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EASTERN UPPER CANADIAN PERCEPTIONS OF IRISH IMMIGRANTS 1824—1868

by Glenn J Lockwood, M.A.

A dissertation presented to the
School of Graduate Studies of the
University of Ottawa in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History
University of Ottawa
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Abstract

This is a detailed regional study in Upper Canadian ethnic and intellectual history. It reveals Upper Canadian perceptions of Irish immigrants made manifest in the press of five eastern counties between 1824 and 1868, supplemented with a select group of manuscript collections. Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties were populated with the largest concentration of Irish immigrants to be found in British North America during this half-century. This concentration makes these five counties an excellent laboratory in which to test the views that the rural Upper Canadian majority entertained of the incoming Irish. The high concentration of Irish to non-Irish here, if anywhere, should have prompted social tension and ethnic cleavage. The conclusions of this study are not necessarily applicable to the rest of Upper Canada or to the whole of British North America; however, it is significant that these conclusions do not agree with previous Ontario studies that purport to have significance throughout greater nineteenth-century North American society.

This dissertation, through the use of newspapers as a barometer of mentality, reveals that Irish immigrants were tolerantly received in one region of Upper Canada. The Irish immigrant did not run a continual gauntlet of hostility, criticism and discrimination from the Upper Canadian host population. Some tensions did exist between non-Irish and Irish immigrants, also

between Irish Roman Catholics and Irish Protestants, but these were not comparable to the overt nativism and vitriolic anti-Catholicism reputedly found in the non-Irish press of mid-nineteenth century Montreal and Toronto. The ultra-Loyalism and government support of the Irish immigrants provided them with a psychological advantage, further buttressed by their comprising a majority in the region. The criticism which emerged from the non-Irish community was so mute, so hesitant, so submerged and subservient to surface politenesses, so concealed behind articulated religious and political agendas and behind innocuous causes such as the temperance and education movements, that it was both undynamic and of minimal concern to the arriving Irish. The articulated sentiment, with rare incidental and accidental exceptions, was one of welcome.

In this dissertation an introductory chapter details the merits of using newspapers as a source for Upper Canadian intellectual history. The second chapter outlines the place of Ireland, its people and emigrants in the mind of the English-speaking world and in the minds of historians. The patterns of settlement in and the incidental development of the region examined in this dissertation prior to Confederation are surveyed in the third chapter. The remainder, or body of the thesis, deals more with images and perceptions than with reality. It is divided into two periods to emphasize the changing nature of the society providing the perceptions on which this dissertation is based, and to underline further the basic tolerance found in this

segment of Upper Canadian society. These periods of time are called conjunctures in this study to underline the simple coincidence or meeting of circumstances and events in time, as opposed to any cause and effect relationship necessarily being assumed. The first conjuncture, 1824-1844, establishes the major challenge of southeastern Irish Protestant immigrants to the previously existing religious, political and social polity. The second conjuncture reveals the regional non-Irish and Irish Protestant response to the Irish Catholic Famine immigration of the late 1840s, and shows how a new social conjuncture abruptly coincided with the arrival of Famine immigrants. Eastern Upper Canadian society became dominated by issues directly stemming from the large Irish influxes. Religious concepts and models of society imported from Ireland helped define anew the basic institutions and assumptions of eastern Upper Canadian society. Despite occasional glimmers of evidence that other Upper Canadians were uneasy with the vast Irish immigrant population, the lack of explicit articulation of such fears, indeed the unconcern and levity displayed in the very face of threatened Fenian invasion, provide firm proof that the strong impression made by Irish immigrants on the Upper Canadians inhabiting Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties was a positive one. They occasioned neither alarm nor nativism.

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The three main sources of information underlying this study are contemporary newspapers, select manuscript collections in public and diocesan archives, and the published local histories from the region being studied. The single major collection of newspapers used as the basis of information is located at the Newspaper Division of the National Library of Canada in Ottawa. During my four year occupation of the reading room there, my debt of gratitude to division chief Lois Burrell and her staff of Sandra Burrows, Jack D'aoust, Suzanne Chartrand, Ann Duft (now Van Ulft), Franceen Gaudet, Diane Gauthier, Rick McSheffrey, Richard Patrie and Juanita Renaud proved immense. Other newspaper collections consulted include those at the Archives of Ontario, the private collection of Mrs. Judy Burns in Ottawa, the Bytown Museum Archives of the Historical Society of Ottawa, Carleton University MacOdrum Library, the City of Ottawa Archives, the Kingston Public Library, the Metropolitan Toronto Library, the Ottawa Public Library, the Public Archives of Canada Library, the Rare Book Room of the National Library of Canada, the Perth Museum, the Victoria School Museum Archives of the Carleton Place and Beckwith Historical Society,

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The use of local histories in informing this dissertation was not simply confined to consulting previously published work but to

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Finally, a few words about the culutural assimilation of my own family by the regional Irish majority which sparked my interest in the subject of this dissertation. Although the Lockwood family arrived in Leeds County as American settlers in 1816, since the mid nineteenth century it has exhibited the various characteristics of what may be called an Irish Protestant mentality despite being of English origin. The characteristics that betrayed this Irish Protestant mentality included membership in an Irish Presbyterian congregation, membership to quite advanced degrees in the Loyal Orange Lodge, adherence to the Conservative party politically, an Irish mode of playing the violin,[1] and finally, a family interest in and perception of itself as participating in an Irish tradition.

The Lockwoods like most families of American origin in preconfederation Leeds County, were Methodist, keenly in support of the temperance movement, adamantly in support of Reform politically, and essentially antipathetic toward all things Irish. By the early 1850s in Kitley Township where the population was three-fourths of Irish

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[1]Elaine Keillor, "Fiddling in Kitley Township," Canadian Folk Music Bulletin XIX No. 3 (September 1985): 20-23.

origin, Isaac Lockwood succombed to demographic reality and married Irish immigrant Elizabeth Quinn. The year of Confederation found Elizabeth a pregnant widow, with only a thirteen-year-old son to help support her. She became the third wife of a flinty, drinking, Irish Presbyterian, Conservative, Orange widower—one John Edgar. The influence of the stepfather turned the Lockwood son and his descendents into members of an Irish Presbyterian congregation, Conservatives, Orangemen, and devotees of what Irish culture persisted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Leeds County. The only clues to later generations that they were not of Irish descent was their English surname and their steady adherence to temperance principles in a vicinity where temperance was not the norm.

In one generation the Lockwoods were assimilated. They moved from the embattled American, anti-Irish, pro-Reform, pro-temperance, anti-Orange minority of early Victorian Leeds County to become part of the Irish, anti-American, pro-Tory, solidly Orange majority. The swiftness with which the Lockwoods were assimilated as much as anything stimulated this investigation of the perceptions that Upper Canadians had of Irish immigrants in the part of British North America where the largest relative concentration of Irish settled before Confederation.

We are now living history, and perhaps no period of the past, presented scenes more fraught with thrilling narrative and absorbing interest than our own; shall we remain ignorant of these facts with which we ourselves are most intimately associated. Shall future generations be better acquainted with the great deeds of our age than we who are contemporary with them. Surely not. Then, as the teacher of the history of our own times, let the newspaper be found in every dwelling. Let it be placed in our children's hands that it may beget in them a taste for literature....

Letter from PENCIL

Carleton-Place Herald

12 August 1858

SETTING

I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

Studying the perceptions of Irish immigrants held by the inhabitants of one region of Upper Canada may seem at first an obscure topic for a doctoral dissertation. The reader could even be excused for initially assuming the subject of this study to be unnecessary, given the plethora of recent studies on the Irish in Canada. Growing interest in the Irish immigrants to nineteenth century British North America contrasts with the state of affairs twenty years ago when S.R. Mealing remarked that there were fewer useful articles dealing with Irish immigrants in Montreal than books about those in Boston.[1] It is unfortunate that most published work dealing with Upper Canada has been based on inappropriate and flawed American theoretical models. It is equally unfortunate that some of the most widely published work has been saddled with religious and ethnic bias, has been inflammatory, and has even been racist.

This dissertation has for its goal showing how the Irish were accepted in one region of Upper Canada, how that acceptance varied within the various ethnic concentrations of the region, and if, why, and how that acceptance changed between 1824 and 1868. This is accomplished through studying the structure of ideas, opinions, beliefs, and expectations which the influx of Irish immigrants into British North America generated in the press of Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties in eastern Upper Canada between

1824 and 1868. For the sake of convenience this structure of ideas, opinions, beliefs and expectations is labeled "perceptions of Irish immigrants" although the scope of ideas covered extends to incorporate such disparate topics as the British Isles, the United States, Fenianism, the temperance movement, architecture, the United Church of England and Ireland, the Roman Catholic Church, theology, politics, famine, cholera, the education revolution, indigency, caricatures, immigration, agriculture, cultural adaptation, and ethnic social rivalry among others. It might be simpler albeit less accurate to label this structure the "world view of eastern Upper Canadians and how it was changed by sustained Irish immigration." The structure of ideas presented in the press of the five-county study area is supplemented with the fruit of research in a select group of manuscript collections.

Practitioners of Canadian intellectual history no longer feel obliged to offer perfunctory explanations about the lack of Benthams, Mills and Russells in our past, before going on to explain the validity of relating ideas and actions on a larger and less abstract social plane.[2] The call by S.F. Wise twenty years ago for studies of the intellectual commonplaces of an age, its root notions, assumptions, and images, has yielded a harvest of theses and a number of publications.[3] This harvest in some instances has failed to relate ideas rigorously to their social historical context, either because the ideas are those presented in one community newspaper, or in the organ of a specialised body such as a trade union or the sermons of a group of clergymen. Studies utilising single newspapers clearly have some value, but rely on the

assumption that the one community, and, indeed, its newspaper is typical of something, or else unique. There is no means of comparison. Studies relying on the specialised newspapers of a society or organization often have no sense of the larger context beyond what their sources proffer. The information they yield is presented almost in a vacuum. Even studies based on groups of sermons collected from across British North America often have more context to Britain than to the mindset of their hearers.

Intellectual history has been described as an endeavor so methodologically amorphous that practising it is like trying to nail jelly to a wall. The difficulty has been more with preparing a wall capable of receiving the jelly, than in its application.[4] In this dissertation, the background and the nature of society in the study area is crucial to an understanding of the relationship between non-Irish, Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants. S.F. Wise, it must be recalled, has sought for intellectual historians in Canada to analyze the manner in which externally-derived ideas have been adapted to a variety of local and regional environments, in such a way that a body of assumptions uniquely Canadian has been built up; and to trace the changing context of such assumptions.[5]

The difficulty of integrating or relating a foray into Canadian intellectual history with the social background has been to press beyond simply quantifying ideas into inventories, and to press beyond simply presenting the ideas of one newspaper editor, to provide some synthesis of how these applied to the society as a whole. It is true that historians such as S.F. Wise, Carl

Berger and George Rawlyk, among others, have helped modify the Whig bias which permeated the writing of Canadian history in the twentieth century, but the recent avalanche of monographs in Canadian history on every conceivable subject too often has produced what Perry Miller has termed "a buzzing factuality" rather than any new coherent views of Canadian society in the past.[6] Canadian society at times in the past may not have been coherent in any particular way, but at the very least a coherent narrative of the early incoherence of Canada is better than a disparate array of facts inchoately splattered about.

The failure of many Canadian scholars to grapple with the role of religion in Canadian society underscores the difficulty of recreating the world view of previous generations. Darrett Rutman has suggested that behaviour should be emphasized over belief; in other words, before one starts dissecting a community's beliefs, it first is wise to establish what it did, as opposed to what it merely intended.[7] Still, continuing with the religious example, considering that British North America was wholly Christian, with no challenge from silent freethinkers, with everyone assenting either silently or vociferously that the universe was permeated with moral law and purpose, surely it is not simply a matter of judging people by their practices and how these contrasted with the larger articulated morality, but rather one of revealing the constellation of unsystematic mental equipment and the perceived case of need. The historian need not go about assessing the sinfulness of souls, but rather should consider what the import of the promise of

salvation to sinful souls meant in the era being studied. Most Upper Canadians, after all, may have deplored what they heard of the so-called Family Compact, but that they did not rise in rebellion with Mackenzie does not mean they believed any the less firmly in the Compact's reputed evils. At one time, historians in Canada believed that ethnic minorities were tolerantly treated in this country and their part in the country's progressive growth assumed and taken for granted. This smug assumption no longer is true, fortunately, but in large part in a country which pretends to be secular in its organisation, we have little historical explanation for the religious convictions and religious prejudices that were and continue to be pervasive.[8]

This dissertation is concerned with exploring the contours of the world view of the inhabitants of Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties between 1824 and 1868. During this half century Irish immigrants replaced Americans as the majority of the region's population. In some respects this is a study in the use of vocabulary. Considering the preponderant numbers of Irish immigrants in this region, their arrival and presence was a matter of some comment and concern to thoughtful people at the time. Inhabitants both of the United States and England, to make two obvious comparisons, recognised massive Irish immigration as a mixed blessing. American historians both in comprehensive survey histories and specialised community micro-studies emphasized the importance of the interface of Irish Catholic immigrants and native Americans. In Canada, only within the past five years has

the numerical importance of Irish immigrants in nineteenth-century Canadian society been underlined if not yet delineated.

Historiography

There is yet scant testimony to show that the Irish were of any imaginable importance in Canadian history. Before 1984 there was no Canadian prime minister or Ontario premier of recognisable Irish ancestry. There is no Canadian university the very name of which suggests pioneering Irish educational achievement in contrast with many such institutions reflecting the proud influence of Scottish, French Canadian and English scholars and communities. Even Celtic Chairs recently established at St. Francis Xavier and the University of Ottawa reflect the participation of the Scottish as much as the Irish population. St. Patrick's College in Ottawa died unmourned a decade ago. The implication to be drawn from any Irish influence in the setting up of the Ontario public school system and the separate school system is the persisting acrimony between the two since the 1850s. Even historians engaged in drawing the Irish back to a more prominent place in Canadian history, choose themes with religious rancor and ethnic bias smouldering below their rhetoric. The visitor to Upper Canada Village could never guess that one third of the province's population was of Irish origin, or that institutions such as the Orange Lodge, St. Patrick's societies, temperance lodges, the United Church of England and Ireland, and the Irish Catholic Church existed and powerfully moulded society.

The Irish have remained undelineated by the ethnic studies publishing programs of the Canadian Secretary of State's Generations series of books, the Canadian Historical Association's Canada's Ethnic Groups booklets, and the Ontario Multicultural History Society's publications.

Even in the study area examined in this dissertation the importance of the Irish in its history is not immediately evident. The county histories in the region all have been written by people either of American or Scottish origin, further helping to keep references to the Irish minimal. Even the most professional of these county histories, Ruth McKenzie's Leeds and Grenville: Their First Two Hundred Years, reduces the importance of Orangeism to the following sentence: "The Irish introduced the colourful 'Orange Walk' which has long been a feature of Twelfth of July celebrations in the counties."[9] Too much of what is written on the Irish in the study area has been published by self-confessed myth-makers such as Joan Finnigan and Bernie Bedore, who, despite the unreliability of their work, have been quoted by some historians ready to grasp at any convenient straw.[10] Possibly the only continuing indication of the importance of the Irish in Ontario is the annual St. Patrick's Day celebration observed in schools, Catholic churches and taverns, although this likely reflects the impact of Hollywood from the 1920s onwards as much as a continuing cultural tradition. The waning attendance at Orange parades probably offers a true reflection of the declining Irish ethnic tradition, unromanticised as it has been by film, television, and historians. The negative references

by historians at all levels to the Orange Lodge has led to paranoia, and to the hiding and destruction of innumerable historical records by Orange members and officials.[11] Not least of all the factors perplexing our understanding of the importance of Irish immigrants in nineteenth century Upper Canada are the clashing interpretations adopted by professional historians.

The recent surge of information about the Irish in Canada likely has done as much to confuse as to inform readers attempting to discover how well the Irish immigrant fared in Upper Canada. The traditional focus on the misery, the squalor and failure associated with the Famine immigration of 1847 has now been countered by historians who point to the Protestant majority among the Irish, to the agricultural lifestyle of the majority of both Irish Catholics and Protestants, and to the success they achieved with skills they had honed in their native land. Historians have selected specific communities as laboratories wherein they marshall evidence to show how well Irish immigrants adapted to Upper Canadian life. For example, Murray Nicolson has focused on the Irish Catholics of Victorian Toronto, detailing their economic and social tribulations as a ghettoized ethnic minority beset on all sides by an unwelcoming British Protestant society.[12] By contrast, Donald Akenson has trumpeted the success of Irish Catholics and Protestants who entered Leeds and Lansdowne townships at an economic disadvantage. Akenson points to the greater success of both Irish Catholics and Protestants in agriculture, their political adeptness, and their numerical predominance which allowed them to use institutions such

as the Orange Lodge, the Church of England and Ireland, and the common school to assimilate local society to their way of thinking. Small wonder that anyone reading both Nicolson and Akenson is left in some confusion about the relative success of the Irish in Upper Canada.

This confusion does not proceed solely from the cut and thrust of using specific community studies to interpret anew the history of the Irish in British North America. It is also due to a century of subtle and overt bias against Irish immigrants by their chroniclers. This dissertation argues that an overt bias against Irish immigrants did not exist in eastern Upper Canada before Confederation. It is interesting to find the first chronicler of the Irish in Canada, Nicholas Flood Davin, declaiming in 1877 against a widespread anti-Irish bias in Canadian society.[13] Thus there is early evidence for Donald Akenson's claim that what is strange about the Irish in Canada is not their history, but their historiography. The unhappiest aspect of this historiography has been "a quiet and pervasive racism...within segments of the English Canadian historical profession."[14] Akenson and Allan Greer have both levelled precise accusations against the racism displayed in the work of H. Clare Pentland, with Akenson particularly ascribing it to the natural cultural bias of Pentland's Ulster-Scottish family roots.[15] Such charges of inherited racism, of stereotyping the nature of Irish [Catholics] as a cultural group to create what Akenson deems an "ethnic mastercog" comparable to Hitler's anti-Semitic campaign, need not be levelled only at deceased

economists and historians.[16] A reading of relevant articles in the Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report before the 1960s betrays a cultural predisposition against Irish, English and Scottish Protestant groups in chronicles of events involving Irish Catholic immigrants.[17] Murray W. Nicolson's obsessive anti-British and anti-Protestant vocabulary compares with Michael S. Cross's reliance on "Irish savagery" to explain events in Ottawa and Carleton County during the 1830s and 1840s.

Other historians such as J.K. Johnson and Ian MacPherson simply use a loaded vocabulary. Twentieth century Canadian historians up until the last five years at their kindest allowed the Irish to play an undynamic role as the victims of discrimination in British North American society.[18] As recently as 1985, J.K. Johnson has affirmed this; while admitting that the work of Akenson, Darroch and Ornstein shows that Irish Catholics may well have been as competent at farming, business, politics or anything else as their contemporaries, few other Upper Canadians believed they were. Johnson cites Dr. Russell's survey of travel and immigrant literature and private papers of the 1815-1840 period to show only one really favourable reference to the Irish. Johnson cites Anthony Manahan's 1838 complaint that no Irish Catholic held any government office in Upper Canada as being (almost) dead on, and that no Irish Catholic was elected to the legislature until 1836. Johnson points to the unpublished thesis of Donald Swainson which establishes that in 1872-1874 people of Irish Catholic birth and ethnicity were still well behind other ethnic-denominational groups, particularly the

Scots Presbyterians (a group of similar size) when it came to positions at the top of the political power structure. Racism, concludes Johnson, was a nineteenth century Upper Canadian fact of life from which Irish Catholics in particular suffered.[19]

The view of historians is in part attributable to the international historiographic tradition to which they are exposed. They are much less likely to be affected by the prejudice and discrimination of the period about which they are writing. The above remarks of J.K. Johnson are addressed to the place of Irish Catholics in Upper Canadian stratified society; this appears to be the continuation of a scholarly tradition in Ireland and North America which assumes Irish Catholics to be the Irish, while Protestant Irish are somehow less Irish. Donald Akenson has rightly pointed to a need for greater precision by historians through dispensing with vague terms such as British (when English is meant) or Irish (when Irish Catholic is meant), since, he argues, it is through the use of such vague terminology that the Protestant Irish of Ontario have been neglected historically. Internationally, continues Akenson, the Protestant Irish have been neglected because they were not part of the romantic, victorious and memorable tradition of Irish nationalism, and consequently are assigned the role of reactionary, uninteresting, and forgettable losers.[20]

The American treatment of Irish immigrants has unduly focused on the large eastern seaboard cities, and so the general view of even so basic a matter as the distribution of Irish immigrants within the republic has been warped. A recent bibliographical

article on Irish America reveals the existence of a rich bibliography on the Irish in rural America and in the South unknown to most scholars.[21] Lawrence J. McCaffrey suggests it inappropriate for Irish-American literati and intellectuals to assume that the American Irish (McCaffrey nonetheless means Irish Catholics when he uses the word Irish) were a monolithic community when, like other Americans, they have been influenced by regional differences; for example the eastern Irish were more conservative in their theological, social and political opinions, while their compatriots in the mid- and far-West experienced a more fluid social and economic environment. A salient point for studying the Irish in Canada![22]

The flaws in the American historiographic treatment of Irish immigrants have affected the few attempts to delineate Upper Canadian perceptions of Irish immigrants. These flaws show up in the assumptions and vocabulary of these studies. The Irish Catholic community has always been treated as a monolithic body, as has Orangeism. The only major study of perceptions of Irish Canadians (Irish again meaning Irish Catholic only,) an unpublished M.A. thesis by Daniel Conner, solemnly explains that the use of an Irish accent for a servant, whether in a feature, a joke, or letter, was a slur against all Irish rather than against lower class Irish. Who, seriously, would similarly allow a historian to suggest that the use of a Cockney accent was a slur against the English as an ethnic group rather than a derisive reference to a certain English social class?[23] Kenneth Duncan with equal solemnity explains that "contemporary jokes make it evident that the Irishman did not

know how to yoke oxen or hitch horses, plow a furrow, or use an axe."[24] If Irish jokes are to be so literally credited, they also prove that the Irish did not know how to masticate food or how to enjoy coitus. Conner makes the dubious claim that no other English-speaking newspapers manifested the same identity with a single national sentiment as did those of the Irish Catholic community without pausing to consider why one of the so-called Protestant newspapers he utilises, George Brown's Globe, was called "the Scotsman's Bible."[25] Joy Parr's study of the Canadian response to the Famine immigration is based on reports and editorials of one season, rather than a period of years, although she dismisses the pervasive positive attitude towards encouraging continuing emigration from Ireland less than a year after the 1847 influx as part of an agrarian myth.[26]

Historians of the Irish in Canada have focused on the sensational, the pathetic, the abnormal; their fixation on the Famine immigration and the cholera ships at Grosse Isle obscures the fact that these represented but a fraction of the immigration to British North America. The sensational theme which emerges in some ethnic studies is inadvertently dictated by the sources used. Allen Stouffer's study of post-Confederation Ontario's image of Blacks sees only relentless racism and prejudice, with no positive mitigating references. This may reflect more the integration of Canadian and American news networks and sources by the period of Stouffer's study (1865-1877).[27] Daniel Conner's study of the image of Irish Canadians between 1847 and 1870 relies wholly on urban

newspapers, offering a sampling of tensions where the poorest Irish were huddled together, ignoring the earlier period of more successful and prosperous Irish immigration, and providing little reference to the great majority of Irish settled in the countryside.[28] Jean Burnet's study of ethnic groups in Upper Canada uses as its major source the writings of tourist travellers, a group of voyeurs constantly on the watch for interesting items to make their journals appeal to a British publisher and reading public: Niagara Falls and Quebec provided sublime subjects, while Irish immigrants were fashioned into the ridiculous. The racism in such publications reflected British rather than Canadian attitudes. It is as if the historian were to rely on National Geographic for accurate local insights and perceptions of a society today, rather than recognising it for what it is—a glossy publication attempting to attract the interest of middle-class North America toward any people to whom they choose to feel superior.[29] When the historian does not deliver a sensational theme, he is censured. Donald Akenson's scholarly monograph on Leeds and Lansdowne townships was chided by a popular reviewer for being a dry, dutiful and chart-ridden work rather than the rollicking, anecdotal and diverting romp hoped for in a work dealing with the Irish.[30] There is also the problem of pervasive filiopietism, a problem evident as early as 1877 in the work of Nicholas Flood Davin and as recently as 1986 in the rhetoric of Murray W. Nicolson. The perceptions held by twentieth century Canadians of nineteenth century Irish immigrants are no less interesting than the attitudes of a century earlier.

Government multiculturalism programs and cliometric studies of the social structure of individual communities combined to give ethnicity a new prominence and importance for North American historians from the early 1970s onward. Ethnic and religious differences came to be seen as important factors affecting social and political development.[31] The traditional Whig assumption that ethnicity attenuates as a new national identity develops, or that modernity and ethnicity are inversely related is no longer universally accepted. In the last fifteen years ethnicity as a historical factor has come to be recognized as equal in significance to social class. Ethnic groups indeed may be forms of social life that are intimately and organically bound up with major trends of modern societies.[32] In order to explore the nature of ethnic groups, care must be taken not to assume that ethnic groups, religions, related associations, etc., are monolithic, since groups that seem to have been linked may have been only temporarily united for a variety of reasons. S.F. Wise has pointed out that the refugee populations of early Canada had little to unite them, that each group had its own tragic myth to sustain it, and that even the Loyalists who were united only by the fact of their common loyalty, otherwise were divided in terms of origin, religion and politics.[33] This was true of both Irish and non-Irish in the study area. The commonality of experience in being propelled to immigrate variously united southern Protestant immigrants; it united Irish Catholics, and it even occasionally united sworn enemies such as Roman Catholics and Orangemen. The very size of the Irish immigration even united the non-Irish ethnic groups on a number of levels before 1869.

The inclusivity of what may be defined as ethnicity is a major factor in its growing importance for historians. An ethnic group may have its roots or origins in a tribe, a race, a foreign country, or a religion. Ethnic groups are recognised as being biologically self-perpetuating, are internally differentiated along status and class lines, and share a common culture and basic patterns of beliefs and values that distinguish them from other groups.[34] Already the inadequacy of vague terms such as Irish, or Protestant, or British is evident. More precise language is required to reveal the complexity of the various Irish groups, not to mention the complexity of the society they infiltrated. The above definition does not even adequately define the complexity of Irish Catholics, because their ethnicity, or at least their perception of their ethnicity, varied even by Irish province. A study of the perceptions of Irish immigrants revealed in the press of eastern Upper Canada first necessitates a basic appreciation of the provincial origins of the Irish and non-Irish. No less important, as J. Frederick Fausz has pointed out, is an appreciation of conflicting or coincidentally interlocking belief systems in contact studies.[35] From this base it is possible to assess the impact of ethnic associations, religion and newspapers in promoting either tolerance or intolerance. To assess whether a group such as the Catholic Irish were less assimilable than other immigrant groups, or whether they were discriminated against, economically exploited, not to mention being socially and politically retarded through the use of hostile images as Daniel Conner has concluded, it is

necessary first to identify the nature of the groups with whom one is dealing, their origins, their ideological agendas, their changing position in local society over time, before looking at the contents of the newspapers they read and to which they reacted.[36]

Historians treating the Irish in North America, like their contemporaries dealing with other ethnic groups, have only broken out of the "nativist model" of cultural contact in the late 1970s and 1980s. The "nativist model" essentially posits that the incoming group is inevitably discriminated against by the host society. Nativism as a model is limiting; it calls for little intellectual imagination from the historian, and it assumes an equal lack of intelligence and imagination in the host societies and ethnic groups interacting in the past. The historian who employs the "nativist model" is set the unchallenging task of enumerating the varieties, the ingenuity, and the subtleties of nativism or outright racism practised. Historians such as Terry Nichols Clark have left the nativist model behind in favour of showing a more positive face to ethnicity, for example, how adept Irish Catholic politicians manoeuvred to win the support of other ethnic groups such as Poles, Bohemians and Italians through finding them housing and jobs.[37]

Donald Akenson, in particular, has challenged the central assumptions and themes of most of what previously had been written about the Irish in North America. Armed with his own study of the Irish in Leeds and Lansdowne townships, and the work of historians Darroch and Ornstein, Akenson audaciously accused historians of the

Irish in North America with hitching their careers to a myth, of practising a craft riddled with serious methodological flaws. His somewhat overstated list of misdeeds includes an absence of data, a reliance on stereotypes, presentism, missing citations, following the popular "company line", always deferring to authority, filiopietism, using circular proofs, employing bogus footnotes, wearing sectarian blinders, tautologising, using proofs that really did not prove, making false comparisons and bent analogies, and being guilty of provincialism and relativism in their explanations.[38] All of these misdeeds, summarised Akenson, combined to reveal that "what, until recently, has been the accepted viewpoint has been wrong, and not just in minor details, but fundamentally, completely, and seemingly, inexplicably."[39]

Akenson offered an alternative view of the Irish in British North America, a view essentially summed up in ten points. First, the Irish comprised the largest body of immigrants coming into Canada before Confederation. Second, they were the largest non-French ethnic group in Canada. Third, most of the incoming Irish were Protestant. Fourth, among the Irish the single largest religious affiliation was Roman Catholic. Fifth, the Irish immigrants in Canada overwhelmingly were a rural people. Sixth, the most common occupation of both Roman Catholic and Protestant Irish was farming. Seventh, the Irish immigrants as an economic group were reasonably successful. In other words, there is no way that they can be equated with an urban proletariat. Eighth, between one half and two-thirds of British North America's population of

Irish ethnic origin lived in Upper Canada (later Canada West). Ninth, as a proportion of their entire provincial populations, the Irish have been most important in Ontario, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and perhaps Newfoundland. Tenth and finally, since 1867 the importance of the Irish as a constituent element in the national social fabric has been declining. The only flaw in what Akenson terms this "decade of simple facts about the Irish in Canada" is his suggestion that there is no way Irish immigrants can be equated with an urban proletariat. The work of Daniel Conner, Murray Nicolson, J.M.S. Careless, Donald Masters, and Peter Goheen clearly suggests that contemporaries clearly recognised the urban Catholic Irish of Toronto to be an urban proletariat. Akenson's relevant point refers to how small a group these impoverished urban Catholic Irish were within the total numbers of Irish spread across Upper Canada, and how the focus on them by historians has distorted assumptions about the larger group. Not all of these facts are completely new, but to Akenson a great debt is owed for the way in which he has called the attention of historians and of the general public to previously obscured basic information.[40]

Although Donald Akenson has refocused the attention of Canadians on investigating the comparative success of the rural majority of the Irish in British North America, his own chosen laboratory of Leeds and Lansdowne townships needs to be supplemented with other micro-studies. Various aspects of the relationship and nature of the Irish and non-Irish communities in Leeds and Lansdowne remain undelineated or, at best, brusquely treated. Violence by

Irish immigrants is distinctly played down by Akenson. His assumption that a lack of antagonism between Irish and non-Irish in his study area approximated the Upper Canadian norm, in contrast with what he calls the two extremes of urbanised Irish Catholics in Toronto and the Shiners of the Ottawa Valley is purely hypothetical at best. No reference is made by Akenson to the looming walls and towers of Fort Henry and Kingston Penitentiary fifteen miles downstream as major influences on the exceptional social tranquility of Leeds and Lansdowne townships. Akenson assumes that because clever Irish gentry such as Ogle Gowan forced their way into the regional élite, it follows that the general non-Irish population also accepted the Irish as their equals.

Akenson compares and contrasts the Leeds and Lansdowne Irish largely with Loyalist and American settlers, and with the native-born who, incidentally, included the children of Irish immigrants; no sense is given of how well the Irish succeeded in specific contrast to other British immigrant groups such as the Scottish and the English. His manipulation of census statistics to show that the Irish were more successful than the non-Irish makes much of minor differences in productivity, a questionable conclusion to draw considering the notorious underreporting by area inhabitants to census enumerators. Akenson's attempt to draw distinctions between Irish Catholics arriving before 1847 and those arriving after is not backed by any contemporary documentation. No evidence is presented by Akenson to show how the Irish were viewed in the local media, whether or not they were well accepted by their rural

neighbours, whether or not they were entrusted with municipal power by their neighbours, and whether or not they enjoyed the trust of their neighbours.[41]

If additional micro-studies prove Akenson to be largely correct in his contention that the overwhelming majority of the Irish engaged in farming across Upper Canada were economically successful, it still needs to be shown whether or not the Irish were accepted by their non-Irish neighbours. The social implications of economic success cannot be automatically assumed. In short, did it "take?" The economic viability of Irish immigrants claimed to be found by Akenson, Darroch and Ornstein in a few mid-century census returns does not testify to how accepted or how enduring the Irish remained within Upper Canadian society. Akenson does well to proclaim:[42]

> A history of the Irish in Upper Canada must... not only take into account the relationship to each other of the relatively well-off Protestants and Catholics who migrated before the Famine and indicate how each group dealt with the post-Famine Catholics, but the social history of the Irish must show how the later post-Famine Protestants related to both sets of earlier pre-Famine settlers, and how the Protestant and Catholic Irish of the Famine and post-Famine years related to each other in the New World.

This is all very well, but the relationship of both Catholic and Protestant Irish to the non-Irish community is of no less importance. It remains an intriguing question, if Akenson is proven correct, as to why the obvious contrast of the American model of Irish poverty and misery with Akenson's model of Irish prosperity in Canada did not jump out at historians long before the mid 1980s. Even assuming this prosperity and fairly high quality of life for the rural Irish

inhabitant of Upper Canada, these findings have yet to be fixed within a larger theoretical and ideological firmament.

The historiography of Irish North American thought and mentality, and of the perceptions of Irish immigrants held by other North Americans is both brief and unimpressive. It betrays an undue reliance by Canadian historians on the Irish American historiography. Francis Walsh, in an introduction to the study of a Boston Irish newspaper, points out that almost all knowledge of the American immigrant press rests on studies of the foreign language newspapers, and that the role of the immigrant press of those who spoke and read English has received much less attention:[43]

> What, for example, [enquires Walsh] induced the Irish peasants who had not relied on newspapers in Ireland to support a vast and significant press of their own in nineteenth century America? The few studies of the Irish-American press have concentrated either on individual editors or on the role of these papers in a particular period. Both approaches provide a limited focus which makes it difficult to fully appreciate the Irish-American press and its changing character and function in the nineteenth century.

David N. Doyle has stated the matter more bluntly and more inclusively, pointing to a need for even basic scholarship. Outside of fiction and poetry, he has observed, next to nothing has been written upon Irish-American thought and mentality despite the fact that even a cursory acquaintance with the endless entries under Irish surnames in the Library of Congress and National Union catalogues suggests that the immigrant clergy and lay clerisy published extensively.[44] The Irish penetration of secular American journalism, one of their few prodigies in nineteenth century America, observes Doyle, has not even been realised, much less charted.[45]

As for the study of Irish mentality and non-Irish perceptions of Irish immigrants in Canada, the subject has received little attention. There are precisely three unpublished theses, scant references in one published book and four published articles that deal with the subject. The earliest of these is John J. Lepine's 1946 M.A. thesis, "The Irish Press in Upper Canada and the Reform Movement, 1828-1848," which is a discussion of the place of Irish Catholics in Upper Canadian politics.[46] Forty years later, Joy Parr published an article in Ontario History on attitudes of the host society in Canada West toward the Irish Famine migration, zeroing in on the 1847-1848 season alone, and hence painting a negative image of the reception accorded immigrants.[47] Two years later, under Parr's guidance, Daniel C. Conner wrote the single major work in the field, an M.A. thesis entitled "The Irish-Canadians: Image and Self-Image, 1847-1870." Using Irish Catholic and non-Irish newspapers from the cities of Montreal and Toronto only, Conner's theme is one of prolonged hostility by native Canadian Protestants united against Irish Catholic immigrants, and an embattled Irish Catholic press forced into existence to fight off the stereotypes of Irish Catholic character that were being promoted.[48] Conner gives some striking examples of ethnic and religious bias, but his loaded vocabulary and tendency to make Protestant editors active aggressors and Irish Catholic editors passive respondents suggests that weight is provided by his own cultural bias to the violent vocabulary clearly shown to have existed in Canada's two largest cities between 1847 and 1870. D.F. Shanahan's M.A. thesis, "Irish

Canadian Journalists and Their Concept of Nationalism, 1850-1870" also focusses only on the urban press. A student from Ireland, Philomena O'Flynn, published a brief article in the 1985 British Bulletin of Canadian Studies on the response of Irish Catholic newspaper editors to Orangeism in nineteenth century Canada; O'Flynn points out that the innate dread of Orangeism brought by Catholics from Ireland diminished over time.[49]

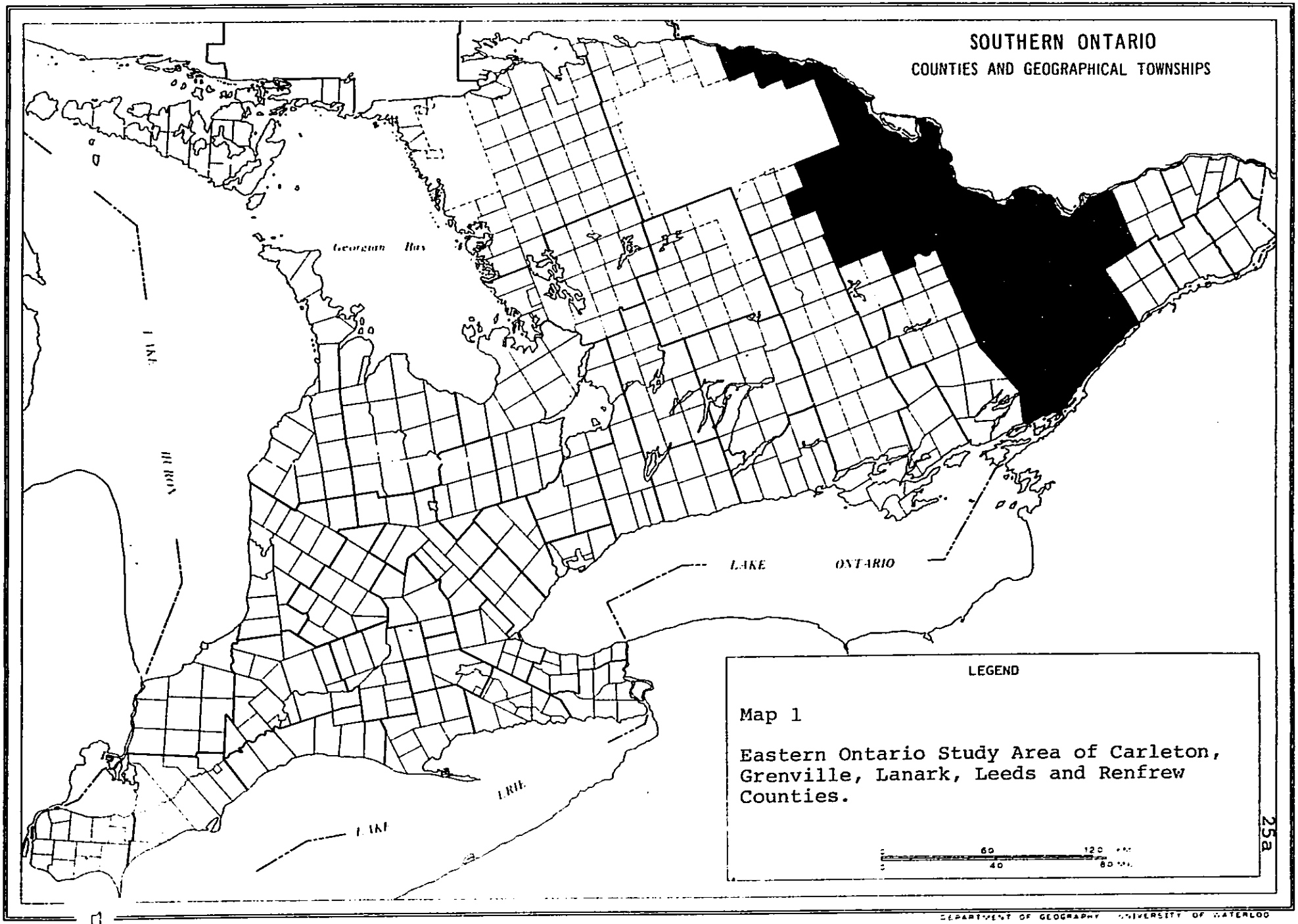
Glenn Lockwood's micro-study of Montague Township in Lanark County suggests that perceptions of Irish immigrants were largely based on the social and ethnic composition of regional society. Irish Protestants and Catholics in Montague, despite their economic success and despite comprising a majority, did not wrest social leadership away from the Scottish, and consequently endured a negative image in the media, history and mythology of Lanark County.[50] Royce MacGillivray's 1985 booklet, The Mind of Ontario, despite a lack of footnotes and bibliography, suggests that Irish Catholics in Ontario endured hostility from the non-Irish, but somehow were never the same cause for concern that the Catholic Irish were to the host society in the United States.[51] Finally, William Spray has written that the preconfederation "Reception of the Irish in New Brunswick" was mixed; at times the Irish were welcome, but more often they were regarded as an economic burden dumped on the colony by Irish authorities. Spray cites commentators in the 1840s who perceived the Irish staying in the seaports reduced to pauperism and crime, whereas those who begged their way into the countryside became independent and steady settlers.[52]

It is impossible to pull together any form of synthesis from the above list, unless it might be to prove Donald Akenson's

incidental comment that if one takes at face value the statements and actions of many nineteenth century Irish Catholics and Protestants, one could easily conclude that they were as different from each other as good and evil.[53] What surely is evident from this listing is that the rural and Protestant majority of Irish immigrants in Canada has been ignored. The few studies devoted to nineteenth century Canadian non-Irish perceptions of the Irish, and Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant perceptions of one another have been based on urban sources. These studies largely have focused on the Famine immigration and all of them have taken for granted that the word Irish means only Irish Catholic. Despite the bias of historians in favour of urban and Catholic Irish, two major urban Irish Catholic papers, the Ottawa Tribune and Union, that published fifteen years, have been ignored. In view of the challenge which Donald Akenson has thrown out to historians of the Irish in North America to explore Irish success in nineteenth century society, a study of perceptions by other Upper Canadians of Irish immigrants, based on sources produced by the rural milieu in which the majority of them lived before Confederation, is long overdue. There could be no better place to begin that study than in the five counties region in which the largest concentration of Irish immigrants in British North America chose to settle (Map 1).

Newspapers as Historical Sources

Writing a study in British North American intellectual history compels the historian to consider the newspaper as an



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unrivalled source of information in colonial society. In 1867 Thomas D'Arcy McGee lamented that there was not a single public library in the whole Dominion, and that the books of British North America were mainly English, or American reprints of English originals.[54] True, there were straggling Mechanics Institutes libraries in various towns, and there were bookstores too, and some of the more prosperous school sections in Upper Canada from 1856 onward were beginning to build school libraries. The combined effect of all these was only incidental in contrast with the impact of newspapers in informing and reaching the larger part of the population.

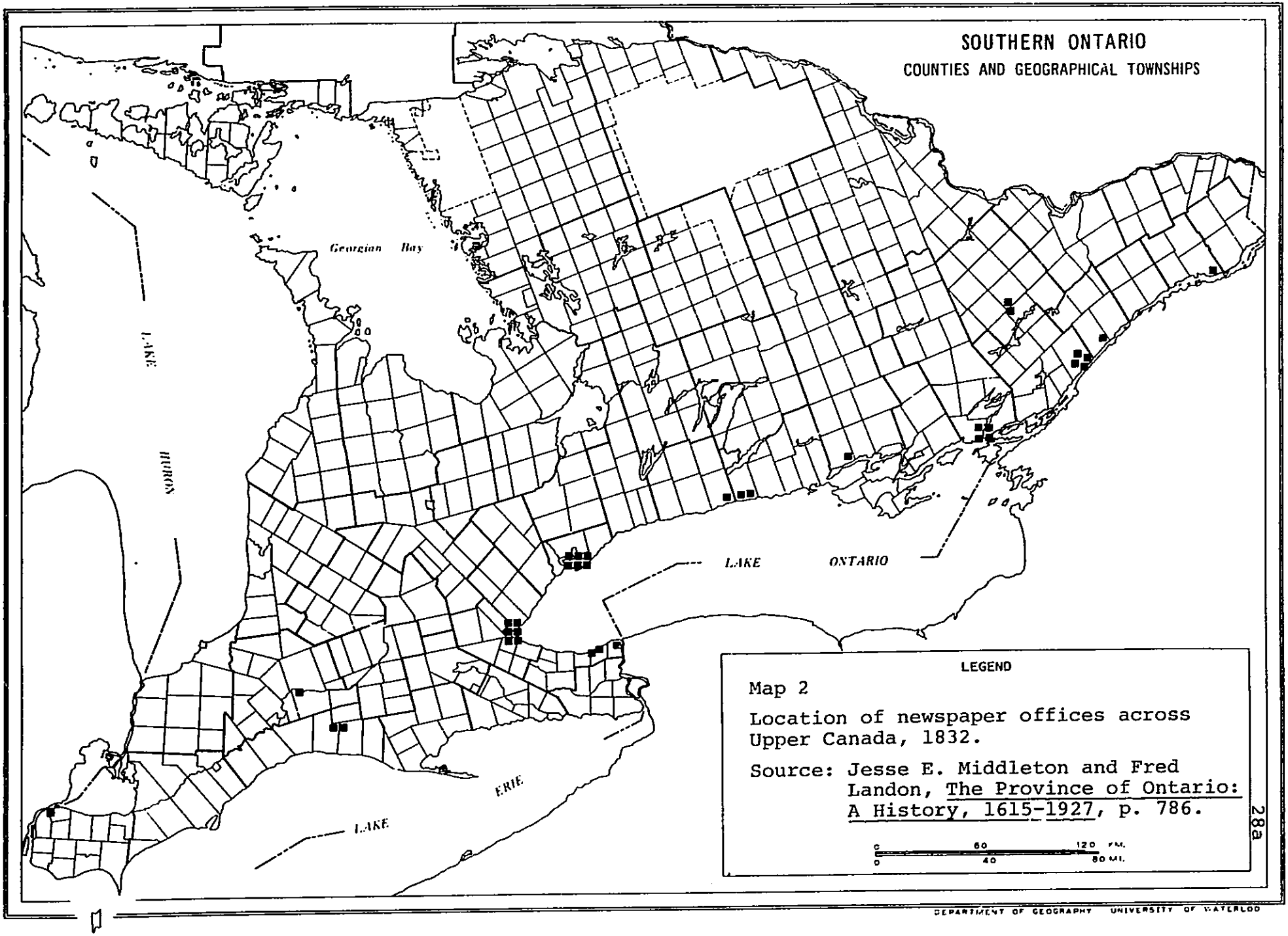
Before focussing on the nature of the newspapers of Upper Canada, it is necessary first to point out the prefiguring role of newspapers in British society. The origins of British newspapers extend back to the mid-sixteenth century, but in the mid-to late-eighteenth century an important change occurred in the country or provincial press. It was the practice of newspapers printed in the regional towns to keep clear of politics, not only to prevent legal proceedings being taken against them by government, but also to keep from estranging potential customers, and, even worse, encouraging rivals to set up a newspaper in opposition. By mid-century these country printers increasingly addressed themselves not only to town customers but also to potential readers in the immediate countryside. To encourage this readership, newsmen were sent around the countryside delivering papers and other printers wares. As circulation grew, these newsmen had to appoint agents

in the various local towns and villages, each with their own delivery systems.[55] The rise of Radicalism, and later the outbreak of the French Revolution, transformed the provincial press. Though they might only reprint the views of the London newspapers, issues began appearing in the provincial press that were not purely of local interest, and, more importantly, about which people could feel deeply, allowing for the first time political agitation on almost a national scale.[56] Following Catholic Emancipation, Richard Carlile led a host of Radical journalists who issued a new volume of cheap, unstamped and consequently illegal newspapers. In these they argued for an extreme, even violent, transformation of the whole political, legal and social structure.[57] The implication of the steadily rising numbers of newspapers being printed and sold is that an increasing proportion of the population became literate and was affected by what it read. This was especially true in Scotland, where it seems even the children of the poor enjoyed a very high standard of literacy, and where the educational system was vastly superior to that of England.[58]

The inability of government to keep a stamp tax on newspapers after 1830 resulted in an ironical development. Though papers such as The Times went on to enjoy such power that it was said to be able to make and unmake governments by the time of the Crimean War, and though working class papers could be found in the Midlands and North urging radical reform and Chartism into the 1850s, by the early 1840s most provincial newspapers had become a form of family magazine, made up of pious reflections, practical household hints,

informative articles, fiction and poetry. The early working class provincial newspapers faded away, as they were supplanted by Radical papers run by middle class reformers, men who were tough, ambitious, eager for parliamentary reform, but with no sympathy for the demands of the extremists.[59] With eyes fixed firmly on balance sheets, they branched out to provide items of interest for everyone, even those on the fringe of literacy, even members of the working class who wanted not so much to keep up with the world as to escape from it.[60]

In British North America newspapers in the early nineteenth century were of such importance that all books and pamphlets were printed on newspaper presses.[61] The earliest Upper Canadian newspapers were confined to the few large towns and relied upon government tolerance and financial support. Increasing population and nascent political interest from the late 1820s onwards brought the number of newspapers published in Upper Canada to thirty-five by 1832 (Map 2).[62] The earliest newspaper in the region studied in this dissertation, the Brockville Recorder, began publishing in 1821. The number of new papers started per decade in the region matches the increase to one hundred twenty-six newspapers publishing across the province by 1858 (Map 3), a figure which increased only slightly to one hundred thirty by 1867.[63] In Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties three newspapers were set up in the 1820s, ten in the 1830s, seven in the 1840s, seventeen in the 1850s, and seventeen more between 1860 and 1868. By no means did most of these papers operate for long; three were publishing in 1830, four in 1840, nine in 1850, twenty in 1860, and nineteen


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
LAKE
ERIE
LEGEND
Map 2
Location of newspaper offices across Upper Canada, 1832.
Source: Jesse E. Middleton and Fred Landon, The Province of Ontario: A History, 1615-1927, p. 786.
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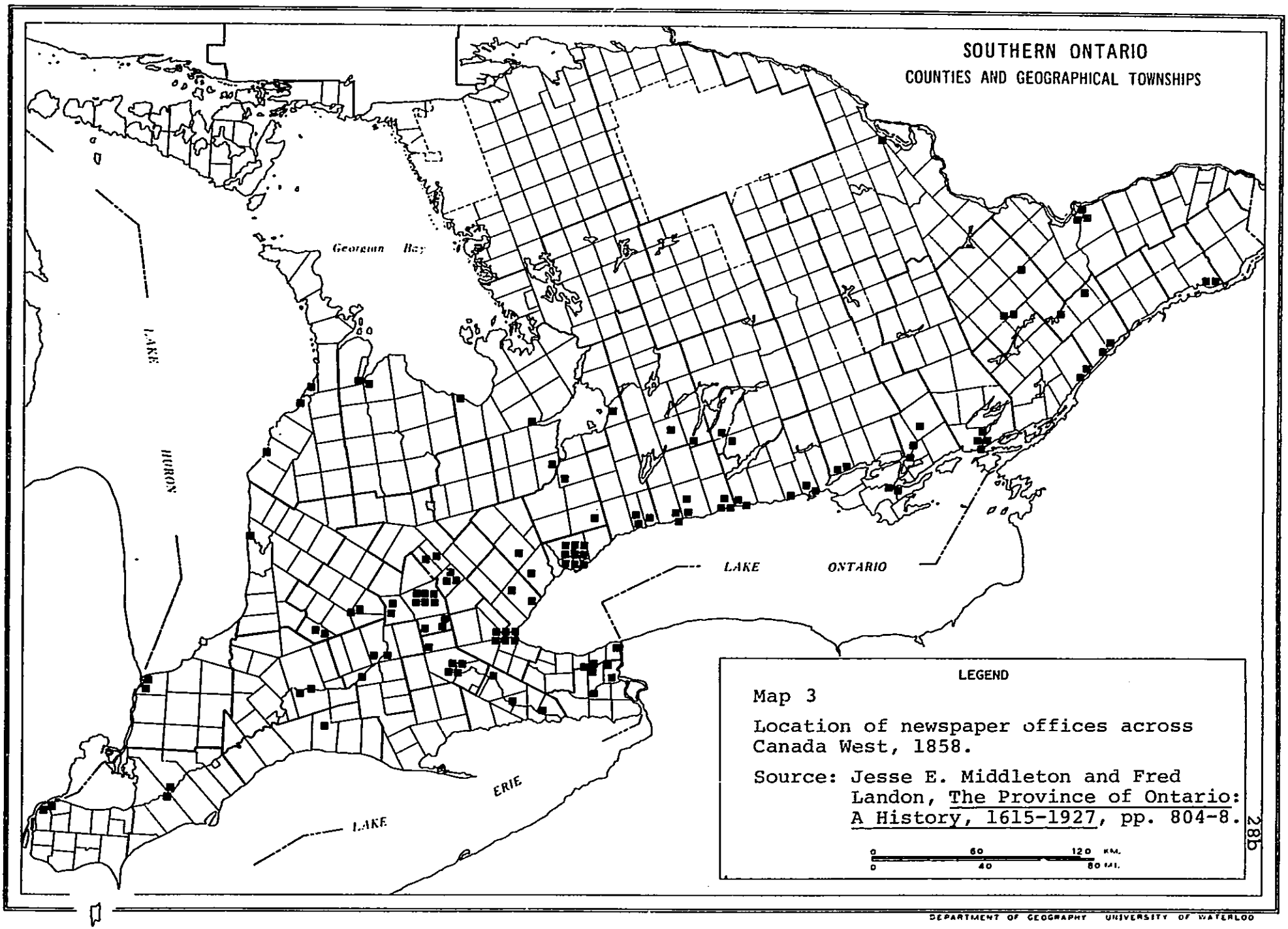
SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
LAKE
ERIE
LEGEND
Map 3
Location of newspaper offices across Canada West, 1858.
Source: Jesse E. Middleton and Fred Landon, The Province of Ontario: A History, 1615-1927, pp. 804-8.
0 60 120 KM.
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in 1868. The growing interest in newspaper reading which began in the late 1820s is reflected by contemporary estimates of subscribers. If we can believe William Lyon Mackenzie, only two newspapers in Upper Canada had a circulation exceeding four hundred in 1824. The Brockville Recorder had three hundred subscribers that year. By 1833 thirty newspapers across Upper Canada had a combined circulation of 20,000.[64] There is no definite link, apart from coincidence of timing, but at the very same time that radical editors in Britain were issuing cheap, unstamped newspapers in greater volume, a provincial press rapidly sprang up in Upper Canada; this press in the decade before 1837 included a great many papers critical of Upper Canadian government.

