toddy.

A five dollar ticket I’m safe when I say
It never will pay for the Champagne that day,
Not to speak of the brandy the wine and liqueurs,
Headaches, Blue Devils and family jars.

Get the Mason's large Hall, make it clean, make it neat,
For bright eyes, fairy ringlets, and white slippered feet,
Make an effort, be generous for once in your lives,
Give a Ball and enjoy't with your sweethearts and wives.¹⁴

For how many Irish women did Mary Anne McCracken, sister of the famed United Irishman, Henry Joy McCracken, speak when she proclaimed that the polarization of Ireland and its people was not just along politico-religious lines but along gender lines too, as the proliferation of strictly male, secret and political societies indicated? By her pen, Mary Anne approved the admittance of women to these male arenas as opposed to the creation of societies for women ““as there can be no other reason for having them separate but keeping the women in the dark and certainly it is equally ungenerous and uncandid to make tools of them with out confiding in them””¹⁵

Great patience must have accompanied many wives of the various ‘brethren’ for even as late as 1883, husbands were being reprimanded and encouraged away from male exclusivity “to accompany her to church, to social gatherings, to lectures and such places of entertainment as they both mutually enjoy and appreciate. In fact he ought not to attend a social gathering unless accompanied by his wife, nor go to an evening entertainment without her. If it is not a fit place for his wife to attend neither is it fit for him.”¹⁶ And what were the views of the numbers of Irish and Protestant women in Canada whose husbands had little or no connection to the ‘agendas’ or ‘entertainments’ of those fraternal societies which had the reputation of seeking to expand the battlefield in the Irish War to include the adopted country? Did Belfast and Armagh’s daughters in Canada mourn the loss of ‘Erin’, the Homeland, and the verdant rolling hills the way

Ireland's ex-patriots, the 'Wild Geese' in Catholic culture had immortalized on paper, yet they too had known all their lives? Do we consider the 1861 words of Protestant Sarah Ann Radcliff, now a long time resident in Upper Canada, to her Reverend brother in Ireland to be evidence that she still identified herself as Irish? "If Rebecca had the longing after home that I have had since I came out, she would not be willing to go to Australia again of all spots on earth. Ireland for me."¹⁷

Frances Stewart's 1822 shipboard journal certainly seems to indicate that she was both feasting and fastening her eyes on what she saw as her Irish Home for one last time before emigrating to Douro, Upper Canada. "At 7 o'clock we set sail - ...the Cave Hill, and the shores on both sides of the Lough looked more lovely than ever. ... I saw the fine Northern coast of dear Ireland in beautiful blue distance and island of Rathlin – but I was soon obliged to shut my eyes... towards morning the swell abated a little and after breakfast I went out on deck to see the last view of dear Ireland. It was a grey dull morning but I watched the last glimpse of land as long as I could see it"¹⁸ Even upon her arrival in British North America, Frances' view continued to be based on her Irish experience. For her, the Canadian coast's headlands almost surpassed the beauty of Killarney, the Otonabee River, "our river", was "twice as broad as the Boyne at Navan", and "as far as the road is from Clonghill Hall door", the trees were "higher than any trees I ever saw in Ireland", though the "fine spreading cedars" were equal to Ireland's Arbor Vita, their clearing was "about as large as Fitzwilliam Square" the wild Irises, Stocks, Laurel, Yarrow and many other of "our dear old Irish weeds" were worthy of recognition and report, and the homemade soap of her adopted land, though "excellent", was very

dark in colour which made “it not look so nice as our old country soap.”¹⁹ Is Frances Stewart any less representative of Ireland coming to Canada in her Protestantism than Hasia Diner’s Catholic women were? Despite Diner’s valuable contribution to some of the gaps in the ‘story of neglect’, this study contends that a greater challenge lies in the interpretation of the experiences of the even more insignificant in the historical record, those Irish women who not only left their Homeland, but in some cases, were not and have not been, considered “real-Irish” in the first place. This chapter intends to focus on the more indistinct of an already ambiguous though numerous group, the Irish women of the Protestant persuasion whose essential and formidable presence on the frontiers of Upper Canada helped through necessity, innovation and particularly, material reproduction, to literally create a home – away from the Homeland. In the nineteenth century, ‘being Colleen’, that is, being recognizably Irish, did not have the Catholic requisite that much of the subsequent historiography has presumed and propagated.

Likening what we know about the Irish female presence in the Canadian backwoods to the crafting of a nineteenth century quilt, for Elizabeth Jane Birch, making sense of so many undocumented lives requires the careful piecing together of the small and unmatched, but precious scraps of information left over from projects more focused on the day-to-day struggle that was pioneering than on leaving historical records. In “Picking Up New Threads for Kathleen Mavourneen: the Irish Female Presence in Nineteenth-Century Ontario”, Birch continually returns to the “rag bag from which one may select or discard material” in an effort to give “voice” to the “silenced” majority of Irish working class women immigrants who were marginalised because of both their class

and their gender (and arguably their ethnicity) with the result that her thesis on the Irish immigrant women of nineteenth century Ontario “emerge[s] as a patchwork” reflecting “women in motley”.²⁰ The resulting pattern however, is one that applies literary evidence and feminist theory more frequently than historical, citing Yeats, Atwood, and Urquhart to a greater extent than the contemporary voices of Susanna Moodie, Isabella Valancy Crawford or Frances Stewart in her analysis. This is in part because Birch’s thesis assumes a silence and periphery on the part of nineteenth century ‘Irishness’ as a result of both emigration and the Famine as well as Ireland’s “sad plight as a colonised nation” that was not broken until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century revival of Celtic mythology and literature by the “strong and distinctive voice[s]” of Lady Gregory, Jane Urquhart and playwright Brian Friel.²¹ According to Birch, “Kathleen Mavourneen” of the traditional Irish song represents Irish immigrant women who were more seen than heard, being of the lower class, often in domestic service, and left to the devices of ‘better-positioned’ women writers such as Frances Stewart for descriptions of their worlds. It is this emphasis on class however, that limits Birch’s ability to view Stewart’s own Irishness as an expression-in-part of the very experience of nineteenth century Irish women in Canada she is attempting to give voice to. Birch’s thesis is seminal in its approach to the untreated topic of Irish women in Ontario and she is careful to include in her definitions of ‘Irishness’ both Catholic and Protestant women, however the medium she uses to get at the ‘scraps’ that she intends to stitch together, namely, the writings of educated women describing their poorer-in-circumstance kinswomen, are left untreated and unrecognized as expressions of female Irishness in and of themselves. Also, Birch

fails to contemplate that this social gap may have been smaller than she presumed. This “folly” that Susanna Moodie warned fellow emigrants about - the phenomenon that a fledgling Upper Canada could somewhat temper the seemingly impenetrable class divisions of Old Europe on new soil – saw sheer necessity in a foreboding wilderness acting on many occasions as the great social leveling field.

Referring to the taking of servants from the old country, Moodie wrote: “They no sooner set foot upon the Canadian shores than... all respect for their employers, all subordination, is at an end; the very air of Canada severs the tie of mutual obligation which bound you together. They fancy themselves... equal to you in rank,... they demand in terms the highest wages... to eat at your table... they tell you that “they are free; that no contract signed in the old country is binding in ‘Meriky;’ [and] that you may look out for another person to fill their place as soon as you like...” ...in Canada the state of things in this respect is wholly reversed.”²² Apparently this social fluidity could run both ways, for Moodie confided that “It has often been remarked to me by people long resident in the colony, that those who come to the country destitute of means, but able and willing to work, invariably improve their condition and become independent; while the gentleman who brings out with him a small capital is too often tricked and cheated out of his property, and drawn into rash and dangerous speculations which terminate in his ruin”²³ Although Susanna Moodie’s perspective was a particular one, being an Englishwoman of genteel birth now overwhelmed by the change of society in Canada’s wilderness, the observations of Irish Protestant immigrant James Reford show that he too, took note of a change in the social climate in America when he complained that even Irish

Catholic servants “from the bogs of Connoght” expected certain comforts and conveniences far different from Home. “If you want a girl to do housework the first question is have you got hot and cold water in the house, stationary wash tubs, wringer? Is my bedroom carpeted [with] bureau table wash stand and chairs... and what privileges and the wages? ... The writer makes the charge that such girls are too ambitious, and deceitful about their previously humble origins.”²⁴

Certainly class distinctions existed in British North America. Susanna Moodie’s experience *was* different from that of her ‘Irish girl’, Jenny Buchannan’s, as was Irish-born Frances Stewart’s from her ‘girls’ Betty Taylor, and later Anne McVitie, however, the harsh circumstances of life on the frontier in Canada in the early nineteenth century could somewhat mitigate the distinctions between employer and employee as they had existed in European society. Stewart’s domestic help, Betty, had apparently noticed that difference. “My little Irish maid is such a comfort to me that I really do not know what I should do without her. ... She cooks, washes, cleans the house, bakes, milks the cow, and his various minor occupations. I generally iron the clothes, wash and dress the children – lay the tablecloth and wash the dishes – none of which are very laborious, [but] she is always afraid poor little thing that I am doing too much...”²⁵ Indeed, in a short span Frances would find that she *was* ‘doing too much’ for only nine months later, she was distraught that her “paragon Betty – the maid who was so useful and such a treasure – has turned out (like all other paragons) to be a most abominable little animal and has left me against our consent... Here I am without any maid [and] I cannot in this busy country get a servant girl without paying wages much too high for our means...”²⁶

Another two years on and Frances would confide that she had “many signs of age about me... I am now come to the opinion that people would do better at home – and that we perhaps might have done better at home – unless they mean to make their children actual labourers... this is what the Reids do but they neglect everything else, in manners learning and appearance they are exactly a labouring family: - this I cannot bear for my poor dear children.”²⁷ Frances was hurting over her husband’s decision to emigrate and she wanted, desperately, to return to her Irish home and her “dearest friend and Mommy”, the woman who had raised her, Harriet Beaufort. “I don’t like talking of it – to anybody... I have often intended to write to you about this but was prevented by the fear of giving you pain, but I know it will relieve my mind very much for continually thinking and pondering on a subject and having no creature to talk to about it is too much to bear long – if we go on as we have done, I know we shall live to the extent of our income, without much comfort and seeing our children vulgar and illiterate. ... I now wish and so does Tom that we had taken the advice of our friends and not emigrated so hastily – but it can’t be helped now.” Had Frances been able to return to Ireland, she would have done so much less recognizably. She described her once soft and fair, “delicate” skin as now “weather-beaten”, “here... beauty is very scarce” and as for her new situation, Irish friends would have to be prepared to be “disappointed” or “disgusted” finding “us rough and homely in our manners and mode of living... we have become accustomed to the absence of elegance and refinement – and now don’t feel it at all.”²⁸ Much changed in her station with respect to her class, the words of Frances Stewart as an Irishwoman, and even those of Susanna Moodie as an English observer of the Irish, need to be considered

within the framework of Irish women's experiences in early Canada where even the privileged could find themselves now 'poorer in circumstance'.

This chapter suggests that despite Patrick O'Sullivan's claim that the history of women's emigration "...has been overweighted towards the study of the one that reposes"²⁹ significantly less 'reposing' was possible amidst the frigid winters, the shanties, the black flies and the isolation of the Canadian backwoods – the "back of the world" or the "fag end of civilization"³⁰ as Frances herself underlined. Her neighbour, Englishwoman, Catherine Parr Traill was also keenly aware of the difference the New World's day-to-day made to a lady, and spoke directly to the fallacy of any literal reposing on the frontier. "...here it is considered by no means derogatory to the wife of an officer or gentleman to assist in the work of the house, or to perform its entire duties, if occasion requires it; to understand the mystery of soap, candle, and sugar-making; to make bread, butter, and cheese, or even to milk her own cows, to knit and spin, and prepare the wool for the loom. In these matters we bush-ladies have a wholesome disregard of what Mr and Mrs So-and-so think or say. We pride ourselves on conforming to circumstances; and as a British officer must needs be a gentleman and his wife a lady, perhaps we repose quietly on that incontestable proof of our gentility, and can afford to be useful without injuring it."³¹ Historians must not reject those scraps of precious material which are the writings of women who either had the time or sought extra time to do so, in the quilting together of early Canadian women's stories, for even the most humble of the pioneer 'crazy quilts' contain a square or two of silk amidst the homespun.

Success in settlement in the early nineteenth century in Upper Canada was often tied to an individual's ability to gather manpower by acquiring a family, which was the basic unit of economic production in a land where for the most part, the family farm provided the initial pressure on an imposing wilderness.³² Few were more aware of this than unmarried, immigrant men upon their introduction to unsettled Canada. Initially, men heavily outnumbered women and as we shall see, for a newly arrived Irishman, an Irish wife was a particular boon when it came to becoming established and especially when it came to keeping the Irish transatlantic connection. For Joseph Willcocks, a recent Irish arrival from Cork in 1800, York, Upper Canada presented a great many challenges not the least of which was finding a partner to promote his interests both in business and at home. The former he discovered in patron, Receiver General Peter Russell, the latter obviously required greater consideration and apparently 'sacrifice' for Willcocks had quickly learned that a woman's ability was of far greater value on the frontier than her appearance. In a letter to his brother Richard in Dublin, Willcocks explained his rationale behind the removal of a potentially advantageous acquaintance, Colonel Smith, from the York Garrison who "had... a very pretty sister that I would have been uncommonly attentive to if she carried more metal; indeed she is a rarity... in the Country, but... beauty will not make the Pot boil, which consideration alone prevented me from assuming an air of Seriousness. Love & runaway matches I never was an advocate for, such proceeding may fill the belly of Women but not of men..."³³ Despite Willcocks' rather smug view that romance was the elixir that truly sustained a woman or rather, 'filled her belly', the importance of his words is found in his recognition that the

success of any married man in Upper Canada depended to a great extent on how steeled *his wife* was to the task at hand.³⁴

Susanna Moodie identified Canada as the quintessential ‘marrying country’ in reference to two ‘very pretty daughters’ whom ‘Mrs. S_____’, the tavern-keeper’s wife in Cobourg, prized so much for their value as potential wives that she reserved their labours for the more social aspects of inn-keeping despite her own ‘incessant toil’ and the ‘rough work’ of her numerous “Irish ‘helps’” in the kitchen.”³⁵ Historian Charlotte Gray describes the correspondence of bachelor Henry Chantler in Newmarket to his newlywed brother in New York State as being almost ‘palpable’ in its envy, for Joseph had found a wife in the more populated United States. “I was not a little surprised when I found in your letter of the 28th Sept that you had united in the bands of Matrimony and have transformed yourself into a Married Man. ... I still remain unmarried and the day seems far hence when I shall be able to pronounce the assertion “I am a married Man.” Though at times I feel wrought up to a sense of my own oneness and when I serve up my soul with the thoughts of being comforted with one of those creatures you talk of, my heart throbs with the greatest emotion sometimes starts off on the trot rears, pitches, bounds, and leaps to the canter rendering it difficult by times to keep from being overthrown.”³⁶ Henry concluded his letter with an affectionate poem directed to his new sister-in-law, requesting her somewhat curiously, to both “Remember me” and “Remember... married life...”³⁷

When the Reverend Joseph Hilts wrote his narrative of the Canadian pioneer “John Bushman” of “Sylvan Lake’ for posterity, he included a very Canadian scene of a

house-raising where Bushman, surrounded by his closest friends and neighbours, an Irishman, two Yorkshiremen, and an American, is toasted with their best wishes for the next most important step in securing a living in the Canadian wilderness:

“Here’s to the lady who one day will come
 And, as the loved mistress of this rural home,
 Will preside like a genius that chases away
 All the cobwebs and darkness; and make people say,
 What a splendid housekeeper John Bushman has got,
 Who can make Sylvan Lodge such a beautiful spot; ...”³⁸

Hilts was then very careful to explain that to be called a good housekeeper “in those old-fashioned times” was a source of great pride because good sense in the Bush meant industry and economy, usefulness; not helplessness, while Protestant sense from the Bible understood that ““God’s arrangement... [was] that “drowsiness shall clothe a man with rags,” and that “an idle soul” (whether man or woman) “shall suffer hunger.” Such a woman is a blessing to any man. Such a woman is fit to adorn life in a log hut or in a marble palace. ... Happy is the man who finds such a wife. ... A man’s success in life very largely depends on his wife.”³⁹ Frances Stewart knew as much and worried that even the necessity of reduced circumstances had not yet fitted her properly for the “usefulness” and the “housekeeping of this country” that her husband so admired: “I sometimes feel a little melancholy, for I am not half clever enough for a farmers wife.”⁴⁰ Thomas William Magrath of County Carlow, Ireland, now ‘Erindale’ in Credit, Upper Canada, was in agreement with the importance of this same marrying notion and added *the essential caveat* to it when he wrote to family friend, the Reverend Thomas Radcliff in Dublin in 1831, and included detailed lists of what was absolutely necessary in the way of tools for the newly arrived emigrant to establish himself in Upper Canada. According

to Magrath, essential provisions were more easily attainable prior to embarkation (being dear in manner of cost and availability in Canada) and this apparently included securing that most important of accoutrements,⁴¹ *a wife in Ireland* prior to the trip. In his ‘Warning to Bachelors’, Magrath began:

...I must first admit that I do not recommend single gentlemen to come here... Seriously, I would suggest long and earnest hesitation before they decide on fixing themselves here, as agriculturalists; and I would more strongly advise them (having a shrewd guess at the comforts and advantages of such connexion) to marry before they come out, if they can meet with cheerful, accommodating, and economizing lasses with a little of the needful; indeed whether possessing this last qualification or not, such girls would be in themselves a treasure here. If a smart and pretty widow, under thirty five, with a snug jointure or disposable fortune, with three or four ready made sons and daughters (the riches of the Canadian colonist) be inclined to migrate hither, I pledge myself to provide a mate for her...⁴²

In October of 1830, Mary O’Brien, already an Irishman’s wife in Upper Canada, agreed that the best accompaniment for the prospective emigrant was: “If he comes advise him that an active wife will be worth more to him than anything else except his own industry and honesty.”⁴³ More than thirty years later, Sarah Anne Radcliff informed her brother and his wife in Ireland that “...Willy has no incumbrance but himself and he never will do any good till he has a wife no man does out here.”⁴⁴ Finally, Abraham Topley in Port Hope wrote home to his sister and brother-in-law in Co. Armagh with cautious excitement, seemingly having found Magrath’s ideal in a mate. He asked “your advice on many things I was thinking about looking out for a woman as the people is advising me to marry. I believe I could get one I fell in with a very decent woman last November. She has 50 acres of good land and has the Deed in her own name but she has four children. [Topley then assured his relations that] She is from Cumber below

Belfast... [and] she is about 44 years of age”.⁴⁵ Whether or not Topley succeeded in acquiring his Irish widow is unknown, he closed his correspondence submitting to “whatever the Lord has Layed out for me his will be done”⁴⁶ though procrastination would not have helped his suit, nor that of the widow’s for as “Bridget Lacy” warned Irish friends: “They say no girl, barring she is old and ugly, will stand two months.”⁴⁷ Topley was wise however, to seek the counsel of Irish family members in the contemplation of a mate, for the decision was truly critical as James Heather found out. Writing home to Dungannon, Co. Tyrone in 1837, Heather’s fortunes had decidedly turned and pointing the finger to the source of his problems as a struggling Irish emigrant, Heather stated “I blame nothing else but my second marriage for it, ... am worn to a shadow, my family, my family, please say to Anna we are all well but struggling as every person here is and it is as hard and worse in the States. Many times I wish I never had been born for I have had the worst of luck in wives and all I put my hand to, this to your self – when you write no mention to be made of this as my wife hears the letters”.⁴⁸

The insecurity that came from leaving one’s home and starting anew in a distant and foreign land affected both the emigrant and his or her loved ones left behind in Ireland as letters from both sides of the Atlantic were at pains to show – particularly when it came to reassuring the family regarding that all-important ‘match’ that was now to be made beyond purely local relations. According to David Fitzpatrick, “those that remained in touch with Ireland after marriage struggled to demonstrate that their partners conformed to home requirements. ... Relatives in Ireland would breathe relief upon news of an endogamous union:... [so] emigrants of all religions paraded the credentials of

their spouse⁴⁹ Such was the case for Isabella Wyly, a servant from Dublin, who wrote to her Quaker sister-in-law in Newry, seeking to mollify any qualms or questions regarding her choice “by stressing that her employer and future husband was from ‘your part of Ireland I expect you hav herd of the Name’, and that her own adherence to his Wesleyanism was no apostasy: ‘It does not matter what you ar by Name as long as you belong to that one church that is the church of God, and I hope we are all united to that one.’”⁵⁰ Isabella was careful to express to her family in Ireland that she took the prospect of marriage very seriously, being eager to please both them and God in her choice of mate. “I must tell you... I never shall chance my name unless I do so for the better for I am very happy as I am. I can get many that will have me but I won’t have them so you need not fear but I will Judge well that is with other help. I trust I shall always look to Him who is the Strong for Strength to Gide my steps in to the right path and I am assured I shall never go wrong.”⁵¹ “Mr. Write” as it turned out, “almost perfect in my estimation” according to Isabella, eventually did surface, and it was apparently his Irishness that sealed the deal. “I was determined to have my own country man. It is the first offer I have had from an Irish man but plenty of English which I expect Aunt will tell you of ...”⁵² From “County Tyrone,... respectable... [and] sober”, John William Scott’s qualities - paraded importantly in that order - as Irish, self-employed and a Methodist, secured for himself ‘the match’ where “3 others [had been refused] within the last 3 weeks.”⁵³ This label of origin “carried with it a dossier of assumptions concerning accent, neighbourhood, kin, religion, and morality, allowing those in Ireland to visualize the partner through a stereotype if not as an individual. ... Isabella’s insistence on

Irishness in a husband illustrates the potency of the Protestant Irish culture from which both partners had emerged.”⁵⁴ Identifying herself as a “thorough out & out Irish heart”, Isabella Wyly confirmed to her loved ones back home in Ireland that although she was adjusting to life in her adoptive country, for her, the “perfect little Picture of happiness” was “a comfortable little fire in a comfortable little Cottage... [where] We are all writing to old Ireland round the table.”⁵⁵ Indeed, in the struggle to establish oneself amidst what appeared to be the wide-open possibilities of the colonial setting, interestingly, the best coping mechanism was very often the re-enactment of early modern cultural forms wherein sub-identities – not Britishness – and in this case, Irishness in the form of the famed Irish cottage, served to connect and comfort those far from home.

In the case of Alexander Gordon McClure, the simple fact that he intended to return to Ireland to do so, may account for what Donald Akenson appears to wrestle with: that “thoroughly pragmatic tone... as if he were considering coming home to acquire a really good iron plow or a team of draft horses”⁵⁶ in McClure’s notice to his sisters that Belfast would be the source for his spousal search. Yet an Irish sister-in-law, of local repute, (and of course, Protestant) was perhaps the greatest source of comfort possible for Anna, Emily and Charlotte McClure given the great distance that now separated them from their brother and his welfare. In this sense, McClure’s matter-of-factness is representative of his fulfillment of what may have been regarded as his familial duty. “Could you not send me out a nice little Irish girl with a small fortune?”⁵⁷ asked James Hamilton Twigg, seeking his Co. Tyrone sister’s active participation in the changing of his bachelor status. Twigg was “quite satisfied that I’ll never do any good till I am

married. This deadly loneliness and hard work and hard food is just about killing me by inches and I am really more fit for the hospital than the church. ...a woman out here isn't the costly and useless thing she is at home. These women can turn their hands to everything..."⁵⁸ Duty certainly appears to have been the motivating factor for John Standish, the eldest son of Matthew Standish, one of three brothers (the others, Joseph and Robert) who had emigrated to Lower Canada⁵⁹ in 1818 from Clonohill, Queen's County, Ireland. After his father's death in 1830, John made two trips back to Ireland:

In sending him, his mother seems to have had two hopes: that he would collect some of the debts [owed his father] and that he would find a nice Irish girl to marry. In both, Rebecca was disappointed. Poor John! On his second trip to Ireland, in 1839, he wrote to his mother from Clononan, the farm of his cousin... "I am not married yet nor do not expect to be for the young ladies is so much afraid to go to a Marica on account of the trouble there that I could not get one of them to consent to come – and that is the onely objection they have." One suspects that, if it had not been for the 1837 Rebellion the young ladies would have found another excuse. John does not seem to have [had] much better luck with the money than he had with the girls.⁶⁰

John's mother's disappointment is perhaps best understood in the light of the knowledge that so-called "...exotic unions between Irishwomen and Englishmen [or vice versa] could provoke hints of evil consequences" as is corroborated by the opinion of John McCance, an Irish Protestant farmer who had emigrated from County Down for Australia in 1852. "...having reported the marriage of a girl from Down to an Antrim man [in a positive light, McCance] wrote darkly of her sister that 'I think the other has got a Cornish man I hear or a man from Cornwall in England. Though I have never seen him I have heard yarns told about him'.⁶¹ According to David Fitzpatrick, to "choose a partner from Cornwall,... [or any other non-Irish locale] was to enter an alien network; whereas marriage to another Irish emigrant, however tenuous the connection in terms of

their places of upbringing, offered the important promise of continuity in the New World.”⁶² This is not intended to imply that away from the Homeland, the Irish married strictly Irish, Protestants and Catholics alike keeping to ‘their own kind’, on all accounts. Akenson claims that although concerns from both sides regarding the ‘mixed marriage’, carried over to the diaspora’s recipient countries, intermarriage in the religious as well as the ethnic sense did occur, though the numbers for such hover only around the fifty per cent mark in 1911, a much later period. Akenson summarizes that “the most reasonable interpretation is that Irish-born women married mostly within their own religious and ethnic group, but that a large minority of them did not”. However the figures must be used with caution for they do not account for the myriad of marriages between Irish-born and second and third generation spouses of Irish ethnicity.⁶³ Still, there seems little doubt that it was a boon to a family for a son or daughter to secure their marital future with ‘one of their own sort’. One must admire John Standish’s resolute tone in his appeal to his mother’s understanding about his failed Irish mission for indeed, as Fitzpatrick puts it, “Marriage outside the approved circle... was scarcely something to write home about.”⁶⁴

The notion of endogamy is perhaps best demonstrated by William Perkins Bull’s contrasting depictions of the John Rutledge family of County Fermanagh now Toronto Township in the Home District of Upper Canada upon the upcoming nuptials of their eldest son George to Catherine Nixon and their youngest daughter, Elizabeth to James Phillips in 1840. In the aftermath of the Rebellion and Lord Durham’s Report, the Rutledges joined Irish Protestant friends for celebrations and support in the local tavern where all

would congratulate their old friends and... companions, ...they would slap young George Rutledge on the back, and wink at his father as they rallied the boy on his approaching marriage to Catherine Nixon. John laughed with them to cover his secret pride. Although only twenty-two, his son was already recognized as a leader in the community, and his services during the recent rebellion lent lustre to his brief Orange career. Besides, was it not a fine thing in hard days like those for a man to be getting a wife who sympathized with his Orange convictions and would not always be grumbling for fear he might become embroiled with the authorities?⁶⁵

Contrast this scene with that of daughter Elizabeth's,

John's youngest, [who] was married in 1840, and to a Scottish school-teacher, of all people, whose Orange affiliations were decidedly dubious. Moreover, young James Phillips had some notion of settling on a farm in Oxford county [far from the family 'seat' in 'Orange Peel']. Ere long he realized this dream and Elizabeth was lost to the family circle. While her husband lived, she attended the Church of England, but afterwards returned to Methodism...⁶⁶

Clearly, for some, blood ties to 'neighbours' from the 'ould sod' was a source of strength, security and pride whereas the alternative could mean too great a distance not only between hearts and homes but also heads, as even in Canada, according to his future in-laws, James Philips, regardless of his abilities to provide for their daughter, was Scottish, or more importantly, not Irish, his aspirations extended beyond the local and familiar and therefore raised eyebrows, and even his Protestantism was questionable being other than Orange and perhaps only slightly less threatening, Anglican (and probably of the wrong sort at that – see Chapter 6). Although it is beyond the scope of the present study, there is certainly interesting potential for further study into the notion of abrading Old World identities in the New from a much more intimate standpoint, that of marriage – or 'mixed' marriages more accurately - for as we have seen, Mary Gapper O'Brien was almost daily made aware of the 'Irishisms' her husband seemed to ooze, enough to journal them repeatedly, and yet earlier, upon the prospect of marriage to Edward O'Brien, she had

“the certainty that I should receive in return the possession of a heart capable of entering into all my views and feelings and attached to me an affection so exactly suited to my own humour that I sometimes almost fancy that I must myself have dictated it...”⁶⁷ She may indeed have dictated it herself, for although by all accounts their marriage seemed a successful one, it certainly exhibited intriguing tensions within Mary’s own expressions of contrasting, Old World identities. Such a project however, would be entirely reliant upon the existence of collections of the most private of letters, those between married couples, who happened to not only defy the majority trend to marry within their own ethnic cohort but also speak directly to their ethnic differences as Mary O’Brien did – a daunting task in the least.

For emigrants to the New World and even for their offspring (as it seemed to be with Elizabeth Routledge who chose a Scottish husband) it is obvious that in some cases, “...well-being was not so easily achieved. Without the human companionship provided by networks of relatives and friends, the emigrant could not become a settler. The letters... [from many emigrants to relatives back home] illuminate the search for companions, and the desire of most writers to demonstrate that even in the colonies their social networks were of Irish fabric.”⁶⁸ For Thomas and Frances Stewart, the desire to replicate neighbourhood networks in Canada could at times, overcome even long-standing traditional Irish prejudices. Even though the Stewarts had emigrated with family, Robert and Maria Reid, being Thomas’ brother-in-law and sister from White Abbey on Belfast Lough, and Irish servants and had settled near to one another in Douro, their great sense of isolation coupled with lack of success in farming and civil service had

led to plans to remove to Cobourg until Peter Robinson's Irish Catholic Immigrants were located nearby in 1825. Thomas wrote that with the news of 2000 assisted Irish emigrants to settle in the area, "At once we gave up every idea of removing, the clouds dispersed, all our difficulties seemed over".⁶⁹ In a letter to her cousin and governess, Harriet Beaufort in Ireland, Frances' previously melancholic tone was encouraged by the news that "Mr. Robinson has formed an encampment of Irish emigrants at Scott's [Plains] and it is quite a gay place, he is a native of Halifax and is I hear very gentlemanlike: he lives in the midst of his Paddies in a grand tent: they are all in huts round him and every day parties are sent out to their land, several are placed in this township: they are all from the South of Ireland and have hitherto conducted themselves well. They will be settled five and six miles behind us."⁷⁰ This was apparently too close for the comfort of some of the older settlers in Upper Canada who objected to the placing of so many Irish Catholics on tracts of land in Douro, outside the "good example" afforded by English and Scottish settlers, an opinion which Thomas Stewart countered (at the request of the immigrants' priest, Father James Crowley) in a well-circulated letter of July 1826. "I am here in the very midst of them; from 20 to 30 pass my door almost daily. ... In general they are making great exertions in clearing land; and their efforts have astonished many of the old settlers. Not one complaint has been made against them... and it is the general opinion that when so large a body of people are brought together none could conduct themselves better."⁷¹ As Patrick O'Farrell describes, "blown out and adrift from the centre of the old Irish world, migrants grouped themselves around such fractured fragments of familiarity as they could assemble in their new lands."⁷² Therefore, despite the fact that

the Stewart's new neighbours were from "the worst parts of Ireland... [and they believed that there] must be a few black sheep amongst them," they felt "fortunate" that Robinson had chosen "this place" for their location.⁷³ In this case, the Stewart's Protestantism did not interfere with their hopeful and very public support of their fellow Irish countrymen. They stood foremost as Irish intermediaries between a very English and Scottish vanguard of settlement and what appeared for a time to be the very Irish and Catholic future of Douro. With "...the semblance of a village near the mill that included the Rev James Crowley,... a surgeon, Dr. Reade and his wife, and craftsmen such as a shoemaker, a carpenter, mason and baker", and "plans for an Anglican Church and a school,... some prospects for [a] social life..." came with the expanding neighbourhood network in the Douro clearings, and so the Stewarts stayed.⁷⁴

The questions that arise from the seemingly unlikely choice that the Stewarts made to become neighbours alongside people who Frances, as well as many of her Irish Protestant contemporaries, viewed as "Paddies" is answered by the Reverend Thomas Radcliff of Roscommon County, a contemporary of Frances' who edited and had published, the letters of his emigrant sons, Thomas and William, in Dublin in 1833. Radcliff explained that the loss of 'thick neighbourhoods' in Ireland could be somewhat mitigated despite how

Deep and heartfelt will be the sigh of regret – bitter the tear of affection, at leaving home, and relations and friends, perhaps for ever!! – ... should... many near and dear friends be induced to swell the groups that emigrate... – the gloom would disappear – the change of country be... reconciled by the active occupations of the new settlement, and the anticipation of its eventual prosperity. As this applies to settlers of a higher grade, well connected and well educated, it may be asked – Is there not, to persons thus circumstanced, something repulsive in the idea of encountering the wild forest, and the society, if any, of persons whose customs,

habits, manners, and education, so widely differ from all that they were taught to admire and approve? – The answer is – the wilder the forest the more exempt from such society, unless persons of that description become fellow settlers - ...
„75

As the first Europeans to settle Douro, the Stewarts could not have encountered forests much ‘wilder’ and therefore the prospect of replicating an Irish neighbourhood – even a mostly Catholic one – was enough for them to make common cause with Robinson’s immigrants and ‘press on’ in the bush. According to Wendy Cameron, the sponsors of assisted Irish emigration banked on as much, and specifically chose a more isolated stretch of relatively unsettled Newcastle in an effort to avoid the tensions that accompanied the 1823 settlement in the Bathurst District. “This move not only reduced the possibility of conflict, but also made a welcome more certain among people who were looking for any form of settlement to open up the district. Robinson’s settlers later received credit for starting the area north of Rice Lake on the way to prosperity.”⁷⁶

Still, Radcliff described such arrangements as “an unpleasant alternative” to government sanctioned sales of blocks of land in the same township to migrating chains of Irish emigrants, “thus putting it within their power to exclude strangers, with whom it might not be agreeable to associate.”⁷⁷ He reasoned, “Whoever reflects upon what is termed society or good neighbourhood in the country parts of Ireland, must be disposed to acknowledge its fluctuation, drawbacks, and defects; and... to allow some degree of attraction to that, which under the late regulation, may now be formed in Upper Canada.”⁷⁸ As poor tenants now assisted-immigrants, seeking to ‘escape’ an economically hard-hit and troubled region of Ireland, Peter Robinson’s Irish would certainly have fit Radcliff’s description of ‘an unpleasant alternative’ from the

perspective of the Stewarts who had come from families of landed gentry. However, the Stewarts in their situation had already been forced to acknowledge those ‘fluctuation, drawbacks, and defects’ in their isolated neighbourhood and despite the significant class distinction that separated them from their new Irish neighbours they chose to be neighbourly. It is possible that Thomas Stewart’s position as a second son whose ventures in Ireland in the textile business had been bankrupted and Frances’ experience of having been thrown upon the mercy of distant relatives at the age of 2 after her father’s sudden death and mother’s subsequent incapacity, had somewhat mitigated their pretensions already, before the harshness of the backwoods and removal of their servants, humbled them even further. Perhaps not inexplicably then, the news of so many neighbours descending upon Douro was welcomed by the Stewarts – even if they were of the ‘other’ sort of Irish. According to Edward E. Hale, writing his Letters on Irish Emigration in 1852, the desire to replicate sense of place was a particularly Irish characteristic. He explained: “The clannish spirit of the Irish... attracts them at once to persons to whom they have the slightest tie of consanguinity or neighbourhood. For instance, it is within my own observation that in the winter of 1850-51, fourteen persons, fresh from Ireland, came in on the cabin-hospitality of a woman in Worcester, because she was the cousin of one of the party – all of whom had sailed together. I need not allude to the jealousy with which they regard persons of other factions than their own, or from distant parts of Ireland.”⁷⁹

Illustration 4 - THE PROGRESS OF 'THE GREEN'

General Summary

No	Township	No of Locations	No of acres cleared	Produce raised in year			Wheat - 1/2 bushels	Sugar - 1/2 bushels	Purchased by themselves		
				Wheat - 1/2 bushels	Flour - 1/2 bushels	Indian Corn - 1/2 bushels			Oxen	Cows	Hogs
1	Devere	60	2457	8257	4175	1777	802	1159	11	18	22
2	Smile	34	1137	4800	1550	637	402	889	6	7	21
3	Stonabee	57	186	10500	4250	1395	38	1419	4	13	11
4	Emily	142	3572	22200	7700	3442	442	2880	6	10	47
5	Erwinmore	67	195	8900	3600	1042	442	1330	4	9	10
6	Asphalted	36	173	9157	2850	1722	86	1345	2	8	32
7	Marmora	6	35	1198	548	207	2	45	5	4	7
8	Cyp	7	12	800	100	"	2	"	"	"	2
9	Ramsay	5	39	800	750	120	16	"	2	4	8
10	Gouldsboro	4	18	600	500	10	2	"	"	3	1
11	Hewley	3	182	600	200	75	7	"	"	4	5
	Total	415	13862	67,799	25,622	10,435	363	9067	40	80	166

Actual State of the Settlement on the 24th Novr 1826

Peter Robinson's "General Summary" on the "Actual State of the Settlement on the 24th Novr. 1826"

Irish Protestants, Frances and Thomas A. Stewart very publicly supported the largely Irish Catholic settlers in Peter Robinson's 1825 emigrant group. Their faith in their fellow countrymen proved well founded: the new neighbours stayed and quite obviously prospered (as Robinson's Report indicates) despite local distrust and dismay over the influx of so much 'Green'.

From Trent University Archives, Peter Robinson's Report, 92-1001.

Emigrant Henry Johnson of Antrim, newly arrived in Canada West in 1848 knew that the notion of an Irish neighbourhood would encourage his wife Jane McConnell Johnson to brave the Atlantic crossing herself and join him at Quebec for the journey west. Despite the warning for her to “Bring the gun with you and be sure to Prepare yourself well every way”, Henry reassured Jane that unlike the ‘Yankees’, ‘rascals’ whose religion, respect and refinement he doubted, “The people of Canada are quite different. They are all Scotch and North of Ireland people, homely and civil in this part. When I came into it first I felt almost as if I was getting home again.”⁸⁰ ‘Getting home again’: seeking out Irish acquaintances and ‘neighbourhood’ in Canadian wildernesses alleviated the fears of both the emigrant and his or her Irish cohort who navigated these new worlds through the words of their traveling loved one. “Pictured amidst familiar faces, the emigrant seemed secure within an Irish group that would cajole the wanderer into acting responsibly. ... [Letters] illuminate the importance of old acquaintances as a buffer between the emigrant and the unknown.”⁸¹ Indeed, it was the Irish-born, Canadian-settled, cousin to a friend that apparently saved Jane Johnson from total despair in the absence of her “Dear and Beloved Husband

... I have nearly broak my heart thinking long about you being in a Strange and wild Country but I hope you have got the worst over you. I am glad to hear of you meeting with such a friend as I believe Mr. James Barber to be. He is from Antrim I believe. You say he is Cousin to Mr. James Philips. ... Mr. James Philips has got Married and... he was thinking of going out on Business to Quebeck. ... He says anything he can do for me he will be happy to do it for me. He Says you are in good hands when you are in the hands of Mr. J. Barber. He believes him to be a Methodist.⁸²

More than a decade earlier, similar benefits of connection had been experienced by Rebecca Radcliff who wrote to her father-in-law in Dublin that her passage from Quebec

to Montreal on the St. Lawrence steamboat had been made far more comfortable by “The ladies’ maid, a remarkably nice person, [who] was from the north of Ireland; she recollected your son Stephen and his family there, and paid us, in consequence, the greatest attention.”⁸³ Once in Montreal, Rebecca found that

The proprietor of the hotel... is an Italian, my sister recollected him at Lord Lorton’s, as butler. His wife is an Irish woman, whom Dr. Phillips had known. From both we received more than common civility. We are fortunate in meeting so many that know who we are, and are the more disposed to show us attention. It is very agreeable, in a foreign land, to meet even with those whom we have known merely as acquaintances; what, then, would be the delight at again seeing those dear, dear *friends* we have left so far away? There is a pleasure in the anticipation, however improbable, that I can never abandon, nor consent to part with the cheering hope that it will yet be realized.⁸⁴

Once again, issues of class could be laid aside, if temporarily, in the recognition that even ‘mere acquaintances’ could be ‘very agreeable’ in the absence of one’s peers, (their ‘dear, dear friends’) by those seeking the comforts of the way things were at home. By the end of the year, having arrived in Adelaide, Rebecca’s husband William repeated his wife’s hope that although they did not “feel at home here yet”, with the township filling up, they would “shortly have a thicker neighbourhood than any I know of, in the country parts of Ireland.”⁸⁵

In reality, the desire of new settlers to combine with a social circle of expatriates in Canada was sometimes reflected more on paper than it was geographically on township grids. This was the case with what became known early on as the ‘Irish Block’, being the southeast quarter of Esquesing Township, as far north as Lot 17 and as far west as the east half of Concession 6. In 1818, 50 heads of Irish Protestant families met with longtime acquaintance, James Buchanan, an Omagh, County Tyrone man, now Consul to the

British Government in New York City to see about establishing “an ornament to society”⁸⁶ - an all-Irish Protestant community in Esquesing Township, Upper Canada, which resulted in a delegation and petition to the authorities in York some weeks later. “Your Excellency’s Petitioners are directed... to state to your Excellency that they have a number of friends and relatives now living in Ireland in good circumstances which are anxious to sell off their property and emigrate to this Colony should they be encouraged to become settlers as near as possible to the said applicants.”⁸⁷ With the promise that 5100 acres would be reserved for this ‘New Ireland’, the expected 150 families, formed in various parties, would have envisioned a colony of some size, including schools and churches and other amenities, reflecting an Irish Protestant way of life.⁸⁸ The dream of an Irish expanse however, was reduced to a mere block when the government, apparently having changed its tune, heaped the usual allocations of Clergy and Crown Reserves on top of “privileged grants” – which, combined, ate into an already inexplicably reduced Irish reservation of only 3200 acres. Conceivably, the anticipation of too-large a block of Irish Protestant territory *a la* Chapter 4 may have convinced the government to impose the kind of controls that saw a portion of the original petitioners settled in nearby Toronto Township and “one solitary Irish settler of 1819, Thomas Joyce from the Parish of Seagoe, County Armagh, a member of the Church of Ireland, receive... a location in the heart of the Scotch Block – Concession 4, Lot 7 East ½ ...” an anomaly that J.R. Houston identifies as either a “bold preference” or “some ghastly error in the Surveyor General’s Office at York”, and then reassuringly, “...the Joyce family remained on their grant throughout the 19th century, Irish and Anglican”.⁸⁹ Still, as Bruce Elliott has made

clear, the Irish emphasis on the importance of the family structure translated into the Irish migrant's use of family as a mechanism for emigration throughout the nineteenth century (as seen through the prevalence of chain migration in the creation of some large and distinctively Irish Protestant communities that could boast of Radcliff's ideal: the 'power to exclude strangers'). "As early as 1819, multilateral kinship links provided the prospective emigrant with a choice of settlement locations in Canada where there were relatives or acquaintances."⁹⁰

Having established an Irish neighbourhood, which was in the interest of both Irishmen and Irishwomen, *remaining Irish* in the new place, according to Houston, who uses the example of the Standish family in Esquesing as demonstrative of ethnic patterns common to the community, was the special consideration of women. During the 60 years following Joseph Standish's arrival in Upper Canada from Queen's County, Ireland, 46 of his descendants married, and a full 38 of these were to fellow Protestant Irish families. Where Standish's daughters' and granddaughters' rate of endogamy was 95%, his sons' and grandsons' was 71%. "In this regard, the female descendants of Joseph Standish were more traditional than the males. ... The women... seem to have found it easier to accept a husband of a different religious denomination [though within Protestantism] than one whose people were not Irish. [Where] 13 ignored sectarian differences, [8 remained true to the family's Church of Ireland roots and] only one left the Irish fold":⁹¹

The partial 1842 census returns for Esquesing would suggest that the ethnic pattern of the Standish marriages was a common pattern in the community as a whole at that date. The returns cover 335 households. Of these only 20 households contained natives of more than one of, England, Scotland and Ireland. The 20 were made up as follows: Ireland and Scotland, 11; Ireland and England, five; Scotland and England, four. If anything can be deduced from these figures,

it would seem that [contrary to the view that they blended too easily into English society] the Protestant-Irish were in no special position of social isolation. In 1842 the large majority of households in the township were composed of persons of a single ethnic group. ... When it came to marriage, by and large, the Irish married the Irish and continued to do so until late in the century.⁹²

Recalling the words of the aforementioned Isabella Wyly, the Standish daughters seem also to have been determined to ‘have their countrymen’ and this undoubtedly had much to do with the fact that their part of Esquesing Township “long retained its Irish character.”⁹³

For Frances Stewart, it was letters from home and connections in Ireland that kept her Irish character from fading into a Canadian wilderness where Spring came late and Winter, early – “How different from Ireland” she wrote in dismay, seeking some semblance of her former Irish life and self.

Indeed all my pursuits are so completely changed that I scarcely can help thinking that I have been changed by some Evil Fairy for no people could be so totally different as Fanny Browne of Dublin and Fanny Stewart of Douro – except that my dear friends are the same – and equally fond and tender. – Oh this makes me know most exquisitely that I am Fanny Browne still. ... Letters ARE ALSO delightful restoratives – and always have very instantaneous effect tho’ I must say my pleasure is always blended with a good deal of apprehension on first breaking the seals. I hope soon to see one of your fine folios make its appearance – you have much to tell me about all the different branches into which your family is now divided. – So pray indulge me soon – begin at the root and tell me about home [Fanny’s emphasis] and all its inmates – and about all you like to tell me, of what you do, say and think of, nothing of that sort can be uninteresting...⁹⁴

Another testament to the leveling tendency of the New World, Frances clung to a sense of place – centered not in her new reality, but in Ireland – so that she might still recognize herself for ‘who’ she was and might be now, through the people from whence she came. This retaining of Irish roots: the insatiable desire of news from home and the hanging on to, and repetition of every written word was apparently not just the prerogative of the

immigrant generation. Stafford Kirkpatrick, who emigrated from Coolmine, County Dublin, and settled in Kingston and then Peterborough as a Barrister at Law and later a Judge, demonstrated to his brother Alexander, in Dublin in 1834, his pride in his young female relation who, as the next generation, apparently understood the importance of the Irish connection and provided promise for its survival in the future. He boasted: “Marianne often talks of her Irish cousins indeed she has a most excellent memory for a child of 3½ she can rattle out the names of every individual of your Coolmine circle and all the Rothwell children as fast as she can speak.”⁹⁵ This was the result of the kind of memory lesson that the matriarch of the Standish family would really have appreciated. Having emigrated from Ireland to Esquesing Township in 1818, Mary Sawyer Standish made it her last request in 1867 that each of her surviving children as well as those of her Standish in-laws in Quebec, be given copies of the Family Record – the births and deaths of those who came before – the story of how Ireland came to Canada, which was honoured by her grandson, Joseph Gerald, who meticulously made copies in an elegant hand and saw that they were distributed. That Joseph Gerald’s own grandson would later do the same and that from this, Canadian Standishes would be in correspondence with other branches of the Standish family in Ireland is a testament to both Mary Sawyer’s and her descendants’ commitment to the transatlantic connection.⁹⁶ Mary’s sister-in-law, Rebecca Stanley Standish of Queen’s County, Ireland and Rougemont, Quebec, perhaps overly exaggerated the very real sentiment when she was “asked as an old lady whether she had ever regretted leaving Ireland and replied, “Every day of my life!””⁹⁷ The Standish women’s pride in Irish Protestant roots and the determination to preserve them is

best represented however, by the ‘treasured’ piece of Irish lace in the family collection and the shawl that came with the family from Ireland and most telling, the hand stitched sampler, done by Charlotte Standish, Mary’s daughter, in 1844 at the age of twenty which combined both faith and fatherland in one artistic expression. Through the heart of the carefully stitched piece, runs a line of prominent shamrocks surrounded by what are conceivably stylized lilies, which together, serve as ornament to her personal mission statement:

A charge to keep I have
 A god to glorify
 A never-dying soul to save
 And fit it for the sky
 To serve the present age
 My calling to fulfil
 O may it all my powers engage
 To do my master’s will.⁹⁸

These fabrics of the family, the remnants of an Irish Protestant material culture, reveal that the ties that bound the hearts and minds of the emigrant and subsequent generations to the ‘ould sod’ and to the faith, were in many instances, female productions.

Hugh Maxwell knew as much when he wrote home to his family in 1886 with detailed travel instructions for his brother James who was about to follow in his footsteps. While the letter is directed toward the perusal of the entire family, one small but important section calls upon a single member and comes on the heels of Hugh’s advice for James’ shipboard apparel. It reads: “By the way Mary don’t let him forget the “sprigs of scheilleagh”. I want a stick badly.”⁹⁹ Hugh knew to direct his sentiment toward his sister whom he knew he could count on to not only understand, but see to the planting of something so solidly Irish and meaningful in the new country. In the underrepresentation

or absence of female emigrant letter writing in the nineteenth century and the subsequent bias inherent in the very gendered-nature of epistolary evidence, it is all the more important that historians give due consideration to those aspects of the transatlantic connection that were the mainstay of women. In this case, Hugh very obviously entrusted the emotional role of maintaining the family connection to his sister whereas he had entirely directed the economic role – the information required for Hugh to properly guide James' path – to his brother. According to Wolfgang Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner in their study: "How Representative are Emigrant Letters?", "this latter function [Hugh's brotherly advice] belonged primarily to the "man's world": all the familiar price lists for land, farm animals, agricultural products or store goods; elaborate accounts of weather, climate, and harvests; information on transportation, schools and churches; not to mention... inherited money and distributing it"¹⁰⁰ were topics that generally fell into the male realm along with accounts of war or political upheavals. Finding this evidence of not only more opportunity for education for nineteenth century males, but also the role of women, Helbich and Kamphoeffner admit that even in this case, the wife might have been counted on to "add some lines on family matters."¹⁰¹ Much has been made of the value of so-called 'male world' information in the encouragement of chain migration and the subsequent continued flow of Irish emigrants to their loved ones far away, but relatively little has been said regarding the role that Mary Standish's Family Record or her daughter's sampler or Mary Maxwell's sprig of shillelagh may have played in the keeping of their families not only together, but still tied to the homeland. This, despite Eric Richards admission that the "emigrant letter was

sometimes a channel of information but more often a channel of solidarity and consolation. Most of their correspondence was contained within “the little kingdom of the family” and its radius was mainly defined by the functions of the letter. Emigrant letters, unless they were negotiating family reunification, were mainly about reassurance and domestic news.”¹⁰² Presumably it follows, that any given wife’s few ‘lines on family matters’ were of greater importance to her female relatives at a distance than they might have been to said letter’s male recipients. Surely this aspect of women’s history – the role that Irish women played in ‘Being Colleen’ – fits into Richards’ “certain aspects of emigration analysis into which only the emigrant letter can penetrate” beyond merely serving as “illustrative documentation”, “individual insight”, “narrative colouring” or “windows into the lives of ordinary folk”.¹⁰³ Indeed, it was the ‘small things’ of women as Frances Stewart was to call them, that taken together, reveal a much larger identity that maintained in its cultural baggage, those aspects of a premodern sense of Irishness – the traditional craft of Irish point, hand-woven linen, carved blackthorn sticks, hand-written Irish births, marriages and deaths – that became all the more important and representative now, amongst strangers in a far away land.

In 1824 Frances Stewart wrote home to Harriet Beaufort with a rather ‘tongue-in-cheek’- lamentation that in place of “all those interesting books and having time to read them”, she had become “a famous Tailor!” with imported materials from home. The result of her efforts had somehow made her husband even more Irish than he was in the first place. “I have just made up a nice pair of frieze pantaloons for Tom and am to make him a waistcoat of the same material. I think then he will be a complete Paddy – he is so

fond of this frieze that he is determined to have a whole suit of it and it is very comfortable in this climate.”¹⁰⁴ Fanny’s frieze, a coarse, shaggy woolen material common in Ireland, was just one of the items that crossed the Atlantic between Irishwomen along with locks of hair, pieces of sentimental fabrics, sprigs of shamrock, seeds and botanic samples, sermons of note, progress reports on Protestant missions at home, newspapers detailing Irish politics, photographs, sketches, diagrams of the latest hairstyles, and fancy goods such as Limerick Lace and Irish Point which enabled Dublin fashion to be paraded in Douro. Thanking Harriet for gifts received from Ireland, Frances described how, even 26 years after sailing from Ireland, “...many ready hands were stretched to receive each article and lay it on the table... shirts, sheets, shoes, parcels, bundles, boxes – all were laid on the table – but not in silence I assure you. You never hear such gabbing and exclaiming – such running and tramping backwards and forwards - ...in the pleasure of opening the Dublin box!”¹⁰⁵

After joining her husband in Canada in 1836, Margaret Carrothers wrote several years later from London, Upper Canada, encouraging her mother to make the journey herself with the remittance pay she sent home. Part of her enticement was the reassurance that her mother could look the part of the Irish lady even on the frontier. Although Margaret requested her mother bring the latest patterns of capes, sleeves, cloaks, and bonnets she delighted that “... Dress of every kind is worn the same here as with you only much richer and gayer... ...this has become a very fashionable place you would see more silks worn here in one day than you would see in Maguiresbridge in your lifetime and could not tell the difference between the Lady and the Servant Girl as it is not

uncommon for her to wear a Silk Cloak and Boa and Muff on her hands and her Bonnet ornamented with artificial flowers and veil".¹⁰⁶ Margaret too, though perhaps with some exaggeration, had been struck by the leveling tendency of the New World. Regardless of the class of the woman who wore them, many of these materials, so precious to those who received them, especially if they had been touched by the fingers of loved ones far away, are representative of women's work, interests and sentiments, and as such, in the absence of quantities of letters from female immigrants, must be considered, like the Standish Sampler, for their informative qualities. The Fife collar and cuffs provide a similar case in point. William Fife of the parish Magheracross, Fermanagh, the father of Nixon and Faithy Fife, "devout Protestants" who left Ireland in 1859, was the means by which Faithy could look the part of an Irishwoman despite having left her beloved Ireland; her mother and friends keeping her in Fermanagh fashion through William's letters to daughter and son respectively in the early 1860s:

My Dear Fathy I am Glad to hear that you are Comfortable and well Content in that Country Far from home. I know you have not Forgot home yet. My Dear Child it is hard hard Work to Forget. I feel it So, the Native Soil how strangely sweet where first we Breathed who can Forget with Flowing eyes, yet with a thankful heart that you have Escaped as a Bird from the snare of the Fowler.

Tell Fathy that the collars worn here now is very shallow and that Mother Bought the stamp and Fanny Johnston wrought it. There was no time to Bleach it. ... Mother will Send her a pair of Cuffs a match for the Collar she sent her. If John and George goes, tell Fathy to not be loth to send for any thing that we could send her.¹⁰⁷

Such was a boon for Faithy, to have a network of concerned friends and family, keepers of her Irish identity, ready and willing to connect her to her homeland via the material goods – more than trinkets - they sent. Isabella Wyly, the former Dublin servant,

confirmed this when she pointed out how essential the traffic in home goods was by describing to her widowed sister-in-law how “Aunt E liked her Collar so much. I am sure it was very kind of you, but you do not know how we prize them.”¹⁰⁸ News from Ireland was equally treasured. Isabella wished to “express how delight[te]d we all weare to hear from you, for our connexion is so small the news so[o]n goes round. I often think if our friends in dear old Ireland knew the excitement and delight letters and Papers [“send me an Irash one for it is a treat to see the news...”] caused when we receive them here, the[y] would write much oftener than the[y] do.”¹⁰⁹ In turn, Isabella sent home “a piece of deer Thomases hair” so that her young niece could follow her example and have a hair brooch made in memory of her recently deceased brother in Ireland, something that Fitzpatrick claims was “always a powerful token of personal identity.”¹¹⁰ Still, it was not enough, and perhaps in response to her “only wish [that] we could get home and back so easy”, Isabella requested “the Register of my Fathers Family the Births” after her brother’s death along with “a few more Vewse of Ireland... I should like Dublin as I know more about it...” in the hope of some recompense to her distress: “Oh I should like to see, dear Old Ireland once more before I die. I hope I shall.”¹¹¹ Isabella Wyly, former Dublin servant, and Frances Stewart, daughter to the Dean of Elphin and granddaughter to the Vicar of St. Andrew’s, Dublin, despite their class distinctions, were both Irishwomen who in new worlds, had very similar perspectives on the importance of the written family record, the memory of Dublin, and the ‘dearness’ in the absence of its ‘nearness’, of Ireland.

Writing in 1845 to Frances Stewart’s daughter Ellen, Sarah Anne Peebles in Dublin agreed to be the conveyance by which Fanny’s daughter would enjoy a

specifically Irish garden outside of her newly built Canadian home. Having seen a drawing of Ellen's home, sent to Irish friends, Peebles was intrigued by Canadian occupations and acquaintances and in return, she offered a piece of Ireland to Canada. She queried: "Have you many wild flowers different from our Irish ones and have you all the Irish flowers growing in your garden which we would have here. If there are any flowers which you have not got we might send the seeds to you next year."¹¹² Even more noteworthy than Ellen's interest in tending an Irish garden in Canada is the declaration that Peebles made to Ellen in yet another letter, which, despite it being the fragmented middle portion of an incomplete letter, conveys the point that Irish relatives and friends considered the second generation of Irish Canadians, the children of their emigrant friends and family, to be Irish too. After a lengthy description of the work of the Irish Society along the Dingle Peninsula and its progress in converting Roman Catholics to Protestantism, Peebles apologized: "I am afraid I have tired you with this long dissertation on Ireland etc. but I should hope that as an Irishwoman you..."¹¹³ [here the letter ends, the latter portion (but not the point of identification) being lost.] Peebles' 'long dissertation on Ireland' was probably exactly the sort of thing to interest Ellen: seven years following, Ellen, along with her husband and child, Mary, spent a year in Ireland connecting with her mother's relatives and friends. It is apparent that Irish Protestant emigrant women, much like their more celebrated Catholic sisters, did not cease to be Irish when they reached Canadian shores and neither did their daughters.

Frances Stewart was obviously pleased to foster Irish attachments in her sons too. In 1853, some three decades after her own departure from Ireland, Frances was mediary

in the communication between her Canadian-born sons and her Aunt Susan Sutton in Clonghill, Ireland, whose letter she had passed on to her son, Charles. Frances' delight is almost palpable as she describes the second generation's interest in things of Home:

He prizes any letter from his kind Irish relations more than I can tell you and both he and George are always wishing for some reasonable excuse for writing to you in hopes of receiving an answer – Charles has the most wonderful love for his fatherland and for his kindred there – and lives in hopes of accompanying George sometime or other across the Atlantic to visit their relatives and see some of the wonders of the Old World – ... He is wonderfull anxious to know any thing he can about my Father – and has requested me to write and ask you and Aunt Waller to tell me everything you can – all particulars of his life and death – his college life and his age when he died – and if he had been promised a Bishoprick or not - ...he has repeatedly asked me as a great favour to procure for him any of my father's papers – sermons As Manuscripts which were to be had – But... much as I would value them I could hardly ask ... for them – but will be very thankful for any particulars you can give me about my father, of whom I have always been too much in the dark -¹¹⁴

Charles too would visit Ireland, his 'fatherland' according to his mother, in the years to come. Frances' treasured and longtime connection to all the news of Ireland - her relations having touched on all subjects including: Irish mission societies, land agitations, the robbery of the Derry Mail, 'duties' on corn and distilling, the riotous toasts of the Beefsteak Club against Lord Wellesley, the mud at Waterloo being no "pleasanter" than Irish mud, O'Connell's speeches and the '40 shilling freeholders', Church reforms, the "rotten vegetables" of 1847, gentry without rents, the Church Spoilation Bill, Maynooth's students becoming Trinity College, Dublin's, and the threat to Ireland of 'Puseyism' had become the property of her children too. News to and from Ireland would continue even after Frances' death and extend to the third generation of Stewart grandchildren as is evidenced by Frances' sister's letter to her namesake Kate, Frances' daughter, wherein Catherine Kirkpatrick assured her sister's children that "...You are all very good in

writing to the old Irish Auntie and I prize all your letters and you cannot please me more than in telling me all about yourselves and children...”¹¹⁵ It is these kinds of connections, the passing on of intimate family details and confirmations of familial love in the absence of one another’s presence, which often colour the correspondence of emigrant women – rare though this source may be. Frances kept her female relatives in Ireland updated and fed on the most personal of information, even down to providing the respective heights of her daughters as they grew beyond the gaze of loved ones far away. In a letter tellingly, to her “Aunts and sisters”, Fanny satisfied their curiosity regarding the physical well-being of her girls in the backwoods (“You ask how high your 3 nieces are –”) with the most Irish of responses when she boasted that “AM [Anna Maria] is 3.7, Ellen is 3.1 and Bess *heen* 2.4 and a qr.”¹¹⁶ Using both an Irish equation of worth with weight or height¹¹⁷ and an Irish term of endearment for her youngest girl: adding “een” to the end of a word to denote smallness and affection, Frances kept in touch with family afar in a manner that was less common in male correspondence which was perhaps more likely to include the heights of grain prices or the quality of the land to be had. Frances explained that it was this “communicating [of] those small incidents – which keep up our close union – so much more than the mere mentioning of subjects which perhaps might be of more importance in the opinion of many – but to me the smallest ones are most precious – and which I think may be considered the ‘pith and marrow’ of love and friendship between members of one family – and which take away much of the pang of feeling separated from those we love best – it always seems so lonely to think “If I were now at home I should hear and know all the little things going on”.¹¹⁸

Frances Stewart's concern for the details formed the basis of an attachment to her homeland that had an equally strong connection on the other end in Ireland, supported and encouraged by her female relatives. The fact that her Irish relatives could literally trace her steps in the New World through the acquisition of a most treasured map of Upper Canada and that at the very least, they had the assurance that each night, they gazed at the same moon, was proof that physical comfort and connection was possible in the absence of one's sight, sound and touch. Not only was Ireland re-created in Canada, but Canada could also become part of the extended Irish neighbourhood. In an early letter, penned by three of Frances' female relatives in Ireland, Frances' sister Catherine Browne Kirkpatrick wrote in her part from the Clong(h)ill Rectory:

Writing to you my best loved and only sister is one of my greatest pleasures, next to devouring over and over one of your's – Oh how I long and sigh for the next. ... Surely we shall soon have news and news from your own Chateau at The Bush Douro – We have got the same Map of Upper Canada that Francis sent you, but neither Cobourg or Douro are mentioned but as you know the same, you can tell exactly where they are – we have fixed upon the little crooked river which divides Rice Lake from the Shallow Lakes to be the Otonabee. Are we right? Or are we near it? Are we warm at all as to situation? However the same Map is certainly better than looking at the same Moon at the same time – My dear, Aunt Susan sent all the way to London for it and it is come and we know your awful journey from Quebec up to York upon it – This same was a comfort. ... Oh how I long for your next letter telling all about your Log House – I think it may be comfortable and not too damp when you inhabit it – have you Grates in it or do you burn the fire on the Hearth - ...don't forget to send me a drawing of your Habitation and also my sweet little Bessy's Hair and don't want for franks or opportunities, because I want to have it and must have it and so send it and write very soon my darling love and tell us whereabouts Douro is – is it at the Durham or Northumberland side of Rice Lake – I hope I shall see it... one of these days, if it pleases God to spare us all life and health - ...¹¹⁹

David Fitzpatrick's study of Irish immigrant letters and reference to contemporary letter writing manuals, confirm the notion that "...women were more inclined to express

intimacy than men, and to use warmer phrases when doing so.”¹²⁰ This may explain in part, Fanny’s rather indirect chastisement of her son in a letter to his daughter, her granddaughter, Harriet (named for the Irish connection), wherein she expressed obvious disappointment in the frequency if not the content of her son’s correspondence, while at the same time delighting in her granddaughter’s taking up of the pen:

You are improving very much in writing and I think you will soon write as nicely as Mama. But you should not wait for Papa to send your letters for he is too slow – I am glad you did not wait longer – Mamma is a much better medium for that purpose. Do you know that papa has not written to me since the 22nd of last October? - six months very nearly! – don’t you think that if he were as far from you – that you would write to him oftener – dear Mamma has written me three letter since I had one from him.¹²¹

It seems the son took after the father. Over twenty years earlier, Frances had written apologetically for her husband in response to a letter he had received from an acquaintance in Ireland, but to which *she* now penned the reply. She explained “...he never was a letter writer in his best days – and now is ten times worse – for he never takes a pen into his hand and generally employs me if possible – so now he says the same – and I must try to thank our kind friend in our united names – and to beg that he will not let it prevent his writing occasionally – though he may not receive epistolary answers.”¹²²

Despite her husband’s multitude of ‘busy days’, Frances begged for the homeland connection – even those of her husband’s - to be maintained. Alexander Robb seemed to recognize a gender distinction when it came to letter writing in a reply to his sister from New Westminster in 1863, one year after his emigration from their Ballybeen, County Down home. Robb, impressed by his sister’s letter writing ability as a sign of her maturation in his absence, is even more impressed upon by her communication of the

things that seem to matter. Alexander implored his sister, Susanna, to “never make any excuses about letter writing any more for I declare to you that it is a very long time indeed since I received a letter either better written or better expressed. Remembering that I expect you to correspond with me regularly after this and I will never forgive you if you neglect to do so. You gave me also a great deal of news that was very interesting to me and which I could not expect Father to think about.”¹²³ Irish Protestant emigrant women, their relatives at home and demonstrably, their children too, played a key role in the maintenance of an Irish identity and connection overseas. Despite the necessary adaptations to a new place, Irish Protestant women re-created Old World familiarities in the New through their ties to the “ould sod”: to their ancestry by the framed family record, by letters and sketches to their families now distant, to Home Politics by home papers, to their modes of expression and to the material culture – the fabrics of family, that filled their trunks – from linen and lace to Irish seed – and their hearts with the things of Home.

‘Being Irish’ in nineteenth century Canada denoted a far more flexible quality than came to be regarded after ‘The Troubles’ of the next century and the subsequent historiography that followed in support of a Catholic, unified Ireland. The ‘Protestant Century’ of an earlier period in Ireland had created a people who had for some time, defined themselves as *the* Irish and this perspective traveled with them overseas. Indeed, being ‘Irish’ also meant being Protestant as Bridget Lacy¹²⁴, the Irish Catholic servant of Rebecca Radcliff of County Roscommon now Adelaide, Upper Canada, gave testimony to, when she wrote her schoolmate back in Ireland in 1832. It is with obvious pride rather

80. Women's role in sustaining Gaelic culture, 1901.

Some suggestions as to how Irishwomen may help the Irish Language Movement.

1. Realise what it means to be an Irishwoman, and make others realise what it means by being Irish in fact as well as in name.
2. Make the home atmosphere Irish.
3. Make the social atmosphere Irish.
4. Speak Irish if you know it, especially in the home circle, and if you have no knowledge of the language, set about acquiring it at once. If you only know a little, speak that little.
5. Insist on children learning to speak, read, and write Irish.
6. Insist on school authorities giving pupils the benefit of a thoroughly Irish education.
7. Use Irish at the family prayers.
8. Give Irish names to children.
9. Visit Irish-speaking districts. If Irish people who are students of the language go among their Irish-speaking fellow-country people in the right spirit and instil the right principles in them, they will be conferring a benefit on the people, and the people will in return confer a benefit on them by imparting their native knowledge of the spoken language to them.
10. Encourage Irish music and song.
11. Support Irish publications and Irish literature.
12. Employ Irish-speaking servants whenever possible.
13. Join the Gaelic League, and induce others to do so.
14. Spread the light among your acquaintances.
15. Consistently support everything Irish, and consistently withhold your support from everything un-Irish.

Illustration 5

From Alan O'Day and John Stevenson, *Irish Historical Documents Since 1800*, (Savage, Maryland: Barnes and Noble Books), 1992. p.133.

Women Played an Important Role in the Maintenance of an Irish Home

Mary E. L. Butler's advice to women in 1901 on how not to 'un-Irish' recognized the important place that women held as imparters of a specifically Irish culture. For many New World Irishwomen now at a distance, that role took on even greater significance and had been being fulfilled for some time already. Hints of both middle class perception and Irish Protestantism are perhaps evident in #s 12 and 14.

than surprise that the Catholic Lacy related how her mistress, the Protestant Radcliff was greeted by two women who came to the farm where they were staying, to buy cabbage and perhaps see for themselves the latest ‘exports’ from Ireland:

“...says one of the women to my mistress that was standing in the firhandy [verandah?], “Why then ma’am,” says she, “I’m sure you’re the lady my daughter was telling me about, that she said she was sure was an Irish lady.” “Why do you think I’m Irish?” says my mistress. “Well then, I’ll tell you that – because you’re fat, and you’re fair, and you’re comely, and you’re handsome.” And true for her, for she’s all that, and *good* into the bargain.”¹²⁵

For the Catholic Bridget Lacy, there was little question that her Protestant mistress was Irish. Radcliff’s Protestantism did not seem to interfere with the visitors’ or Lacy’s definition of Irishness as all that was lovely, healthy and good. Yet history and historians have tended to define “Irish” in the nineteenth century variously as poverty-stricken, disease-ridden, submissively Catholic, politically-minded, down-trodden, naturally gifted with the blarney yet easily duped – a picture, largely coloured by that century’s Famine and the Home Rule Crisis, that is less than attractive – but one that does not coincide with that of the women who confronted Bridget Lacy and Rebecca Radcliff. Is it possible that ‘being Colleen’ in the nineteenth century allowed for a much wider interpretation of what was Irish? Was there something in between that standard ‘*English Canadian*’ social consensus that Upper Canada is remembered for and the view that the Irish were prone to taking their troubles with them? Although she is remembered to this day in Peterborough as a pioneering gentlewoman within the ranks of her more well-known contemporaries – English, authoress, sisters, Susannah Moodie and Catherine Parr Traill - Frances Stewart was an Irishwoman, and as Isabella Wyly would describe, a ‘thorough one’ at that. Her

Protestant family's willingness ultimately, to throw in with a few hundred now local, Irish Catholics prove that her 'troubles' were more melancholic than they were sectarian – though she was not without inherited prejudices as we shall see. Perhaps her position as an independent, self-sufficient emigrant of relative means (though substantially reduced) gave her the luxury to be that way.

Certainly in nineteenth century Ireland and in Canada there were two Irelands, a Protestant one and a Catholic one and as it has been shown here, although the former was identifiably Irish, it may have been the more easily accepted of the two, given the contemporary prejudices of a very Protestant Upper Canada. Such is revealed in the Stewart Papers a multitude of times wherein Frances makes a point of distinguishing between "Northerns" and those who were not. Writing to her Aunt Waller in Co. Meath in 1846, Frances was very clear in describing the fortunes on the land of two of her neighbours who, in common, had inherited poor land from previous settlers who had been less than successful at improvements if not because of their own character, than apparently because of their origins. Neighbours Cochrane and Waddell had respectively purchased farms "...about 16 miles off in this township from an Irish Southern Emigrant [Fanny's emphasis] who had come over in 1825 and never had made much improvement" and "...in Douro from one of those poor South Irish Emigrants, who had been twenty years doing nothing". Frances then went on to describe two other families who had enjoyed success in settling in Douro strictly through hard work despite the fact that "...they are Papists, - and very bigoted ones too – tho they are from the North..." In an effort to be "...of use to my poor suffering countrymen and women... [and] to let them

know something of this fine country...” Frances warned that “wherever Protestant settlers are – they certainly do thrive best – but they must be of sober steady industrious habits – or they cannot get on at all - ... As for the [United] States... the Irish were hated ... and generally are considered quarrelsome and bad settlers – here we have a mixture of Scotch, English and Irish – and certainly the Southern Irish Catholics are the worst – everywhere – and often if they do get on for a time do something dishonest which sends them to Jail and so to ruin and destruction... ... only a particular class of people can do well here”¹²⁶

This was a common perception as L. Perry Curtis Jr.’s study of the growing perception of Irish sloth, drunkenness and/or terrorism being equal to the amount of prognathism or ape-like features given to Irishmen in popular Victorian caricatures reveals. Ireland was variously represented as an angelic innocent torn between two factions, but more often as a land of dynamite-toting, sub-human fiends that could neither be tamed nor reasoned with. The implication was almost always that the latter were discontented Irish Catholics.¹²⁷ David Fitzpatrick explains that ‘quality controls’ were of interest to Emigration Agents who, with regard to assisted emigration, “worked hard to recruit the ‘better sort’ of settler in England or Scotland rather than the despised peasantry of Ireland, and to attract Protestants rather than Catholics.”¹²⁸ Catharine Parr Traill alluded to the two Irelands in her “tribute of affection” to Frances Stewart upon Stewart’s death in 1872. Recounting Stewart’s life and the brave decision to emigrate to Canada, Traill wrote of the hardships as Frances

...bade a long adieu to her beloved friends, and Irish home which she was never again destined to behold. ... Few among us can now realize the situation of such,

far removed from all the... necessities of life; buried in a wilderness, where the only human beings seen out of their own household, were a few straggling Irish emigrants or a wandering family of Indians... The solitude of the settlers lives at Auburn was at last broken by an influx of Irish... and was quickly followed by others of the better class of settlers... Auburn was a home of refuge for every stranger that came to the settlement: to high and low, rich and poor, there was ever a word of welcome... and the hand of warm Irish hospitality ever extended.¹²⁹

Herein existed the double image of things Irish – the beloved “Irish home”, in Ireland and Canada, welcoming and beckoning – a beacon of light amidst the dark – while at the same time an “influx” of “straggling Irish”, described something quite different – here, ‘Irish’ denoted that which was suspect, threatening, less-than-desirable or *not* of that “better class”. It would appear that if the quota for the ‘better sort’ of emigrant to Canada could not be filled via England’s or Scotland’s shores, then those from the Emerald Isle were begrudgingly, an alternative, especially if they were Protestant and preferably, self-sufficient. Accordingly, Traill viewed Stewart as an Irishwoman of the absolute ‘right sort’: if not ‘Colleen’, then Frances fell somewhere in between the “straggling Irish” who Traill equated with “wandering Indians” and the “high” and “rich” who, in Traill’s English experience, would perhaps have been less likely to turn their abodes into “a home of refuge”. As Harriet Beaufort related to Frances from England in 1836, the standard English view of the Irish was one that fluctuated between outright disdain and reluctant tolerance, the latter being revealed in the following, even toward that ‘better sort’, the Irish Protestant gentry. Visiting English acquaintances, Harriet reported that “I believe they take really to us here – and like us – as well as they can like Irish people – but I do not think they are inclined to defer much to our judgement – which must very much prevent our being of the use to them that we might otherwise.”¹³⁰

Liked as well as the Irish could be, and then perhaps a wee bit more, Irish Protestants in Canada according to Donald MacKay who quotes John Francis Maguire, “suffered difficulties in the New World, [but] ... not on the same scale as their Catholic countrymen...” who “...inevitably had a harder road in the British colonies. “Similarity of religion with that of the wealthier portion of the mass of the population was always of great assistance to the Protestant emigrant to America.””¹³¹ Still, being Irish in Canada, where an ‘obvious’ but more ‘residual prejudice’¹³² existed in comparison to the full-blown, intolerance of the ‘no-Irish-need-apply’ attitude fostered by anti-immigration pressure groups in the United States, meant that Irishmen, regardless of creed, usually fared as well as the quality of their land allowed.¹³³ In this regard, “Protestants were as prone to misfortune as Catholics” yet their Irishness was somewhat less suspect because of their Protestantism and they were also more likely to have settled earlier, in larger numbers, on more favorable land and to have had the opportunity to establish mutual aid networks with co-religionists.¹³⁴ These factors made for differences in the Irish experience in Canada, differences that diverged along lines of religious identity and class and allowed for the possibility of a ‘something-in-between’ identity where one could be from Ireland but considered not *really* Irish, or, more likely, Irish, but of the ‘good sort’ amidst that ‘unhappy’ or ‘unfortunate’ lot as all Irish were often described. A trend is almost perceptible amongst nineteenth century Irish immigrants that would suggest that the further down the line one was with regard to class, the more ‘Irish’ one was considered to be, and although this could hold for both Protestant and Catholic, the exigencies of nineteenth century Ireland, its rising Nationalism and the prevalence of anti-

catholicism, made the latter more often identifiably so. Witness the reputations of ‘the Irish’ canal workers or lumbermen (who were of both faiths) for whom brawling and bad behaviour along the lines were expected. Likewise, the sense of worry that arrived in Douro long before Peter Robinson’s ‘Irish’ actually had, had everything to do with expecting (and not wanting) paupered and desperate people. The Cavan Blazers even as Protestants (and probably the inexperienced, rowdy youth of struggling farm families), could enflame local authorities whether they be toll keepers, physicians, emigrant agents, government representatives, justices of the peace, or even their own parents, giving the township a very hard and ‘Irish’ reputation. Never was ‘Irish’ more associated with class however than during the Famine migrations in years like 1847 when truly paupered people, ‘Irish hordes’, arrived in Canada and although both Protestants and Catholics died in great numbers here and on the way, the larger Catholic sacrifice in that tragedy was what was emphasized and remembered.

Two contemporary Irishmen, both of whom recorded their perceptions of popular opinions, John Francis Maguire and Nicholas Flood Davin provide views into the confusing mix of identities that was nineteenth century Irishness. Maguire, an Irish Catholic M.P., editor of the *Cork Examiner* and first-hand observer of Irish emigrant welfare in North America¹³⁵ had obvious nationalist sympathies which perhaps are to blame for what Donald MacKay identifies as his “prejudice” - that which enabled him during his six month long tour of North America in 1866 and subsequent publication of *The Irish in America* to virtually ignore 2/3 of the Irish population in Upper Canada – the Protestants. Tellingly, “Maguire had curiously little to say about Toronto, though Irish

were... the largest national group in the city. ... There were many Catholics among them, but to Maguire, Toronto was a Protestant stronghold”, not an Irish one, and any folk who required a hyphenated identity such as the Presbyterian Scotch-Irish, were ““ashamed of their country.””¹³⁶ Maguire made no distinctions amongst Protestantism and does not appear to have made comment on Irish Protestants of the Episcopal Church, whose sense of patriotism was perhaps too well-known to challenge. One presumes that he held all Irish Protestants to the same standard of homelessness which, clearly, is contradicted by Isabella Wyly’s great ‘treat’ of an ‘Irish paper’, Frances Stewart’s ‘Evil Fairy’ who turned her from Fanny Browne of Dublin to Fanny Stewart of Douro, Rebecca Radcliffe’s dream of a ‘thicker neighbourhood’ than country Ireland or Faithy Fife who with ‘flowing eyes’ could not forget ‘Home’ and the sweet, sweet air that surrounded her ‘Native Soil’. These Protestant women were Irish and they were anything but ashamed of their country, they simply did not register within Maguire’s vision of Ireland or his definition of things truly Irish. The same has been true for many historians.

Nicholas Flood Davin, an Irish journalist and lawyer from County Limerick who settled in Toronto and later Regina, took a different approach to defining Irishness in his 1877 publication, *The Irishman in Canada*. Davin, in an effort to address the existence of a two-tiered Irish experience, encouraged that “an Irishman was an Irishman, regardless of creed, and in praising their achievements in his book... he lumped them all together with little reference to religion.”¹³⁷ Though not Catholic, Davin, according to Donald MacKay, was “distressed by the prejudice he found in Canada against Irish Catholics” and in his own words, intended ““to sweep aside misconceptions and explode cherished

falsities, to point out the truth and raise the self-respect of every person of Irish blood in Canada.”¹³⁸ His inclusive style, rare for the time, provided sketches of the Irish in Canada: Catholic and Protestant, the upwardly mobile and the content-to-sit-still, male and female, from Ontario to the Atlantic provinces, through whom, ‘By the weight of their numbers Davin gave the lie, as he intended, to the caricatures of ‘bog Irish’ that had for so long disfigured the pages of such London journals as *Punch* and followed the emigrants across the Atlantic.”¹³⁹ Davin told the story of Mrs. Foley of Killarney, “a genuine heroine” who

One day said to her husband: “we shall never do anything here. They say Canada is a fine country, let us go out there, in the name of God, and try our luck.’ But the husband would not hear of it. She then said: “Well, I must go myself;” and the brave little dark-eyed woman saved enough money to bring her to Toronto. In Toronto she took in washing, and saved enough money to send for her husband. She then said to her husband: ‘if we are to do anything for our children, we must push out into the woods.” She heard there was land to be had in Victoria and thither she went with her family, and worked like a brave woman. She has now 200 acres of land well cultivated, and each of her four sons has 100 acres. All four are married and are raising happy families.¹⁴⁰

Mrs. Foley’s Protestantism or Catholicism is obviously not what was important to Davin, by omitting this information, he has left this part of her identity ‘somewhere in between’. What was important to Davin about this ‘Colleen’ was her pluck – that quality which made it possible for her to lead her family, incredible distances, to eventual prosperity – and which, for Davin, was the very measure of her Irishness. However, Davin’s insistence on a national emphasis over an ethnic one represents a somewhat rosy perspective on Ireland’s nineteenth century cultural chasm as it existed, even in Canada.