Before the emergence of political parties in 1836, newspapers in Upper Canada claimed to be politically neutral, attempting like the early eighteenth century newspapers of England to keep from estranging potential subscribers. Alexander Cameron, in setting forth the prospectus of his Bathurst Times (later the Perth Courier) in 1834, commented (Illustration 1):[65]

> It is generally the practice of new beginners to publish an elaborately written prospectus; making many professions of Independance, patriotism, and unflinching support to the party whose cause they may espouse, and endeavouring in glowing language and well turned periods to interest the public in their favour, as well as by promises which are never intended to be performed.
>
> The Subscriber...has never been the slave or the tool of any particular party, and never shall—He does not consider that the vulgar abuse of those in power, by a low set of discontented radicals, is any proof of independence of spirit,

> or patriotism, nor that the fawning subserviency and unmanly praise bestowed upon all the acts, of any ministry, through thick and thin, is any proof of sincere attachment to the British Government.

This did not last long, for the very coverage of legislation created social, economic and political unrest, and together with the influx of literate British immigrants, the progress of education and the rise of local patriotism combined to give newspapers an increased readership as Upper Canadian rural society grew more sophisticated. Editors learned to cater to the assorted grievances of the population, featuring, as in Britain a generation before, a number of issues that were not purely of local interest, about which people could feel deeply, thus creating a political constituency on a provincial scale.

The press propagandised ideas, transforming the unfamiliar into the commonplace across Upper Canada. By simplifying ideas into stereotypes, symbols, and slogans for ready consumption by the public, editors following in the lead of Mackenzie's Colonial Advocate after the mid 1820s manufactured the "Family Compact," a useful, powerful and undying myth which suggested an oligarchy which had grasped unto itself power and privilege.[66] A clever governor such as Francis Bond Head would use equally powerful stereotypes such as the "Loyalty Cry" to great effect in the election of 1836. From 1836 to 1869 politically neutral newspapers were rareties in Upper Canada.

The widespread impact of newspapers in Upper Canada was much greater than circulation figures would first seem to suggest. The

circulation of 20,000 newspapers in 1833 had a direct influence on a much larger population. People gathered together into small groups to read and discuss newspapers.[67] Into the 1840s and 1850s, after greater prosperity, greater sophistication, and a wider selection of local newspapers was available, groups of neighbours continued to share the same newspaper. The editor of the Bathurst Courier commented in 1846:[68]

> We thought by making the subscription moderate, to break down the clubbing system—a system which prevails to a great extent here. In many instances five and six club for one paper, each paying a share, or promising to do so, into the hands of the one whose name is on our list. Many who are responsible to us for the paper taken out in their name, make excuse for getting in arrears, that they cannot get those who are joined with them to pay their share.

The illiterate were subject to the indirect influence of local newspapers since it is likely that literate relatives and friends communicated the substance of what they contained. The stocking of newspapers in local taverns provided additional inducement for patrons to regularly frequent such haunts.[69] The reliance of local society on newspapers is perhaps best shown in the weekly listing of unclaimed letters at local post offices. The obvious inference to be drawn from this custom is that though most rural Upper Canadians never made it to their local village or town, the newspaper either directly, or its contents by word of mouth, made its way to them.[70] Potentially, the clubbing system of sharing newspapers meant that between five and ten times as many people as actually were listed as subscribers were directly influenced by them. Thus the 1833

circulation of 20,000 may well have reached between 100,000 and 200,000 Upper Canadians.

The development of Mechanics Institute libraries from the mid-1840s onward led to the ultimate form of clubbing system. In the largest of these locally, at Ottawa in 1860 could be found Wilmer and Smith's European Times, the London Illustrated News, the London Times, Punch, the London Athenaeum, the United Service Gazette, the New York Albion, the New York Scientific American, Life Illustrated, the Ogdensburg Republican, the Kingston Whig, the Brockville Recorder, the Perth Standard, the Prescott Telegraph, the Pembroke Observer, the Montreal Witness, the Aylmer Times, the Ottawa Union, Gazette, Banner and Tribune, but not, significantly, the Toronto Globe.[71] By 1867, the Post Office reported that fourteen million newspapers circulated in Upper and Lower Canada that year.[72]

The politicisation of newspapers by the early 1830s reveals but one of a number of populist aspects of the Upper Canadian provincial press.[73] Through the use of political essays, squibs, letters and editorials, editors catered to what their readership seemed to want to hear, a readership which varied from one area to another. The editor, no matter if he was even in the pay of government or an opposition political interest, quickly knew the importance of claiming to be looking after the public good. Editors consistently had to keep before them the need to be interesting, thus the most successful pre-Confederation politicians were former (and continuing) journalists such as Mackenzie, Francis Hincks, George Brown, William McDougall, D'Arcy McGee and Michael Hamilton

Foley.[74] To lose the public's interest by excessive efforts to edify, or to be seen to promote unduly a particular cause, was to ensure ruin, both in terms of finances and circulation.

A subsidized press was popularly suspect, considered untrustworthy and even sinister. The most damning rumour which could threaten a newspaper's reputation was that some person or some organisation controlled it for a doctrinaire purpose.[75] The local editor dared not challenge his readership. Editors constantly attempted to keep their newspapers interesting, but they knew full well the potential penalty of leading their readership where it would not follow. The early local editors of Upper Canada quickly learned the difference between the political slander of Mackenzie and the conducting of mutually beneficial and entertaining skirmishes with the editors of opposing newspapers. One significant result of the 1837 Rebellion was the high mortality of Reform newspapers.[76]

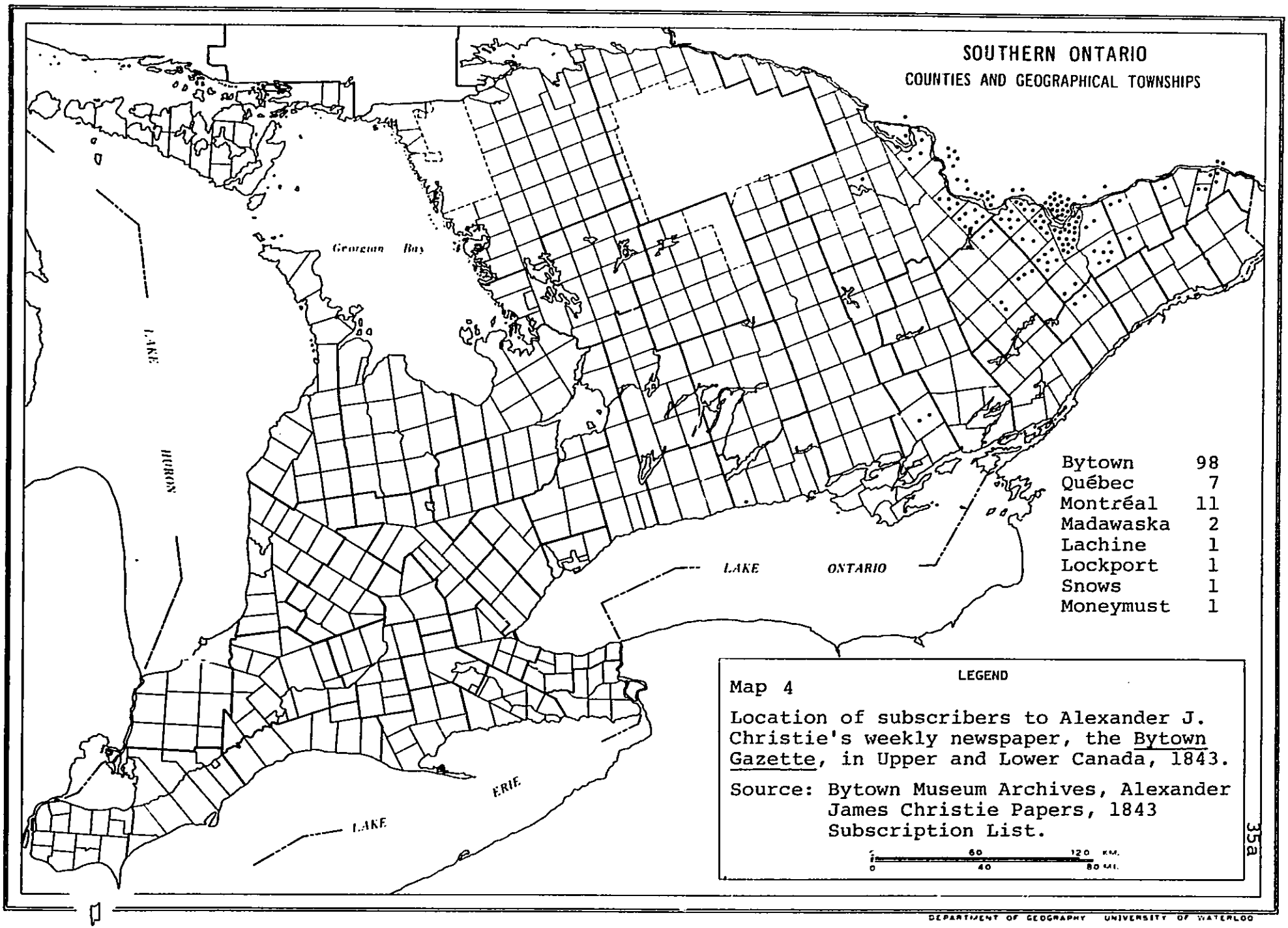
The adoption of a political slant by local editors reflected the ethnic components and predominance in an area as much as the geographic loyalty of the vicinity around one town over another. The Brockville Recorder was located in the portion of the region where the largest concentration of population of recent American origin resided. Its editor was clever enough to serve the American immigrant ethnic interest without necessarily alienating British immigrants by never explicitly stating who it served; it has survived as Ontario's oldest newspaper with a continuous record of publication under basically the same name.[77] The same principle was followed by the Perth Courier, catering to the Scottish population in that vicinity from 1834 on.[78] A contrast is offered by the 1836

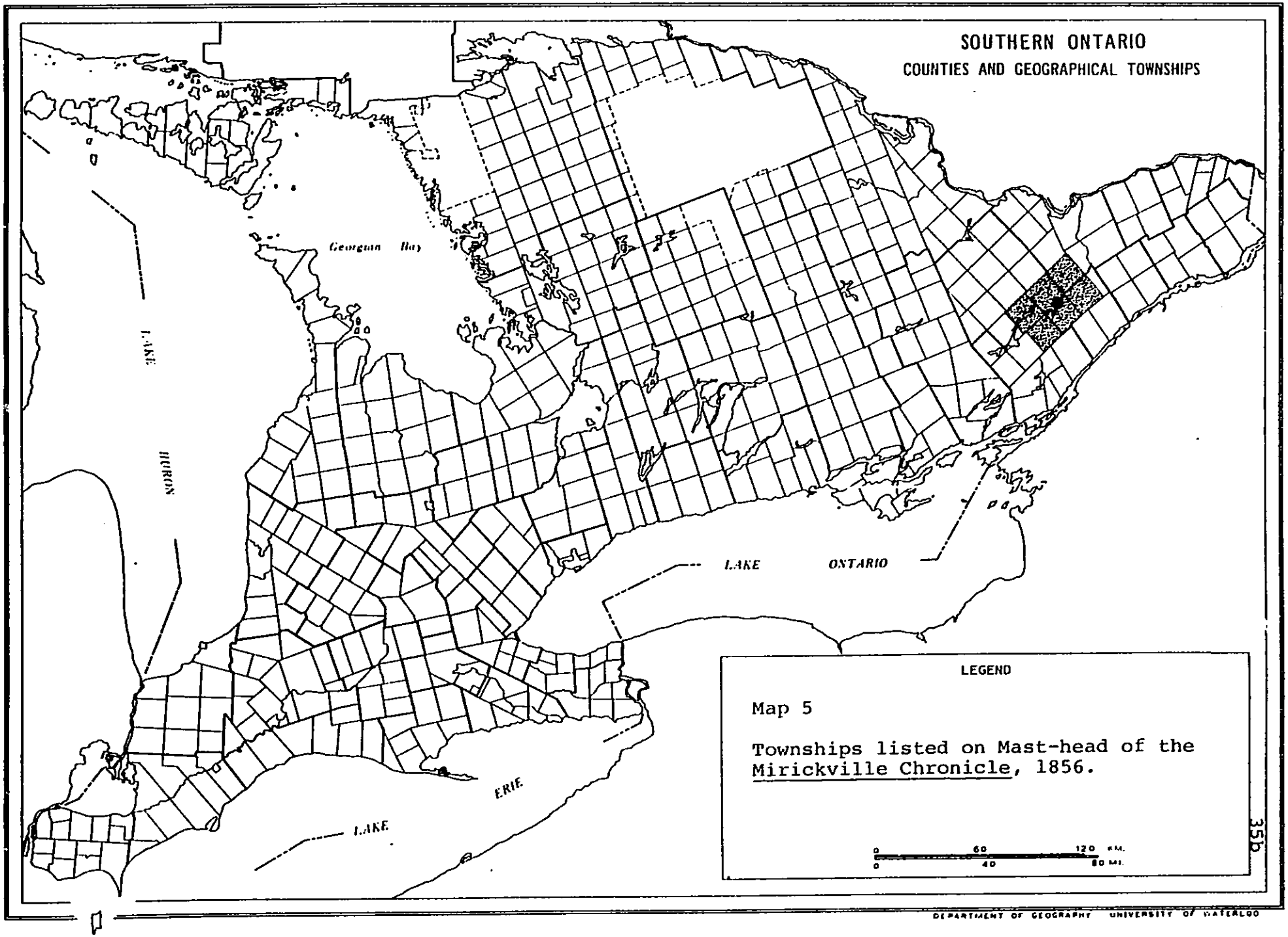
prospectus of James Johnston's Bytown Independent, in which he promised to "cheerfully advocate the national character and interests of every true Briton—IRISHMEN and their descendants first on the list." The life span of the Independent lasted only a few issues (Illustration 2).[79] In a larger city such as Toronto, or even Ottawa in the 1850s, it was possible for a newspaper to represent the interests of only one ethnic group. The Ottawa Tribune, for example, represented Irish Roman Catholics. Such overt ethnic identification with a newspaper was exceptional and shortlived in the provincial press. The local press attempted to appeal to as large a readership as possible with a broadness which allowed the articulation of many points of view in letters from subscribers.

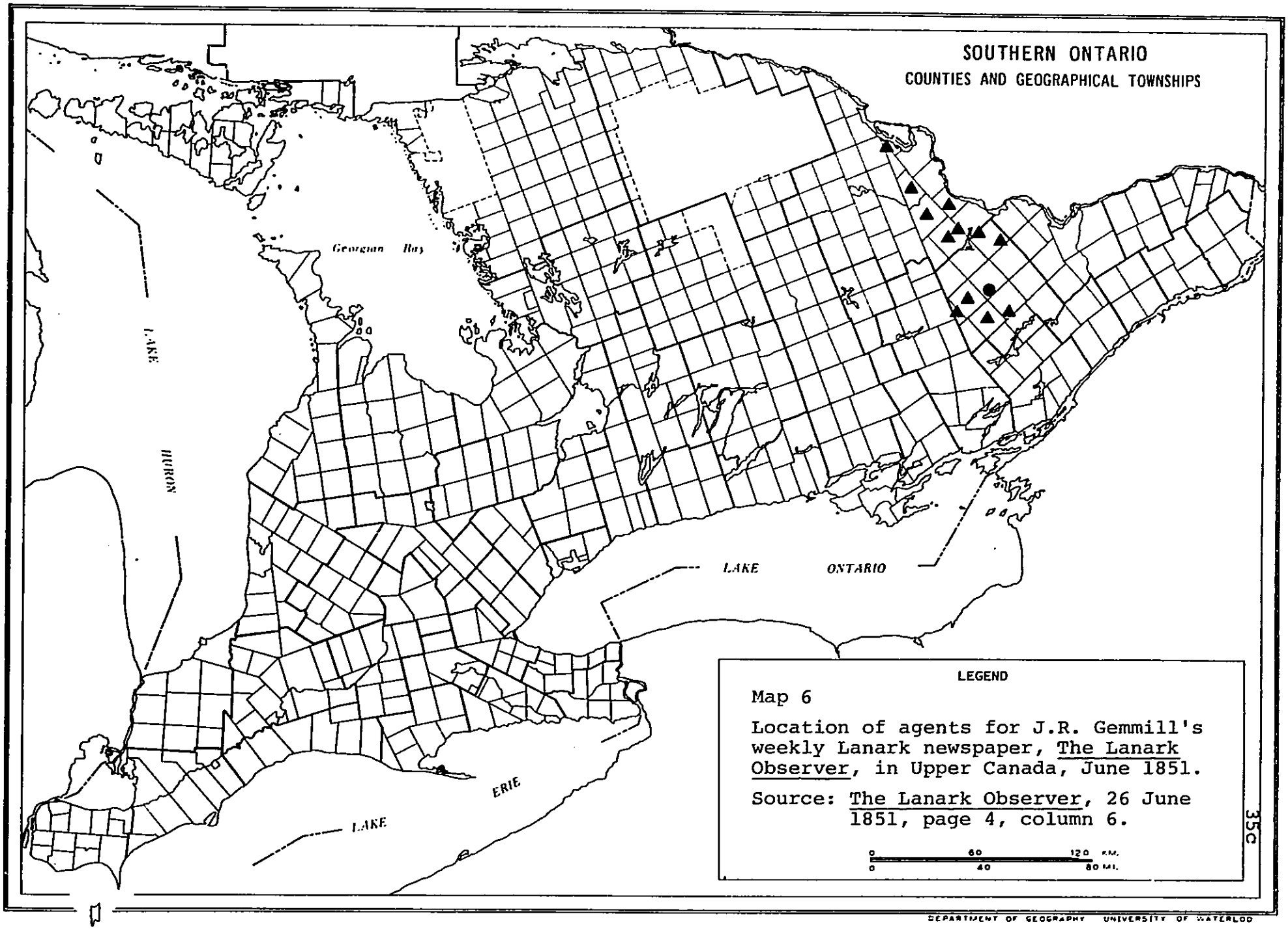
The editor acted as a refiner, at his worst being "a demagogue who played upon the baser desires of the artless populace," and at his best refusing to allow unscrupulously or artlessly worded articles to stir up discontent within his subscribing constituency.[80] Within the geographical orbit of local newspapers, the interfacing concerns of ethnicity, increasing politicisation and religious controversies caused certain communities to be singled out. In Leeds County, as the American origin editor of the Brockville Recorder faced increasing political challenges from his Irish rival, Ogle Gowan's Statesman, the heavily Irish-populated township of Kitley became the target of Recorder accusations of political corruption without necessarily using explicit ethnic or political references. In Lanark County, the Scottish Reform newspapers at Perth and Carleton Place employed a similar strategy aimed directly at

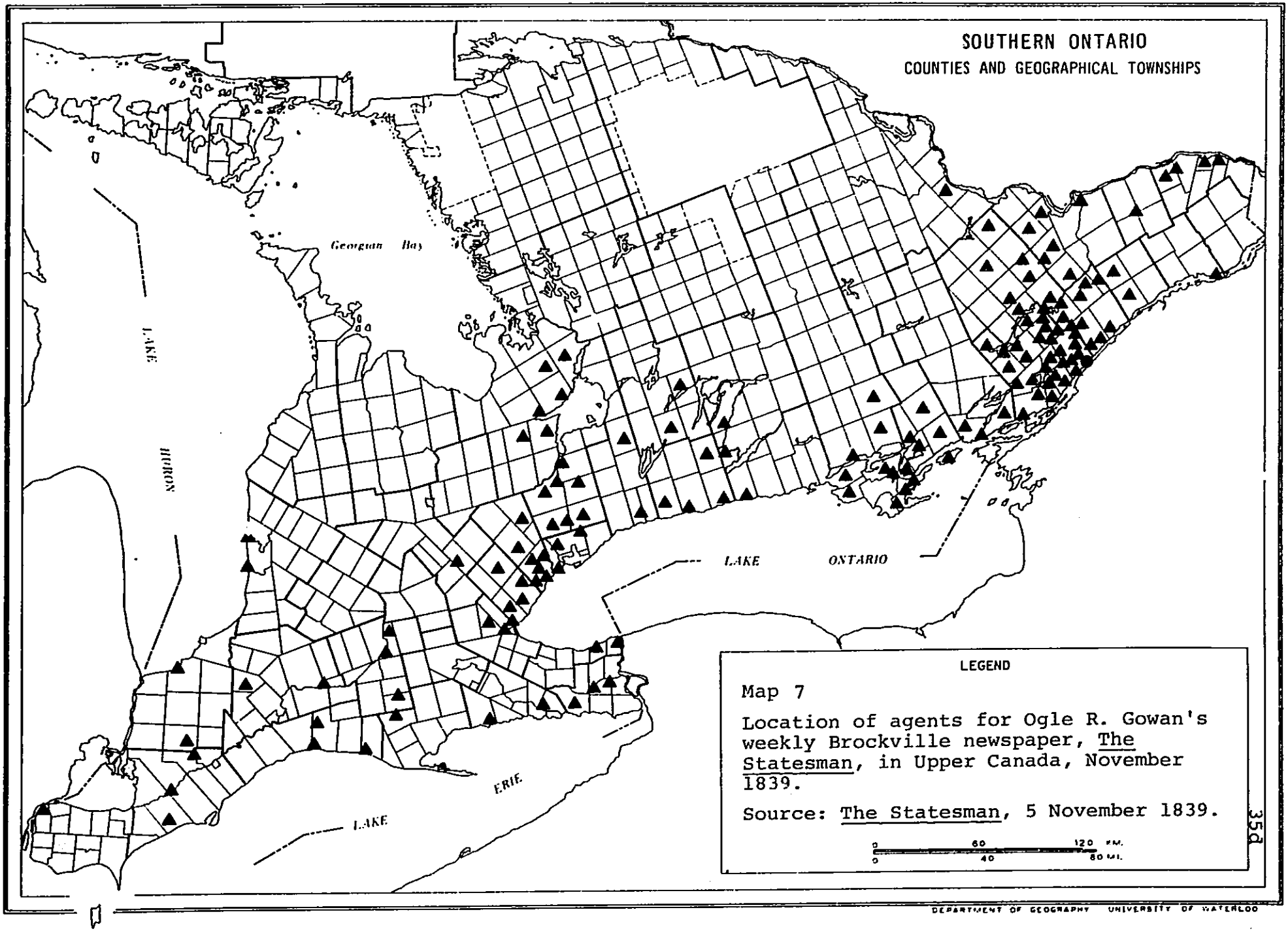
Montague Township, after a Conservative ministry moved Montague from Grenville to gerrymander the Reform constituency in South Lanark.

The constituencies of newspapers did not conflict simply over differences in ethnicity and political affiliation. When the editor of the Perth Courier in 1867 described it as a "REAL LIVE PAPER! Not a mere rehash of the [Toronto] Leader or Scottish American," he did so at the expense of the other Reform paper in Lanark County, the Carleton Place Herald.[81] A third Reform paper at Lanark Village had moved with editor Thomas MacQueen to Huron County after three years in Lanark County. It is difficult to measure the geographical boundaries of subscribers to varying newspapers, but it is clear that there were simply too many Reform newspapers in Lanark County to serve a Scottish Reform constituency in that immediate vicinity. A surviving list of 1843 subscribers to Alexander James Christie's Bytown Gazette shows quite clearly its regional limitations of influence (Map 4). Using a cruder measure, the townships listed on the mast-head of the 1856 Mirickville Chronicle, one can see how compact a newspaper's constituency could be (Map 5). Utilising yet another measure, the lists of agents for newspapers (Maps 6 and 7), we see a further refinement between newspapers. The Lanark Observer had a limited circulation within Lanark and Renfrew counties, in decided contrast with Ogle R. Gowan's Brockville Statesman which enjoyed a province-wide distribution thanks to his Orange Lodge network flung across Upper Canada. This Orange network was particularly reflected in the areas of strong Irish Protestant


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
Bytown 98
Québec 7
Montréal 11
Madawaska 2
Lachine 1
Lockport 1
Snows 1
Moneymust 1
LEGEND
Map 4
Location of subscribers to Alexander J. Christie's weekly newspaper, the Bytown Gazette, in Upper and Lower Canada, 1843.
Source: Bytown Museum Archives, Alexander James Christie Papers, 1843 Subscription List.
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
35a
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
LEGEND
Map 5
Townships listed on Mast-head of the Mirickville Chronicle, 1856.
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
35b
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
LAKE
ERIE
LEGEND
Map 6
Location of agents for J.R. Gemmill's weekly Lanark newspaper, The Lanark Observer, in Upper Canada, June 1851.
Source: The Lanark Observer, 26 June 1851, page 4, column 6.
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
35c
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
LEGEND
Map 7
Location of agents for Ogle R. Gowan's weekly Brockville newspaper, The Statesman, in Upper Canada, November 1839.
Source: The Statesman, 5 November 1839.
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

settlement in Lanark, Leeds, Grenville and Carleton counties. The difference in size of distribution area for the Observer and the Statesman does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the former folded and moved after three years operation because of its relatively restricted distribution area. The Mirickville Chronicle enjoyed equally as long a run as the Statesman though its circulation area appears to have been limited to six townships. The Chronicle was more successful because it was an Orange paper in townships where at least two thirds of the population was Irish Protestant, while the Observer with its Scottish and Reform base had over half of its agents located in townships in which Scottish Reformers were less than forty percent of the population.

Had all fifty-four newspapers that began publishing in the region between 1821 and 1868 survived, by the latter year there would have been one newspaper press for every three thousand people; this figure serves as a reminder that there were major differences in circulation, ranging from the numerous daily editions of the Citizen in Ottawa by the mid 1860s to small enterprises such as the Gananoque Reporter which gave up after three years' operation.[82] There remained until the end of the period a world of difference between urbanising Ottawa and a small village-cum-town such as Gananoque. There is some truth to the contention that the more prominent newspapers published in larger cities were early agents of metropolitanism, but the vigorous country press that developed in the small towns was effective in countering urban propaganda and in catering to local interests. Every newspaper boosted the

ambitions and denounced the enemies of its locale, each effectively behaving as if it were an island community, set off from its neighbours by pride of place as well as by distance.[83] Editors reinforced this by extensive tours of inspection through their respective hinterlands, devoting detailed series of articles to the progress of each straggling village in which they had agents. The country press kept careful tabs on its constituency, sending papers to wherever its subscribers might wander. Hence, John Docherty writing a letter home to Ramsay Township from the gold fields in 1852, claimed that the Carleton Place Herald was available on newsstands in California.[84]

Newspaper metropolitanism only extended to the local press of the study area in that the contents of British and American newspapers were copied extensively by local editors. J.M.S. Careless has suggested that British ideas predominated more than American in the mid-Victorian newspapers of Upper Canada.[85] The technological triumph of the telegraph only served to enhance this channelling of ideas from Britain, but it is important to recognise that this metropolitanising effect from mother country to colony was not necessarily repeated on a smaller scale within Upper Canada. All towns with a telegraph link had the same access to information as George Brown's Globe, notwithstanding his moving from a weekly to tri-weekly, to daily newspaper between 1849 and 1860, and his pioneering weekly editions sent out to country districts adjacent to Toronto. The Toronto urban Irish ethnic press may have declined in the face of the large new urban papers. Increasingly, daily

editions more and more came to resemble the country papers, as in their voracious search for an expanded volume of material they learned to cover the local urban scene, despatching large staffs of reporters to detail the meetings of municipal councils, proceedings of police courts, and the pleasantries of summer recreation. The country papers learned to compete with their urban cousins, by banding together to hire parliamentary reporters.[86]

It is true that cheap postage and extensive railway construction in the 1850s helped the Montreal and Toronto newspapers to infiltrate great swaths of rural Canada, but the region covered by this dissertation remained relatively unaffected before Confederation, possibly because of its relative poverty and sense of geographical isolation. Copies of the Globe, for example, were rarely and only found in Mechanics Institute libraries rather than around domestic hearths. Even in the 1980s, when the Globe and Mail claimed to be Canada's national newspaper, it had a very small sale in rural Eastern Ontario. The Toronto Globe and the Montreal Witness simply could not compete with local papers that gave people a sense of their region, of its importance, of local towns and villages and of their place in the province and in the empire. Furthermore, though the Globe might have the resources to offer a province-wide perspective, the local editor freely appropriated this information and assimilated it to the local view, articulating the local response to the Toronto-centred ambitions and agenda of George Brown. To purchase a Globe was an unnecessary extra expense since it did not reflect the local world view, and those portions of it germane to the local view were copied into the local press anyway.

The small town and village editor differed from his larger urban colleague in having fewer resources to work with, and enjoyed a narrower economic base. This placed remarkable demands on local editors, causing some to throw up their hands in despair and give up publishing, while the overworked apprentices of others such as James Poole in Carleton Place consistently ran away. Some of the more haughty contemporaries complained that nine-tenths of Canadian newspapers in the mid 1850s were characterized by "milksop silliness, shilly-shally Suckerism, metalic philosophy, or mercenary servility, reckless indiscriminate confounding of right and wrong, and the total absence of sound intelligence and talent," reflecting the increasingly entrepreneurial and competitive nature of the newspaper business.[87] The profession may have attracted a good many rogues and crusaders, and the local papers they produced at times were a strange mélange of politics, religion, abuse and general information.[88] Still, the influence of local editors on their readership and society was undeniable and obvious. In 1850 Susanna Moodie claimed, "The Canadian cannot get on without his newspaper any more than an American could without his tobacco."[89]

The exchange of newspapers by editors around the province and even internationally helped keep the local paper from being strictly parochial, but the community also stamped its nature on the editor. For example, James C. Poole of the Carleton Place Herald was the son of a Kilkenny Irish Methodist immigrant, yet early on his newspaper largely reflected the Scottish Presbyterian world view of his readership. The editor served the function not

only of stepping outside the identity of his readership, but even of interpreting it to itself.[90] Not the least of the editor's tasks was to urge continually and consistently more local people to purchase issues. The variety of pitches included promoting the local paper as an educational tool within the family to promote literacy, keeping farmers abreast of market prices, improving local agricultural practice, promoting family and domestic harmony, and offering women specialised columns on housekeeping. The combined impact of local newspapers was summarised in an 1847 letter to the Bathurst Courier from travelling lecturer Abram Duncan of Perth, in which he exulted in the possibilities now available for the public to gain knowledge in Canada in contrast with fifty years previously. The rise and popularisation of the newspaper largely accounted for the difference.[91]

The popularity of mid nineteenth century provincial newspapers has not lessened the suspicion attached to their use by late twentieth century Canadian historians. The reliability of newspaper coverage has been called into question largely because so many of them functioned as the organs of distinct political interests. The very difficulty of ascertaining which newspapers were receiving aid from which sources has led to a questioning of newspapers as a source, and perhaps wisely so, especially for the writing of political history. It is a telling revelation, surely, that all of the Canadian newspapers for which the relationships of editor and owner are revealed were urban. The smallest centre from which evidence of direct newspaper patronage could be supplied by

historian Robert A. Hill was Peterborough.[92] Still, direct quotes from as early as 1825 and as late as the 1860s clearly show powerful links between government patronage and the party line adopted by a paper.[93] It is true that there were firm political allegiances in the country press of eastern Upper Canada. Indeed, in 1852 the Bathurst Courier editor at Perth, faced with a new Conservative rival, mailed a circular to readers in which he implored them to recruit new subscribers to support "the oldest Reform Journal in the Counties—the Journal which has fought the battles of Reform for many years" (Illustration 3).[94]

Although evident partisan leanings by various newspapers create difficulties for traditional political historians, this quality does not detract from their magnificent utility for intellectual historians. It is true that higher ecclesiastical authorities (Methodist and Roman Catholic) and Orange officials might denounce and even withdraw funding from some newspapers, as was the case with the politically affiliated newspapers, yet this was done as secretly and stealthily as possible.[95] There is no comparable source of information which provides such a storehouse of information about the attitudes of the larger society. Even within the partisan press, letters from politically opposing sides were tolerated, although some were obviously manufactured to run down the side they pretended to uphold. Furthermore, exchanges between the correspondents of the various regional newspapers reveal that partisanship did not effectively prevent the debating of ideas.[96] For the intellectual historian it is significant that most

newspapers were successful in keeping secret the pseudonyms of writers, in hiding political sources of funding, and purveying new ideas to the extent their readership would tolerate.[97] If readers were unaware of political manoeuvrings behind the scenes, then such manoeuvrings were likely inconsequential to the meaning they drew from the ideas contained within the newspaper pages. Of course, people were aware that newspapers were bought by political interests, but it was one thing to read a column in the Perth Courier deploring government buying up newspapers with public money, and quite another to believe that the Courier itself was being politically funded.[98] The difficulty for even knowledgable contemporary observers, including local editors, to decipher or guess the pseudonyms of some letter writers is a further indication of the contemporary lack of perceived explicit links between ideas and political platforms.

Intellectual historians have their own reservations about the extent to which newspapers reflect popular opinion. Did the newspapers follow public opinion, or did they direct it? More specifically, the charge has been levelled against mid-Victorian Upper Canadian newspapers that they chronicled and discussed only the little happenings of bourgeois society, that they had no appeal for the lower orders, and that virtually all of them depended upon the patronage of a small and particular constituency.[99] It is perhaps true that examples of a lower class press are difficult to find in rural Upper Canada, but it is equally true that a truly bourgeois society would be just as difficult to locate in eastern Upper Canada before the mid 1860s. Surely the taverns of Carleton,

Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, in which the majority of people obtained access to newspapers, were not strictly the resort of bourgeois society or its equivalent in the preconfederation era! Surely, too, between five and ten families clubbing together for a newspaper is hardly a bourgeois trait! Susanna Moodie noted that between 1832 and 1853 mechanics and artisans joined the independent and wealthy in reading during their spare hours.[100] An editor did not have behind him, as determinants of editorial policy, the forces of journalistic tradition, corporate structure, dominating advertisers or a scientific analysis of his market.[101] Neither did the average country newspaper directly reflect the editor's own social, economic, religious and political viewpoint. When this was attempted by William Tully, an outspoken Orangeman at Perth, in 1832, his British Constitution did not last a year.[102]

The reminiscences of Andrew Norton Buell about purchasing the Brockville Recorder in 1823 provide a clear statement about the change from politically neutral to nascently political newspapers which took place by the mid 1830s:[103]

> The original proprietor being too timid and fearful of admitting articles of a liberal character, I embraced an early opportunity of inducing my brother William, then a farmer and tiller of the soil, to become the purchaser of the paper and press. From that period for many years I had a principal control of the paper and contributed to give it tone and character and to impress liberal feelings on the minds of the electors of the District.

The Buells were successful in promoting their Whig view as much, perhaps even more, by shrewd assessments of the local potential

readership as by trumpeting their own particular viewpoint. Hence there were complimentary remarks in the Recorder about the construction of the Rideau Canal to please readers in the back townships of Leeds County, at the very time that the Buells were actively backing construction of the St. Lawrence canals along the front. All views expressed in the newspaper were hardly the personal property of the editor.[104] The best example of the degree to which newspapers were essentially the creatures of their own subscribers is offered by Peter Waite: Sir John A. Macdonald, at the request of the Roman Catholic bishop of Hamilton, attempted to get the Spectator editor to be less abusive of Catholics. The editor promised to be more careful in future, but noted, "my paper is read principally by Protestants, and I am a Protestant." In other words, Macdonald reported back to the bishop, the paper must be written to suit the tastes of the subscribers.[105] Clearly, the relationship between editor and subscribers was a careful balancing act.

The perfect historical source is a rarity, and this is especially the case for the intellectual historian. Sources other than newspapers that offer as wide a range of perceptions across the social spectrum of Upper Canada do not exist. Lower classes or their preindustrial equivalents tended not to write memoirs. The perceptions jotted down during tours by travel literature writers were sometimes hasty, credulous, and ill-informed since tourists are too prone to believe that the particular is the general. It is true that local newspapers said little about many local matters that were common knowledge to their readers, and such matters were

frequently made explicit in accounts written for a transatlantic audience. This simply demonstrates that travel literature provides supplementary evidence to what is recorded in the newspapers. Contemporary letters written by seasoned North American inhabitants could miss the actual flavour of a locale during a visit. The favourable impression Walter Shanly received of Bytown during a first visit in 1851, while preparing surveys for the Bytown and Prescott Railway in an atmosphere of enthusiasm for the project, soon altered after a few months residence as increasingly he perceived that "A greater set of ruffians than the whole population of Bytown would be hard to find outside of Tipperary."[106]

The specialised and scanty collections of magazines published in Upper Canada reflect little of the general population in a province totally indifferent to native literature. Most books and magazines came from the United States, and were either American or pirated American editions of British authors.[107] Newspapers containing excerpts from Ryerson's Journal of Education and interminable letters on the subject of education reveal more about local attitudes toward the educational revolution than does the massive correspondence of the Superintendent of Education.[108] British North American society increasingly was subjected to school textbooks with the growth of mass education in the 1850s, but the extent to which the school curricula affected the everyday popular culture of the common people before 1871 cannot even be guessed at. The sermons of clergymen such as John Strachan are indeed an invaluable source of information, offering the most illuminating

expositions of early conservative social thought available; however, until the mid-1820s there was but a handful of clergymen in the entire region and at a time when seven newspapers flourished within its boundaries.[109]

Allan Greer makes the point that Upper Canadian settlers may have been more likely to exercise their literacy skills by reading The Twinkling Star (about the life and serene death of a pious and obedient little Sunday scholar) than by reading Mackenzie's Colonial Advocate.[110] Perhaps. More likely, in taverns the local Tory or Reform newspaper was being read aloud. The observation that no other source of intellectual history was as available, or as much read in Upper Canada, comes from the testimony of an early provincial author and from the observation of a tourist passing through. Susanna Moodie wrote, "The standard literature of Canada must be looked for in her newspapers."[111] English tourist, Isabella Bird, observed, "a workman would as soon think of depriving himself of his breakfast as of his morning journal. It is stated that thousands of the subscribers to the newspapers are so illiterate as to depend upon their children for a knowledge of their contents."[112]

The newspapers of Upper Canada remain unrivalled as a source of intellectual history.[113] In the broadest sense they reveal the diversity of contemporary life, a fact which their editors realized in recommending that subscribers assemble scrapbooks from their papers.[114] Joseph Howe predicted, "these [newspaper] reports will convey to the generation that succeeds us, very valuable data from which to judge of the character and sentiment of the present age,

and of the early habits and conditions of the country."[115] It is not a happy fact, perhaps, that there is little other than the press to test the popular mind of Upper Canadians. Still, the very nature of local newspapers with their fiction, history, humour, local reports, poetry, letters, pseudonyms, editorials, advertisements and reports on provincial and world occurrences is in itself a refreshing and useful reminder of the complexity of society, and consequently of the complexity of history and that these various features were overtly designed as sensitive mirrors of what went on in local minds.

It can be said of nineteenth century newspapers, as of their modern counterparts, that "the Medium is the Message" insofar as it shapes and controls the scale and form of human association and action.[116] Not only are early newspapers often almost the sole source of information on many important problems of that period, but they give a variety of views on nearly every aspect of provincial activity. Besides this, they present, with a clarity which is not always discernible in other documents, the play of outside forces upon local developments.[117] The Upper Canadian press was an active medium and its readership was not passive in response, as shown by the refusal of local Orange editors and Reform editors to toe the larger party lines.[118] A comparison of the themes expressed in editorials with the areas of concern enunciated in public meetings, petitions and Grand Jury Reports indicates a close sympathy between editorials and public attitudes.[119] D'Arcy McGee might lament the provincial narrowness, the smallness of spirit, the inbred

pretentiousness and even a servile dependence on London and New York journalism by Upper Canadian editors, but every one of these unflattering aspects only proves how accurately newspapers reflected Upper Canadian society.[120]

The central assumption of this dissertation is that newspapers in both a profound and pragmatic fashion closely mirrored public opinion. The precise nature of this relationship, as British historian Geoffrey Cranfield points out, is difficult to state. Do newspapers guide and mould public opinion—or do they merely reflect it? For provincial newspapers, which provide the base of documentation for this thesis, Cranfield found his answer in a considered editorial in the Sheffield Iris of the 1830s. It said, "Newspapers are first what public opinion makes them; then by a peculiar reaction they make public opinion what they please, so long as they lead with discretion, and seem to follow while in reality they lead."[121] This proved to be true in Upper Canada. By the 1870s the great questions of the day were first considered in the press, and only afterwards, if at all, in parliament. Goldwin Smith observed that, "the power of journalism, great as it is, is still on the increase. The real debate has been transferred from assemblies, deliberative no longer, to the press, and the assembly does little more than record the conclusion."[122] The newspaper had become omnipresent and ubiquitous. What Upper Canadians read, or had read to them, reflected and influenced the texture of their ideas, their opinions, their beliefs and their expectations between 1824 and 1868.

Methodology

The organisation of this dissertation essentially assumes the existence of four different periods or conjunctures. The first of these opened with Loyalist settlement in the 1780s and ended in the flood of American immigration into Upper Canada during the mid 1820s. The second period largely witnessed an influx of southeastern Irish Protestant and other British settlement beginning in 1824, which peaked by 1830 and was at its ebb by 1845. The third conjuncture opened with the sudden vast influx of Irish Catholic Famine immigration followed by German immigrants in the 1850s and 1860s and a general trickling off of settlement between 1846 and 1865. Finally, the fourth period began with the Fenian raids, as the trickle of population westward from the study area grew to a steady flow by the late 1870s. The second and third of these conjunctures are the focus of this study. After a discussion of Canadian intellectual history and the relative importance of newspapers as sources for its study in the remainder of the introduction, an overview will be provided of the place that Ireland, the Irish people and Irish immigrants have occupied in the consciousness of the English speaking world and historians. This in turn is followed by a discussion of the patterns of settlement in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties from 1783 to 1871 to offer a sense of the geographic and ethnic variation within the study area.

The second section of this dissertation records the variety of responses, the images, the stereotypes, and the reception of Irish immigrants before 1845 as presented in the local press. It evaluates the religious, political and social consequences of the interface of Irish and non-Irish during that period. The third major section (1845-1868) was chosen not only because it witnessed a major change in the composition of the Irish immigration into the area, but as well a variety of structural changes in society, such as demographic pressures in the older settlements. The consequence after 1845 was manifested in a variety of changing intellectual assumptions about Irish immigration, about the impact of Irish immigrants on religion's place in society, about their impact on both education and politics, and about the worth of Irish institutions such as the Orange Lodge. Finally, the concluding chapter assesses the sanguine response of local society to the Fenian raids of 1866, and from this goes on to suggest that D'Arcy McGee's assassination in 1868, repeated Fenian raids in 1870, and changes in the nature of the media from 1869 onward combined to militate in creating a new negative image of the Irish in Canada which was well in place by 1871, and to which even the rural inhabitants in the study area of this dissertation were inevitably exposed.

It is necessary to consider several aspects of the methodology of this dissertation. Newspapers, it is true, form the backbone of research sources on which this study is based, but images and perceptions are based also on visual evidence as well as on written accounts that conjure up images and reveal perceptions.

Cartoons concerning Irish immigrants simply did not exist in Upper Canada until after the period of this study, and the number of sketches by touring topographical and itinerant artists was both few and unlikely to be viewed by many Upper Canadians. The touring artist, like the touring commentator, is at best a suspect or atypical source. If, as Marshall McLuhan has remarked, sophistication is perception,[123] or, as Donald Akenson has averred, that people who publish their views are atypical,[124] then the travelling observer is least able to represent or articulate local people, by virtue of the atypicality of his sophistication, especially in Upper Canada. This dissertation places little reliance on the observations of tourists passing through the study area, and calls into question previous work which relies on such testimony. The newspaper editor and his correspondents at the local level, as it was noted earlier, were very closely attuned to the ideas and perceptions that existed in the population around them. The very economic survival of editors depended on it.

Even at the most basic level of attempting to understand the preconceptions and ideas of local Upper Canadian society, vocabulary cannot be taken for granted. The consistent use of the word "emigrant" in Upper Canadian newspapers before Confederation, where today it is considered more precise to use the word "immigrant", offers an excellent challenge in ascertaining the significance of changing terminology. Twenty years ago S.F. Wise inquired, "What is the relationship between changing terminology, and hence changing social assumptions, and the actual social process? Do these changes,

both intellectual and social, occur at the same time in different parts of Canada?"[125] The consistent use of the word "emigrant" reveals that the world view of British North Americans centred on the British Isles, while contemporary use of the word "immigrant" by Americans reflected a less Europocentric world view. Consequently, Irish immigrants in the United States were confronted with powerful assimilationist pressures from the host population, whereas in British North America the immigrants assumed themselves to be more loyal to the mother country than colonists who had been in North America longer, and hence had become British North Americans.

The word "emigrant" also helps dispel Donald Akenson's criticism that in intellectual history ideology is sometimes improperly used to refer to fragmented and only partially articulated political and social attitudes stitched together by historians into ideologies that contemporary individuals did not know they had.[126] Had an early nineteenth century inhabitant of the region been questioned as to what he meant by using the word "emigrant," he probably would have replied articulately without necessarily understanding the social or psychological values and assumptions underlying his use of the word. People employ vocabulary and images in daily speech without necessarily carrying around with them pat explanations of what they mean. They are even less likely to offer explanations of what they mean in their own time and environment as opposed to how someone else such as a historian in another era and society may translate what they think they mean. If people are products of their environments, and understand and even employ the

meanings attached to words as used at that particular point in time, they still may not necessarily recognise their own ideology. After all, they do not have the historian's vantage-point to dissect a particular ideology out of the very vocabulary they are using. This is one reason why historians now rarely write about their own period.

It is a fair warning, all the same, for the intellectual historian not to stitch together simplistic attitudes from a much more complex pattern of thought, nor should he stitch together complex attitudes from a simple pattern of thought. This dissertation takes as its foundation S.F. Wise's comment that the Canadian intellectual historian must be concerned primarily with the interrelationship between ideas and actions; therefore the intellectual commonplaces of an age, its root notions, assumptions, and images are of more significance than the study of coherent bodies of abstract thought.[127] As Roderick Nash has pointed out, societies, like individuals, do not think in straight lines and solid blocks. On any subject of importance thought is composed of contradictions, uncertainties, and ambivalences.[128] The boundaries of intellectual history cannot be confined to expository argument, but may include the arts, major thinkers, the popularisation of ideas, quasi-rational images and myths,[129] visual images from the everyday world, the subconscious editing which the human mind does when confronted with a barrage of weekly or daily news for years on end,[130] and even the combination of all the aforementioned to become what Kenneth Boulding has termed "a stock of images."[131] This cumulative stock of images takes on a particular importance in this

dissertation, as also does, for example, the cultural importance of church architecture. Both literate and visual images nurtured and nettled the perceptions held by Upper Canadians and by the Irish immigrants settling among them.

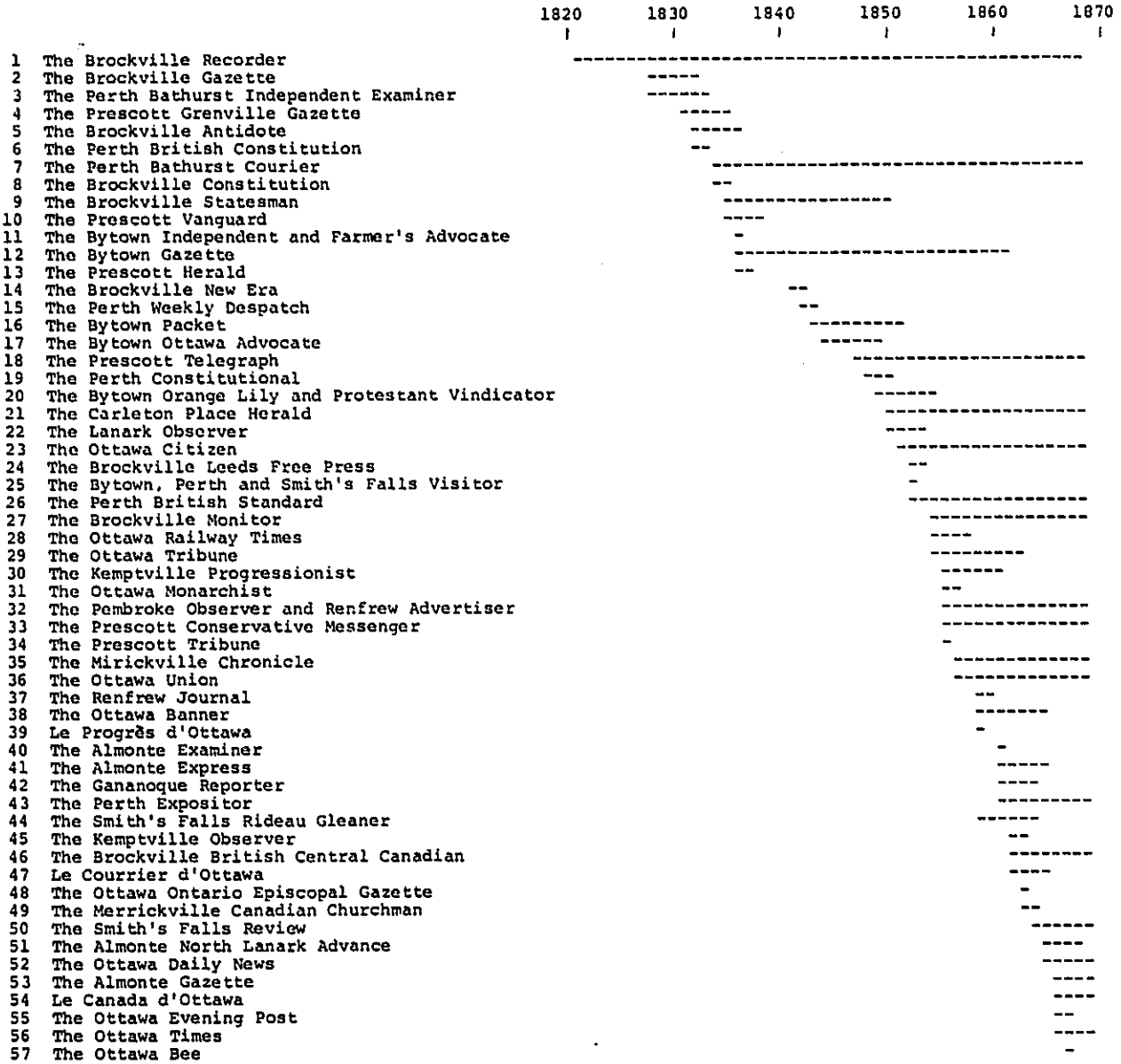
The thematic and chronological organisation of this dissertation is based on the motto of the Ottawa Union which began publishing in the late 1850s: "Time Produces Every Day New Conjunctures."[132] The use of conjunctures is simply a pragmatic way of showing how incidental and accidental contemporary events may combine to affect other events, and either collide or coincide with other factors. A conjuncture refers to change, both the short-term combination of circumstances and the medium-term trend. Ideas and perceptions change with glacial slowness, consequently making revolutions and watersheds dangerous concepts with which to order the history of thought as Roderick Nash has pointed out. New attitudes may appear and gain strength, but the older one does not automatically disappear. "To say ideas change is really only to say that one way of thinking loses a little ground while another makes a small gain." They even can be found side by side for generations enjoying equal vigour. The proportion of old to new may change, and consequently the spirit of an age, a traditional and worthy goal of intellectual history, is not a single entity but a many-faceted complex of contradictory images.[133] Conjunctures of thoughts, events, ideas and concepts can thus be presented without unduly warping the complexity of ideas coexisting in the society being explored.

This dissertation uses as its major source the entire local press of a five counties region over a period of forty-four years. This does not mean that editors necessarily are allowed to lead the historian around by the nose; occasionally even the best editor lets down his guard when setting forth a party line or ideology. The central assumption behind using a local press is that it was the closest possible source, even closer than sermons and diaries, to the popular feeling of the period. The study area was not subject to the metropolitan pulls of Toronto and Montreal mass-circulation newspapers before 1869. Since a general population is more likely to subscribe to its own local newspapers than to specialist papers published by the various religious denominations, temperance, Orange, agricultural, emigration and school promoters, none of these latter types of papers have been used. As is still the case, editors of local small town or rural newspapers quickly learn not to lead the population any further than it is willing to follow, otherwise the paper soon ceases publication. For the pre-1829 period, when hardly any local newspapers from the study area survive, recourse has been made to newspapers from the adjacent cities of Kingston and Montreal. Use also is made of an Aylmer (Lower Canada) newspaper which enjoyed major circulation and patronage in the study area.

The small number of newspapers that have survived from the pre-1829 period has further necessitated the supplemental use of early manuscript collections. The major manuscript collections consulted include the Upper Canada Sundries and 1842, 1852, 1861 and 1871 census returns at the Public Archives of Canada; the

Table 1

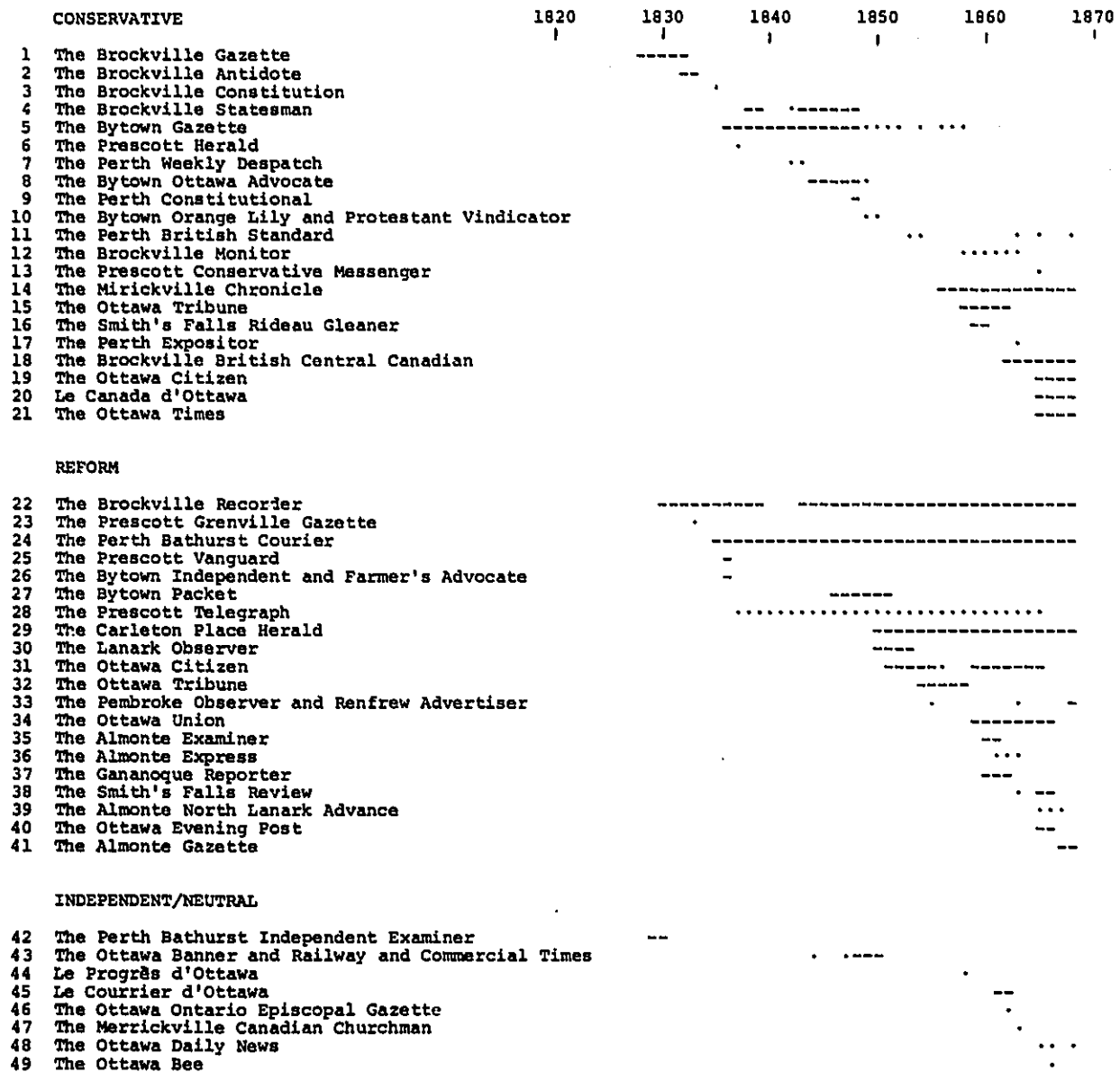
Newspapers Published in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew Counties, 1821-1868, in Chronological Order of Appearance.



Source: National Library of Canada Newspaper Division; Archives of Ontario; Metropolitan Toronto Library; City of Ottawa Archives; Historical Society of Ottawa Bytown Museum Archives; Mrs. Judy Burns; Howard M. Brown; Bruce S. Elliott; Donald H. Akenson, The Irish in Ontario; H. Beldon and Company, Lanark County Historical Atlas; Lucien Brault, Ottawa Old and New; Howard M. Brown, Lanark Legacy; Michael S. Cross, "The Dark Druidical Groves" University of Toronto unpublished Ph.D. thesis; Ian MacPherson, Matters of Loyalty; R.U. Mahaffy, "Ottawa Journalism: 1860 to 1870" in Ontario History XLII; Jesse E. Middleton and Fred Landon, The Province of Ontario: A History; Thomas R. Millman, "Canadian Anglican Journalism in the Nineteenth Century" in Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society III; J.A. Morris, Prescott, 1810-1967; and Hereward Senior, "Ogle Gowan, Orangeism, and the Immigrant Question" in Ontario History LXVI.

Table 2

Extant Newspapers Published in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew Counties, 1821-1868, by Political Affiliation in Chronological Order of Appearance.



NOTE: With the exception of the last six newspapers listed, all known extant issues of newspapers published within the boundaries of Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties before 1869 have been used as the research base of this dissertation.

----- Regular run of newspapers ····· Intermittent run

incoming general correspondence of the Superintendent of Common Schools for Canada West, the township papers of the Crown Lands Department, and the letterbooks and journals of the Rev. John Strachan at the Archives of Ontario; the Rev. William Bell journals at the Queen's University Archives; the Bishop Guigues letterbooks and incoming correspondence at the Ottawa Archdiocesan Archives; and the Bishop Alexander Macdonell and the Bishop Edward John Horan letterbooks at the Kingston Archdiocesan Archives. The use of these large separate collections of documents has been complemented by reading through miscellaneous collections of private documents at the Public Archives of Canada, the Archives of Ontario, Queen's University Archives, the Anglican diocesan archives both in Ottawa and Kingston, the City of Ottawa Archives, the Perth Museum, and various smaller municipal collections of documents. The printed journals of travellers through the region covered by this dissertation complete the variety of primary sources used to supplement the regional press as the major source of information.

It is true that many items and articles appearing in the local press were copied from national and even international journals. The very selection of items by the local editor, ranging in complexity from popular jokes to the political economy of Adam Smith, nonetheless reflects the range of ideas to which a local population was exposed and for which a local editor perceived an audience.[134] The coherence which local editors gave to the items selected for their newspapers, for the correspondence they printed, and for the editorials they drafted not only affected profoundly

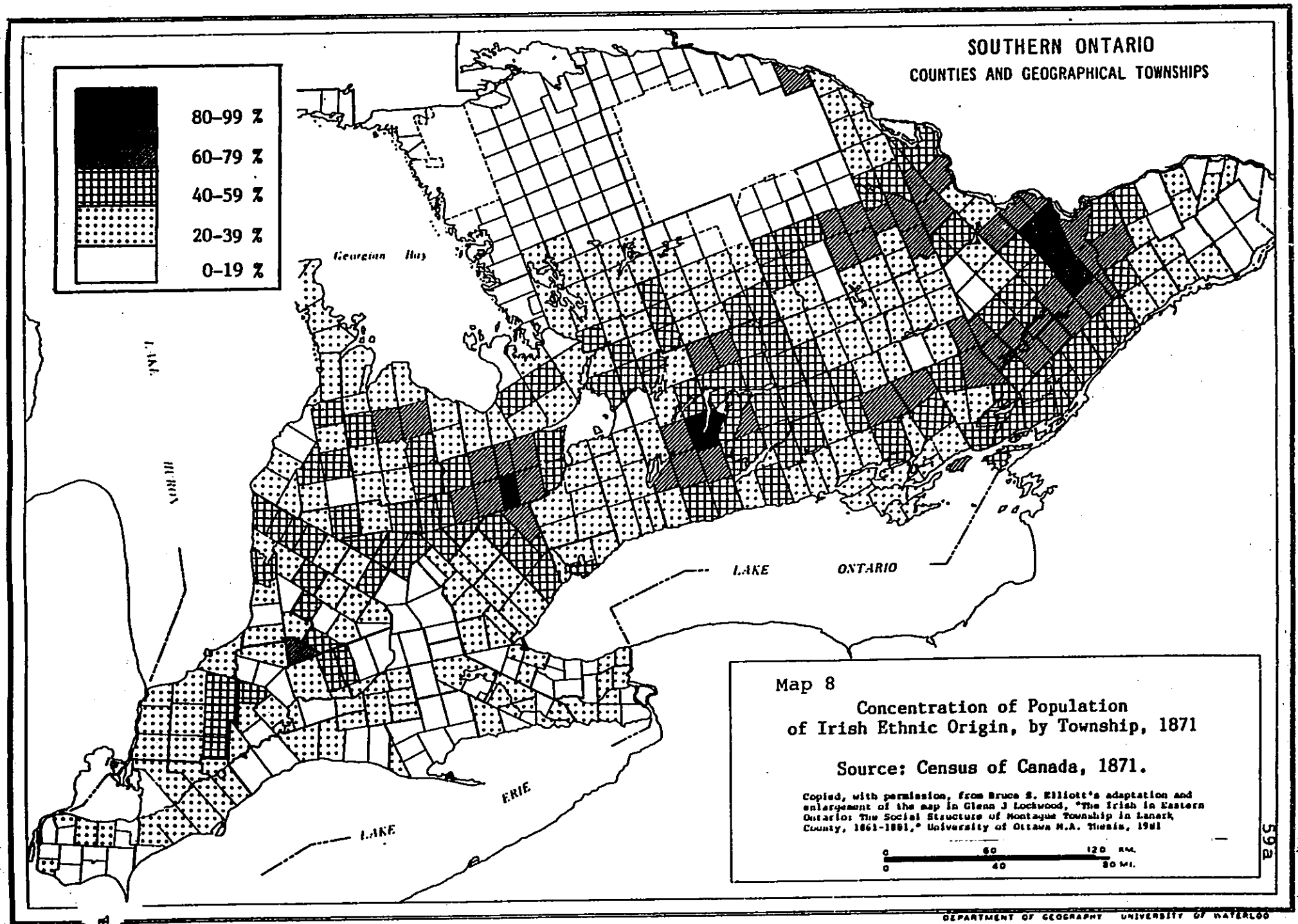
the perceptions of the local population but also reflected widespread affinities across the province.[135] Every possible aspect of the contents of newspapers from the region is used, not simply the contents of letters, editorials and feature articles, but even references to the Irish in jokes, serialised stories and advertisements. Popular art forms are an excellent source for a study of social prejudice, political and other pressures, and commercial considerations.[136] It is of particular significance in this dissertation to dissect the hidden vocabulary of the temperance movement and the perceived implications of changing styles of church architecture to reveal two codes used to convey meaning and significance in a society inundated by Irish immigrants.[137]

A central premise underlying the writing of this dissertation is that what people read and see around them affects them in some way. Commentary on the practices and behaviour of other people, buildings such as churches, engravings, circuses, etc., may reveal the perceptions and attitudes characteristic of the local milieu. It has become a respectable practice to employ a sampling procedure to run through vast quantities of newspapers, but for this dissertation every known extant newspaper published in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties before 1869 was carefully read. This was done primarily in order not to miss one single quote which might reveal a perception or idea which an editor might otherwise hide or suppress. To reveal the range of opinion which existed it is necessary to present contradictory and inconsistent opinions. As Lawrence S. Fallis Jr. has acknowledged,

the usual clearly defined path from premise to conclusion, the precise causal pattern linking ideas with action, and the definitive pronouncements traditionally associated with historical inquiry are conspicuous by their absence in intellectual history. The intellectual historian must attempt to extract the recurring images, metaphors, clichés and platitudes that constitute the rhetoric of Upper Canadian perceptions of Irish immigrants.[138]

It is one thing to decipher a code or hidden language, such as that used by temperance promoters against Irish immigrants, and quite another to assume from a printed list of names that the contemporary readership necessarily interpreted such names to have a specific Irish connotation. For example, the regular list of the schedule of convictions in the Perth and Brockville Reform newspapers contains a majority of names that either are Scottish or Irish. Since the Irish tended to be Conservative, and the Scottish Reform, the similarity of many names prefixed with Mc or Mac renders invalid any attempt to interpret a hidden agenda in weekly printing these names. The printing of these lists of names may well have affected the bias and perception of many readers, but it would be a peculiar form of presentism which attempts to assume precisely what readers one hundred fifty years ago would have thought about names that both Irish and Scottish immigrants bore. This dissertation attempts to utilise an objective vocabulary rather than the loaded vocabulary of many historians which takes for granted terms such as "Orange bullies," "uncouth, ignorant, and probably drunken Irish [Catholic] mob" and "a virulent Irish tone" to give but a few examples.[139]

Finally, a variety of limitations serve to keep this study to a manageable size and format. First, Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties have not been arbitrarily chosen. Taken together they were home to the largest concentration of people of Irish birth and origin in British North America. In 1871 they contained just over one tenth of Ontario's population, but, significantly, they were home to sixteen percent of its population of Irish origin. There were more people of Irish birth in these counties that year than in Toronto and Montreal combined. Most impressively, although the population of this region equalled the combined populations of Montreal and Toronto in 1871, there were forty-three thousand more people of Irish ethnic origin in these five counties than in Canada's two largest cities put together.[140] Comparable precise American census figures are lacking, but the concentration of Irish immigrants in the study area of this dissertation probably approximated those in any of the large eastern American seaboards cities such as Boston and New York.[141] Fifty-four percent of the population inhabiting the region studied in this dissertation was of Irish origin. The Irish were a majority. In Montreal they represented forty-three percent of the population, and in Toronto, New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore the Irish were never more than a quarter of the population.[142] With more than half the population of Irish origin, Carleton Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties offer a challenging laboratory in which to survey the perceptions of Irish immigrants expressed in the local press (Map 8). In these five counties, if anywhere, the


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
80–99 %
60–79 %
40–59 %
20–39 %
0–19 %
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
LAKE
ERIE
Map 8
Concentration of Population
of Irish Ethnic Origin, by Township, 1871
Source: Census of Canada, 1871.
Copied, with permission, from Bruce S. Elliott's adaptation and enlargement of the map in Glenn J Lockwood, "The Irish in Eastern Ontario: The Social Structure of Montague Township in Lanark County, 1861-1881," University of Ottawa M.A. Thesis, 1981
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

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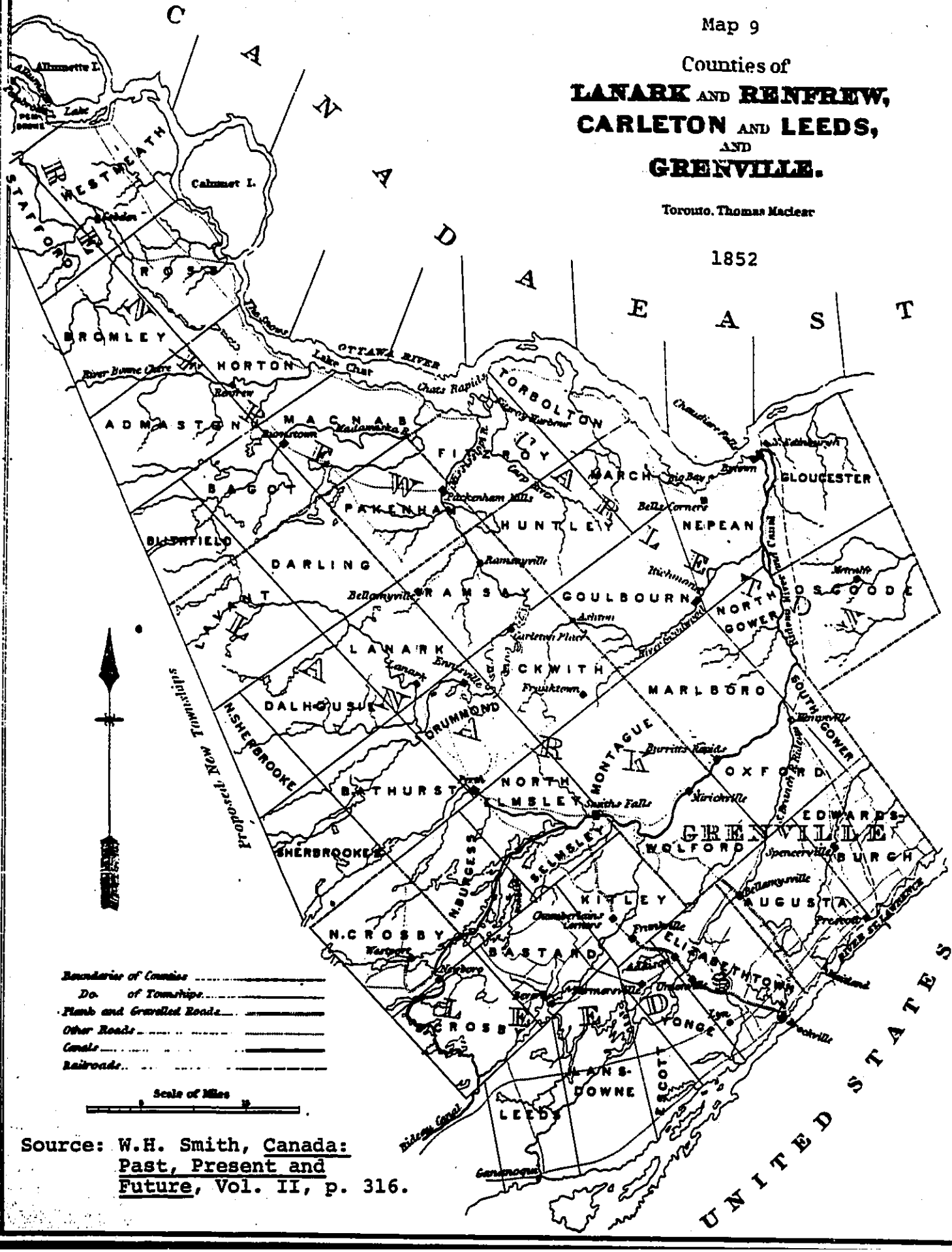
high concentration of Irish to non-Irish should have prompted social tension and ethnic cleavage.

The high concentration of Irish immigrants in the regional population raises the question of whether or not the burden of this dissertation consists simply of showing the perceptions Irish immigrants had of one another. After all, if most of the perceptions of regional Irish immigrants proceeded from the pens of other Irish immigrants, it would hardly be a remarkable or a useful discovery to find that the Irish were tolerantly treated, accepted and indeed welcomed within regional society. The evidence and the proof, if such were the case, might well be suspected of being circular. Of the sixty regional editors whose ethnicity can be traced, only twenty-one were Irish immigrants, or less than thirty-nine percent were born in Ireland. Even this simple statistic tends to overstate the importance of Irish editors in this dissertation. The ethnicity of an editor did not necessarily mean a thing in terms of the editorial content of the newspaper over which he presided. Scottish immigrants Alexander J. Christie and Dugald C. McNab respectively presented in the pages of the Bytown Gazette and the Perth Constitutional some of the most spirited pro-Irish rhetoric to be found in the regional press. Christie was encouraged to do so by the demographically compelling fact that over seventy-seven percent of Carleton County was of Irish origin, whereas McNab was hired by Irish and Orange Conservatives at Perth to present an alternative to the pro-Reform Bathurst Courier published in that town. James C. Poole, to use yet another example, was a Kilkenny Methodist

immigrant hired by Scottish-origin Robert Bell at Carleton Place who wished to mould a political constituency from among the Scottish inhabitants of Lanark County. Despite Poole's Irish birth, the Carleton Place Herald he edited has an indubitable Scottish tone. Those regional newspapers in which it might be possible to trace any link between the ethnicity of the editor and the tone of the contents are exceptional, as demonstrated by the example of the Bytown Independent which Irish-born James Johnston touted as advocating the interests of the Irish above all others: it published for only a few issues. The majority of regional newspaper editors were not Irish immigrants. Although people of Irish origin came to comprise 54 percent of the regional population, it does not necessarily follow that they subscribed to an equivalent proportion of local published newspapers, a fact confirmed by the editor of the Ottawa Tribune lamenting in 1861 how few Irish Catholics subscribed to newspapers.

Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties enjoyed geographic, cultural and administrative proximity before Confederation. In 1798 their land area comprised the single administrative jurisdiction of the Johnstown District. The flow of population northward within this district from the period of Loyalist settlement onward emphasises the geographic coherence of these five counties as a study area (Map 9). Second, extensive historical research by Donald H. Akenson, Michael S. Cross, Bruce S. Elliott and Glenn Lockwood into the nature of society in various parts of these five counties offers valuable insights into the applicability of broad-ranging regional patterns of thought and perceptions to specific pockets of population.[143]



Source: W.H. Smith, Canada: Past, Present and Future, Vol. II, p. 316.

The time period, 1824-1868, is the second limitation on this dissertation. These years spanned the response toward the first group influx of Irish immigrants through to the reaction to Thomas D'Arcy McGee's assassination forty-four years later in 1868 when immigration from Ireland had shrunk to an insignificant rate. This period already is recognised as significant by Canadian historians for a general rise in immigration at the end of the Napoleonic period through to the achievement of Confederation. Third, the Canadian newspaper industry did not begin to specialise until 1869, when the first so-called "free press" papers, labour newspapers, and mass-circulation, urban-based, illustrated newspapers such as the Canadian Illustrated News appeared.[144] This meant that local newspapers primarily catered to and reflected local attitudes, rather than promoting the urban view from either Toronto or Montreal. The geographic relation of the region being studied to Montreal and Toronto prevented it from being unduly affected by the metropolitan influences and technical advances of prominent newspapers such as George Brown's Globe before 1869.[145] The 1868 closing date for this dissertation also was chosen because it was midway during the Fenian period, to underline how little of a scare there was in eastern Upper Canada before 1870, and to underline too the positive attitude toward Irish immigration which existed before the severe financial depression of 1873-1878 began helping to change attitudes.[146].

Finally, content analysis did not seem appropriate for this study. Offering as quantification does new ways of investigating the past, this methodological decision requires some explanation. Broadly speaking, any study of verbal media is a content analysis, but in the more technical sense the term "content analysis" refers to the use of

a particular array of research tools for uncovering, measuring, and comparing word patterns in text. Quantitative content analysis, Dale T. Knobel suggests, militates against evidentiary sleight of hand since the content analyst spells out beforehand exactly what he is looking for in sources. Major lacunae among surviving newspapers from eastern Upper Canada frustrate any attempt at defining what content analysis or any other quantitative formulation would actually measure.[147] Knobel himself admits that "[t]oo many applications of content analysis to historical problems have failed to move beyond the absolute frequency count."[148]

Knobel's own use of content analysis as "an evidentiary foundation for the story of an evolving stereotype" with which "to identify how [the Irish in antebellum America] were mentioned whenever they were represented in words,"[149] would not reveal the subtle eastern Upper Canadian response to the Irish immigrants inundating their region. Technical content analysis is not capable of ascertaining and evaluating the sleight of hand of the people living in historical time who create documents and publications. Advocates of content analysis insist that the ultimate goal is to discover what people mean by studying but not quite believing what they say.[150] Practitioners of content analysis look for different things; some identify syntactical patterns, some explore stylised diction, and some evaluate the use or repetition of a specific word or words.[151] Ultimately, content analysis fails to measure hidden agendas such as those of the early temperance movement and the Dark Lantern Society, nor can it show the nuance of non-vocabulary with which regional editors referred to and catered to the Irish in preconfederation eastern Upper Canada.

NOTES

[1]S.R. Mealing, "The Concept of Social Class and the Interpretation of Canadian History," The Canadian Historical Review XLVI (September, 1965), p. 208.

[2]A.B. McKillop, "Nationalism, Identity and Canadian Intellectual History," Queen's Quarterly LXXXI No. 4 (1974), pp. 533, 535, 545.

[3]S.F. Wise, "Sermon Literature and Canadian Intellectual History," The Bulletin of the Committee on Archives, The United Church of Canada (1965); reprinted in J.M. Bumsted, ed., Canadian History Before Confederation: Essays and Interpretations (Georgetown: Irwin-Dorsey Limited, 1972), cited in McKillop, Ibid., p. 534.

[4]McKillop, Ibid.

[5]Ibid., p. 536.

[6]Perry Miller, "Preface to the Beacon Press Edition", The New England Mind: From Colony to Province (Boston, 1961) cited in J.M. Bumsted, "Canadian Intellectual History and the 'Buzzing Factuality'," Acadiensis VII No. 1 (Autumn, 1977), pp. 116-117.

[7]Darrett Rutman, Winthrop's Boston: Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630-1649 (Williamsburg: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), pp. vii-ix.

[8]Irving H. Bartlett, The American Mind in the Mid-Nineteenth Century The Crowell American History Series (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967), p. 115; Bumsted, "Buzzing Factuality," pp. 115-116; Roy Daniells, "The Cultural History of Canada—Centennial Project 1982," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada 1972, p. 7; Wise, "Sermon Literature," pp. 257, 264-265.

[9]Ruth McKenzie, Leeds and Grenville: Their First Two Hundred Years (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1967), p. 219.

[10]An obvious example is provided by Murray W. Nicolson's "The Irish Experience in Ontario: Rural or Urban?" in Urban History Review XIV (June 1985), p. 39. Nicolson quotes an interview from Joan Finnigan's all too aptly named Some of the Stories I Told You Were True (Ottawa: Deneau Publishers, 1981), p. 51, to show that souperism existed in Toronto and other Ontario cities. Finnigan's actual interview with John McGonigal, a man who has visited Ireland, and, who, apparently has read numerous accounts of the injustices accorded Catholics by Protestants in Ireland, vaguely conjures up an oral tradition recalling souperism seven generations earlier during the 1847 Famine at the docks in Montreal and Quebec. Lacking any credible source to show that souperism existed in Canada, Nicolson is clearly grasping at straws in suggesting on the basis of this flimsy questionable source that souperism existed in Ontario.

[11]The Orange Lodge has not developed a comprehensive policy for collecting local lodge records. Those records that are gathered into a central repository are virtually inaccessible to historical researchers not members of the order. Records remaining at the local level occasionally may be consulted depending on the whim of local officials, but with the closure of many Orange halls and lodges from the 1960s onwards, local records have either been dispersed, sent to other lodges, or else destroyed. Destruction of records has occurred because local officials believe that the records of a secret society should not be allowed to accidentally fall into the public domain. These comments are based on numerous attempts to research in local Orange records.

[12]The work of Murray Nicolson includes the article listed in note 10; his unpublished Ph.D. thesis "The Catholic Church and the Irish in Victorian Toronto" at the University of Guelph, 1981; "Ecclesiastical Metropolitanism and the Evolution of the Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto" in Histoire sociale-Social History XV No. 29 (May, 1982)), pp. 129-156; "The Irish and Social Action in Toronto, 1850-1900," a paper delivered before and gestetnered by the Canadian Historical Association, 1980; "Irish Catholic Education in Victorian Toronto: An Ethnic Response to Urban Conformity" in Histoire sociale-Social History XVII No. 34 (November 1984), pp. 287-306; "The Irish Vote and the Catholic League: Early Ethnic Politics in Victorian Toronto," a paper delivered before and gestetnered by the Canadian Historical Association, 1984; and "Six Days Shalt Thou Labour: The Catholic Church and the Irish Worker in Victorian Toronto," a paper delivered before and gestetnered by the Canadian Historical Association, 1983.

[13]Nicholas Flood Davin, The Irishman in Canada (Toronto: Maclear and Company, 1877), p. vi.

[14]Donald H. Akenson, Being Had: Historians, Evidence and the Irish in North America (Port Credit, Ontario: P.D. Meany Company Inc., 1985), p. 77.

[15]Ibid., p. 141; and Allan Greer, "Wage Labour and the Transition to Capitalism: A Critique of Pentland," Labour/Le Travail No. 15 (Spring, 1985), pp. 7-22.

[16]Akenson, Being Had, pp. 115-116, 123, 133, 139-141.

[17]These articles include Rev. Brother Alfred, "The Conversion of Sir Allan MacNab, Baronet (1798-1862)", The Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report (hereafter CCHAR), 1942-1943, pp. 47-64; Daniel Callam, "The Syllabus of Errors: Canadian Reaction in the Secular and in the Protestant Press," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions (hereafter CCHASS) XLVI (1979) pp. 5-21; J.B. Conacher, "The politics of the 'Papal Aggression' Crisis, 1850-1851" CCHAR (1959) pp. 13-27; Rev. John A. Gallagher, "The Irish Emigration of 1847 and Its Canadian Consequences" CCHAR

(1935-1936) pp. 43-57; Arthur P. Monohan, "A Politico-Religious Incident in the Career of Thomas D'Arcy McGee" CCHAR (1957) pp. 39-51; Soeur Paul Émile, "Les débuts d'une congrégation: les Soeurs Grises de la Croix à Bytown, 1845-1850" CCHAR (1942-1943) pp. 47-76; Franklin A. Walker, "The political Opinion of Upper Canadian Catholics" CCHAR (1955) pp. 75-86; and Franklin A. Walker, "Protestant Reaction in Upper Canada to the 'Popish Threat'" CCHAR (1951) pp. 91-107. In fairness these articles are not as strident in tone as Murray Nicolson.

[18]Micnael S. Cross, "The Dark Druidical Groves"; J.K. Johnson, "Colonel James Fitzgibbon and the Suppression of Irish Riots," in Ontario History LVIII (September 1966); and Ian MacPherson, Matters of Loyalty: The Buells of Brockville, 1830-1850 (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing Company, 1981). See note 12 above for a list of Nicolson's work.

[19]J.K. Johnson, review of Being Had: Historians, Evidence and the Irish in North America, by Donald H. Akenson, in Ontario History LXXVII No. 3 (September 1985), p. 233.

[20]Akenson, Being Had, p. 96.

[21]David Noel Doyle, "The regional bibliography of Irish America, 1800-1930: a review and addendum," Irish Historical Studies XXIII (May 1983), p. 265.

[22]Lawrence J. McCaffrey, "The Conservative Image of Irish America," Ethnicity II (September 1975), p. 273.

[23]Daniel C. Conner, "The Irish Canadians: Image and Self Image, 1847-1870" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1976).

[24]Kenneth Duncan, "Irish Famine Immigration and the Social Structure of Canada West," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology (1965), pp. 19-40, cited in Akenson, Being Had, pp. 103-104.

[25]Conner, "The Irish Canadians," p. 23. The Globe with its Scottish Canadian point of view and bias enjoyed little influence in eastern Upper Canada where there were relatively few Scots or Ulster Irish, but instead a large southern Irish Protestant community. Ogle R. Gowan's various newspapers at Brockville were aimed directly at his fellow southern Irish Protestant immigrants, but were adapted as also were newspapers such as the Brockville Recorder and Perth Courier by editors of American and Scottish birth, to cater to a wider readership which included Irish Roman Catholics. The Scottish editors of the Recorder and Courier often catered to their sizable local Irish Catholic readership while the Irish Protestant editor of the Carleton Place Herald catered to the large number of local Scottish readers.

[26]G. Joy Parr, "The Welcome and the Wake: Attitudes in Canada West toward the Irish Famine Migration," Ontario History LXVI (1974), pp. 101-113

[27]Allen P. Stouffer, "A 'Restless Child of Change and Accident': The Black Image in Nineteenth Century Ontario," Ontario History LXXVI No. 2 (June 1984, pp. 128-150.

[28]Conner, "The Irish Canadians."

[29]Jean R. Burnet, Ethnic Groups in Upper Canada (Toronto: The Ontario Historical Society, 1972).

[30]Sue Riley, review of The Irish in Ontario, by Donald H. Akenson, in The Citizen, Ottawa, 18 January 1986, p. C4.

[31]Michael M. Passi, "Immigrants and the City: Problems of Interpretation and Synthesis in Recent White Ethnic History," The Journal of Ethnic Studies IV No. 2 (Summer 1976), p. 65.

[32]Leon Fink, review of Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance, by Andrew M. Greeley, The Journal of Ethnic Studies III No. 4 (Winter 1976), p. 98; Roberto Perin, "Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography," Canadian Historical Review LXIV No. 4 (December 1983), pp. 445-447, 465-466; and Gerd Schroeter, "In Search of Ethnicity: Multiculturalism in Canada," The Journal of Ethnic Studies VI No. 1 (Spring 1978), p. 98.

[33]S.F. Wise, "God's Peculiar Peoples" in W.L. Morton, ed., The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), p. 38.

[34]Margaret E. Galey, "Ethnicity, Fraternalism, Social and Mental Health," Ethnicity IV (1977), p. 19.

[35]J. Frederick Fausz, "'They Worship Devils; We, the Deitie': English Missionization and the Religious Context of Cultural Conflict in Virginia, 1607-1622," Johns Hopkins University Seminar in Atlantic Studies in History and Culture (1978) cited in James P. Ronda, "Beyond Thanksgiving: Francis Jennings' The Invasion of America," The Journal of Ethnic Studies VII No. 2 (Summer 1979), p. 92.

[36]Conner, "The Irish Canadians," p. 147.

[37]Terry Nichols Clark, "The Irish Ethic and the Spirit of Patronage," Ethnicity II No. 4 (December 1975), p. 338.

[38]Akenson, Being Had.

[39]Ibid., p. 102.

[40]Ibid., pp. 77-90.

[41]Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History (a microstudy of Leeds and Lansdowne townships in Leeds County; Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), pp. 180-190, 197-200, 242-254, 256, 263, 278-280.

[42]Ibid., p. 28. To make the point with perhaps an extreme analogy, many carpetbaggers in the immediate post Civil War American South could accurately be said to have been economically successful;

but this was not the case socially, and the lack of social acceptance militated against the brief economic success of the carpetbaggers enduring for long.

[43]Francis R. Walsh, "Who Spoke for Boston's Irish: The Boston Pilot in the Nineteenth Century," Journal of Ethnic Studies X No. 3 (Fall 1982), p. 21.

[44]Doyle, "The regional bibliography," p. 266.

[45]Ibid.

[46]John J. Lepine, "The Irish Press in Upper Canada and the Reform Movement, 1828-1848" (M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1946).

[47]Parr, "Welcome and the Wake," pp. 101-113.

[48]Conner, "The Irish-Canadians," pp. ii-iv, 9.

[49]Philomena O'Flynn, "Old Problems in a New Environment: The Reaction of Irish Catholic Editors to Orangeism in Canada," Bulletin of Canadian Studies XVIII No. 2 (Autumn 1984), pp. 206-215.

[50]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 and Lorna Reynolds, eds., The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1987), pp. 319-342.

[51]Royce MacGillivray, The Mind of Ontario (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1985), pp. 43-47.

[52]William Spray, "Reception of the Irish in New Brunswick," in Cyril J. Byrne and Margaret Harry, eds., Talamh An Eise: Canadian and Irish Essays (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Limited, 1986), pp. 228-249.

[53]Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, p. 350.

[54]Germaine Warkentin, "D'Arcy McGee and the Critical Act: A Nineteenth-Century Oration," Journal of Canadian Studies XVII No. 2 (Summer 1982), pp. 122-123.

[55]Geoffrey Alan Cranfield, The Press and Society: From Caxton to Northcliffe Themes in British Social History (London: Longman, 1978), pp. 182-183.

[56]Ibid., p. 187.

[57]History of The Times (London: The Office of The Times, 1935) I:234-270.

[58]Cranfield, The Press and Society, p. 146.

[59]History of the Times, I:166-192; Cranfield, Press and Society, pp. 152, 162, 168, 189.

[60]Cranfield, Press and Society, p. 170.

[61]W. Stewart Wallace, "The Periodical Literature of Upper Canada," The Canadian Historical Review XII (1931), p. 4.

[62]Jesse Edgar Middleton and Fred Landon, The Province of Ontario: A History, 1615-1927 (Toronto: Dominion Publishing Co. Ltd., 1927) II:786.

[63]Warkentin, "D'Arcy McGee and the Critical Act," p. 122.

[64]Wilfred H. Kesterton, A History of Journalism in Canada The Carleton Library, no. 36 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967), pp. 24-25; H. Pearson Gundy, "Hugh C. Thomson: Editor, Publisher, and Politician, 1791-1834," in Gerald Tulchinsky, ed., To Preserve and Defend: Essays on Kingston in the Nineteenth Century (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), p. 210; (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 57.

[65]Public Archives Canada (hereafter PAC), Upper Canada Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Upper Canada Sundries, RG 5, A1, vol. 138, p. 75439, prospectus of "The Bathurst Times."

[66]Paul W. Rutherford, The Making of the Canadian Media (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1978), p. 31.

[67]J.S. Martell, "The Press of the Maritime Provinces in the 1830s," The Canadian Historical Review XIX (1938), pp. 24, 47.

[68]Perth (Ont.) Bathurst Courier, 27 October 1846, p. 2, col. 5.

[69]Rutherford, Making of the Canadian Media, P. 29.

[70]James M Neelin, "Early Bytown Postal Lists in Ottawa Valley Newspapers," Families XX No. 3 (1981), p. 147.

[71]R.U. Mahaffy, "Ottawa Journalism, 1860 to 1870," Ontario History XLII No. 4 (1950), p. 206.

[72]Warkentin, "D'Arcy McGee and the Critical Act," p. 122.

[73]Sidney F. Wise, "Tory Factionalism: Kingston Elections and Upper Canadian Politics, 1820-1836," Ontario History LVII No. 4 (1965), p. 225.

[74]W. Stewart Wallace, "The Journalist in Canadian Politics: A Retrospect," The Canadian Historical Review XXII (1941), p. 19.

[75]An excellent example of this principle at work is provided by S.F. Wise, "John Macaulay: Tory for all Seasons," in Gerald Tulchinsky, ed., To Preserve and Defend: Essays on Kingston in the Nineteenth Century (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), p. 199. Macaulay in an 1824 letter referred to giving up the editorship of the Kingston Chronicle because "There was a prejudice existing against the paper, excited by old Bidwell, and not to be conquered by us, while we were editors, that it was wholly a Government paper. This feeling was sufficient to keep away a good many subscribers...." For further discussion see Helen MacGill Hughes, "Newspapers and the Moral World," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science XI No. 2 (May 1945), pp. 178, 186-187; Paul W. Rutherford, "The People's Press: The Emergence of the New Journalism in Canada, 1869-99," the Canadian Historical Review LVI No. 2 (June 1985), p. 180; Rutherford, Making of the Canadian Media, pp. 1, 22; and the Bathurst Courier, 10 September 1852, p. 3.

[76]Rutherford, Making of the Canadian Media, p. 20; James J. Talman, "The newspapers of Upper Canada a Century Ago," The Canadian Historical Review XIX (1938), p. 20; Wallace, "The Periodical Literature of Upper Canada," p. 10.

[77]Ruth McKenzie, Leeds and Grenville, p. 153.

[78]Howard M. Brown, Lanark Legacy: Nineteenth Century Glimpses of an Ontario County (Perth, Ont.: Corporation of the County of Lanark, 1984), p. 58.

[79]Archives of Ontario (hereafter OTAR), MU 7523 Pinhey-Christie-Hill Papers, Hamnett Pinhey Correspondence, courtesy of Bruce S. Elliott; Lucien Brault, Ottawa Old and New (Ottawa: Ottawa Historical Information Institute, 1946), p. 201.

[80]Rutherford, Making of the Canadian Media, p. 32; S.F. Wise, "Sermon Literature," p. 262.

[81]Perth (Ont.) Courier, 23 August 1867, p. 2, col. 1.

[82]Ruth McKenzie, Leeds and Grenville, p. 158.

[83]Rutherford, Making of the Canadian Media, pp. 7, 32; Peter B. Waite, The Life and Times of Confederation, 1864-1867: Politics, Newspapers, and the Union of British North America (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 14.

[84]Bathurst Courier, 28 May 1852, p. 3, col. 2-3, copied from the Carleton Place Herald.

[85]J.M.S. Careless, Brown of the Globe (Toronto: Macmillan, 1959) I:47; II:5-6, 269-270; Idem., "Mid-Victorian Liberalism in Central Canadian Newspapers, 1850-67," The Canadian Historical Review XXXI No. 3 (September 1950), pp. 233, 235.

[86]Gerald J. Stortz, "The Irish Catholic Press in Toronto, 1874-1887," The CCHASS XLVII (1980), pp. 55-56.

[87]James J. Talman, "Three Scottish-Canadian Newspaper Editor Poets," The Canadian Historical Review XXVIII (1947), p. 176.

[88]Rutherford, Making of the Canadian Media, pp. 11-12; Wallace, "Journalist in Canadian Politics," pp. 18-19.

[89]Talman, "Three Scottish-Canadian Newspaper Editor Poets," p. 166.

[90]This can be shown by an early twentieth century example. Editor Charles Clark of High River, Alberta, would write the speeches if a town inhabitant was being honoured by the Rotary Club, or some other such event, because he had made a point of figuring out what the people involved were about and he had the gift of being able to express it better than they did. Cited in Ron Graham, "The Legacy of Joe Clark," Saturday Night, September 1983, p. 22; Rutherford, Making of the Canadian Media, p. 13.

[91]Brockville (Upper Canada) Statesman, 16 August 1843, p. 1, col. 1; Ibid., 6 September 1843, pp. 1-2, col. 6-1; Bathurst Courier, 23 June 1848, pp. 2-3, col. 7-1; Ibid., 25 November 1853,

p. 2, col. 5; Ibid., 26 March 1852, p. 1, cols. 3-4; Brockville (Upper Canada) Recorder, 19 February 1857, p. 3, col. 1; Bathurst Courier, 10 September 1852, p. 3, col. 2; Ibid., 27 July 1847, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[92]Robert A. Hill, "A Note on Newspaper Patronage in Canada during the late 1850s and early 1860s," The Canadian Historical Review XLIX No. 1 (March 1968), p. 44.

[93]Wise, "John Macaulay," p. 191; Hill, "Newspaper Patronage," p. 47.

[94]Circular to the Readers of the "Courier," tucked into 9 July 1852 original edition of the Bathurst Courier at National Library of Canada Newspaper Division.

[95]William James Sale Mood, "The Orange Order in Canadian Politics, 1841-1867" (M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1950), p. 101; Talman, "Newspapers of Upper Canada," p. 17; Bruce Walton, "The 1836 Election in Lennox and Addington," Ontario History LXVII No. 3 (September 1975), p. 160.

[96]Bathurst Courier, 24 November 1846; Ibid., 23 March 1847, p. 2, col. 6; Ibid., 30 March 1847, p. 3, col. 1.

[97]The success of correspondents and editors in keeping pseudonyms secret is clearly shown by the numerous occasions on which editors refused to accept articles without first knowing who the pseudonynm stood for, and by the failure of correspondents to guess the names of the authors with whom they sparred verbally. Even clever and politically astute observers such as Oliver and John Mowat were puzzled by pseudonyms as shown by Peter Neary, ed., "Neither Radical nor Tory nor Whig: Letters by Oliver Mowat to John Mowat," Ontario History LXXI No. 2 (June 1979), pp. 110, 112. At best, writers could guess at the name of the writer, as for example, did a correspondent of the Bathurst Courier, 23 November 1847, pp. 2-3, cols. 7-1.

[98]Perth Courier, 10 March 1865, p. 2, col. 1.

[99]Rutherford, Making of the Canadian Media, p. 29.

[100]George L. Parker, The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 131.

[101]MacPherson, Matters of Loyalty, p. 32.

[102]Howard M. Brown, Lanark Legacy, p. 58.

[103]McKenzie, Leeds and Grenville, p. 153.

[104]Glenn J Lockwood, review of Matters of Loyalty: The Buells of Brockville, 1830-1850, by Ian MacPherson, in Families XXII No. 1 (1983), p. 59.

[105]Peter B. Waite, "A Point of View," in John S. Moir, ed., Character and Circumstance: Essays in Honour of Donald Grant Creighton (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970), p. 230.