Donald MacKay points to Susanna Moodie whom he claims “admitted she had a “hard battle” overcoming the traditional English prejudice against Irish peasants.”¹⁴¹ On

several occasions in *Roughing It In The Bush*, Moodie described how she “shrank” from “savages” such as those she encountered at Grosse Isle where “a boat, just land[ed] a fresh cargo of lively savages from the Emerald Isle. One fellow, of gigantic proportions, whose long, tattered great-coat just reached below the middle of his bare red legs, and, like charity, hid the defects of his other garments, or perhaps concealed his want of them leaped upon the rocks, and flourishing aloft his shillelagh, bounded and capered like a wild goat from his native mountains. “Whurrah! My boys!” he cried, “Shure we’ll all be jontlemen!”¹⁴² Yet Moodie’s criticism of ‘the *wild* Irish’ could also be cast upon what she viewed as too *tame* an Irish devotion to the Catholic Church. “Reason never raises a doubt to shake the oneness of their faith. They receive it on the credit of their priests, and their credulity is as boundless as their ignorance.” Irish fecklessness or, “sincerity” according to Moodie, “should awaken in us an affectionate interest in his behalf, not engender the bitter hatred which at present forms an adamant barrier between us.”¹⁴³ Interestingly, Moodie lumped “The Irish” whom she called “an imaginative people”¹⁴⁴ in several descriptive paragraphs in *Life In The Clearings* wherein she identified “the Catholic” as a superstitious simpleton and “the Protestant” as in need of giving up “a little” of his bigotry and she thereby redressed both: one for knowing too little and the other for not knowing better. Though Moodie recognized that the “hostile encounters... of yearly occurrence in the colony... [were] justly held in abhorrence by the pious and thinking portion of the population of either denomination” she determined that “the tendency to hate belong[ed] to the race, not to the religion, or the Protestant would not exhibit the same vindictive spirit which marks his Catholic brother.”¹⁴⁵

Moodie found all of her Irish domestics, both Protestant and Catholic, to be “faithful” and “trustworthy” though the latter could be blamed for a “reckless carelessness of their character” which apparently caused them to “break and destroy more than the Protestants”.¹⁴⁶ In her earlier work, *Roughing It In The Bush*, Moodie had used these exact words – “careless” and “reckless” to describe John Monaghan, the “Irish vagabond”,¹⁴⁷ a Protestant from Belfast who literally burst into their lives and having settled into a domestic arrangement with the Moodies as a hired man, scared off their Scottish maid, Bell, who was convinced that the “rich brogue, which told, without asking, the country to which he belonged”¹⁴⁸ was evidence that he was both murderer and thief and a “papist” too. ““Papist!” cried the indignant lad, his dark eyes flashing fire, ‘I’m no Papist, but a Protestant like yourself; and I hope a deuced dale better Christian...’” was Monaghan’s witty reply and yet in no time at all, these very wits are questioned in Moodie’s narrative as she has to remind him, rebuking his ““Nonsense, Monaghan! You are not a Catholic, and need not fear purgatory”” when the latter, convinced he had been cursed by a neighbour, expressed his concern that some harm may thereby befall the family. Moodie explains that the “avaricious old woman... wished so much evil to the lad, that, with the superstitious fear so common to the natives of his country, he left her under the impression that she was gifted with the evil eye and was an “owld witch”... [who] cursed him for a bare-heeled Irish blackguard, and wished that he might overturn the wagon, kill the horses, and break his own worthless neck.”¹⁴⁹ Herein lies a significant clue to the in-between status of Irish Protestants in nineteenth century Canada and perhaps elsewhere: Moodie unquestionably recognized John Monaghan as an Irishman –

her comment regarding his “rich brogue” was evidence to that – however, she seemed to make the distinction that although Ireland was *his* country, his “nonsense” – that which, according to Moodie, did not fit his (Protestant) character - was the superstition she reserved for the (Catholic) *natives* of his country. Of certainty, she balked at the notion of Monaghan as a “bare-heeled Irish blackguard” and her affection for the young man who ‘tore his trousers in order to patch his jacket’, regarded his “neck” as far from “worthless”. Moodie had Monaghan exclaim his own solitude – a separate identity – by describing how her young daughter, arms around this same neck, was endlessly entertained by being carried on his back and sung songs in “native Irish”.

”Now the Lord love you for a darlint!” he would cry, as he caught her to his heart. “shure you are the only one of the crathers he ever made who can love poor John Monaghan. Brothers and sisters I have none – I stand alone in the wurld, and your bonny wee face is the sweetest thing it contains for me. Och, jewel! I could lay down my life for you, and be proud to do that same.”¹⁵⁰

In a letter to his wife at the height of the Rebellion in Upper Canada when the character of the future colony was much in question, John Moodie called for moderation in the midst of such competing identities: the “dark designs” and “hypocritical profession of loyalty” of the [Irish] Catholics, the provocative extremism of Orangemen, and the selfish and “peculiar” interests of native Canadians, who together, in his opinion, had turned their collective anger toward the Scots in the figure of William Lyon Mackenzie. Spoken like a true Scot, Moodie extolled the virtues of that people whose “determined spirit and proud independent minds... [would] never become the *slaves* of any party, nor give up one particle of their rights as British subjects in a British Colony... [which made them the envy of] those who dare not, or cannot, think for themselves.”¹⁵¹ For her part,

during that same time period, Susanna had detailed in a letter to John, her excitement over a “capital cleared farm” in Clarke Township in the hope that trading the backwoods for the front might secure settlement success for themselves and their family. Part of the inducement to her husband was the specific that the land in question was “3 miles from the lake in a very respectable neighbourhood consisting of English and Scotch settlers.”¹⁵² A neighbourhood which combined what was understood to be the ‘best’ of the British Isles in its people was obviously a winsome prospect for Susanna and presumably her husband too. Such a place combined the familiarities and securities of the things of home that their own marriage reflected, she an Englishwoman and he a Scotsman, and somehow, implied in this prospect, was the guarantee of ‘respectability’ that contemporaries attached to a neighbourhood so described. Somewhere in between the perception of enduring Scots and enterprising English, and the fiery Orangeman and mirth-loving, indolent and ignorant Irish Catholic, was the Irish Protestant who, like John Monaghan, was seemingly more acceptable in the majority of English Canadian eyes because of a common religious doctrine and a presumed loyalty to all things English. Moodie herself said of Monaghan: “Though careless and reckless... .. He loved us for the compassion we had shown him; and he would have resented any injury offered to our persons with his best blood.”¹⁵³ Although she wrote that “a good man belongs to the world at large. His influence is not confined to his own country... So, a true Christian belongs to the church of Christ, by whatever name he may be known on earth, whether as Catholic or protestant, and will only be acknowledged as such hereafter, by his love, and the likeness he bears to his divine Master”, Moodie showed what side she was on when

she admitted that “I do not lack protestant friends who would defend me against... this Catholic crusade against me”¹⁵⁴ when it came to her portrayal of the Irish. Under scrutiny from a Catholic newspaper in 1851 for her depiction of Irish emigrant *Michael Macbride*’s deathbed conversion to Protestantism, what was essentially a religious controversy, quickly evolved into a larger contention where Moodie was accused of *hatred to the Irish*. Moodie attempted to explain that “Surely it is very absurd, to accuse an author of such a crime as hatred to a large class on this score - ? If I have drawn one or two bad characters from Ireland, my own Country has fared still worse. Oh, barbarous, and unpatriotic Mrs. Moodie! how came you not to believe in the perfectability of the English character...”?¹⁵⁵ When all was said and done, the real truth of the matter perhaps lay in Moodie’s postscript in the same letter to the editor of the *Literary Garland* that stated that “My friends here, think highly of Michael Macbride – so *we have the for – as well as the against*.”¹⁵⁶

The for, were undoubtedly Protestants and probably a good many of them, Irish, while the against, obviously, were Moodie’s “backbiters” and “whisperers”,¹⁵⁷ Catholics, again probably Irish, who, when lined up in opposition over an Irish character revealed that the perception of Irish character involved divergent identities: one that leaned toward Nationalism, hooliganism, pauperism and Catholicism, away from the contemporary consensus of an English Canadian (and perhaps Scottish Canadian) mindset that labeled it so, and another that fell sometimes less stereotypically, somewhere in between. For this reason, “being Colleen” with all the intrinsic qualities of “poor Ireland” that the name implied in the nineteenth century, was probably not something that Irish Protestant

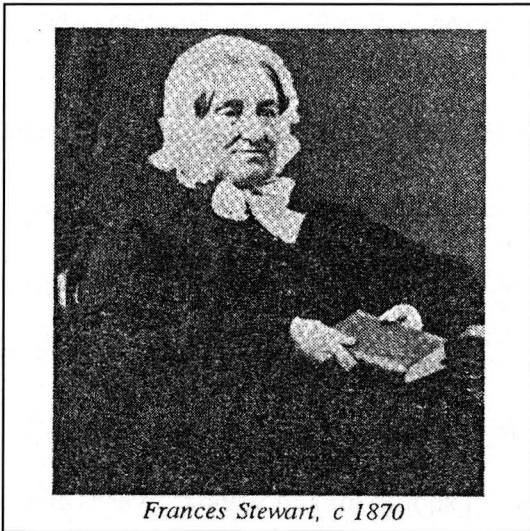
women consciously aspired to, though their loyalty to and sense of identity was certainly firmly grounded in the Old Country. In many instances, the Irish connection was extended to and encouraged in the second generation of immigrant Protestant Irish and this was accomplished in large part, by an emphasis on the smaller details – the fabrics of the family, largely female reproductions – that extended or ‘thickened’ the Irish neighbourhood across the sea. From Ireland not England, but Protestant rather than Catholic, Irish Protestant women’s identity fell somewhere in between. The voices of Irish Protestant women in the early part of the nineteenth century in Canada are not to be found in the voluminous and boisterous records of the most obvious and overbearing examples of Irish Protestantism – the Anglican Church and the Orange Lodge. Rather, they are located piecemeal, in scant sources that often do not address the notion of self-image and identity directly, be it personal or national. Historian Don Akenson’s “great unknown”, that chasm in the information that exists for the female portion of the Irish diaspora is rendered only slightly less intimidating by the nuanced account of Irish Protestant women’s experience that is presented here.

Contrary to popular opinion, both historic and modern, Irish Protestants were Irish. They represented in Canada a distinct culture, with viable ties to the homeland which women in particular worked hard to maintain. Irish Protestants sought Irish Protestants in marriage and in locale through chain migration and word of mouth – hence Thomas William Magrath could pledge himself as a matchmaker to any Irish women willing to face Canada. Letters from home often served to introduce a newly arrived immigrant to her or his own countrypeople who had earlier removed. They also served

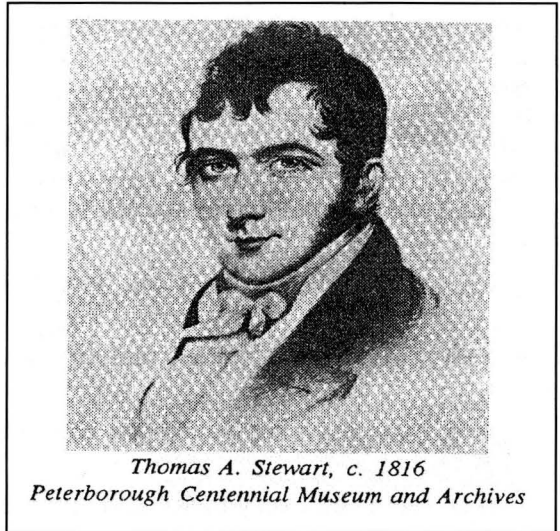
for both women and men as censure and regulation toward replicating the Irish match abroad. Not just a wife, but a countrywoman in particular, in the earlier part of the century was considered a boon to the Irish immigrant male seeking his fortune by farming amidst the stumps that so gradually gave way to fields. Settlements of Irish Protestants were built on these principles, places like the ‘Irish Block’, Cavan Township and Peel County ensured that Irish Protestant women could not only ‘have their countryman’ as Isabella Wyly determined, but enjoy, as Henry Johnson promised, ‘almost... getting home again.’¹⁵⁸ When marital matches were made outside the Irish cohort, there was less reason to write home and less reason to celebrate for it was presumed that a stranger would have less ‘sympathy’ for Irish Protestant ‘convictions’ and that their own would be ‘decidedly dubious’ in their difference. Indeed, Elizabeth Rutledge was ‘lost to the family circle’ and also to its Methodism ‘while her [Scottish] husband lived’, yet her brother’s endogamous marriage on the other hand, was judged ‘a fine thing in hard days like those.’

Women like Sarah Ann Radcliff, Frances Stewart and even Elizabeth Rutledge (who eventually ‘returned’) were hardly displaced English Canadians, and yet the lack of monographs on Irish Protestant women and the question “Whatever Happened to the Irish?” presumes that they simply blended into English Canadian society and disappeared in this regard, willingly and even, ashamedly. On the contrary, devoted to their Irish home despite the circumstances that saw them bridging the Atlantic for the hope of future prosperity in Canada, their loyalty had been based in both Crown and Irish Townland before it embraced the new situation as an Irishwoman in the New World. Some three

decades after her arrival in Canada, Radcliff's Irish focus had not changed: "...neither time nor distance has in the slightest degree altered my recollection... or blunted my affection – after all it is a sad thing to be exiled from ones own country and friends for ever... on this subject my memory never fails."¹⁵⁹ Radcliff indulged herself with musings over that which supported her, even literally, in her Mother's Irish house: "I fancy I recollect even every board and nail mark... how I should love to wander over it and sit in every spot I so well remember."¹⁶⁰ Frances Stewart found that she could indeed remain Fanny Browne of Dublin, even in the backwoods of Douro where she encountered many an 'Evil Fairy' and its hardships, because of her care in cultivating her and her children's Irish roots. She was far from pioneering in this regard. The Standish Family Record and sampler, the Fife collar and cuffs, the Wyly Dublin 'Vewes', and the seeds from Sarah Peebles served the same purpose as Fanny's frieze and her sister's 'same moon' – though remnants, and certainly representative of Akenson's "obscure sources" – they reveal that Irish Protestant immigrant women in Canada were connected, at the most intimate of levels, to an Irish home, a market which has historically been cornered by Irish Catholic culture. Frances Stewart's Irish home both in Ireland and in Canada was different than that of the Robinson Settlers¹⁶¹ who were her neighbours. Her Irish Protestantism, in a very Protestant English Canada, made "being Colleen" more acceptable, for neither pauper nor principal in the governing of things, her identity placed her somewhere in between.



Frances Stewart, c 1870



Thomas A. Stewart, c. 1816
Peterborough Centennial Museum and Archives

Frances continued to maintain the Irish connection, carrying on “a sprightly correspondence with... a new generation of Irish relatives.” (21) Having submitted to her husband’s plans to cross the Atlantic, Frances worked hard to recreate Ireland in Canada. Frances died in 1872 at ‘Goodwood’, her daughter’s home, at the age of 77. She had outlived Thomas by 25 years.

Born in 1786, Thomas Alexander Stewart was the second son of John Stewart of Wilmont, near Belfast. The Stewart family had been in Ireland for over 200 years and held extensive lands. Thomas worked with his brother-in-law, Robert Reid in the linen industry before dissolution of their firm and financial difficulty forced plans to emigrate. Thomas died having contracted typhus at the height of ‘Black 47’ while attempting to provide aid to his fellow Irishmen.

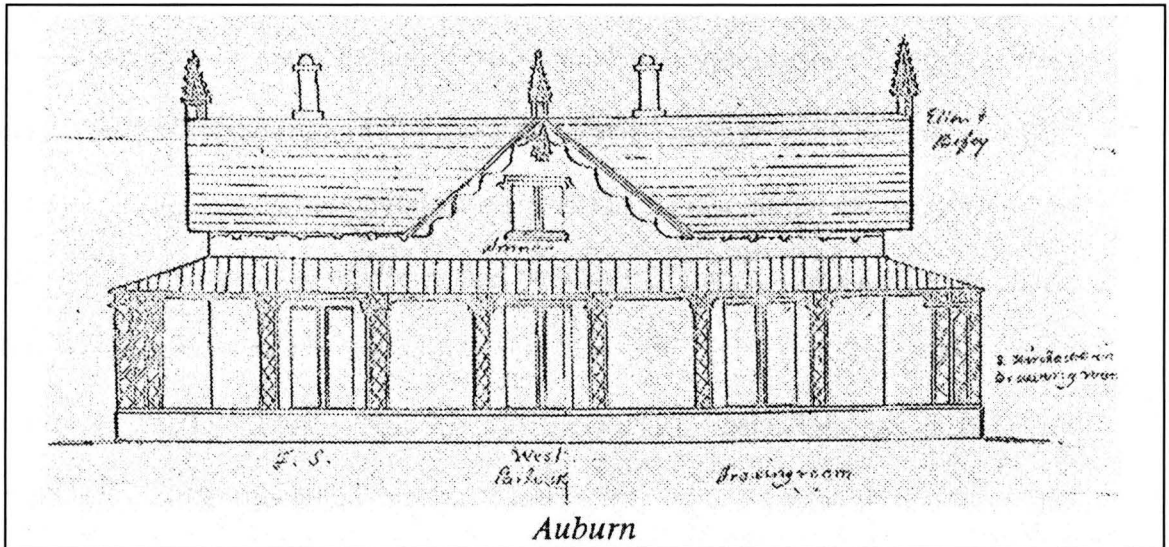


Illustration 6

Thomas Stewart named his property in Upper Canada ‘Auburn’, after the family seat in Ireland. Frances took care to initial this sketch of her 1842 home that replaced the original 1822 log cabin. She not only indicated its ‘West Parlour’, ‘drawing room’, and the ‘S. Window in Drawing Room’, but significantly, also where one might find ‘Ellen & Bessy’.

Illustrations and quotation from Joyce C. Lewis, *From Douro to Dublin: the Letters of Frances Stewart*, Peterborough: Peterborough Historical Society, Occasional Paper 14, (February 1994).

¹ Donald Harman Akenson, The Irish Diaspora: A Primer, (Toronto and Belfast: P.D. Meany Company, Inc., Publishers and The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 1996), p.157.

² Akenson, p.159.

³ Akenson, pp.157-158.

⁴ Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd, eds., Women in Early Modern Ireland, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), p.1.

⁵ Hasia R. Diner, Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), p.xiii.

⁶ Diner, pp.xiii-xiv, 148-149. Diner draws pictures of "the Immigrant Irish" from the perspective of what she variously calls "Protestant", "Protestant native-born", "Protestant America", "Protestant Anglo-Saxonism" which invariably, were unflattering to "the Irish" as was common in 19th century America. However, in failing to identify Irish Protestant women, or men for that matter, as part of this vast immigrant movement from Ireland that she describes, her work falls into the category of exclusionary history, a problem which has plagued historians of the Irish for some time: that of presuming that Irish Protestants, even those 'fresh off the latest boat' from Cork, were really displaced Englishmen and Englishwomen. This discounts the whole notion that a Protestant Irish identity, particularly a nineteenth century one, existed.

⁷ Diner, p.xiv.

⁸ Diner, pxiv.

⁹ See Kerby A. Miller with David N. Doyle and Patricia Kelleher, "'For Love and Liberty': Irish Women, Migration and Domesiticity in Ireland and America, 1815-1920" in Patrick O'Sullivan, ed., Irish Women and Irish Migration, The Irish World Wide History, Heritage, Identity, Vol.4, (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), pp.41-65. Timothy Guinnane's The Vanishing Irish: Households, Migration and the Rural Economy in Ireland, 1850-1914, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) also makes suggestions for the bases behind Ireland's nineteenth century rural depopulation but these are not specifically focused on the experiences of women, rather they are household-focused and seek to address the broader issues of the decline of marriage, the prevalence of large families and the extensiveness of emigration which together, made Ireland less than characteristic at this time.

¹⁰ Donald H. Akenson, "Ontario: Whatever Happened to the Irish?" in Donald H. Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History, vol. 3, (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1982), p.117.

¹¹ Akenson, "Whatever Happened...?", p.114.

¹² Akenson, "Whatever Happened..?", pp.119, 120.

¹³ The term "Orangewomen" here is used to denote the wives, daughters, and sisters of Orangemen, having familial ties only to the Order since women were not incorporated into the Order as a separate entity known as the Ladies Orange Benevolent Association until 1894. John D. Beatty also warns that "In the absence of reliable evidence to the contrary, one must resist the temptation of labeling a Protestant woman as 'orange' solely on the basis of the known politics or military affiliations of her husband, father, brother, or son. In fact her attitude toward Catholics may have differed considerably." See John D. Beatty, "Protestant Women of County Wexford and their Narratives of the Rebellion of 1798" in Daire Keogh and Nicholas Furlong, eds., The Women of 1798, (Dublin: Four Court Press, 1998), p.114.

¹⁴ TUA, Peterborough Newspaper Files, 88-025/1, "Literature, Art and Culture", Peterborough Review, Vol.2, No.48, December 15, 1854. It is interesting to note that this rather tongue-in-cheek redress to Men's Associations (particularly the Orange Order) comes hard on the heels of the Orange Brothers in the Peterborough area changing their subscriptions and patronage from the Review to the Despatch on account of the latter's proprietor becoming an Orangeman. See Chapter 4 of this study, pp.211-212, fn.113.

¹⁵ John Gray, "Mary Anne McCracken", in Keogh and Furlong, p.53.

¹⁶ John H.Young, "Our Department, or the Manners, Conduct and Dress of the Most Refined Society" (Paris, Ontario: John S. Brown, 1883) in J. Alex. Edmison, Q.C., Through the Years in Douro, (Peterborough: A.D. Newson Co. Ltd., 1967), p.319.

¹⁷ PRONI, D.1700/5/1/17, Sarah Ann Radcliff, Adelaide, U.C. to Reverend Thomas Crawford, Ireland, December 9, 1861.

¹⁸ TUA, Frances Stewart Papers, 78-008/1/69, file 6, Journal Aboard the *King George*, June, 1822.

- ¹⁹ Stewart Papers, Frances Stewart to Harriet Beaufort, July 1, 1822, F. Stewart, Douro Loghouse, to Harriet Beaufort, Ireland, February, 24, 1823, F. Stewart to Catharine Browne, Clongill, March 11, 1823, and July 23, 1822 and F. Stewart, Douro, to Bess (Elizabeth Rothwell), Ireland, December 18, 1823.
- ²⁰ Elizabeth Jane Birch, “Picking Up New Threads for Kathleen Mavourneen: the Irish Female Presence in Nineteenth-century Ontario”, MA Thesis, Trent University, 1997, p.17.
- ²¹ Birch, p.i (Abstract).
- ²² Susanna Moodie, Roughing It in the Bush; or, Life in Canada, (McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1989, reprint of the 1852 second edition), pp.199, 200.
- ²³ Moodie, p.206.
- ²⁴ PRONI, T/3028/B/9a, James A. Reford Correspondence, James A. Reford to Fanny Reford, Co. Antrim, April 9 1863.
- ²⁵ TUA, Frances Stewart Papers, 78-008/1/69, file 6, Frances Stewart, Douro to Mrs. Waller, Dublin, April 5, 1823. In the same letter Frances noted that “labour is high” (meaning wages) and that ‘her girl’ was “quite above the commonness – she has been carefully educated and has excellent principles and a very good temper.” She also wrote that although her maid was “young and by no means pretty, she is persecuted with lovers – and she always tells me of them so openly and artfully that I cannot help admiring her.”
- ²⁶ TUA, Additions to Frances Stewart Papers, B-74-1005, Letter 3, Frances Stewart, Douro, to Harriet Beaufort, Ireland, January 27, 1824. Perhaps in recognition of her now very changed circumstances, Frances also wrote “I envy you all those interesting books and having time to read them.” Betty Taylor apparently returned to Ireland, homesick, only to come back to Canada some time later. Transcriptions of Sydney Bellingham’s memoirs found within the Stewart Papers state that Frances’ “maid whom she had brought with her, speedily became disgusted with the sufferings she endured and left.” 94-006, Book 2 of 4, p.338. The reliability of these transcriptions have been questioned however. Bellingham worked as a farm hand for the Stewarts from 1824-1827. He too had come from a Protestant Ascendancy family that was not able to support him and from farm hand at the age of 15, Bellingham would become a merchant, J.P., lawyer, politician, author and eventually the inheritor of his family’s Irish estate upon the death of his older brothers. He remained in tune with Canadian politics upon his return to Ireland - he had certainly early established a bond with the situation of the Canadian farmer – to the point of pretending to be Catholic out of respect for the tenants upon his wife’s Quebec lands. Bellingham had experienced the tendency for matters of class and obviously religion, to be somewhat assuaged in the New World.
- ²⁷ TUA, Frances Stewart Papers, 78-008/2, file 15, Frances Stewart, Douro to Harriet Beaufort, Ireland, May 27, 1826.
- ²⁸ TUA, Frances Stewart Papers, 78-008/2/15, Frances Stewart to Harriet Beaufort, May 27, 1826 and The Stewart Dunlop Papers, 94-007/1/9, Frances Stewart, ‘Auburn’ at Douro to Mary and Alexander Wilson?, Ireland, February 17, 1847.
- ²⁹ Patrick O’Sullivan, “Introduction to Volume 4: Irish Women and Irish Migration” in O’Sullivan, ed., Irish Women, p.8. Here, O’Sullivan makes reference to the song ‘Bread and Roses’ which contrasts women of extremes - ‘the drudge and idler – ten that toil where one reposes.’ in an effort to show that for ‘every emigrant gentlewoman who has attracted study’, ten of her female contemporaries are lost to posterity in their efforts to scrape together a living from day-to-day. I suggest that Canadian historians cannot afford to be so choosy as to disregard the historic writings of women which are precious few and for this period, less distant in their comparative experiences from their Old World counterparts.
- ³⁰ TUA, The Stewart Dunlop Papers, 94-007/1/6, Frances Stewart, Douro to Catharine Browne, Ireland, April 5, 1824 and 94-007/1/9, Frances Stewart, Douro, to Mary [Wilson?], Ireland, February 17, 1847.
- ³¹ Catharine Parr Traill, The Backwoods of Canada: Being the Letters From the Wife of an Emigrant Officer, Illustrative of the Domestic Economy of British America, (London: Charles Knight, 1836; reprint, Toronto: Prospero Books, 2000), pp.270-271.
- ³² Historian Bruce Elliott emphasizes an Irish tie to the importance of family and family structure in an agricultural population in the introduction of his North Tipperary Protestants for whom family is not only the economic mainstay for their continuing existence in Ireland as small freeholding farmers, but it also serves as the very reason behind emigration, being the maintenance of the *status quo* as it was known in the homeland for the coming generation as well as the influencing factor behind Irish choices of locale for

generations in Canada. See Bruce S. Elliott, Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

³³ Charlotte Gray, Canada: A Portrait in Letters, 1800-2000, (Doubleday Canada, 2003), p.24.

³⁴ Willcocks' recognition that certain "proceedings" could satisfy a woman but not a man is perhaps a fitting place to acknowledge that marriage in the nineteenth century, as in any time, was not always a successful endeavour and in the case of a poorly-made match, the outcome for a woman with far less recourse than her modern sisters can claim, could be dire. A wife may have been *wanted* on the frontier, but she herself may not have wanted there to remain. Frances Stewart's letters, besides revealing her own painfully resigned yet dutiful presence on an emigrant ship and in an isolated log cabin, make numerous references to the drunkenness or noisiness of neighbours. (See 78-008/2/10 Frances to Harriet Beaufort, July 29, 1848, from Auburn for example.) The Peterborough Weekly Despatch confirmed the same in 1847. The paper reported the tragic case of a man, a mere two weeks in Emily, who had "died from the excessive use of ardent spirits" which was followed the very next day by the death of his infant son from "want of proper care and nourishment." The widowed mother of four it seems, took it upon herself to "procure a quart of whiskey" and in her own abandon, caused the death of an already malnourished baby who had been "at the breast." In this "dreadful warning to drunkards", the paper revealed that marriage and emigration required that some women straddle that awful line between life and death as this "Wretched woman, ...now destitute, with three small children to provide for" had obviously been doing. It must be acknowledged that in addition to there being many emigrants who did not, or could not write home, there were also emigrants for whom there was little worth writing home about. (TUA, 88-025/1/22, Weekly Despatch, Vol.1, No. 36, July 29, 1847) Alcoholism, wife abuse, wife desertion, child abandonment and some women subsequently preferring to stay unmarried, are not aspects of Irishness that can be adequately discussed here, however, Frances Stewart did query, "what greater calamity can a woman have than a drinking husband"? She felt the recent death of the fiancé of Anne Foulis in the end was "a great mercy to her" despite the "sad blow" it had given Anne's "young heart". 'Sudden death', Frances warned her own daughter Ellen, "generally ends a Drunkards life!" She was concerned that the same would befall Henry Reid for he is "now seldom sober... and if he is, he is so stupid that he knows not how to think and talks unmeaning nonsense – it is very dreadful". Women warned other women to be very careful in their selections of a mate and some even luxuriated in the fancy that a woman need not marry at all. Harriet Beaufort informed Frances from Ireland that "Your friends here are beginning to wish [your dear girls] married – but I should be sorry they were *thrown away*. However my dear, they must not be too hard to please – for I am rather afraid there are no men scarcely in your present country half nice enough or good enough for my dear girls." (78-008/2/10, Harriet Beaufort to Frances, July 30, 1840 from Edgeworthstown, engh for mine). Getting married to "relieve their father and mother from the expense of clothing and supporting them" or "just for the sake of being married" for Harriet, was reason not to marry at all and she herself, never did. (Harriet to Frances, October 25, 1840 from Hatch Street, Dublin) 'Wisdom' in the venture of marriage was perhaps far more important than any dowry, for as Ruth Anne Harris' study of the 'Missing'/'Wanted' ads in the *Boston Pilot* reveals, it was more often women than men, who appeared to have been 'abandoned'.

³⁵ Moodie, p.239. Interestingly, Moodie takes this same opportunity to explain why 'Mrs. S___' was forced to work so much herself and in so doing, reveals what some contemporaries as well as historians have presumed to be an anti-Irish stance. Moodie refers to 'plenty of Irish "*helps*" in the kitchen', suggesting that they were anything but, and further explains that they "knew as much of cookery as they did of astronomy [so that] poor Mrs. S___'s hands, as well as her head, were in constant requisition." (p.239) The common denominator for Moodie of so many incompetents in one room, was apparently their 'Irishness' and such claims forced her for a time in the early 1850s to defend herself against charges of hatred to the Irish by proclaiming: "I do not allow myself to indulge in National prejudices." (see Carl Ballstadt, Elizabeth Hopkins and Michael Peterman, eds., Letters of Love and Duty: The Correspondence of Susanna and John Moodie, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p.219.)

³⁶ Gray, (Henry Chantler to Joseph Chantler, Nov. 12, 1846) p.106.

³⁷ Gray, p.107.

³⁸ CIHM 05620, Reverend Joseph Hilts, Among the Forest Trees: or, How the Bushman Family got their Homes, Being a Book of Facts and Incidents of Pioneer Life in Upper Canada, Arranged in the Form of a Story, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1888), p.40. Hilts states that the facts and incidents in his narrative are true, based on real settlers and their experiences in Upper Canada, though their names have been fictionalized as have their localities. Though written with an effort toward providing a “sound religious sentiment”, Hilt’s work also claims to be “illustrative of pioneer life, in its conditions and surroundings, and calculated to show something of the toils, privations, hardships, difficulties and sorrows of the early settlers.” (p.vi).

³⁹ Hilts, pp.105, 106, 171.

⁴⁰ TUA, Frances Stewart Papers, 78-008/2/15, Frances Stewart, Douro, to Harriet Beaufort, Ireland, May 27, 1826.

⁴¹ Don Akenson backs up his own reference to the practice of obtaining an Irish wife before emigration as “travelling gear” by explaining that although “it is offensive to modern ears to encounter concepts such as importing women, or as taking them as part of some male’s emigration gear... in hundreds of thousands of instances that was the historical reality. All historical realities have more than one side, however, and what from one perspective was simply good governmental policy (encouraging Irish men to import their own wives) from another perspective was family loyalty and continuity.” See Akenson, Irish Diaspora, p.177.

⁴² Thomas William Magrath, Erindale, to Reverend Thomas Radcliff, Dublin, November 1831, in Reverend Thomas Radcliff, ed., Authentic Letters from Upper Canada, first published Dublin: William Curry, Jr. & Co., 1833, (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1953), pp.7-8.

⁴³ Audrey Saunders Miller, ed., The Journals of Mary O’Brien, 1828-1838, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968), p.138.

⁴⁴ PRONI, D/1700/5/1/17, Sarah Anne Radcliff, Adelaide, Upper Canada to Reverend Thomas Crawford, Ireland, December 9, 1861.

⁴⁵ PRONI, T/2149/2 Abraham Topley, Port Hope, to Mr. and Mrs. James Boardman, Co. Armagh, May 9 1852.

⁴⁶ Topley to Boardman, 1852.

⁴⁷ “Bridget Lacy”, York, U.C. to Mary Thompson, Ireland, August 1832, in Radcliff, p.104. Curiously, the editor, Radcliff, a contemporary to the letters and recipient of many, notes that “the name of this correspondent is the only fictitious one introduced. The facts, however, are correct.” p.142. Perhaps not having secured the permission of a since-departed servant to publish her letters accounts for this apparent anomaly in the work.

⁴⁸ PRONI, T/1059/1, James Heather, Montreal, Quebec to Thomas Greeves, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, July 5, 1837.

⁴⁹ David Fitzpatrick, “‘That beloved country, that no place else resembles’: connotations of Irishness in Irish-Australasian letters, 1841-1915” in Irish Historical Studies, xxvii, no.108 (Nov. 1991), pp.334-335. Although Fitzpatrick’s work is based on the experiences of the Irish in Australia, it should not be discounted as incompatible with studies of Irish Canadians, for many of the pressures to conform to Irish cultural standards in the New World were the same, regardless of the emigrant’s destination. (i.e. One should not eliminate as a source, the shipboard journal of an Irish emigrant bound for any port as it represents a snapshot in time which is unpolluted by New World cultural constraints. Similarly, for those Irish emigrants who maintained connections to the Homeland via letters across the Ocean, the culture of Irish Protestantism at home remained a constant influence.) Also, Don Akenson identifies both Australia and Canada as “clean laboratories” for the study of Irish cultural differences as their distance from Home directly correlates with the degree to which interpretations of the Irish experience are free from the cultural distortions which plague limited, home-bound assessments. Akenson insists on the Irishness of emigrants destined for North America and Australia. “Until some broadly based study established that a markedly different sort of person went to Australia than to North America, and that the difference was so sharp as to have direct causal implications in their economic outlook and entire worldview, it is wiser to suggest that the Irish migrants to Australia and to North America were basically the same sort of people and that they had more in common than in contrast. ... It is very hard to posit that the individuals going to one place were clearly of one sort, those going to another place, clearly of another.” See Donald Akenson, “Reading

the Texts of Rural Immigrants: Letters from the Irish in Australia, New Zealand, and North America” in Canadian Papers in Rural History, Vol.VII, 1990, p.389 and Don Akenson, Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922, An International Perspective, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988).

⁵⁰ Fitzpatrick, p.335. Isabella Wyly had subscribed to the Anglican persuasion prior to her marriage to John William Scott, which, according to Fitzpatrick, was interestingly considered a ‘mixed marriage’ on account of Scott’s Methodism. See fn75, p.33 of David Fitzpatrick, Oceans of Consolation, Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). Fitzpatrick explains that although “Adherence to the Established Church did not necessarily disrupt personal ties with persevering Friends, [as Isabella’s ancestors had Quaker roots]... the association between religious conformity and social respectability ... doubtless alerted Isabella to the delicacy of her own subsequent conversion to lowly Wesleyanism.” Also, Fitzpatrick points to evidence that some strain may have been placed on family relations due to denominational differences and perhaps Isabella’s zeal for Methodism via the letter of her cousin, Aleck P. Wyly, in later years which explained “I have seen very little of the Scotts as our peoples seemed so divergent & we are great Church people & they are great Wesleyan Methodists.” see Oceans of Consolation, p.108 and p.102 respectively.

⁵¹ Fitzpatrick, Oceans, p.121, Isabella Wyly to Matilda Bell, (Newry, Co. Down), ca. December 1857.

⁵² Fitzpatrick, Oceans, p.101, Isabella Wyly to Matilda Bell (Newry, Co. Down), October 19, 1858.

⁵³ Fitzpatrick, Oceans, p.101, [Aunt]Elizabeth Wyly to Matilda Bell (Newry, Co. Down), November 19, 1858.

⁵⁴ Fitzpatrick, Oceans, pp.591, 592.

⁵⁵ Fitzpatrick, Oceans, pp.131-133, Isabella Wyly to Matilda Bell (Newry, Co. Down), October 18, 1859 and Isabella Wyly to [Nephew]Edward Wyly,(Newry, Co. Down), May 17, 1859.

⁵⁶ Akenson, Irish Diaspora, p.176.

⁵⁷ Patrick O’Farrell, Letters from Irish Australia, 1825-1929, (Sydney: New South Wales University Press and Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1984), p.105.

⁵⁸ O’Farrell, pp.115,113.

⁵⁹ Note the Standish Family connections in Esquesing, U.C. too, where Joseph settled, as found in Bruce Elliott’s Irish Migrants, p.80.

⁶⁰ J. Richard Houston, Numbering the Survivors, A History of the Standish Family of Ireland, Ontario and Alberta, (Agincourt: Generation Press, 1979), pp.28-29.

⁶¹ Fitzpatrick, Oceans p.592-593.

⁶² Fitzpatrick, Oceans p.593.

⁶³ Akenson, Irish Diaspora, pp.185,186. It should be noted here that Akenson’s figures are for England, Wales and Australia during the period under consideration. As such, they do not lose their value for they are still indicative of an Irish preference for Irish marriages.

⁶⁴ David Fitzpatrick, Oceans p.33.

⁶⁵ William Perkins Bull, From the Boyne to Brampton or John the Orangeman at Home and Abroad, (Toronto: The Perkins Bull Foundation, George J. McLeod Ltd., 1936), p.117. Earlier in this source, Perkins Bull reveals the Rutledge hope for not only an ‘Irish match’ in Canada but also an ‘Orange’ one. “It would soon be time for the boy to marry and settle down. If he could take a fancy to Catherine Nixon, now – there would be as good an Orange match as ever was made in County Tyrone or County Fermanagh.” p.100. The notion of the match being especially good on the account of Catherine’s lack of “grumbling” over George’s “Orange convictions” is all the more intriguing for its hint that her tacit approval as an Irish Protestant woman might have been a rarity.

⁶⁶ Perkins Bull, p.129.

⁶⁷ from the Web Exhibition, Library and Archives Canada, “I Do: Love and Marriage in 19th Century Canada”, Overview: Love of a Stranger at <http://www.lac-bac.gc.ca/loveandmarriage/031001-1010-e.html>.

⁶⁸ Fitzpatrick, Oceans, pp.589-590.

⁶⁹ J. Alexander Edmison, Q.C., ed., Through the Years in Douro, (Peterborough: A.D. Newson Co. Ltd., 1967, p.13.

⁷⁰ TUA, Stewart Papers, 78-008/2, Frances Stewart, Douro, to Harriet Beaufort, Dublin, September 5, 1825.

⁷¹ Edmison, ed., Through the Years, pp.30,41.

⁷² O'Farrell, p.6.

⁷³ TUA, Stewart Papers, 97-023/4, Thomas A. Stewart (Douro) to Major Froot (Ireland), December 12, 1825. Although the Douro neighbourhood had brightened with the arrival of new settlers from Ireland, some who even became friends, latent prejudice, compliments of a nineteenth century Irish upbringing, would settled in the area too. It is interesting to note that Frances' bigotry toward her own 'countrymen' sometimes had the appearance of being distinguished more along North/South lines than Protestant/Catholic ones. See Frances' comments regarding 'Southern Irish' on page 300 of this chapter.

⁷⁴ Joyce C. Lewis, "From Douro to Dublin: the letters of Frances Stewart", Peterborough Historical Society, Occasional Paper, 14, (February 1994), p.11.

⁷⁵ Radcliff, Authentic Letters, p.xxii.

⁷⁶ Wendy Cameron, "Selecting Peter Robinson's Irish Emigrants" in Histoire Sociale – Social History, Vol.IX, No.17, May 1976, p.36. It was no secret in Upper Canada that Robinson's emigrants had come from one of the most disturbed rural districts in Ireland, the Blackwater Region, out of the port at the Cove of Cork. Although neither Robert J. Wilmot Horton (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1822-28 who advocated Assisted Emigration for paupered Irish) nor Robinson approved of discriminating against potential Irish settlers to Canada on the basis of religion, both the 1823 and the 1825 Emigrations consisted of majority Irish Catholics. This too, was well known and anticipated in the Colonies despite the presence of Irish Protestants in both parties. Both Horton and Robinson believed that "the opportunity to own land, and to support his family honestly in Upper Canada, would be enough to transform a potential troublemaker into a useful citizen" (p.34) and although Robinson struggled to emphasize the importance of choosing to assist married men with families, there were "turbulent characters", identified as young, male, unmarrieds, enough to inspire the conflict in 1824 known as the Ballygiblin Affair. (see Chapter 3, fn. 2) There is a persistent strain throughout occasions of riot in Upper Canada that is characterized by contemporary complaints of 'unchecked youth' and 'bravado of boys' (as well as alcohol) temporarily out of the reach of their fathers and authority figures. Like Francis Hincks, who could somewhat tolerate aged and experienced Orangemen, but worried about the rowdiness of the Orange Young Britons, Robinson "believed that only time was needed, and he cited the example of Protestant Irish settlers in Cavan and Monaghan townships who had settled down quietly after a turbulent beginning in the community." (p.35). Robinson's sponsors in Ireland consisted of Horton, Lords Ennismore, Kingston, Mountcashel, Doneraile, and Becher (of Ballygiblin House in Cecilstown), amongst others. Cameron claims their interest in sponsorship, with the exception of Ennismore, was far more oriented toward patronage and the selection of tenants to be removed than it was rooted in time and money.

⁷⁷ Radcliff, Authentic Letters, p.xxii.

⁷⁸ Radcliff, Authentic Letters, pp.xxii, xxiii.

⁷⁹ Edward E. Hale, Letters on Irish Emigration, (Boston: The Boston Daily Advertiser, 1852), p.33.

⁸⁰ Louise Wyatt, ed., "The Johnson Letters", Ontario History, Papers and Records Vol. XL, (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1948), p.37. Henry Johnson, Smithville, Canada West, to Jane Johnson, Antrim, undated and postmarked March 5, 1849 and Henry Johnson, Hamilton, Canada West to Jane Johnson, Dungonnell, Antrim, September 18, 1848. Sadly, when Jane arrived in Quebec on the Ship *Riverdale* of Belfast in 1849, Henry did not meet her as promised. He died in Montreal of cholera on July 4, 1849. Jane went on to London, Canada West, with their two children, where her sister Isabella had settled. There, in 1850, after consulting the advice of her brother Langford McConnell in Michigan, she married an Irishman from Belfast, William Nettleton, with whom she had seven children.

⁸¹ Fitzpatrick, Oceans, p.596.

⁸² Wyatt, ed., "Johnson Letters", Jane Johnson, Antrim, to Henry Johnson, Smithville, Canada West, April 11, 1849.