[106]Frank Norman Walker and Gladys Chantler Walker, Daylight Through the Mountain: Letters and Labours of Civil Engineers Walter and Francis Shanly (Montreal: The Engineering Institute of Canada, 1957), p. 220.

[107]Goldwin French, "The Evangelical Creed in Canada" in W.L. Morton, ed., The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), p. 30; Parker, Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada, p. 77; Rutherford, Making of the Canadian Media, p. 3.

[108]One example of such a letter can be seen in the Bytown (Upper Canada) Ottawa Advocate, 15 February 1848, p. 2, col. 7. A brief discussion about using school curricula as a source for intellectual history can be found in Akenson, Being Had, pp. 143-144, 167-168; and Parker, Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada, pp. 116-117.

[109]Wise, "Sermon Literature," pp. 256-257, 267.

[110]Allan Greer, "The Sunday Schools of Upper Canada," Ontario History LXVII No. 3 (September 1975)), p. 173.

[111]Susanna Moodie, Mark Hurdlestone, cited in John Robert Colombo, Colombo's Canadian Quotations (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1974), p. 430.

[112]Isabella Lucy Bird, The Englishwoman in America (London: John Murray, 1856; reprint ed., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 317.

[113]Waite, Life and Times of Confederation, p. 4.

[114]Brockville (Ontario) British Central Canadian, 25 December 1867, p. 1, col. 5.

[115]Halifax Novascotian, 24 April 1834, cited in Robert Hamilton and Dorothy Shields, The Dictionary of Canadian Quotations and Phrases (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), p. 624.

[116]Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man, cited in Colombo, Colombo's Canadian Quotations, p. 396.

[117]Martell, "Press of the Maritime Provinces," pp. 24-25.

[118]Mood, "Orange Order in Canadian Politics," pp. 135-136.

[119]R. Hayward, "Content Analysis in Historical Geography: A Case Study in Immigration in Toronto in 1847," (M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1972), p. 61, cited in Conner, "The Irish Canadians," p. 9.

[120]Warkentin, "D'Arcy McGee and the Critical Act," p. 122.

[121]Cranfield, Press and Society, p. 202.

[122]Rutherford, Making of the Canadian Press, p. 31.

[123]Cited in Colombo, Colombo's Canadian Quotations, p. 397.

[124]Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, p. 97.

[125]S.F. Wise, "Sermon Literature," p. 254.

[126]Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, p. 97.

[127]Wise, "Sermon Literature," p. 254.

[128]Roderick Nash, The Nervous Generation: American Thought, 1917-1930 The Rand McNally Series on the History of American Thought and Culture (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1971), p. ix.

[129]Cushing Strout, ed., Intellectual History in America: Contemporary Essays on Puritanism, the Enlightenment and Romanticism (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. vii.

[130]Allan Fotheringham, "All the news that's fit to forget," Macleans, 23 September 1985, p. 72.

[131]Kenneth Boulding, The Image (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1956), p. 55; cited in Denis C. O'Driscoll, "Divergent Images of American and British Education in the Ontario Catholic Press, 1851-1948," CCHASS XLIII (1976), pp. 6-7.

[132]Ottawa Union, 30 March 1859, p. 1.

[133]Nash, The Nervous Generation, p. ix.

[134]John Higham, "Intellectual History and its Neighbors," cited in A.B. McKillop, "Nationalism, Identity and Canadian Intellectual History," p. 533.

[135]This is the conclusion of Ian MacPherson in Matters of Loyalty, p. 7.

[136]Josef Škvorecký, review of The Kaleidoscopic Lens: How Hollywood Views Ethnic Groups, edited by Randall M. Miller, in Journal of American Ethnic History I No. 2 (Spring 1982), p. 82.

[137]George A. Rawlyk, "Evangelicals, Patriots and Sectarians," Queen's Quarterly XCI No. 1 (Spring 1984), p. 92.

[138]Lawrence S. Fallis Jr., "The Idea of Progress in the Province of Canada: A Study in the History of Ideas," in W.L. Morton, ed., The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), p. 177.

[139]The examples of a loaded vocabulary are chosen at random from Philomena O'Flynn, "Old Problems in a New Environment, The Reactions of Irish Catholic Editors to Orangeism in Canada," Bulletin of Canadian Studies VIII No. 2 (Autumn 1984), p. 213; J.K. Johnson, "Colonel James Fitzgibbon," p. 139; and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1982), p. 70.

[140]Canada, Ministry of Agriculture, Census of Canada, 1870-1871 (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1873), I:16-17, 24-29, 38-39, 266-267, 274-279, 288-289, 350-351, 358-363, 372-373. In 1871

a total of 171,327 people lived in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, 56,092 in the city of Toronto, and 107,225 in Montreal. In the five counties studied in this dissertation there were 22,228 people who had been born in Ireland, 10,366 in Toronto, and 10,590 in Montreal. This means that there were 1,272 more people born in Ireland living in the five counties than in Montreal and Toronto combined. In the five counties study area there resided 92,802 persons of Irish ethnic origin, 24,101 in Toronto, and 25,376 in Montreal. Thus there were 43,325 more people of Irish origin living in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties than in Montreal and Toronto combined in 1871. Thirty percent (30.2%) of the combined population of Toronto and Montreal was of Irish origin, whereas fifty-four percent of the population of the five counties was of Irish origin in 1871. Ontario's population that year was 1,620,851. By saying that Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties were home to the largest concentration of people of Irish origin in British North America, this does not strictly mean that other areas of similar geographic size did not have as many Irish immigrants. There were 117,915 people of Irish origin residing in Dufferin, Grey, Peel, Simcoe and York counties (including the city of Toronto) in 1871, but they represented only 40.6 percent of that region's total population, in contrast with the 92,802 people of Irish origin in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew who represented 54 percent of their region's population.

[141]Sam. B. Warner, Jr., Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900 (New York: Atheneum, 1976), p. 6. The Irish-born in Boston in 1875, for example, have been tabulated by one historian at 60,000 persons.

[142]Canada, 1871 Census; and Maldwyn A. Jones, Destination America (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), p. 75.

[143]The relevant work of Donald Akenson has been listed in notes 14 and 41 above. His article, "Ontario: Whatever Happened to the Irish?" in D.H. Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History III (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1982), pp. 204-256, also repays reading. The relevant work of Michael S. Cross is presented in his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation "The Dark Druidical Groves: The Lumber Community and the Commercial Frontier in British North America to 1854" at the University of Toronto, 1968. His published articles flowing from this thesis include "The Age of Gentility: The Formation of an Aristocracy in the Ottawa Valley", Canadian Historical Association Report, 1967, pp. 105-117; "The Lumber Community of Upper Canada, 1815-1867", Ontario History LII No. 4 (1960), pp. 213-233; "The Shiners' War: Social Violence in the Ottawa Valley in the 1830s", Canadian Historical Review LIV (March 1973), pp. 1-26; "Violence and Authority: The Case of Bytown" in David J. Bercuson and L.A. Knafla, eds., Law and Society in Canada in Historical Perspective University of Calgary Studies in History, No. 2 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1979), pp. 5-22.

The relevant work of Bruce S. Elliott is found in his Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach (Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987) which is based on his 1984 Ph.D. dissertation at Carleton University, "The North Tipperary Protestants in the Canadas: A Study of Migration, 1815-1880." Published articles by Elliott include "Emigration from Wexford to Eastern Upper Canada" (forthcoming); Migration and Stability Amongst the Tipperary Protestants of the Ottawa Valley" (a paper delivered before and gestetnered by the Canadian Historical Association in 1982); "Regionalized Migration and Settlement Patterns of the Irish in Upper Canada," in Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, eds., The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1987), pp. 309-318; and "Ritualism and the Beginnings of the Reformed Episcopal Movement in Ottawa," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society XXVII No. 1 (April 1985), pp. 18-41. The published works of Glenn Lockwood dealing with the Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties region include Kitley: 1795-1975 (Toledo: by the author, 1974); Montague: A Social History of an Irish Ontario Township, 1783-1980 (Smiths Falls: Corporation of the Township of Montague, 1980); Joshua Bates: The Hidden Tragedy of the Smiths Falls Heritage House (Smiths Falls: Corporation of the Town of Smiths Falls, 1985); The Irish in Eastern Ontario: The Social Structure of Montague Township in Lanark County, 1861-1881 (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1981. M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1981. bibliog. 2 microfiches C.T.M. No. 4857, 1981); "Irish Immigrants and the 'Critical Years' in Eastern Ontario: The Case of Montague Township, 1821-1881" in Donald H. Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History IV (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1984; reprinted in J.K. Johnson and Bruce Wilson, eds., Historical Essays on Upper Canada II (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1987); and "Success and the Doubtful Image of Irish Immigrants in Upper Canada: The Case of Montague Township, 1820-1900" in Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, eds., The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1987), pp. 319-342

[144]The first so-called people's press newspaper, the Montreal Star began publishing 16 January 1869. People's press newspapers claimed to have no predetermined or hidden political links. A profusion of cartoons on the Irish did not begin appearing until the Montreal Canadian Illustrated News began publishing in 1869; this suggests that the equanimous response to the 1866 raid was not repeated after the Fenian raid in 1870. A sample of these cartoons is provided in Donald Power, "The Stereotype of the Irishman in Political Cartoons and the Comics," gestetnered paper produced at Lakehead University, 20 October 1983; I am grateful to Cornelius Jaenen for obtaining a copy of this paper for my use. See also Parker, Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada, pp. 154-155; and Robbins L. Elliott, "The Canadian Labour Press from 1867: A Chronological Annotated Directory," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science XIV No. 2 (May 1948), p. 221.

[145]W. Stewart Wallace, "The Journalist in Canadian Politics," p. 21.

[146]Parker, Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada, p. 166.

[147]The poor survival rate of early Conservative newspapers is particularly lamentable. Virtually no newspapers survive from pre-Confederation Grenville and Renfrew counties, while newspapers that published long and successfully such as the Brockville Monitor, the Leeds Free Press (Brockville), the British Standard (Perth), the Perth Expositor, the Kemptville Progressionist, the Pembroke Observer and most of the 1850s files of the Ottawa Citizen are all presumably destroyed. The first ten years of the Brockville Recorder, the region's earliest newspaper, no longer exist.

[148]Dale T. Knobel, Paddy and the Republic: Ethnicity and Nationality in Antebellum America (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1986), pp. xv-xvi.

[149]Ibid., p. xvi.

[150]Ibid., p. xv.

[151]Ibid., p. 183.

II

THE IRISH IN THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE ENGLISH SPEAKING WORLD AND HISTORIANS

> For the best part of two thousand years the Irish have had a fairly bad press. Foreigners have often seen the country as exotic, different, strange, alien and eccentric; the people either romantic and quaint or uncouth and barbaric. Central and normal human values have been seen to reside elsewhere; "Irish," when used as an adjective, excuses or explains what might otherwise have been impermissible....[1]

Alan Titley's concise description of the place Ireland has occupied in the consciousness of Western Civilisation can be particularly applied to the English speaking world during the past four hundred years. It is unnecessary to hearken back, as Titley does, to uncomplimentary writing about the Celts by classical authors such as Polybius, Poseidonios, Strabo and Caesar to appreciate the complexity of Ireland's place in the consciousness of the English speaking world, and to explain the subsequent paranoia of twentieth century Irish nationalists seeking to redress the negative image of Ireland developed over time. This chapter suggests the contours of the English relationship with Ireland from the late Stuart monarchy onward, and surveys how the combined growth of mass popular opinion, nationalism, mass media, and historical images created a complex reactionary attitude toward Ireland in the English speaking world. Particular attention is paid to the variance of attitude in Britain and the United States to offer a general context for the views expressed

by Upper Canadians. Finally, the changing images of Irish immigrants presented by Canadian anglophone historians from the 1850s onward serve as a warning about the volatility, the ambiguity and the changeability of Upper Canadian perceptions of Irish immigrants before 1869.

A perceptive Church of England clergyman, the Rev. Sydney Smith, summed up the popular English view of Ireland at the beginning of the nineteenth century in these words: "The moment the very name of Ireland is mentioned, the English seem to bid adieu to common feeling, common prudence, and common sense, and to act with the barbarity of tyrants, and the fatuity of idiots."[2] This judgment may seem severe, yet Smith was giving an objective appraisal of the public mood in a counter-revolutionary society. From before the time of Oliver Cromwell there had been a growing "no popery" opinion in England which viewed unhappily the insistent loyalty of most Irish people to Rome. Growing anti-Catholic and anti-Jacobite feeling in England was fuelled by Irish support of Spanish and French efforts at invasion to reinstate the Stuart monarchs. The combined sympathy of the Gaelic Irish, Ulster Scots and Anglo-Irish for the American Revolution struck further fear in English Protestant hearts. The Irish parliament at Dublin, they recognised, was extorted at a moment of unusual vulnerability when Britain was battling the combined forces of the revolting American colonists and European foes. Irish treachery to English interests appeared further proven by an attempt to make the prince regent (later George IV) king of an independent Ireland during a temporary lapse into insanity by George III, and later by Irish collaboration

in 1798 to land French forces in Ireland in the midst of Britain's heroic struggle with the "Terror" of revolutionary France. This last episode prompted Westminster to dissolve the Irish parliament. Napoleon's bid for European supremacy, not surprisingly, only further alienated the English from Ireland.

It would be difficult to minimise the importance of cleavage between Catholics and Protestants to understand the increasing lack of popular empathy for Ireland in England from the reign of Henry VIII on. Still, enmity between the two islands antedated the Reformation. The history of Ireland was one of successive invasions by the Vikings, the Normans and the Tudors, with either England or Scotland acting as the local base from which such forays were launched. Save for the gradual Christian evangelisation of Ireland by 900, the cumulative effect was fleeting triumph for the invader, and inevitable assimilation into the Irish language and way of life. This was particularly true for the Anglo-Irish planted in Leinster from 1166 through to 1800, though the proscriptive rules against assimilating to the Irish way of life and language became increasingly effective for plantations of English settlers from Cromwell's time onward. Before 1750 the English in Ireland found assimilation diffic lt to resist, and indeed it was from Anglo-Irish ranks that some of the staunchest Irish nationalists emerged in the late eighteenth century. The religious violence of the early nineteenth and late twentieth centuries was not inevitable, but rather the accidental consequence of popular nationalist sentiment seeking redress for ancient wrongs, and seeking scapegoats to explain the tragic economic and social

fall out caused by a demographic revolution taking place in an economy unable to keep pace.

What religious rancor existed in Ireland from the late Stuard period onward, if anything, was simply a successor to feudal frays that earlier gave way to contesting monarchical loyalties. Regional kings in feudal Ireland over the centuries, in building alliances to defend or expand their kingdoms, eventually called on the English monarch for support, and in the course of time served to bring large swaths of Ireland under English rule; the ironic consequence for descendants of the Irish kings was first to be reduced to nobility, later dispossessed of their land, and by the eighteenth century submerged into the ranks of the Irish peasantry. The kaleidoscope of events in Ireland over time, however unintentionally on the part of the Irish, served to bring the island under the sway of a centralised, modernising English monarch. Those remnants of pre-Christian Irish folklife and myth that survived the Reformation were largely bound up in local monarchs whose ancestry could be traced to pre-Christian Ireland, so that their extirpation by an absentee English Catholic monarch was linked by the Irish regional populations with the consequent elimination of traditions. The differences that existed between the Church of Ireland and the Roman church, as represented until midway through the reign of Henry VIII by the English church, contributed to regional pockets of anti-English feeling.[3] This feeling remained local until the mid-eighteenth century, when the last attempt to raise the Stuart banner in the British Isles brought the majority of Irishmen together in support of Charles II, at the same time in England a

national anti-Jacobite feeling was created of such strength, and betraying sufficient fear to give birth to the national British anthem, 'God Save the King'.[4]

The Reformation, the growing power of the English parliament, the lack of religious toleration under Oliver Cromwell, the expropriation of most of Ireland's finest land into plantations for Scottish Presbyterians in the north and English in the south, the English parliament wresting kingship away from a Catholic Stuart and replacing him with a Protestant, all combined to further alienate England and Ireland from one another. The Protestantisation of the Church of Ireland by higher clergy in collusion with the English government only further convinced the overwhelming majority of the Irish people to remain faithful to Rome, even though threatened with the loss of property, title and government favour. Increasingly, though loyalty to the English monarch persisted well into the nineteenth century, a growing sense of wrong, of being but a financial and intellectual colony rather than a sister kingdom was articulated by the poets of Gaelic Ireland.[5]

A millennium of repeated conquests had a profound cumulative effect on Ireland. Early poets had prophesied that the Gaels themselves would expel the foreign upstarts by their own efforts. By 1690 Irish poets despaired of victory except through the intercession of heaven or of continental armies. This despair served to confirm, even to explain cultural traits of relative communalism, fatalism and passivity in a society where the ideals of hierarchy, aristocracy, family and tradition assigned the individual little importance in relation to society as a whole.

As Kerby Miller points out:[6]

> Despite some social mobility, pre-conquest Gaelic society was status-bound, with status dependent upon family and inherited property. ...It is probable that upward socio-economic mobility was rare except during brief periods of unusual prosperity, and was more than counter-balanced by the practices of partible inheritance and, under the rundale system, periodic land re-distribution. Thus ambition was thwarted and ideally was inappropriate. The system then both denied advancement and explained the failure to rise: the individual's duties did not include self-betterment.

As the condition of life for most Irish worsened from Tudor times onward, these archaic constraints served anew to explain vicissitudes and the need for collective endurance.

The obsession of the Irish with failure and their apparent acceptance of misfortune was a particularly noticeable trait to English tourists. It was also deplored by modernising Irish commentators such as Horace Plunkett who lamented the "lack of moral courage, initiative, independence, and self-reliance" and the habit of ascribing Ireland's problems solely to England.[7] The contrast with the individualistic, independent, optimistic and energetic English came to be particularly noticed from the late eighteenth century onward as a wave of commercial transactions, improved communications and population growth—in short, the Industrial Revolution—challenged the relevance of traditional restraints.[8] The confrontation from the 1780s on into the nineteenth century between traditional group pressures and modernising pressure from England resulted in Dissenters and Roman Catholics, nationalist movements, political factions and neighbourhood groups on one side confronting the state church, government, landlords, secret agrarian

societies and radical groups on the other. The consequence of this confrontation was a strong new sense of nationalism by the early nineteenth century in a population the monolingually Gaelic-speaking proportion of which drastically declined from fifty to five percent between 1801 and 1851.[9]

In addition to the political challenge of successfully subduing Ireland to be part of the United Kingdoms, two other factors gave the Irish a new prominence in the English consciousness from the late eighteenth century onward. The first of these was a steady flow of Irish immigration into England beginning in the reign of George III. The second was a growing flood of English tourists exploring Ireland, and relaying their impressions to a huge reading public in England through newspapers and books.

The Irish who immigrated to England were attracted by a voracious demand for labour in the growing northern industrial towns. The press of population on land and the lack of natural resources to fuel industrialisation in most of Ireland spurred many poor Irish to cross the Irish Sea at little cost in search of work. English manufacturers welcomed the influx of cheap Irish labour, claiming that it largely allowed them to compete in foreign markets. One cotton manufacturer claimed that the cheap price of Irish labour alone allowed him to keep pace with his American competitors.[10] English labourers perceived that Irish immigrant workers either lowered or retarded wages, but blamed the Irish gentry for sending them across the Irish Sea rather than fastening blame on the Irish labourers themselves for coming. As early as 1785, Irish gentlemen visiting Manchester stood in danger of being beaten up, indeed killed,

by English gangs of labourers.[11] One hand-loom weaver at Manchester, Richard Sheridan, summarised this feeling when he appeared before the Poor Law commission in the early 1830s. "I am at a loss to know whether the Irish gentleman or the English capitalist has done more for the destruction of the working classes both of England and Ireland," he testified.[12] Before 1850 the general perception was that the Irish benefitted from their move to England. A visiting overseer to the poor of Manchester observed in the 1830s: "The Irish have gained more in the improvement of their habits than the English have lost by their association with them." An English Roman Catholic priest at Liverpool, Rev. Vincent Glover, perceived that the children of Irish immigrants, born in Liverpool, learned the habits of the English and were more careful and provident than those born in Ireland. "They are willing and active," he remarked. "There is a decided amelioration in the English-born Irish; the longer they stay the more they improve."[13] The arrival of Famine hordes in the late 1840s and the attention called by journalists and Royal commissions to their miserable working and living conditions in the industrial cities effectively and increasingly reined-in further positive remarks about the benefits of English life for Irish immigrants.

The flood of tourists exploring Ireland after 1801 stemmed in part from the Act of union with England, and as tourists increasingly published narratives of their travels for consumption by a vast English readership, touring in Ireland quickly became a popular pastime.[14] Ireland offered a new field for adventure, a scenery of romantic interest for the English traveller unable to afford a continental tour, among a people of unknown or "alien" character.[15]

There had been earlier observant English travellers through Ireland. Tudor travellers had noted the "'savages', 'wild hares', 'beasts', 'vermin', 'churles', 'rascals', 'felons' [and] 'slaves', either to be 'rooted out' and 'civilized' or 'exterminated'."[16] These earlier travellers were fewer in number and had much less impact in their day than early nineteenth century tourists writing for a popular press.

English visitors in Ireland between 1780 and 1870 inevitably made comparisons of what they saw with home, and Ireland measured by an English yardstick was generally found wanting. There was some grudging admiration for Irish Catholic piety, cleverness, morality, strong family ties, and particularly the Irish passion for education. All other facets of the Irish character were perceived to add up to an abject expression of everything contrary to the English outlook. The Irish were perceived as ungrateful for the benefits of English government, and refused to try to benefit from the economic advantages it offered, indeed, they persisted in treachery against England. English conciliation with the Irish was considered to have been ignobly spurned. Irish Catholicism was but one of many peculiar Irish traits, traits that of themselves were contrary to progress as the English understood it. The other traits included dissipation and extravagance among an aristocracy which set a bad example for the lower orders, general idleness, an antagonism toward the Protestant work ethic, widespread filth and misery, everpresent begging which was not accompanied by any sense of shame or humility, brazenness, starvation in a fertile countryside, resistance to any and every civilising reform, an irrationality the depth of which was frightening to fathom, and a remarkable propensity to engage in violence.

Ireland represented a singularly unpalatable truth for Englishmen building the Second British Empire. Believing themselves to be endowed with the most perfect expressions of Christianity, of material well-being, of arts and letters, and particularly of constitutional government, and believing it their duty to export these to colonies in North America, Africa and Asia to benefit yet uncivilised populations there, English imperialists could not explain away the contradiction of Ireland. Located practically in the lap of England, containing a clever population which had been exposed to English influence for centuries, Ireland, unlike Scotland, consistently rejected the repeatedly proffered gift of English civilisation. With swelling numbers of the poorest Irish filling British industrial cities, their imperfect use of English and the appalling living conditions they endured increasingly invited references to them in the popular press as animals. To the Irish were attributed the characteristics of dogs, apes and swine. News of Irish atrocities and violence elicited a shocked response in England, prompting the use of words such as 'savage' and 'brutal'. Increasingly, politicians shrugged off Irish problems as an everpresent irritant forever to be held in check—an irritant comprising a primitive nation of ape-men who defied the English civilising impulse.[17]

The English inability to fathom Ireland was not simply restricted to the general population and articulate popular cartoonists politicians, travel writers, commentators, dramatists and journalists who wrote for them. Higher clergy, intellectuals, artists, men of letters, the aristocracy, essayists, Reformers, philosophers and historians largely agreed. Historians writing between 1750 and 1875

about England in their incidental references to Ireland both reflected the intellectual vanguard of assumptions, beliefs and knowledge about the Irish and why they were believed to be the way they were, at the same time reflecting current assumptions and helping mould future belief systems. Four historians of England, David Hume, John Lingard, Thomas Macaulay, and J.R. Green, briefly offer a sense of what little modification there was in the view of historians over one hundred and twenty years.

David Hume in his History of England (1754-1762) referred to the Irish as a people "from the beginning of time...buried in the most profound barbarism and ignorance" whose continuing "rude state of society" stemmed from their never being "conquered or even invaded by the Romans, from whom all the Western world derived its civility". The Irish hence were distinguished by "those vices alone, to which human nature, not tamed by education or restrained by laws is forever subject". Ireland, wrote Hume, was unable to develop "the most simple arts of life, even tillage and agriculture" being "almost wholly unknown among them" ruled as they traditionally had been by petty sovereigns, "the usual title of each...was the murder of his predecessor." English misgovernment of the Irish, continued Hume, produced the result that "Being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous." The seizure of Irish land by James I for the plantation of Ulster was more than adequately compensated for, in Hume's view, by the introduction into Ireland of the civilised arts of manufacture and agriculture. The Irish responded to these benefits by massacring their English

neighbours in 1641. After detailing at length the sufferings of the "defenceless" English in Ireland who became "passively resigned to their inhuman foes," with the influence of Popery largely made accountable for these "murders", Hume excused the injustice of the Restoration settlement in Ireland by invoking the "heinous guilt of the Irish nation" and in detailing the reign of James II, by recalling the memory of "ancient massacres".[18]

Catholic priest John Lingard in 1819 attempted to rewrite English history with the object of clearing his Catholic fellow countrymen of what he felt to be the accumulated calumnies of three hundred years. This promised to bode well, for Lingard's incidental references to Ireland began with a tribute to the civilising role of Christianity in Ireland during the fifth and sixth centuries "when science was almost extinguished on the continent" and western civilisation was rebuilt through the aegis of Irish schools, Irish missionaries and Irish monasteries. But with invasions by the Northmen, Lingard viewed Ireland as quickly relapsing "into the habits and vices of barbarism" and until the opening of the Stuart period Lingard was negative in virtually all his references to the Irish: Irish cultural achievements were minimised, Irish national institutions were presented as a modified form of anarchy, and the vices attributed to the Irish generally—laziness, violence and inconstancy—were precisely those enumerated by other nineteenth century English historians. Coverage of the Stuart period reveals Lingard taking a new direction, passing from abuse of the Irish to sympathy for injustice suffered. In detailing the religious persecution, the legal disabilities and the seizure of land the Irish suffered from the

reign of Elizabeth on, Lingard pointed out how these unjust measures were the source of future Irish troubles.[19]

What sympathy Lingard felt for the Irish and for their grievances was different from other contemporary English historians, and was largely dictated by his being a Catholic. Still, Lingard had strong reservations about the national character of the Irish.[20] When Thomas Babington Macaulay in the late 1840s wrote his history of England from the late seventeenth century onward, he was aware of the points Lingard had established about the injustice of the Cromwellian regime, of the expropriation of Irish lands, the persecution of their religion, the planting of English settlers, and the failure of the Restoration to mitigate the feeling of the Irish people that they had been unusually oppressed. Macaulay emphasised instead the potential threat the Irish represented to English institutions, backing as they did the attempt by James II to invade England. The prose of Macaulay defies paraphrasing:[21]

> No man of English blood then regarded the aboriginal Irish as his countrymen. They did not belong to our branch of the great human family. They were distinguished from us by more than one moral and intellectual peculiarity, which the difference of situation and of education, great as that difference was, did not seem altogether to explain....The Englishman compared with pride his own fields with the desolate bogs whence the rapparees issued forth to rob and murder, and his own dwelling with the hovels where the peasants and the hogs of the Shannon wallowed in filth together....He was a freeman; the Irish were the hereditary serfs of his race. He worshipped God after a pure and rational fashion; the Irish were sunk in idolatry and superstition. He knew that great numbers of Irish had repeatedly fled before a small English force, and that the whole Irish population had been held down by a small English colony....And these were the men who were to

> hold England down by main force while her civil and ecclesiastical constitution was destroyed. The blood of the whole nation boiled at the thought. To be conquered by Frenchmen or by Spaniards would have seemed comparatively a tolerable fate.

Macaulay changed the emphasis from the actual cruel impact of English rule on Ireland, to the threat which the Irish represented in the minds of late seventeenth century Englishmen. While this did not directly respond to or challenge Lingard's references to the unjust treatment of Ireland from the time of Cromwell on, it did offer a justification for English behaviour, a justification made appealing by use of a "we"/"they" vocabulary. By this means, what case Lingard had made for Ireland's sense of injustice, had been countered by Macaulay's theme of potential threat to English civilisation.

J.R. Green in his Short History of the English People, published in 1874, essentially provided a modified version of Hume. The influence of Lingard remained only to the extent that Green attributed Irish disturbances to the eviction of the Irish from their land, and that ultimately the English plantations culminted in making the Catholic Irish strangers, foreigners, hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own country.[22] This was but a mere incidental point in a volume which otherwise documented the building of English civilisation. Green like Hume and Macaulay accepted as the great central saving force for England's preservation and ongoing greatness the preserving revolution of the seventeenth century, in contrast with the destroying revolutions that all English historians perceived to be degrading the rest of Europe. The Irish, no matter what injustices England had thrust on them, must be turned away from the madness of

revolutionary Europe. Macaulay had described the threatening darkness most graphically:[23]

> The proudest capitals of Western Europe have streamed with civil blood. All evil passions, the thirst of gain and the thirst of vengeance, the antipathy of class to class, the antipathy of race to race, have broken loose from the control of divine and human laws. Fear and anxiety have clouded the faces and depressed the hearts of millions. Trade has been suspended, and industry paralyzed. The rich have become poor; and the poor have become poorer. Doctrines hostile to all sciences, to all arts, to all industry, to all domestic charities, doctrines which, if carried into effect, would, in thirty years, undo all that thirty centuries have done for mankind, and would make the fairest provinces of France and Germany as savage as Congo or Patagonia, have been avowed from the tribune and defended by the sword.

The historians of England, though they came to acknowledge Irish grievances, for the most part perceived Ireland as a perpetual, potential threat to English security. It would be surprising if contemporary observers of less reflective cast could be more charitable

For the great mass of English people, popular images of the Irish were provided by the theatre, novels, and in visual cartoons and printed jokes. At the same time the late Tudors began planting English settlers on expropriated Irish lands in the late sixteeth century, the stage-Irishman began to appear as a stock character on the English stage, at first adding humour to the prosaic, or an exotic touch to the domestic.[24] Ireland itself became a common setting in eighteenth century plays.[25] The stage-Irishman was easily identified by a name such as Pat or Paddy, and by his atrocious Irish brogue. He perpetually made jokes, blunders and statements containing ludicrous inconsistencies or bulls when speaking. He had a strong sense of his

own honour, he peppered his speech with expressions and oaths of Gaelic origin, and he had unsurpassable gifts of cajolery used to obtain tips and free drinks. The stage-Irishman was fond of strong liquor, and physically was massive, with fiery red hair, rosy-cheeked, and his face was "one of simian bestiality, with an expression of diabolical archness written all over it". In his hand he brandished a shillelagh.[26] English playwrights were attracted by Ireland's romantic past, by the character of the lively and loquacious peasant, by the Irish cottage with its spinning wheel, and by lively songs, romantic airs, and boisterous jigs and dances. By the early nineteenth century, things Irish not only afforded a chance for variety in settings, but also gave writers an opportunity to satisfy the great demands for sentiment in plot development.[27]

The popularity of the stage-Irishman especially in the early nineteenth century had a profound effect on general English attitudes toward Ireland, although scholars differ as to whether his attributes reflected English admiration or deprecation. Without doubt the Irish were often patronised in plays that stressed either implicitly or explicitly English superiority, although the stance of superiority was ridiculed or invalidated by a likeable or clever Irish character. For example, the English tourist in Ireland was broadly satirised in Mrs. S.C. Hall's London Assurance, and Irish servants blatantly mocked and impishly bested English servants in Edmund Falconer's play Eileen Oge.[28] The system of land tenure in Ireland as the foundation for most of Ireland's ills figured as a theme in many plays, with the time-worn dramatic device of the eviction exploited repeatedly, although the agent-middleman rather than the landlord was the butt of

criticism in order for scripts to pass the censor. The stage-Irishman offered an absorbing mixture of deep pathos, superstition, quick sly humour, hereditary fun, brawling, national naïveté and dancing hilarity capable both of looking briskly intelligent and ineffably stupid.[29] Apart from themes of eviction, and lecherous priests, the stage-Irishman presented English audiences with an image of a likeable, happy and carefree people, making it difficult for them to take seriously accounts of problems and sufferings in Ireland. Audiences liked recognisable stage types, and quickly could anticipate how the actor named "Paddy" would be dressed, and this stereotype playwrights happily catered to as the public demanded it.

Scholars have varied in their perception of the precise implications of the stage-Irishman in the English mind. In the 1830s and 1840s there was increasingly a tendency toward a more brutish depiction of the Irish on the English stage, although there is yet no clear consensus whether this itself led to the simianisation of the Irish physiognamy in cartoons, or whether the cartoons affected the plays being written. G.C. Duggan and Maurice Bourgeois in their studies of the stage-Irishman fasten on the stereotype of the buffoon or blundering fool as a negative portrayal, although by no means as vicious as mid-Victorian cartoons. James M. Nelson, by contrast, argues that in focusing on the stereotype, critics such as Duggan ignore or dismiss the more lively, resilient and resourceful Irishman who so often emerged from English plays, and for whom audiences could feel both empathy and sympathy. Though the displays of the stage-Irishman were often close to caricature, the reasons were not entirely the fruit of political causes or anti-Irish feeling, argues Nelson,

but rather the stereotype derived its power from the demands of the theatre and of entertainment in general.[30]

The mass popularisation of the novel in England from the late eighteenth century onward afforded another vehicle for expressing views of Ireland. A scholar who has examined four hundred major novels written by English authors during the nineteenth century discovered that fully a third of them contained Irish characters and references.[31] Subject to the same pressures of censorship as playwrights, English novelists both in Britain and Ireland were inordinately sensitive to English opinion because their earnings depended on the English reading public.[32] Prevailing ethnocentric theories even before the publishing of Darwin's Origin of Species in 1859 relegated the Irish to the lower rungs of the ladder of civilisation, and this was reflected in novels and other written works of fiction. The two most widely read works of fiction that exploited Ireland and its people were Samuel Lover's Handy Andy, first serialised in 1837, and Anna Hall's Sketches of Irish Character published in 1846. Lover countered daily newspaper accounts of violence in Ireland and the savage simian threatening Irish ape-men found later in Punch cartoons by presenting the Irish peasant as a perpetual child. With Handy Andy Lover attempted to vindicate the Irish peasant by divesting him of "the vice and coarseness which h[as] been so repugnant to English sympathy, and doing something to abate one of the prejudices against his country."[33]

Maureen Waters argues that Lover's Andy Rooney, and the Irish comic figures following him in nineteenth century English novels provided comic relief for audiences beset with memories of the 1798 uprising, and horrified by accounts of outrages and mutilated livestock

coming out of Ireland in the 1820s. Handy Andy was a foolish, amusing sort of fellow, really quite harmless, and untrustworthy only because he was not too bright as opposed to being dishonest. Furthermore he was a servant.[34] His narrow view of the world, his social background and his manner of speech offering quaintness and local colour, made such Irish peasant servant types altogether palatable to the English general reading public.[35] Gentle criticism was assigned by nineteenth century English novelists to the Irish gentry for their various characteristics of bravery, gaiety, friendliness, generosity to the point of extravagance, carelessness, indiscretion, and improvidence.[36] The continuing use of Ireland as a locale was ensured as novels grew increasingly romantic during the nineteenth century.

A unique vocabulary and manner of speaking English distinguished Irish characters and locales in English fiction. The exotic pronunciation put into the mouths of Irish fictional characters has been found in British thriller novels as recently as the late 1970s. It has been suggested that this practice in the late twentieth century serves to dehumanize the Irish by deriding their speech, and that many of the expressions have no basis either in Irish or in the degenerate form of English which replaced it in parts of Ireland.[37] This may be true, but is more difficult to judge for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries at the very time a monolingually Gaelic speaking society was being assimilated into an English speaking world. It is clear that many of the expressions used in fiction were indeed copied or mimicked from the halting attempts of three generations of Irish to become fluent in an unfamiliar tongue. It is likely that this presentation gave the English who read it some sense of superiority

to the Irish, since it indeed was an inferior English in much the same way that nineteenth century English speaking persons reading Chaucer felt superior to fourteenth century Englishmen who spoke less developed English. The motivations of authors using Irish pronunciation in the nineteenth century derived partly from what they actually heard, and enlarging on this to the extent of creating a stereotype.

The stereotyping of the Irish in the English speaking world was especially promoted by humorous references in newspapers, the 'Irish joke' particularly enjoying currency between the 1830s and 1900. Essentially there were three modes of Irish joke, one mocking, one potentially flattering, and the bull. The mocking Irish joke exploited the reputed Irish unfamiliarity with modern English civilised society, hence its setting was usually in the land to which he had immigrated from Ireland, and featured his imperfect use of the English language. As an example, a recently arrived Irish immigrant taking a drink from an unfiltered water hydrant and accidentally swallowing an eel scolded St. Patrick for not making "clane work ov...the ails as well as...the wicked sarpints".[38] The flattering joke featured the reputed cleverness of the Irish, and although it still might allude to his lack of knowledge about the new country, it permitted him a clever retort and reflected his newly honed skills in using the English language. Hence, upon being informed by a group "that a corpse was going to be buried", the Irishman could brightly respond: "Faith, and I'll stop to see that! In Ireland we carry them."[39] The bull was simply a comic absurdity. It could be either based upon an absurd misunderstanding of objects and ideas, or based upon subtle multiple meanings of words, further betraying a lack of familiarity with modern conveniences and

with a knowledgable use of the English language. Early nineteenth century Irish jokes, like their 'Newfie' counterpart in late twentieth century Canada, were often neutral and not necessarily insulting and pejorative.[40]

Mid-Victorian political cartoons from the 1840s onward provided the zenith of stereotyping. The visual cartoons of Victorian England increasingly associated a much more sinister image with the Irish, evolving from presenting them as drunken and relatively harmless peasants to dangerous ape-men or simianised agitators, particularly from the time of the Fenian movement onward.[41] Some cartoons of the 1860s and 1870s clearly were unfriendly, indeed dehumanising. Still, the simianisation of the Irish in mid-Victorian cartoons should not be overstated, since in many of them it was the concept of anarchy in Ireland which was presented as a menacing ape-man, whereas Ireland was represented as a threatened maiden. Moreover, it is important not to lose sight of the simple fact that cartoons are by definition intended to be satirical and amusing, and that equally unfriendly and dehumanising images were presented of Englishmen.

English humour played an important role in quickly transforming the view of the Irish in Revolutionary America. Ireland was of interest to American colonists for three reasons quite apart from Irish sympathy for the revolution, and apart from a continuing stream of Ulster Scots Presbyterian immigration to New England beginning in 1718 which was swollen in the 1760s.[42] The American Revolutionaries viewed Ireland as a constitutional precedent which provided examples, justifications, and warnings for the American colonists in their relations with England. Secondly, the revolutionaries felt that Ireland strategically could

influence British and European ministers in their attitudes to the American colonies, and could even divert British energies from total participation in the American struggle. Third, Ireland represented a potential future mission field for revolutionary activity.[43] Irishmen in revolutionary American ballads were presented as cheery, vulgar, courageous, impulsive, and lovable.[44] Even though most revolutionary American knowledge of Ireland was obtained from British sources, the presentation of the Irishman in fiction who implied more than he said directly was a figure who the Revolutionaries could empathise with as a fellow colonist under the heel of Westminster.

Immediately after the Revolution, Americans viewed Ireland as a separate entity, for although at that moment they had a larger sense of European affairs than subsequent generations, Ireland was perceived to be an European problem.[45] Early almanacs of the young republic presented the Irishman as the most popular comic stereotype. The Irish were primarily portrayed and stereotyped as fools, often presented as being pugnacious and with little regard for law and order, although sometimes portrayed in the tradition of the rustic wit. The Revolution safely behind them, their republic recognised as a separate entity by the British, and Ireland none of their business, Americans in the closing years of the eighteenth century and in the early nineteenth century imported their stockpile of humour from England, and central to it was that figure of humour the stage-Irishman.[46] The large population of Ulster Scots Irish Presbyterians in New England felt no particular debt to Ireland, a land where they had chafed under English rule, and where rents by English landlords were doubled and trebled when leases fell in, where Church of Ireland courts imposed their

tithes, and where the majority of people were either petulantly docile or frenetically violent Roman Catholics.

The emerging flow of Irish immigrants into the United States from the 1820s onward aroused Americans from their lack of interest in Ireland and its inhabitants. The Puritan and Ulster Presbyterian traditions offered no common outlook with either the Catholic majority in Ireland or the Catholic influx attracted across the Atlantic. The Irish made virtually little mark in American letters either as writers or even as characters and subjects at the very time they comprised the largest immigrant population.[47] The native population by mid century regarded them as a social threat, although the indifference of Americans stemmed as much from a lack of interest in Ireland and its various problems as from an inability in the midst of agrarian abundance to comprehend the psychology of a people living constantly under the threat of hunger.[48]

When the attention of Americans inexorably was drawn to the horrors of the 1846 potato famine, their response was curious. Once aware of the intensity and scope of the suffering in Ireland, Americans in general attributed this overarching calamity, apart from the potato blight, largely to the misrule of the English in Ireland. Americans blamed aristocratic absentee landlords for keeping their Irish tenants always on the precipice of starvation by renting only small parcels of land that forced the Irish to cultivate and depend on the potato for survival. Americans also blamed the Church of Ireland for being a financial weight on the necks of the Irish, adding to suffering which could be solved by democratic reforms. Consequently, Americans enthusiastically founded Irish relief societies,[49] winning for the

Irish in Ireland after 1845 an interest and concern which Irish immigrants in the United States in the pre-Famine years could never hope to obtain. In the words of Owen Dudley Edwards, "The wealthy philanthropist gladly spent hundreds of dollars on Irish relief while reluctant, in many cases to toss a cent to an Irish-American beggar in his own street, since, if encouraged, the wretch might continue to pollute the street".[50]

Much has been written by American historians about the nativist response of New England and the mid-Atlantic states to the Irish influx, and how the prejudice of the host population was both religious and racist in emotion and rhetoric. The general contemporary perception was of illiterate peasants fleeing poverty, hunger and serfdom who were neither psychologically nor technically prepared for the competitive life of urban America. The very different religious commitment, life style, values and social vices perceived in the Irish Catholics brought 'no Popery' sentiment to the fore; native Americans were not surprised by the consequent social problems of Irish immigrants filling the jails, pesthouses and almshouses, and the mental and alcoholic wards of hospitals. Ultimately it was felt that Anglo-Saxon Protestant America paid too high a price in taxes to cure and contain Irish poverty, disease, crime and vice.[51] The Know-Nothing anti-Irish, anti-Catholic movement may neither have been a very large, a very popular nor a particularly long-lived cause but it helped channel popular thought to think of the immigrant Irish as a low group in society. Economically the Irish were inevitably relegated to a low station upon first arrival in America, but this was made worse by the specification in some want ads that Irishmen need not apply but

that Negroes would be acceptable. The Irish, finding themselves as low as Negroes on the economic and social scale, channeled their frustrations and anger into hatred of the Negro and began to find what scraps of comfort they could in the doctrine of white supremacy.[52]

The strong political connections Irish Catholic immigrants eventually forged with the Democratic Party further alienated half of American society at the same time it added a political edge to the racial hatred both of the Irish immigrants and of the host population. The virulent political rivalries added a distinct American tone to the stereotypes imported from England, as the following 1868 editorial from the Republican Chicago Evening Post reveals (Illustration 4):[53]

> He (Pat) has hair on his teeth. He never knew an hour in civilized society.—He never stepped on anything more solid than a dirt floor all his life until he stood on the deck of an emigrant ship. He is a born savage and brutal a ruffian as an untamed Indian of the North American tribes. Of course he can't read. He can't write. All books to him are sealed. He only believes in the priest; and the priest is only little less barbarian than he. "Be Jasus I'm a Dimmecrat!" is his shibboleth. Breaking heads for opinion's sake is his practice. The born criminal and pauper of the civilized world, and withal the innocent victim of the statecratt of Rome—a wronged, abused and pitiful spectacle of a man capable of better things pushed straight to hell by that abomination against common sen[s]e called the Catholic religion, and that outrage upon political decency falsely known as American Democracy [the Democratic Party] what else does he know? To compare him with an intelligent freedman would be an insult to the latter.
>
> ...The black man, if he has been at all favored by the chances that slavery afforded, is the superior of Teddy in the thing which wom[e]n value, but his color is against him, and so Coffee and Paddy are equal—The first having the most civilization, the latter being the whitest.

> The country has survived the Irish emigration—the worst with which any other country was ever afflicted. The Irish fill our prisons, our poor-houses, our eleemosynary and reformatory institutions of all sorts. Scratch a convict or a pauper, and the chances are that you tickle the skin of an Irish Roman Catholic at the same time—an Irish Roman Catholic made a criminal or a pauper by the priest or politician who have deceived him in ignorance, in a word, a savage as he was born.
>
> ...The danger of miscegenation, white with black, is then, as remote, as that Teddy O'Flaherty will succeed in making his way by marriage into the American families by whom he is abhorred. We have been acquainted with Teddy a long time. He has dug numberless canals, made many railroads, fought many a fight, voted the Dimmecratic ticket, been in many a jail and pauper house, and he has all the while been priest-ridden. The fat, sleek, rosy-gilled liars and scoundrels (consciously such) who have been about him, have kept him in ignorance, robbed him of his pence, and given him after many sprinklings of holy water, what they call passports to heaven; but he is Teddy O'Flaherty yet; and if he were disposed to marry, there's Bridget—Bridget only. Miscegenation is not for him.

Irish jokes were continuous fare in American newspapers through the nineteenth century, and with time the jokes became more abusive and into the humour was interjected a distinct note of fear. The English cartoon featuring the Irish as a species of simianised ape-man migrated to the United States during the Fenian disturbances of the 1860s. In cartoons, in jokes, on stage, following the English tradition, Paddy with his primitive, ape-like face, unkempt whiskers and large clumsy hands and feet was matched by Bridget , the ill-mannered and altogether unmanageable Irish domestic. These stereotypes did not begin to pass from the American scene until the 1890s.[54] The same trend has been observed in the writing of nineteenth century historians. George Bancroft recommended democratic reforms as the

panacea to the woes of Ireland in his antebellum history writing.[55] As late as 1881, in his Short History of the English Colonies in America, Henry Cabot Lodge assessed the Irish as a "very undesirable addition,...a hard drinking, idle, quarrelsome and disorderly class." The appearance of other new immigrant groups in the late nineteenth century prompted a more favourable assessment of the Irish, when compared with the new ethnic targets. By the late 1890s Lodge himself contrasted the favourable record of the Irish to the recent arrivals from southern and eastern Europe, even deigning to describe the Irish as a race "closely associated with the English speaking people."[56]

The shift in attitude discernible in the 1890s appears simply to have been due to a greater fear of the non-English speaking sea of immigrants than to any recognition of the inherent positive qualities of the Irish. Even among the writings of the more prominent, the more reflective, the more tolerant literary minds of nineteenth century America, there was a lack of empathy for the Irish immigrant. Ralph Waldo Emerson regarded the "shovel-handed Irish" as "populations of paddies" he could "well dispense with". Nathaniel Hawthorne described disparagingly the "always filthy of face" Irish children, the propensity of Irish women to drink, and the "board-built and turf-buttressed hovels of these wild Irish, scattered about as if they had sprung up like mushrooms in the dells and gorges", and the Irish peculiarity for speaking the Gaelic tongue and "nothing else".[57]

The only antebellum American writer who offered compassionate and magnanimous allusions to Irish immigrants was Henry David Thoreau. He felt their deprivations deeply, regretted their poverty and their exploitation by the unscrupulous, envied their camaraderie and

cheerfulness, was pleased by their honesty, lamented the sometimes oppressive atmosphere of their pick-and-shovel labour, admired many of their old-world skills in "certain farm tasks," and even envied the Irish immigrant's industry and dedication. But Thoreau also expressed the larger American bafflement with the Irish. He often was annoyed with them, distrustful of a few of them, and highly critical of their inelegant, peasant ways.[58]

The larger negative perception was mirrored by the Herculean struggle of the American Irish-Catholic press to combat and counter its influence. Blow for blow, the Irish press retaliated against the slurs contained in reports on the greater proportion of Irish among the poorer classes and the greater incidence of Irish committing crime. Stories were serialised promoting the idea that the Irish-American could prosper, and that Irish American virtue would be inevitably triumphant. A comparison of the Irish-Catholic birthrate with that of native Americans offered the promise that some day the Irish would predominate. Irish editors made much of the significant numbers of Irish immigrants fighting in the Union Army during the Civil War. From the late 1860s a telling change within the Irish-American press itself was its concern with cultivating a taste for respectability among Irish Americans, promoting orderly behaviour by well-dressed, decent people living in decent homes within whose walls brawls and tumults were never heard, and who were capable of proper conversations. The improving material and political circumstances of the Irish were mirrored by the extravagant claims of Irish greatness fading from the pages of Irish American newspapers such as the Boston Pilot.[59] The need for Irish American nationalist rhetoric to exploit, to explain,

to justify, to politicise and even to ennoble the inchoate and often incoherent pathos and disorientation caused by immigration and toughened amid the hardships of mine, factory and warehouse lessened with time.[60]

Native Americans became less critical of the Irish only when faced with fresh onslaughts of non-English speaking immigrants from southern Europe. Still, a legacy of stereotypes, however modified, persisted and evolved down almost to the present. Cartoons of the early to mid twentieth century satirised the social climbing foibles and inconsistencies of Irish descendants, as for example in the characters of Maggie and Jiggs in 'Bringing Up Father'. An assessment of scholarly publishing concerning the Irish American experience as recently as 1983 suggests that only in the 1980s are historians losing the traditional lexicon of character assessment. The eroding vocabulary of words such as forceful, wry, sanguine, cheerful, subtle, vivacious, thorough, calculating, morose, dedicated, active—all were until recently part of the American understanding of the Irish in their midst, and even part of Irish American self-understanding.[61]

A synopsis of popular views of Ireland and the Irish in early modern Britain and America obviously is important in framing the context for a regional study of Upper Canadian perceptions of Irish immigrants. As a British colony through which cheap American pirated publications flooded, Upper Canada could hardly have helped but be influenced by British and American sensibilities. A complex warning that this is not necessarily the case is sounded by Daniel C. Conner:[62]

> Eventual assimilation has masked the Irish historical identity and deprived Canadian historians of the broad frame of reference which continuing Irish nationalism and a much larger total Irish immigration have supplied

> to Irish studies in England and the United States. Hence they have been more concerned to describe the influences in Canadian society which eventually blended the Irish into the Canadian "national-pie", than to notice the factors which consolidated their sense of national identity and maintained their existence as a troublesome and anxious "third solitude".