⁸³ Radcliff, Authentic Letters, p.53, Mrs. William Radcliff, York, Upper Canada, to Rev. Thomas Radcliff, Dublin, July 27, 1832.

⁸⁴ Radcliff, Authentic Letters, p.54.

⁸⁵ Radcliff, Authentic Letters, p.105, 110. William Radcliff, Adelaide, U.C. to Arthur Radcliff, Esq., Dublin, December 1832.

⁸⁶ Houston, p.43. See also Elliott, Irish Migrants, p.79 where same is confirmed and further illuminated.

⁸⁷ Houston, p.43.

⁸⁸ Elliott is very clear that the Irish Protestants of his study came to Canada (to Esquesing, London and the Ottawa and Rougemont areas too) with the expectation of maintaining an Irish way of life/*status quo*. The reality turned out to be quite different as the group found that they were not given the consideration they expected from the Colonial Office, that letters of recommendation were sometimes not enough and that often, what was required was a direct connection to someone in Government for real grants and treatment as gentlemen rather than as ordinary settlers expected to perform the required settlement duties on the land.

⁸⁹ Houston, p.48. It is noteworthy that some of the surnames associated with the acquisition of warrants for the first Orange Lodges in Esquesing correspond with names provided by Houston as the original Irish Immigrants to settle the Township in 1819. See pages 47 and 91. Elliott notes that many of the heads of the families were from Omagh, some were from Tipperary, but most were Methodists and given the ‘Backwoods Preacher’, Reverend Joseph Henry Hilts’ description of settlement preferences as stated in Chapter 3, pp. 104-105, (fn 7) it is perhaps not surprising that the Anglican - though thoroughly Irish - Joyce family would find themselves contented just outside of the Irish Methodist enclave.

⁹⁰ Elliott, Irish Migrants, p.81. Here Elliott refers specifically to the Richard Talbot 1818 Settlements of both the London area and the Ottawa Valley, the Buchanan-assisted settlements of Esquesing (the ‘Irish Block’) and Toronto Townships as well as the related settlement of the Standish family in Rougemont, near Chambly, Lower Canada and “a few other places as well.”(p.81) Elliott’s study of exclusively Irish Protestants makes very clear: “relationships were more important than geography in determining where emigrants would settle.”(p.81)

⁹¹ Houston, p.95.

⁹² Houston, p.96.

⁹³ Houston, p.75.

⁹⁴ TUA, Stewart Papers, 78-008/7, Frances Stewart, Douro, to Honora Edgeworth, Edgeworthstown, Ireland, April 6, 1829.

⁹⁵ TUA, Stafford F. Kirkpatrick Fonds, 75-011, Stafford Kirkpatrick, Kingston, to Alexander Kirkpatrick, Dublin, September 18, 1834.

⁹⁶ Houston, pp.256-257.

⁹⁷ Houston, p.32.

⁹⁸ Houston, pp.84,85.

⁹⁹ O’Farrell, p.156.

¹⁰⁰ Wolfgang Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner, ‘How Representative are Emigrant Letters?’ in Bruce S. Elliott, David A. Gerber and Suzanne m. Sinke, eds., Letters Across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p.42. Also rare in the epistolary record are the voices of the poor and the illiterate, who in the nineteenth century, made up a good portion of the migrants.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Eric Richards, “Limits of the Australian Emigrant Letter” in Ibid., p.60.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p.61.

¹⁰⁴ TUA, Additions to Stewart Papers, B-74-1005/ Letter 3, Frances Stewart, Douro, to Harriet Beaufort, Ireland, January, 27, 1824.

¹⁰⁵ TUA, Additions to Stewart Papers, 94-006, Frances Stewart, Douro, to Harriet Beaufort, Ireland, July 29, 1848.

¹⁰⁶ Linen Hall Library, Belfast, Edward N. Carrothers, “Irish Emigrants Letters From Canada, 1839-1870”, (Belfast Northern Ireland, 1951), pp.4-5. Margaret Carrothers, London, U.C. to Mrs. Kirk[Patrick?] Maguiresbridge, Ireland, December 25, 1839.

¹⁰⁷ Fitzpatrick, Oceans, William Fife, Drumcullion, Ireland to Faithy Fife, Sydney, Australia, November 11, 1860 and William Fife, Drumcullion, Ireland, to Nixon Fife, Australia, November 11, 1861, pp.448,449. It is interesting to note that along with Dublin fashion, William Fife also equipped his daughter Faithy with the spiritual garments of an Irish Protestant upbringing. Having himself converted to Wesleyan Methodism from his Established Church (Church of Ireland) roots sometime between 1859 and 1862 during the revival movement and the great camp meetings in Ireland, Fife maintained connections to both churches but went

to considerable effort in 1865 to send Faithy a “finely bound” Methodist Hymnal from the Wesleyan Conference Office in London. (Fermanagh, in the latter decades of the nineteenth century boasted a larger proportion of converted Methodists than any other county, including that population in Belfast.), fn 9, p.414. Fife exhorted his daughter to allow her employer “to read the Book if he is one of the right sort of Protestants”, most certainly a reference to his sensitivity to people of other denominations and a wish not to offend, rather than any sectarianism or evangelical prejudice, as a tone of tolerance is made obvious throughout his letters. The Hymnal, part of the Irish Protestant culture he wished to clothe his now distant daughter with, reveals, along with his letters, his “...prayers for his children, and his hope that father and children would so prepare themselves for death that they would finally meet again ‘Where the Great deep shall no more separates us’...” Author David Fitzpatrick notes that in addition to the “biblical resonance” of Fife’s letters, they are equally characterized by obvious “Irish and Ulster overtones” as evidenced by Fife’s use of identifiable colloquial expressions common to certain counties in Ireland. pp. 414, 415, 416.

¹⁰⁸ Fitzpatrick, *Oceans*, Isabella Wyly, Adelaide, to Matilda Bell Wyly, Newry, Co. Down, Ireland, ca. December, 1857, 121.

¹⁰⁹ Fitzpatrick, *Oceans*, Isabella Wyly, Adelaide, to Matilda Bell Wyly, Newry, Co. Down, Ireland, March 6, 1857 and July 2, 1856, pp. 115-116.

¹¹⁰ Fitzpatrick, *Oceans*, p.483.

¹¹¹ Fitzpatrick, *Oceans*, Isabella Wyly, Adelaide, to Matilda Bell Wyly, Newry, Co. Down, Ireland, ca. December 1857, Isabella Wyly, Adelaide, to Edward Bell, Newry, Co. Down, Ireland, April 29, 1865,

Isabella Wyly, Adelaide, to Matilda Bell Wyly, Newry, Co. Down, Ireland, July 2, 1856, pp. 122, 135, 114.

¹¹² TUA, The Stewart Dunlop Papers, 94-007/1/1, Sarah Anne Peebles, Dublin to Ellen (Stewart) Dunlop, April 3, 1845.

¹¹³ TUA, The Stewart Dunlop Papers, 94-007/1/2, Unknown to Unknown, n.d. Though incomplete, the letter appears to be from Sarah Peebles to Ellen Dunlop, the handwriting is the same as other identified correspondence and the subject matter continues from one letter to another.

¹¹⁴ TUA, The Stewart Papers, Frances Stewart, Auburn, to Aunt Susan Sutton, Clongill, Ireland, December 23, 1853. Frances Stewart was the second daughter of the Reverend Francis Browne and Anna Maria Noble. Her father was a graduate of Trinity College Dublin and had begun a promising clerical career as the Church of Ireland Dean of Elphin, Roscommon County, when he died suddenly in 1796 at the age of 39. Frances’ widowed mother, an invalid, relied on her brother and sister for a time and later placed Frances with her Uncle Robert Waller at Allenstown and Catherine, Frances’ older sister, with her sister and brother-in-law the Reverend Thomas and Susan Sutton in Clongill. Frances was only 2 years of age when her father died. She was in large part raised by her cousin, Harriet Beaufort who was some 17 years her senior. For more, see Joyce C. Lewis, *From Douro to Dublin: the letters of Frances Stewart*, (Peterborough: Peterborough Historical Society, Occasional Paper, 14, 1994) and G. de T. Glazebrook, “Browne, Frances (Stewart)”, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), Vol. X, pp.104-105.

¹¹⁵ TUA, The Stewart Papers, B 78-008/2/12, Aunt Kate Kirkpatrick, Hazelbank to Kate (Stewart) Brown, April 19, 1872. Not only did Frances’ sister describe herself as the “Irish Auntie” in this correspondence, she further identified her roots (perhaps in the hope of reminding her Canadian born nieces and nephews of their own) by detailing that “Georgy and his good wife live here with us; he has just been appointed Less Collector, of this Barony, which will bring him in about £130 a year. He is very thankful for it, to help to, as we Irish say, ‘to keep the Pot boiling’” – “ Aunt Catherine then went on to provide Fanny’s children with an account of when and how she and their mother were raised separately in Ireland upon their father’s untimely death.

¹¹⁶ TUA, Additions to Frances Stewart Papers, B-74-1006, Frances Stewart, Auburn, to Aunt Susan Sutton, Clongill, Ireland, December 23, 1853.

¹¹⁷ Fitzpatrick, *Oceans*, p.418. Fitzpatrick briefly relates that the association of the physical measure of a person (their weight or their height) as having a direct bearing on their health and welfare was a particularly Irish form of reassuring correspondents that all was well with friends and family far away.

¹¹⁸ TUA, Additions to Frances Stewart Papers, 92-1002, Frances Stewart, Douro, to “My Own Darling Aunty”, Ireland, April 4, 1859.

¹¹⁹ TUA, Additions to Frances Stewart Papers, 94-006, Volume 1 of 4, Catherine Browne Kirkpatrick, Mary Martha Noble Sutton and Elizabeth Sutton Rothwell, Clongill Rectory, to Frances Stewart, Douro, February 20, 1823.

¹²⁰ Fitzpatrick, Oceans, p.491. Fitzpatrick speaks directly to the question of the use of strictly Australian models for letter writing assessments by his claim that “It is unlikely that the conventions governing Irish-Australian correspondence differed much from those of the ‘American letter’. In each case, the idiom belonged to Ireland rather than the New World, and the forms of discourse were functional rather than arbitrary.” p.495-496. Donald Akenson also minimizes the necessity of distinguishing between New Worlds (Australia and Canada for example) in the analysis of Irish emigrant letters. See D.H. Akenson, “Reading the Texts of Rural Immigrants: Letters from the Irish in Australia, New Zealand, and North America” in Canadian Papers in Rural History, v.7, Gananoque Langdale Press, 1990.

¹²¹ TUA, Additions to Frances Stewart Papers, 92-1002, Frances Stewart, Douro, to Harriet Stewart, England, April 15, 1869.

¹²² TUA, The Stewart Dunlop Papers, 94-007/1/9, Frances Stewart to Alexander and Mary Wilson?, Ireland, February 17, 1847.

¹²³ Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters, (Toronto and Belfast: University of Toronto Press and Ulster Historical Foundation, 1990), p.313. Alexander Robb, New Westminster B.C. to Susanna Robb, February 15, 1863.

¹²⁴ Note that this is the same “Bridget Lacy” as is described in footnote 47 above.

¹²⁵ Radcliff, Authentic Letters, Bridget Lacy, Adelaide, to Mary Thompson, Ireland, December 1832, p.140.

¹²⁶ TUA, The Stewart Papers, 78-008/2/10, Frances Stewart, Peterborough via Boston, to Aunt Waller in Allenstown, Kells Co. Meath, Ireland, December 7, 1846.

¹²⁷ See L. Perry Curtis Jr., Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971).

¹²⁸ Fitzpatrick, Oceans, p.10.

¹²⁹ TUA, The Stewart Dunlop Papers, 94-007/1/6, Obituary for Frances Browne Stewart, March 1, 1872.

¹³⁰ TUA, The Stewart Papers, B 78-008/2/9, Harriet Beaufort, Somerset Place, London, to Frances Stewart, Douro, February 1, 1836.

¹³¹ Donald MacKay, Flight From Famine, The Coming of the Irish to Canada, (Toronto and London: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1990), pp. 326, 316. MacKay credits the Orange Order in part, for the difference in experience, especially in Upper Canada/ Ontario.

¹³² MacKay, p.333.

¹³³ MacKay, p.326.

¹³⁴ MacKay, p.326.

¹³⁵ John Francis Maguire’s visit to North America was prompted by his desire to counter contemporary slanderous indictments against the Irish as a people by witnessing Irish successes in their adaptations to the New World. Spurred on by what he decried as erroneous “deep-seated beliefs”, an ignorance which to him, was more concerning than open hostility toward the Irish in England, Maguire provided example of the stereotype in the words of an anonymous commentator/observer of a session in the House of Lords at Westminster. Rather than finding the loss of so many of Ireland’s sons and daughters to emigration a terrible detriment to that land, Maguire’s catalyst predicted that “...unless the Irish go away on their own accord, or are got rid of in some manner or another and are replaced by our people – I mean the English or the Scotch – nothing good can ever be done with that unhappy country.” MacKay, p.311. One speculates that “our people” might have been more inclusive of Irish Protestants than the source of the insult was ready to admit. What is clear, however, is that the implied “their people” had no place in his vision of Great Britain and their exit or removal to the colonies was considered a good riddance.

¹³⁶ MacKay, p.325.

¹³⁷ MacKay, p.329.

¹³⁸ MacKay, p.330.

¹³⁹ MacKay, p.332.

¹⁴⁰ Nicholas Flood Davin, The Irishman in Canada, (Toronto: Maclear and Company, 1877), p.354.

¹⁴¹ MacKay, p.112. MacKay is not specific in his notes from where in Moodie's work he gleaned this information, but it appears that it may be derived from the following: "Many a hard battle had we to fight with old prejudices, and many proud swellings of the heart to subdue, before we could feel the least interest in the land of our adoption, or look upon it as our home. All was new, strange, and distasteful to us; we shrank from the rude, coarse familiarity of the uneducated people among whom we were thrown... .. At the period of which I am now speaking, the titles of "sir" or "madam" were rarely applied by inferiors. ... "Is your man to hum?" – "Is the woman within?" were the general inquiries made to me by such guests, while my bare-legged, ragged Irish servants were always spoken to as "sir" and "mem", as if to make the distinction more pointed." Moodie, pp.197-198.

¹⁴² Moodie, p.32.

¹⁴³ Susanna Moodie, Life In the Clearings Versus the Bush, (London, 1853), CIHM 43989, pp.11, 12.

¹⁴⁴ Moodie, Life In the Clearings, p.11.

¹⁴⁵ Moodie, Life In The Clearings, pp.12,13.

¹⁴⁶ Moodie, Life In The Clearings, p.13.

¹⁴⁷ Moodie, Roughing It In The Bush, pp.148,149.

¹⁴⁸ Moodie, Roughing It In The Bush, p.146. It is of interest to note that Moodie chose to introduce Monaghan into her narrative at the point where she is describing a most tranquil domestic scene wherein the three inhabitants of a wilderness log house, warm themselves and their homesick hearts by the hearth, immune to the howling Canadian snowstorm just outside the door, "by playing some of the touching [Scottish] national airs of the glorious mountain land, the land of chivalry and song, the heroic North" on John Dunbar Moodie's flute. This evokes emotion from both Moodie and her maid whose "soft blue eyes" gather "large tears" as she speaks: "Ay, 'tis bonnie thae songs; but they mak' me greet, an' my puir heart is sair, sair when I think on the bonnie braes and the days o' lang syne." With two Scots dreaming of the highlands and one Englishwoman's heart having "wandered far, far away to the green groves and meadows of my own fair land", the collective memory and reverie is most rudely and regrettably interrupted by the "sharp blow" of an Irishman, albeit a Protestant one, at the door. p.145.

¹⁴⁹ Moodie, Roughing It In The Bush, p.151.

¹⁵⁰ Moodie, Roughing It In The Bush, p.149.

¹⁵¹ Ballstadt, Hopkins, and Peterman, eds., John Dunbar Moodie, Belleville, to Susanna Moodie, May 24, 1839, p.151.

¹⁵² Ballstadt, et.al, Susanna Moodie, Douro, to John Dunbar Moodie, March 6, 1839, p.132.

¹⁵³ Moodie, Roughing It In The Bush, p.149.

¹⁵⁴ Ballstadt, et.al, Susanna Moodie, Belleville, to John Lovell, Montreal, March 1, 1851, pp.219,218.

¹⁵⁵ Ballstadt, et.al, Moodie, to Lovell, pp.218,219.

¹⁵⁶ Ballstadt, et.al, Moodie to Lovell, p.219. Emphasis mine.

¹⁵⁷ Ballstadt, et.al, Moodie to Lovell, p.218.

¹⁵⁸ See pages 15 and 21 of the present study.

¹⁵⁹ PRONI, D/1700/5/1/17, Sarah Anne Radcliff, Adelaide, U.C. to Reverend Thomas Crawford, Ireland, December 9, 1861.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ By far the majority of whom, were Catholic.

CHAPTER 6

CHURCHMEN: IRISH AND OTHERWISE

MARY: What are we supposed to do? Go to the Protestant Churches to get married? ...

PROTESTANT: Ye'd be more than welcome! ...

CATHOLIC: Justice! Justice! Does that mean my Siobhan and I ain't truly married? ...

CATHOLIC #2: What, was I expected to walk way up north to Downeyville? Past half a dozen Orange Lodges? I ne'er woulda made it in one piece!

PROTESTANT #2: So, your Coleen is a free woman, Charlie! I'm comin' a courtin'! ...

MAGUIRE: Good people! Listen! Listen!...

Silence. During the following speech the Protestants and Catholics at the raising begin to separate. By the end of it they should be standing in two distinct groups. This change however should be subtle and not obvious.

MAGUIRE: Turn and look at this barn you have raised. What are its elements? Beams. Posts. Mortar. Stone. Purloins. Plates. Braces. And rafters. And each part serves to hold the whole together. Each helps to form the structure which houses our hay, our grain, our animals, our livelihood. Alone, these elements are nothing. But working together they form the foundation and framework of a beautiful barn that should stand one hundred years or more.

CATHOLIC #3: Two hundred!

MAGUIRE: Perhaps.

So with Cavan. Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and Catholic live here and must work together to make this community the structure which holds our hopes, our dreams, our children's future.

Separately we are weak. But together we are strong. Together we can form the basis, the framework of a community that will endure and prosper long after those of us standing here today have turned to dust.

From: The Cavan Blazers, a play by Robert Winslow, 4th Line Plays, Ennismore: Ordinary Press, 2004.

In the middling years of what may be called the *Irish Protestant century* in

Ontario, two events in the history of the Anglican Church in Canada not only captivated and concerned the local populations between London and Toronto, but also served to perhaps demonstrate that very fact of ownership: the election of Benjamin Cronyn as first Bishop to the newly created Diocese of Huron in 1857 and what became known as the 'Trinity College Controversy' of 1860. Both are significant in that Bishop Cronyn, as the

first Anglican Bishop to be elected rather than appointed¹ to his office in Canada, represented a significant break with tradition, while the ‘Controversy’ over Trinity in its infancy had direct links to the birth of an alternate vision, Huron College in Canada West, and ultimately, the University of Western Ontario. They are perhaps more important for the opportunity these instances gave for the United Church of England and Ireland (so labeled since the Act of Union in 1801) to appear not-so-united, and perhaps even a little more Irish than English. Despite the best efforts of the Scotsman, John Strachan, the “Fighting Bishop”², over six decades in the nineteenth-century to see the Established Church recreated in the Colonies as a worthy reflection of the formidable English parent, neither his covert patronage for an episcopal candidate for the See of Huron nor his vision for what was to be *the* Anglican institution of higher learning in Ontario – King’s College and later Trinity, would be realized in the face of dissent with distinctly Irish antecedents, and that, from within his own quarter. Both the election of Bishop Cronyn and the Trinity College Controversy revealed schisms in young Ontario that went much deeper than the broader picture of Irish identity that Catholic and Protestant conflicts can supply. Here, we have the opportunity to observe identity distinctions at a higher magnification than even those within general Protestantism (as Strachan’s somewhat begrudging but more accepting relationship with the Kirk’s ‘dissenters’ and his outright disdain for Ryerson’s Methodists have demonstrated), rather, those within Anglicanism itself. Amongst Strachan’s Churchmen in nineteenth-century Ontario, convictions can be demonstrated to have carried a nationally-derived stamp so that such men might best be identified as more than just Low Churchmen or High Churchmen, but rather, Churchmen: Irish and Otherwise. This chapter proposes to present, through the characters and at times,

contentious relationship of Benjamin Cronyn and John Strachan, a portrait of a particularly Irish brand of Protestantism within the Anglican Church, a decidedly English institution.³

When Kilkenny's son, Benjamin Cronyn arrived in Upper Canada in 1832 at the age of 30, he brought with him more than just priestly orders to begin as pioneer missionary in the woods of Adelaide, he brought with him a very Trinity College, Dublin view of Anglicanism which reflected very Irish roots. Amongst clergy of the Established Church within the next decade, Cronyn was not alone, in fact, he was representative in many ways of just how much the title "Church of England" in Upper Canada could be a misnomer for what amounted to Church of Ireland practice in this period. Not only was Cronyn's denomination predominant in Upper Canada for that period, but his country of birth was responsible for the majority of the clergy within it, and his *alma mater* supplied the lion's share of those. At a time when tithe agitations, Catholic Emancipation, and the prospect of disestablishment of the Irish Church all harkened for a new day in Ireland, many Irish clergy found themselves seeking a semblance of traditional Protestant Ireland elsewhere and Upper Canada was fertile ground.⁴ According to Akenson, "in 1841 no fewer than nineteen, and possibly twenty-four, Trinity, Dublin, men were serving in the province as compared to thirteen to nineteen Cambridge men (several of whom were schoolteachers) and only ten or twelve Oxonians. Schooled in a single low-church tradition and often interrelated by marriage, Trinity College, Dublin, clergy were a phalanx which largely determined the low-church stance of Anglicanism in Upper Canada. The seal of their dominance in western Ontario came in 1857 when the Bishopric of Huron was created and Benjamin Cronyn, a low churchman from Trinity,

Dublin, was chosen as the first bishop.”⁵ Indeed, some eight years later, the Bishop’s English travelling companion and son-in-law, Colonel Arthur G. Burrows, on a ‘State of the Diocese’ visitation, could see little difference between Cronyn’s Old Country and the New except perhaps that which was positive. Describing the Church at Owen Sound, he compared: “it is like a country church in Ireland, and many of the clergy being Irish, there is much of the tone of the Irish Church about things in this Diocese, except that the Roman Catholics not being active or inimical (though they steadily and quietly increase), there is not in the clergy any spirit of controversy or talk about conversions.”⁶ It is perhaps not surprising that Burrows saw little distinction amongst the Bishop’s clergy, many of them were hand-picked by Cronyn himself, a tactic which in itself played no small role in the Church of Ireland’s influence on Canadian Anglicanism in nineteenth century Ontario being, as Alan Hayes described, “immense”.⁷

Cronyn had attracted both Irish Protestant laity to his pews and Irish Protestant clergy to his pulpit. The feeling was mutual, for although Cronyn was licensed to Adelaide upon his arrival in Upper Canada, he was persuaded to stay in London, the more settled of the two villages, in large part, because of the Irish Protestant community that was emerging there. In his biography of the first Bishop of Huron, Alfred Henchman Crowfoot took liberties with the Cronyn’s “great decision” to stay, but the point is made when he has Margaret (Bickerstaff) Cronyn, Benjamin’s wife, confirm the reason for settling sooner than later: ““And you know, Ben, when I look down the street and see Malahide Castle, and when I look across the street and see a store run by an O’Brien, and when I remember how warmly an O’Neil welcomed us on our arrival, I almost begin to feel I am back in Ireland. Tell them we will stay.””⁸ For his part, Benjamin returned to

Ireland “again and again” according to Charles Henry Mockridge, to recruit Irish clergy for ever-expanding parishes in western Upper Canada, the success of which, left him frequently expressing himself as “well satisfied with “*his boys*”...”⁹ Three of Cronyn’s more celebrated recruits included Edward Sullivan, John Philip DuMoulin and James Carmichael who would become respectively, the Bishops of Algoma and Niagara and Bishop-Coadjutor of Montreal. All were Trinitymen, and better known as Cronyn’s ‘Three Musketeers’. By 1862, the year he was ordained deacon by Bishop Cronyn, George Mignon Innes described his first introduction to the clergy of Cronyn’s Diocese as a formidable army of assistants: “The bishop (Cronyn) occupied the chair; immediately surrounding him was a body of men who would have done credit to a grenadiers company of a regiment, Archdeacons Brough and Sandys, the Reverend Richard Flood, Archdeacon Marsh and others. These were the men who, in their several fields of mission work, established a sort of patriarchal jurisdiction over the whole population.”¹⁰ According to John D. Blackwell, Cronyn was a hard worker who garnered support, he was “a man of extraordinary physical stamina, he laboured assiduously among his backwoods parishioners and the garrison. Around him, Cronyn systematically constructed an “Irish Compact,” a phalanx of aggressive low-church evangelicalism which harassed the high-church stronghold of Bishop John Strachan of Toronto.”¹¹ Cronyn’s rise to the Bishopric provides opportunity to witness just such Irish Protestant ‘harassment’ in action.

By the time Benjamin Cronyn was elected as Bishop to the Diocese of Huron in July of 1857, he had been ministering to the western portions of Ontario for a quarter century and divisions within the United Church of England and Ireland in Upper Canada

had been apparent for some time. Writing as early as 1834, a mere two years after the arrival of Cronyn, despite lamented shortages in the number of Established Churchmen in the colonies, John Strachan took the opportunity of another clergyman's return to Ireland to complain to the Archbishop of Dublin, Richard Whately, about the sort of clergymen that Whately's adopted country seemed to be churning out. It would appear from his description that Strachan feared that Upper Canada was becoming more like Ireland for reasons other than the march toward disestablishment that was causing such foment back at home. Humble, but hardly optimistic, Strachan begged Whately:

Should your Grace feel any interest in our affairs he [the returning Reverend George Gwynne] can give you a tolerable account of the present state and hopes of the Church – a resemblance and that I fear too strong, will be perceived with that of Ireland. We are threatened with starvation – Government has withdrawn... and has cast us off...

With the exception of a... clerical Gentleman introduced to me by your Grace the clergymen who come to this country from Ireland are strangely Calvinistic in their sermons – and go much further than those who are called Evangelical in England. Some of them have also a strange fancy of preaching without notes. From conversing with them it seems to me that they adopt this plan from laziness for the stuff they utter requires no thoughtful preparation – one might amass it by the day if conscience would let them. They brandish a little bible in their hand fastened with brass clasps and open it from time to time to read their quotations but they commonly repeat them long before they find the place where they are recorded. These persons are so wild in their doctrines and so unguarded in their statements that I am really afraid to allow them to preach for they seem never to have known the distinctive principles of the Church of England or to have thrown them away in the voyage.¹²

Irish 'wildness' from Strachan's perspective was apparently something inherent – Catholic or Protestant – as a people they had the potential to bring trouble, but they could also be somewhat surprising and almost pleasing when they did not. In his journal for 1840, making the rounds of his Diocese, Strachan commented on the numbers of Irish Protestants in Cavan and described the people of the Church in Tecumseh Township as

“exactly the same description of people as at Guilhambury” whom he had found “much pleased to see me as I had been once at this settlement before and met with some of the children when I had baptized grown up men and women. The settlement consists entirely of Irish Emigrants and notwithstanding their wildness at home they become thriving settlers when they come to this country.”¹³ Evidently Strachan was pleased by West Gwillimbury’s cleared land and Tecumseh’s fine farms and “substantial yeomanry” which served as proofs that like Peterborough - also very Irish, presenting “a beautiful picture – the Church and Court House are the most conspicuous objects”¹⁴ - that Irish ‘wildness’ could be tamed. Strachan continued with his praise, “a stranger is apt to think that he is in an *English Town*”¹⁵ but he was careful here, editing his journal entry in afterthought, to stroke out “or *Irish Town*” at the close, perhaps ensuring that his vision (and that of many others) of proper settlement in Canada was made clear. Certainly seven years later, at the height of the arrival of the Famine Irish, Strachan, in a letter to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, held out much less hope for settlement prospects amongst the latest Irish contingents.

This year the emigration from Ireland has been dreadful – all our towns are overwhelmed with sick – here we have upwards of 600 in temporary hospitals and in Montreal matters are much worse. About twenty thousand Emigrants mostly Irish and Papists have already received aid and they are entailing on the Inhabitants a very heavy expense. I nearly lost one of my best clergymen who took the fever from visiting the sick. 9/10 of these poor people are totally incapable as yet of earning their own living and from their infirmities and ignorance many of them must remain a heavy burden on this community.¹⁶

Obviously Cronyn’s Irishness did not fit Strachan’s depiction of the burdensome Famine emigrant, but it certainly fit the picture of ‘wild’ and ‘unguarded’ evangelicalism that Strachan fretted about to Archbishop Whately. This, however, was a matter of

opinion. Contrast Strachan's cringing tentativeness regarding the importation of evangelical Irish clergymen with the audible relief in Thomas Radcliff's letter to his Reverend father in Dublin one year earlier, no longer having to carry on the Sabbath in his own log house because of the long-awaited arrival of what he deemed a proper clergyman. The layman Radcliff could now relax "as a church is about to be built in Adelaide, and a Mr. Cronin, as I understand, a correct, talented, and zealous clergyman, is appointed to the situation. Those clerical appointments are now called *Rectories*, and will become most desirable settlements for zealous and unambitious clergymen."¹⁷ Strachan would certainly not have disagreed with Radcliff's depiction of the state of religion in Upper Canada as deplorable. Both men wrote about the need for numbers of Churchmen in the colonies and both worried about the respective progress of Methodist missionaries amongst the settlers; particularly, they were both concerned about the quality of the Churchmen they so desired amongst them – this, however, was where they differed. For Radcliff, 'zealousness' was the key to the successful expansion of the Established Church throughout Upper Canada – mentioning it eight times in his letter as descriptive of the character essential in a colonial preacher – he found it *the* distinguishing feature between the rapidly expanding Methodists and the want of thirty or forty Church of England men. Radcliff explained that "if care be taken to select able, zealous and active men, the happiest results will follow; but if a swarm of *Drones* be sent among us, attracted merely by the temporal advantages of a settlement, without higher motives and anxieties, the degradation of *our* religion and the general contempt of inefficient ministers, must be anticipated. ... I mean not to say that there are not here spiritual, and earnest ministers of our own church, but unquestionably, on a fair comparison with the sectarian preachers, on

the single point of zeal and ministerial industry, they do not occupy the first place, however they may have the “vantage ground” in other particulars.”¹⁸ For Radcliff, Church of England principles were the essential counter to disaffection and democracy run rampant; they were the necessary tie to the British Constitution and happy governance, but one “*easy going*” Episcopalian prelate could be the undoing of much of that in any given Canadian backwater in the face of so many “formidable” and “ascendant” dissenting itinerants or worse, those spiritually unattended cabins and shanties¹⁹.

Wishing that Ireland’s loss could be Canada’s gain, Radcliff appealed to his father: “We hear that in Ireland you are striking off ten Bishops; I wish you could send some of them to us – we have much occasion for them” but he remonstrated that truly serious colonial candidates would have to “resemble the Irish Methodist Preacher” like the “humbler clergymen of our church”²⁰ and be committed to horseback and valise or at least the custom of kicking mud from wagon wheels, should he be intent on being more burdensomely supplied. Radcliff placed his hope for the future on the “zealous attention” of the Lieutenant Governor, Sir John Colborne in the proper selection of Churchmen for the “best interests of the province.”²¹ He even entertained the idea of the Church loosening some of its strict adherence to its Rubric in the interest of a more simple form of worship seemingly desired by Upper Canadians, but then, as Catharine Wilson has reminded us, Radcliff came from “a long line of Protestant Clergymen educated at Trinity College, Dublin, the bastion of evangelical Anglicanism in Ireland.”²² Small wonder then was Thomas’ keen interest in welcoming his “correct, talented, and zealous”²³ fellow Irishman, Benjamin Cronyn to Adelaide.

The 1839 journal of the Reverend Frederick A. O'Meara, Wexford-born and TCD graduate, reflects the importance of what amounted to 'Irishness' in the qualifications set by any particular Irish Protestant community when considering a Churchman in their midst. Once filled with uncertainty for the success of a particularly neglected congregation's incumbent who happened to be English – ““a stranger was to preach to them”” – O'Meara breathed a sigh of relief over ““...the love and esteem which Mr. [Featherstone Lake] Osler's faithful preaching and affectionate demeanour have won from these rough backwoodsmen, and that under disadvantageous circumstances, as the inhabitants of those townships [in Peel] which are under his charge are chiefly Irish, of the lower order, and were at first rather prejudiced against Mr. Osler, merely because he did not happen to be a countryman of their own – (a clannish spirit, which I am sorry to say pervades most of my countrymen who have emigrated to this province.)””²⁴ Osler's eventual acceptance by the Irish probably owed a great deal to the evangelical, low church tone his ministrations were imbued with. Obviously, Osler came to accept his Irish community too, agreeing to name his youngest son, born on the 12th of July, 'William' instead of 'Walter', after “the local Orangemen paraded to the rectory and clamoured to see “the young Prince of Orange””.²⁵

John Strachan guarded against what might be called over-zealousness in his Churchmen – those 'wild' and 'unguarded' practices – 'enthusiasms', the very loosening of formulaic worship that had so intrigued Radcliff – and took steps where he could to control it. In 1843 Strachan wrote a most grateful letter, private and confidential, to the Reverend Adam Townley, a solid High Churchman like himself, whom he had placed at the helm of the Church at Dunnville in place of the 'troublesome' Reverend Charles B.

Gribble. Strachan was “happy to learn from several quarters that you are getting on prosperously and have smoothed most of the difficulties which were in your way on assuming the management of your Parish.”²⁶ The Bishop blamed the rancorous split in Townley’s inherited congregation on the erratic behaviour of his predecessor, Gribble, who “took great freedoms with the Book of Common Prayer – and was very irregular in the performance of public worship, frequently omitting portions and more disposed to follow his own inclination than the Rubric”²⁷ He contented himself in his decision to refuse Gribble testimonials upon the latter’s return to Britain and subsequent Mission Society work there – despite a petition “got up in his favour”²⁸ - that Gribble was “more of a Dissenter than a Churchman” and that only a clergyman of “experience and direction” could “set all matters right”²⁹ It is likely that the ‘dissenting’ Gribble was an Evangelical, a notion seemingly supported by his subsequent work as Chaplain and Incumbent to the evangelically-aligned Sailor’s Home and St. Paul’s Mariners Church in Whitechapel, and that the contention between the two men was representative of a strong opposition within Strachan’s own Church – “an evangelical Low Church outlook which differed widely from his own on many theological, social and political questions, and perhaps... commanded more support among the clergy and laity than that of... himself.”³⁰ According to John Kenyon, the Evangelicals were

...a powerful party within the English Church. ...[They] stressed the overwhelming importance of personal salvation, the individual’s relationship to God. Salvation, in their view, is an intensely personal matter of conversion and faith which does not depend exclusively upon the mediation of a clergy. The Evangelicals disputed the claims for the clergy that by virtue of their office they possessed any form of authority over their congregations and thus challenged Strachan’s concept of church discipline. Furthermore their beliefs led them to question the validity of claiming for any church, even their own, a monopoly of religious truth; and to the view, anathema to Strachan, that all religious

denominations are in fact no more than convenient organizations in which Christians can find fellowship together.³¹

They also happened to be represented, most militantly, by the Irish clergy.³² Indeed, S.W. Horrall concludes that the theological divisions within the Episcopal Church – issues that were not unfamiliar for the period – High Churchism vs. Low Churchism - were matched, if not surpassed in importance in Upper Canada, by sectional divisions that had everything to do with “backgrounds and origins.”³³ The western part of the province of Ontario along with other flash points such as Kingston and Ottawa and even Montreal, were not only Low Church preserves, they were largely Irish too and as historian, Michael Gauvreau has noted, the Anglican clergy in British North America were characterized by a compromised authority; they were far more accountable to the religious sensibilities of the laity of their congregations than their English or Irish counterparts across the sea had to be.³⁴ In the light of this, the already outstanding expression of Irishness that Cronyn and ‘his boys’ emanated, must also be seen as reflective in large part of a wider, community stance.

At the heart of the High Church/Low Church debate – Curtis Fahey uses the term ‘warfare’ – that plagued the Church of England at mid century, was the perceived threat of ‘popery’ or ‘romanism’ and its relationship to the defensive consciousness that was inherent in the theological orientation of Irish Protestants in particular.³⁵ Although Donald Akenson warns against making definitive associations between the Church of Ireland and evangelicalism, his work certainly recognizes the depth of the impression that movement made in Ireland in the early decades of the century. He uses Richard Whately, an outsider, English Oxonian, awkward and despised - though brilliant - who, as

Archbishop of Dublin, was a ‘Protestant in Purgatory’, to demonstrate the very distinctive and defensive character of Irish Protestantism within the Anglican community. Despite his qualifier on Irish evangelicalism, Akenson then points out that not only historians of the church, but Whately himself emphasized the evangelical tone in the Irish church. Akenson calls Dublin the “Mecca” where they “swarmed”, and uses descriptives such as “highly public” and “memorialized”, “often significant”, “virulent” and is perhaps too quick to disassociate evangelism/proselytizing from establishmentarianism to describe a “phenomenon” that according to him, seemed to be more than it actually was.³⁶ In contrast, Alan Hayes more recently, in describing what he terms “the Irish Model” of Anglican identity, stated that “Evangelicalism was conspicuous, perhaps predominant, in the Church of Ireland by about 1850. Whether it produced the hostility to Roman Catholicism or whether the hostility to Roman Catholicism produced the evangelicalism is not easy to determine. Certainly, the two were inextricably linked in the Church of Ireland before the 1870s” and “particularly influenced Canadian Anglicans in their discussions of church style.”³⁷ Charles Tuttle’s *Popular History of the Dominion of Canada* certainly seemed to recognize two very different Anglican traditions in Canada when it commented comparatively in 1877, that the Methodist Church in Canada did not have the “extremes” that “the Protestant Episcopal [Church] presents in the [form of the] English gentleman and the Irish Protestant.”³⁸ Indeed, beyond the Thirty-Nine Articles, (even the Book of Common Prayer’s centrality was debated) unquestionably, the Irish Church *was* different from the English Church and the Irish clergymen emerging from Trinity College, Dublin had, for centuries, reflected that fact. According to Alan Ford, by 1620, less than three decades after its founding, Trinity College had a distinctive

character. It was reputedly Calvinist, fractious, Puritanistic, Low Church, evangelical, fiercely independent and hostile to reform or control from England. That the distinctions between the Irish Church and the English Church were lasting, is evidenced by the abrading identities of Upper Canada's Churchmen more than two centuries later. Indeed, much could be made comparatively of the seventeenth-century struggles of the Archbishop of Armagh, Ussher, against the Bishop of London, Laud and the 19th century ones between 'Benjamin Huron' (Cronyn) and 'John Toronto' (Strachan)³⁹

In 1833, the Oxford Movement published its "Tracts for the Times", a direct response to the secular State's involvement in Church reform/devolution, and within a few years, the combination of Tractarian publications emphasizing the High Church and Whig government reform had revived long standing divisions within the Church as far as the colonial front in Canada. The Reverend William Macauley lamented this lack of Church unity in a letter mid-century to his colleague, the Honourable Chief Justice John Robinson, deeply regretting the dearth of middle ground: "what clouds of these irregulars are to be found on either flank of the Church Militant in these days!"⁴⁰ Macauley's hopes for the future division of the Toronto Diocese therefore revolved around "a good sound missionary Bishop... [to] be selected from the ranks of the *English* Clergy. We should be much benefitted by... a man fully imbued with *true* Church principles and free from any leaning either to the Puseyite or low Evangelical notions both alike injurious to the Church."⁴¹ Strachan too, after initial enthusiasms for the Tractarians, had learned to promote more of a middle ground in the intellectual debate after the shocking conversions to Roman Catholicism of some of its leaders. Evangelicals however, for the most part, remained suspicious and ever-vigilant against his and his supporters' High Church

stance⁴². The two sides disparaged a great many things in the mission grounds of Upper Canada, from the surplicing of choirs, the nature of university education, diocese boundaries, the clergy reserves, the commutation fund and back again to the use of candles: the High and Low Clergy faced-off to define the nature of the Anglican experience in Canada. It was into this foray then, that the Church, seeking expressions of greater independence, introduced the idea of elected synods and Upper Canada's Churchmen (prepared to allow for greater lay involvement out of financial necessity) lined up in 1857 to elect a Bishop for the newly created Diocese of Huron comprising the southwestern portions (thirteen counties) of the province that had been so successful in raising the funds to do so. As Bishop of Toronto, the dividing Diocese, John Strachan had 'his man' for the job in Alexander Neil Bethune, a High Churchman who fit Macauley's requirements to a tee, but the largely Irish, Low Church preserve surrounding London and the Reverend Benjamin Cronyn said otherwise.⁴³

Although speaking of the township of Leeds and Landsdowne in Eastern Ontario, Akenson's assessment of the Irishness of the Church of England in Ontario is perhaps even more relevant to the southwest, where mid-century emigrants flocked as the Huron Tract opened up. Here, "the Irish immigrant of Anglican persuasion entered easily into a religious system in which Irishmen were the largest single power bloc and the liturgy and theology very close to those of his old parish church in Ireland; locally he found a clergyman who was a permanent resident of the rapidly developing set of townships and who had direct experience of the Old County and the problems of emigrants from it."⁴⁴ It was this kind of solidarity that had seen Strachan butting heads with Cronyn and 'his men' over the teaching at the Theological Institution in Cobourg, the sectarian nature of

Strachan's university, religious education in the common schools and even for 'questionable' expense reports: the failure to maintain a more 'rigid economy' during trips to Ireland and England on the western Church's business. Ever the mainstay for Strachan, Bethune for some time had sought to soothe his mentor's sore head after many a westward confrontation. In 1847, not long after being appointed to Strachan's old position, the Archdeaconry of York, Bethune applied this salve:

I do not think that our Theological Institution has many opponents eastwards of Toronto, and sound and right thinking men could hardly fail to see and appreciate the reasons for its maintenance. The University gentlemen who are most active in their opposition ought to see how much they are damaging their own Institution by this narrow-minded hostility. If sound Churchmen throughout the country should be induced to throw them overboard, it may be an evil day for them. They ought to be cultivating our good-will and not goading us to opposition.⁴⁵

Bethune's admonishments however could not alter the influence of what appeared to be so many Irish and like-minded clergymen descending upon the western part of the province, expounding their Low church views through ties to such evangelical organizations as the Upper Canadian Bible Society, the Upper Canada Tract Society and most notably, The Society for Irish Church Missions along with the formation of others within their own denomination, like the Western Clerical Association, a full three years before the Eastern District and others could manage likewise. Funding for the new Bishopric's endowment followed suit, the West secured the required sums quickly in the knowledge that a voice in choosing their own Bishop would follow, in contrast to the East. Strachan was feeling the pressure when he wrote the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel privately in 1854 in the hope that Hawkins might

...be able to do something respecting the division of this Diocese and appointment of Bishops – The restless faction of the West are again at work plotting to get the Rev'd Mr. Cronyn appointed Bishop for their division. Now as you well know

Dr. Cronyn has been the focus of all the agitations against the Society's Plans and me for supporting peace and order among the clergy of that section – Moreover he did all he could to oppose Trinity College and to bolster up Toronto University and prevented those over whom he had any influence from subscribing to its funds – he is, moreover a very low churchman and better calculated for a political agitator than a Bishop. – The whole is a bare faced job, yet at a distance, for he is very cunning, it might be plausibly represented. But I believe you know the man and his foolish adherents [~~'party'~~ is crossed out]. ... I trust your next will advance the appointment of the Provost and his two colleagues.⁴⁶

Worried about 'party', particularly of the Irish sort, about the clarity, if any, that English authorities could have on matters so distant and local, and about the proper means of opposing Cronyn as Huron's apparent Bishop-elect, Strachan publicly declared his neutrality in the matter of the election, but privately set to work to forward Bethune. One month before the election, Strachan encouraged him: "I have said nothing to you of the good that you may do the Church by preventing Dr. Cronyn from becoming Bishop, who though I believe well-intentioned is not qualified for the office and whose low views are calculated to lower the Church."⁴⁷ Prior to this, Strachan had written Bethune a six-stage, point by point directive, intended to map victory over the faction in the West, that dictated amongst other things: quiet until the West had secured the endowment for the Bishopric entirely, keeping out of the press which Strachan considered "hostile" to the Church while having Bethune's "friends" expound on his talents and experience, press any undecided clergy in Cronyn's Huron district, and as the ultimate stop-gap, offer private consultation with their Bishop if necessary.⁴⁸

For a time, rumours abounded that had Strachan's Diocesan defenses aimed both port and starboard, for fear that yet another Evangelical faction was attempting to secure the Bishopric of Kingston (Ontario) for an Irishman, amidst the frustrated attempts at

raising the required endowment fund in the east. Strachan wrote Hawkins in April of 1854, having just caught wind of the proposed *coup*.

Some of our people have been somewhat agitated by an absurd Rumour which has got into the Newspapers that the Honourable Mr. Hincks who has been some time at the head of Lord Elgin's government, a Unitarian in religion and in no great ardour with the Church here, has solicited the Bishopric of Kingston for his Brother who is a clergyman holding a small living in Ireland and that he is to be appointed. – Such a step would be most injudicious for however respectable such a person may really be – (for I know nothing whatever of him) it would incite general indignance at although there be nothing in the rumour it has alarmed some and so far impeded the progress of the fund.⁴⁹

Perhaps more than just a rumour – for the “claims made for Hincks were [said to be] “very commonplace and might be as truly predicated of a thousand other Irish clergymen”⁵⁰ - almost two years later Strachan was only just appearing to have put the matter to bed and this may have owed more to the political removal of Francis Hincks to Barbados than to Strachan's actual control over his Diocese. Again he approached Hawkins:

In regards the subdivision of the Diocese we have not got on so well as we could have wished owing to the foolish proceedings of the Archdeacon of Kingston [George O'Kill Stuart], who with 3 or 4 clergymen around him have been coquetting with the Honourable Mr. Hincks now summoned to the Government of Barbadoes. It would appear that this Gentleman persuaded some of his Political Friends before his departure from Canada, to subscribe large sums it is said about £8000 on condition that his Brother Dr. Hincks might be the Bishop. This scheme was concealed for a long time and now that it has come out it has created great indignation. At a seat meeting of our people at Brockville one of the resolutions runs thus “That this meeting has been informed that the Parish of Brockville has been called upon by the Venerable the Archdeacon of Kingston to contribute to an Episcopal Fund secretly raised for the express purpose of securing the appointment of the Reverend Thomas Hincks to be Bishop at the hands of the Governor General – it therefore earnestly protests against any such Scheme, as being contrary to the Instructions of our Diocesan respecting the Episcopal Fund, opposed to the wishes of the Synod and fraught with dangers to the best interests of the church, by the revival of political appointments therein.”⁵¹

Strachan assured that this “foolish attempt” – the “buying of a Bishop” as he put it, would be put down for good in the coming months but it had impeded the progress of the division of his Diocese, particularly with regard to the raising of subscriptions – something that Cronyn’s area had been quite adept at. “This they have done in the Western part of the province upwards of ten[?] thousand pounds have been subscribed for the founding of the See without mentioning or alluding to any name...”⁵² Yet for the Evangelical clergy who formed the majority of Churchmen in the western portion of the Diocese of Toronto, there was little doubt that the name they would forward was that of the Rector of St. Paul’s, London, Rural Dean, Benjamin Cronyn⁵³ and “theologically, Cronyn was a thorough-going Evangelical, a product of the uncompromising Protestantism of the Church in Ireland.”⁵⁴

It was the Irish clergy – men like the Reverends C.C Brough, R. Flood, A. Mulholland, F. Evans, F. Sandys, E. Elwood, M. Boomer and A. Caulfield – all Trinity College, Dublin, Irishmen amongst others, and a laity well-represented by Irishmen that backed Cronyn in the contentious election of 1857 and thereby set the tone for the Evangelical character of Anglicanism in Western Ontario. According to S.W. Horrall, the sectional nature of the election belies an emphasis on national origin and affiliation that has hitherto been overlooked by historians choosing instead to focus on the influences of the frontier, liberalism and democracy in a New World community so close to the Republic’s border. Perhaps historiographically it has been too scandalous to consider the Irishness of ‘London’ in Canada, but the Reverend Adam Townley (Paris) certainly did when he very publicly blamed the lack of decorum in the election’s campaigning on that very thing in the London *Free Press* two months prior to the big day. He barked that the

proceedings had been unremarkable “until Dr. Cronyn’s “national”, Irish and Calvinistic supporters had so far succeeded in their canvassing here and at home, that Dr. Cronyn’s name appeared in the Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette as the Bishop elect of London, Canada.”⁵⁵ If the identity distinction were not made clear enough in that, Townley went further and in pushing the theological qualifications of Bethune, he railed that “it is not saying much to say that he [Bethune] is surpassed by no Anglo, or even Irish Canadian Clergyman of the West” and that any opinion to the contrary was merely an “attempt to trample anyone who ventures from Trinity College, Dublin, Calvinistic cliquism.”⁵⁶ There it was – the Irishness of Churchmanship in London, Canada West, considered, and the verdict of Townley and probably a good many other High Churchmen, was that it did not measure up, it was dangerous and in fact, it was not truly *real* in the first place. Townley later clarified while posing the dilemma: “whether we shall have a Calvinistic Bishop, who will substitute a narrow and bitterly uncharitable theology for that of the all-prevailing efficacy of the Blood of Christ; or a *true* son of the Reformed Anglican Church.”⁵⁷ From the beginning of the campaign, Bethune’s supporters had repeatedly emphasized his Canadian-birth and his long-standing ties to the Canadian church as a bonus to any other personal qualifications he had. The implication, obviously, from Townley’s perspective on the competition was that anything otherwise, or more specifically, anything ‘Irish’ in theology, was a liability. This point, in particular it seems, drove the Reverend Francis Evans of Westmeath to fire back in the *Echo* in defense of every accusation Townley had publicly made against Cronyn, and boast that the latter’s educational achievements were “second to none of the Clergy in the Diocese of Toronto.”⁵⁸ The Ontario Diocese’s ‘Historiographer’, Donald M. Schurman chose his

words carefully, recognizing implicitly the effect that this acrimony over identity had in the first Episcopal election in Canada, when he claimed it “set a precedent often followed... in the future; a *donnybrook* conducted in the name of a higher cause.”⁵⁹

On July 8 and 9, 1857 the election of the first Bishop of the Diocese of Huron took place in London, in Cronyn’s own St. Paul’s Church with the Bishop of Toronto, John Strachan presiding. In what amounted to the heartland of Irish Evangelical enthusiasm, Cronyn’s opponents must have been somewhat comforted by the amendments they had put forward and won at Synod one month earlier – that if fewer than 2/3 of either the clergy or laity entitled to vote partook of the election, then only 2/3 of the votes of those who did appear were required to win, and that balloting would be private as opposed to the call for an open vote by a very confident Cronyn-man, Reverend Francis Evans (Simcoe), in order to keep peace between those clergymen whom they knew might be voting against their own laity. The election was a big deal, it served as a most notable distraction, within and without the Church, throughout the province. Like the Master of Ceremonies under the Big Top, the *Globe*, in the midst of it all, hollered in the spotlight:

“Electing a Bishop!” exclaims in horror some good old Church and State Tory, “What are we coming to?” “Electing a Bishop!” chuckles a staunch old Reformer. “They would have hanged us in ’37 for proposing it.” But electing a Bishop is the order of the day, notwithstanding – election by the Laity! – election by ballot! – and John Toronto high priest at the ballot box!!⁶⁰

The *Globe*, despite its headquarters within the High Church preserve of the Diocese of Toronto, then proceeded to make very clear that it was most emphatically against “High Churchism”, “Puseyism” and the notion that the clergy were the content of the Church, but rather for the recognition of the “whole Christian people” and for, “most sincerely”,

Benjamin Cronyn.⁶¹ Then, in defiance of Strachan's opening sermon which all but named Bethune in the descriptive of a proper incumbent, his requirement that the clergy vote trump the laity's if a third ballot was required, and his apparent planting of a layman to suggest a last minute selection by Bishops only, Cronyn won the election by a clergy vote of 22 to 20 and lay vote, 23 to 10. At issue in the election were several important things: High Churchism vs. Low Churchism, 'native' theological training vs. Trinity, Dublin's, east vs. west in the Diocese, and recent Churchmanship vs. long-time service, but according to S.W. Horrall, more than this, the election was an expression of "backgrounds and origins"- of Irishness – that was confirmed in Diocesan operations in relatively short time:

...Cronyn left no doubt in his first diocesan appointments that those who supported him were determined to conduct the Church in their own part of the colony in their own way. ... The executive of the Synod of the Diocese of Huron was entrusted to a committee of five clergymen. Of these, Brough, Evans, Caulfield and Boomer were Irish, while the fifth, the Reverend J.W. Marsh... [had removed himself from Bethune's Cobourg Theological College in protest of its principles.] The first Archdeacon was Brough... [and] in 1860, seven rural deans were appointed, five of them Irish and two English. In each case except one, they had supported Cronyn in the election.⁶²

The Church in the west then, for some time to come, was destined to resemble the Church in the homeland.

As in Ireland, the theology of Protestant Churchmen in Canada centred in part around staunch opposition to Roman Catholicism, but it also owed much to its understanding of its role as interpreter of a purely Evangelical creed and as an independent and valuable member/contributor in the realm of Great Britain. This role was maintained in Canada, importantly, according to Harry Turner, by the "Irish birth or Irish extraction" of so many Low Churchmen, who by simple origin, "were the inheritors

of a long tradition of [both] ultra-Protestantism and rabid anti-Romanism.”⁶³ This would explain the “extremely popular” predilection amongst Low Churchmen for The Society for Irish Church Missions – an organization committed to the expansion of Protestantism throughout Ireland – of which, Cronyn was President for the London Auxiliary and active in that for Toronto as well. The committees involved read like a veritable who’s who amongst Cronyn’s “boys”: with the Revs. C.C. Brough and Richard Flood... as Vice-Presidents... [and] the Revs. Grassett,... Evans, Brough, St. George Caulfield, Ardagh, Sanson, Baldwin and Marsh... all present” along with the Reverend R.V. Rogers of Kingston and “Buying a Bishop” repute.⁶⁴ Historian Richard Vaudry has made a particularly Irish point about the involvement of Evangelicals in Mission Societies, especially those that extended beyond the pale of the Church of England, an area outside of which, High Churchmen did not venture. The Reverends Baldwin, Carmichael, DuMoulin, Evans, Rogers and Sullivan, variously Cronyn’s ‘Three Musketeers’ and/or ‘boys’ are all listed as Honorary Members in the *Thirty Third Annual Report of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society* for 1889.⁶⁵ Vaudry suggests that much of the interdenominational cooperation that went on in British North America owed its inspiration to the Irish precedent of aggressive activism and that a link may therefore be strongly made between evangelicalism and Irishness. “Participation in such pan-evangelical societies became a hallmark of British North American Anglican evangelicals as it had in Ireland in the 1820s, and this at a time when evangelicals in England, particularly in the 1830s, and representing both the Clapham Sect inheritance and the Recordite tradition, had increasingly distanced themselves from Non-conformist evangelicals. It seems clear that British North American Anglican evangelicals

cooperated earlier and with greater enthusiasm than did their English counterparts.”⁶⁶ Indeed, Bishop Cronyn was as concerned about conversions at home as he was in the homeland, and his provisions for preaching (the primary function of the clergy according to the Low Church) were Irish inspired too. Around Sullivan Township, according to A.G. Burrows, Cronyn carried a carpetbag of Irish Church Society tracts, “nearly full of these messengers of peace, nearly all from the Society in D’Olier Street, Dublin; a great many are little larger than leaflets, but contain *multum in parvo*.”⁶⁷ The Dublin Tract Depository was the supplier of works such as Cronyn’s constant, “Pointed Questions” and “Lifeboat and the Sinking Ship”, amongst other tracts which, according to the *Cavan Weekly News*, were “remarkable for the pure and pointed evangelical truth they contained; in fact, the very marrow of the Gospel.”⁶⁸ These were a far cry from the Tracts that Strachan and Bethune had admired and endorsed coming out of Oxford both prior to and even in part, after some of the Tractarians’ conversions to Roman Catholicism.

Irish Low Churchmen stood in stark contrast to their High Church brethren in terms of doctrine and discipline. They vehemently opposed: the notion of a divine Apostolic Succession, the episcopacy’s claim on the Church, any suggestion of a Real Presence in Communion, Baptismal Regeneration, strict adherence to the Rubric, Bethune’s Church with their own publication the Echo, and the ‘Oxford heresy’, while at the same time they were steadfast for: a broader definition of the Protestant Church of Christ through denominational cooperation – a practice the High Church vehemently denounced -voluntarism, Justification by faith alone, and the essentiality of private judgment, measured by Scripture, as the right and duty of any Christian be they ordained

or not.⁶⁹ Irish Anglicanism was representative of an “uncompromising ultra-Protestantism”⁷⁰, characterized by varying degrees of Calvinism and Puritanism. Its twin goals, as revealed in the mission statement of *The Echo and Protestant Episcopal Recorder*, were to oppose ‘popery’ and preach the pure Gospel. As much as all Churchmen upheld the Church of England’s Thirty Nine Articles as their confession of faith, it should be remembered that Trinity College, Dublin, men had for centuries, augmented these with the Irish Articles of 1615. For the Diocese of Huron as well as Ontario, “Ussher... (that most Irish of divines), not Laud stood as the theological godfather of the Anglican polity.”⁷¹ The result in Canada was that Churchmen, Low and High, could largely be distinguished as Churchmen, Irish and otherwise.

In 1865, on the business of parochial visitation, Colonel A.G. Burrows described his father-in-law, the Bishop of Huron, Benjamin Cronyn as having a certain tenacity that he could only ascribe to the Churchman’s Irishness. In the aftermath of Cronyn’s electoral victory and the proverbial hornet’s nest stirred up by the Trinity College Controversy, Burrows’ amusing anecdote may have contained more truth about the man than stereotype. The Colonel and the Bishop found themselves in dire straits outside of Bayfield on a steep hill with runaway horses, part of the harness having given way. Having ridden the first slope hard, the Colonel, unwilling to face the second in quick succession, bailed out of the wagon whereupon his immediate relief gave way to a more lasting wounded pride. “Here I thought it no harm to get out while going down the hill, after all that had occurred; but I wish I had not done so, for it has been made a story of by the Bishop, as if I was afraid. Truly an Irishman would prefer galloping down a hill with his linch-pin out, and shaft nearly in two, but I do not see why an Englishman may not

choose to go down on his own legs, if his taste leads him that way.”⁷² To his credit, and that of the Diocesan College he eventually founded, Bishop Cronyn may have indeed been a man who finished what he started. In 1860, Cronyn’s long-held concerns over what he viewed as the “unsound” and “un-protestant” theological foundation being provided in John Strachan’s schools (Cobourg Theological Institution, King’s College and later, Trinity College) spilled over into a much more public, rancorous debate known as the Trinity College Controversy.

By virtue of his office, Bishop Cronyn was automatically a member of the Corporation of Trinity College in 1857 and by virtue of his Low Church stance, he was automatically at odds with the founder’s vision for the new university since it had opened in 1852. The acrimony in the subsequent fall-out that became the inheritance of the colonial Church in Ontario, should perhaps not be surprising given the party spirit that had surrounded the Bishop’s election and the clear contradictions that stood between the Bishop of Toronto and the Bishop of Huron. The Reverend Hamilton Verschoyle, Minister of the Episcopal Chapel on Upper Baggot Street, Dublin and later Bishop of Kilmore, (and former College roommate of Cronyn) could not have been more pointed in his sermon during Cronyn’s consecration as Bishop at Lambeth Chapel in October wherein he described exactly the sort of Churchman the Diocese of Huron would have at its helm:

It was the chosen motto for the Archbishopal seal of Ussher, that great Primate of the Irish branch of the United Church – “Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel!” It is, blessed be God, virtually the motto of a goodly number company of the Prelates of the United Church of our day. It is also the motto of a goodly number of the Colonial Bishops; and I am persuaded, that it has long since been adopted and will ever be the motto, of our esteemed brother, who is this day to be sealed as a Father in God for the Diocese of Huron, in Canada.⁷³

Thus in 1862 when the Bishop of Huron's longstanding "Objections to the Theological Teaching of Trinity College", were finally published, it was the natural consequence of a determination to defend that motto that the "Irish branch" of the so-called "United" Church upheld, and have a say in the manner in which future Churchmen in Ontario were educated. Although Cronyn initially acted out of necessity, explaining his inability to assent to the Reverend Adam Townley's motion during Synod in 1860 in support of Strachan and Trinity, once thus committed, his determination came from the deep personal conviction that in contrast to that provided by his *alma mater* of the same name in Ireland, "the teaching of Trinity College [in Toronto] is not only subversive of those Scriptural and Protestant principles which have been the glory of our Church since the Reformation, but calculated also to beget in the minds of the alumni of that institution impressions favourable to the unscriptural and superstitious doctrines and practices of the Roman Church."⁷⁴ As in the past, such ecclesiastical face-offs became fodder for the press, despite attempts to keep them within the confines of the Church, with the result that personalities and petty grievances - now known as "Huronism" - became public entertainment.⁷⁵ Bishop Cronyn had said that had he a son to educate, Trinity, Toronto, "would be the last place he would send him to"⁷⁶ and the majority of his clergy, appeared to agree.

On guard against the "Rome-ward" direction of Trinity as he had been against Strachan's other schools, Cronyn's evidence for his publication came out of the dismay he experienced in examining candidates for his See who had graduated from Trinity, Toronto and from their lecture notes containing Provost George Whitaker's teachings.

Cronyn was probably also influenced by his close relationship with men like the Reverend J.W. Marsh (Ingersoll and Beachville) and later, Reverend Isaac Hellmuth (would become the second Bishop of Huron⁷⁷) whose watch on anything smacking of ‘Romanism’ saw them as students, leave the Theological College in Cobourg in disgust, for training and ordination elsewhere. Former student, Neil McLeod also seems to have bolstered Cronyn’s accusations that Trinity was ‘sacramental’ or ‘Tractarian’ in character and that the necessary remedy could only be found in the establishment of a “College for Sound Evangelical Views stressing the simplicity of the gospel and the Protestantism of “our church””.⁷⁸ According to D.M. Schurman, “our Church” was a concept that was well contended by the people of the Huron Diocese where “Bishop and flock were virtually at one in taking up a theological attitude commonly referred to as Low Church; an attitude that seems to have been in tune with the prevailing popular view of most Canadians, when they thought about Church affairs.”⁷⁹ That other bastion of Low Church Irishness in the province, the area around Kingston, was also very lay-directed – “Kingston laymen were more than usually accustomed to getting their own way in church matters when problems arose”⁸⁰ – and it was from this direction that a failed motion calling for a change in doctrine at Trinity came during the Toronto Synod in 1861. Cronyn and his now well known ‘Objections’ advocated that a greater caution than might have been necessary at other times, was now essential, making “evident” according to Turner, that there was “a growing group-consciousness among Evangelicals, and a developing conviction that the Protestantism of the Church stood in urgent need of active defense from the encroachments of “Popery confessed and [perhaps more seriously] Popery concealed”⁸¹ The latter in particular, or at least the perception of it lurking within

the Church, had seen the Diocese of Huron building ramparts of independence since its establishment via its own Synod, separate commutation funds, the refusal to join the other Synods under a Metropolitan Bishop and the establishment of an independent Church Society. The dream of its own Theological College then, was merely the next step – albeit a somewhat precipitous one – in the aftermath of Cronyn’s now irreversible challenge to Trinity College’s teaching which was to become “the most violent and disruptive controversy that had beset the Church in Canada up to that time.”⁸²

Within a copy of what was known colloquially by students at Trinity as ‘the Provost’s Catechism’, a series of questions and answers that were handed down year after year by Whitaker’s students, Cronyn believed he had found evidence of the ‘Roman menace’, a risky proposition for the training ground of the province’s future Churchmen:

It is placed in the hands of every student entering the University, and all are expected to learn it. Independently of the fact that such a mode of dealing with men is unheard of in any University at home, I consider the teaching of this catechism dangerous in the highest degree; the views put forth are unsound and unProtestant. The explanations of Scripture are one-sided; the whole thing is calculated to indoctrinate the youths educated at the institution with the views of the author of the “Catechism,” and to prepare them to propagate the views amongst the members of our Communion throughout the country.⁸³

Although his protest was initially intended only for Strachan and the Corporation, Cronyn eventually went toe to toe publicly with Whitaker against what he saw as Mariology and the Intercession of Saints threatened, the suggestion of more than two sacraments and the promotion of authoritative absolution over righteousness by faith alone. In other words, Provost Whitaker’s Anglicanism was far too High for Cronyn’s comfort. He believed in this instance that the *via media* had been abandoned for a path leading straight to Rome and he had determined to support “his camp”.⁸⁴ The ‘Provost’s Reply’ both in the official

publication of that title, and elsewhere in Church communications, contained huge theological proofs for his teaching, citing many great Church of England authorities, as well as a query for his adversary, the “would-be theologian”: was it “our primary duty to oppose Romanism, or to advance the truth?”⁸⁵

I fear that some, who pride themselves on their zealous opposition to the errors of the Church of Rome, will have much to answer for in respect of their conduct towards the members of that communion. Believing Romanists to be involved in fatal delusions, they yet do much to confirm them in those delusions; by refusing to distinguish between the Romish error and the catholic verity or probable opinion with which it is associated, and from which it often derives, in the main, its hold upon the understanding or the affections.⁸⁶

Few of the Irish Protestants in this study would have had difficulty answering Whitaker’s question directly. They could quite readily oppose Romanism on Sundays or in Synod or at Lodge night – this they were duty bound to do - without having to advance any other ‘truth’ the rest of the week. Cronyn and his ‘boys’ however, had inherited the responsibility of doing both: preaching the Gospel *and* protecting the Reformed faith.

Whitaker continued, choosing words and turns of phrase that had a contemporary resonance, an uncanny similarity to those aimed at certain other Irish ‘parties’ making plays for the attentions of the Prince of Wales along the royal route during his visit that very same year. Whitaker chastised that “an appeal, probably only too successful, has been made to *ignorance*, to *passion*, and to *prejudice*; a scandal has been occasioned, from the bitter results of which the Church in this Province will probably suffer for years to come, and, having done what I can, under the direction of my superiors, to counteract the mischief, I will not incur the responsibility of aggravating it, by engaging in personal and unauthorized controversy.”⁸⁷ Where some may have seen doctrinal debate and a formidable defense of long cherished theological ‘truths’, Whitaker and other ‘Quiet

Churchmen' when contemplating Cronyn and 'his boys', saw a narrow, uncharitable, bigoted and ignorant devotion to partyism. The Metropolitan Bishop of Canada, Reverend Francis Fulford allowed even less room for interpretation when he assured his divided Church that Canada was not about to topple to 'popery', "Orangeism, rather than a tendency towards Rome, I should suspect to be more in favor in the West" where certainly enough "Evangelical men" for his liking, "through ignorance, or for some party purpose, [had attempted]... to create a special sympathy in certain quarters..." by suggesting otherwise.⁸⁸ Fulford's intention had been to counter the well-publicized appeal of Cronyn's right-hand man, the Reverend Isaac Hellmuth, now in England canvassing for financial support of a "sound" Evangelical College in Canada that would act as a balance against the current "hierarchical structure", "deeply tainted with the leaven of Tractarianism" being reared in the Colonies. While he had written to discourage either extreme: too much 'Pusey-ism' ("...any single Diocese in that country [England] would exhibit more evidence of such tendencies than the whole of Canada put together") or too few Low Churchmen ("...they are to be found in... the Cathedral at Toronto and all the churches at Kingston have long been so filled; that at London, three in Montreal, one in Quebec, one in Hamilton: all principal cities in the Province"), in his 'suspicion', Fulford made the direct connection to Irish antecedents and the finger of blame for disunity in the Church thus pointed to Cronyn, his Irishness, that of his 'party': clergymen and laity, and the inevitable 'no good' that apparently came out of such a combination.⁸⁹

What stood out then, what was remembered in the aftermath of the Trinity College Controversy were the perceived identities of Cronyn and his Evangelicals. "It was more

easy to determine a *colour* than to unravel a controversy”⁹⁰ wrote John Fennings Taylor not long after the immediate furor had subsided. It was indeed a scandal, “...it happened that, with little knowledge and less consideration, people suddenly determined their party principles irrespective of the grounds for such determination. ... Disputants affirmed with less labour than they investigated, and it was more convenient to say sharp things than wise ones,... [and] ecclesiastical vestments became so to speak the badges of the opposing parties; and such mysterious subjects as the manner of a sinner’s justification, of sacramental grace, of Divine decrees and human accountability, seemed in some distinct way, to be associated with, if not explained by, the accident of a clergyman preaching in a surplice or a gown.”⁹¹ With their version of an ultra-Protestant Episcopal Church now well-cudged into the public mind, it was perhaps harder *not* to identify the largely Irish Protestant principles behind the Evangelicalism of Cronyn’s Diocese with the principles of Orangeism: where the Pure Gospel might take the place of the Open Bible, Ussher the place of William, lay societies the place of ‘brethren’, the mission the place of the meeting, ‘anti-Romanism’ might stand for ‘no popery’, and the Irish Church the place of the crown. Both groups had Irish institutional antecedents, both had reputations for being fiercely independent, both were territorial, and both helped in part to define the nature of Irish Protestantism for many decades in the nineteenth century.

More direct evidence suggestive of a link between Cronyn, “his boys” and local Orangemen can be found as early as 1836 during that year’s hotly contested election that saw Governor Sir Francis Bond Head’s Tories well-backed by Orangemen for the moment, and apparently by certain prominent Churchmen too. William Kilbourn in The Firebrand, quotes one Robert Davis who excoriated: “If you had been in London at the

last election, you would have seen a set of government tools called Orange men running up and down the streets crying five pounds for a liberal; and if a man said contrary to their opinion he was knocked down. Many were knocked down in this way and others were threatened; and all this in the presence of magistrates, Church of England ministers and judges, who made use of no means to prevent such outrages”⁹² The Reverend William Proudfoot, Scotsman and Minister to the Free Presbyterian Church in London, implicated Cronyn in the same election’s ‘campaigning’ far more directly: “‘Parson Cronyn has been all over the Township electioneering... - Bah!’”⁹³ while historian, Sean Cadigan identifies him as the very leader of those Orangemen who had surrounded the hustings with banners unfurled after a parade, the same “Orangemen... [who] attacked Reform candidates and supporters with clubs, rolling out a barrel of whiskey for a rest and a sip when the sport tired them.”⁹⁴ Just how much ‘Orangeism’ Cronyn’s Irishness allowed for, is uncertain, but in the public mind, certainly in the mind of Bishop Fulford, Irish partyism was at work in the west and that presence appeared to be just as prominent in the pulpit as it was in the pew or the parade. According to Cronyn’s biographer, the election of 1836 marked “the first time in the history of Upper Canada [that] the Irish element proved itself a force to be reckoned with in politics. A Tory paper went so far as to say that the immigrants from Ireland “exceeded in numbers, property and knowledge all the rest of the population.””⁹⁵

Although any Orange alliance – be it for ‘rough politics’ or ‘quiet intimidation’, to use Cadigan’s terms - with Tory or Reformer proved ultimately temporary, what remains from the London example in the years following 1836, was the fact that there were times when expressions of Irish Protestantism were far more than simply activated anti-

catholicism. The ‘Irish Model’ of Anglicanism in Canada and particularly in Ontario, was a causative factor in the departure of opinions amongst Anglicanism in the nineteenth century. It not only “raised the temperature of their debates”⁹⁶ as Hayes claims, it forced the strict characterization of Anglicanism’s obviously varying forms. Those forms inevitably revealed national preferences and prejudices in the ‘war’ for church style that extended to British North America. For this reason, High Churchmen or clergy of the ‘Church party’ proved often enough to be Englishmen or Scotsmen trained in English colleges with histories of supposed superiority and animosity toward the Irish. Similarly, Irish clergy trained in their homeland, tended to be academically and otherwise equipped with a defensive and distinctive – some might say quarrelsome – nature derived from years, figuratively, of having to keep their necks above water in ““a sea of hatred””.⁹⁷ Low Church, Evangelical, or simply, Irish Churchmen, “were persuaded that the Church must be pure and uncompromised in its doctrine and that it must therefore exercise vigilance against changing fashion, attractive error, and worldly accommodation.”⁹⁸ Indeed, there was intellectual substance and long-standing, Irish-inspired theological traditions in the Bishop’s ‘Objections’ to the teaching at Trinity College and Cronyn’s “boys” were far more than a phalanx of like-minded, faceless Irish militants, rather, they too, were well-educated, well-intentioned and individually-gifted ministers of an inherited, ‘true’ faith based on the Gospel as the inerrant Word of God. Unfortunately they were also the inheritors of a history of Irish sectarianism in which competing identities were more often than not defined by the ‘other’ than by real similarity or difference.

Thus, in Canada, “Irish Anglicans... were inclined to interpret theological diversity as irrefutable evidence that someone was in error. ...when they sniffed out the error they often found it in the doctrines that high-church English clergy venerated as classical Anglican ecclesiology”⁹⁹ but which they themselves suspected of tending toward Rome. Even from within their own fold, if it was not of them, it had to be against them, and although most nineteenth century Protestantism contained elements of anti-Catholicism, the High Church trend toward emphasizing the catholicity of the ancient Church bridged a religious gap in the wrong direction and revealed just how “fundamental to their religious identity” *not* being Catholic was for Irish Protestants. ““Popery” stood for persecution, superstition, priestly autocracy, idolatrous sacramental practices, and deviant views on the Blessed Virgin Mary. Accordingly, they viewed the tractarian project... as a campaign to transform a British, Protestant, scriptural Church into a foreign, superstitious, medieval sect.”¹⁰⁰ When Cronyn charged Provost Whitaker’s teaching with undue exaltation of the Virgin Mary and challenged his position on the role of ‘Priestly Absolution’ in the pardon for sin, he was engaging in far more than provocative, theological hair splitting. He was defending the faith of the first Reformation which distinguished Protestantism then, via the principles of the ‘Second Reformation’ now, so-called, going on in Ireland, which upheld ‘sound’ Protestantism by both seeking Roman Catholic conversions and scolding its diversions. No one was immune to the threat, for even Churchmen, living in a house divided, appeared to face opposite routes to God in the traditions they upheld and the denominations they gave countenance to. Cronyn regarded with “holy horror”, that “young men of the present day [were] ready to avow *that they would rather be united to the Church of Rome, than to any*

Protestant body separated from the Church of England, I must regard the teaching which has induced this state of mind as most dangerous. ...and I find that this horror does not exist in the minds of the alumni of Trinity College.”¹⁰¹ Perhaps in an attempt to appeal to a higher authority that even a High Churchman would lend his attention to, Cronyn used the Archbishop of Dublin’s “Cautions for the Times” to demonstrate his case that the Church had more to fear from Churchmen within, than from Roman Catholics without. ““Much more formidable are the leaders of the party, who still remain in outward communion with us. They come to us in sheep’s clothing, professing to be devoted members of our Church, and therefore, they find, too often, ready listeners. They may be compared to a recruiting depôt for the Church of Rome, kept up among ourselves, and *sooner or later* the persons who fall under their influence very generally become open converts to Romanism; and their efforts are the more insidious, because they for the most part begin by loudly declaring that they teach nothing but the recognized doctrines of the Established Church; that they are inculcating Church principles; and, that all who are opposed to them are little better than schismatics.””¹⁰² With that, Cronyn left the matter of the Trinity College Controversy to “trust”, that the Corporation would declare in the interests of “vital religion” and “sound Protestant truth” after hearing from Canada’s four other Bishops.¹⁰³

The Trinity College Controversy reached its zenith when the Corporation gathered in September of 1865 to weigh the five Bishop’s ‘Opinions’ upon which, the following resolution was passed by a vote of 13 to 8: ““That this corporation, after fully considering the charges preferred by the Right Reverend, the Lord Bishop of Huron against the theological teaching of the Provost of Trinity College, and the opinions of the

Canadian Bishops on these charges and the Provost's replies, is of the opinion that that teaching is not unsound, unscriptural, contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England, dangerous in its tendency, nor leading to the Church of Rome."¹⁰⁴ Where the Bishop of Toronto, John Strachan and the Bishop of Ontario, John Travers Lewis had fully backed the Provost's teaching, the Bishop of Montreal, Francis Fulford and the Bishop of Quebec, J.W. Williams, although in substantial agreement, left room for the "liberty" of "differences of opinion" amongst Churchmen (themselves included) and pointed to the fact that in twelve years of the Provost's tutelage, no students had as yet "left the Communion of the Church of England to join the Church of Rome."¹⁰⁵ For the Evangelical Churchmen who voted against the resolution, the majority of whom were Irishmen trained at Trinity College, Dublin, the prospect of simply waiting around to witness the 'horror' of this kind of conversion was just not in their liturgy. Rather, for a 'true' son of the Reformed Church, the mere threat of any such encroachment upon Protestantism required constant vigilance, an *en garde* defensiveness that pushed before it had to push back, and this was accomplished very vocally and publicly by promoting the same aggressive, low church stance that had protected the Church of Ireland amidst the 'dangers' of so many, so close, Catholic neighbours. In the final round of the contest, Bishop Cronyn's 'Opinion' was only upheld by the same men who had been for some time, shouldering the posture his Diocese had become known for. Along with Toronto's Dean of St. James' Cathedral, the Reverend H.J. Grasett, that portion of Cronyn's "boys": the Reverends Brough, Caulfield, Sandys, Boomer and Marsh, whom he had nominated to the Corporation for his Diocese, went down to defeat with their Bishop, but they did so fighting, by issuing "the last document in the affair, a protest against the approval of

Provost Whitaker's theology, in which once again the specific points at issues were carefully set down"¹⁰⁶ before returning to their Diocese and a measure of consolation in their newly founded (1863) College for 'True Religion and Sound Learning' of the same name, Huron.

Upon closer look, the United Church of England and Ireland in Canada during the mid-nineteenth century, appears not so united. Even though the 1801 Act that forced the union of two very separate Church traditions presented the façade of a single Established English Church, and the historiography of the early Church in Canada had for some time, been tantamount to a biography of the implacable John Strachan, in practice, multiple identities competed within its structure, revealing that not only did Old World identities successfully transplant in the New, but they competed, and some had more staying power than others. Michael Gauvreau has shown us that the 'Anglican clergy were aware that the colonies were the scene, not only of a bewildering religious pluralism, in which their church stood in a minority position to a well-rooted Roman Catholicism and to many types of evangelical dissent, but more significantly of an ethnic pluralism that cracked and fissured the public face of Britishness in North America"¹⁰⁷ and indeed, as this chapter has shown, that of their own beloved institution, the Anglican Church as well. Distinctions amongst Anglican clergymen in this period were many, and both Richard Vaudry and Alan Hayes remind us that it is important to understand that varying degrees of Churchmanship existed within what was called "low church", "evangelical", "tractarian" and "high church" and blurring of party lines was not without precedent. Still, from the documentation that Churchmen left behind, it is obvious that

Canadian Anglicans came to identify two major parties among themselves, which they called the “Church party” and the “evangelical party.” The Church party included the old high church and the tractarians. The evangelical party included the old low church and the evangelicals. Each party had its own recognized leaders, organizations, controversialists, networks, newspapers, mission societies, hymn books, and Sunday school curricula. In synods, in the Church press, and wherever else possible, the two parties attacked each other with an energy and frequently with a scurrility, that is now surprising and even shocking.¹⁰⁸

At the centre of this deep divide in Canada was what Vaudry calls the “cultural make-up of colonial Anglicanism”, the place where one might witness the “convergence of English and Irish traditions”¹⁰⁹ in order to recognize that Anglicanism in Canada grew via long and deep roots that extended across the Atlantic, from more than one centre. And yet, beyond the recognition of historians that Cronyn’s “brand of evangelical Anglicanism... operated within an Irish cultural matrix”¹¹⁰; that “the most high-profile evangelical Anglican leaders in Canada in the years before and after Confederation... were very often of Irish birth”¹¹¹; or that “the Irish origin of these clergy who surrounded Cronyn reinforced the feeling of division among the clergy and added to the sectional nature of the election struggle”¹¹², very little has been done to directly connect this particular brand of influential and popular evangelical Anglicanism with a larger Irish Protestant identity, or further, suggest that the Church of England in Canada might actually have been an Irish church. Horall comes closest, insisting, albeit late, that “origins and backgrounds” must be considered in the dissecting of Anglicanism’s battles and doing the dirty work of detailing the individual Irish birth, theological training and emigration of Cronyn’s “boys”, but his piece focuses initially and prominently on the “major issue” of the High/Low style debate and is therefore too tentative on the more intriguing hints regarding an assertion of Irish identity that he closes with. Horall’s piece might more

appropriately and compellingly have been titled ‘The *Irish* Clergy and the Election of Bishop Cronyn’.

The election of Bishop Cronyn in 1857 and the Trinity College Controversy some three years later, remind us that the central focus for Ontario’s nineteenth century Anglicanism must shift eastward from British North America, and settle perhaps more accurately, somewhere in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean in order to properly envision the interconnectedness of backwoods preaching and such powerful influences as Trinity’s Evangelical heritage and Oxford’s intellectual musings. According to Vaudry, “the Atlantic was not an impenetrable barrier to communication [despite the emigrant’s lament] but a conduit that transmitted people, news, ideas, and money back and forth between Britain and British North America. Emigration was not a terminal point in this process; it was but one link in an entire chain of ongoing cultural diffusion and communication. People in the Atlantic world, moreover, spoke a common language of political and religious discourse and operated within a shared framework of ideas.”¹¹³ In this sense, Benjamin Cronyn must be viewed as being as Irish as any of his Trinity College, Dublin classmates who chose to remain at home. Cronyn had inherited an aggressive form of ‘low church’ evangelicalism that enjoyed the most influence and functioned most efficiently when it was on the defensive and in the minority. Never a majority in Canada, although it came close in the Huron Diocese and certain other city centres where lay evangelicalism was both strong and well-heeled, ‘low church’ evangelicals in Canada operated much like their Irish counterparts: with an aggressive activism born from a defensive minority status that required constant vigilance. Irish Churchmen supported a theological platform that was twofold: it was more than just anti-

catholic in its outlook and behaviour, it was also what has been termed, ultra-Protestant or Gospel-based which, contrary to the Established Church's Rubric, allowed for interdenominational Protestant cooperation and association much like that which eventually distanced Orangeism from its strictly Irish roots. Although the identity of Churchmen who formed the 'Irish contingent' or the 'phalanx of Irish clergy' required the presence of 'other' in the neighbourhood (be it the Church or the township) to bolster a steadfast opposition to 'Romanism', it also very aggressively stood *for* something in its promotion of a particular Protestant perspective:

An evangelical Anglican has a strong attachment to the Protestantism of the national Church with its Articles of Religion and Prayer Book. He believes that the Bible is authoritative in matters of faith and conduct and is to be read individually and in the home as well as in church. He emphasizes the doctrine of justification by faith but with good works and a specific (holy) life-style as the proof of true faith. He claims to enjoy a personal relationship with God through Christ, the origins of which are usually traced not to sacramental grace but to a conversion experience. And he sees the primary task of the Church in terms of evangelism or missions and so emphasises preaching at home and abroad.¹¹⁴

On these terms, Cronyn and his 'boys' ministered to growing populations at a time in the history of the Church and of Ontario when not only was the Church settled just enough to allow for the 'luxury' of controversies, but also during the pre- and post-Famine decades when Irish Protestants formed a substantial portion of Ontario's inhabitants/church-goers and Irish-trained Churchmen, profoundly influenced by the ecclesiastical gyrations of the Church in Ireland, subsequently dug their theological heels in deeper in defense of what had been their *status quo*.