The broad implication is that Canadian historians have attempted to fit the Irish into their preconceived largely Whiggish nation-building vision of Canada. Though it is true the United States received a much larger total Irish immigration than Canada, the larger proportion of Irish immigrants to non-Irish population should have made for a greater Irish impact in British North America.[63]

From 1900 until the early 1980s Canadian historians in their Whig or Marxist wisdom either said next to nothing or were negative in assessing nineteenth century Irish immigrants, and from the 1930s they came to rely upon the case studies of sociologists whose models were borrowed from American prototypes. A review of comments made about the Irish in Canada by mainstream historians between 1855 and 1959 shows a decided change of view which took place before 1900. The view of historians writing before Confederation bears no relation to the writing of twentieth century Canadian historians about the Upper Canadian view of Irish immigrants.

John M'Mullen in his History of Canada published at Brockville in 1855, made numerous Irish references. These included immigrants fleeing the violence of 1798, fleeing depredating landlords, and fleeing a repressive government. M'Mullen uniquely suggested that the older American settlers in Upper Canada were jealous of the Irish immigrants. He noted that a large proportion of

Irish Catholics became Reformers while the great bulk of Irish Protestants were in partial opposition to Reform, but that all Irish immigrants were decidedly British in feeling and had little sympathy with the Republican institutions of the United States. Upper Canadian Reformers at first were unwilling to unite closely or use the aid of Irish Reformers; though the Family Compact disliked the Irish immigrants, it disguised this because of its weakness, and courted their support. M'Mullen presented Irish Protestants as a well informed body of persons most of whom, unlike the older American population, could read and write; they loved constitutional liberty and were not opposed to rational reform, having been freed from Toryism of the extreme school by the Revolution of 1688. Coming from this background, they were not about to become passive tools of the Family Compact, but sought to elect their own leaders, and were successful in building the Conservative Party of Upper Canada, in absorbing the Compact and pushing it out of the way. M'Mullen attributed the lack of great surges of Irish nationalism in Canada to British success in fusing the Celtic elements of Ireland into the great Anglo-Saxon family, especially the breaking down of the Gaelic language by the Irish National Schools.[64]

In contrast with M'Mullen's moderate Conservative view, John Charles Dent in his 1881 study of Canada after the Union of 1841 presented a Reform perspective. Dent pointed to the divisiveness implicit in Orange support of Tories in the 1840s and the support of Irish Catholic Hibernian societies for the Reform administration. Apart from admiring Irish eloquence of expression, Dent focused on evils of Irish strife that crossed the Atlantic and reappeared in

Upper Canada in an aggravated shape to produce unfortunate incidents such as Irish Repealers besieging the lodgerooms of Orangemen at Kingston in 1843.[65] This was in contrast with the laudatory contents of The Irishman in Canada published by Nicholas Flood Davin in 1877 which had praised the many accomplishments of the Irish in Canada.

The Rev. W.R. Harris, a Roman Catholic priest writing in the 1898 Canada: An Encyclopedia of the Country, contrasted the earlier unwelcoming reception of Irish immigrants with more recent tolerance, echoing growing acceptance in the United States during the 1890s:[66]

> Deprived of education at home and pauperized by stern laws, the Irish emigrant found himself, when he reached this country, with few resources outside his bodily strength and his cheerful habits. His character was spread before the public by journal, tract and magazine, as that of a lazy, shiftless, worthless creature....Even in this country public references to the Irish Catholic emigrant were often accumulations of falsehood. His brogue was detested, his honest face was caricatured, his word was doubted, and his religion hated as something absurd and idolatrous. Well, thanks to the intelligence and good sense of the great mass of the people of Ontario, these charges are no longer brought against us. The old prejudices have melted away by social and political intercourse....

Harris anticipated the twentieth century Whig historical consensus that Irish immigrants eventually melded into Canadian society. He could not have predicted the negative general portrayal which later historians generally gave Irish immigrants in British North American society, nor the lack of historical interest in Canadian perceptions of Irish immigrants for the next seventy-five years.

A transition toward the Whig interpretation was provided by the twenty-three volume Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the

Canadian People and Their Institutions edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty in the 1910s. References to Irish immigrants in these volumes offered a balance of negative and positive aspects on topics ranging from Irish eloquence of expression to the murder of Thomas D'Arcy McGee. The adventurousness of the Irish in fleeing potato blight, famine and disease in 1834, and the swell of Irish immigrants to a flood by 1847 was noted, as was their tendency to pass through Canada on their way to the United States after receiving assistance within Canada. The Irish in Lower Canada were perceived to be largely urban, and after arriving gaunt and ragged in the mid 1830s, large numbers worked in lumber camps and construction works. The Peter Robinson southern Irish Catholic settlers at Peterborough in 1825, despite being wrongly accused by William Lyon Mackenzie of deserting the settlement, and despite a lack of Roman Catholic clergy, were perceived to have prospered as proven by the leading positions their early twentieth century descendents occupied in the learned professions. What bigotry existed among the early Irish was mitigated by tolerance and brotherly feeling.[67] This balance of negative and positive comments about early Irish immigrants, and the view that over time they were becoming a respectable part of Canadian society was simply a hangover from nineteenth century accounts that, with the exception of Dent, largely contained positive references to the place of Irish immigrants in British North America. The few negative comments in Canada and Its Provinces anticipated twentieth century Whig historians.

Duncan McArthur in his 1927 History of Canada for High Schools presented nineteenth century Irish immigrants as inept

settlers forced to retreat to urban slums. His stereotypical account of the 1840s Famine immigration implied that the pre 1840s immigrants were British rather than Irish:[68]

> Conditions in rural Ireland during the 1840's were very distressing, and many landlords who found themselves burdened with the support of a large number of poor people sought relief by paying their passage to Canada, while the Canadian government provided lands on which they might settle. This scheme resulted in the migration to Canada of a great many people who were utterly unfit to cope with the difficulties of pioneer life, who had no money with which to buy farm stock or implements, and who knew very little about agriculture. Consequently, many of them soon drifted into the towns and cities to work as labourers. The famine which cast its blight over Ireland in the late 1840's sent thousands of famished refugees to America, and the British provinces received their share. The typhus fever and the cholera, which became epidemic in Europe during these years, found the starving Irish emigrants easy victims, and the dread plague was carried across the Atlantic. Not only were many of the emigrants cut off, but the ravages of disease spread among the people already residing in the provinces to such an extent that in 1847 the ordinary business of many communities was nearly paralysed.

The vocabulary of J.M.S. Careless in presenting the mid-twentieth century Whig view of the negative impact of Irish immigrants in nineteenth century Canada flows readily from the text written by McArthur thirty years previously:[69]

> Issues and animosities carried over from across the ocean added to the turbulence on the provincial scene. With Irish emigrants there came the feuds of Orange and Green, to embitter religious feelings in a country already divided between largely Protestant English-speaking settlers and wholly Roman Catholic French Canadians. The Irish helped to raise the heat of politics as well, for if Ulster Orangemen were militant Conservatives and often Tory bully boys at elections, Catholic Hibernians could be no less belligerent Reformers, ready to break a few heads for freedom from British Tory oppression.

Within a century there had been a complete revolution in the general historical view of Irish immigrants in nineteenth century British North America, moving from the positive Conservative view of John M'Mullen in 1855 by stages through to the prevailing unflattering Whig view of J.M.S. Careless, a view which would endure unchallenged until the early 1980s.

The changing view of Irish immigrants by Canadian historians over the past one hundred thirty years only serves to beg the question of what contemporary Upper Canadians thought of them. The brief survey presented here of how the Irish were perceived both in Britain and in the United States provides warning that perceptions are not necessarily rational nor based on obvious factors. Perceptions of Irish immigrants in both England and the United States were not necessarily articulated as such, but manifested indirectly in various phenomena. The variety of forms in which these perceptions were articulated, and converted into stereotypes ranged from tourists' accounts and political and economic fears to jokes and cartoons. Perceptions of Irish immigrants cannot simply be looked at in a vacuum, but rather must be considered within the concentric rings of contemporary and even previous regional, provincial, colonial and international context. The events that occurred and that were reported and believed to be of importance had a profound, diverse and sometimes indirect impact on the perceptions of the impact and the anticipated result of the largest ethnic immigration to flow into Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties.

NOTES

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[3]Edmund Curtis, A History of Ireland (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1968).

[4]V.T.J. Arkell, Britain Transformed: The development of British society since the mid-eighteenth century (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books Inc., 1973), pp. 10-11.

[5]Kerby A. Miller, "Emigrants and Exiles: Irish Cultures and Irish Emigration to North America, 1790-1922," Irish Historical Studies XXII No. 86 (September 1980) p. 108.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid., p. 113.

[8]Ibid., pp. 105, 113.

[9]Ibid., p. 106; Oliver MacDonagh, "The Irish Famine Emigration to the United States," Perspectives in American History X (1976) p. 382.

[10]Mr. Holdsworth of Glasgow, responding to Poor Law Enquiry, cited in Catherine Jones, Immigration and Social Policy in Britain (London: Tavistock Publications, 1977), p. 51.

[11]The Daily Universal Register (later The Times), 13 January 1785, p. 3.

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[19]Ibid., pp. 77, 82-85, 90-91.

[20]Ibid., pp. 90-91.

[21]Thomas Babington Macaulay, The History of England From the Accession of James II, 4 vols. (Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company, 1849) II:332-333.

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[23]Macaulay, History of England, pp. 519-520.

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[25]James Malcolm Nelson, "From Rory and Paddy to Boucicault's Myles, Shaun and Conn: The Irishman on the London Stage, 1830-1860," Éire-Ireland XIII No. 3 (1978) p. 84.

[26]Maurice Bourgeois, John Millington Synge and the Irish Theatre (London: Constable and Company, 1913), pp. 109-110, cited in Foster, "Irish Wrong," p. 34.

[27]Nelson, "From Rory and Paddy," p. 801

[28]Ibid., pp. 97-98.

[29]Foster, "Irish Wrong," p. 37; Nelson, "From Rory and Paddy," pp. 80, 88-89, 99-100.

[30]G.C. Duggan, The Stage Irishman (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969) cited in Nelson, "From Rory and Paddy," pp. 81-82, 83, 91; Foster, "Irish Wrong," p. 36.

[31]Kelley, Irishman in English Novel, p. 195.

[32]Maureen Waters, "'No Divarshin': Samuel Lover's Handy Andy," Éire-Ireland XIV No. 4 (1979) p. 55.

[33]Ibid., pp. 54-55; Foster, "Irish Wrong," p. 44; [Anna] Hall, Sketches of Irish Character (New York: E. Ferrett and Company, 1846).

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III

THE SETTLEMENT OF CARLETON, GRENVILLE, LANARK, LEEDS AND RENFREW COUNTIES

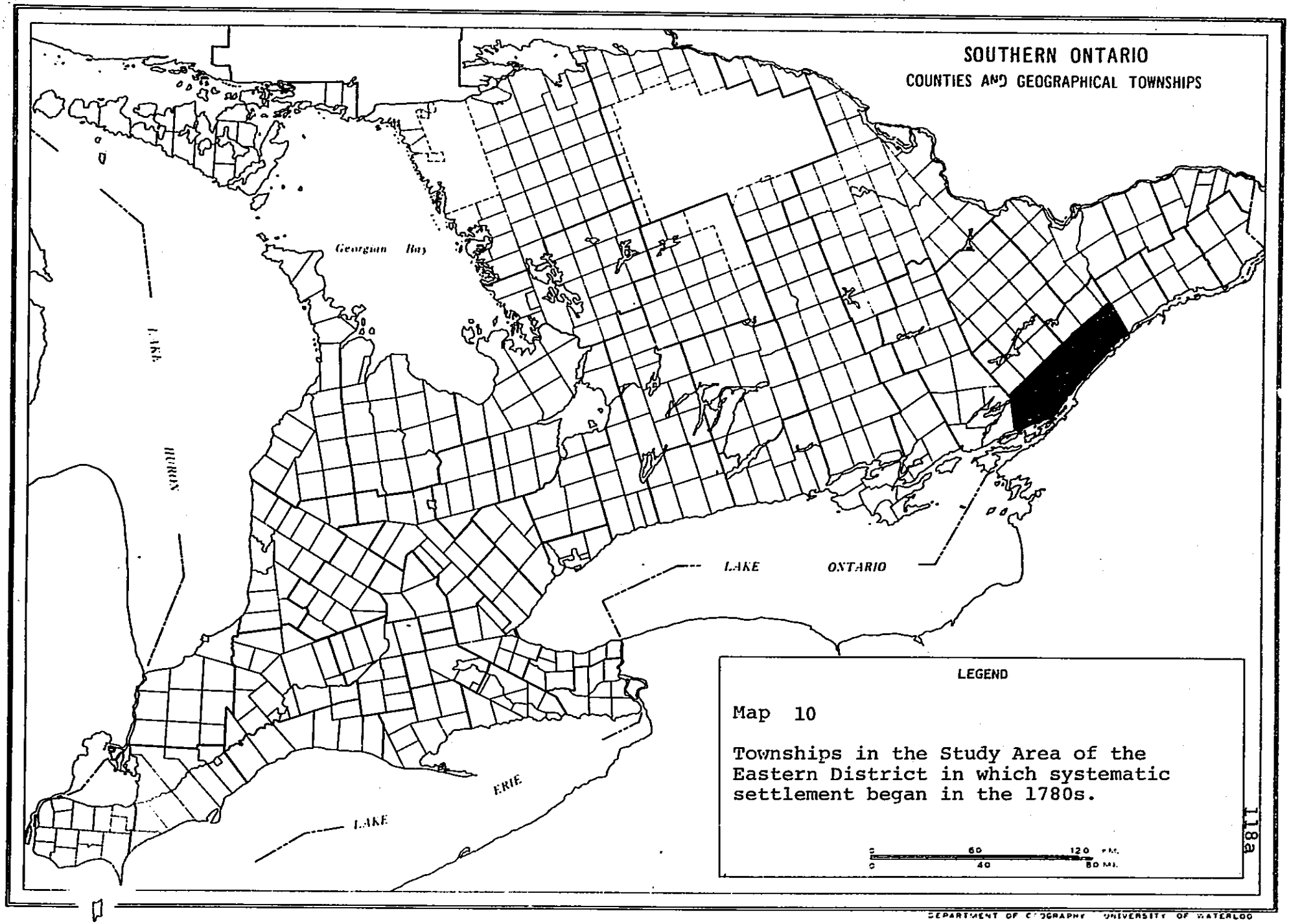
This chapter provides an overview of the geographic patterns of non-Irish and Irish ethnic settlement in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties between 1784 and 1871. The number of Irish immigrants entering these counties during the first thirty years of Caucasian settlement was negligible. Still, the patterns of land occupation and promotion of settlement established before the War of 1812 had a profound and continuing impact on the location and concentration of the Irish immigrant majority in the region. This chapter indicates the changing ethnic concentrations over the decades and offers occasional references to geographic, military, economic and social aspects of local development. The emergence of local élites, and the complexity of their relationship to the local population is indicated at the end of the chapter. This overview of chronological and geographic patterns of ethnic settlement serves to introduce the waves of incoming population chronologically and to explain the cohesion of a region within which there was much local variation of population groups.

Recorded settlement began along the southern edge of this region when United Empire Loyalist exiles were located in the St. Lawrence townships of Edwardsburgh, Augusta and Elizabethtown beginning in 1784. The earliest Loyalists here were largely frontier farmers and artisans from the portion of the Hudson valley

lying between Dutchess County and Albany, New York, and adjacent portions of Connecticutt, Massachusetts and Vermont. The odd refugee from some of the more southerly American states could also be found among them.[1] Most of these early Loyalists were of English ethnic origin, but natives of Scotland, Ireland, and others of German Palatine and Dutch ethnicity were also present. There were only a few dozen Amerindians and less than a handful of Negroes in the region. Many of the Loyalists settling in Edwardsburgh, Augusta and Elizabethtown were members of the Loyal Rangers, a regiment formed in 1781 most of whom were veterans of General John Burgoyne's disastrous 1777 campaign at Saratoga.[2] Land initially granted these Loyalists varied in amount according to their military rank and according to the size of each family. Civilian families received one hundred acres of land and fifty additional acres for every person in their family. The scale of grants to discharged soldiers began with one hundred acres to privates; two hundred to non-commissioned officers; five hundred apiece to subalterns, staff officers and warrant officers; seven hundred to captains; and grants of one thousand acres to field officers, together with an additional fifty acres for each person in their families.[3] New townships soon had to be surveyed to keep pace with the resulting baby boom as Loyalist families sought to expand their acreages. The combined population of Edwardsburgh, Augusta and Elizabethtown multiplied from 576 in 1784 to 4,800 in 1812. To the west of Elizabethtown in the unopened area between the St. Lawrence townships and the Cataraqui settlement the townships of Yonge, Escott,

Lansdowne and Leeds were surveyed and opened to settlement before 1790, making in all seven St. Lawrence townships opened in the 1780s (Map 10).[4]

The already generous scale of free grants to Loyalists was considerably expanded in 1788. Grants to non-combatant Loyalists and to their sons and daughters were increased in size to two hundred acres each. The scale of free grants to disbanded soldiers who had served in the Loyalist forces increased to two hundred acres for privates; four hundred acres for corporals; five hundred acres for sergeants, two thousand acres apiece for subalterns, staff and warrant officers; three thousand acres for captains; and grants of five thousand acres to field officers.[5] These expanded grants quickly placed pressure on the existing amount of surveyed land available for settlement. On top of this, two aspects of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe's administration of Upper Canada in the early 1790s necessitated surveying townships to the north of those along the St. Lawrence. Simcoe, impelled by a belief that a vast population in the United States to some degree was still loyal to King and Empire, issued a proclamation in early 1792 which offered free grants of land to anyone who would both swear an oath of loyalty to the King and pay the trifling fees of local officials for passing and recording the patents. Simcoe's proclamation also stipulated that one seventh of the land in each township was to be reserved for the support of a Protestant clergy, and a further one seventh "for the future disposition of the Crown."[6] Copies of Simcoe's proclamation were extensively circulated in New York and Vermont by colonisers promoting group settlements.



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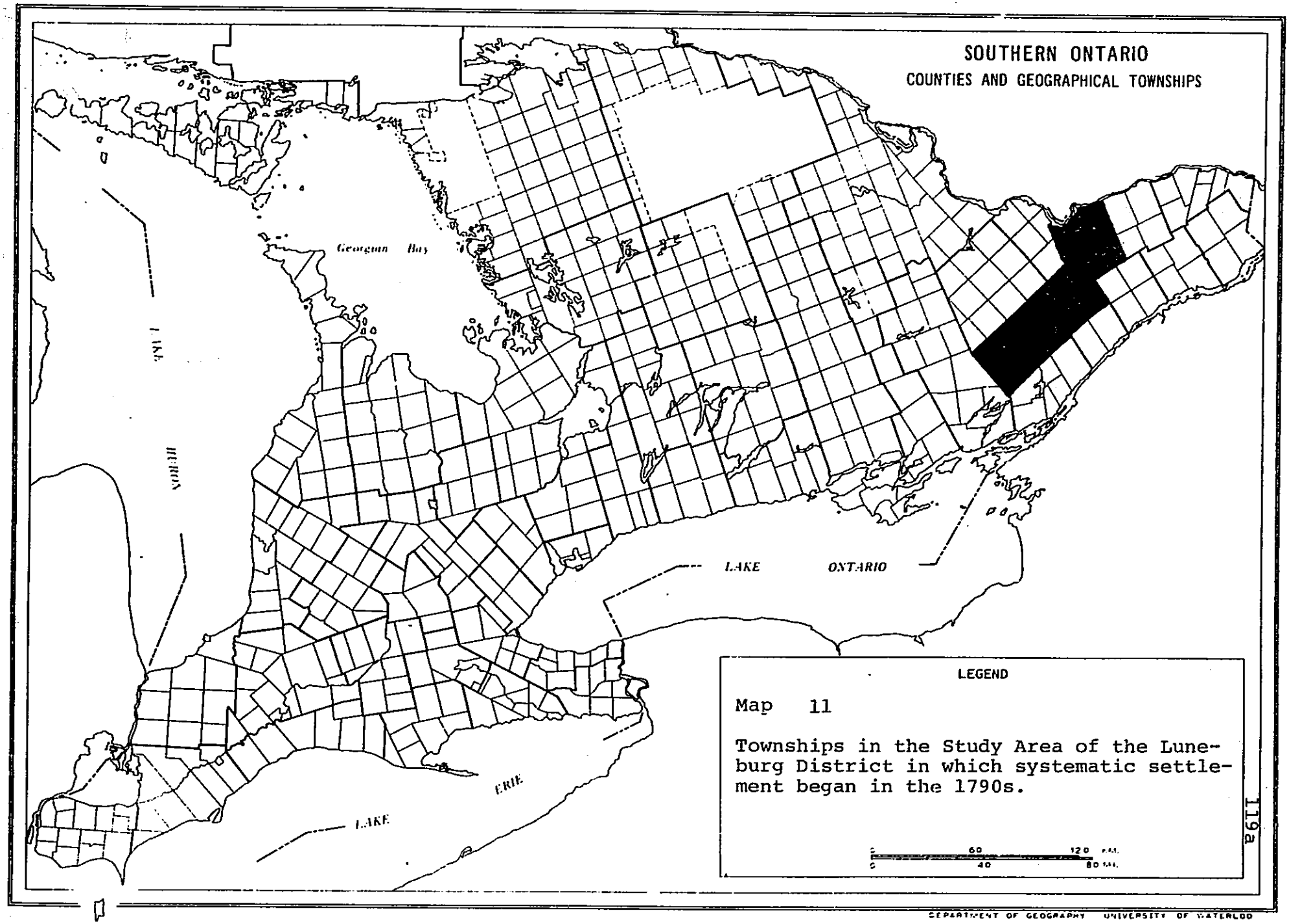
The combined effect of Simcoe's proclamation and of the expanded grants to Loyalists was the opening of fifteen townships along the Rideau River for settlement in the 1790s (Map 11). The first of these, Oxford and Marlborough, were surveyed in 1791 in order "to satisfy the claims of certain Reduced Officers" who by the new regulations of 1788 became entitled to additional grants of land.[7] In the autumn of 1793 the townships of Osgoode, Gloucester, Gower and Nepean were initially surveyed.[8] The continuing press for land at this time is evident in a letter from the Leeds and Grenville Land Board to the Governor and Council of Upper Canada:[9]

> We have now in the Two County's a Hundred Men holding Certificates from this Board for land, who are not able to find any for want of Surveys, as there is not a Single lot to be found vacant. These people wish to form a Settlement at the Reddeau. The Board therefore are recommended (as it has already done before) that a Township be Located and Surveyed adjoyning Marlboro Westward or if that is taken up, Then Somewhere on the Reddeau River where the Land is vacent.

This request prompted initial surveys of the boundaries of Montague, Wolford, Elmsley, Kitley, Bastard and Burgess in early 1794.[10] North and South Crosby were added to these townships when more detailed surveys were made of them before the turn of the century.[11]

The survey of more than fourteen hundred square miles of land in the townships along the Rideau in the 1790s proved more detrimental than helpful to settlement in the short term. It was in these townships that the 1788 additional grants of land to Loyalists, disbanded soldiers and their children were located. Overwhelmingly, the people to whom these grants were made lived in the St. Lawrence townships and in more distant parts of Upper Canada. As a result,



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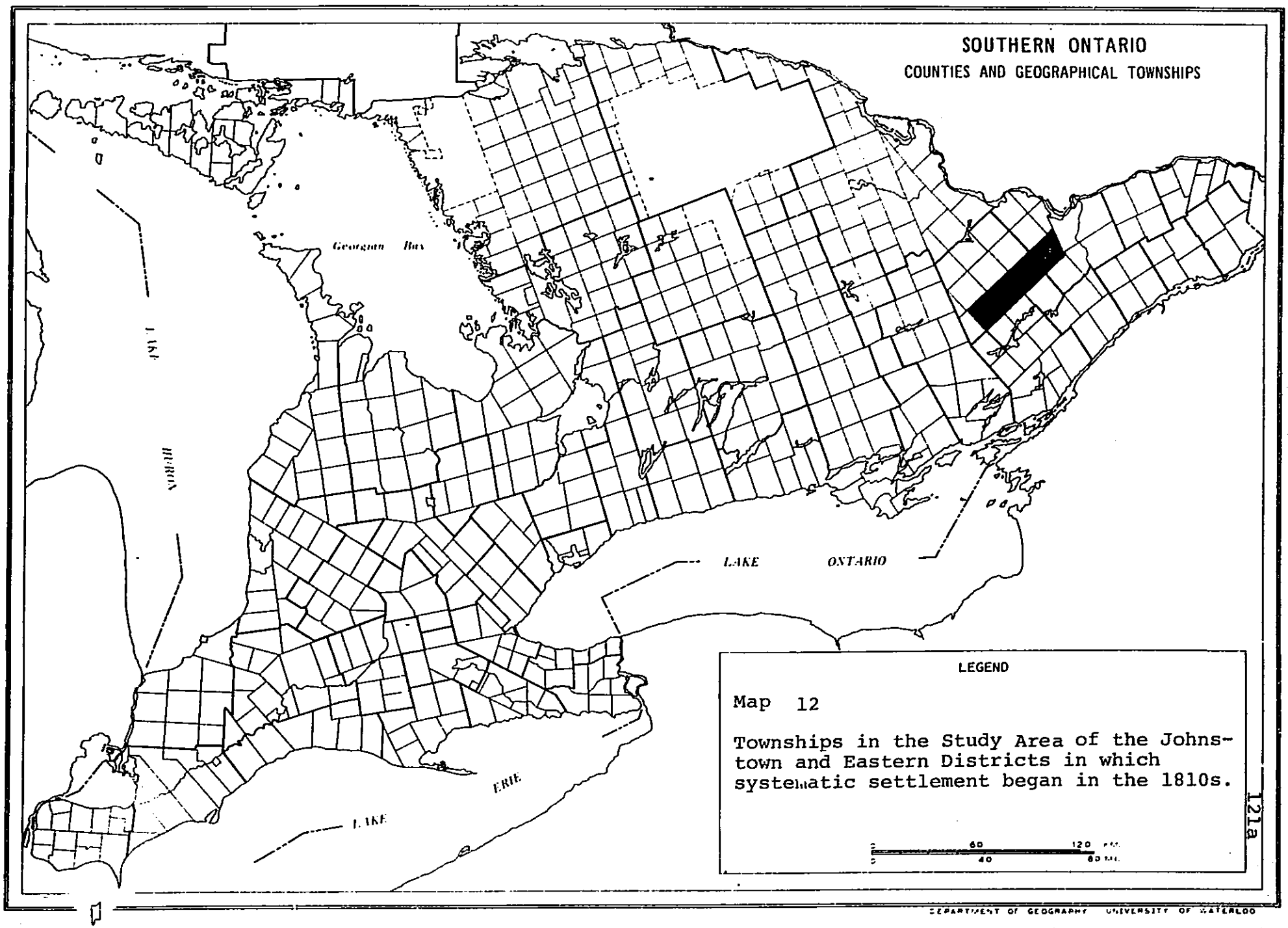
the fifteen Rideau townships remained empty for more than a generation. The few late-Loyalist and naturalised American settlers arriving in the 1790s through to the late 1820s found themselves in isolated sections of forest. Residents of Wolford, Montague, Oxford and Marlborough complained that many of the incoming American immigrants who obtained land grants in the Rideau townships, sold them and returned to the United States, with purchasers obtaining titles to the same and holding the lots in speculation at such high prices that the poor could not purchase land in these empty townships.[12] Some townships were more empty than others. Bastard by 1817 boasted an estimated and exceptionally high population of one thousand people,[13] largely due to the efforts of coloniser Abel Stevens who brought one hundred families from Vermont in the late 1790s.[14] Some of these settlers spilled over from the southern half of Bastard to the southwest quarter of Kitley Township.[15] Kitley's population as late as 1824 was 575 persons, a figure double that of most of the populated 1790s townships surveyed along the Rideau.[16] Elmsley, to the north of Kitley, had only 232 inhabitants in 1824,[17] while adjacent Montague had 341 inhabitants in 1825.[18] Nepean, at the mouth of the Rideau River, as late as 1822 contained only 191 settlers. The Governor General of Canada, Lord Dalhousie, when passing through two years earlier described Nepean as:[19]

> almost wholly waste & wild woods, the property of absentees or Crown and Clergy Reserves, but generally in large grants made by the Government of Upper Canada which they can neither recall, nor force into settlement. This Township of Nepean...may be considered as a useless waste, a serious difficulty in the way of the prosperity

> of this part of the Country, and it is mortifying in a greater degree from its possessing the only harbour & approach—by which the great object of [new military] settlements can be attained.

The slow growth of settlement in the townships opened up in the 1790s was not wholly due to most of the land being tied up in government reserves and grants to absentees and speculators. No new townships were opened for settlement in the region during the 1800s. Settlement in Upper Canada during this decade focussed instead on the vacant townships along Lake Ontario west of the Bay of Quinté, and in several of those along Lake Erie. The water communication made such lakefront townships far more attractive to newly arriving settlers than two ranges of townships lying along the forested wilderness of the yet unnavigable Rideau.[20] The War of 1812 further retarded the growth of settlement in the study area in the early 1810s. At war's end this region as much as the rest of Upper Canada was inhabited by a population at least five-sixths of which was American in origin.[21]

Significant emigration from the British Isles to this region followed the end of European hostilities at Waterloo. The concentration of population of American origin in the front townships along the St. Lawrence and the recognised military vulnerability of the St. Lawrence as a supply line during the recent war prompted colonial and military strategists to promote two projects. The first of these was the establishment of a range of military townships or settlements to the north of the Rideau. The second was the construction of a military canal between the Ottawa River and Lake Ontario, away from the American frontier.[22] The line of military townships surveyed in 1816 (Map 12) consisted of Bathurst, Drummond,


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
LAKE
ERIE
LEGEND
Map 12
Townships in the Study Area of the Johnstown and Eastern Districts in which systematic settlement began in the 1810s.
60
120
40
80
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Beckwith and Goulbourn. The centre of the 1816 military settlement was the town of Perth, and from this depot disbanded soldiers largely from the Glengarry Light Infantry and the Canadian Fencibles together with several hundred assisted Scottish immigrant farmers and weavers who had arrived a year earlier were settled in Bathurst, Drummond, Beckwith, Elmsley and Burgess. The unattractiveness of the land-locked townships north of the empty Rideau townships had been made clear to these Scottish immigrants while they awaited transportation from Brockville to Perth. In a petition they listed the reasons why they were reluctant to settle on the Rideau:[23]

> The crops on the Radeau are subject to hurt from early frosts—the lands are badly watered for cattle—at an immense distance from the St. Lawrence and no water conveyance for their wood and produce—these are the reasons which chiefly prepossess them against the Radeau....

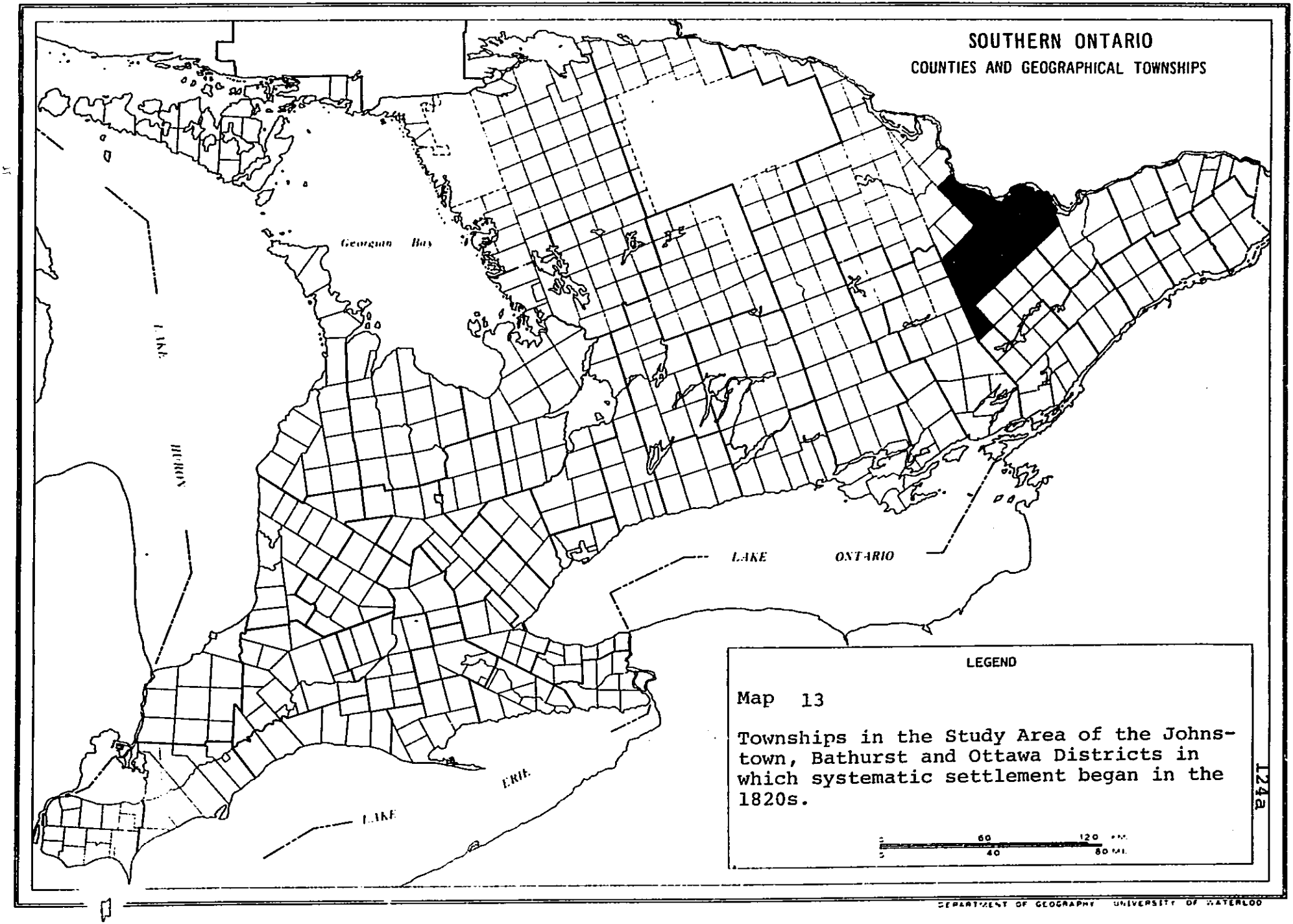
The remoteness of Goulbourn from Perth was responsible for government establishing Richmond as a second military depot in 1818. Officers and men of the 99th Regiment who wished to remain in Canada upon the return of the corps to England for disbandment were offered grants of land in Goulbourn. These men from the western Irish counties of Ulster originally were raised in 1804 as the 100th Prince Regent's County of Dublin Regiment for colonial service.

In 1818 two more separate groups of immigrants arrived, to be settled from the Richmond depot. The Colonial Office, as an emigration experiment, sponsored group settlements from Britain and Ireland if a responsible person organised a group of immigrants and paid a ten pound deposit for each settler, repayable once the immigrants were located on their lands. The first of these groups

comprised 72 Irish Protestants from Tipperary headed by Richard Talbot from southwestern Ireland. They were settled among the military settlers in Goulbourn. The second group consisted of 444 Perthshire Scots Presbyterians from Loch Tayside who were placed in the northeastern quarter of Beckwith Township.[24] The grants given these civilian and military settlers were significantly scaled down from those given Loyalists after 1788. Civilians and privates now received grants of one hundred acres, sergeants two hundred acres, subalterns five hundred acres, captains eight hundred acres, majors one thousand acres, and lieutenant-colonels grants of twelve hundred acres. Additional grants were not made to individual children in each family. Indeed, if a grantee did not reside on and improve his grant, he could lose his title to it. This was a direct consequence of the thousands of square miles of empty absentee lands granted to Loyalists and their children along the Rideau.

Extensive settlement in the 1820s opened with the creation of a third settlement under military administration at Lanark in 1820. From the late 1810s, societies had been raising subscriptions to help pay the passage money to Canada of Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire weavers, a group particularly hard hit by the post war British depression. From the Lanark depot, north of Perth, nearly three and a half thousand men, women and children from the vicinity of Glasgow were settled during the early 1820s.[25] These Scottish settlers were located in North and South Sherbrooke, Lanark, Dalhousie, Ramsay, Darling and Lavant townships.[26] In 1823, yet another experiment in government-assisted emigration brought 568 northern Cork immigrants

in hopes of reducing violent disturbances in southern Ireland by settling the 'excess population' on land in the colonies. Only ten of the Irish immigrants were Protestants, the majority being Roman Catholics who were believed by government to be easily susceptible to violence in a region and country where overpopulation and unemployment were perceived to be the two major barriers to domestic tranquility.[27] These Irish settlers, brought to British North America under the superintendance of the Hon. Peter Robinson, were granted land in Ramsay, Pakenham, and the northwestern corners of Huntley and Goulbourn townships. A few also could be found in Beckwith, Bathurst and Lanark townships.[28] In the early 1820s small settlements of former British naval and army officers were established along the southern bank of the Ottawa River above Nepean. In March Township the riverfront colony was largely English, in Torbolton the few military settlers were Scottish, and in Fitzroy there was a combination of Scottish and American first settlers.[29] In the mid 1820s Archibald McNab, the seventeenth chief of McNab, in a bid to reestablish a feudal clan and rebuild his finances, colonised McNab Township with Perthshire Scots Presbyterians from the same Loch Tayside vicinity the Beckwith settlers had departed in 1818. These exploited Scottish settlers spilled over into southern Horton Township in the late 1820s and 1830s.[30] At the end of the 1820s as construction sites developed along the Rideau River, Irish Catholic and Protestant immigrant labourers were attracted by the promise of work on the new military canal being built. Scottish stonemasons and French-Canadian labourers also arrived, but in lesser numbers, and the number of French-Canadians settling along the Rideau was minimal. All told, fourteen new townships were opened for settlement in the 1820s (Map 13).


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
LAKE
ERIE
LEGEND
Map 13
Townships in the Study Area of the Johnstown, Bathurst and Ottawa Districts in which systematic settlement began in the 1820s.
60
120
40
80
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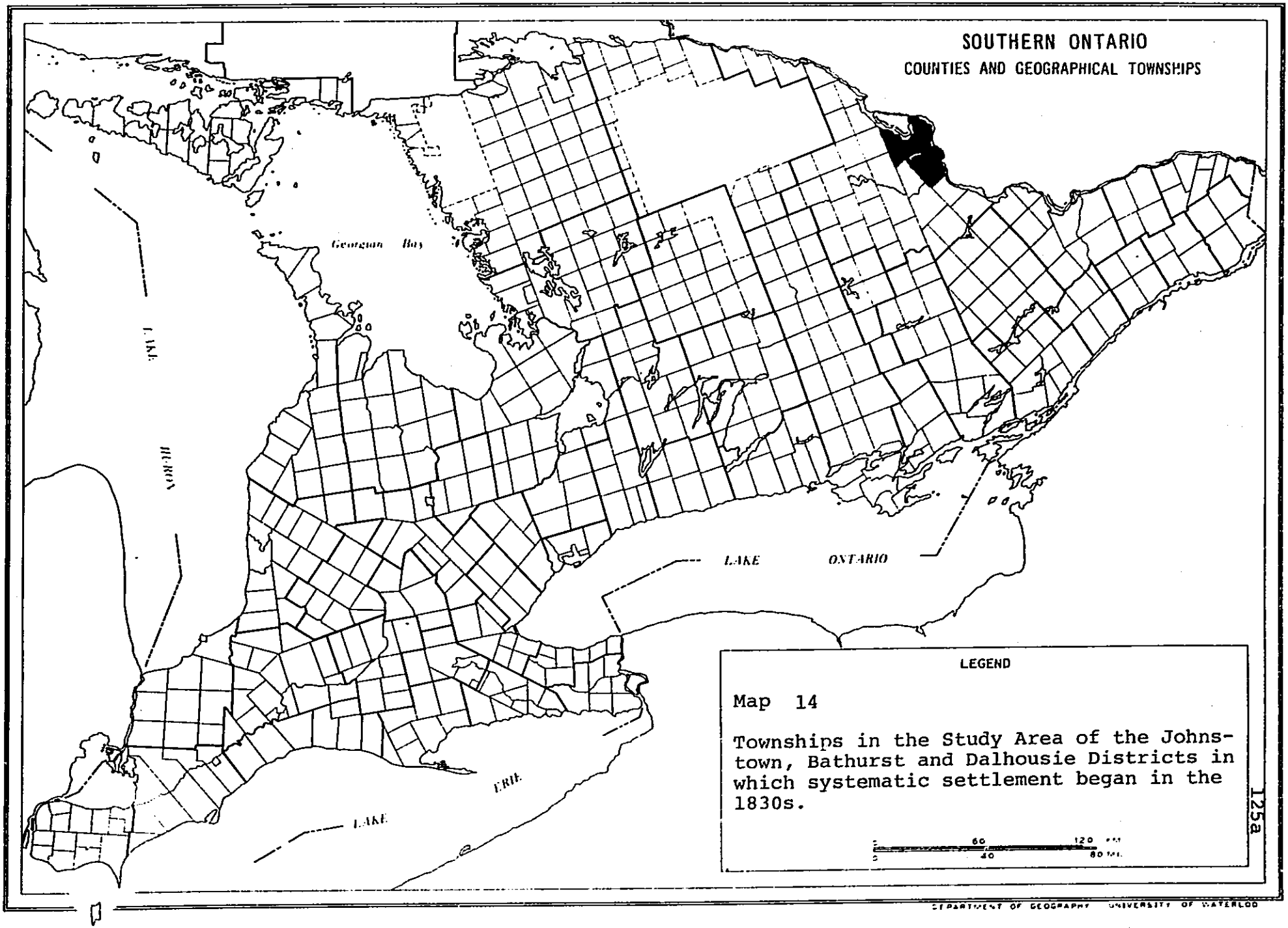
By the end of the 1820s, then, there were three distinct patterns of settlement in the region being studied for the purposes of this dissertation. The townships along the St. Lawrence literally swarmed with Americans, either the children of Loyalists, or recent immigrants from the United States. Two ranges of sixteen townships along the Rideau River from its source to the Ottawa River lay empty and "in a state of nature" save for sparse settlements of Loyalists and American immigrants. Three ranges of townships to the northwest of the Rideau and along the Rideau were recently settled with British immigrants.[31] This meant that Americans and British immigrants inhabited fairly well defined regional settlements and were largely insulated from one another before the late 1820s. The construction of the Rideau Canal in the late 1820s and early 1830s marked the beginning of a new pattern to settlement in this region. The Rideau Canal as a military waterway from its opening in 1832 through until the opening of the St. Lawrence canals in 1848 was the major and the least expensive route for transporting immigrants west from Montreal to Kingston. During these twenty years a flood of Irish Protestants from southeastern Ireland immigrated to British North America. Many of them, upon beholding the empty lands in the townships along the Rideau Canal, chose to squat and settle there rather than continue westward to land which for all they knew might prove more expensive. English and Scottish immigrants continued to settle in the area, but their numbers were insignificant in comparison with the Irish. Only four new townships were opened for settlement in the 1830s (Map 14). These were Ross, Westmeath, Stafford and Pembroke on the Ottawa River.


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
LEGEND
Map 14
Townships in the Study Area of the Johnstown, Bathurst and Dalhousie Districts in which systematic settlement began in the 1830s.
60 120 KM
40 80 MI.
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All the same, the 1830s was the decade of the heaviest settlement in this region. Irish immigrants not only squatted on the lands of absentee owners and speculators but even settled on Crown and Clergy Reserve lots in the Rideau townships.

The Irish who settled in Leeds, Grenville, Lanark, Carleton and Renfrew counties during the 1830s were not simply an inchoate disparate mass of individuals from various geographical points. As Bruce S. Elliott has shown in considerable detail with his studies of Irish immigration to this region, the settlement of a remarkable concentration of southeastern Irish Protestants in the Ottawa Valley proceeded by a process of chain migration. The larger of the two groups traced by Elliott was a Protestant colony from North Wexford/South Wicklow whose migration to eastern Upper Canada began with two pre-war cores of about fifteen families that located in the rear of Elizabethtown in 1809 and at Leeds/Lansdowne in 1811. At war's end they were joined by thousands of their fellow countrymen, and settled in a two-front wave, moving northwards from the back concessions of the St. Lawrence townships and spreading southward and northward from the free-grant areas in the military townships of Lanark County. Irish Protestants from southeastern Ireland came to dominate Leeds County, parts of Lanark, and significant adjoining areas by mid century. The smaller group Elliott has traced comprised the North Tipperary Protestant settlement brought out by Richard Talbot and planted in the northeastern corner of Goulbourn Township.[32]

The central idea and importance of Bruce Elliott's portrayal of chain migration in the settlement of eastern Upper Canada

by Irish immigrants is twofold. He was the first historian to recognise that Eastern Ontario contains a very large southeastern Irish Protestant component in its population. This is in direct contrast with the previous historical writing and previous assumptions of sociologists and historians that virtually all Irish Protestants in Upper Canada originated in Ulster. Such assumptions may largely have developed because most of the large Irish Protestant population in the Toronto region actually did come from Ulster. It is not strictly the hazy perspective of twentieth-century historians which has led to this oversight. In 1849 the editor of the Bytown Packet pounced on the same assumption when it appeared in the Montreal Herald:[33]

> 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. Oh! you Irish barbarians, listen to this Scotch friend of yours! You are not Irish—oh! no; you are a sort of improved, Scotchified Irish!

The second important conception Bruce Elliott has brought to the attention of Canadian historians is the process of chain migration. His genealogical and demographic tracing of Wexford and Tipperary Protestant families shows patterns of chain migration by kinship networks and by movements of families in particular regions from Ireland to Upper Canada. The 72 North Tipperary Protestants brought to Goulbourn in 1818 formed the core of some three hundred immigrating families coming to the Ottawa Valley before 1855. This process was hardly restricted to Irish Protestants, as

the example of Perthshire immigration to Lanark County beginning with the 1818 assisted settlement in Beckwith Township indicates, but as a concept has been specifically proven by Elliott's detailed analysis of North Tipperary and Wexford Irish Protestants. The beginnings of these two chain migrations are possibly better documented than for other groups because of surviving government records for what at the time were emigration experiments. Richard Talbot's Tipperary settlers came out on a refundable £10 deposit plan, while the Wexford Protestants who spread out southward through the Rideau system at first attempted to obtain government assistance to emigrate, but being refused, came all the same.[34]

It is altogether possible that from the beginning of Loyalist settlement in Edwardsburgh, Augusta and Elizabethtown on the St. Lawrence in 1784, a process of chain migration operated for most people coming into this region. Chain migration is a process by which an immigrant is joined by relatives and friends, who are in their turn joined by <u>their</u> relatives and friends, led both to the concentration in the new locality of clusters of people from their old place of residence and to a pattern of mobility in which migrants may have moved frequently but nonetheless lived near people they knew at both ends of the journey.[35] By knowing these people, mobility was significantly robbed of the potential terrors that historians until recently have assumed loomed large in the minds of immigrants, terrors that historians traditionally assumed psychologically crippled the immigrant as he searched for land and attempted to compete with native Upper Canadians.