Herein lie the distinctions amongst Churchmen that reflected their transatlantic roots and that Thomas Radcliff, Esq. wrote about to his father, Reverend Thomas Radcliff, a Trinityman of Trinitymen, who presumably would have nodded in knowing

confirmation of his son's allusions to the real remedy for Upper Canada's spiritual woes. Radcliff wanted 'able, zealous and active men', with 'higher motives and anxieties' – 'unambitious' enthusiasms - not 'Drones' nor 'easy-going Episcopalian prelates' more interested in the 'temporal advantages' of their station or the 'vantage ground' of being well-educated amidst a largely uneducated, working class population. Radcliff had so 'much occasion for' 'correct' men of the people – being the laity – for 'humbler clergymen of *our* church', who like the 'Irish Methodist Preacher' were willing to come down out of the pulpit and get dirty. In short, what Radcliff wanted was what he knew: low church Trinitymen, which in the mid-nineteenth century, was almost certain to denote evangelicals, and for this, as Reverend O'Meara observed for Peel, the surest bet were often Irishmen. That 'clannish spirit', the desire for a 'countryman of their own' that O'Meara described and is perhaps best represented by the success and popularity of Benjamin Cronyn, even as he challenged the very powers that be within the Church, is representative of a very visible Irishness within not only a substantial portion of what was supposed to be the English Church in Canada, but also of a colonial population that far from fading into obscurity through successful settlement and acculturation, rather, became more vocal and persuasive in the decades after leaving Ireland. Radcliff's zealous preachers were the very Churchmen that Strachan distrusted as 'unsound' in their training and theology and would have preferred to see remaining in Ireland in favour of more reserved and sacramental, High Churchmen and yet they were also the men responsible for an evangelical thrust amongst the Episcopal laity in Canada that bolstered the Church's popularity and was in many ways inspired by the popularity of that in Ireland. In effect – though perhaps poorly stated - the 'Irishness' of the English Church

in Canada could ‘bring out the Irish in anybody’ as was witnessed when Englishman, Reverend Osler’s son, ‘Walter’ became ‘William’ for being born on July 12th in a very Orange, Irish and evangelical township.

In proper perspective, the history of the United Church of England and Ireland in Upper Canada is more than a history of the backwoods and the itinerant missionary, it is very much a history of an Atlantic World. It comprises in microcosm, both Ireland and England as well as Canada and therefore it is a story of conflicting identity and divergent traditions despite the outward appearance of unity within what was supposed to become the Established English Church. Perhaps with the redoubtable John Strachan at its helm for so many decades in the nineteenth century it may also by association, present in part, a history of Scotland too. Regardless, because the Church’s historiography has for so long focused on Strachan and his battle for Establishment in the Colonies: the Clergy Reserves, the Family Compact, the Rebellion and the rise of Dissent and Reform, what has been lost is the particularly Irish character of a substantial portion of the English Church from the 1820s to the 1870s that saw Churchmen come to be easily identified not so much as Churchmen: Low or High, but Churchmen: Irish and Otherwise. When Trinity’s ‘irregularities’ – as Strachan saw them – met with Oxford’s ‘heresies’ head-on, on Canadian soil in the backwater that was to become the Diocese of Huron, the resulting conflict provided the opportunity for many Irish Protestants to quite vocally declare *for* something instead of just against, and in so doing, they witnessed very publicly who they were as a people in faith. Although evangelicals were not entirely comprised of Irishmen, Irishmen were more likely than not to be evangelical because of the considerable influence of the historically ‘low tradition’ Church of Ireland on its priests and

parishioners in the decades surrounding Catholic Emancipation and the eventual disestablishment of the Church. ‘Enthusiasms’ then, were also part of an Irish Protestant repertoire that has been better known by its defensiveness. Bishop Cronyn did not just simply ‘object’ to the teachings at Trinity College, he also offered an alternative in Huron.

Irish Protestants in Canada did not simply fade away into too successful an acculturation or accommodation to a larger ‘English’ or ‘British’ identity. The election of the first Bishop of Huron and the Trinity College Controversy and the bitter identity contests they reveal within the Church are testament to that. A response then to the question: ‘Whatever Happened to the Irish?’ might therefore be that in some circumstances, the larger community that was formed from Ontario’s townships in many ways did the opposite and acculturated to and accepted Irish Protestant ways of seeing and doing things. Cronyn, O’Meara, and Radcliff were all Irishmen who knew the great value Irish Protestant communities placed on having ‘one of their own sort’ (or two, or three, or four... in Cronyn’s case) amongst them, but they were also men who recruited and recognized the ability of ‘outsiders’ like the Reverends Isaac Hellmuth and Featherstone Lake Osler to become one of them. Defensive and decidedly dependent on the concept of ‘other’, yes, but Irish Protestants could be equally persuasive in the promotion of their *own* identity. Prosyletizing was, after all, one of the most valuable tools in an Irish Churchman’s carpetbag. Bishop Benjamin Cronyn was well equipped to handle racing headlong, down many a steep and treacherous terrain with his lynch-pin out, so much so, that he somehow managed in the end to convince his shaken passenger, that his was the better part of valour. Similarly, Irish Churchmen and laymen – Cronyn’s

'boys' - managed to a remarkable degree and with lasting effect to promote and maintain a largely Irish-inspired, evangelical tone within the Canadian Church, from the early decades of Ontario's nineteenth century on into the last, that, despite its minority status, or perhaps because of it¹¹⁵, was profound enough to elect Bishops, found newspapers, form societies, establish Colleges, fascinate the public, rattle the mighty Strachan, and in the end, prove the English Church in fact to be a little more Irish.



The Cathedra



St. Paul's Cathedral, 1846

Illustration 7: The Cathedra and St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Canada West

“The Bishop occupied the chair; immediately surrounding him was a body of men who would have done credit to a grenadiers company of a regiment... These were the men who... established a sort of patriarchal jurisdiction over the whole population.” (George Mignon Innes, in *Crowfoot*, p.87) From his seat in the newly established Diocese of Huron, Bishop Benjamin Cronyn and ‘his boys’ practiced a particularly Irish brand of Protestantism within the Anglican Church.

Photos courtesy of Jane Jacob, London, Ontario, September 24, 2010.

¹ “The election of the first Bishop of Huron was a significant development in the history of Church government in Canada. ...Dr. Cronyn’s elevation was the first example of the electoral method operating in the British Empire. The election of Bishops by a diocesan synod of lay and clerical representatives was widely adopted thereafter in Canada and abroad as a means of making Episcopal appointments. In Canada the election was an important step as well in the establishment of synodical government and in the movement for the complete autonomy of the Church in Canada, which occurred with the creation of the Province of Canada in 1861.” S.W. Horrall, “The Clergy and the Election of Bishop Cronyn” in Ontario History, LVIII, Dec. 1966, p.205.

² See Thomas B. Robertson, The Fighting Bishop: John Strachan, the First Bishop of Toronto: and other essays in his times, Ottawa: Graphic Publishers, 1926. Strachan was Scottish by birth, raised Presbyterian and was educated at Aberdeen despite the early loss of his father, a quarry-man, and subsequent hardship it placed on his family and his role as provider. Strachan was never one to back down from an argument. Arthur N. Thompson called him “a man of war from his youth...” in his biography of Strachan’s protégé, the Reverend Alexander Neil Bethune. “Bethune, Alexander Neil” by Arthur N. Thompson, The Dictionary of Canadian Biography, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Vol.X, 1972), p.56. Such was Strachan’s personality that it is suggested that Bethune, as his colleague, supporter and choice-candidate, although a gentle personality himself, inherited the dislike of many simply by being in proximity to Strachan with regard to political and theological stance.

³ As Michael Gauvreau highlights in “The Dividends of Empire”, the original intention behind Church establishment in the colonies was to “create an overarching and homogenous “British” patriotism; cultural and ultimately, political unity between the imperial centre and the colonies would flow from the close similarity of institutional structures of church government” however, “in the colonial setting, “Britishness” was far more about conflict, fragmentation, and the elaboration of strategies of cultural separation than about unity, homogeneity, and integration.” Even within the confines of what was intended to be the colonial church, fragmentation was characteristic not only within theological differences but was particularly obvious, as this chapter will show, along ethnic lines as abraded colonial identities resorted to early-modern cultural structures in order to express and position themselves prominently in the new mix. See Michael Gauvreau, “The Dividends of Empire: Church Establishments and Contested British Identities in the Canadas and the Maritimes, 1780-1850” in Nancy Christie, ed., Transatlantic Subjects: Ideas, Institutions, and Social Experience in Post-Revolutionary British North America, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2008), pp. 200, 201.

⁴ See fn. 59 in Chapter 3 “The Green”, p. 128 of the present study for a contemporary reference to the Church Temporalities Act (1833) and the effect it had on Protestant Irish Clergy. In 1838 Anna Brownell Murphy Jameson described the motivations of Reverend James Magrath, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, in coming to Canada along with his family even before the legislation which had everything to do with retaining some semblance of an undisturbed Irish life. “Mr. M. was a Protestant clergyman of good family, and had held a considerable living in Ireland; but such was the disturbed state of the county in which he resided, that he was not only unable to collect his tithes, but for several years neither his own life nor that of any of his family was safe. They never went out unarmed, and never went to rest at night without having barricaded their house like a fortress. The health of his wife began to fail under this anxiety, and at length, after a severe struggle with old feelings and old habits, he came to the determination to convert his Irish property into ready money and emigrate to Canada, with four fine sons from seven to seventeen years old, and one little daughter. Thus you see that Canada has become an asylum, not only for those who cannot pay tithes, but for those who cannot get them.” Magrath had admitted to Jameson that he struggled to overcome “the family pride of the well-born Irish gentleman” seeing his sons engaged in trades in Canada and himself a part-time farmer out of necessity. Magrath had come to Canada in 1827 after applying to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for a colonial missionary post and, serving as rector of St. Peter’s Anglican Church, a simple white frame church in Springfield, Magrath according to Jameson, appeared to have “conquered” the “Old Adam” (overcome Old Country notions of class and privilege) in the interest of providing “for the future independence of his children.” Magrath had described the “deplorable state” of religion in Upper Canada with few clergymen to serve, noting that “in fact, there was no parish boundary line between him and the North Pole.” Anna Brownell Murphy Jameson, Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada, (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838), pp.305, 310, 311. CIHM

35746. Magrath's son Charles certainly seems to have been determined to retain certain aspects of his Irish heritage as evidenced by his August 1837 letter to Ogle Gowan describing how "we all turned out" to meet William Lyon Mackenzie and his supporters at Streetsville where "the Boys" gave "them a small sample of Irish Oak", routing the "Rebellious Scoundrels" into the Credit River. He asked Gowan "ought we not justly to be proud of belonging to a Society of men who when called on we are sure of cooperating with us in putting down symptoms of Rebellion wherever they may show themselves!" Magrath boasted: "I break out into fits of laughter even yet when I think of the figure those Rebels cut when running through the Credit, the Boys returning with the trophies of their victory in the shape of hats and see roaring and springing into the air their knuckles white from the grip they kept of the Potato Stalk." NAC, Ferguson Collection, MG27IE30, Vol.1-2, Charles Magrath, Streetsville to Ogle Gowan, August 16, 1837. The Magraths of Erindale appear to have kept ties with Ireland, Low-Church Anglicanism and Orangeism.

⁵ Donald Harman Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), p.265. Akenson adds that at the other end of the province, in the Diocese of Ontario – formerly the Archdeaconry of Kingston – Cork-born, and Trinity, Dublin-educated, John Travers Lewis, as Bishop of Ontario, was responsible for a distinctly Irish "imprint [that] was very deep indeed" upon both that Diocese and its people. p.265 It has been suggested elsewhere that it was Lewis' nationality and connection to Trinity College, Dublin, that got him elected as Bishop of Ontario in 1862 – his Diocese containing the greatest concentration of Irish Protestants in British North America – but that his High Church (a minority stance amongst Trinity men) theology thereafter resulted in "battles" between local Irish Anglicans and his like-minded clerical recruits. See Bruce S. Elliott, The Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples/ Irish Protestants/ Religion, at <http://www.multiculturalcanada.ca/Encyclopedia/A-Z/i9/6>, p.12. Still, historians of Lewis appear to be of one voice in emphasizing his Irishness ("His ideas of church discipline were distinctly Irish." Akenson, p.265) through his upholding of Irish Tradition over English Establishment. Though Lewis was known to be "anti-party" in his ecclesiastical stance, he became an Orangeman in 1848 in Newtown Butler, Co. Fermanagh, a year prior to emigrating to Canada. See D.M. Schurman, "An Irishman Emerges" in A Bishop and His People: John Travers Lewis and the Anglican Diocese of Ontario 1862-1902, Kingston: Anglican Church of Canada, Ontario Diocesan Synod, 1991 and "John Travers Lewis and the Establishment of the Anglican Diocese" in Gerald Tulchinsky, ed., To Preserve and Defend: Essays on Kingston in the 19th Century, Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976.

⁶ A.G. Burrows, "Journal of a Tour with the Bishop of Huron, Dr. Cronyn, in the Northwest of Upper Canada", (Bournemouth, England: 1865), CIHM 50572, p.22. "Conversion" was a mark of being an evangelical, something that the High Churchman, John Strachan would have cautiously guarded against amongst his clergy. With his reference to this term, Burrows revealed the very Irish character of the Owen Sound Church and that of the Diocese as well. The fact that talk of conversion amongst the clergy was deemed unnecessary was a measure of how 'containable' any local Catholic threat (in terms of numbers) was perceived to be at that time as well as of how much the "tone" of the Irish Church had changed in Canada where accommodation was more of a possibility.

⁷ Alan Lauffer Hayes, Anglicans in Canada, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), p. 6.

⁸ Alfred Henchman Crowfoot, Benjamin Cronyn, First Bishop of Huron, (London: The Incorporated Synod of the Diocese of Huron, Printed by A. Talbot Ltd., 1957), p.24. Chapter II is titled "The Great Decision". "When they reached "The Forks" (near St. Thomas) they went to "The Mansion House". There, on the steps stood a man waiting to welcome them, a good Irishman, and, as they were not long in discovering, an Orangeman as well, James O'Neil. "Sure it's glad I am to see ye." How good his Irish brogue sounded to their tired ears. Nothing was too good for them. The best the house had to offer was theirs for the asking." Crowfoot, p.16.

⁹ Charles Henry Mockridge, The Bishops of the Church of England and Newfoundland: Being an Illustrated Historical Sketch of the Church of England in Canada, as Traced Through her Episcopate, (Toronto: F.N.W. Brown, 1896) as found at http://huronanglican.001webs.com/4early_years.htm p.1. Emphasis in italics is mine.

¹⁰ Crowfoot, p.87. Both C.C. Brough and F. W. Sandys as well as R. Flood were born in Ireland and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. Brough came to Canada from Ireland with Cronyn, while Flood had been Cronyn's classmate at TCD. J.W. Marsh's notoriety for Cronyn came from his having left Cobourg

Theological Seminary while under the tutelage of A.N. Bethune over what he viewed as serious contradictions between what was being taught there and what the Bible said. Marsh, an Englishman, left for the United States and ordination at Gambier College, Ohio, an institution that Cronyn kept ties with while Bishop of Huron. For further details on Cronyn's "boys", see Horrall, p.219.

¹¹ John D. Blackwell, "Cronyn, Benjamin", The Canadian Encyclopedia at <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com>. Despite John Strachan's complaints about Cronyn, and even local bugbears about his lack of availability, Cronyn was no slouch. "A good horseman, a bold swimmer, a practical farmer, architect, and engineer – sufficient for backwoods purposes – he proved himself of great use to the community, both in a temporal and spiritual way. He taught the farmers how to improve their pigs and cattle, and how to enrich the soil of their farms; and himself, more than once, accepted the position of pathmaster, that he might do something to improve the vile roads..." See Mockridge, The Bishops, at <http://home.graffiti.net/huronanglican/2cronyn.htm>, p.2.

¹² Archives of Ontario, John Strachan Papers, MS 35 Reel 10, John Strachan, York to Archbishop of Dublin, Richard Whately, April 28, 1834. Strachan's reference to the Church being "threatened with starvation" was the result of Church reforms - both financial and administrative - emanating from the British Whig government elected in 1832 which saw the reduction in number and funds of the Irish Bishopsrics leading to the Oxford Movement 's highly influential Tractarian writings and the reduction in government spending that directly affected the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the stipends thereby provided to missionaries in Upper Canada.

¹³ AO, Strachan Papers, MS 35 Reel 4, "Journal of the Bishop", July 1, 1840.

¹⁴ AO, "Journal", July 12 and 13, 1840.

¹⁵ Ibid. Emphasis in italics is mine. Englishman, Colonel A.G. Burrows, on the road from Hanover to Walkerton thought similarly. He judged parts of Canada West as almost as lovely as home and others, well, not quite as bad as Ireland: "the country was well cultivated and thriving, getting gradually like England, while in other parts lately passed through all the roads and fields had a wild comfortless look, unlike Ireland, but yet with a desolate appearance of its own." Burrows, "Journal", p.31.

¹⁶ AO, Strachan Papers, MS 35 Reel 11, John Strachan, Toronto to Ernest Hawkins, London, August 4, 1847.

¹⁷ Radcliff, Rev. Thomas, ed., Authentic Letters from Upper Canada: with an Account of Canadian Field Sports, by T.W. Magrath, Esq., first published (Dublin: William Curry Jun. and Company, 1833), (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1953), Thomas Radcliff, Esq. Adelaide, UC to Reverend Thomas Radcliff, Dublin, January 1833, p.118. Although Cronyn chose to stay in London, Radcliff's desire for the right sort of clergyman was quickly satisfied by the subsequent appointment of Cronyn's travelling companion and fellow Irishman, Dominic Blake to Adelaide.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp.114, 115.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.115.

²⁰ Ibid., pp.119-120. A very interesting parallel is made from Radcliffe's reference to the need for a very humble, Irish missionary who would be willing to kick the mud – that is, take on the hard, dirty slogging of itinerant preaching that was requisite for souls in distant settlements - and the answer that was found twenty two years later in the person of the Reverend A.H. Mulholland, Irish Low Churchman to Owen Sound. "At last we got quite accustomed to find the carriage stopping and Mr. Mulholland jumping out, with a large stone, and up got our kind friend with a cheery step, until again he had to descend for the same purpose. Only an Irishman could long put up with this kind of thing. The "bhoys" in the "ould country" are used to things giving way in this manner; they do not so much mind it, "for shure," say they to themselves, "if mended and fixed ever so much, it would be as bad again some day or another." While an Englishman or Scotchman would wring his hands at the broken shaft, and declare he would never get home, the Paddy will, on the contrary, whisk along with a merry whistle, and tinker up the deficient affair for the fortieth time, if necessary. I asked Mr. Mulholland how he managed about the stone, for surely he could never find one so quick as he did; no sooner was he out than bang, bang, went the stone. "Oh!" says he, "I kept one in the carriage ready to hand." .. .a rather undignified process for a Bishop and his suite in these days... we had an Irishman to the fore, and he brought us safely in, hammer and tongs, mend and splice, somehow or other, and that was the great point after all." The entry is also evidence that for Englishman Burrows, an Irish Protestant, regardless of faith or politics, was still a 'Paddy'. Burrows, "A Journal...", pp.26-27.

²¹ Ibid., p.114.

²² Catharine Anne Wilson, A New Lease on Life: Landlords, Tenants and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), p.60. Thomas' father was the "Chaplain to the viceroy and surrogate of the Consistorial Court of the Church of Ireland". p.60. Radcliff assured his father that he was still a "true Church of England man" despite his openness to alterations in the form of Anglican service as long as they did "not involve any vital *principles* of our religion" or cause "injury to our liturgy". (Radcliff, p.118.) He believed he had observed a North American preference – "the Canadians do not like to *lose time*" - for simpler forms of worship: shortened liturgies, less repetition, and longer sermons, which ran counter to the general perception of an Established Church with an unbending Rubric. (Radcliff, pp.113.and 117) John Strachan witnessed similar preferences, much to his chagrin, within his own clergy. Harry Ernest Turner confirms that the difference between the two visions represented the chasm that stood between Low and High Churchmen. Next to the Apostolic Succession, the High Church journal, the Church consistently "insisted that more weight should be given to the devotional side of religious services than to the sermon. Prayers were declared to be of more importance than preaching". Harry Ernest Turner, "The Evangelical Movement in the Church of England in the Diocese of Toronto", MA Thesis, University of Toronto, 1959, p.32.

²³ Radcliffe, p.118.

²⁴ From O'Meara's Journal, Church of England Magazine, July 27, 1839, as quoted by William Perkins Bull, From Strachan to Owen: How the Church of England was Planted and Tended in British North America, (Toronto: The Perkins Bull Foundation, George J. McLeod Ltd., 1937), pp.173-174, ref. fn 27, ch.10.

²⁵ Ibid., p.171.

²⁶ AQ, Strachan Papers, John Strachan, Toronto, to Adam Townley, December 23, 1843.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid. See Gauvreau, "Dividends" for an intriguing corresponding situation in the Diocese of Nova Scotia in 1824 where the Reverend Henry Hayden, also a TCD Irishman, was summarily dismissed from his post in the Anglican parish of Rawdon despite also having had a petition drawn up in his favour by both Anglicans and Dissenters, for being "flighty", "unsteady" and too "irreverent" for the "Soberminded" portion of his parishioners. Hayden came from Kilkenny, like Cronyn, part of the Diocese of Ossory, "a major nucleus of Evangelicalism in Ireland" (p.201), and evangelicalism, according to Gauvreau, was most certainly at the heart of both his approach to the liturgy and the debate over his suitability for the pulpit. Bishop John Inglis, like Bishop Strachan, was firmly 'High Church' and perhaps even more determined to remove any possibility of the growth of an Evangelical 'party' within his Diocese that might controvert him. Both Gribble's and Hayden's removals were extraordinary steps given their level of education and the fact that the Church at this time, could hardly afford to lose willing missionaries. Where Gauvreau emphasizes in the conflict, the tensions inherent in British North America regarding 'Britishness', its state-building and institutional identities, this paper attempts to magnify the same, to identify those aspects of fragmentation which Gauvreau emphasizes, here revealed as persistent 'Irishness' in the situation in Western Ontario.

²⁹ AQ, Strachan Papers, John Strachan to Ernest Hawkins, July 7, 1843.

³⁰ John Kenyon, "The Influence of the Oxford Movement Upon the Church of England in Upper Canada" in Ontario History, Vol. LI, no.2, (1959), p.79.

³¹ Ibid., p.81.

³² Horrall, p.207. It is important to note that not all Low Churchmen were Irish and universities other than Trinity College, Dublin (notably, Cambridge – from whence came the "troublesome" Rev. Gribble) had produced evangelical Churchmen in the prior century. Likewise, there were Irishmen, like John Travers Lewis (a Trinityman), Bishop of Ontario, and Edward Dewar (Windsor) and Frederick Mack (Amherstburg) who were undoubtedly High Churchmen. This study is concerned however with the obvious predominance of Irish Low Churchmen in the western portion of the province that would become the Diocese of Huron and their remarkable cohesiveness and influence relative to the numbers of High Churchmen in the Diocese of Toronto. "In any explanation of the origins of Evangelicalism in Upper Canada, the Irish element cannot be ignored". (Turner, "The Evangelical Movement ...", p.13). Yet the ethnic association of Low Churchmen with Ireland largely has been, even though this identity distinction

greatly defined the experience of the Established Church in Upper Canada – even Travers Lewis' biographer, Donald M. Schurman, is careful to emphasize the Irishness of the High Church first Bishop of Ontario. See Donald M. Schurman, A Bishop and His People: John Travers Lewis and the Anglican Diocese of Ontario 1862-1902, (Kingston: Anglican Church of Canada Ontario Diocesan Synod, 1991), especially Chapter 5, "An Irishman Emerges".

³³ Ibid., p.218.

³⁴ Gauvreau, "Dividends", pp.212, 213.

³⁵ See Curtis Fahey, In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Canada, 1791-1854, (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991), p.xv. Turner in "The Evangelical Movement" also describes the religious strife in the Church of England in 1840s and for the next 40 years, as a "theological civil war". (p.7). Oriented as they were in Ireland, a minority religion amongst a hostile majority (or vice versa in Ulster), Irish Protestants for the most part maintained a stance politically and theologically that is best described as 'backs to the wall'. "As a result of its social position, the Church of Ireland before disestablishment had a siege mentality and resisted all accommodation to the majority of the country. In the early 1800s English Anglicans and American Anglicans usually disliked Roman Catholics, too, but in Ireland the hostility was very personal and much less compromising. Successive English governments moved toward granting civil rights to Roman Catholics in the 1820s, remitting their tithes in the 1830s, and enacting disestablishment in the 1860s. The Church of Ireland went kicking and screaming every step of the way." See Hayes, p.7.

³⁶ Donald Harman Akenson, A Protestant in Purgatory: Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, (Hamden: Archon Books, 1981), pp.73,74.

³⁷ Hayes, p.7.

³⁸ Charles Richard Tuttle, "An Illustrated History of the Dominion", (Montreal and Boston: D. Downie and Co., Publishers, 1877), p.27. CIHM 34019. Although he claimed that the Episcopal Church in Canada was more "refined" than the Presbyterian Church and more "resolute" than the Catholic, Tuttle related that the Church had been identified in some places as the "asylum of the indifferent". He continued: "All those who aspire to social position commence their progress by joining it, and forming their manners after the model of its members..." it made for stable and respectable people, however, "Its great lack is vitality." p.27. This tendency is probably what Radcliff described as "'Drones'... amongst us".

³⁹ See Alan Ford, "That Bugbear Arminianism" in Ciaran Brady, Jane Ohlmeyer and Aidan Clarke, eds., British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Some two hundred years previous, the Irish Church and English church struggled in power plays through the personages of Irishman, James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland and William Laud, Bishop of London whose growing influence with the King contrasted sharply with his lack of direct powers over the Irish Church. Seeking uniformity within the Established Church, Laud attempted appointments (Provost Chappell) to Trinity College, Dublin, and various other reforms in an effort to stem Trinity's fiercely self-determinant stance. Theological debates raged around the relationship – Trinity's Calvinism versus Laud's suspected Arminianism, the Irish Articles of 1615 as addendum to the Thirty Nine Articles, the removal of the Irish Prayer Book, and Catholic toleration amongst them. Ussher's "nightmare" according to Ford, was a once free Church of Ireland fallen under English control. Ussher sought to ground the Church of Ireland's "origins, spiritual and structural, not only in Scripture, but also in Celtic-Christian antiquity perceived as essentially evangelical and Rome-free." (p.107). Trinity's more Puritan leanings, seen in the "reluctance to don the surplice, the neglect of Holy Communion, in the title of the Divinity Chair – the Professor of Theological Controversies" etc. stood in stark contrast to Laud's and the Arminian commitment to "creating a clericalist, sacramentally based, liturgically rich, non-Calvinist, visible Church, half-way... between Rome and Geneva." (p.160). It is not difficult to see the same characters (Bishop Ussher/Cronyn, Provost Chappell/Whitaker, and Bishop Laud/Strachan) and disputes (Calvinism/Evangelicalism, Arminianism/Tractarianism, and Erastianism/Uniformity) arising in the so-called "United" Church, two centuries later. Benjamin Cronyn and "his boys" had inherited a lengthy, rich and very Irish tradition of churchmanship.

⁴⁰ AO, Strachan Papers, MS 35 Reel 6, William Macauley, Kingston to Honourable Chief Justice John Robinson, February 22, 1850. The influential Oxford Movement (Tractarians), so called because it was made up of a small group of Oxford Divines, John Keble, John Henry Newman, Richard Hurrell Froude, Edward Pusey, etc., was a defense of the Church against perceived government oppression. It emphasized

the ancient, pure and apostolic nature of the Church, Episcopal hierarchy and authority, its role as earthly intercedent between God and man and interpreter of the Scriptures; the role of the sacraments, Anglican liturgy, festivals, rubrics and ritual were upheld as more than mere symbols, requiring strict observance, as instruments of divine grace. “On the whole High Churchmen...sympathized with the men of Oxford, at least in the early years of the Movement. Evangelicals, on the other hand, feared that the final result of the Tractarian agitation, if it were allowed to proceed unopposed, would be the deliverance of the Church of England, bound hand and foot, to the Bishop of Rome...” Turner, “The Evangelical Movement...”, pp.1-2. See also Kenyon, “The Influence of the Oxford Movement”, OH. The Low Church fears were of course subsequently realized in the well publicized conversions to Roman Catholicism of men like Newman. According to Turner, the very public debate surrounding ritual in the Church continued through the rest of the century with the result that the Episcopal Church stood: a house divided.

⁴¹ Ibid. In the same letter, Macauley worried about the Irish block surrounding “our Reformer”, one “son of Erin”, (Robert Baldwin) and his potential to present vestry petitions in the House having swayed the opinions of the Vestry of St. James’ congregation and garner the support of others in different quarters, “especially [if they were] Irishmen.” He also drew lines between himself and those clergy aligned with Peter Boyle De Blaquiere on the issue of University education in Upper Canada complaining that De Blaquiere saw “whatever is old being wrong to his philosophy in Canada” and then perhaps explaining that De Blaquiere was, after all, “a zealous Churchman, of Huguenot descent, but Hibernian birth.” De Blaquiere was a member of the Legislative Council and Church Warden of Woodstock’s St. Paul’s under Cronyn’s colleague, William Bettridge. He later would become the first Chancellor of the University of Toronto – the “godless” university that so angered John Strachan. William Macauley was Canadian born of United Empire Loyalist descent, and was educated under Strachan and at Oxford University. Emphasis in italics is mine.

⁴² Curtis Fahey is very clear that neither Strachan nor his High Church supporters like A.N.Bethune, ever repudiated the basic tenets of the Tractarian theology despite their rejection of those Tractarians who had become “traitors” to the Anglican cause in their conversions. “For Strachan, the Church of England was a branch of that catholic and apostolic church established in the first few centuries of the Christian era, when the message of the gospel had not been contaminated by Roman Catholic novelties and superstitions. Its doctrinal principles, inherited from the apostolic age and restored to their original purity during the Reformation, adhered to the celebrated *via media* – a middle position equally removed from the errors of Roman Catholicism on the one side, and Lutheranism and Calvinism on the other.” Fahey, In His Name, p.244.

⁴³ Akenson warns that the tendency to view the ‘Established Church’ both in Ireland and in Canada as belonging to the upper class must be avoided. On the contrary, particularly in Canada, the emigrating members of the Church of Ireland were “the ambitious small farmer, artisan, or clerk who sought to better himself and his family’s lot in the New World”, while those in Ireland were comprised substantially of middling and lower classes as well as members of the Ascendancy. Akenson, Irish in Ontario, pp.266, 267.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.266.

⁴⁵ AO, Strachan Papers, MS 35 Reel 5, Alexander Neil Bethune to John Strachan, May 3, 1847. It is perhaps a stretch, but nonetheless interesting, to suggest an attempt at balancing the weight of the Irish cohort in the West with far fewer in the East when interpreting Appendix II of Bethune’s ‘Report of the State of the Theological College at Cobourg in the Diocese of Toronto’ for November 20, 1846. In it, Bethune recorded his current students, who totaled 12, under the following categories: English–4, Canadian–5, Scotch-1, NovaScotian-1 and finally, Irish-1, a tally which is intriguing given the preponderance of Irishmen in the colonies and their historical connection to the Established Church and especially for the fact that this candidate, one “H.E. Plees” was initially introduced as “English” but then rather hastily it appears, crossed out and admitted to be in fact, “Irish”. Bethune’s “Report” can also be found on MS 35 Reel 5. Hackles had been raised in the interim of the Reverend William Bettridge’s (Woodstock) 1830 trip to England to solicit donations on the urging of the Western clergy and the subsequent Commission in 1840 charging him with misappropriation of those funds. Cronyn - though less so - was also implicated (trip to Ireland) and was somewhat censured for having travelled on the *Hibernia* a sailing vessel when a Packet-Merchant ship would have made the same voyage. Discrepancies stemmed from varying interpretations of how much of the trips were for Church business and how much were

personal travel as well as how much of the substantial amount of funds raised, were actually put toward their intended use. The contemporary biographer of Colonel Thomas Talbot of the Talbot Settlement in the London area, lambasted Cronyn in print for a number of alleged ‘extravagances’ which he saw as inimical to the true calling of a man of God. He accused Cronyn of neglect of his parochial duties, of engaging in land speculation, of failing to pay off Church debt (even though such was rampant elsewhere in the Church) and apparently for having money in the first place which thereby suggested that he was wanting in “singleness of purpose and unostentatious piety.” (p.180) Edward Ermatinger blamed Cronyn for mixing temporal affairs with Church affairs, all the while, keeping up the “appearance of religion” and believed this to be in large part to blame for the lack of growth in the Church of England. Ermatinger saw this as a problem throughout the Church, but in London in particular, he fumed that “these unsound pillars of the Church stop the mouths of less pretending Churchmen, whenever they presume to raise their voices against the disreputable traffic and jobbing which have been going on there for so many years.” (p.185) Similarly, Ermatinger viewed Synods as merely the mouthpiece of the Bishop in power, “his clergy” being little more than yes-men. See Edward Ermatinger, Life of Colonel Talbot and the Talbot Settlement, Its Rise and Progress, with Sketches of the Public Characters and Careers of Some of the Most Conspicuous Men in Upper Canada Who Were Either Friends or Acquaintances of the Subject of these Memoirs, (St. Thomas: A. McLachlin’s Home Journal Office, 1859), pp.170-187.

⁴⁶ AO, Strachan Papers, MS 35 reel 11, John Strachan to Ernest Hawkins, June 6, 1854.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Strachan to Bethune, June 2, 1857. In a much earlier correspondence to Bethune, Strachan had denounced Cronyn as “rather indolent” apparently for being less-than-prompt and sometimes entirely neglectful in his replies to his Bishop which had probably served only to make Strachan’s concerns over Cronyn’s apparent high-jacking of the Western district all the more pressing. See Strachan to Bethune, November 25, 1845.

⁴⁸ Horrall, pp.209-210. Strachan’s urging for “quiet” amidst the press was undoubtedly a response to the heated exchanges that had already occurred (between the Church and the Echo for example) as High Churchmen and Low Churchmen lined up to forward their own men. Strachan, quite correctly, had seen the Reverend John Wilson’s (Grafton) and Reverend William McMurray’s (Ancaster/Dundas) written appeal in 1854 to so many clergymen in favour of Bethune as “very unwise” and premature in that it ignited a backlash, much more publicly, of Low Church proofs (Reverend Samuel B. Ardagh/ Shanty Bay and Reverend R.V. Rogers/Kingston) that Bethune was entirely unfit for the position. See Turner, “The Evangelical Movement...”, p.64.

⁴⁹ AO, Strachan Papers, MS 35 Reel 4, Strachan to Reverend Ernest Hawkins, April 8, 1854.

⁵⁰ Schurman, p.38.

⁵¹ AO, Strachan Papers, Strachan to Hawkins, January 26, 1856. The three or four clergymen were most likely amongst the Reverends R.V. Rogers (Kingston), William Bleasdell (Port Trent), F.W. Dobbs (Portsmouth), H. Mulkins (Kingston) and E.C. Bower (Barriefield) whom, according to Turner, made up an Evangelical phalanx of clergy in the Kingston neighbourhood under the nominal leadership of George O’Kill Stuart. Francis Hincks’ brother, Thomas Hincks, was Rector of the parish at Derrykeighan, Dervock, Co. Antrim and was ‘like many of the Irish clergy, an Evangelical’. Turner, pp. 67-70.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Out of a total of 43 clergymen in the Diocese of Huron, Turner lists the following persuasions: 23 were “pronounced Evangelicals” (of whom 15 were Irish or of Irish extraction), 13 were High Churchmen, and 7 could not be classified. Turner, pp.80, 81. Horrall lists 42 clergy as having voted in the election.

⁵⁴ Turner, p.80.

⁵⁵ *London Free Press*, May 9, 1857 as quoted in Horrall, p.211.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ From the *London Prototype*, May 25, 1857 reprinted in *The Episcopal Controversy* (London, Ontario, 1857) found in Horrall, p.212. Emphasis mine.

⁵⁸ Turner, p.89.

⁵⁹ Schurman, p.32. Emphasis mine.

⁶⁰ *Globe*, July 9, 1857, as cited by Horrall, p.213.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Horrall, p.218.

⁶³ Turner, p.52.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.54.

⁶⁵ CIHM 00491, Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society of Montreal, (Montreal: Printed by S.C. Kyte, 1889, p.20.

⁶⁶ Richard W. Vaudry, “Evangelical Anglicans and the Atlantic World: Politics, Ideology, and the British North American Connection” in George Rawlyk, ed., Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), p.165.

⁶⁷ Burrows, p.24.

⁶⁸ Obituary of Mr. Henry Bewley, *Cavan Weekly News*, July 28, 1876, found at www.irelandoldnews.com.

⁶⁹ For a more detailed delivery of the doctrine behind the Church’s evangelical movement, see Turner, pp.37-54.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.54. Colonel A.G. Burrows reminds us however, that this ultra-protestantism still lay within the bounds of the Church of England and Ireland for anyone tempted by Strachan’s accusations that many Low Churchmen were actually dissenters. Distinct within the church, yes, dissenters, no - although Burrows seems to have thought that the Huron clergy might have benefitted from imitating the Methodist spirit for revival and more active solicitation of souls. “Near Bayfield” he wrote: “The clergyman here is a Mr. Dubourdien [Du Moulin?], connected by marriage with Mr. Carmichael, clergyman of Clinton, our next place. They are both young Irishmen, and good Evangelical men, though wanting, in my humble opinion, like almost all the clergy of this diocese, in that active union spirit, taking interest in revivals, looking for conversions, and getting their people to engage in active aggressive efforts on the masses around them.” Burrows wanted to see the piles of tracts in the vestry at Cronyn’s Cathedral disappearing faster and he wanted all the clergy to join the Bible Society in its Missions and felt that proper tract distribution required a strict regimen of solicitation and follow up. He queried “whether the connection with the Propagation Society has anything to do with this disappointing state of things, or not, I do not know, but so it is.” Burrows, p.51. Where High Churchmen maintained the *via media* between Roman Catholicism and Dissent, Low Churchmen appear to have done likewise between Anglicanism and Methodism.

⁷¹ Akenson, Irish in Ontario, p.265. As noted previously, there were obvious exceptions to the rule: Bishop John Travers Lewis (Diocese of Ontario) was an Irishman who was Trinity College, Dublin, educated (a generation later than Cronyn), but more inclined to be High Church. The Reverends Edward Dewar (Windsor) and Frederick Mack (Amherstburg) are also examples of High Church Irishmen. Similarly, there were Irish Low Church exceptions to the High Church prepotency of the Diocese of Toronto such as the Reverends S.B. Ardagh (Shanty Bay), Thomas Green (Niagara Falls) and most notably, Edmund Baldwin of St. James’ in Toronto. It is key however, to recognize that these are truly exceptions. In general, Trinity College, Dublin, churned out Low Churchmen with a very Irish Protestant emphasis on the danger of Catholicism as a far greater evil than Dissent (whereas Strachan et. al. held the opposite view) and even Bishop Lewis – though sympathetic to Tractarianism – was a faithful follower of Ussher and ran a solidly “Irish” Diocese when it came to Church discipline. See Akenson, p.265.

⁷² Burrows, p.9.

⁷³ CIHM 42152, Hamilton Verschoyle, ‘The Gospel the Power of God: A Sermon Preached in Lambeth Chapel on Wednesday October 1857’, p.19.

⁷⁴ Benjamin Cronyn, “The Bishop of Huron’s objections to the Theological Teaching of Trinity College, with the Provost’s Reply”, (Toronto: Rowsell & Ellis, 1862), CIHM 22968, p.8. Townley’s motion in Synod – though he tried to withdraw it - was lost by a large majority.

⁷⁵ Turner, p.86.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.106.

⁷⁷ The old adage might be said of Isaac Hellmuth, that he became ‘more Irish than the Irish themselves’ upon his conversion to Anglicanism in Liverpool “the most Irish city in England” under the influence of the “fiery Irish evangelical Anglican controversialist” and Recordite-influenced, Hugh McNeile, whose “virulent strain of anti-Catholicism” was well known. Born a Jew in Poland, Hellmuth, embraced Christianity within an Anglican evangelical framework and although he “may not have shared the same degree of anti-Catholicism [as McNeile], it is certainly not surprising that he would eventually find a congenial home among the Irish evangelical contingent in Huron Diocese which gathered around Bishop Benjamin Cronyn.” Hellmuth removed himself from Bethune’s Theological Institute in Cobourg for

Bishop's College before becoming a Professor there and later, secretary of the Colonial Church and School Society. Influenced to a certain extent by the Recordite tradition, according to Richard Vaudry, Anglican evangelicals – the 'Irish contingent' and their 'adopted son' Hellmuth, exhibited traits that "were belligerently confrontational, seeing their ideal of the United Kingdom as a Protestant Christian Nation... in danger, both from within... and without..." Both Hellmuth's origins and his subsequent theological adoptions as well as his McNeile influences – exhibited in Canada through his exchanges with Bishop Fulford and his support of Huron College – are evidence of a much more fluid Anglican Evangelical Atlantic world than has previously been recognized. See Vaudry, p.158.

⁷⁸ CIHM 22967, Benjamin Cronyn, "The Bishop of Huron's Objections to the Theological Teachings of Trinity College", (London C.W., 1862).

⁷⁹ D.M. Schurman, "The Kingston Rectory Dispute in the 1860s" in *Historic Kingston*, No.13, (1965), p.51. That this "attitude" obviously contained a substantial portion of 'Irishness' is backed up by Michael Gauvreau's observations for Scottish Presbyterians in a very similar climate where 'Britishness' more often than not took a back seat to "older patriotisms and a sense of ethnic difference"/potent sub-identities or older nationalities that were re-invigorated in the colonial setting amongst the middling groups (as opposed to gentry or aristocracy) who formed the backbone of emigration. See "Dividends", p.230. Gauvreau points to other work on the Scots by John Mackenzie which similarly claims that "British imperial expansion, rather than serving as the vehicle for an overarching national identity, actually enabled the sub-nationalism of the United Kingdom to survive and flourish." (p.230) See John M. Mackenzie, "Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1998. Gauvreau's notion that "the reactivation of such structures [historic church government and insistence on certain Church forms] was a deliberate choice by both clergy and laity, as both were interested in indicating that 'Scottishness' was affirmed as primarily religious and institutional in character" is a particularly fascinating parallel to the obvious care that the 'Irish phalanx' in the Huron Diocese and other satellite areas, put into their own imposition of group identity. *Irish Protestants* have always had a vested interest in promoting the uniqueness of *both* qualifiers to their name and both the Church of Ireland and the Orange Order had big hands to play in keeping 'early modern' expressions of identity alive in nineteenth century Canada. The result for Gauvreau is a picture of separateness in the colonial experience – any notion of an inclusive British imperial citizenship was subdued by competing or fragmented identities reinforced by church polity. The evidence for Huron appears to support the same.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Turner, p.56.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.99.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.109.

⁸⁴ CIHM 48143, "Letters and Papers Published in 1860 in Reference to the Charges Brought By the Lord Bishop of Huron", (Toronto: Roswell & Ellis, Printers, 1862).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.93.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.94.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.96. Emphasis mine.

⁸⁸ CIHM 22969, Francis Fulford, "A Letter to the Bishops and Clergy of the United Church of England and Ireland in Canada, 1862", pp.14-15.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.3,12,13.

⁹⁰ John Fenning Taylor, "The Last Three Bishops Appointed by the Crown for the Anglican Church of Canada", (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1870), p.37. Emphasis mine.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² William Kilbourn, *The Firebrand: William Lyon Mackenzie and the Rebellion in Upper Canada*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2008), p.175.

⁹³ Crowfoot, p.36.

⁹⁴ Sean T. Cadigan, "Paternalism and Politics: Sir Francis Bond Head, the Orange Order, and the Election of 1836" in *Canadian Historical Review*, LXXII, 3, (1991), p.346. William Perkins Bull includes a very similar description of Cronyn's activities in 1836, quoting the Reverend Proudfoot's diary as the source: "Cronyn, London, "constantly hurrahing and cheering on the Orangemen who were seen running through

the streets, intoxicated, with clubs, threatening the reformers with instant death if they shouted ‘Reform’.” See fn 15, From Strachan to Owen, p.358.

⁹⁵ Crowfoot, p.36.

⁹⁶ Hayes, p.117.

⁹⁷ Hayes, (quoting Akenson, The Church of Ireland, p.66) p.7.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p.117.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p.117.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp.117-118

¹⁰¹ Benjamin Huron (Cronyn), “(III.) The Opinion of the Bishop of Huron”, in The Gospel in Canada and Its Relation to Huron College: In Addresses by the Lord Bishop of Huron; Right Reverend Dr. McIlvaine (Bishop of Ohio); Right Reverend G.F. Bedell, D.D. (Assistant Bishop of Ohio) with An Introduction By The Reverend T.R. Birks, M.A., Rector of Kelsal, (London: Wm. Hunt & Co., 1865), p.95. Emphasis Cronyn’s.

¹⁰² Ibid., pp.96-97.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p.97.

¹⁰⁴ Turner, p.123.

¹⁰⁵ Francis Montreal (Fulford), “(II.) The Opinion of the Bishop of Montreal”, in The Gospel in Canada, p.79.

¹⁰⁶ Turner, p.124.

¹⁰⁷ Gauvreau, p.215.

¹⁰⁸ Hayes, p.116.

¹⁰⁹ Vaudry, p.169.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p.161. Vaudry also states that “Cronyn was at the centre of a strong Irish evangelical contingent in the western part of Upper Canada and had important family connections to the Blakes in the Diocese of Toronto. Indeed, the Cronyn/Blake family connection was probably the most important evangelical network among Ontario Anglicans.” p.160. The Blakes (County Wicklow) had arrived with the Cronyns from Ireland in 1832.

¹¹¹ Hayes, p.117.

¹¹² Horrall, p.217.

¹¹³ Vaudry, p.156.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp.158-159. Vaudry quoting Peter Toon’s definition of an evangelical Anglican.

¹¹⁵ William H. Katerburg has shown that the growth and influence of the Evangelical party in the Anglican Church was at its most optimum when they were in the minority. Reaching its peak from the turn of the 20th century until the First World War from the great momentum it had received in the last decades of the nineteenth century with the establishment of Wycliffe College, evangelism eventually began to wane in the 1930s as its Churchmanship became more moderate, as students experienced “unsettlement” and experimented with liberal theology and ritualism and began to abandon what had once been considered essential low church practices in the aftermath of two World Wars and the coming of the Cold War which gave more pressing concerns to modern Christian living. See source for more on the progress and eventual decline of Anglican Evangelism in the century after Cronyn’s influence. William Katerburg, ‘Redefining Evangelicalism in the Canadian Anglican Church: Wycliffe College and the Evangelical Party, 1867-1995’ in Rawlyk, ed., Aspects, p.171-188.

CONCLUSIONS

THE IRISH CANADIAN

- PETER: We must stick together. I wonder that you don't join the League of Farmers.
- HUGH: We never had such things in Antrim. Sure we had meetings, but not organized demonstrations.
- PETER: And that's why you're farming wheat in Canada now instead of flax back home.
- HUGH: It smacks of socialism to me.
- PETER: What else are we to do? This government's sympathy lies, not in people but in profit.
- HUGH: We must all get behind the war effort, that's what I told our John.
- PETER: If the new settlers want to go, let them go. They are still wedded to the old country. We Canadians have other business.
- HUGH: You don't back the war?
- PETER: Oh, it's not the war that bothers me. Let them fight it – it's a just enough war. It's this Conscription business I don't like.
- HUGH: You Catholics is all opposed to it.
- PETER: Nothing to do with being Catholic. Canada's a nation on her own, free to fight her own wars, not the rest of the world's.
- HUGH: That's Fenian talk where I come from.
- PETER: Where you come from maybe. Here, it's just progress.

From: Heritage, a play by Nicola McCartney, a Traverse Theatre Programme Playscript, 1998.

- SARAH: I think the ocean will always be very big, for my mother says that you can only cross it the once and then it's for a lifetime.

From: Heritage, a play by Nicola McCartney, a Traverse Theatre Programme Playscript, 1998.

Although the advent of the steamship over the sailing vessel on the Atlantic in the late decades of the nineteenth century effectively lessened the sense of time and space

between Ireland and ‘America’, relative to the numbers that had emigrated, the ‘returned Yank’ was a relatively rare phenomenon. This may well have been the result of perceptions that in the New World, one was more capable of being a successful, Old World man. “In 1863 a Protestant clergyman from County Donegal related how one of his young parishioners, the only son of a small farmer... came back to claim his sweetheart and take her to America. When the clergyman remonstrated with the young man that he should remain in Ireland, he was met with the irresistible argument of his former parishioner that while only a laborer... he was ‘as well fed as you reverence’ and hoped before long to buy a farm ‘free of rent and taxes.’”¹ Obviously, despite his New World experience, the young man’s frame of reference in not only returning to Ireland for a mate, but in measuring his success directly and comparatively to the bounty on an Irish clergyman’s table, was still an Irish one. What is perhaps more intriguing however, is that this frame of reference was bolstered by the equal perception on the Irish side that any returnee “was at best an adapter, a hybrid whose roots were essentially in Irish soil, and he was not respected as the true bearer of new gifts. The returnee was still an Irishman...”² Such views, along with the proliferation and dissemination of the ‘American letter’ in the nineteenth century, “did much to familiarize the Irish with the “New Ireland” beyond the sea” and helped create the illusion that New York [or Toronto, or Adelaide or Douro for that matter] was the next parish over from Galway.”³

If the Irishman in Canada and the Canadian Irish back home in Ireland were such well known and accepted characteristics of the nineteenth century diaspora, what has prompted historians of the subject to query where the Irish and their ‘New Ireland’

disappeared to? By claiming that adaptation and ability rather than cultural disability were the norm for the Irish Catholic emigrant in Canada, Don Akenson has suggested that near-invisibility and subsequent boredom amongst Nationalist-oriented historians has been the result. Similarly, although his focus is on the Irish in New Brunswick where admittedly, there would have been different pressures and complications with regard to religion and nationality, P.M. Toner has called for more studies in order to explain the whereabouts of a substantial Irish population given its seemingly inexplicable drop from 1871 to 1941. Toner himself however may have contributed somewhat to their disappearance by making assumptions that the Protestant Irish were more Protestant than they were Irish and by deriving from relatively small samplings, rather large estimations such as this regarding intermarriage: “It would... seem that the Protestant Irish were more determined to blend into the population, by marrying outside their own group and by becoming Baptist, a denomination which is rare in Ireland. This in turn meant that the Catholic Irish retained a greater sense of their Irishness, and this was carried over into the generations born in the province.”⁴ Although Toner enticingly offered that “the belief that Irish Protestants and the Scots share much of their heritage and culture must be questioned in the light of this data”⁵, he later confusingly, proposed the opposite. “It is possible, indeed probable, that a large proportion of Irish Protestants simply became ‘English’ or ‘Scots’, while the Catholic Irish remained Irish. In other words, many of the ‘Scots’ and ‘English’ of New Brunswick have more Irish roots than they probably know or may want to remember. ... The Catholics had become the majority, and their sense of ethnicity remained stronger than that of their Protestant cousins.”⁶ This has been the

assumption of many historians who have studied the Irish in Canada – that Irish Protestants were really more English than they were Irish. On the contrary, as this work has illustrated for a different portion of the country, there were Irish Protestants in Canada who were as far from seeking to escape or dilute their cultural heritage as they could be; and by their commitment to maintaining connections to the homeland and even to the ‘other’ in a place with far different pressures, the very opposite may be said of the Irish in Ontario. In contrast to Toner, here, Irish Protestants made up the ‘majority’ and *their* sense of ethnicity remained stronger than that of their Catholic cousins. In order to be able to see this however, one must be able to accept Don Akenson’s golden rule: that Irish Protestants were in fact, also Irish and arguably, for a time, *the* Irish. In the light of such evidence, future responses to Toner and other historians’ calls for further research may actually manage – like the mid-century Boston *Pilot* - to locate a good portion of the supposedly missing Irish.

Irish Protestantism in nineteenth century Ontario represented a distinct culture, one that was characterized by a carefully and continually-cultivated, transatlantic identity. Indeed, Orangemen from South Emily could traverse the Scugog if only to brag about crossing another Boyne, Bishop Cronyn’s ‘boys’ could force the stand-down of the High Anglican Church and claim to have taken up the torch of an Irish Bishop from centuries past, and Frances Stewart and her daughters in isolated Douro could put great personal stake in the success or failure of the Irish Missions in even the most remote reaches of the Dingle Peninsula. Irish Protestants remained Irish in the New World longer than historians have recognized. Endogamous relationships within Irish communities; a

prominent and proliferate Orange Order; the special preserve of women to hold onto and herald ‘the small things’ – the emotional connection to the homeland; a predilection for reinvigorating premodern cultural forms based on longstanding and intimate knowledge of the ‘other’(witness the many ‘Roman lines’); and the pressure of a distinctly Irish Church within what was to be *the* Established religion, all signal an Irish Protestant presence in Canada that was a distinctive as the Irish Catholic. The historic dialectic between the two nineteenth century Irelands and their expressions of ‘Irishness’ was softened however in Canada and on occasion, fewer degrees appeared to separate what had until now, always been two very divergent traditions. By becoming in some ways, more Irish in Canada than they had been in the homeland, Irish Protestants found common ground on new shores with their Catholic countrymen. The extent of this, when considered in combination with their numbers and ultimately their influence (in education⁷, politics, definitions of loyalty, and an evangelical Anglicanism for example) may enable the nineteenth century in so-called ‘English Canada’ to be more properly defined as an Irish Protestant one.

Although arguing for an enduring, well-blended sense of Irishness amongst Catholics and Protestants in Canada during this period is unrealistic, accommodations were certainly made that were far less likely to have occurred in the homeland. On November 11, 1830, two years after her arrival in Upper Canada from England and within a year of her marriage to her Irish husband, Mary Gapper O’Brien recorded the ordinary events of a day which were somewhat extraordinary in their example of the compromise that was possible between Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant in unsettled places. “Edward

left this morning with the intention of going to York, but found the roads in such bad order for riding that he returned from Richard's. He brought with him a queer old Irishwoman, tall and slender, whom I have engaged as servant... She is a Catholic but does not object to joining in our family devotions because, she says, my Bible is hers."⁸ Although the arrangement was temporary, the inherent prejudices were not, as is evidenced by Mary O'Brien's explanation two months later, that she would again be without help as her "old lady has been pining for her brother and his fourteen children for some time. Now she has notified us of her intention of resigning the honour of living in the house of an O'Brien. This, she says, had attracted her to our service in the first place."⁹ Presumably, the O'Brien's Irish domestic servant, upon accepting her placement, knew that the family was not Catholic. Yet it is interesting to note in this regard, that her attraction to the Irish name, despite it being that of a Protestant, was apparently what brought her there, and that the two women, for a time, had found some consensus in a common Christianity. In a similar, "substantially true", "moral" and "calculated to show something of the toils... of the early settlers"¹⁰ account of what was essentially his own experience in Canada, Joseph Hilts recounted a local tragedy that saw the death of two children of Irish Catholic emigrants, under the weight of a partially fallen, giant elm tree. Hilts assured his readers that "Instances of this kind have occurred in different parts of Canada. And even men have sometimes been buried in the same way. So that this is no mere fancy picture, but it represents facts."¹¹ But his real intention was to show that there were occasions of accommodation in Canadian settlement when "Though neither priest nor parson could be had, yet these children were

not buried without religious service. Protestant and Catholic forgot their differences as they stood around this open grave and joined in the service, while Mr. Woodbine read from John Bushman's 'Book of Discipline' the ritual of the funeral service as it was used by the Methodist Church of that day. The death of the Hawthorn children was an event long remembered in the settlement."¹² Although Hilt's depiction of a Lowland Scot Presbyterian, extending Methodist words of solace to Irish Catholic parents, while Anglican, Lutheran, and Baptist neighbours shared in their sorrow, came from a source wherein "scholarly readers" are warned not to "use a telescope in searching for defects; [because] you can see plenty of them with the naked eye"¹³, the image is intriguing. In Hilt's defense, he blamed lack of education for any of his work's faults, not lack of honesty or personal experience.

Nineteenth-century British monarchical culture in Canada allowed for a multiplicity of ethnic identities to remain intact to an extent greater than the more encompassing 'Britishness' of the United Kingdom that has been elsewhere documented¹⁴, or the neighbouring model of the United States and its 'melting pot' stimuli allowed. In the case of the latter, the more physically pressing of the two, both institutional Republicanism as well as the country's formidable, homegrown nativism encouraged a great deal more 'American' conformity. Frequently, letters home from the Irish indicated that the United States was a place where the Irish were suspect and unwanted, and only the more so if they were Irish and Catholic. The well-known proliferation of signs on businesses, "no Irish need apply" were only slightly more subtle than one Irishman's letter home to the *Cork Examiner* in 1860 that vividly exhorted how:

“...it would take more than a mere letter to tell you the despicable, humiliating, slavish life of an Irish labourer on a railroad in the States; I believe I can come very near it by saying that everything, good and bad, black and white, is against him; no love for him – no protection in life – can be shot down, run through, kicked, cuffed, spat on – and no redress, but a response of served the damn son of an Irish b____ right, damn him.”¹⁵ One year later, Sarah Ann Radcliff, who had been some decades in Ontario by this time, warned family members back home, that for the Irish, living in Canada was comparatively easier: “I find all the Irish who settled in the States would be very glad now to be on British soil, they find out that the Yankey are not to be depended on and they hate the Irish.”¹⁶ Although Canada was obviously not without its own ethnic tensions and insecurities - the Reverend Joseph Hilts was tentative in his statements about the successes of co-mingling diversities - the overall essence of his “neighbourhood of strangers” in 1888 is one of coexistence if not cooperation, in contrast to the American picture:

...every lot that in any way touched John Bushman’s lot was taken up, and had some one on it, or was to be occupied in a short time. ...

Now, if we should divide this little community into distinct nationalities, we would find one family of Irish; two of Scotch; one of English; two Canadian of English descent; two Canadian of German descent; one Nova Scotian; one American of German descent; and one Canadian of Irish descent. ...a Canadian of Scotch descent... a Frenchman, from Lower Canada.

This is a fair sample of the mixed origin of the race of people who are making this Canada of ours what it is, and in whose hands is the destiny of this Dominion. ...

“If you take the cool, shrewd, calculating head of the canny Scotchman, the stern, unbending will of the German, the warm heart and ready wit of an Irishman, the vivacity and activity of the Frenchman, and put all of these into a robust, healthy frame of an Englishman, you then have a Canadian.”

...I shall not say anything about the correctness of this portraiture, but every one must draw his own conclusions in regard to it.

And if we classify them religiously, we will find a diversity equally as great. ...

This is a great variety for such a small community. And here we have an exhibition of the mixture that enters into the religious life of this country. Whether this is an advantage or not must be determined by wiser heads than mine.¹⁷

Hilts left contemporaries to make up their own mind as to whether or not his depiction of the blended settlement reflected their own neighbourhood – he does not say that the community was without prejudice or conflict – however, the suggestion is that as late as 1888, ethnic and religious identities were still pervasively retained in Canada and these were taking up contiguous lots. It appears that one's 'descent', according to Hilts, was influential enough to inform one's experience, even as a so-called 'Canadian'. Less populated, with fewer urban centres and with regard to settlement, a 'younger' history, Canada's immigrant history has presented differently than that of the United States.

Agreed that 'religious tension and prejudice' should not be 'the most significant aspects' of the history of the Irish in Canada in contrast to much of what has been written, Margaret Fitzgerald and Joseph King suggest alternatively, that "problems of sheer survival in a wilderness environment kept people busy thinking about more pressing matters than the religion of their neighbors. A body of evidence is available to show [for example] that Catholics and Protestants often worked together to solve common community problems. Protestants worked to alleviate the distress of Catholics afflicted with fever and dying on crowded immigrant ships, and some Protestants even gave their lives in the process."¹⁸ The 'religion of their neighbours', for much of the history of such in Canada, seemed to matter more particularly on certain days of the year. In his *County of Victoria Centennial History*, the first of which was published in 1921, Watson

Kirkconnell sought to address the “many misconceptions [that] exist concerning the character of the ultimate population of the County, [and believed] a few figures may be of interest. The chief ethnic stocks of the county in 1921 were: Irish 12,292, English 10,663, Scotch 5,080, French 575, German 339, Dutch 304. That race is no index to religion will be evident from a further analysis: Methodists 12,283, Presbyterians 6,814, Anglicans 4,551, Roman Catholics 4,344, Baptists 1,151, Salvation Army 210, Christians 164 and Mormons 95. The chief comments on these figures are that evidently not all of the Presbyterians were Scotch and that nearly two-thirds of the Irishmen were Protestant.”¹⁹ Again, as late as 1921, ‘ethnic stock’ was obviously an important consideration in the evaluation of one’s identity and community. Kirkconnell believed that “the years ending in 1863 were distinctively the period of pioneering. [That prior to this,] the thought and activity of the country had been almost entirely taken up with the struggle against the forest” and this may well explain the near epic tone behind his retelling of the third in a series of four “armed invasions” of Lindsay that were anything but. Notably, the

third army of invasion appeared before Lindsay on July 12, 1846. ‘Billy’ Parker, a noted Orange fighter from South Emily, had received a beating in Lindsay and the hundreds of celebrants of the Boyne victory marched on the little hamlet to avenge on its population the defeat of their champion. The villagers were warned of the impending attack and prepared to defend themselves. All who had muskets put them in working order. Thomas Keenan prepared rude swords by winding cotton around the hilts of scythe-blades as handles. Pitchforks were served out as bayonets. The old log bridge across the Scugog was chopped down into the river, as in the defense of ancient Rome against the Tuscans. Sharpshooters lined the river bank. Then a deputation was sent out to confer with the foe at Lang’s Corner. Happily wise counsels prevailed and the history of the town was not marred with such a battle as was then imminent.²⁰

In the same manner that Lindsay's Tom Toole miraculously navigated the crushing gears of *both* the local saw and grist mills only to respond to the impossibility of his survival upon being fished out of the river, that "he had had no time to take notes"²¹, the process that was readying for 'battle' in Ops Township was far more interesting than the lack-luster denouement at Lang's. Echoes of such 'battles' resound throughout the local histories of rural Ontario, confirming that where such intrigues were not readily at hand, they had to be invented. In this way, the Irish sought the cooperation or at least consideration, of fellow Irishmen in their sometimes confrontational, but ultimately influential expressions of their own Irishness in Canada. How else does one explain Sir William Mulock, son of Irish Protestant immigrants, and now solicitor for the 1875 Lindsay railway extension proposed for the Whitby/Port Perry Line having "found argument of no avail" in his campaign for local funds in Irish Catholic and crucial hold-out, Downeyville, resorting to carrying "the by-law by giving North Emily three jokes, two songs, and a Irish clog-dance... [as a topper to the] \$2000 per mile from the government..."²²

Sorting 'image' from 'reality' in his assessment of the historiography on Irish Catholics in nineteenth century Canada, William M. Baker concludes that the next step for historians is synthesis: the profession needs to work toward a more general account of the Irish in Canada, inclusive of both Protestants and Catholics, in order that 'interpretive issues' can emerge, be tested, and resolved. One such issue, according to Baker, surrounds a theme within this thesis, that of the "concept of acculturation, the principle that 'adjustment' occurred in both directions, [which] must be a prime consideration..."

[for] even if one wished to concentrate on either Protestant or Catholic Irish, one could not make an *a priori* assumption of dramatic differences between the two.”²³ Baker then employs Akenson’s descriptive: ““Flail at each other though they did, Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants resembled each other more than anybody else.””²⁴ Evidence for a parallel but converging Irishness in Canada is provided in the example of James ‘Big Jim’ Hodgins, who, once a police sub-constable in the disturbed areas of Borrisokane and Roscrea, Ireland, charged with shooting a Roman Catholic in 1829, by the mid-1840s, as a Canada Company agent, is ‘curiously’ reserving the centre of Biddulph Township for Irish Catholic settlement “at precisely the time the filling up of the western concessions forced many of his fellow Protestants to locate elsewhere.”²⁵ Where he had once been active in promoting the passages, land allocations, and interests of a strictly Irish Protestant network of friends and family, it is rumoured that by 1842 and 1844, Hodgins was returning to Ireland to recruit the settlers who would form a decidedly “Catholic Settlement” as it was known by 1880. Although Bruce Elliott offers explanations for the apparent “paradox” in Hodgins’ movements, such as a sequence of occupation that may have encouraged Protestants to prefer to congregate on only one side of the now established, ‘Roman Line’ rather than ‘risk’ its separation, along with the easing of strictures on settlement that came with the 1842 change in the Canada Company’s land policy, these do not satisfactorily address Hodgins’ more personal and compelling, seeming turn-of-heart. The suggestion is significant and takes Elliott’s work on Irish Protestant migration to another level to include the possibility of the recreation of larger, more inclusive Irish communities in Canada; ones that saw Irish Catholics in contiguous

settlements as expressions of familiarity or perhaps reason to retain Irish Protestantism. Elliott indicates that such settlement patterns continued in certain areas from the earliest periods of the 1820s up to the 1860s, including secondary and even tertiary settlement migrations of Irish Protestant families, drawn from both Tipperary and non-Tipperary Irish. Movement in the Ottawa Valley, in and out of such places as Clarendon Township, Russell County, and into the Gatineau Valley was such that in “all three locations the Carletonians created solid neighbourhoods of Irish Protestants adjacent to areas of Catholic settlement, reminiscent of the settlement pattern in Huntley”²⁶ [which was one of the original locations of newly arrived Irish]. Elliott’s is a story of Irish Protestant persistence in Canada with regard to the decision to leave Ireland and locate according to the choices already delineated by Irish kin and acquaintance previously ventured; it may be one of an even more persistent people than he chose to regard, if the Irish settlements, both Protestant and Catholic, of Biddulph, Emily, Huntley, Clarendon, Russell and the Kazabazua Area are any indication. It is well documented that for Irish Protestant settler, Thomas Stewart, the news of the arrival of 2000 Irish Catholic potential neighbours to Douro, turned his view of his bush existence from one of a “hopeless retirement” to one wherein his wife, Frances, some six months later, would suggest the name ‘Peterborough’ for their now thriving community in honour of the man who brought them there.²⁷

In their assessment of the Canadian land by-products of Irish emigration, Cecil Houston and William Smythe recognize that the Irish migrated with two separate and distinct identities with the result that “within the broad regional pattern of Irish settlement [in British North America] there existed a patchwork of Protestant and Catholic

districts.”²⁸ However, they emphasize that varying migration streams, timing in emigration, administrative decisions and the 2:1 ratio of Protestant Irish to Catholic are as much, if not more responsible for the resulting ethnic patchwork in Canadian townships as the too simple explanation of religious antipathy. More importantly, where there were substantial Irish populations in what are now Southern Ontario townships, the “small minority of Ontario Irish Catholics, ... were usually enmeshed within, rather than segregated from, the matrix of Protestant settlement.”²⁹ Using the example of Mono and Adjala Townships, which, Houston and Smythe identify as representative of Irish Ontario and many other provinces, the authors describe the characteristics of what they define as a typical Protestant and Catholic settlement pattern:

There were examples of individual Catholics being surrounded by Protestants and likewise individual Protestants surrounded by Catholics. There were large blocks of farmland occupied only by co-religionists, and there were variations between both extremes. Although Mono was extremely Protestant, a small Catholic community had formed in the northwest, and another... was aligned approximately along the Hockley Valley... In the southeast, a few Catholic families represented the edge of a settlement in the neighbouring township. In Adjala township the Catholic settlement represented one of the main Catholic islands in Protestant Ontario. Catholics occupied a broad, fairly contiguous zone of farmland that was broken only in a few places. The pattern had developed from the first stages of settlement in the early 1820s and its final outlines had been determined by the location decisions of the pioneers.³⁰

Although Houston and Smythe emphasize the initial influence of separate identities and state that the “physical crudity of frontier life in the early stage was softened, even made bearable, by the immigrants’ duplicating [of the distinct] social organizations of the Old World”³¹, their resulting picture of the geography of Irish settlement in Canada is one of very parallel, and at times, converging communities. For both Catholic and Protestant Irish, the “creation of churches was a central aspiration” in place of the houses and fields

that had served as their places of worship, both communities were much influenced by kinship links and transferred institutional culture, both experienced the greatest influx of immigrants from the homeland in the decades prior to 1860, both contained members who were among the pioneering generations who, along with their Canadian-born children, “continued the mixing of Irish traditions into the new Canadian society” and both found themselves in mixed communities where Protestants might contribute to the subscription list for a local Catholic Church and a Catholic might agree to the loan of his horse, the only white one for miles, to head up the Orange parade.³² As Houston and Smyth explained, things in Canada were Irish, but they became something else as well:

For the Orangeman going to lodge and the Catholic going to a parish function, there was a semblance of continuation in the Old World social patterning. The demands of family and kin still focused their lives, and many of their cultural values persisted. Their new lives, however, were worked out within a new physical and economic milieu, and adjustments had to be made. Opportunities and demands unheard of in Ireland conjoined with the need to work out their lives in a society composed of other groups from different cultures. In addition, the geographical diversity inherent in the continental expanse of Canada complicated the adjustment process and ensured that the experience of the Irish in the new land would assume a diversity dependent on myriad regional situations. No single Irish ‘type’ was created in Canada.³³

While Canada’s size allowed for the stretching of land allotment and subsequent apportioning of people, its distance and newness encouraged the stretching of the mind, of ‘type’ as Houston and Smyth put it, forcing accommodations out of necessity, such that Agent John S. Cummins, of the British American Land Company in 1859, who considered himself “as free from bigotry as possible”, might note that although in his experience, communities of different faiths had been and should be kept separate, and thus was the plan for new Irish arrivals to Bury, Lingwick and Weedon, he was able to

consider that “the attention [of such “opposites”] within... bounds... may be... advantageous.”³⁴

Don Akenson has shown that outside of nineteenth century Ireland, in the ‘clean laboratory’ that was Canada, the differences between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants were relatively small. In contrast to Kerby Miller’s depiction of an anachronistic, communally debilitated and dependent Catholic culture, Akenson has demonstrated that Irish Catholics in Canada were for the most part, as rural, successful, adaptive, and independent as Irish Protestants³⁵. This narrowing of the gap, according to Akenson goes against what has been “endemic to Irish historical writing; that is, culture (and its Irish subcomponents, Irish-Catholic culture and the... Protestant variants...) is treated as something that has a life of its own, which is a direct cause of events, and which is itself mysteriously independent of the other aspects of life. ... It is natural to analyse the differences between Protestants and Catholics in the visible world as in some way derivative from their views concerning the invisible one, and it is natural to tack on to religion the associated matters of language, superstitions, folk culture, and so on.”³⁶ It is when we view Irish culture inclusively, outside of the history of entrenched, religiously-based, bifurcation in the homeland, that we are confronted with the notion that no ‘earthly distinctions’ could really separate the two. In Canada, Irish Protestants needed the proximity and characteristics of what they viewed to be Irish Catholicism in order to be Irish Protestants in the first place, and vice versa. Keeping the concept of ‘other’ in one’s rearview mirror, or more appropriately, constantly looking for it over one’s shoulder, enabled the declaration of group identity or *raison d’être* that the blank canvas that was

nineteenth century Canada, required. How could Irish Protestant identity ‘disappear’, ‘blend’, become ‘submerged’ or conform so quickly when there really wasn’t anything to conform to? It had been presumed as Britain sought to people its colonies that the new places would take on the characteristics, traditions and institutions of the more dominant governing body, comprising an English way of being, but nineteenth century Upper Canada was being inundated with Irish Protestants. It is for this reason that it is important for historians of the Irish in Canada to recognize Irish Protestants as first of all, Irish, and then secondly, as an essential element in the creation of an Irish presence in Canada that was much broader than studies of the Orange Order or particular Irish Catholic urban communities can articulate. The Irish in Canada had more in common with one another than they had differences. As Irishman George A. Birmingham (a.k.a. the Reverend James Owen Hannay, a Church of Ireland rector and member of the Gaelic League) recognized by 1911, Ireland could just as easily be a source of unification as it could division, but outside the homeland, the former was almost always the case:

...it is only Irishmen who are allowed to say... hard things about their country. We resent... [it] bitterly when they come from the lips of strangers; just as a mother who smacks her own boy heartily will not allow any one else to touch him save in the way of kindness. All Irishmen whom I have ever met cherish in their hearts a deep affection for Ireland. We make and repeat sayings to the discredit of our home – “Ireland is a very good country to live out of,” and so forth, but in reality we are never contented and happy for very long elsewhere. And there is, in spite of our many differences and our violent political quarrelling, a bond of union between us which residence in a foreign land strengthens and brings to recognition. One of the best of our contemporary poets has described us very well in a single line as – “Leaping to greet at a distance, set in the death-grips at home.”³⁷

Although Houston and Smyth claim that Orangeism would have existed in Canada even without the contemporary presence of Irish Catholics because of the large

population of French Catholics in neighbouring Lower Canada/Canada East as well as the fact that its principles were central to the more general Irish Protestant mindset, they then go on to describe a quite striking image of a broader Irishness, unique to Canada, with two quite different but inextricably linked, sides:

The Irish Catholic overseas provided for the Orangeman a sense of social familiarity and evidence that the new society to which they had come was like the old they had left. In fact, the Catholic Irishman in Canada served as the natural foil for the Orangeman. Whether an Irishman was Protestant or Catholic, Orangeism was a fact of his existence, part of his psyche which he could not escape. Orange may have been a positive colour for the Protestant and a negative one for the Catholic but it was common to both and impossible to be ignored by either. The unending tensions between the two communities and the rare bouts of violence that disrupted a usually peaceful coexistence were expected by both Orangeman and Catholic. Emerging from a common cultural background, Irishmen in lock step, Protestant and Catholic, became Canadian.³⁸

Indeed, it was the Irishness of Canada that made the success of Orangeism within its territory at all possible. The presence of one's fellow countrymen of differing faith was requisite for one's own cultural institutions to not only formulate group policy and identity but also to have credibility in doing so. Irishmen, Catholic or Protestant, needed one another on the new soil of Canada in order to legitimate being Irish in an English world. 'Orange' and 'Green', as expressions of the extreme in Irishness, maintained a relationship in Canada that although they may not have been immediately 'Leaping to Greet' as Birmingham described, they were certainly 'prepared to meet', quite regularly, whether it be in the streets on the 12th of July or the 17th of March, in the *tete à tete* machinations of the 1836 election, in newspaper articles taking one another to task, in diaries describing neighbours both suspect and accepted, or letters home affirming the Irish connection; the one periodically checked in with the other, in order to lay claim to

one's own existence, or 'trail the coat', as the Irish expressed it. In this, there was much that was held in common.

Arguably, Irish Protestants had to have remained noticeably Irish Protestant for a good length of time in nineteenth century Canada in order for Mark McGowan's or Brian Clarke's Catholic communities to have had a contrast to focus their collecting community spirit upon. Irish Protestant Canadianization did not occur in advance of the Catholic version and cannot be assumed to have been the goal of Irish Protestant immigration in the first place. Although she writes from the perspective of a much later period, the searching critique of twentieth century Irish immigrant, Maggie Thompson, over what made her different from her Catholic countrymen, is poignant and telling as well as relative:

We were always told – and who told us this I can't even remember – that you could tell the difference between a Catholic and a Protestant because a Catholic's eyes were closer together and Catholics usually kicked with the left foot when they played soccer. Catholics were less well dressed. ... When I asked how Catholicism differed from Protestantism, I was told that Catholics worshipped the Virgin Mary; Protestants only worshipped God Himself. They pay priests to save themselves; we ask for forgiveness directly from God Himself. We had a direct line; there were all these intermediaries with the Catholic Church. When they die they don't go straight to Heaven, they go to Purgatory. It was always us and them. Good and bad. Black and white.³⁹

Perhaps the greatest value in Thompson's record of her experiences as an Irishwoman in Canada lies not in its rare perspective – an immigrant Irish woman on the margin who recorded her experience – but in its capturing of the very moment that Thompson was confronted with her Irishness in a new way, on Canadian soil. Having spent time in England, where although Thompson felt 'freer' than she did in Ireland, she was still

‘confined’; treated like a second-class citizen as a result of the English stereotype of the Irish, Thompson remembered

...one of them commenting on my hips and saying that I had good Irish hips – good for bearing children. We were just Irish and it didn’t matter whether we were Catholic or Protestant. That was the thing: As Protestants, we grew up in the North of Ireland believing that we were special and that we were really important to Britain. And yet when we were in Britain they don’t see you as special; they just see you as Irish and a troublemaker.⁴⁰

Then, after emigrating to Canada, Thompson landed in Edmonton, Alberta and faced something new.

I’ll never forget the sky, that flat prairie expanse of the open sky that was blue and warm and so open. It gave me a spiritual and emotional openness that just didn’t exist in my life before. I took the bus from Edmonton up to Dawson Creek, about 380 miles. You don’t travel that kind of journey in Ireland. There was room to move and room to expand and room to do what you wanted. And the blue sky just made it all seem possible.⁴¹

Having stood out as Methodist amidst the Presbyterian majority of The Diamond (the epicenter of Irish Orangeism) in Northern Ireland, and then as a lesser class of Irish in English Manchester, it would take Maggie Thompson the greater journey of thousands of miles to Canada to realize just how Irish she really was. Here, as simply ‘Irish’, Thompson raised funds for The Irish Prisoner of War Committee in Ontario and British Columbia in the wake of the Bobby Sands Hunger Strike of 1981, a decidedly un-Protestant thing to do in her homeland, as well as became a spokesperson for women’s health issues that directly challenged the Catholic Church. Aware of the subtle transitions, Thompson wrote:

At that time a lot seemed to have happened at once. It felt like I had an understanding of politics and an understanding of my own political perspective. ... As a Protestant going into the Irish Prisoner of War Committee, I felt very strange – at the beginning I felt like I needed to apologize, or I needed to explain

why I was there. I didn't want people to know I was a Protestant and that therefore I might offend someone. I wanted to be careful.⁴²

Canada offered immigrants from Ireland the opportunity to 'want to be careful' in their relations with one another and with other identities from different cultures. This does not imply that they surrendered in any way, the characteristics that made them Irish Protestant - they had slogans that declared that impossible. It means that Canada's vastness, its breathing space and 'elbow room', its more accessible political process, the distraction of settlement's physical demands, the concurrent claims of other ethnic identities, and early on, the imperative of a neighbour, regardless of faith, acted at times, to soften the delineations in Irishness, blurring the lines, between that of the Catholic and the Protestant in the interest of accommodation. In 1888 Frank Smith, a prominent Catholic spokesperson for the growing, less-clerically prescribed, Irish Catholic vote, spoke against the fundraising visit of Ireland's William O'Brien and for most Irish Catholics, according to Michael Cottrell, regarding the spirit of accommodation that had been acting upon the Irish in Canada for some time. He believed

...it a mistake to let the politics of Ireland interfere with the happiness of the Catholic people of Canada as the course matters are now taking must in the future hurt our people. We first should look to ourselves and after do all we could for the country we left ... the country we live in the laws are the same for Catholics as well as Protestants. Were it otherwise I would be the first to find fault. The Governor General is not here as an Irish landlord, he is here representing the British nation and we should not allow anyone to come here to hound him down. We should as Catholics and true subjects of Canada and [sic] endeavour to continue the good feelings that now exist be [sic] all classes of Canadians.⁴³

'Good feeling', or the ability to get along with mutual progress, did not negate the fact that Canada had inherited two seemingly distinct Irish identities. However, in Canada, and particularly Ontario, according to Akenson, with the luxury that distance in time and

space allows, the “alleged differences between Protestants and Catholics” merged at “the intriguing point... not that they were fighting with each other but that they were fighting by the same rules. Just as the precondition of a boxing match is that both fighters accept the same assumptions about the nature of their temporary squared universe and what one properly can and cannot do in it, so Protestants and Catholics... shared a fundamental agreement on the nature of their world and on what counted in it.”⁴⁴ Canada offered a more level playing field, “there were no direct legacies of penal laws against either group, and here one may observe roughly comparable social groups: emigrants, Protestants, and Catholics alike tended to be neither predominantly paupers nor well-off.[they] shared the same most common fundamental occupation (farming), the same ambience (rural), and the same familiar environment (most often the isolated Canadian farmstead)... although Protestant Irish farmers did slightly better overall than did the Catholic Irish, the difference was not overwhelming and there was a great deal of local variation. ...Irish Protestants and Catholics shared the same approach to the New World and exhibited roughly equal abilities in confronting its difficulties.”⁴⁵ Akenson has distilled his research on the nineteenth century Irish down to that which made them “radically different” from most Europeans and from the American position – education – both Irish sides saw education as essential to their interpretation of the future and distinctly, they viewed it in theological terms rather than economic ones. “Both major groups agreed that the education of children was at the heart of the maintenance of their own cultural system, that schooling was related to universally accepted assumptions that the child, as a sufferer from Original Sin, was imperfect and had to be led to salvation,

that religion had to be inculcated, and that, therefore, religious authorities had a prerogative to primary influence upon the educational system.the two sides were fighting not because of their differences but because of what they held in common.”⁴⁶ It is therefore impossible to fully understand either the nineteenth century Irish Protestant or the Irish Catholic without acknowledging how well they understood one another.

In what was perhaps the best evidence yet for the inseparable nature of Irish Catholic and Protestant culture, was the 1982 publication of *The Voyage of the Naparima: A Story of Canada's Island Graveyard*, a fictionalized account of the horrors of the Famine Coffin Ships and Grosse Isle, Canada's quarantine 'welcome', written by Brother James Mangan and purportedly based on the personal experiences of one Gerald Keegan, Famine emigrant from Sligo. Gripping and emotional, Mangan's fiction in Canada became fact in Ireland. Wolfhound Press published the work in 1991 as *Famine Diary: Journey to a New World* by Gerald Keegan without the qualifier that the work was fiction; the connection between an original Keegan diary and Mangan's storytelling talents being difficult to document. “The volume became a best-seller, acclaimed as an eye witness account of the great Irish Famine tragedy. Parts of it were serialized in *The Irish Times* and read on the Irish state radio network. It was great and true history, almost everyone agreed.”⁴⁷ The rub to this “cautionary parable” is not so much the warning it gives to those seeking truths in the highly-charged and extremely sensitive atmosphere of Famine history as Akenson indicates, but rather in the irony, of the perhaps now, not-so-shocking fact, that the supposedly definitive depiction of the height of Irish sacrifice was the work of a Scottish-born, Canadian Orangeman editor of a Quebec newspaper,

published in 1895.⁴⁸ Obviously, as Akenson has warned, we must be careful in our determinations on group identity to not ‘be had’. Broadening our perspective on the Irish in Canada to recognize and include consensus where and when it existed, may well be the best method of ensuring against that.