The timing of the major brunt of southern Irish Protestant immigration into central eastern Upper Canada in the early 1830s must needs be stressed to explain why this wave of immigrants was so immense. Donald Akenson has shown in a recent assessment and reworking of early nineteenth century migration statistics for Great Britain and North America that there was a significant jump in numbers of immigrants coming to British North America beginning in 1829. It is clear that Irish immigration accounted for this jump. Between 1818 and 1821 an average of seventeen thousand immigrants per year from the British Isles entered British North America. This fell to eleven thousand per year in the early 1820s, rising to only twelve thousand per year in the late 1820s. Suddenly, after the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, the total number of British immigrants entering British North America quadrupled to an average of forty-six thousand immigrants per year between 1830 and 1833.[36] The significance of the Irish surge to this jump is revealed in the following estimates of Irish immigration to British North America from all United Kingdom ports:[37]

1827	11,969
1828	8,824
1829	10,148
1830	25,679
1831	54,514
1832	50,305
1833	23,139
1834	32,315
1835	10,764
1836	22,528

It is significant that the major years of southern Irish Protestant immigration into eastern Upper Canada were the four

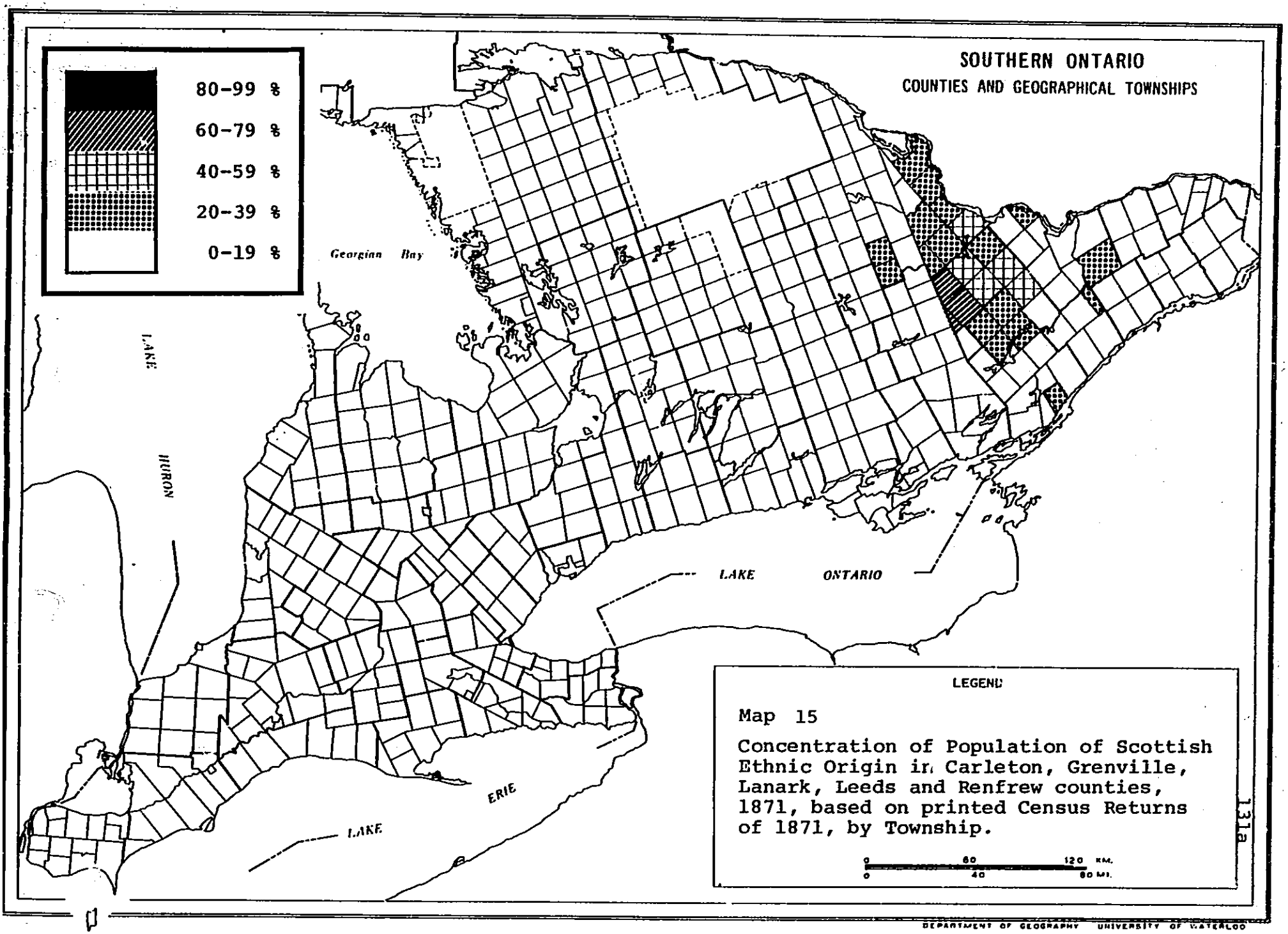
following the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. Chain migration of Wexford and Wicklow Protestants to this region began with a downturn in the southeastern Ireland economy in the late 1810s. Protestants in North Wexford and South Wicklow perceived emigration to be an affordable alternative to deteriorating economic conditions at home following the Napoleonic wars. Their surging exodus after 1829 betrayed widespread paranoia about the Roman Catholic majority around them gaining civil and religious recognition from government, a panic which sprang from ongoing tumult since before the turn of the century. They were not only hopelessly outnumbered by Roman Catholics, but many of them had seen close relatives and friends killed by Catholics during the 1798 Rebellion. Prolonged agrarian violence during the 1820s by Catholic peasants aimed at the more well-to-do Protestant minority appeared to offer proof that Protestants had no future in southeastern Ireland. The Catholic Emancipation Act appeared to confirm this in their minds.[38] The resulting reactionary perception which the southeastern Irish Protestant immigrants to Upper Canada had of themselves as reluctant and tragic Loyalist exiles was articulated in the following words a generation later by one of their clergymen:[39]

> The Protestant farmers of Ireland were on every side, especially in the eastern and southern counties, surrounded by the most bigoted and ignorant of the preponderating Romish population, who seized every opportunity of insulting, and injuring, and robbing them.... The rebellion of 1798 was suppressed, but still there was little peace or security for the Protestant farmers from their Romish neighbors, and in the first lull after the battle-storm, they left the shores of Ireland in numbers. They left their native

> soil, to look for some land in which they and their children might dwell without fear of the foe that was ever threatening the peace of their hearths and the purity of their faith.... They came to Canada, others soon followed, and still are following them....

The concentration of Irish immigrants settling along the Rideau was particularly noticeable in the 1830s. As Map 8 indicates, in the region some twenty-three townships centring on the Rideau and Ottawa valleys contained populations at least sixty percent of which were Irish in ethnicity. The four townships of March, Goulbourn, Huntley and Marlborough were more than eighty percent Irish. By contrast, the next largest ethnic group, the Scottish, comprised more than sixty percent of the population in only three sparsely settled townships (Map 15). The filling in of these previously vacant Rideau townships largely by Irish squatters transformed the landscape by the late 1840s. The rapidity of this infilling offers impressive evidence of the "noteworthy aggressiveness" of British North American Irish immigrants in the acquisition of land recently remarked on by Canadian historians.[40] The practicality and commonness of squatting as a mode of settlement is well summed up in the 1831 comments of Theophilus Oaks in Yonge Township, an Irish immigrant who together with his wife and two children had been in Canada about eighteen months:[41]

> Having no place of Residence, I put up a house upon that Lot and Made a Small Clearing to raise corn and potatoes for the Support of My familery. This I did, finding the place was vacant, and Being informed that it was a comming thing for Manny to do the same. There are Not more than thirty acres in the Lot which makes me more inclined to purchace it, as the means I possess would not Enable me to purchace a Large farm at present. The Soil is but of a very Midling quality....


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
80-99 %
60-79 %
40-59 %
20-39 %
0-19 %
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
LEGEND
Map 15
Concentration of Population of Scottish Ethnic Origin in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, 1871, based on printed Census Returns of 1871, by Township.
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

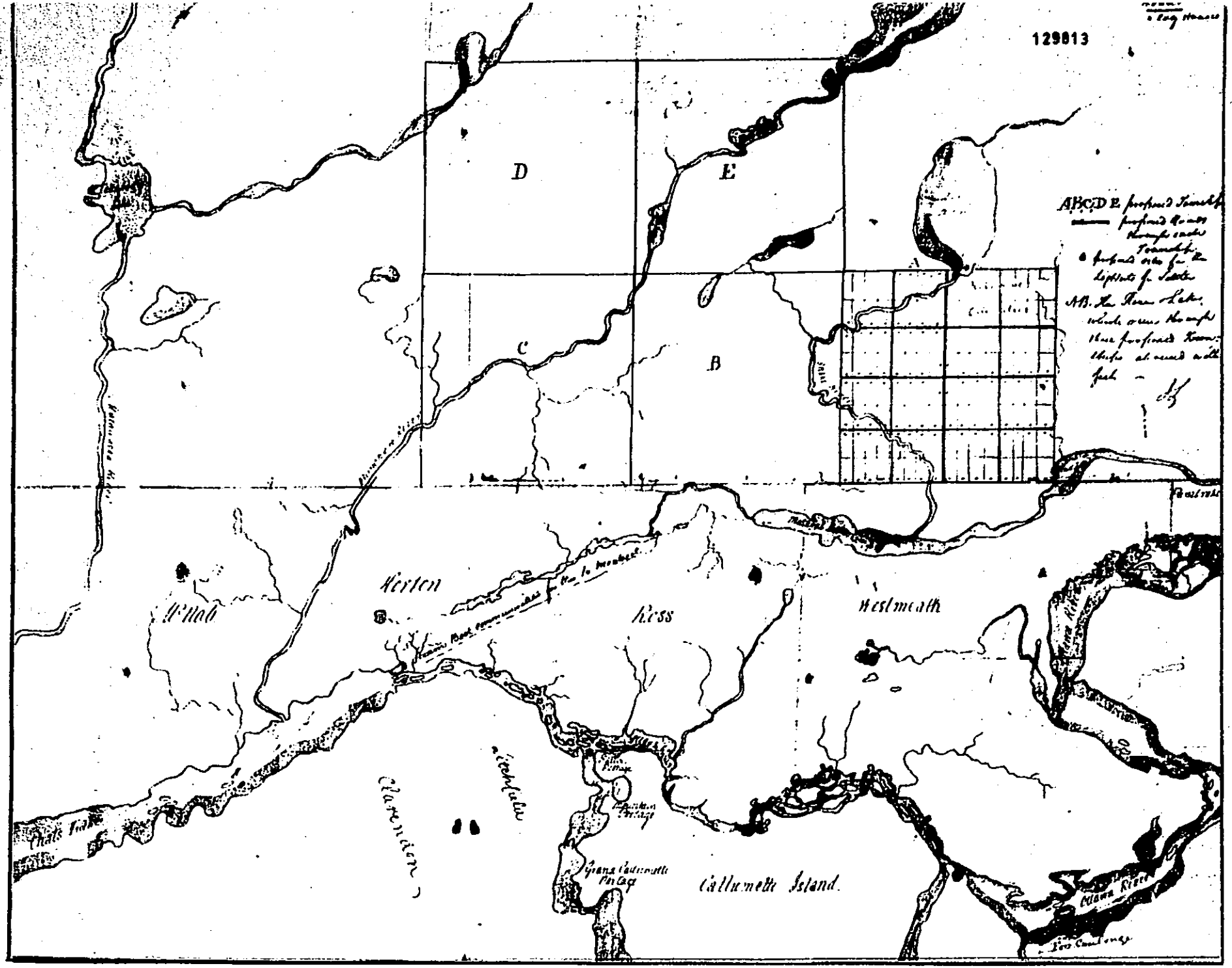
The Irish, it must be recognised, were fairly confident in their possession of the land on which they squatted years and sometimes decades before they actually obtained legal ownership of it. The root of this confidence lay in the poor quality of much of the land, which ensured a low valuation, enabling some settlers to envisage purchase within the near future. More significantly, poor land quality would inspire no other person, not even the rightful absentee landowner, to dispossess the squatter.[42] This was especially true once land was stripped of its timber. When one absentee landowner at Perth tried to remove Irish squatters from his property in Montague, he "was obliged to let [them] take away their crop of oats, peas and hay" in return for giving up "peaceable possession of my own property" since the squatters by rights could have laid claim to the land.[43] Squatters on Crown and Clergy reserves had to pay rents, but the low value assigned the land by government surveyors in turn kept the payments low. With local United Church of England and Ireland clergymen acting as land agents, it is not surprising that the largely Church of Ireland influx from southeastern Ireland was favoured with the government reserves, especially those immigrants with character references from clergymen, nobles and commanding officers back home.[44] The shanties inhabited by the squatters were worthless and increasingly, as timber was removed (often sold to make payments) and the thin vegetable mould blew away, holdings rarely increased in value. The real estate boom which absentee landowners had been anticipating for more than a generation never materialized. Squatters, secure in the knowledge of how valueless their holding was, and taking care not to add valuable

improvements until they acquired title, could afford to be self-assured when arranging to purchase it. The transformation of the landscape in the townships along the Rideau was apparent by the early 1850s. United Church of England and Ireland missionary, Rev. John Bell Worrell reported to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel from his station at Smith's Falls in 1855, "Twenty-five years ago this land (lying between Bytown and Kingston) was a forest. It has been reclaimed by Irish immigrants."[45]

The new townships of Ross, Westmeath, Pembroke and Stafford on the Ottawa River, opened in the 1830s, received not only Irish immigrants, but Scottish, American-origin, and a beginning trickle of French-Canadian settlers too. In part, the variety of settlement in these townships reflected the diverse population increasingly attracted to both the Ottawa Valley timber industry and to the substantial provisioning trade supplying it with food and provender. The ethnic variety in the newly opening townships underlines as well the greater willingness of Irish immigrants, both Protestant and Catholic, to squat on lands owned by absentees and Crown and Clergy corporations, while Scottish, American, English and French Canadian settlers preferred to settle on land to which they could obtain a clear title. The filling of the empty townships along the Rideau had a further impact which was particularly felt by the early 1840s. With all the lots filled in the southern ranges of townships, there increasingly was a search for land in the newly opening areas. The smaller grants of land that had been made from the 1810s onward meant that as sons came into manhood, a family farm of one hundred acres simply could not support them. Petitions to government in the late

1830s and 1840s complained of the simple impossibility of feeding and clothing a family from the revenue of farming one hundred acre lots. The Irish in particular were concerned to have grown sons and daughters settled on farms close by those of their parents. With the land filled, the alternative chosen by some was to migrate together to a newly opening area. Individuals, families, and groups of neighbours moved together, either westward as in the migration of Lanark County Scots to Lambton County, or north into newly opening local areas of territory.

As early as the 1820s and 1830s a group of families from Goulbourn and Huntley had been recruited by a former officer of the 99th Regiment at Richmond, James Prendergast, to settle at Clarendon across the Ottawa River in Lower Canada. In the 1830s and 1840s the Renfrew County townships along the Ottawa were settled by American settlers from the vicinity of Hull.[46] The days of government-assisted immigration experiments had long since passed, although various individuals such as James Stevenson of Bytown continued to urge new schemes utilising government funding to place colonies of new settlers in unopened townships in the 1840s and 1850s (Map 16).[47] By 1820 government had concluded that assistance did not have to be given to immigrants. The experiments of the late 1810s were perceived to stimulate waves of relatives and neighbours to finance their own journeys to Upper Canada. The combined inflow of immigration during the 1830s and 1840s and the maturing large families already settled placed such pressure on available land that by the mid 1840s, notwithstanding the continuing immigration into the region, in terms of total population there was a beginning agricultural exodus

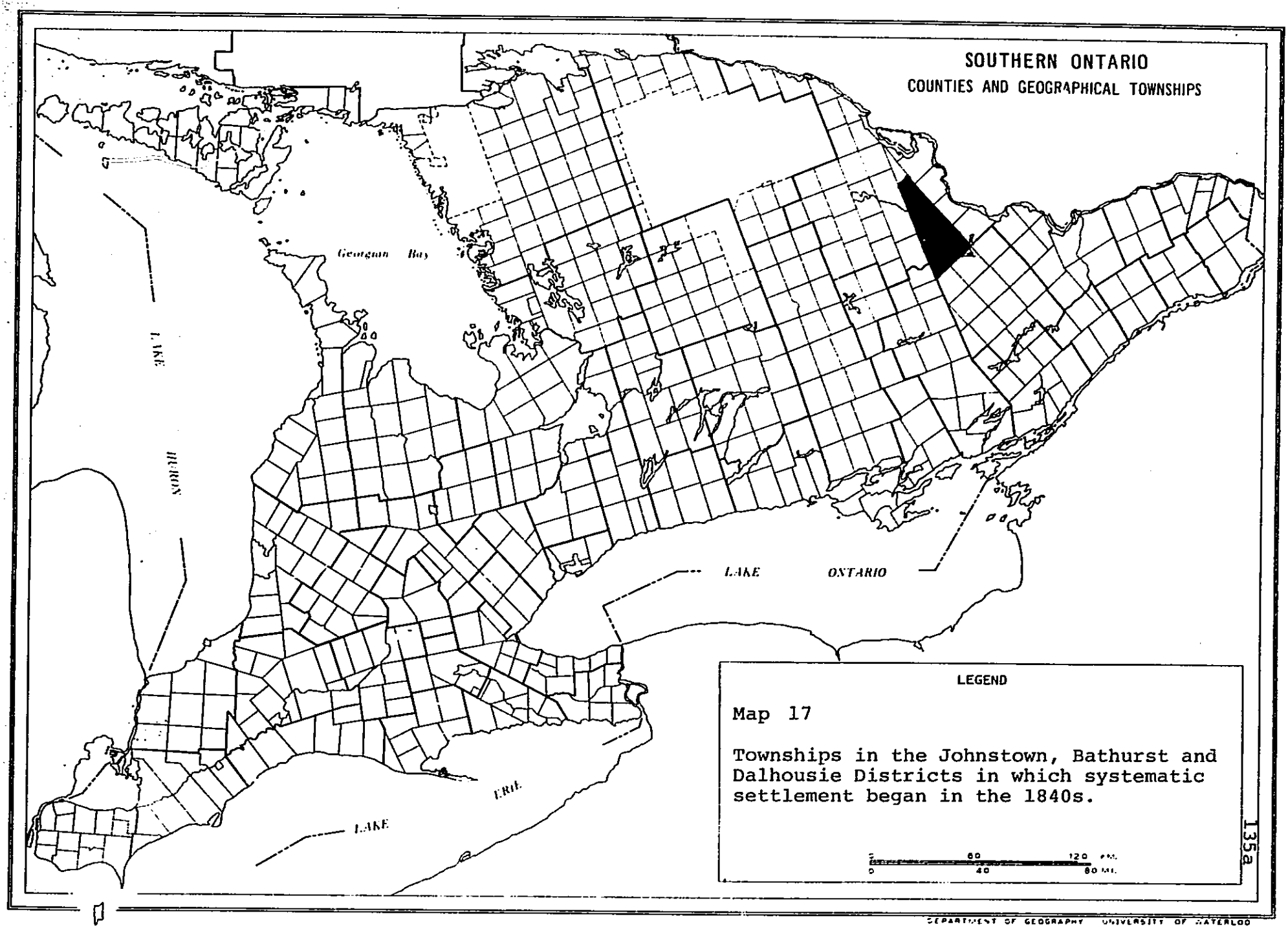


Map 16. Source: PAC RG5, A1 Vol. 236 Reel C-6911 p. 129813

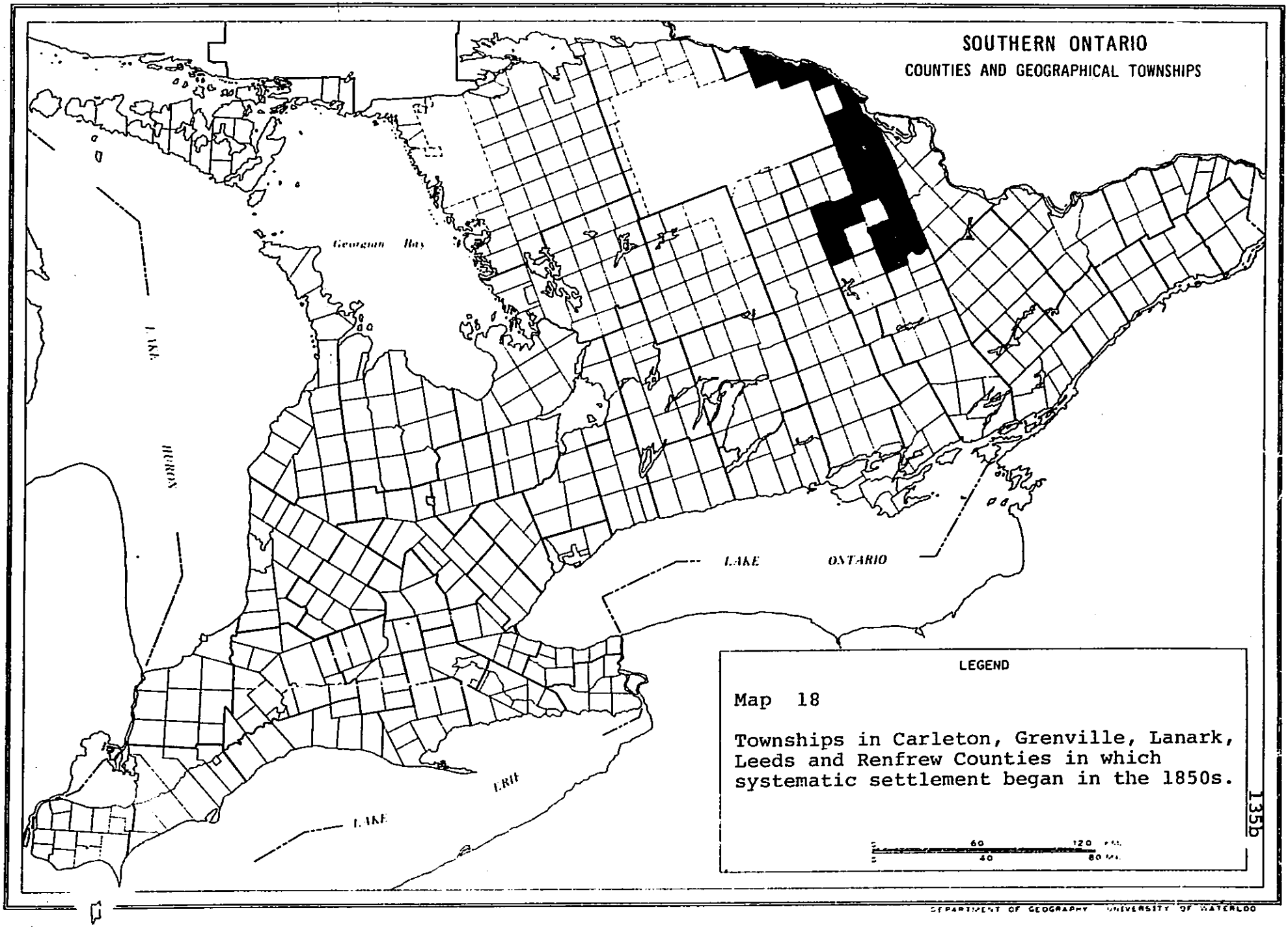
Plan for a Group Settlement from the British Isles funded by 'Emigrant Debentures', 1840.

which increased steadily in the 1850s and 1860s.[48] In the 1840s and 1850s a colony of settlers from the Carp river valley townships of Huntley, March and Goulbourn settled in Russell and Cumberland townships in Russell County to the east of Bytown, while another colony from the Carp valley settled in the Kazabazua area of Lower Canada in the 1850s and 1860s. Yet another example of group migration from an older settlement to a new area was the movement of a colony of Wexford Irish Protestants who had lived for a generation in Beckwith Township to Stafford and Wilberforce townships in Renfrew County.[49]

The press of population on land prompted the opening of the inland townships of Bromley, Admaston, Bagot and Blithfield in the early 1840s (Map 17), but their inland position did not make them attractive to settlers from older settlements. These four townships were empty and ready to receive the largely Catholic Irish Famine immigration of the late 1840s, an influx of such dimensions as to account for the opening of a significantly larger number of townships both inland and further north along the Ottawa River during the 1850s (Map 18). The concentration of Roman Catholic Irish immigrants in the inland townships of Renfrew County is suggested in Map 19, although Map 20 shows that most of the Roman Catholics in McKay, Petawawa, Buchanan and Rolph townships on the Ottawa were French Canadian. The eighteen townships opened for settlement in the 1850s were followed by eight more in the 1860s (Map 21), but the poor quality of land and remote inland positions of most of these townships did not attract population. Only one additional township was opened for settlement in Renfrew in the 1870s (Map 22), a clear sign that the



DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
LEGEND
Map 18
Townships in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew Counties in which systematic settlement began in the 1850s.
60
120
40
80
135b
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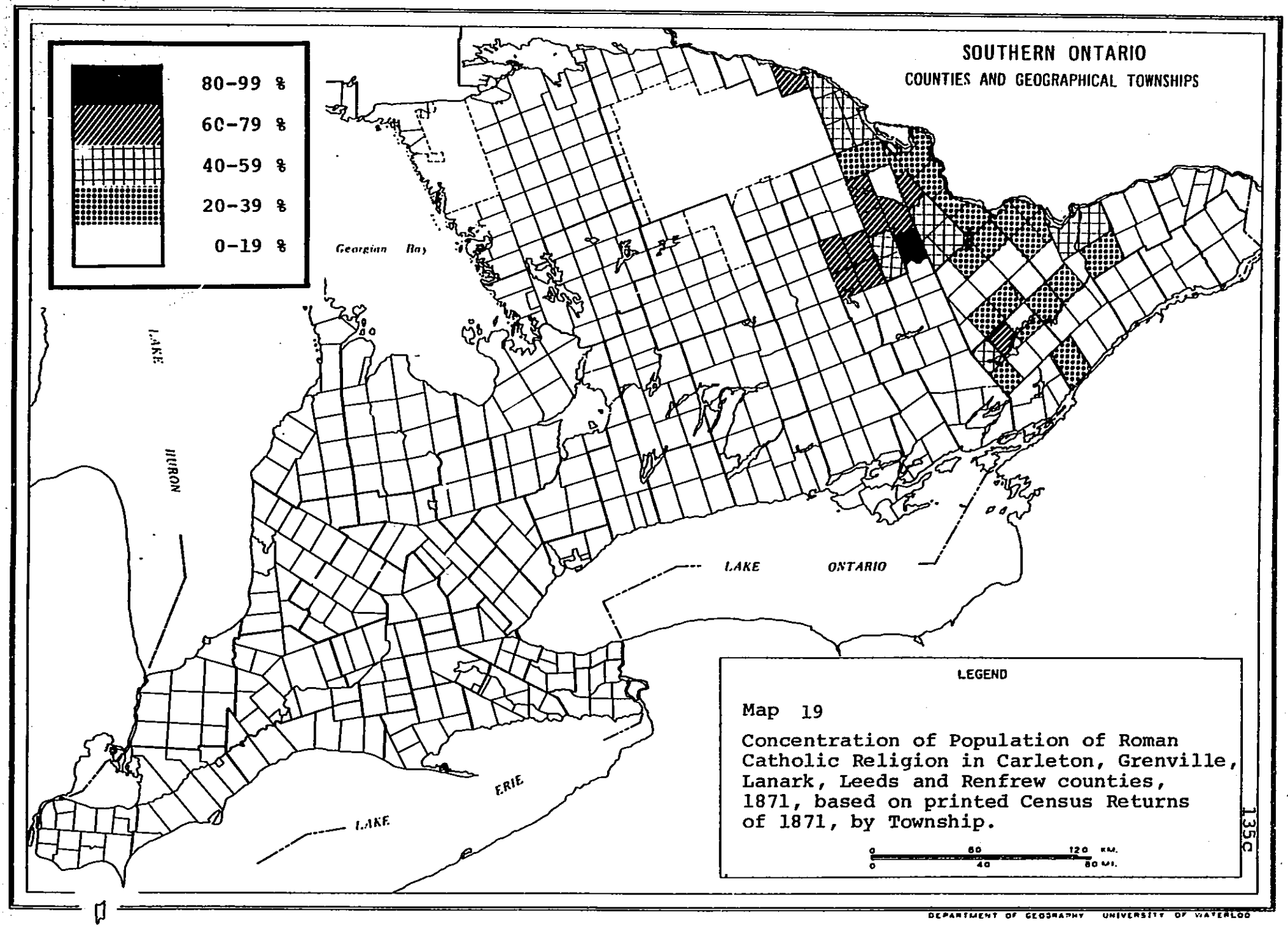
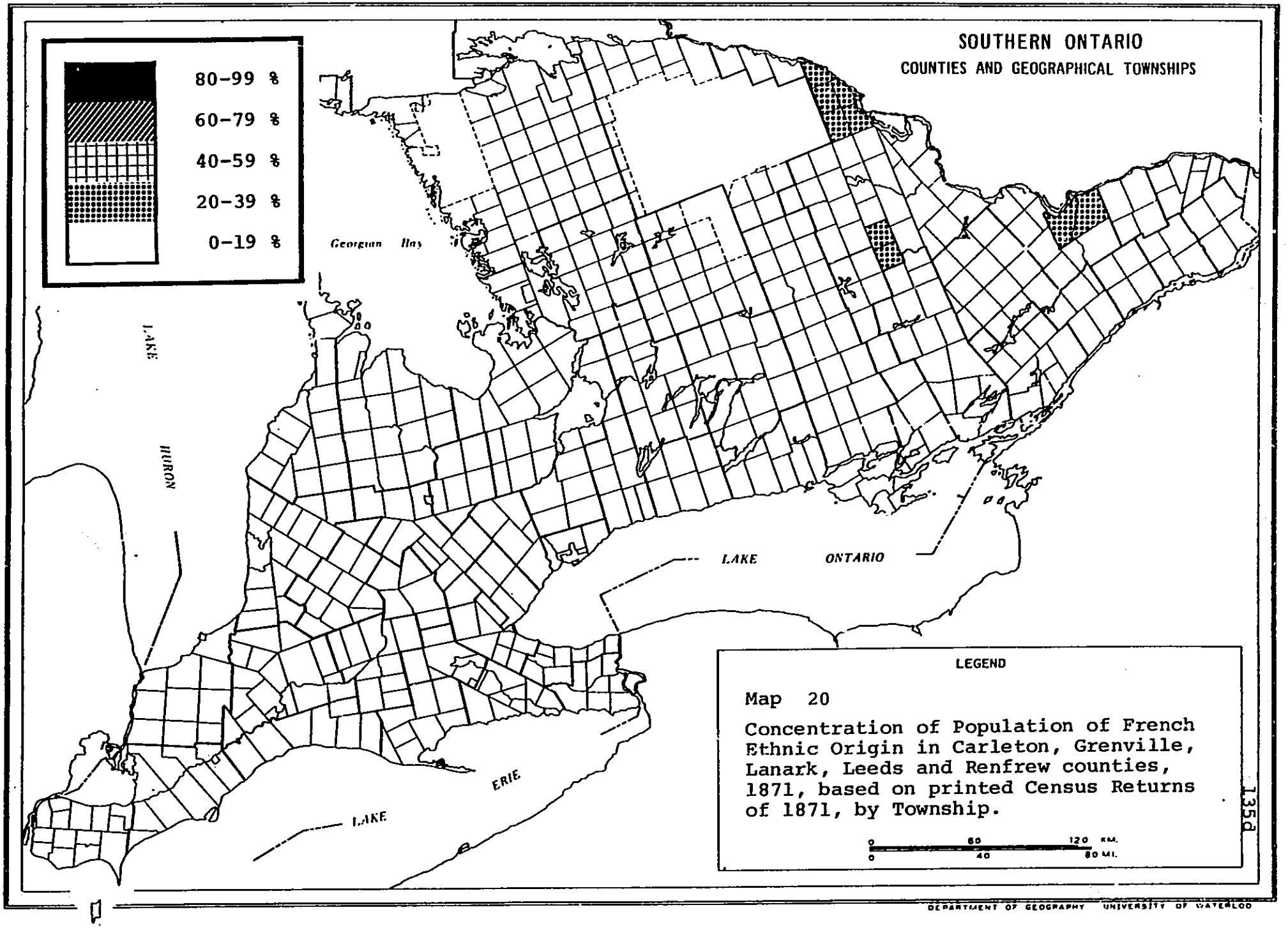
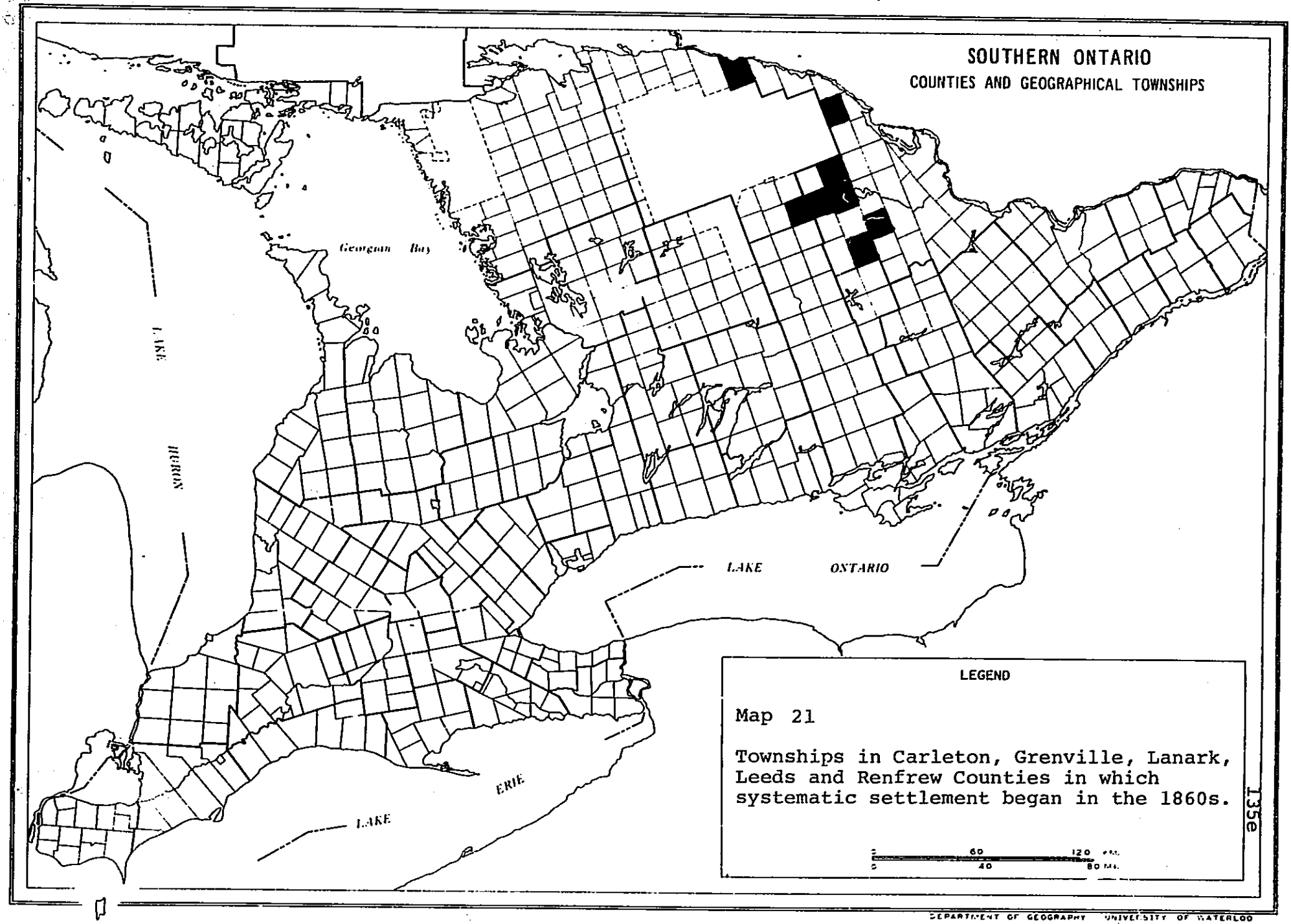
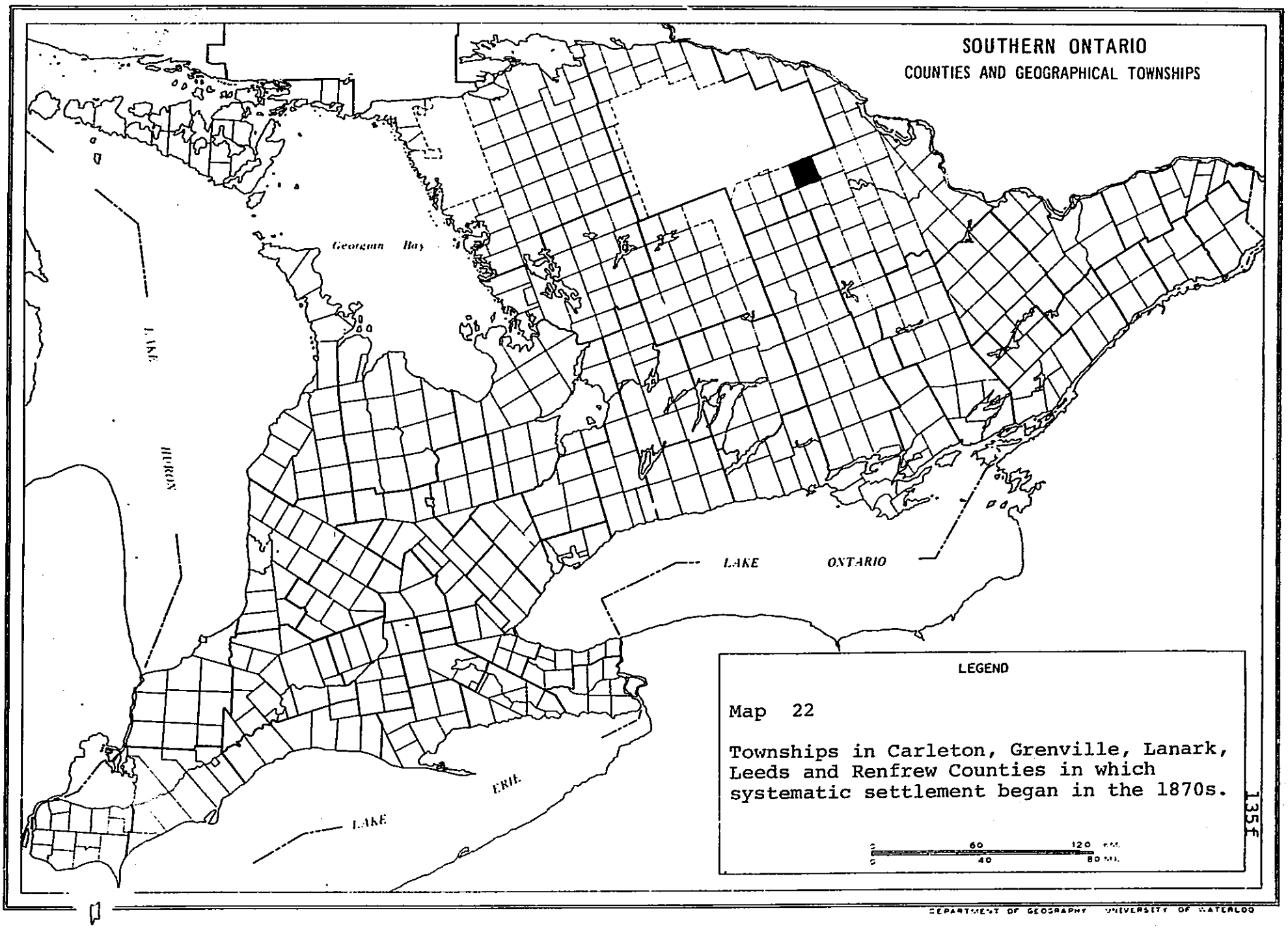

SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
80-99 %
60-79 %
40-59 %
20-39 %
0-19 %
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
LEGEND
Map 19
Concentration of Population of Roman Catholic Religion in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, 1871, based on printed Census Returns of 1871, by Township.
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
135C
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
80-99 %
60-79 %
40-59 %
20-39 %
0-19 %
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
LEGEND
Map 20
Concentration of Population of French Ethnic Origin in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, 1871, based on printed Census Returns of 1871, by Township.
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

135d


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
LEGEND
Map 21
Townships in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew Counties in which systematic settlement began in the 1860s.
0
60
120 KM.
0
40
80 MI.
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

135e

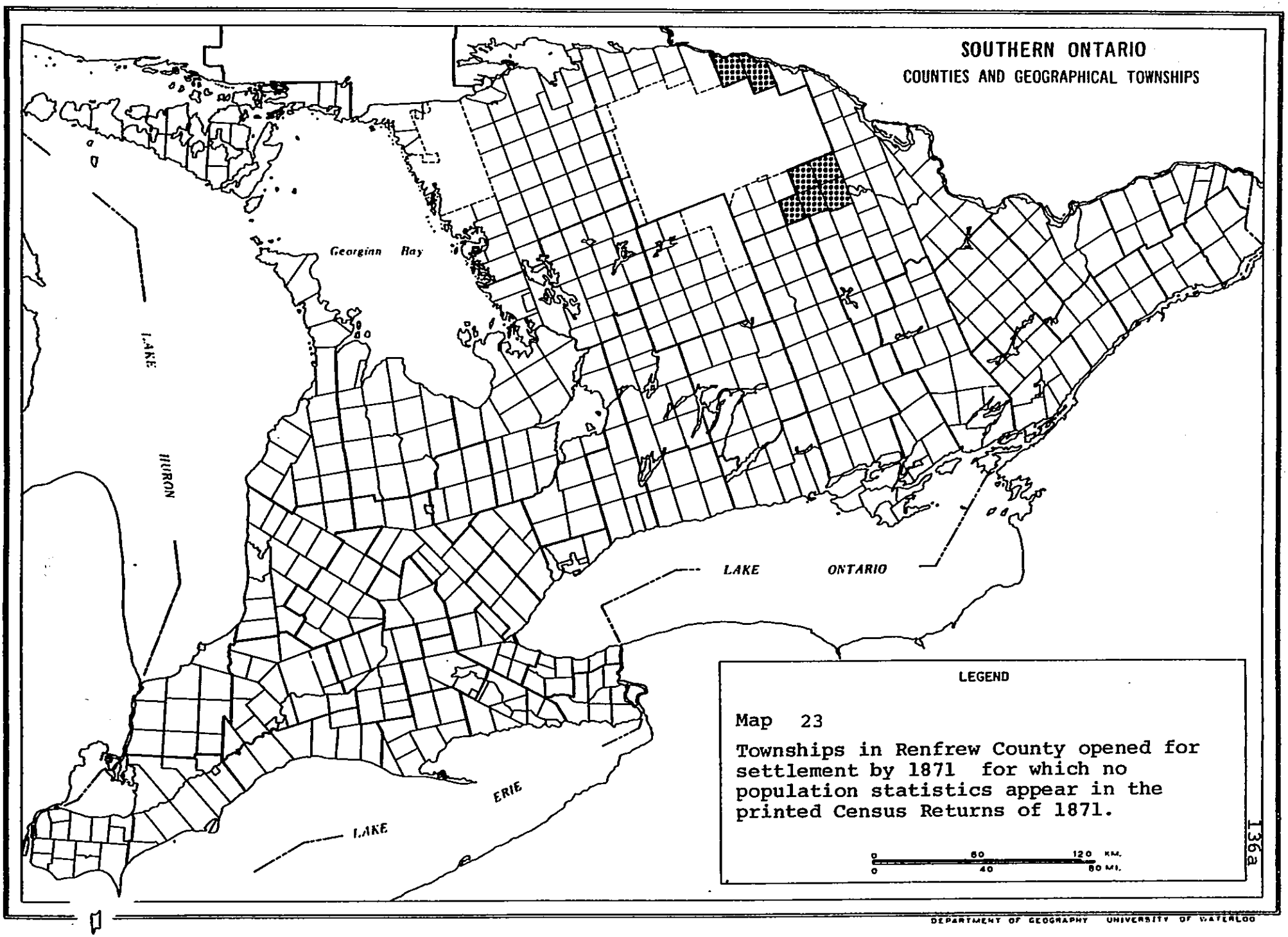

SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
LEGEND
Map 22
Townships in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew Counties in which systematic settlement began in the 1870s.
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
135f
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

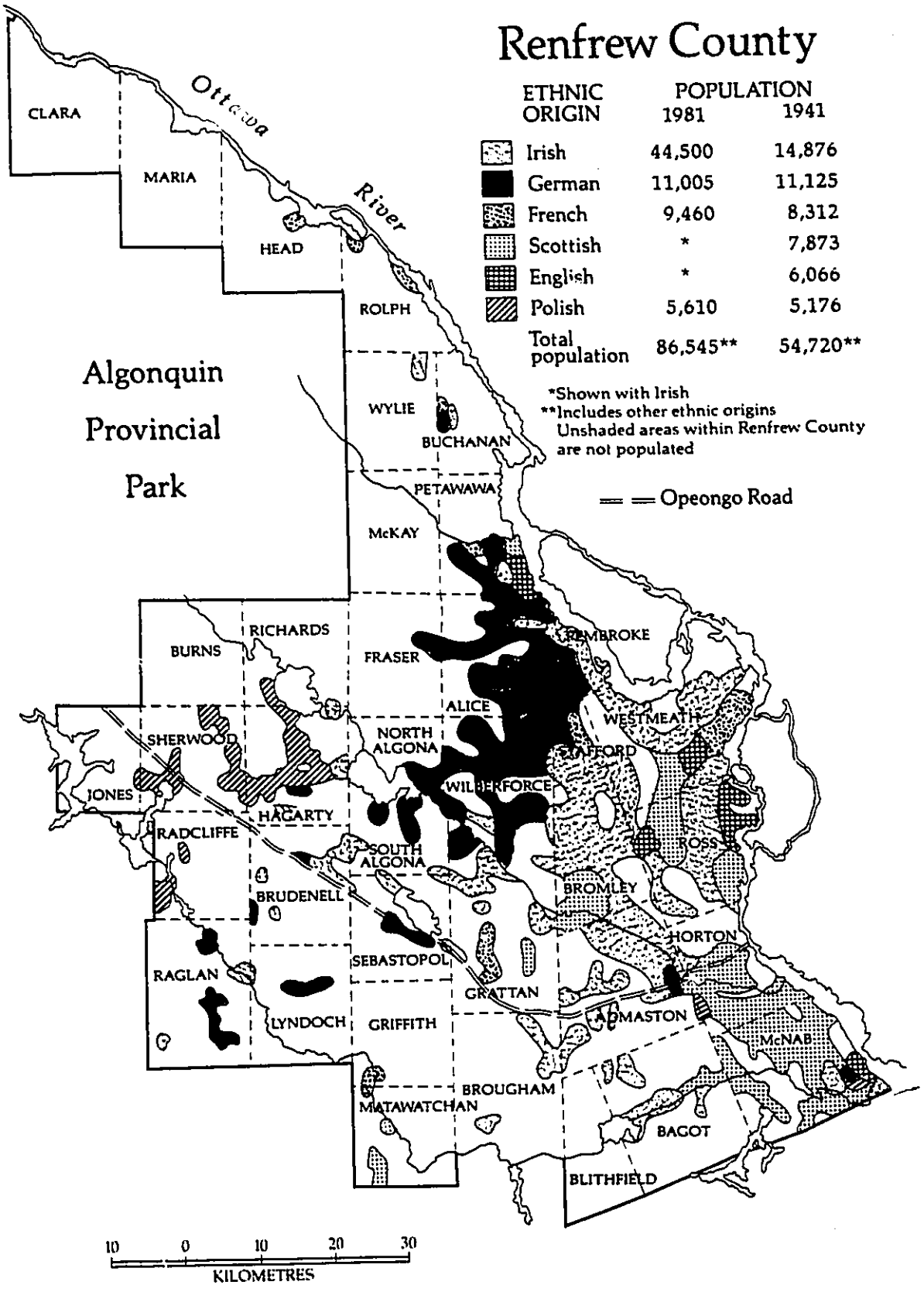
region no longer was realistically being considered as a frontier for settlement. As late as 1871 seven of the townships opened for settlement reported no population (Map 23).

The large number of new townships opened for settlement in Renfrew County during the 1850s reflected not only pressure on land in older settlements, but a concern by government that Upper Canadian farmers' sons and new immigrants be provided with an alternative to moving to newly opening western American states in search of cheap land. To facilitate access to the new interior townships of Renfrew County, beginning in 1854 the Ottawa and Opeongo colonisation road was constructed from Farrell's Landing (later Castleford) in Horton Township on the Ottawa River westward through Admaston, Grattan, Sebastopol, Brudenell and Sherwood townships (Map 24).[50] The Irish Catholic concentration along the Opeongo Road in the interior townships was evident as early as November 1855 when immigration agent, T.P. French, reported to Bishop Guigues at Ottawa:[51]

> I am certain your Lordship will be glad to learn that the settlement of the Ottawa & Opeongo road progresses most favourably. I have already allocated over a 100 lots amounting to 10,000 acres & judging from the number of enqueries that have been made by those at a distance, I am of opinion that in 17 months there will have [been] 500 houses erected & ten[a]nted on that line of road. Up to the present the applicants were with a few exceptions Catholics so that it is probable we will require a clergyman to preside over the nine missions to be added to your Lordship's diocese.

By April 1856 French reported that settlers were locating up to twenty miles beyond the boundaries of Grattan Township along the Opeongo Road. Within a ten to fifteen mile radius of Mount St. Patrick


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
LEGEND
Map 23
Townships in Renfrew County opened for settlement by 1871 for which no population statistics appear in the printed Census Returns of 1871.
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
136a
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO



Map 24

Source: Brenda Lee-Whiting, Harvest of Stones: The German Settlement of Renfrew County, p. 2.

on the border between Admaston, Blithfield and Brougham townships, most of the good land was already bought or settled. The lands to which French directed immigrants in 1856 were those in townships lying north of the Bonnechère River and in townships between the Bonnechère and Madawaska rivers.[52] The Irish Catholics arriving in the 1850s became concentrated in Brougham, Grattan, Sebastopol, Algona, Lyndoch, Brudenell, Raglan and Radcliffe townships (Map 19).

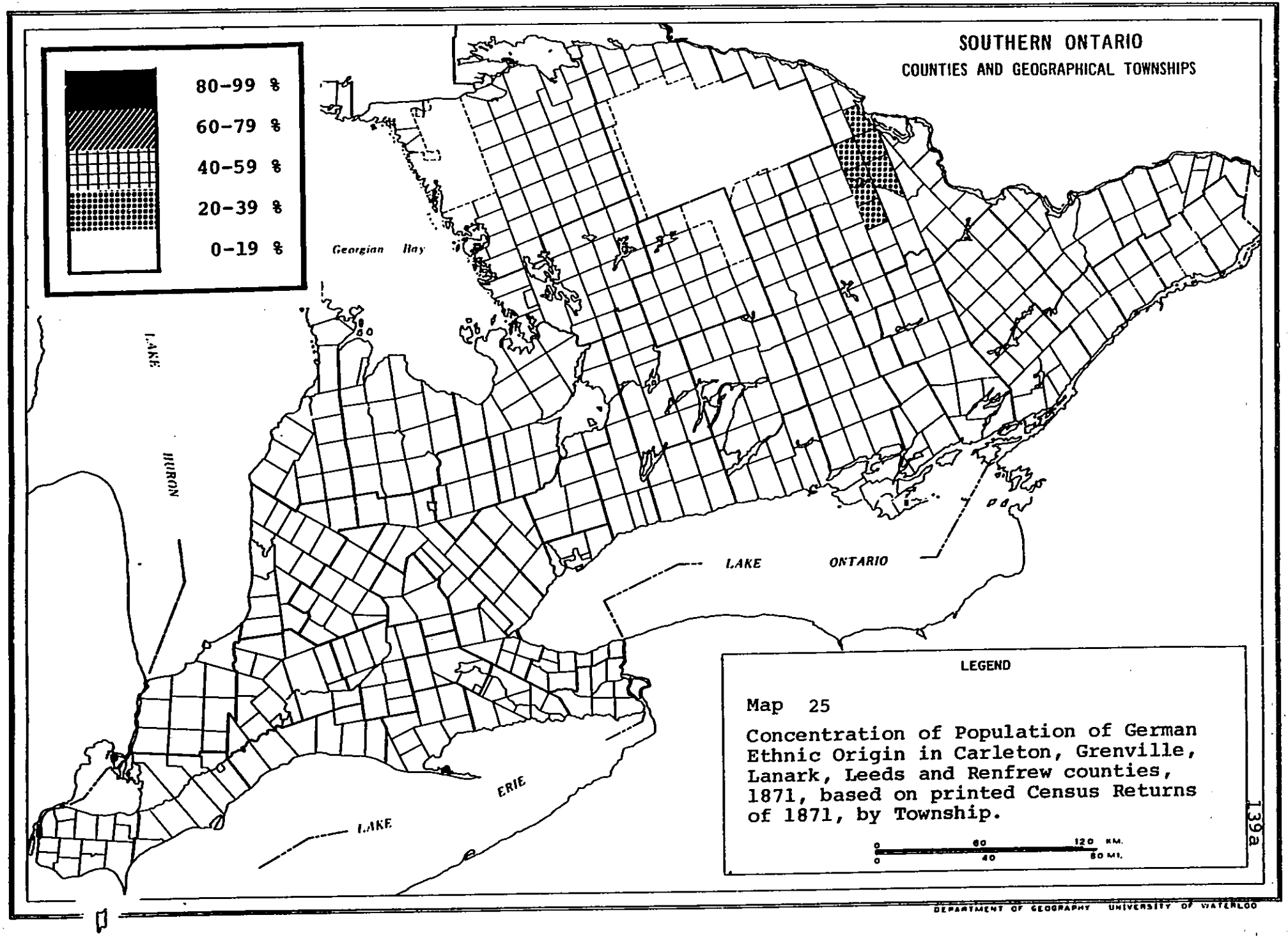
The Irish Catholic movement into remote landlocked Renfrew townships during the 1850s reflected a continuing flow of both relatives and neighbours of the Famine immigrants of the late 1840s. The strong family and traditional ties of the Catholic Irish prompted chain migration to continue even in a decade when increasing numbers of immigrants bypassed the Ottawa Valley because land of reasonable quality and price had long since been snapped up.[53] The end of the journey for many Irish immigrants in the 1850s and 1860s was a family reunion.[54] So common and obvious was this chain migration that steamship companies capitalised on it by placing advertisements in local newspapers, offering for sale passage certificates to bring relatives from Great Britain and Ireland. "By taking advantage of these arrangements", ran such a notice in the 30 March 1855 issue of the Bathurst Courier, "parties desirous of bringing out their friends to Canada will obviate the risk and inconvenience of sending home the passage money, and the danger of its being misapplied there."[55] Even those groups of immigrants unsuited to pioneering in the bush seemed to have no difficulty fitting into local society upon arrival. When a party of one hundred and ten teenage females from the Nenagh

workhouse in Tipperary were forwarded to Bytown from Quebec in April 1852, the immigration agent at Bytown reported that all had been engaged as servants in the town and vicinity within two days of arriving.[56] The beginning industrialisation of Ottawa in the late 1850s, the dramatic growth of the sawn lumber business that replaced the square timber trade, together with the filling of most arable land in Renfrew County by the early 1860s dictated that new Irish arrivals increasingly found employment only as mechanics and domestic servants in Ottawa and regional towns, or, as seasonal agricultural labourers in the countryside.

In the late 1850s, before all arable land in inland Renfrew was occupied, two settlements of immigrants arrived from continental Europe. In 1858 fifteen families from the Kashub region of northern Poland fled Prussian oppression and settled along the Opeongo Road in Radcliffe and Sherwood townships.[57] In 1860 another twenty-two Polish families settled in Sherwood and Hagarty townships, so that by 1864, counting family members, there was a total of 182 Roman Catholic Polish Kashubs residing on the Opeongo Road (Map 24).[58] One of the fifteen families arriving from Poland in 1858 actually was German.[59] In April 1857 the first German settlers in Renfrew sailed from Hamburg to Quebec, presumably locating their lots that same year, so that by October 1860 there was a German colony concentrated in Alice and Wilberforce townships, with some in North and South Algona.[60] In 1860 the Canadian government placed an agent in northeastern Germany to recruit more immigrants. The agent found it difficult to promote settlement in Canada after a century of chain migration to the United States, a

pattern of migration which originally had brought even the ancestors of many United Empire Loyalists to the American colonies before the vicissitudes of revolution had forced their exile to Canada. The agent in Germany commented in late 1860: "A century has passed away, and the German emigrant has never heard anything but New York, or of the western states; they have their relatives there, who send them money to follow them, and on whom others hang on...."[61] Still, immigrants from the agricultural regions of northeastern Germany continued to come to the Renfrew settlement, and a process of chain migration operated until as late as the 1880s.[62] By 1871 the numbers of largely Protestant German immigrants in Renfrew County accounted for a significant proportion of the population in seven townships (Map 25).

By Confederation the region comprising Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties could be viewed as a series of zones or belts of settlements successively recent, extending northward from the open ample fields cultivated by the descendents of Loyalists along the St. Lawrence to newly-arrived German and Polish immigrants tackling the forest of inland Renfrew. The disparities between the size of grants made, and the varying quality of soil in different localities does not invite simplistic generalisations about the successive waves of settlers between 1783 and 1871 facing exactly the same pioneering experience. Their expectations over time were different in many respects. Still, the following description by T.P. French of the chronology for a family of five establishing a clearing in Renfrew in the late 1850s hearkened back in many ways to the experience of Loyalist frontier farmers seventy years earlier:[63]


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
80-99 %
60-79 %
40-59 %
20-39 %
0-19 %
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
LEGEND
Map 25
Concentration of Population of German Ethnic Origin in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, 1871, based on printed Census Returns of 1871, by Township.
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
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> I will now suppose the man goes to the land on the 1st May 1856. [H]e can have two acres cleared & planted with potatoes by the 24th June. By the 24th August six acres more may be underbrushed & chopped. It would take him an equal time to log it, were he to do it alone, but the logging is usually done in a day by making a "bee" which means the calling together of his neighbours who gratuitously assist him, and he is naturally expected to go to each or many of them for a day upon similar occasions. I give him until the 24th October for his exchange of labour. I then allow him till the 1st December to chop firewood & leave matters snug for the winter, when I suppose him to go to a Shanty for four months at ten dollars a month which will bring him £10. His eight acres of land should have produced him 480 bushels of ashes and taking it for granted that he had neither time nor a kettle to melt them with Potash I allow him to sell them at 3d a bushel & they will realize £6. Now this sum with the £10 earned at the Shanty will at the prices already quoted, leave an overplus of 1/6 after paying the pork, flour & tea for the six months ending 1st Nov[ember] 1857, by which time his harvest will be over & his produce can be made available for future support.

After returning from the shanty in early April 1857, the settler would chop two acres more, bringing his total land cleared to ten acres, on which he would plant three acres of wheat, five of oats, and two of potatoes. From the wheat a yield of twenty bushels per acre would produce twelve barrels of flour. The surplus of two barrels not needed by the settler would be spent on pork to supplement his own pig, supplying his family with sufficient pork and flour to November 1858.

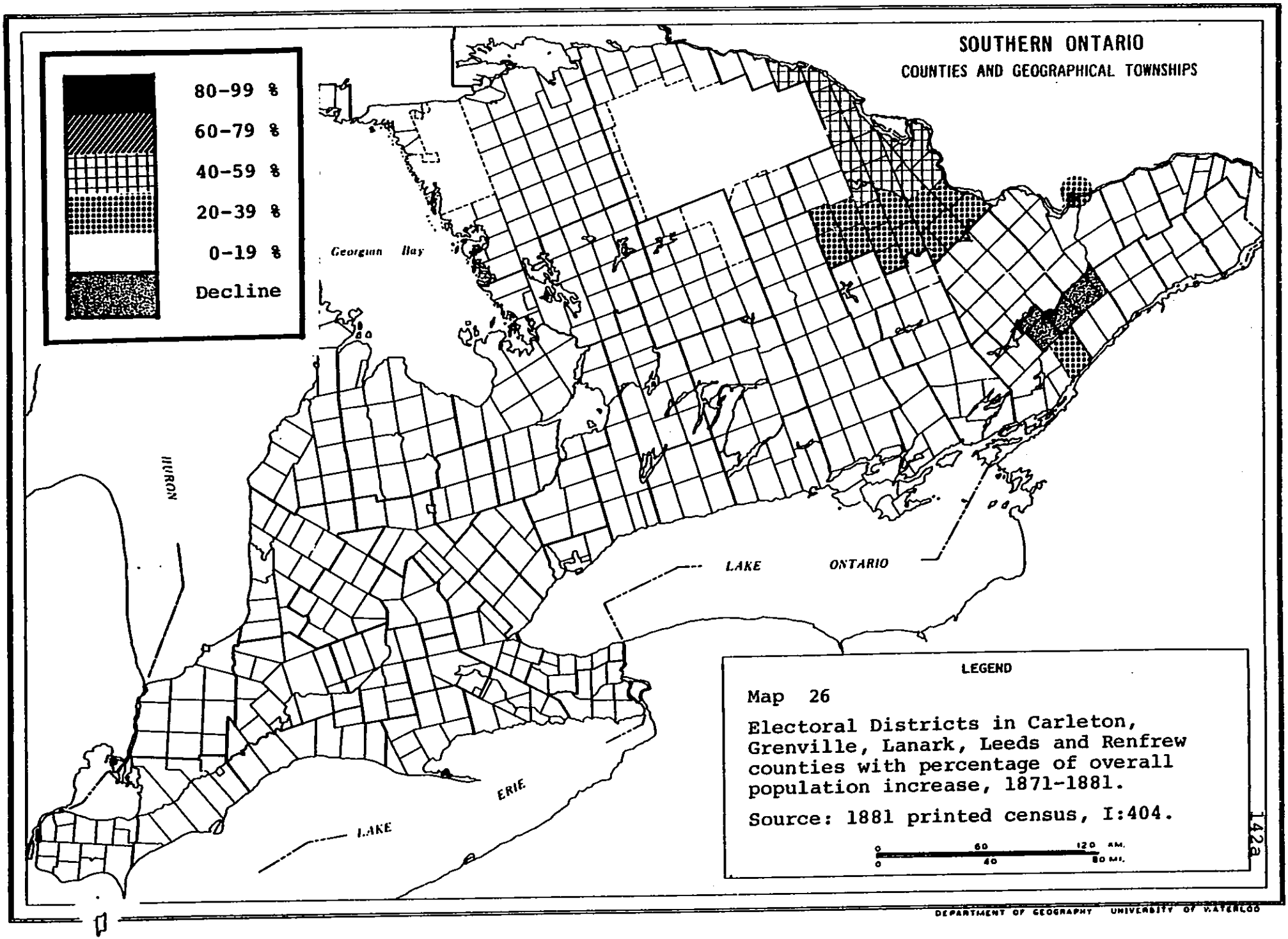
> Now the five Acres of oats should produce 175 bushels & this sold at 2/ would bring £17"10. The yield of his four Acres of potatoes, that is, two acres each year, should be 800 bushels, & leaving him half that quantity for home consumption & feeding two or three hogs[,] 400 bushels would yet remain and at the low figure of 1/3 per Bushel, they would bring £25. Thus making surplus oats & potatoes £42"10. From this sum I must deduct £8"5 for the tea, herrings, salt & seed

> & seed wheat & oats as before & there will still remain £34"5 realised besides the capital of £56"2"1 & the produce of 10 Acres of land, say in two years as I give him up to 1st May [18]58 to sell his stuff and as I will take it for granted that the summer of [18]57 has been spent as that of [18]56 and as he cannot go a season winter to a Shanty but must spend it in chopping, threshing & grinding his corn, he should have in all at least 20 Acres ready to crop by the 1st June [18]58. The land will not require ploughing & as the poor children will be the better of a little milk[,] £20 must go for a yoke of oxen & £5 for a cow, which reduces the £34"10 to £9"10 & this sum I allow for clothing & other incidental expenses. For soap & candles I have not made Allowance because the former is invariably home-made from the ashes & grease without incurring any expenses & until circumstances improve, dry pine may be used as a substitute for the latter. The third year will of course bring him larger profits than the two preceding & as it will enable him to add some sheep, a horse & additional cattle to his stock, I consider him independent & think that on the 1st May 1861, he should be able to repay without any inconvenience at least half of the capital lent him, the remaining half with the Interest should be refunded the next year.

Many settlers, lacking as they did the initial capital of fifty-six pounds underlying French's description, and coping with poor land such as the shallow Smith's Falls limestone plain, could hardly be financially independent within five years of arriving. Still, either as subsistence farmers or successfully mining cash crops from better soil, the majority of farmers in the region enjoyed a higher and continuing profit from the major market of provisioning the timber trade through to the end of the nineteenth century while agricultural produce elsewhere in Upper Canada commanded substantially lower and fluctuating prices.[64] In the older more southerly settled areas at the time of Confederation the farms that had been depleted by growing wheat and oats for more than two generations switched over to a

dynamic new dairy economy which supplied the British market with cheddar cheese for the next two generations.

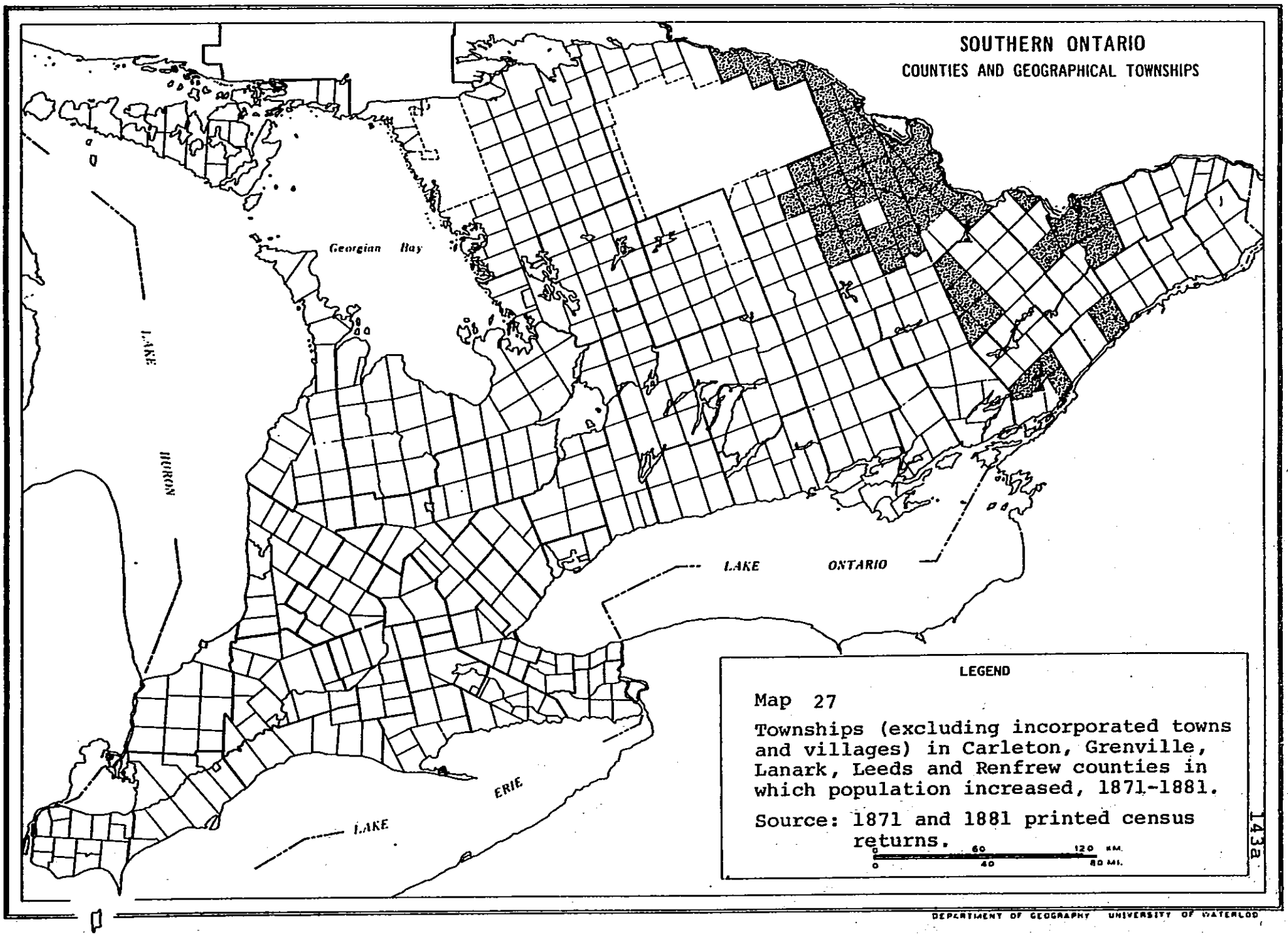
The change in the agricultural economy of the older settled part of the region, incorporating as it did the growing mechanisation of agriculture, increasingly meant that fewer and fewer people were needed to profitably cultivate larger acreages. Save for the rural electoral district of North Leeds and Grenville on the Smith's Falls limestone plain which experienced a net loss of population from the 1860s on into the twentieth century, the overall population of the region continued to grow past 1900. A glance at the growth of population in electoral districts in the region between 1871 and 1881 indicates that the greatest growth was in northern Renfrew, and that the next greatest growth was in southern Renfrew and in the city of Ottawa and the town of Brockville (Map 26). Modest rates of population growth ranging from one to seven percent in North Lanark, South Grenville, South Lanark and South Leeds reflected the rise of manufacturing towns such as Gananoque and Carleton Place and service villages such as Farmersville and Middleville. In each of these developing towns dozens of sons of local farmers left their parental farms to keep store and practise a trade without leaving the neighbourhood.[55] If the city of Ottawa and the incorporated villages and towns of New Edinburgh, Prescott, Merrickville, Kemptville, Richmond, Brockville, Gananoque, Newboro, Perth, Smith's Falls, Carleton Place, Almonte, Lanark Village, Renfrew, Arnprior and Pembroke are taken away, the growth of rural population is even more clearly related to the opening up of Renfrew County, sparsely settled inland townships in Lanark County filling up, and to the urban


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
80-99 %
60-79 %
40-59 %
20-39 %
0-19 %
Decline
Georgian Bay
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
LEGEND
Map 26
Electoral Districts in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties with percentage of overall population increase, 1871-1881.
Source: 1881 printed census, I:404.
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

growth of Ottawa and Brockville in particular (Map 27).[66] It is significant that the most fertile and agriculturally most developed townships experienced a decline in population in the 1870s.

If the population of Montague is typical of those townships in which population was declining, it is clear that a major demographic change was taking place from mid-century onward in the older settled areas. Increasingly, the population was aging. Both men and women increasingly were deferring the age at which they married and proportionally fewer people were getting married. Fewer children were being born as the fertility rate dropped, and consequently families were smaller. Children were being raised increasingly by middle-aged people, and it became more common for children to lose one and sometimes both parents before they reached maturity. An increasing number of households were headed by women, and the number of widowed inhabitants rose. The mortality rate among elderly people climbed, and declined among youth as life expectancy generally increased.[67]

The quality of life for the majority of the population rose unswervingly upward from mid-century onward. A visible symbol of improvement was the construction in the 1850s of the Grand Trunk Railway along the St. Lawrence, the Bytown and Prescott Railway between Ottawa and Prescott, the Brockville and Ottawa Railway which extended from Brockville to Sand Point in Renfrew County on the Ottawa River, and finally in 1871 the Canada Central Railway linking the last two railways with a track from Ottawa to Carleton Place. School attendance between the mid 1850s and the early 1870s became


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
LEGEND
Map 27
Townships (excluding incorporated towns and villages) in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties in which population increased, 1871-1881.
Source: 1871 and 1881 printed census returns.
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

universal and compulsory. Illiteracy dramatically declined, becoming such a stigma that most remaining illiterates were married to one another. The stigma of illiteracy was keenly felt as hundreds of petitions in each municipality were sent around for signatures imploring the newly established township councils to build better roads and bridges, to provide funding for the building of better schools, to provide welfare for indigent inhabitants, to hold temperance and railway referendums, and to promote any number of other projects relating to the municipality. The quality of housing noticeably improved as fine frame, brick and stone structures replaced smaller log houses. Fine public buildings such as churches, schools, fraternal halls, and a host of stores offering an increasing variety of manufactured goods for sale reflected the improving quality of life.[68] Lastly, the increasing numbers of local newspapers being published after 1850 testified to the growing sophistication of the population in the older settled areas. Only two newspapers published in Renfrew County before 1869.

Growing prosperity and sophistication after 1850 gradually masked the violence that accompanied the surge of population into the region beginning in the 1820s. The Ottawa timber trade, and later the sawn lumber industry, provided a mammoth underpinning to the agricultural prosperity of the region and to the initial capitalisation of the emerging industrial and urban sector, but neither could provide employment for all immigrants seeking work to capitalise the purchase of land to farm. Many instances of violence between groups of people, often of differing ethnic origin, can be found throughout the region during the 1820s and 1830s. The

Ballygiblin riots at Morphy's Falls (later Carleton Place) in 1824 resulted from the jealousy of longer established Scottish settlers over recent Irish arrivals being more amply provisioned by government.[69] The 'Battle of Merrickville' in 1829 pitted a dozen American-origin sheriff's deputies from the Brockville vicinity (replaced later by a company of American-origin Grenville militia) against the clubs and picks of a crew of Irish immigrant navvies working at Clowes Lock on the Rideau Canal—all over the refusal of an Irish immigrant to make prompt payment for timber he had purchased from a local American settler.[70] A riot involving more than four hundred Irish Protestants and Catholics took place the following year at the Isthmus (later Newboro), another Rideau construction site.[71] Fights and riots were complained of in Bytown as early as 1827.[72] Much of the violence at Bytown at first sprang from Irish envy of the stranglehold enjoyed by a clique of Scottish merchants in positions of authority in the community. It sprang too from the paranoia of the Scottish officals as an ethnic minority over their ineffectualness as justices of the peace in a swelling sea of Irish immigrants.[73] The Shiner violence of the 1830s, concentrated in Bytown, stemmed from rivalry between Irish Catholics and French Canadians over access to jobs in the timber industry.[74] Group violence was employed by Irish Protestants against American settlers in two Leeds County elections in 1834 and 1836. The 1849 Bytown Stony Monday Riot stands out as a unique example of ethnic group violence after 1841, occurring when the timber trade was in decline and at a moment of overall political and economic uncertainty; the result was a brief clash between the mixed French-Canadian and Irish Catholic urban Reform population of Ottawa and the largely Protestant rural Tory population of Carleton County.[75]

The prevalence of group violence before 1841 should not be surprising in a region which to the northwest had a forest frontier, to the northeast the separate political jurisdiction of Lower Canada to which fugitives from Upper Canadian justice could flee, and to the south yet another political jurisdiction, the United States, from where the incursions of illegal liberation movements such as the Patriot Hunters and the Fenians, and pirates such as Bill Johnston, were launched. These different frontiers together with weak local government institutions, permitted group violence throughout the region before 1841. Acts fully as violent as any of the Shiner depredations could be found in portions of the older settlements as revealed by the conflict between Irish canal labourers and Cornwall townspeople of Dutch, German and English extraction in 1836, and by the sadistic beating of an Amerindian by a group of men at Prescott in 1861.[76] With improving communications, increasing prosperity, and the union of the Canadas as one political jurisdiction, group violence no longer flourished in the older settled localities. Only in the frontier reaches of Renfrew County after the mid 1840s, with local government in remote Perth, did complaints persist about the inability of constables and elected officials to deal with group violence. The violence occasionally spilled over Renfrew's boundaries into adjacent older settled portions of Lanark County. An inhabitant of Lanark Village, complaining of such violence in 1859, remarked: "If [an] injured person complains[,] he has a big cudgel with a Captain Rock like notice attached, advising him to keep silent else worse will befall him."[77] The 1860s witnessed incidents showing the ongoing play of ethnic rivalry underlying violence in Renfrew County. An example occurred in 1866 when a gang of Irish lumberers severely battered the members of a

French-Canadian family near Arnprior.[78] Still, increasingly, even in Renfrew, people were learning to use the pen and the legal system rather than their fists to express their frustration. In 1867 a Renfrew correspondent of the Perth Courier pointed out the unfair treatment of Irish and German settlers in Renfrew County by government agents because of ethnicity, making a comparison with the Scots of Lanark County, who, it was alleged, did not have as onerous settlement conditions placed on them.[79] The embers of ethnic jealousy throughout the region were still glowing in 1868, but only in Renfrew County did they still occasionally burst into flame.

Though violence was increasingly rare after the early Victorian era, this region of Upper Canada all along had been noted for a remarkable political and patriotic stability between 1824 and 1868. In 1839, little more than a year after the most vulnerable moment Upper Canada experienced during this half century, a confidential memorandum prepared for Lieutenant-Governor Sir George Arthur pinpointed disaffected areas of the province. A good deal of disaffection appeared scattered throughout the largely American population of Grenville County, and the general knowledge of this in the region had induced a group of Patriot Hunters from the United States, supported by their Canadian sympathizers, to launch a foolhardy attempt at invasion which ended in failure at the Battle of the Windmill. Leeds County was perceived to contain a few loyal old settlers, but especially many Orangemen who were commended as the staunchest and most loyal portion of the provincial population. Their presence countered the unhappy fact that many of the older American settlers were not to be depended upon, as had been proved by treachery and desertions during the War of 1812. In Lanark and Carleton counties, by contrast, the disbanded

soldiers and Scottish immigrants all were believed to be loyal, very few of them being considered open to suspicion.[80] With at least five-sixths of its population of recent British origin by 1839, the region, save for Grenville County and Bastard and Lansdowne townships in Leeds County, was a bastion of loyalty to government.

An important aspect of the overall general stability of this region was the emergence of élites that gave leadership to local pockets of society. The original design of Upper Canada by conservative British legislators, horrified at the mob rule developing in the United States and reacting to the bloodletting of the French Revolution, was a land-based aristocracy. Initially, this aristocracy was based on levels of military rank since the higher one's military rank was, the more land one received. A few French noblemen émigrés who straggled into Upper Canada were offered substantial grants of land by Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe so that they too might become part of a provincial aristocracy. Before 1815, Loyalists such as Joel Stone of Gananoque, Solomon Jones of Maitland, and Edward Jessup of Prescott emerged as a regional élite. They enjoyed a combination of large grants of fertile land along the St. Lawrence, additional private funds, entrepreneurial skill, magnetic personalities and leadership ability to attract others to ventures they engaged in, military rank and membership in one of the state-backed churches to provide them with additional clout in claiming positions as local administrators for the provincial government. Colonisers such as Abel Stevens in Bastard Township, a Baptist lacking military rank, by promoting various commercial ventures, by bringing out a group settlement, and by taking upon themselves visible and leading social positions such as Baptist

elder, provided their families with a special influence which lasted a couple of generations.

The influx of British settlers after the War of 1812, and particularly the large military settlements at Perth and Richmond, gave military rank continued and enhanced importance in defining who could step forward to be part of the élite in an area. John Howison remarked in 1821:[81]

> ...Europeans...[in] Upper Canada...find themselves of much more importance there than they would be at home; for the circle of society is so limited, and the number of respectable people in the Province so small, that almost every person is able to obtain some notice and attention. There is likewise no aristocracy, and consequently no man can assume a higher station in society than another, except upon the score of superior intellect or greater wealth; the latter of which is of course rather oftener recognised as a ground of distinction than the former.

The initial composition of local élites varied depending on which area of the region one inhabited, and on the ratio of Scottish, Irish, American and other ethnic groups. Hamnett Pinhey, who resided in a colony of half-pay officers in March Township on the Ottawa River, in an 1836 address to the electors of Carleton County commented that the concentration of half-pay officers in eastern Upper Canada gave the region the reputation for being the hot-bed of improvement and civilisation in Upper Canada since officers employed their poorer neighbours and consequently the entire community benefitted.[82]

Catherine Traill in 1836 commented on how the useful position in society of a storekeeper made him a member of a local élite in a way unlikely in Great Britain:[83]

> [T]he storekeeper in Canada holds a very different rank from the shopkeeper of the English village. The storekeepers are the merchants and bankers of the places in which they reside. Almost all money matters are transacted by them, and they are often men of landed property and consequence, not unfrequently filling the situations of magistrates, commissioners, and even members of the provincial parliament.

Both Pinhey and Traill agreed that membership in a local élite could develop out of providing useful services to local society. Pinhey, as a British merchant who aspired to be an aristocrat, assumed the benefits of a tradition of noblesse oblige while Mrs. Traill perceived that anyone with entrepreneurial skills attained local prominence, and consequently became part of a local élite. British immigrants, while often at first less adept at bush pioneering, were largely better equipped with education and other social skills than the American-origin population, and found it easier to step into leading positions. Even the Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire weavers in northern Lanark, radicalised though they had been in early nineteenth century Scotland, recognised their education and skills gave them advantages over other Upper Canadians. Patrick Shirreff, after visiting such immigrants in 1833, concluded: 'Whig and Radical in the mother country, after becoming possessed of a few acres of forest in Canada, seem to consider themselves part of the aristocracy, and speak with horror of the people and liberality."[84]

In addition to timing of arrival, wealth, military rank, the church to which one belonged, the role of utility one played in a community, there were other obvious social factors that came into play in deciding who advanced into a local élite. Having friends in government when local appointments were considered, having the

proper political affiliation in a region, belonging to the numerically largest local ethnic group, being related to other socially prominent people and having the right fraternal connections in the Masonic, Temperance and Orange lodges were all obvious aspects of climbing into a commanding role in local society. The various combinations of these different factors over time and in different settings is difficult, perhaps impossible to fully trace. That they combined remarkably at times to overcome what should seem to be obvious ethnic concentrations is shown by the example of Montague Township. Montague's population before 1815 was entirely of American origin, and so too were the first local officials elected at town meetings. The arrival of British military settlers after 1815, English and Scottish immigrants in the 1820s to join the American settlers on the most fertile lots of land allowed them economic, timing of arrival, and social advantages over the deluge of Irish immigrants arriving in the 1830s and 1840s. These advantages, despite the Irish comprising three-quarters of the population from the 1830s onward, allowed the non-Irish minority to comprise an élite in Montague for most of the nineteenth century. Even after the creation of elected municipal councils in 1849, the Irish majority in Montague was politically unsuccessful. Except for James Gilhuly, who was reeve briefly from 1854 to 1856, no other Montague reeve before 1900 was Irish. Before 1900 not one of the township clerks, the highest paid municipal office, was Irish.[85]

The region studied in this dissertation was a complex kaleidoscope of geographic zones at various stages of settlement and

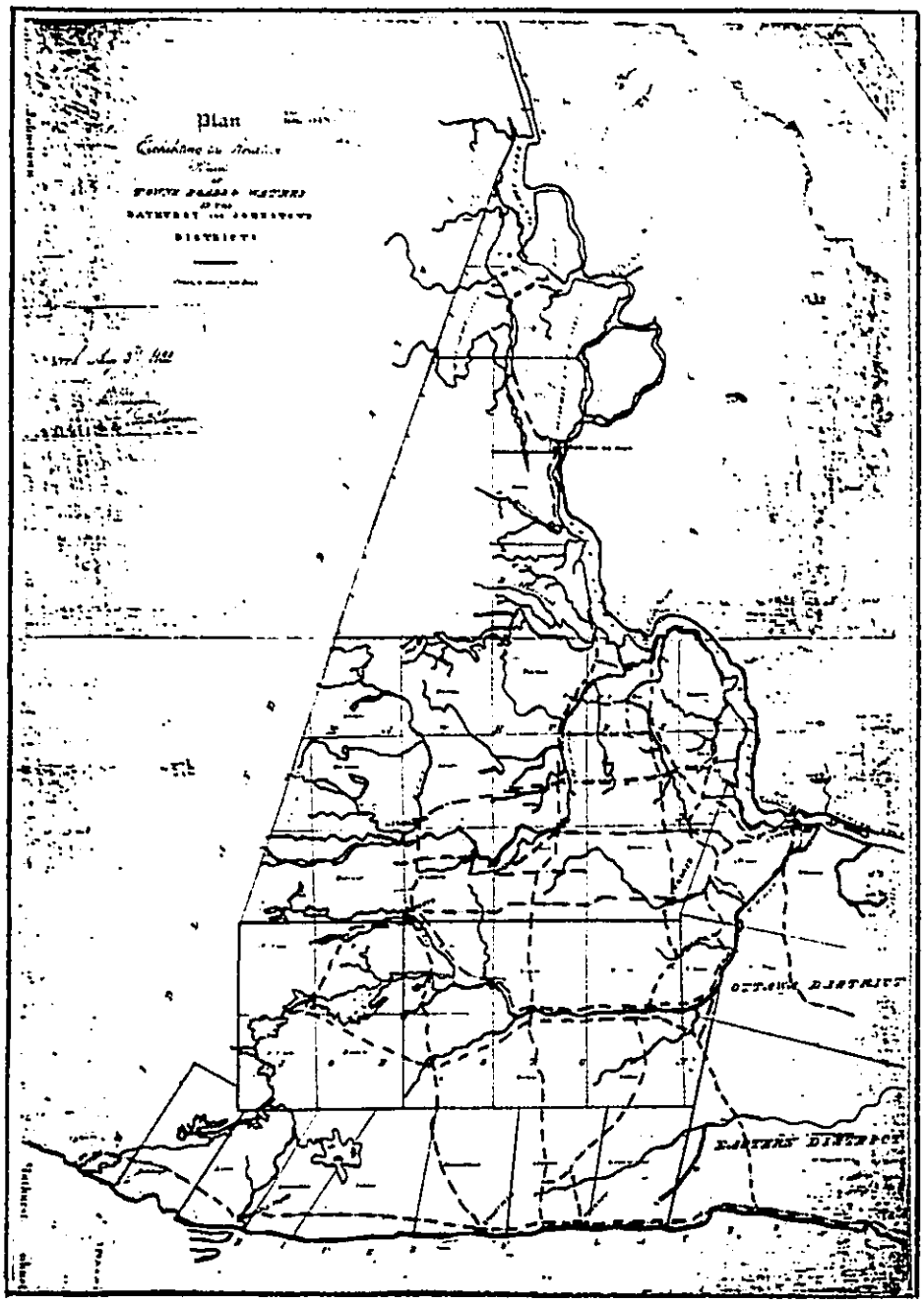
culture. It was inhabited by people from numerous ethnic groups, religious denominations and political traditions. They were variously favoured with assistance and grants from government depending on the decade they arrived, and depending too on the quality of land on which they settled. Yet, there were reminders that they shared life in an increasingly cohesive, closely-knit region. From the earliest Loyalist arrivals to the Germans arriving in the late 1860s, all shared similar economic dreams. To varying extents most of them benefitted from the timber economy of the Ottawa River watershed. The pioneering experience throughout the ninety years of settlement sketched in this chapter had many continuing and common aspects for all settlers in the bush. It is likely that the overwhelming majority of settlers in the region participated in a form of chain migration, and that indeed the contours of most settlements both socially and culturally were significantly shaped by being grouped together with old neighbours and relatives. Most settlers in the region between 1784 and 1871, when they looked to a new area in which to resettle individually, or with sufficient land for grown-up sons, or as a distinct colony, looked northwest within the region's own undeveloped frontier. John George Bridges remarked in the Ottawa Advocate in 1844:[86]

> The pioneers of the Ottawa country are now mainly its own offspring, inured from infancy to its difficulties: not a very polished race of course, but comparatively free from the boorishness, or the folly too common with the original settlers; and with respect to qualifications as new settlers, each of the rising race is equal to an average half dozen of their fore-runners. It is highly satisfactory to observe that there is a general inclination among the youth of these parts to establish themselves within the limits of the

> Ottawa region, under all discouragements; in spite of the natural difficulties of the country unsmoothed by public aid, and notwithstanding the positive restraint which Government sees fit to apply to legal settlement.

This inclination to settle within the region was partly due to natural geographic proximity, and partly due to historic political and jurisdictional links. The entire territory had originally been part of the Eastern District, and still later the counties of Leeds and Grenville continued municipally united while Lanark and Carleton were united from 1824 to 1842, and Lanark and Renfrew were united from 1842 to 1866 (Maps 28 and 29).[87]

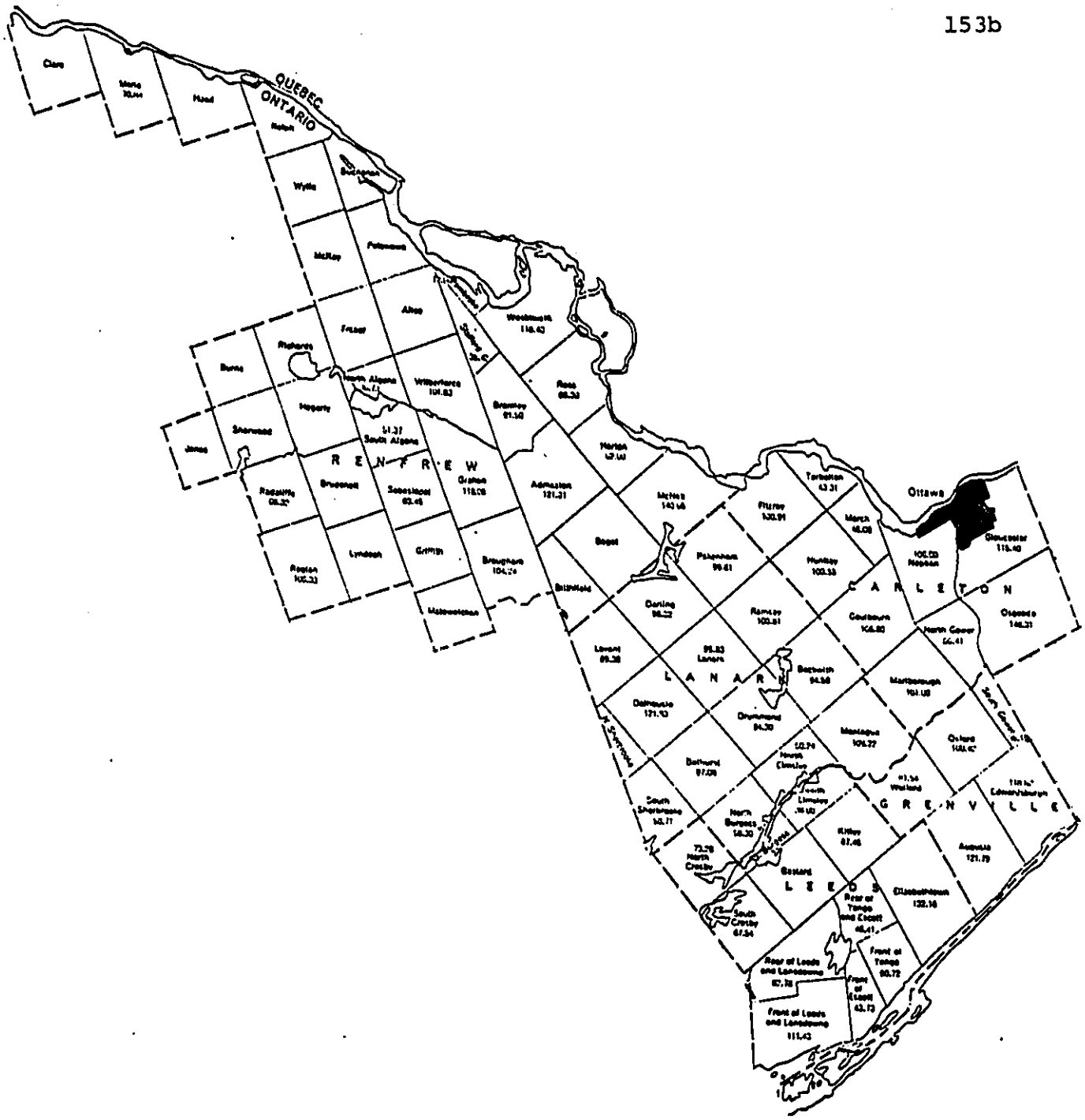
Only when the local frontier became unattractive was there a demographic change in local society as it adjusted to an increasingly mechanised agricultural economy and industrialisation. Even as population continued to grow in rural Renfrew County at the same time it declined in the longer-settled agricultural townships in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark and Leeds counties to the south, the construction of the Bytown and Prescott and Brockville and Ottawa railways facilitated increasing contacts between the older and newly settling sections. Greater prosperity for an increasing proportion of the population in the older counties indicated that most of the region no longer was a frontier for bush pioneering. A society most of whose geographic zones of development were increasingly removed from the pioneering stage no longer tolerated group violence to the degree it once had. The peoples of varying ethnicity and tradition inhabiting Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew were well aware they shared one final aspect of life from the early 1830s onward. As the following chapters show, they recognised that they had been infiltrated by an Irish majority.



Map 28

This 1832 map shows the geographic unity which tributaries of the Ottawa River and early roads gave to the region studied in this dissertation.

Source: Archives of Ontario, Map B-12.



Map 29

Lccation and names of Townships in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew Counties.

Source: William George Dean and G.J. Matthews, Economic Atlas of Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969).

NOTES

[1]Ruth McKenzie, Leeds and Grenville: their first two hundred years (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1967), pp. 8-20.

[2]Mary Beacock Fryer and Charles J. Humber, eds., Loyal She Remains: A Pictorial History of Ontario (Toronto: The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada, 1984), pp. 88, 106.

[3]Bruce Wilson, As She Began: An Illustrated Introduction to Loyalist Ontario (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1981), p. 76.

[4]McKenzie, Leeds and Grenville, pp. 19, 26-34.

[5]Ibid., p. 24.

[6]Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841 The Canadian Centenary Series (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), pp. 24-25, 33.

[7]McKenzie, Leeds and Grenville, p. 39.

[8]Lucien Brault, Ottawa Old and New (Ottawa: Ottawa Historical Information Institute, 1946), p. 25.

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[31]PAC RG5 A1 Dalhousie to Maitland, 22 September 1820, pp. 24217-24218.

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[36]Donald H. Akenson, "Ontario: Whatever Happened to the Irish?" in D.H. Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History III (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1982), p. 207.

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[42]Glenn J Lockwood, "Irish Immigrants and the 'Critical Years' in Eastern Ontario: The Case of Montague Township, 1821-1881" in Donald H. Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History IV (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1984), pp. 168-169.

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[44]This is based on a survey of the Township Papers of the Crown Lands Records at the Archives of Ontario. There were complaints from Scottish and American settlers of Church of England favouritism, but the recommendation of a Roman Catholic Irish immigrant squatter to purchase a reserve by a Church of England and Ireland clergyman in Fitzroy indicates that such favouritism was as much national or ethnic as religious.

[45]John Irwin Cooper, "Irish Immigration and the Canadian Church before the Middle of the 19th Century", Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society II No. 3 (May 1955), p. 7.

[46]Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (hereafter CBC), "CBO Radio Noon," 24 September 1985, "The Early Irish Settlement of Eastern Ontario," Bruce Elliott and Glenn Lockwood.

[47]PAC RG5, A1 vol. 236 reel C-6911, pp. 129807-129814.

[48]Frances Morehouse, "Canadian Migration in the Forties," The Canadian Historical Review IX (1928), pp. 327-328.

[49]Elliott, "Regionalized Migration", p. 5; idem, "North Tipperary Protestants", pp. 10, 296.

[50]Brenda Lee-Whiting, Harvest of Stones: The German Settlement in Renfrew County (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 7.

[51]Ottawa (Roman Catholic) Archdiocesan Archives (hereafter OAA) Évêque Guigues, Régistre des lettres, Vol. VII (1854-1857), 28 November 1855 letter from T.P. French at Renfrew to Bishop Guigues, pp. 226-229.

[52]Ibid., 5 April 1856 letter from T.P. French at Mount St. Patrick to Bishop Guigues, pp. 309-310.

[53]Elliott,"North Tipperary Protestants," p. 312.

[54]Ibid., p. 190.

[55]Perth (Upper Canada) Bathurst Courier, 30 March 1855, p. 3, col. 4.

[56]Elliott, "North Tipperary Protestants," p. 190.

[57]D.H. Avery and J.K. Fedorowicz, The Poles in Canada Canada's Ethnic Groups (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1982), p. 4.

[58]Isabelle Jost, "New Documentation on the Settlement of the Western Part of the Ottawa-Opeongo Colonisation Road," Revue de l'université d'Ottawa XLIV (1974), p. 447.

[59]Ibid., pp. 446, 449.

[60]Brenda Lee-Whiting, On Stony Ground (Renfrew, 1985), [p. 5].

[61]Idem, Harvest of Stones, pp. 6, 17.

[62]Ibid., pp. 6, 24.

[63]OAA Évêque Guigues, Registre des lettres, Vol. VII (1854-1857), 5 April 1856 letter from T.P. French at Mount St. Patrick to Bishop Guigues, pp. 312-313.

[64]Michael S. Cross, "The Lumber Community of Upper Canada, 1815-1867," Ontario History LII No. 4 (1960); reprinted in J.M. Bumsted, ed., Canadian History Before Confederation: Essays and Interpretations (Georgetown: Irwin-Dorsey Ltd., 1972), p. 224.

[65]Elliott, "North Tipperary Protestants," p. 316.

[66]The growth shown in northern Leeds and Lansdowne townships and in Yonge Township can be accounted for, first, by the growth of the unincorporated villages of Farmersville, Mallorytown, Lyndhurst, Seeley's Bay and Charleston during the 1870s, and secondly, by the growing popularity of Charleston Lake as a cottage and tourist resort area at the same time.

[67]Glenn J Lockwood, "The Irish in Eastern Ontario: The Social Structure of Montague Township in Lanark County, 1861-1881" (M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1980), pp. 37-56.

[68]Idem , "Irish Immigrants and the 'Critical Years'," pp. 171-173.

[69]Andrew Haydon, Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1925), p. 143.

[70]Robert Legget, Rideau Waterway (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), pp. 157-158.

[71]Perth (Upper Canada) Bathurst Independent Examiner, 1 January 1830, p. 2, col. 2.

[72]William N.T. Wylie, "Poverty, Distress, and Disease: Labour and the Construction of the Rideau Canal, 1826-32," Labour/ Le Travailleur No. 11 (Spring 1983), p. 26.

[73]Michael S. Cross, "Violence and Authority: The Case of Bytown" in David J. Bercuson and L.A. Knafla, eds., Law and Society in Canada in Historical Perspective University of Calgary Studies in History No. 2 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1979), p. 11.

[74]Cross, "The Lumber Community," p. 228.

[75]Idem, "The Dark Druidical Groves: The Lumber Community and the Commercial Frontier in British North America to 1854" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968), pp. 497-500.

[76]Ralph Ellis, "Labourers, Contractors and Townspeople: The Social, Economic and Demographic Impact of the Cornwall Canal, 1834-1843" (paper read before the Canadian Historical Association, Vancouver, 1983), p. 33; and Carleton Place (Canada West) Herald (weekly newspaper), 24 July 1861, p. 2, col. 5.

[77]Perth (Canada West) Courier, 28 October 1859, p. 2, col. 4.

[78]Ibid., 1 June 1866, p. 2, col. 3.

[79]Ibid., 22 February 1867, p. 2, col. 7.

[80]S.D. Clark, Movements of Political Protest in Canada, 1640-1840 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), pp. 409-410.

[81]John Howison, Sketches of Upper Canada, Domestic, Local, and Characteristic (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1821; reprint ed.: Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1970), p. 81.

[82]Bytown (Upper Canada) Gazette (weekly newspaper), 30 June, 1836, p. 1, col. 1-3.

[83][Catherine Parr Traill], The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters From the Wife of an Emigrant Officer, Illustrative of the Domestic Economy of British America (London: Charles Knight, 1836; reprint ed., Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1980), p. 81.

[84]Clark, Movements of Political Protest, p. 484.

[85]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 and Lorna Reynolds, eds., The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), pp. 319-342.

[86]Bytown (Canada West) Ottawa Advocate (weekly newspaper), 30 July 1844, pp. 2-3, cols. 7-4.

[87]C.F.J. Whebell, "Why Pembroke? The Politics of Selecting a County Capital in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," Ontario History LXXVIII No. 2 (June 1986), pp. 129, 147.

CONJUNCTURE ONE

1824–1844

IV

SURFACE RESPONSES TO THE FIRST IRISH INUNDATION

Eastern Upper Canadians before 1845 read about Ireland and about newly arriving tides of Irish immigrants in regional newspaper articles that reflected the less polished feelings they confided to letters and diaries. Ogle Gowan remarked in 1842, "it seems to be an admitted axiom, that the Press is a fair index to the public feeling of the country."[1] There were numerous layers of religious, political and coded or secret meaning within the vocabulary employed in regional newspapers, as subsequent chapters will show; still, the coded veneer of editorial prose was thin enough to show its resemblance to the less polished popular grain of wood beneath. This chapter summarises the general surface views or images that regional newspapers presented of Ireland, of the Irish immigrants settling in eastern Upper Canada, and their open assessment of the implications of massive Irish immigration before 1845. The chapter begins by considering the variety of distinguishing characteristics of the Irish presented in local newspapers, Irish stereotypes and recognised peculiarities as compared with the English and Scottish, assessments by local editors of the condition of Ireland, and attempts to draw analogies between Ireland and Canada. This chapter then considers the variety of views presented in regional newspapers about large-scale Irish immigration, about the ramifications of the southeastern Irish Protestant inundation during the early 1830s, about the comparative treatment of Irish immigrants in British North America and the United States, about the diseases accompanying them, about whether the Irish were a burden or an asset to Upper Canadian society, about the value of a large Irish Catholic

labour force, and about the implications of violence committed by Irish immigrants. The chapter closes with assessments by editors of the perceived physical condition of immigrants, their clothing, their housing, their language, their clannishness, their potential for success, their suitability for integration into the agricultural economy of Upper Canada, and the few non-religious, non-political allusions to how the Irish themselves felt they were being treated and received. This chapter, in short, samples the stock of outright images of Ireland and Irish immigrants which nourished public opinion in eastern Upper Canada before 1845.

Some Loyalist and American settlers in Leeds and Grenville were either of Ulster Presbyterian birth or ancestry before sustained Irish immigration began directly trickling into these counties about 1809.[2] Upper Canadians gave scant thought to the Irish scattered among them and regarded Ireland with no particular interest before the mid 1820s. They had no revolutionary connection with or expectations of Ireland, in decided contrast with American revolutionaries of a previous generation. Save for the Irish ethnicity shared by early outspoken critics of a Scottish clique dominating the provincial government in the decade after 1800,[3] the early newspapers and society of Upper Canada were dominated by American points of view. The Montreal Herald editor remarked in 1824, "For a number of years back it has been the general complaint of travellers, that the great influx of emigrants from the United States into [Upper Canada], has had a marked tendency in assimilating the manners of the one country to those of the other."[4] Upper Canadian newspapers as a matter of course carried synopses of British news, but these were copied from American or Montreal papers.

The litany of violence in Ireland listed in these synopses during the early 1820s made no particular impression on Upper Canada.