Historians of the Irish at home and abroad have become comfortable with the extremes in Irishness. The Irish Nationalist and the Orangeman have come to represent the spectrum of the Irish stereotype and evidence has been neatly shuffled and piled on one side of the divide or the other. It is when documentation for Irishness in a broader sense – the Irish Catholic content to live under the Crown in Canada or the Irish Protestant who reminds the editor of the local newspaper that he too, though not an Orangeman, is solidly Irish – surfaces, that historians have struggled to interpret it and have either chosen to ignore it, or have misrepresented it in the first place. There are many reasons that historians are vulnerable to ‘being had’ in this way as Akenson has shown, but the point for this study is the importance of Canada as an opportunity to view the Irish through a new lens. Here, fewer ‘earthly distinctions’ appear to have separated the two. As intangible (and nonsensical) a measure as the distance between a Catholic’s and a Protestant’s Irish eyes is, such was used as a means of making distinction where there was none. By this same method, past histories of the Irish diaspora have fit evidence to existing stereotypes and thereby perpetuated the mythology that to be truly Irish, one had to be forced from the homeland, impoverished, diseased, prone to slum living, fighting and smooth-talking, conspiratorial, frequently drunk yet somehow quaint, angry at the English and most of all, Catholic. For the majority of the Irish in Ontario,

little, if any of this was true. There is great risk in defining things Irish exclusively or marginally. For this period, it is imperative that Irish Protestants be considered in the light of their relations with fellow Irish Catholics and vice versa, for only then can the subtleties that marked a much broader sense of Irishness be properly understood. After all, who did the neighbouring Chammeys and Murphys fly their Orange and Green flags on special days for, if not for one another? And was not Mrs. Chammeys' plate of fried eggs for Mr. Murphy on a meatless Friday recognition of both his Irish Catholicism and his Irish neighbourliness? Without recognizing just such accommodations as Akenson has warned, a very one-dimensional picture of nineteenth-century Irishness results. A letter from the *Belfast News-Letter* of April 17, 1821, re-printed in William Forbes Adams' 1932 monograph, Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine provides proof of this very problem. Used by three historians of the Catholic Irish in America as evidence of post-Famine behaviour and a predilection for the city, the letter had an undeniable Irish tone and appeal.

I could then go to a fair, or a wake, or a dance, and I could spend the winter nights in a neighbour's house cracking the jokes by the turf fire. If I had there but a sore head I would have a neighbour within every hundred yards of me that would run to me. But here everyone could get so much land, and generally has so much, that they calls them neighbours that lives two or three miles off – och! the sorra take such neighbours, I would say. And then would sit down and cry and curse him that made me leave home.⁴⁹

Although the letter fit perfectly with the Famine image of the exiled Paddy, pining for Erin and better days, more probably, according to Akenson, it was the work of an Irish Protestant, decades earlier. The *News-Letter* was “a rabidly anti-Catholic paper whose columns were generally not open to Roman Catholics”⁵⁰ and were it possible, it would

perhaps not be too much of a stretch from there to find that it originated in Canada where Protestants from Ireland were very Irish too.

Historians like Mark McGowan and Brian Clarke have done much to rescue the Canadian Irish Catholic community from the stereotype of ‘Paddy’. Their work, in connection with records such as the Charles Foy papers reveal a thriving, evolving Irish Catholic community in Ontario that was, by the early decades of the twentieth century, even at the level of such nationalist organizations as the Ancient Order of Hibernians, arguing for loyalty, unity, and a very different vision for the Irish brethren in Canada as opposed to the United States. Charles James Foy, Canadian-born barrister, Legal Counsel for the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association and National Vice President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, wrote resolutions and received letters that spoke “as Irishmen and descendents of Irishmen domiciled in this Dominion of Canada, an integral part of that great Empire” for both Irish participation in ‘England’s War’ and simultaneously, “for the political liberty of that country which we, as Irishmen and descendents of Irishmen, love with a devotion and loyalty not surpassed, we doubt if equaled, by any other race in the world.”⁵¹ Foy described how the “Irishmen in Canada have, in meeting hall, on the public platform, yea on the floor of Parliament, protested WITHOUT FEAR against the treatment accorded to those of our race in the dear old land, and... [because] that petition has been listened and acceded to by that Empire, we should commend those of our race who are taking part... in putting down the greatest catastrophe which Christendom has been subjected to.”⁵² J.H. Barry, Barrister and Solicitor for the Bank of British North America and longtime Hibernian, wrote Foy in 1915 from Fredericton, New Brunswick,

to commend his stance and to claim his own distance from the American *National Hibernian's* denouncement of the Empire in the face of WWI. Barry too, identified himself as “a sworn subject of the Crown” and declared “there are thousands of the Irish of Canada in the same position”⁵³ who would secede Hibernian relations before they would speak against their government. “You and I and men like us could not stand for a thing like that.”⁵⁴ Where Foy saw Christendom as the place to make a stand, Barry was very much emboldened by so many other ‘men like us’: both demonstrated a turn toward what might best be described as an Irish-Canadianism, a consensus whereby the Irish in Canada might meet on more common ground. Irish Protestants too, eventually succumbed to the forces of assimilation that would make them Irish Canadians, but this cannot be assumed to have been immediate, the result of a religion in common with the majority (Chapter 6 speaks to that) for this negates the presence of Irish culture on the Protestant side, nor did it occur in advance of their Catholic counterparts, in fact, the longevity and strength of the Orange Order (as outlined in Chapter 4) as well as the evangelical tone of the ‘low’ Anglican Church throughout Ontario may suggest otherwise. In the manner that McGowan and Clarke have championed the Canadianism of the Irish Catholic, the same needs to be done for the Irishness of the nineteenth century Irish Protestant.

Discussing the challenges inherent in publishing the voices of identity in a divided community, Anne Tannahill, in *Ireland: The Haunted Ark* suggests that doing so may be even more important from the Protestant perspective because that side has “been brainwashed – and have indeed brainwashed themselves – into thinking that they have no

valued identity or culture: “culture” is somehow seen as an activity that Catholics are inclined to go in for, and there is a painful, inarticulate sense of bewilderment that so many in the outside world seem to think of us as a cross between Nazis and Afrikaners. That is why Protestant ancestral voices... and contemporary voices... have such importance.”⁵⁵ Though Tannahill speaks from a contemporary perspective with the hope of explaining “ourselves to ourselves”, and believing “perhaps naïvely, that writing that gets across the common humanity and shared experience of Catholic and Protestant (...sometimes more effectively achieved through fiction and poetry than by overtly political or historical writing) helps to erode that ignorance and hence that fear and hatred”⁵⁶, her lesson recalls a time in nineteenth century Irish Canadian history when such episodes were possible. Referring her modern Canadian audience to Ireland of the 1990s, Tannahill asked “if eventually we find ourselves in a real, honest-to-God, even slightly boring peace, a quiet backwater that nobody but ourselves knows or cares about, what then?”⁵⁷ But the question has already been answered by the successful integration of the Irish ancestors of the very Canadians she addressed. The Irish remained Irish in nineteenth century Canada by the espousal of group identity in direct reference, be it positive or negative, to the ‘other’ in the Irish belief system and to the homeland, but Canada’s distance and dimensions also forced the Irish to deal with one another on more equal terms, with the result that more often, familiarity and accommodation got the better of friction and aversion. “Although there was no instant pot of gold, Canada rewarded its newcomers with something far more valuable, a fresh start and a new outlook. For the Irish, sustained by their deeply held faith and characteristic optimism, the freedom and

unity of purpose in building new communities eventually caused Old Country antagonisms to heal and religious divisions to dissipate.”⁵⁸ This may have taken the better part of a century, but eventually, very Irish emigrants did give way to Irish Canadians.

In the ‘quiet backwater’ that nineteenth century Canada represented, Irishmen like Protestant James Shanly and Catholic Hugh McMahan could, with remarkable success and longevity, grow the Irish Benevolent Society of London and Middlesex, which formed in 1877 as an organ of charitable assistance to all Irish, regardless of faith, and whose official seal incorporated the Irish harp with a crown and motto challenged: *Quis Separabit* - Who Will Separate Us. Both lawyers, both from ‘Old Irish families’, and both champions of Irish causes in Canada for some time, Shanly (who had acted as the first president of the St. Patrick’s Benevolent Society twenty six years earlier) and McMahan (whom Nicholas Flood Davin lauded in his 1877 *Irishman in Canada*) sought to unite Irishmen in Western Ontario, Protestant and Catholic, Liberal and Conservative, under the aegis of charitable aid to newly arrived countrymen in need. Of the sixteen articles that formed the Society’s constitution, Article 12 stipulated that “On no occasion whatever shall any political or religious subject be introduced for discussion among the members at meetings of the association” and though Gordon Sanderson is dubious that “Telling Irish they cannot talk politics or religion is like nailing their feet to the floor during a jig, ... it won approval and has, for the most part, been followed over the years.”⁵⁹ In like fashion, agreements were made that the office of Society President and its attendant shillelagh, would each year change hands, alternating between a Catholic and

a Protestant while distributions were equally considerate that ““every case of deserving poor, without question as to race, creed or colour, that could be found in the city after communicating with church societies and charitable organizations... [be] abundantly supplied”.⁶⁰ Largely undocumented, the early work of the Society relied on word of mouth and reveals a network that might have rivaled that of the local Orange lodge: “There were things that were done on a personal basis in the old-boy network that this kind of group was able to make happen... It cut through ecumenical barriers. Somebody had the wherewithal, somebody had the coal or the clothing... somebody else got it delivered and somehow the bill was covered.”⁶¹ Something of the progress made being Irish in Canada is captured by Charles Corbett, whose 1930s memories of McGillivray Township extend backward to include those of his Irish-born great-grandfather:

Whatever problems there may have been in Ireland were minimized here. My great-grandfather John all his life [particularly as reeve] had undivided support of the Catholics... Religious differences were no barrier to family friendships... Until he died, the Rev. Fr. Raphael Glavin was considered part of our family. After he retired I brought him out here from London to visit. As a teen he lived with my grandfather Charlie Haskett while attending high school in Lucan. I’m telling you this to point out that whatever feelings there were between Protestants and Catholics, it wasn’t universal.⁶²

Particular to the focus of this thesis is Corbett’s next claim that as a Protestant and a fourth-generation Irish Canadian: ““I’ve often thought what a strong Irish culture I grew up in, in Lucan. For us children, St. Patrick’s Day was bigger than Valentine’s Day and almost as big as Christmas. When I was growing up in the 1930s youngsters in Lucan and Biddulph were very conscious of their Irish connection. I went to high school in Lucan and came out of the best of all possible worlds because that was where Catholics and Protestants came together.””⁶³

According to Gordon Sanderson, the impact that brought more ‘voices of harmony’, than harbingers of violence to nineteenth century Ontario was directly attributable to the influence of Canadian air on Irishmen, but the greater impression is made from the vantage point of the changes wrought unto Canada by the Irishmen in her midst. “The [Irish Benevolent] Society’s commitment to unity for a charitable cause among all Irish expatriates is a remarkable achievement, but one that should be viewed in the broader context of Canada’s evolution as a nation.”⁶⁴ Much has already been made of the contributions to Canadian nationhood by particular Irishmen such as Robert Baldwin, Francis Hincks and Thomas D’Arcy McGee, but what of the larger impact of so many other Irishmen and Irishwomen in so many small places throughout a country with as grand a scale as Canada’s? William M. Baker states that “wherever one looks in nineteenth century Canada – whether in politics, in voluntary association, in farming, in social welfare systems, in emerging urban-industrial centres, in resource extraction enterprises, [in the education system,] in religious organizations – one is likely to find an important Irish component. Even the particular type of reformatory prison discipline adopted in the 1860s was modeled on the Crofton system developed in Ireland.”⁶⁵ For Baker, the Irish experience in Canada is intimately linked with the historical development of the country itself. Kildare Dobbs has suggested that “it may well have been the innate conservatism of the Irish, remarked by almost every commentator from the middle ages down to modern times, that helped to set the pattern of Canadian national character: love of order and hierarchy; instinctive skepticism about social change and revolution.”⁶⁶ Robert O’Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds credit the eventual reconciliation of the Irish on

Canadian soil – the making of Irish Canadians - for the very essence that is Canada's identity today. "...it is the Irish-Canadian experience that lies at the root of *the* distinguishing feature of modern Canada, its policy of multiculturalism. Both the Protestant and Catholic nineteenth-century Irish immigrant came to realize very quickly that freedom without tolerance is merely an ideal, an abstraction not an actuality, and that tolerance is necessary for the smooth working of society and the practical embodiment of legal theories. In Canada, a battle other than physical has been waged and won, the battle between the demands that the past can impose on an individual and the prospects that a new life, free from the associations of the past, can afford."⁶⁷ David Noel Doyle believes that there is emerging evidence in Diaspora studies that suggests both a literal and figurative 'pioneering role' for the Irish "in ensuring the compatibility of ethnic diversity and democratic stability"⁶⁸ outside of Ireland. Doyle claims that the sense of being Irish along with civic loyalty to the new place was furthered by the legally permitted diversity inherent in Diaspora countries; and that community-building, union activism, almost-necessary participation and freedom of association, combined toward a community with a much broader Christian appeal. "...Irish emigrants... never simply sat down to lament powerlessly by the waters of Babylon: their pride and cohesion demanded an active respect for their own diversity."⁶⁹ As so many emigrant letters home indicated, what fledgling Canada needed, nay, demanded of its most successful citizens, was a willingness to work hard, youth, temperance, a wife, social connection to those who had come before, a little quid and extra food to get there, a sense of where the best available land was and like Wilson Benson, the heart to stay. Land, without the landlord, was

readily available, churches were few and far between, officially, the law was applied equally, the tension between gentleman and pauper was much more elastic, sometimes reversible, and so the Irish, both Protestant and Catholic, were rendered settlers as much by what Canada required as by what it lacked. Vigilance over the ‘other’ for both sides, became more a matter of identity than of practicality and in this way, Irishness was shared. Toronto freelance writer, Jean Margaret Crowe’s Grandfather, Charles Coppin showed as much in 1897 when his short reply of thanks to the Brethren of L.O.L., Logan, Ontario, for their “Resolution of Sympathy” upon the death of his son proved more inclusive than they may have expected. “While I thank you as an Orangeman I cannot forget to thank my Catholic friends who so kindly sympathized with us. May God’s blessings rest on them and my best wish is that they will see as I have seen that neither Ministers or Priests have the power, but while I say this I will say that it is good to have good Ministers and Priests but it is better to put our trust in God above all, while we are on earth.” In recognition of that essential support and extension of solace that had come from not only his Orange brethren but also his Irish brethren, Coppin wished for a “conciliation” of sorts among true Christians.⁷⁰

That cohesion could play as important a role in the making of Irish identity in Canada as diversity, is confirmed by the requirement of the researcher to oft look at the frontispiece in order to be able to distinguish the Society Minutes of the Ancient Order of Hibernians from those of the Orange Lodge, two very different Irish traditions whose forms found common focus and cause in their transplanted communities. In both cases, after the ‘Brothers’ opened with prayer, read the last meeting’s minutes, nominated,

balloted and initiated new memberships, group decisions would be ‘moved by’ and ‘carried’, the ‘ladies’ would be tendered thanks on record for the refreshments, plans for procession and regalia (be it March or July) would be discussed, and then most efforts would be put toward attending sick brethren, financial aid to widows and children, raising funds for orphanages, reading rooms and schools, sharing news of other Branches, and confirming the absolute necessity of that very gathering of Ireland’s sons in Canada. Both found each ‘other’ to be the essential element fostering group solidarity and identity in a place where such things had yet to be established. Perhaps they still have yet to be. It is an intriguing notion that Canada’s supposed lack of a national identity may be linked to the narrowing of the once factious identities that accompanied both Orange (including its paler shades) and Green to the New World in such great numbers. And although the nineteenth century Irish can hardly be credited with multiculturalism, a late twentieth century ideal whose reality is perhaps still debatable, it is possible to view Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants – being early enough to be considered ‘founding peoples’ within the European mix – as at least early contributors to an air of accommodation in Ontario. ‘Getting on’ in the new place came to mean much more to the transplanted Irishman, regardless of his faith, it referred as much to ‘getting along’ as it did financial progress. Though Arnold Schrier kept the awareness of things changed to the Irish imagination, the reality of the Canadian backwoods and backwaters brought actual experience to his claim that “Once they had left home, however humble it may have been, their thoughts of Ireland were thereafter conditioned more by a vivid imagination of things as they ought to have been than by any reasoned remembrance of things as they were.”⁷¹ As John A.

Murphy has described, religion and Irish identity through many centuries has been anything but a relationship of static symbiosis. For the period in question, the equation of *Catholic* with *Irish* was not “at its most close and complete” until the very last decades; long after the era of Ireland’s greatest outpouring of emigrants to Canada.⁷² *When* they came then, mattered as much as *whence* they came, and the majority of Irish Protestants to Canada, arriving between the 1810s until even the post-Famine decade, left a comparatively less-politicized, though in-transition, Ireland where some semblance of a Protestant Irish nation – though threatened - still existed. It should not be surprising then, that it would take the better part of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, for those *Irish in Canada*, even the Protestant portion of that numerous and influential group, to begin to think of themselves in earnest, as *Irish Canadians*.⁷³ The designation allowed for variety of Irishness, for both “cohesion and diversity fully consonant with loyalty to civic society... .. Confidence in such identities... marginalize[d] old anxieties, and... [enabled] constructive contribution to other nations.”⁷⁴ The daunting task of breaking Canadian soil, of making a new life far from home, and of taking part in the creation of a nation of nations, showed the Irish as neighbours, old and new, just how much they had in common. Indeed, by the late twentieth century, journalist Jack Cahill would report that “young people who get married at St. Patrick’s Cathedral Church in nearby Perkinsfield often hold their wedding receptions in the local Orange Hall”⁷⁵ in Elmvale. He would also quote Tony O’Donohue, a Roman Catholic, Irish-born alderman for the city of Toronto almost lamentably: ““There’s no Orangeism at all at City Hall now... The Orange influence died out years ago and now anything goes at City Hall. Sometimes I

think it goes too far and too much.””⁷⁶ Steeped in the sense of having had ancestry that suffered for the faith, of being *the* Irish nation, of having a natural right to Ireland’s land, of thickly combined religion and politics, conservatism and neighbourhoods, and in the caution of near neighbours who were ‘other’, the ‘earthly distinctions’ that were nineteenth century Irishness for both Protestant and Catholic would traverse thousands of miles, an ocean’s width, through time and place, only to meet in the middle at home.

¹ Arnold Schrier, Ireland and the American Emigration, 1850-1900, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1959), p.137.

² Schrier, p.142.

³ Schrier, p.152.

⁴ P.M. Toner, “Another ‘New Ireland’ Lost: The Irish of New Brunswick” in Robert O’Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, eds., The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), p.234. Here Toner implies in the apparent Protestant determination to marry a fellow Protestant, a complete rejection of Irishness. Given the institutional cultural strength of that group as manifested in the Orange Lodge, one might argue that the commitment to Protestant unions *was* an “ethnic imperative”. Still, Toner states that Irish-born Protestants selected Irish wives in 78.4% of the cases as opposed to 95.1% for Irish Catholics (p.233), a not too distant numerical spread given that the Protestants accounted for “just over half of the Irish population and were obviously freer to make interdenominational connections. One should not presume that the selection of a mate from other than Ireland suggested a rejection of one’s Irishness: witness the previously mentioned example of English Mary Gapper and her husband Edward O’Brien whose “Irishisms” kept her laughing and very aware of their obvious differences. (Audrey Saunders Miller, ed., The Journals of Mary O’Brien, 1828-1838, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968).

⁵ Toner, p.233. Toner is referring to the differences in ‘household type’ for Irish and Scots revealed in his sampling of 600 Irish households within 8 parishes from the 1871 census records. Toner found the Protestant Irish to “be more extreme” with regard to predilection for nuclear family living than the Scots, whereas the latter were more likely to live in extended family groupings to a greater extent than both Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics. Although Toner refers to Irish Protestants as the “Protestant cousins” of Irish Catholics, and finds them to have had, contrary to the stereotype, slightly larger families than Irish Catholics as well as the same Irish “love of the soil” in their acquisition of land regardless of its quality, he sees little retaining of any Irishness by Irish Protestants in his preliminary study.

⁶ Toner, 235.

⁷ Akenson shows that “fundamentally the great Egerton Ryerson’s school network was simply the transatlantic branch of the Irish national system of education” in Donald Harman Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1984), p.269. See pages 268-277 in particular. See also Donald H. Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

⁸ Miller, ed., p.142.

⁹ Miller, ed., p.149.

¹⁰ CIHM 05620, Reverend Joseph Hilts, "Among the Forest Trees: or, How the Bushman Family got their Homes – being a Book of Facts and Incidents of Pioneer Life in Upper Canada, Arranged in the Form of a Story", (Toronto; William Briggs, 1888, pp.v,vi.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.285(fn).

¹² *Ibid.*, p.286.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.viii.

¹⁴ See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

¹⁵ Schrier, p.36. Schrier adds that 5 years later the *Newry Commerical Telegraph* wrote: "“Why, all the world knows that the Yankee hates Paddy.””(fn.47, p.178). For an interesting account of evolving Irish ethnicity and identity in America, see Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, (New York: Routledge, 1995).

¹⁶ PRONI, D/1700/5/1/17, Sarah Ann Radcliff, Kingston, Canada West to Reverend Thomas Crawford, Ireland, December 9, 1861.

¹⁷ Hilts, pp.263-264.

¹⁸ Margaret E. Fitzgerald & Joseph A. King, *The Uncounted Irish in Canada and the United States*, (Toronto: p.D. Meany Publishers, 1990), p.78.

¹⁹ Watson Kirkconnell, *County of Victoria Centennial History*, (Lindsay: Victoria County Council, 1967), p.4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.106. Kirkconnell had noted earlier that South Emily had been colonized by Irish Protestants from the County of Fermanagh while the northern concessions had been taken up by Irish Catholics from County Cork under Peter Robinson’s assisted emigration scheme.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.107. Kirkconnell presents Toole’s harrowing escapade as “a curious accident” that occurred at the same time as the “fourth, and last, major invasion” of Lindsay in 1847, which, like the second and the first, had to do with the William Purdy family’s or their successor’s ownership and operation of the local mill, potential flood waters, and farmer’s riparian rights.

²² *Ibid.*, p.182. William Mulock was knighted in 1902. Born in Bond Head, C.W., Mulock served variously in his lifetime (1844-1944) as lawyer, Member of Parliament, Postmaster General, Secretary for the Department of Labour, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario and Chancellor at the University of Toronto.

²³ William M. Baker, ““God’s Unfortunate People”: Historiography of Irish Catholics in Nineteenth-Century Canada”, in Robert O’Driscoll & Lorna Reynolds, eds., *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*, vol.I, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), p.69.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.69.

²⁵ Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas, A New Approach*, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988), p.139.

²⁶ Elliott, p.163.

²⁷ J. Alexander Edmison, ed., *Through the Years in Douro*, (Peterborough: A.D. Newson Co. Ltd., 1967), p.13. See also Joyce C. Lewis, *From Douro to Dublin, the letters of Frances Stewart*, (Peterborough: Peterborough Historical Society, Occasional Paper, 14, 1994) which confirms Frances’ inspiration being the source of the naming of the new settlement which now included a mill, a priest, a surgeon, shoemaker, carpenter, mason, baker, and plans for an Anglican Church and a school (p.11). “In February 1826, Sir Peregrine Maitland and five sleighs of gentlemen visited the new settlement. Frances was invited to attend and her lively account captures the flurry in the community as settlers prepared for the official banquet. Names such as Horton and Peterborough were mooted for the new community; Frances suggested to Maitland that Peterborough would be appropriate as it would seem an honour to Peter Robinson.” (p.11). Although home, arguably, for the better part of Frances’ life, was Ireland, she was able to muster a defense of her new and obviously more Irish, surroundings in 1827 after the publication of Captain Basil Hall’s unfavourable description following his travels there. Frances wrote Harriet Beaufort in July of 1832 and confided: ““Peterboro’ is branching out and spreading wonderfully and is ‘really a very pretty village now that the people are beginning to paint the outside of their houses and have outside blinds painted green.

How different it now from the miserable sketch in Basil Hall's books: I am vexed at his giving such a miserable representation of our Village which even in its infant state, might have looked better had he done it justice." TUA, Stewart Papers, 78-008/2/15, Frances Stewart, Douro, to Harriet Beaufort, July 19, 1832. This (after Fanny agonized in the Spring of 1828 about the possibility of returning home, wanting to return herself, but not wanting to discourage her husband whose plan it had been to emigrate, Frances sought relief in letter writing at night "for then I am with my friends" and advice from Ireland "for continually thinking and pondering on a subject and having no creature to talk to about it is too much to bare long", she had "never seen anything here so like a good house in our own dear sweet country...") revealed a softening which is worthy of remark. See Stewart Papers, Frances to Harriet Beaufort, May 27, 1826 and July 6, 1828 respectively. The former letter also confirms Thomas Stewart's disillusionment with his backwoods situation, despite the decision around this time, to stay. Francis wrote that "Tom has been... sitting and talking a great deal with me today he says that though this place is pretty his heart never warms to it but that if nothing turns up to add to our income or encourage us to return home – he will go on here...". Peter Robinson's assisted Irish Catholics 'turned up'.

²⁸ Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, and Letters, (Toronto and Belfast: University of Toronto Press and Ulster Historical Foundation, 1990), p.230. It is probably more accurate to emphasize *at least* two Irish identities. Houston and Smyth recognize that there was great variation amongst Irish Protestantism with regard to denominationalism as well as variation between Irish and Canadian manifestations of such. Any further detailed analysis of the strengths of Methodism in Canada versus Ireland, or the predominance of Anglicanism over Presbyterianism in Irish Canada, beyond that which Chapter 6 addresses, must be left for a future paper.

²⁹ Ibid., p.231.

³⁰ Ibid., pp.231,234.

³¹ Ibid., p.234.

³² Ibid., pp.235,236.

³³ Ibid., p.187.

³⁴ Ibid., p.230. In the end, Cummins reverted to his experience and that which he had known, he was "glad that we are in a position to offer to the protestant, neighbors of his faith with schools and churches such as he would desire and at the same time to the Catholic the same advantages, according to his views." (p.230) It is unfortunate that a portion of his letter was apparently unable to be transcribed by Houston and Smyth, but more pertinent for this paper, is the very notion that Cummins, however briefly, appears to have been able to ponder an alternative to rigid Catholic-Protestant communities.

³⁵ Darroch and Soltow's statistics confirm that the contemporary view of Ontario as a place where one could 'better their circumstances and themselves' was well founded. By 1871, about half of all Ontario men (60% for farming men) owned land and less than 11% were illiterate. It was not without its inequalities however, women were far less likely to own land (a mere 5%) and were slightly more likely to be illiterate according to data comparing male(12%) and female (15%) heads of households. One quarter of all Catholic males were illiterate whereas only 7% of Protestant men were (of these, interestingly, Anglicans were the most illiterate despite the old joke: "What's a Methodist?" "A Methodist is just a Baptist who can read.") Still, Darroch and Soltow show that despite 3x the rate of illiteracy, Catholic males were not inhibited with regard to home/land ownership in comparison yet their overall ability to accumulate propertied wealth was affected. The picture in the end, though far from egalitarian, is one of a relatively leavened, "open, competitive society of independent family economies." (p.204). See Gordon Darroch and Lee Soltow, Property and Inequality in Victorian Ontario, University of Toronto Press, 1994.

³⁶ Akenson, Irish in Ontario, p.352.

³⁷ George A. Birmingham, The Lighter Side of Irish Life, (London: T.N. Foulis, 1911), p.257.

³⁸ Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, "Orangemen in Canada" in Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, eds., The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada, vol. II, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), p.752.

³⁹ Sheelagh Conway, The Faraway Hills are Green: Voices of Irish Women in Canada, (Toronto: Women's Press, 1992), p.246.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.248.

⁴¹ Ibid., p.248.

⁴² Ibid., p.249.

⁴³ Michael Cottrell, “Irish Catholic Politics in Ontario” in O’Driscoll and Reynolds, vol. II, p.803. Although Cottrell makes the point that the Irish Catholic vote was never a unified or block vote, being largely split between Catholic clerical leadership and emerging lay leadership, that representation enjoyed ‘enduring bonds of ethnicity’ when it came to the Orange Order. Regardless of the mutations that Orangeism in Canada underwent, Cottrell claims that Irish Catholics refused to see it as anything other than “a carbon copy of its Irish originator” (though this does not entirely fit with the tone of Frank Smith’s description). Still, Cottrell confirms, from the Catholic side of things, that the two sides needed one another in order to legitimate their own agendas and nothing was more convenient than the ‘Old World tribal feud’ to do so. “Obviously, Orangemen served an important role as scapegoats for Catholic failures and frustrations, since it was easier to blame Orange conspiracy than to accept that the dominant society as a whole were hostile to them; or worse, that the Catholic community itself was responsible for their own lack of success. The existence of the Orange Order therefore provided a convenient rallying cry for Catholic leaders, and the battle was waged on all fronts. ... Next to the defence of Catholicism, opposition to the Order was the great *raison d’être* of Irish Catholic politics...” (p.805). Though admittedly a ‘complex process’, Cottrell sees the dissipation of Irish ‘friction’ – he is careful in his use of the term ‘violence’, specifically linking it to occasions of dissatisfaction, alienation and ‘passion’ – as indicative of assimilation and political adjustment – particularly on the part of the system towards the needs of the Irish. In the end, or more specifically, after the turn of the century, for Cottrell, the Irish aspect of nineteenth century Irish Catholic identity gave way to English-speaking Catholic in the face of longstanding and highly influential Church leadership that had provided a more acceptable stimulus to ethnic action. Many of the same things could just as easily be applied to or said about the opposite side, the Orange Order.

⁴⁴ Akenson, p.350.

⁴⁵ Akenson, p.352. Akenson adds that the Irish Protestant experience was markedly different from the Irish Catholic in one area, the cities, where they “behaved differently”, but, given the relatively small proportion of Irish of either cohort in the very few urban centres of nineteenth century Canada, the overall conclusion is one of similarity.

⁴⁶ Akenson, p.350. For more specifically on the subject of education, see Akenson’s The Irish Education Experiment. Like so many other aspects of nineteenth century life in Ontario, the system of education that was established by the initiatives of Egerton Ryerson was very much Irish-inspired.

⁴⁷ Donald Harman Akenson, The Irish Diaspora: A Primer, (Toronto and Belfast: P.D. Meany Company, Inc., Publishers and The Institute of Irish Studies The Queen’s University of Belfast, 1996), p.16

⁴⁸ Akenson, Diaspora, p.16. “Robert Sellar published the so-called diary of Gerald Keegan in *Gleaner Tales*, Volume 2: Summer of Sorrow, Abner’s Device and Other Stories in Huntingdon, Quebec in 1895. Summer of Sorrow, also known as the Keegan journals, has been hailed by skeptics and supporters alike as the most accurate depiction of the conditions faced by Famine refugees in 1847.” See ‘The Case of the Dubious Diary’ by Steve McKinley of the Saint John Times Globe for the “Out of Ireland” Series, June 9 to July 25, 1997 as found at <http://personal.nbnet.nb.ca/rmcusack/Story-08.html>. See also Jim Jackson, “The Making of a Best Seller,” Irish Review, no 11 (Winter 1991-1992), pp.1-8.

⁴⁹ D.H. Akenson, Being Had: Historians, Evidence and the Irish in North America, (Toronto: P.D. Meany Publishers, 1985), p.205,fn9. According to Akenson, the letter was used by Carl Wittke, The Irish in America, 1956, p.62 ; William V. Shannon, The American Irish, 1963, p.27 and John B. Duff, The Irish in the United States, 1971, p.16.

⁵⁰ Akenson, Being Had, p.205.

⁵¹ Archives of Ontario, F 1074, Charles James Foy Papers, Series B, MU1062/3/14, Resolution to the National Board of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America, n.d. (1914-1925), p.1.

⁵² Ibid., p.2.

⁵³ Ibid., J.H. Barry, K.C. to C.J. Foy, Esq., October 2, 1915, p.1, 2.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p.3. Barry wrote: “No self-respecting Irish-Catholic Canadian would care to remain in close communion with a body of men holding such views as the brethren of the United States appear to hold in regard to the British Empire.” (p.4.)

⁵⁵ Cecil Houston and Joseph Leydon, eds., Ireland: The Haunted Ark (Toronto: Celtic Arts, 1996), p.55.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.57.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p.61. Tannahill's chapter represents one of many papers presented at the Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for Irish Studies at Erindale College on the University of Toronto Mississauga Campus in May of 1994.

⁵⁸ Gordon J. Sanderson, The Luck of the Irish in Canada: A History of the Irish Benevolent Society of London and Middlesex, (London: The Aylmer Express Ltd., 2000), p.xxvii.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.6. The Irish Benevolent Society of London and Middlesex was not the first society in Canada to espouse the principles of inclusive Irishness. In 1834, the St. Patrick's Society was formed in Montreal as the first national society (predating the St. Jean Baptiste Society) and it welcomed both Catholics and Protestants into its organization. It was not until 22 years later that the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society was introduced to Montreal but even this group emphasized its Irish connection. Similarly, the St. Patrick's Benevolent Society of London and Middlesex predated the Irish Benevolent Society by 26 years and it too, did not exclude Protestants despite its largely Catholic make-up. Its first President was Protestant lawyer, James Shanly. At the group's first meeting, Shanly made it known that the purpose of the society was "to lend assistance to all those necessitated who are unacquainted with the circumstances of the country on their arrival in this place. (Members) would afford gratuitous information to all recently arrived emigrants and finally they would ... endeavor to foster and propagate friendly and affectionate regard amongst the various sections of Irishmen." (p.5)

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.44.

⁶¹ Ibid., p.45. Evidently, Orangemen had relations with and were members of the Irish Benevolent Society in London and Middlesex. John O'Neil's 'Mansion House' Tavern hosted the 1834 St. Patrick's Day celebration with scarce regard for the proprietor's Orange affiliation. In 1851 the St. Patrick's Day parade was celebrated by Mr. Grote, a local Orangeman who, sporting "a large bunch of shamrocks", rode horseback along the parade route. Perhaps not worthy of much contemporary remark, it is over a century later that a local historian comments that "No one bothered to mention the colour of the steed and whether it was the rider's own or rented for the occasion... if it were his own it undoubtedly was a Protestant horse for the rider was an Orangeman." (p.7) Sanderson's work recounts long-standing Treasurer, John Carson's recollection of the famed Irish picnics. Carson's father was Grand Master of the Grand Black Knights of Ireland of Ontario West. (p.62) Also, the 79th anniversary of the Society was attended by "Roman Catholics, Orangemen, Anglicans, Presbyterians and scores of others, all wearing green ties and shamrocks and sharing a common love of the Emerald Isle..." (p.83) A later commentator in the local paper recorded that he had witnessed the singing of 'the Orange Lodge version of Galway Bay while Msgr. J.A. Feeney, of St. Peter's Cathedral listened and grinned on St. Patrick's day. This harmonious mixing of prominent Orange Lodge Irish, Anglican Irish and Roman Catholic Irish was a hard thing for a bewildered Scotsman to believe." (p.85) With this twentieth century recognition of the variety of Irishness in Canada, the Scotsman then concluded, quoting, "In this day of discrimination and prejudice, the Irish show no discrimination whatever. "They will fight anybody." (p.85) Apparently in Canada they could celebrate with anybody too, as the 1942 edition of the *The Free Press* covering the Irish Picnic indicated: PORT STANLEY – A black haired Negro "colleen" copped an Irish jig award, a Scottish piper supplied the entertainment and a wee lass by the name "Kozachuk" won baby show honors but it was still a great day for the Irish here." (p.60)

⁶² Ibid., p.105.

⁶³ Ibid., p.105.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp.xxix, xxviii.

⁶⁵ Baker, p.70.

⁶⁶ Kildare Dobbs, "Ireland and the Irish Canadians" in O'Driscoll and Reynolds, eds., Untold Story, v.I, p.5. Kildare Dobbs has suggested that even toward the close of the process that saw the Irish in Canada become Irish *Canadians*, Irishness persisted as "an undying flame... through generations", on both sides of the Irish tradition through intermarriage, parallel customs and conversion, which Dobbs deems to be more like one. Dobbs sees great variation within that Irish tradition however, identifying his own father as an "Irish patriot

whose heroes were Charles Stewart Parnell, Patrick Sarsfield, Daniel O’Connell, Henry Grattan – and the Duke of Wellington” (p.3) Quoting W.B. Yeats’ “Remorse for Intemperate Speech”:

Great hatred, little room
Maimed us at the start.
I carry from my mother’s womb
A fanatic heart.

Dobbs highlights that the experience of the Irish in Canada was different from that of the homeland and the resulting widespread stereotype. Less fractured, less violent, more well behaved toward one another, but no less Irish, there was “something about the Canadian air that gradually heals fanaticisms.” (p.3) Dobbs calls it a pity that episodes of “frothing at the mouth” or “fanaticisms, when they [do] break out, tend to eclipse the more attractive Irish qualities: humanity, conviviality and a dauntless sense of humour.” (p.14) Unfortunately, it has been the ‘frothing’ that historians have tended to emphasize.

⁶⁷Robert O’Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, “Introduction”, in *Untold Story*, v.I, p.xvii.

⁶⁸David Noel Doyle, “Review Article: Cohesion and Diversity in the Irish Diaspora” in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxi,no.123 (May 1999), p.431.

⁶⁹Doyle, pp.431,432.

⁷⁰Jean Margaret Crowe, “Fading Banners of the Orange”, *Globe and Mail*, Saturday, July 12, 1980.

⁷¹Schrier, p.123.

⁷²John A. Murphy, “Religion and Irish Identity” in *Irishness in a Changing Society*, (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes & Noble Books, 1988), p.133. Murphy argues that both the Catholic and Protestant sense of being Irish has evolved through time – the former, “every fifty years or so – a chance chronological neatness – over the last two and a half centuries” (p.132) and the latter, with “periodic” changes over longer periods of time. Murphy allows for variation within those identities, particularly for Catholics North and South of the border since the establishment of the Republic, but also within Protestantism, in somewhat vague references to Presbyterianism and “evangelical spurts and some spiritual renewal”. (p.138) Murphy sees Protestant Irish identity as largely secular, being anti-Catholic but also antecedent in its emphasis of ‘Britishness’, the ‘Crown’ and the ‘Union’. Murphy’s analysis is most detailed for the post-Partition period, but does include an intriguing assessment of Protestantism in the Republic that embraces the old adage that they “became more Irish than the Irish themselves” which is obviously problematic for this thesis which would find them Irish in the first place. Murphy states that “when Protestants finally came to accept the State they were likely to do so with much more pride than their disenchanting Catholic fellow-citizens, and to go on, enthusiastically, to identify with, if not claim exclusively, St Patrick and the early Christian Church. It is of interest to note that the present Protestant Archbishop of Dublin is a fluent and sonorous speaker of the Irish language.” (p.141). With regard to the nineteenth century, Murphy sees 1880 as the cut-off for the establishment of a solidly Catholic, Irish identity in Ireland and in response, Protestantism (which had previously identified as *the* Irish people) became more and more identified with the Union and the British state – the “loyal garrison under ever more pressing siege.” (p.138) Little is said of the English view of the Protestant North’s Irishness, but the reader is directed to David Miller’s *Queen’s Rebels*, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1978).

⁷³As late as 1941, the Irish Benevolent Society of London, Canada, petitioned Éire’s President, Éamon de Valera to allow for the use of Ireland’s seaports and bases, despite its position of neutrality, with the Battles of Britain and the Atlantic raging. Appealing as Irishmen in Canada, the Society’s petition read as follows:

Whereas there are now resident in Canada and the United States of America more people of direct Irish ancestry than there are residents in Éire and Northern Ireland,
And whereas the Irish people of Canada honor the land of the birth of their forefathers and will forever hold dear the ties of sentiment with the Old Country,
And whereas the Irish people of Canada realize they are living under conditions which constitute a veritable paradise in comparison with conditions prevailing in many parts of the world

today and are most anxious that the conditions that make possible their present way of life be preserved and maintained,

And whereas the Irish Benevolent Society of London, Canada, has been in existence for 64 years past and has always embraced in its membership persons of Irish descent of all classes and creeds who have worked in harmony together for the benefit of the Irish people in Canada,

Now be it resolved that this society does respectfully and urgently request Premier Eamonn DeValera and the Government of Eire to honor the Irish people of the New World by making available to the Government of Great Britain such of the ports and bases of Eire as may facilitate the conduct of the British effort in the present war and thus help to alleviate the present conditions of life for the people of Great Britain.

Evidently, there were Protestants and Catholics in Canada who still identified themselves as Irish but could act in the interests of Canada as Irish Canadians. See Sanderson's reprint from *The Free Press*, pp.80-81.

⁷⁴ Doyle, p.434.

⁷⁵ Jack Cahill, "Its power's gone but Orange flag flutters", Toronto Star, Saturday, July 12, 1980.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

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