Before the Honourable Peter Robinson secured the support of the British government for an experiment assisting Irish Roman Catholics to emigrate from a troubled region of County Cork in 1823, it had been assumed both in Ireland and Upper Canada that only loyal Protestants were welcome as assisted settlers in Upper Canada.[5] Then, suddenly, with riots erupting in 1824 between the first group settlement of Irish Catholics and a previously settled community of Scottish immigrants at Morphy's Falls (later Carleton Place), eastern Upper Canadians had cause to consider the consequences of Irish immigration into their province. Although relations between Irish and non-Irish in the vicinity of the riot were successfully patched up, early lurid newspaper accounts raised grave doubts in the Colonial Office and among the local population about the wisdom of sending Irish immigrants to the colony.[6] Further accounts of assorted disturbances by Irish labourers at Rideau Canal worksites during the late 1820s forced local inhabitants to pay increasing attention to a growing number of references to Ireland and Irish immigrants in their local newspapers and to recognise that both Irish Catholic and Protestant immigrants might not share their world view, and that increasingly local newspapers catered to the substantial new Irish population.

Numerous positive and negative distinguishing characteristics of the Irish presented in regional newspapers before 1845 flowed directly from popular English stereotypes, stories, humour and plays. Their high rate of fecundity[7] was as well known as their diet of potatoes.[8] Positive distinguishing traits of the Irish noted in the

press included a strong attachment to the land of their birth,[9] military genius,[10] loyalty to the monarch and to British principles,[11] an instinctive warmheartedness "far removed from that gloominess which accompanies a spirit of discontent,"[12] rich humour embodying sound principles,[13] morality,[14] ardent attachment to religion,[15] inherently happy dispositions,[16] cleverness with words,[17] innately generous and noble hearts,[18] an "untaught kindness" of nature which was manifested in charity, sympathy and respect for the unfortunate,[19] being internationally beloved,[20] being inheritors of a famed and great ancient civilisation,[21] great literary and scholarly attainments by compatriots,[22] a respect for higher classes and ranks,[23] being celebrants of tradition especially on St. Patrick's Day and the 12th of July,[24] being hard-working,[25] gratitude with long memories for benefits given them,[26] honesty,[27] wit,[28] and boasting many internationally recognised figures in the pulpit, in literature, drama and in military exploits.[29] The equally lengthy list of negative distinguishing characteristics of the Irish included their proverbial illiteracy and primitive schools,[30] a peculiar mispronunciation of the English language,[31] subservience to superstition to the extent of believing in fairies and bad spirits and of peppering their speech with petty pious salutations,[32] engaging in duels to satisfy a ludicrous sense of honour fed by notions of being descended from royalty,[33] insistence on fine wakes and funerals,[34] a peasantry whose passions were more easily lighted up than those of the cooler inhabitants of England and Scotland,[35] overindulgent drinking of alcohol to the extent of turning "into beasts",[36] a propensity to fight and engage in violence,[37] murderousness,[38] riotousness,[39] savage dispositions,[40]

oversensitiveness,[41] presumptuousness,[42] lawlessness,[43] treachery,[44] rebelliousness,[45] blustering and turbulence,[46] being unable to leave the feuds of Ireland behind upon emigrating,[47] being easily stirred to group violence by demagogues,[48] impoverishment,[49] uncomeliness,[50] simplicity,[51] being purveyors of blarney,[52] and being unable to overlook an injury done them.[53] Both kinds of traits were listed in all regional newspapers, but after 1829 increasingly the positive Irish characteristics tended to be listed in Tory papers, and negative aspects in the regional Reform press.

The variety in the stock of images, some of them at odds with others, does not accurately enough reflect the dominant images that tended to be presented in local newspapers. The ethnic concentration in each locality, the political constituency of each newspaper, and the frequency of allusion to Irish characteristics were important factors. Before the emergence of political parties in the late 1820s, such references were randomly copied from British and American papers. From 1829 onward, care clearly was taken by editors to distinguish between allusions to Irish character copied from foreign papers, and to how they themselves referred to the Irish. Editor William Buell continued to copy articles from British papers in the Brockville Recorder bemoaning the brutal and savage state of Ireland, but in his own commentaries after 1829 he refrained from specifically mentioning the Irish by ethnic name, using instead vague terms such as 'emigrants' 'Europeans', 'paupers', 'new settlers', 'Orangemen' and 'Ribbonmen' when it is clear he was referring to the Irish. Buell, with his substantial Reform constituency of American-origin inhabitants, tried not to alienate Irish Catholic supporters.

Similarly, Orange and Tory candidate Ogle Gowan tried not to alienate Irish Catholics by repeated allusions in his succession of Brockville newspapers to the common nativity they shared with Irish Protestants and by deploring the desecration of Catholic churches. At the same time his majority Irish Protestant base of support was fed humour, news excerpts and prose about Ireland that assumed and directly extolled a Protestant ascendancy in often turgid anti-Catholic prose. In Perth, there was a more direct confrontation between Scottish and Irish inhabitants from the early 1820s. The Scottish editors of the Bathurst Independent Examiner and later the Bathurst Courier permitted a wide variety of political expression by correspondents, but were less reticent than either Buell or Gowan at Brockville in censuring Irish behaviour and allowing negative general allusions to Irish character to be printed. A.J. Christie, editor of the Tory Bytown Gazette, also was Scottish, but in contrast with the significant Scottish population in the Perth vicinity, the overwhelming Irish majority around Bytown necessitated that his editorial allusions to both Irish and Protestant Catholics be largely positive. It is striking that virtually no mention of the violence of Irish Shiners along the Ottawa River is contained in the Bytown Gazette, in contrast with numerous references in the Perth and Brockville papers. The English-born editor of the Ottawa Advocate also judiciously refrained from discussing the Shiners, daring as late as 1844 to describe the majority of settlers in the Bathurst and Dalhousie districts in no more controversial terms than as "potatoe farmers".[54]

Particular stereotypes dominated the wide range of characteristics attributed to the Irish in local papers. A stereotype,

at base, is a stylised, composite simplification of complex reality, a perception of the primary characteristics of a subject group derived from innumerable scientifically uncontrolled observations. Karel Bicha, in his study of American stereotypes of Slavic immigrants, claims that in "order to evoke a stereotype, a subject group must deviate in values and behavior from the standards of the dominant or 'host' group." Bicha's conclusion that "stereotypes are normally composites of negative characteristics" does not adequately describe the references by eastern Upper Canadian editors to Irish immigrants in Canada. It comes much closer to describing what they printed about Ireland and about Irish immigrants in the United States.[55] Keith Johnson aptly and succinctly summarises early nineteenth century British North American newspaper coverage of the Irish people: "their reputation was bad and it preceded them wherever they went".[56] The stereotypical aspects of Irish society on which the weekly reports from Ireland fixed included violence, rebelliousness, turbulence, exaggeration, marital infidelity and bigamy, a remarkable sense of humour, a particular inventiveness in using the English language, idleness, naïveté, being esconced in misery, slyness, cleverness, military adeptness, a capacity for committing violent atrocities, blundering, rebelliousness, and impoverishment.

Overt references to 'Paddy', 'Patlanders' and more rarely to 'bog-trotters' in the regional press reflected both condescension and genial acceptance of Irish immigrants. Irish jokes were frequently printed as occasionally were excerpts from such writers on Ireland as Samuel Lover, Mrs. S.C. Hall, and Charles O'Malley.[57] Virtually without exception, these humorous and literary excerpts made extensive use of stereotypes. The story, "Mic Mahony's Courtship" by Bryan O'Halloran

in the 1844 Bytown Gazette, for example, featured not only the peculiarities of Irish mispronunciation of English, but the natural inclination of the Irish for liquor "Mr. Mahony's native beverage," smuggling, bigamy, and eating potatoes.[58] A few dozen confidential petitions to the lieutenant-governor complaining of violence by Irish immigrants were occasionally matched by more guarded references in the local press. An 1837 letter from local magistrates, printed in the Bytown Gazette, congratulated the Roman Catholic priest for successfully exhorting his congregation to "prevent the natural tendency to outrage" on St. Patrick's Day.[59] The growing number of Irish immigrants over time may explain the diminishing number of such unkind references to the Irish. In 1836 the Bytown Gazette published without subsequent complaint the tale of "The Two Pigs" speaking in an Irish brogue. The equation of swinishness with being Irish was inescapable in the description of "a long legged, long sided, long snouted pig, whose appearance bespoke his Milesian origin...and the rich, musical twang of his grunt, which breathed of Tipperary 'most intirely.'"[60] Eight years later, when a Gazette editorial alluded to "the half-tutor'd Old Country savage" recklessly plunging into the timber industry,[61] at least one offended reader interpreted it as a jab at Irish immigrants, forcing the editor to explain lamely that the term was not offensively nor personally applied.[62]

Another example of hidden allusions to Irish is the 1836 appeal by the Quebec Gazette editor, reprinted in the Bytown Gazette, asking the Irish to support public order and morality as a means to "best put down the calumnies which have been so often heaped on their country and countrymen, both at home and abroad".[63] Similarly, the Brockville

Recorder in 1833 copied an article from the Canadian Freeman about an Orange/Catholic riot in York, with the appended moral of horror over unhappy Ireland and the religious bigotry that paralysed Ireland and degraded Irishmen at home and abroad.[64] Earlier in 1833 an anonymous letter to the Recorder exhorted Reform supporters—UEL descendants, English, Scottish and reflecting Irish not to be intimidated by Orange violence [emphasis mine].[65] The most used covert form of reference to Irish misdeeds was simply to link identifiably Irish names, without referring to them being Irish, to an atrocity. As an example, the Recorder in late 1834 reported the atrocious murder of the sheriff at Cornwall "at the hands of two inhuman and merciless monsters named Quin".[66]

Weekly reports of news from Britain, with separate boxes for the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, pointed up distinguishing and differing characteristics of the Irish. Repeatedly, the news accounts from Britain contrasted a train of outrages occurring in Ireland with happier news from the sister kingdoms. For example, in the 5 January 1837 Brockville Statesman, a newspaper sympathetic to Irish immigrants, the following summary was made of British news:[67]

> This day we received our papers, from Ireland, by which it appears that Midnight Assassinations, robbery, murder and bloodshed, still stains the plains and valleys of that unfortunate; but beautiful Country which with all its faults, we still love....
>
> From Scotland there is nothing very interesting, save that her prudent Sons, are still improving their Country, and progressing in the Arts and Sciences, for which that Country is now becoming famous.

Even when the local editor refrained from pointing out the contrast, the juxtapositioned news excerpts made it nonetheless evident. Hence,

in the 6 November 1824 Montreal Herald items from Britain printed side by side in two columns featured an account of hostile South Sea Islanders being fended off by an English crew under the England heading, an enumeration of new inventions under the Scotland heading, and a summary of the Tipperay Assizes under the Ireland heading.[68]

Some articles explicitly compared the national character of the English, Scottish and Irish peoples. One in an 1830 Brockville Gazette attributed the enjoyment of good food, good provisions and cleanliness by the English to their frugal, non-squandering and hard-working habits and to their frankness, bluntness, plainness, honestness, strict observance of the Law and respect for the just authority of Magistrates. The article credited the Scottish emphasis on education and pride in their nationality, their diligence, their parsimony and their abolition of holy days for transforming the poor soil of Scotland from a place of poverty to one of opulence. Ireland, continued the article, however proverbial for the hospitality, personal bravery, benevolence and zealous ardour of its citizens, suffered from a majority of the people observing holy days, and multitudes stopping work to attend executions, funerals, shows, patrons, and sometimes very dangerous assemblies. From the number of days and time so lost, workmen in Ireland were deprived of half their wages, and consequently this gave rise to assemblies and clubs of journeymen demanding a raise in wages, supporting one another against their masters and the public, with the end result being a great source of economic calamity in Ireland.[69]

Earlier in 1830, another article in the Brockville Gazette, copied from Blackwood's Magazine, attributed the peculiar nature of the Irish people to its racial mixture. Though the Celt of Ireland

was "only a little less pure than he of the Scottish Highlands", the article argued that "[u]nfortunately, the domination of the Celt over the Irish character is modified chiefly by that of Milesian, whose large and dark eyes, high and sharp nose, thin lips, and linear mouth, declare his southern origin more surely than Irish history or Irish fable."[70] The Irish mixture was clearly an unfortunate one:[71]

> It is scar[c]ely possible...to conceive a cross capable of conferring so little benefit on either, as that of the Celt and Milesian.
>
> The intellectual o[r]ganization of the Irish people has thus more resemblance to that of the [south], of Europe. It confers imagination and passion in a far higher degree than reasoning and judgment.
>
> With such intellectual organization, it is easy to foresee the kind of moral character which must mark the nation. Such a people must naturally be much less distinguished in the discrimination of good and ill, and the calm and patient discharge of duty, than in the love of friends and the hatred of foes, or in the devotion, even unto death, to any cause which they may espouse....
>
> Among such a people, it is evident, that when owing to Saxon and Scandinavian intermarriages, calmer observation and reasoning powers are added to those high capabilities, so essential to all genius, the result must be such characters as Ireland has occasionally produced. It is not less evident, however, that such characters will be comparatively rare, and that the mass of the people will add fierce barbarity and superstitious bigotry to the grossest ignorance.
>
> In Ireland, accordingly, when the people are excited by private or public hatreds[,] crimes at once the most brutal and the most cowardly are perpetrated without the slightest compunction; robberies, burnings, tortures, and assassinations, are the commonest means of vengeance; and we are warr[a]nted in saying, that no-where in Europe may be seen such a complication of villainy and crime.

The profusion of weekly reports of diabolical outrages, assassinations, incendiary incidents, group violence and crime in general during the 1820s and early 1830s gradually gave way to

increasing coverage of the British political arena wherein Daniel O'Connell called for the repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, in order that Ireland might once again control certain parts of her own economy and address her own social inequities. The following comment, copied from the Liverpool Chronicle into the Kingston Chronicle in 1831, reflected a commonplace of the time:[72]

> The state of Ireland is a subject from which Englishmen, of almost every class, habitually shrink with feelings of loathing and adversion[,] so sickening is the spectacle of want and wretchedness, turbulence and outrage, misery and moral degradation which that unhappy country too generally exhibits.

The shift from coverage of atrocities to coverage of the political struggle is emphasised by three out of four pages in the Kingston Statesman and the Bytown Gazette being devoted to the Irish State Trials of O'Connell and his colleagues in early 1844.[73] The growing tranquility in Ireland during the late 1830s contrasted with the wrongs afflicting Ireland enumerated by O'Connell. Prominent among these were the reluctant wringing of Catholic Emancipation from the British administration, the annulled titles of the Roman Catholic clergy, the ill representation of Irishmen due to rotten and pocket boroughs, a wealthy Protestant Church of Ireland establishment in which offices could be bought, and government injunctions against Orangemen not being rigorously enforced.[74]

Newspaper reports from and local editorials about Ireland assumed and described a country where much was wrong with the social order and with the national character. The editor of the Montreal Gazette expostulated in 1825 that Canadian editors too often calumniated Ireland and the Irish.[75] As if to prove him right, an article copied

into the Brockville Recorder covering the murder of an Irish Reformer in Toronto in 1834, warned Upper Canada to beware lest it become the scene of horrors equal to those of Ireland.[76] Similarly, upon viewing the first Orange parade to be seen in Perth in some years, the Bathurst Courier in 1835 condemned "the attempt to ferment in this happy Province, that bitter party spirit which distracts [the Orangeman's] own fair and fertile land.[77] The editor of the Bytown Gazette in June 1843 described Ireland as "destined to continue what it has ever been—a prey to contending factions and angry passions."[78] The most uproarious illustration of the contemporary Irish reputation was an 1844 account of the visit by a delegation of Ojibwa Amerindians to Britain, who refused to venture into Ireland. One journalist asked in mock astonishment, "It is the Sioux afraid of the Ribbonman? Can the wielder of the tomahawk shrink back with terror from Tipperary?"[79] Articles also alluded to the miserable standard of living of the majority in Ireland, detailing the wretched cottages, cabins shared by livestock and people, and children sleeping with their parents in cases of particular misery.[80]

A variety of explanations for the omnipresent wretchedness and turbulent state of Irish society were offered in local newspapers. An 1824 Montreal Herald article copied from Blackwood's Magazine explained that Ireland traditionally had been an agricultural country, and that the increased production required by the Napoleonic war economy in the British Isles had promoted thriftlessness, speculation, and land-jobbing particularly in Ireland, so that when the wars came to an end, the Irish economy was particularly vulnerable.[81] The Montreal Gazette that same year pointed to the introduction of the potato into Ireland

as the source of misery. The potato had come to supplant the use of bread, to abolish the arts of culinary preparation, and, by the extreme facility of "providing a mere belly-ful, was promot[ing] idleness and vagabondism, and multiply[ing] an evergrowing propagation of paupers".[82] The Brockville Recorder in 1833 remarked that the "predominant ostensible cause of commotion in [Ireland]...is the collection of Tithes, which the clergy pertinaciously will have, and the people, with no less pertinacity do resist...."[83] Ogle Gowan, in the Kingston Statesman on the 12th July 1844, identified overpopulation as Ireland's major curse; because of the unnatural violence of the Irish people, English capital was repelled from Ireland, and consequently Ireland did not possess the boundless manufacturing and mineral establishments of Britain, nor was there a market opened for the employment of Ireland's dense population. Gowan mentioned nothing about the lack of minerals in Ireland in contrast with Britain. The fixity of tenure sought by O'Connell and the Repeal party in Ireland, in Gowan's eyes, would only further add to the subdivision of land and continuing overpopulation. Gowan's remedy for Ireland's overpopulation was emigration, the alternative being escalating violence.[84] The editor of the Bytown Gazette, aware of the growing Irish Catholic population in the region by 1844, attributed the Irish public's notorious indifference to crime to an inequitable society in which a wealthy minority owned the wealth which a miserable majority created but was not allowed to share.[85]

It was inevitable for local editors to mull over comparisons between Ireland and Canada, especially with the continuing growth of the regional Irish immigrant population. Such analogies did not necessarily lead to similar implications for both countries. The

Brockville Recorder in 1832 lamented that the formation of Orange lodges in Canada would only exacerbate strife, in the way it had previously in Ireland, a fear reiterated many times.[86] Ogle Gowan in the Brockville Antidote, by contrast, uttered the veiled threat that if the United Empire Loyalists continued to be intolerant of the growing Irish population locally, they would perforce create the equivalent of turbulent Ireland in Upper Canada.[87] An anonymous letter from AN IRISHMAN in the Recorder later in 1833 appealed to his compatriots that although they had been kept blindfolded in Ireland, with Orangemen and Catholics buffeting one another while the aristocracy enjoyed the fat of the land and the poor untaught people left with hardly potatoes to eat, in Upper Canada they were offered a chance to better their condition and to participate in all the blessings of peace and plenty.[88] The Bathurst Courier in 1836 cited William Lyon Mackenzie's comment that the lamentable political situation in Ireland was the result of government there subsidizing a cordon of super loyal presses. By implication, Upper Canada suffered in the same way.[89]

The Bytown Gazette perceived an analogy between the English of Canada and the Protestant minority in Ireland, and between the French Canadian majority in Canada and the Irish Catholic majority in Ireland. Although no religious differences in Canada were added to the national distinctions as in Ireland, the English in Canada could only give up their claim to an ascendancy as rulers if, like their Protestant counterparts in Ireland, their rights of property and interest were secured.[90] The Bathurst Courier editor pronounced it "curious how precisely similar is the feeling in Ireland" with the French Canadian preference for an unproductive desert over the benefits provided by

British industry.[91] Comparisons were drawn between Daniel O'Connell and Papineau and between the causes advanced by both men.[92] An incongruous analogy appeared in the Bytown Gazette in 1839 between a procession of Toronto Orangemen disregarding the lieutenant-governor's warning against Orange processions and O'Connell "walking through" the King's proclamation in Ireland.[93] Ogle Gowan, speaking in the Upper Canadian house of assembly in 1839, urged that care must be taken in creating a united Canadian province not to degrade either English Canada or French Canada at the risk of replicating unhappy Ireland's history.[94]

From the year of the rebellions onward there was an increasing tendency no longer to find the situations of Canada and Ireland similar. Earlier such references were rare, as in 1825 when the editor of the Montreal Gazette perceived no similarity between the condition, the habits of life, and the natural disposition of French Canada and Ireland.[95] There was no analogy, the Brockville Gazette concluded in 1831, because none of Ireland's real or imagined evils existed in Canada.[96] The Bathurst Courier editor in 1837 pointed to the contrast between Ireland, where O'Connell urged the people not to make a run on the banks during the financial panic, and Upper Canada, where radical demagogues urged farmers to withdraw everything from the banks.[97] After the rebellion, the Bytown Gazette printed the address of Bishop Macdonell to the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada, in which he congratulated them for not being deluded by the rebellion leaders in the way that their countrymen in 1798 had been goaded into supporting a rebellion fanned and led by Protestants.[98] Even the Duke of Wellington in the imperial parliament was quoted as contrasting Ireland,

where the Queen's authority and laws were more or less obeyed, with Lower Canada where the Queen's authority was not established and where it appeared vain to even attempt to make laws.[99]

The growth of Catholic Irish immigration, particularly in the early 1840s, drew calls from local editors for the Irish in Canada to remember that they no longer were in Ireland. The Bytown Gazette in the issue preceding the 12th of July in 1843 printed a Kingston Chronicle editorial which admitted that Irishmen newly arrived in Canada could hardly be expected to forget the politics of Ireland, but should have the good sense not to agitate the public mind by discussions which could lead to no good, and in which the mass of Upper Canadians had no interest. It was as absurd for Canadians to hold Irish Repeal meetings as for Irishmen to agitate for the repeal of the union of Upper and Lower Canada.[100] The Brockville Recorder reprinted an editorial from the Hamilton Journal which saw no need for Orangeism in Canada, inquiring, "When will Irishmen learn to respect themselves as countrymen in a distant land from that of their birth?"[101] The Ottawa Advocate in 1844 copied from the Quebec Gazette an account contrasting O'Connell's rejection of violence with the violence of his supporters in Canada.[102] Never articulated as an explicit fear of Irish immigrants, the growing tendency in the aftermath of attempted rebellion to reject analogies between Ireland and Canada showed an underlying concern by regional editors about the potential of the yet growing Irish immigrant population to adapt to the Canadian scene.

From the late 1820s on, there was an overwhelmingly positive response to the continuing prospect of large-scale immigration from Ireland. Rarely did fears surface about the social consequences of a

large influx of poorer Irish immigrants. The earliest such fears appeared in an 1822 Kingston Chronicle:[103]

> On referring to the list of arrivals at Quebec, we find that nearly 8,000 souls have already emigrated to this country since the opening of the navigation, and that a great proportion of them are from the distressed districts of Ireland. These facts shew that we shall have poverty and disease among us during the ensuing winter sufficient to keep in active exercise all the charitable feelings of the wealthier part of our population, and to exhaust their means of relief.

Save for an exceptional reference to Canada not needing political agitators,[104] and Reform papers occasionally copying from Lower Canadian papers arguments for levying a head tax on immigrants to pay for care of the indigent,[105] all other references were positive. As early as 1818 a correspondent of the Kingston Gazette welcomed immigration from any quarter to Upper Canada since "never did a country suffer more, for the want of an encreased population of yeomanry, than it does."[106] A flow of immigrants into the province was generally equated with rising prosperity; since the immigrants brought money with them, they made waste land productive; and money from the British treasury came with them in the development of projects such as the Rideau Canal, all combining to stimulate a flow of cash in the eastern Upper Canadian economy.[107] Not only was there indignation that a loss of immigrants to the United States deprived Upper Canada of additional growth, but resentment that landowners in western Upper Canada stationed agents at Quebec and Montreal advising immigrants to proceed west, prompting them to go through the Rideau Canal system without stopping to inquire about settling locally.[108] The Bathurst Courier in 1840 even approved government transporting indigent immigrants for

free in order to prevent American agents from luring them to the United States "where little employment and less protection and sympathy can be had, or extended to the emigrant."[109] No editors or letters in local newspapers openly approved placing a head tax on immigrants.[110] Overwhelmingly, the sentiment expressed in the local press was one of welcome, extolling the blessing which immigrants, the vast majority of whom were Irish, represented to Upper Canada.[111]

The sentiment of welcome was more surface display than sincere emotion for American-origin editor William Buell of the Brockville Recorder, who, surrounded by a growing tide of Irish immigrants, dared only go so far in the direction of criticising Irish immigration as to copy a petition by the American inhabitants of Lennox and Addington county:[112]

> Upon the subject of Emigration, we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that, although we do not feel any need of British emigrants to infuse British feelings into this Province, no portion of your Majesty's subjects being more truly loyal than the present inhabitants of the Province, and although we are not convinced of the expediency or justice of removing the pauper population of the Mother Country to this Province, for maintenance and support; we are nevertheless ready to welcome among us any emigrants of good character and principles, and of sober and industrious habits, and to afford them all the information, hospitality, and assistance in our power.

The submerged and hesitant criticisms cloaked beneath a vocabulary of welcome in this petition testifies eloquently to how pervasive the sentiment of welcome was in eastern Upper Canada. Reform editors William Buell at Brockville, Donald McLeod at Prescott and James Thompson at Perth were quite aware that the granting of government funds in the 1830s to employ immigrants to build roads, and the

formation of emigrant societies in every provincial town to assist immigrants, were not simply the benevolent acts that every editor abjectly lauded in his paper, but were political acts that linked the Tory administration to the largest immigrant group in the province.[113] In the early 1840s as farmers responded positively to settle Irish immigrants on sections of their land in return for their services as farm labourers, it was clear that attempts were being made to forge links between major landowners and Irish immigrants, links that boded no political good for the cause of Reform.[114] A letter to the Brockville Gazette in August 1832, after all, had predicted:[115]

> The emigration which is now daily taking place into these Provinces must in a few years render British feeling and British interest paramount, and then they (the demagogues) [meaning American-origin Reformers] will find that they have raised themselves up a band of steady opponents, before whom they must quail.

The morsels of verse ostensibly written by Irish immigrants that were printed in local newspaper poetry sections, it is worth noting, lamented only their exile from friends and family rather than any lack of general welcome in eastern Upper Canada.[116]

The positive surface reception accorded Irish immigrants was in part due to the sudden infusion of money into the regional economy which the inundation of southeastern Irish Protestants between 1830 and 1834 brought with them. The editor of the Kingston Chronicle remarked in 1820 that "emigrants have seldom more money than their urgent necessities require."[117] By mid 1830 it was apparent that the number of Irish immigrants arriving annually had increased remarkably, and "that by much the larger number of the families are persons having a little capital."[118] Articles in the Quebec Gazette and Kingston

Chronicle might generalise in saying that "the Emigration to these Provinces has been gradually increasing in numbers, and particularly in respectability, and property, since the conclusion of the late war,"[119] but the editor of the Brockville Gazette more precisely assessed the inundation pouring in from southwestern Ireland:[120]

> We are compelled, though we must confess, unwillingly, to turn our thoughts towards Ireland; it certainly is a melancholy subject to us—by private letters, we learn that the emigration of Protestant families during the next year, will be immense, as every person who can possibly dispose of his property for any thing like the value, hurries to do it, in order to escape the horrors of a civil war, which eventually must come, and which nothing can now avert.

Reports in 1834 and 1836 referred to a still high immigration of industrious farmers and mechanics leaving Ireland in droves.[121] The change which the sudden infusion of Irish Protestants, many of them with means, made to the eastern Upper Canadian catalogue of assumptions about Irish immigrants was described bluntly by an anonymous correspondent of the Brockville Gazette in 1832:[122]

> While the emigrants continued to come, "few and sparing," and...[the Yankee Democrat faction] could make them slaves to cultivate farms, which their indolence had left neglected, we heard nothing against emigration; but the moment that the emigration assumed a formidable shape, and that a few judicious and active leaders appeared amongst them, to direct their energies, and to endeavour to raise those already in the country, from being "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to their mean and paltry enemies, to their just and salutary influence in society, that moment every engine is set at work, first to villify and slander their leaders with the most foul and filthy abuse, and secondly, to retard, and, if possible, to prevent the further increase of Emigration.

The Gazette correspondent, it must be recognised, was alluding to what was being done rather than to what was being said in the local press.

To judge from the eastern Upper Canadian press, save for French Canadians in Lower Canada[123] and for the jealousy of longer settled fellow immigrants,[124] Upper Canada proffered a cordial welcome to Irish immigrants in contrast with the inhospitable treatment they received in the United States. In Upper Canada plans were refined to settle immigrants on sections of older settlers' lots to create a denser population, to increase the revenue of the country, to benefit the proprietors,[125] to supply the need for agricultural servants in spring and autumn, and to fill the increasing demand for lumbermen.[126] At the same time reports from the United States told of the jealousy, the alarm and the outright persecution of Irish immigrants by native Americans. The Bytown Gazette copied an 1836 article from the New York Exile which told of the implacable resentment of Americans towards Irish immigrants, that no services, however eminent, nor conduct, however correct or respectable, could obtain esteem or respect for the Irish in America.[127] Articles in the Bytown Gazette in 1837 detailed a Boston riot between native American firemen and an Irish funeral procession, resulting in an Irish residence being attacked and destroyed;[128] a Catholic convent at Charleston being burnt by an American mob in a country where being an Irish Roman Catholic seemed to be an offence punishable by law; the anti-Catholic diatribes of posing escaped nun, Maria Monk, being given popular credence;[129] and the increasing by ten times the tax on immigrants entering the city of New York.[130] The Gazette in 1839 contrasted American troops firing on canal labourers at the behest of the American government, with Canada where "a dozen hordes of banditti" [meaning Orangemen] "prepared to 'cry havoc and let loose the dogs of war', unfailingly send all the Authorities to sleep."[131]

The reason why Americans regarded Irish immigrants with alarm and jealousy, the Bathurst Courier concluded in 1843, was from their fear that all too soon they would lose the power and influence they currently enjoyed to the incoming immigrants.[132] An 1844 riot at Philadelphia resulted in two Irish immigrants being burned to death in houses surrounded by an American mob, dozens of Irish and Americans killed and wounded, the burning of three Catholic churches, the bishop's residence, the cathedral there, a nunnery, and many houses.[133] The Bathurst Courier editor commented that the Irish were not the aggressors, and that in contrast with Canada where institutions of government afforded protection to all over whom the British flag waved, American political rivalries encouraged the persecuting spirit of Americans against the Irish.[134] The Bytown Gazette copied American sources that testified to vile charges, insulting emblems at public meetings, taunting shouts and parades by native Americans through the Philadelphia Irish quarter, and the anti-Catholic atmosphere that had led up to the tragedy. In the midst of the carnage at Philadelphia, there was the humiliating display of rows of houses with American flags and bunting to mark them out as not being Irish—humiliating because it showed that American laws did not afford equal protection to all.[135]

The Bytown Gazette particularly took care to enumerate the varieties of humiliation experienced by Irish immigrants in the United States. In 1836 it contrasted the American government's refusal to sell government lands to Irish immigrants with the bestowal of land in Canada upon the sole condition of settlement.[136] Although Irish immigrants made a positive contribution to American development by constructing canals and railways, they were treated with outrageous

insult and base ingratitude by native Americans.[137] It was notorious that American natives were preferred over Irish immigrants in all occupations.[138] The Irish clearly were not happy in the United States, being seduced there in the first place by false claims that labour was extravagantly high in New York, and cheated by swindling ship agents.[139] Labourers who left Canada deluded by reports of large wages and numerous comforts in the United States, after thirteen years on the American public works, being no closer to independence in means, were returning to British soil in Canada.[140] The Gazette editor, catering to the Irish majority around Bytown, deplored the suggestion in a Montreal paper that a strike on the Lachine Canal had anything to do with the Irish nationality of most workers, claiming that this was a highly impolitic thing to suggest in Canada and in the face of the warm-heartedness of the Irish who were "far removed from that gloominess which accompanies a spirit of discontent"; it was only in the United States where strikes were attributed to the Irish because of the bias there against immigrants from Ireland. There was no proof that discontent formed any part of the Irish character.[141]

By contrast, the Bathurst Courier in 1841 copied an article from a New York paper attributing violence in Harlem to the rivalry of Irish factions.[142] Two years later the Courier editor contrasted Repeal meetings in New York raising money to assist in breaking the bonds of union between Britain and Ireland with the situation in Canada where he believed there was not a single repeal meeting, notwithstanding the presence in Canada of thousands of Irishmen as warmly and as ardently attached to Ireland.[143] As early as 1829 the Kingston Chronicle had remarked on the greater tendency of the Irish to stay in

Canada, than to stay in the United States.[144] Eleven years later, the Bytown Gazette, remarking on the appointment of an immigrant agent at Bytown and the formation of a society to assist indigent immigrants, stated that these government preparations must flatter immigrants that they were still under the paternal care of the government under which they were born.[145] There was an obvious contrast between the humiliation offered the Irish in the United States and the welcome extended to them in Upper Canada.

One aspect of Irish immigration where criticism might have been expected to be forthcoming was during the outbreaks of cholera at the peak of the 1832 and 1834 seasons. The local response was a massive effort at providing relief to the immigrant who arrived stricken with disease, with appeals to the government to provide further funding in addition to the voluntary donations made locally.[146] There of course was alarm at the presence locally of cholera, and understandably the people of Perth in 1832 were thankful that there was not a single cholera case in their vicinity.[147] The lack of recrimination in local newspapers against immigrants for bringing disease with them, and very few instances of its being linked with them in unpublished confidential petitions to the lieutenant-governor is striking.[148] The closest the Brockville Recorder came to raising the matter was to copy an article from the Kingston Spectator in 1837, which claimed that the inhabitants of the town were threatened by poor health and disease from immigrants who brought Small Pox up with them from the quarantine station.[149] A letter from 'A Friend to Emigrants' in the Brockville Gazette at the height of the 1832 cholera scare, upbraided the governor of New York for his scornful reference to "cholera-ravaged emigrants."[150] There

were protests against Lower Canada charging a head tax on immigrants as contrasted with the charity of Upper Canadians towards the destitute and ill arrivals, since it threatened to reduce the flow of immigrants into Upper Canada.[151] The Bathurst Courier with empathy recounted the affecting story of one Irish immigrant mother who concealed her baby's death when disease broke out aboard ship.[152] The only reference in the Bytown Gazette to a link between Irish immigration and the introduction of disease was to cite Louis-Joseph Papineau's comment about the British dumping Irish beggars in Canada who also brought pestilence and death with them. The quote was made to show how discreditable the Gazette considered Papineau.[153] No credible links between Irish immigration and cholera were presented in the eastern Upper Canadian press.

There were few explicit or implicit assumptions in the regional press that Irish immigrants would be an economic burden on Upper Canadians or that they would come to comprise a beggar class. There were initial complaints among the Scottish settlers of the Perth vicinity who noticed an increase in begging from the mid 1820s onward by Irish immigrants who seemed to feel less aversion to begging than did either the Scottish or English.[154] This can largely be attributed to Scottish immigrants who felt that the Irish were being better treated by government than they had been, and who soon found themselves outnumbered in the Bathurst District. It is nonetheless striking that in a society where extracts from British and American newspapers, and references in travel books through Ireland pointed to beggary as a besotting Irish characteristic, there were virtually no references to or fears of beggary articulated in the regional press. The Bathurst Independent Examiner playfully suggested in 1829 that the word mendicant

was Irish in origin.[155] The Brockville Recorder, it is true, in the heat of early 1830s election campaigns against Gowan received anonymous letters alluding to the pauper immigrant support of the Irish-born candidate, but although Gowan attempted to fan this into a slur against Irish immigrants generally, there were no explicit links of Irish immigrants and a general cost to society. Indeed, in 1832 the Recorder copied an anonymous letter to the Grenville Gazette which alleged that Tory Loyalists thirteen years earlier had remonstrated against the British government sending any more British beggars to Upper Canada.[156] The Recorder in 1834 copied an article from the York Courier, accepting that the lieutenant-governor was generally perceived to have sanctioned the emigration only of those who would not be a burden to Upper Canadian society.[157]

The closest the Bytown Gazette would come to discussing Irish immigrants as a burden to Upper Canadian society was to humourously comment in 1837 that two Shiners who had broken into a store and beaten up clerks were sentenced at Perth "to Penitentiary for 2 years free board & lodging,"[158] and in 1841 to remark that Upper Canadians must provide systematic public and private employment to immigrants, or else while awaiting employment the poor immigrants would become destitute, require attention, and Upper Canada would risk losing them to the United States.[159] When the Gazette editor in 1840 heard that recently arrived Irish immigrants were begging through the streets of Bytown, he cautioned against charity being bestowed on them since there was no lack of employment available from local farmers, and hence there was "no excuse for encouraging those who, from idle habits, would rather beg than work."[160] To impress his readers with the importance of

proffering genuine assistance to immigrants through employment, the Gazette editor closed an 1841 editorial with a quote from the Upper Canada Herald, that if the pauper immigrants who came to Canada were not assisted by government or public societies, many had no alternative but to beg their way from Quebec and Montreal to Upper Canada, being a burden to society wherever they went.[161] It was as if to say, if the Irish immigrant were forced to beg, it was not his fault, but the responsibility of established settlers whose duty it was to hire him. The Bathurst Courier in 1842 cited the governor-general's speech from the throne, that few destitute were among the increased number of immigrants that year, and in 1844 copied the observation that starving and striking Irish immigrant labourers at Lachine "were determined, as they said, to die sooner than ask charity"[162] without question. Irish immigrants before 1845 were perceived not to be a potential beggarly burden, but rather an economic asset.

The major benefit of the Irish inundation to eastern Upper Canada was the acquisition of a major new source of labour with which to develop waste land and pursue industry. As early as 1817 the Kingston Gazette enviously remarked that the grant of an ample tract of land by the American congress for the settlement of immigrants from Ireland showed how the United States welcomed and patronised hardy and enterprising settlers from any and all nations.[163] Only two negative comments can be found about the ability of Irish labour, neither of which was presented in the eastern Upper Canadian press. The first of these was an article reprinted from Bell's Weekly Messenger in an 1824 Montreal Herald, which attempted to explain the turbulent state of Ireland as largely stemming from:[164]

> an unhappy quality in the character of the Irish poor, that, from some unexplained circumstance, the Irish labourer does not possess from nature the steady, solid, uniform industry of the Englishman,—that he cannot, in short, support a rivalry and competition in steady and permanent labour. Is it not known to every master mechanic in London, that one Englishman will do as much work, as it is called, in the day, as two Irishmen? In a word, the Irishman wants the physical faculties of the Englishman, to endure persevering labour through any period. He excels him, perhaps, in spirit, in gaiety, and not unfrequently in good humour, and a kindly benevolence; but, in every other respect, the English mechanic and labourer have greatly the advantage over the Irish.

John MacTaggart, the Scottish clerk of works for construction of the Rideau, after being dismissed for incompetence and between bouts of alcoholism, while writing his two-volume memoir, Three Years in Canada, made no effort to disguise his antipathy against Irish labourers. He viewed Irish immigrants as awkward, unhandy, careless, impossible to teach, ineffectual workers, many of whom were blasted to pieces from taking blasting and quarrying jobs they did not know how to perform, and others maimed and killed from their clumsy attempts at felling trees.[165]

Comments in the regional press were positive, by contrast. The Kingston Chronicle editor in 1827 visited a Rideau Canal excavation site where he admired "the persevering and stout exertions of the lusty Hibernians who are engaged on the work."[166] Local inhabitants could read for themselves the 1830 report of a British member of parliament, printed in the Brockville Recorder, that "the labouring classes in the South of Ireland were industrious but could not get employment."[167] The Bytown Gazette printed the even more glowing 1836 report of an English manufacturer that Irish labourers working in England were very industrious, honest, trustworthy, valuable labourers, and preferable to

English labourers because the Irish, when pushed, were willing to oblige whereas the English were not.[168] Orange master, Ogle Gowan, pointed out in the Brockville Statesman in 1837 that unlike most Irish Protestants in Upper Canada who engaged in agricultural pursuits, Irish Catholics were found to "swarm about Canals and Railroads; on Rafts and at Lumbering depots, as servants and Carters, about Towns and Villages and at other transient employment.[169] There was no critique in the regional press of the Irish ability to labour, although by the early 1840s surprise was expressed at the high wages expected by Irish immigrants,[170] and it was with increasing difficulty that concern over violence associated with strikes on public works could be masked.[171]

Weekly reports from Ireland throughout the 1820s and the Ballygiblin riots at Carleton Place in 1824, followed by sporadic outbreaks of violence at construction sites along the Rideau Canal in the late 1820s and early 1830s informed eastern Upper Canadians of the lengendary Irish propensity for violence. Articles in the 1829 Bathurst Independent Examiner and Brockville Gazette told of Irish Catholic Ribbonmen piking Orange Protestants to death in Ireland.[172] An 1830 edition of the Brockville Gazette carried a description of a typical Irish fair, and matter-of-factly described the Irish love of violence as a form of recreation.[173] The Bathurst Courier in an 1841 news excerpt told of the riotous disposition of the Irish in London.[174] The Bytown Gazette in 1842 amused its readers with an account of an Irishman newly arrived in the United States attending the meeting of a debating society, much disappointed to find that it was "a Litherary Institution for the advancement of Useful Knowledge" instead of a "De-bayt-ing Society" in which he hoped to "bayt" someone with his

shillelagh.[175] In 1844 the Gazette presented the southeastern Irish Protestant majority in the Bytown vicinity with the grisly anecdote of a twelve-year-old drummer boy with the King's troops in Wicklow during the 1798 Rebellion being captured and perforated with pikes by the revolutionaries.[176]

The Brockville Recorder during the early and mid 1830s protested against the manner in which Ogle Gowan incited the Irish of Leeds County to commit violence at the polls to secure his election to the provincial legislature,[177] bringing them together into assemblies armed with bludgeons to intimidate their foes,[178] appealing to their Irish ethnicity and national prejudice, sowing hatred against the longer settled American settlers, and threatening the use of brute force and club law.[179] One Recorder correspondent remarked that the "wild untutored sons of the forest would have blushed for human nature had they beheld the violent and outrageous behaviour" of Gowan's Irish supporters.[180] With Shiner violence occurring during the 1830s throughout the Ottawa valley; with reports of atrocities, riots, rape, beatings, murders, Irish faction fighting, arson, strikes, plundering, election violence, and general outrageous behaviour in one way or another connected with Irish names; and the number of such incidents reported in the regional press growing during the 1830s to new highs in 1843 and 1844, it was impossible for the general public not to be aware of the threat of Irish violence to Upper Canadian society.

What is particularly fascinating is the distinction made by regional newspaper editors in how they reported violent incidents connected with the Irish. All editors copied articles about Irish violence in Ireland and in the United States from British and American

papers, articles that directly attributed violence to Irishmen as an ethnic group. From the early 1830s on, as the Irish increasingly became a numerically predominant part of the eastern Upper Canadian population, regional newspapers ceased explicitly to connect violent events in British North America with the Irish. Save for the refusal of Ottawa editors to give press to Shiner depredations, so fearful were they of a backlash, regional editors continued to detail violent occurrences. In their coverage of violence in British North America, the word 'Irish' ceased to exist for regional editors. A variety of code-words, with degrees of subtlety, replaced explicit references to the Irish. The Brockville Gazette in 1830 referred to a house at the Hog's Back on the Rideau being blown up "by some persons employed on the Canal."[181] Among the many code-words used by Leeds and Grenville Reform editors to refer to the Irish Protestants who intimidated voters at the polls in Leeds during the early 1830s, the clear favourite was "bludgeon men of Leeds."[182] When the Bathurst Courier in 1837 described an attempt at rape in Fitzroy Township by "an Irishman of the name of Michael Fox,"[183] it represented a rare break from not referring to Irish ethnicity when detailing a violent event. By contrast, the Bytown Gazette in 1838 described "a scandalous assault and riot which a parcel of miscreants made on a party of harmless [French] Canadians, while enjoying themselves at a dance," printing the unmistakably Irish names of the miscreants to allow readers to see that it was violence committed by Irish immigrants without explicitly stating that Irishmen had committed violence.[184] Similarly, in yet another example, the Bathurst Courier in 1841 reported "that a man of the name of Hurrigan, who resides in the Township of March, was last week barbarously murdered by

one of the name of Kelly."[185] This clear reluctance explicitly to identify violence with Irish immigrants in British North America contrasts with the Bytown Gazette in 1839 reporting "the riotous and lawless conduct of the Irish labourers" working on the Alleghany Canal in the United States.[186] Within this use of code-words, then, there is no mistaking the glee with which the Brockville Recorder in late 1837 copied a despatch of Sir Francis Bond Head, a lieutenant-governor whose Tory administration enjoyed substantial support from Irish Upper Canadians, in which he alluded to "the murdering Irish" at Cornwall having to be pacified.[187]

Two exceptions to the general rule of not explicitly identifying Irish violence as Irish must be noted. The first was the obligatory condemning of Orange processions as an unnecessary evil brought over from Ireland. The second was to identify faction fighting among Irishmen from different Irish provinces, as in Munster versus Connaught on the Cornwall Canal in 1835, and Connaught versus Cork at St. Catharines in 1842, as being by Irishmen and equally regrettable. The Irish in eastern Upper Canada could hardly be said to have run a gauntlet of hostility, criticism and discrimination when the regional press was so timorous that it refused to explicitly identify with the Irish as an ethnic group the violence it is clear they were committing. The use by regional editors of code-words such as 'Europeans', 'paupers', 'savages', 'barbarians', miscreants', 'bludgeon men', and 'monsters' with identifiably Irish names in connection with violent events, is remarkable testimony to how strongly the Irish presence was felt in eastern Upper Canada, and to how reluctant Upper Canadians were to criticise or antagonise Irish immigrants.

Newspapers by their very nature tend to focus on negative, newsworthy, sensational matters rather than on positive, ordinary, typical events, as if to prove the adage that 'no news is good news.' Consequently, the welcoming comments extended to Irish immigrants by eastern Upper Canadian editors are truly remarkable. They beckoned Irish immigrants to Upper Canada, fearing to lose them to the United States; they refused to link immigrants with cholera; they promoted the Irish as a potential economic asset to Upper Canadian society rather than as a beggarly burden, due both to the money brought by the Irish to stimulate the economy and to their value as labour in developing the province. Whatever concern the editors may have felt about the potential for violence among Irish immigrants, they carefully refrained from overtly mentioning it in the face of escalating violence among the Irish in both the United States and British North America.

Regional editors did not close their eyes to the destitute, wretched, starving condition of some Irish immigrants,[188] that contrasted with the "respectable and industrious class of persons" who wore "the ruddy glow of health and vigour."[189] A correspondent of the Brockville Recorder described the condition of one group of Irish immigrants deposited at Prescott during the peak 1831 season:[190]

> In consequence of the unprecedented number of destitute settlers who have arrived with the overwhelming flood of emigrants at Quebec; the Montreal Emigrant Society in order to relieve themselves of the onerous burden of supporting these poor depending paupers, sent boat loads of the most destitute and sickly to Prescott, to beg or starve, live or die, some of whom died on their passage, and about thirty immediately after their landing. The wharfs were covered and the warehouses filled with the sick and the dying,

> without money, without friends or acquaintances, and many in a state of nudity. Here they were in a land of strangers, depending on the mercy and commisseration of a small but generous and benevolent community.

Those poorer Irish immigrants not stripped of their clothing by steamboat captains to pay for their transportation,[191] appeared to Upper Canadians both shabbily and distinctively dressed.[192] Just as the toque was the emblem of French Canadian dress, and the wide-brimmed straw hat that of the American settler, early Irish immigrants wore the distinctive older style "breeches that bind at the knee and stockings" and black silk stovepipe hats (Illustration 5).[193] An 1893 watercolour by James P. Cockburn, portraying a group of men engaged in conversation at Merrickville, reveals that Irish immigrants quickly changed to the North American use of trousers, but, as perceived by topographical artists such as Cockburn, still continued to wear distinctive hats (Illustration 6).

Historians have taken too seriously and applied too generally to Irish immigrants the comment of John MacTaggart that the Irish preferred mud cabins or huts to ones built of timber:[194]

> At By-town, on the Ottawa, they burrow into the sand-hills; smoke is seen to issue out of holes which are opened to answer the purpose of chimneys. Here families contrive to pig together worse even than in Ireland; and when any rows or such like things are going on, the women are seen to pop their carroty polls out of the humble doors, so dirty, sooty, smoke-dried, and ugly, that really one cannot but be disgusted; and do what we will for their benefit, we can obtain no alteration. If you build for them large and comfortable houses, as was done at the place above-mentioned, so that they might become useful labourers on the public works, still they keep as decidedly filthy as before. 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 [potatoes], 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.

The only other known reference to the Irish building mud huts is a shanty town on the western outskirts of Cornwall, dubbed "The Sod", which housed canal labourers.[195] Such mud or sod shanties were rare, and built in Bytown and Cornwall because the rapid growth of population made available housing scarce, because spare time to build timber or log houses was not available, and because the presence of troops during canal construction made the universal practice of stealing timber from adjacent forest for building houses risky. Illustrations 5 and 7, showing as they do log shanties and houses built by Irish immigrants before 1830, clearly contradict MacTaggart's sweeping generalisation and reveal his ethnic bias. Illustration 8 shows the log house and earlier shanty of a Scottish family to be no less primitive than the structures of Irish immigrants shown in Illustrations 5 and 7. The later arrival of many Irish immigrants in the more southerly and earlier settled part of the region meant that their small log structures contrasted with the ambitious brick, stone and frame houses that MacTaggart claimed longer-settled English, Lowland Scots, Highlanders, Americans and Loyalists were erecting.[196]

Irish immigrants were easily distinguished by their peculiar pronunciation of English, and a minority arrived still able to speak Gaelic. An 1830 correspondent of the Bathurst Independent Examiner headed a letter with a verse written in Irish Gaelic.[197] Another Examiner correspondent observed that most Irish immigrants in the

region were little acquainted with the vulgar tongue of their great grandmothers.[198] Stories, poetry, anecdotes and jokes during the 1830s and early 1840s, whether copied out of British and American journals or created in British North America, featured Irish characters speaking English "delivered in the richest Irish brogue, and in the manner so peculiar to the natives of the Emerald Isle."[199] Southeastern Irish Protestants were no less distinguishable than their Catholic countrymen by their pronunciation of English. Only an exceptional Irish immigrant such as the Rev. Rossington Elms "had no brogue, spoke English correctly and no one could detect his being an Irishman from his language or appearance...."[200]

The unusually strong emotional ties of Irish family members to one another to the extent of insisting on residing physically close to one another were also noticed by eastern Upper Canadians. The arrival of one hundred seventy immigrants from Armagh at Perth in June 1842 prompted the Bathurst Courier to predict, "We anticipate quite a swarm of Emigrants here this season, to settle among friends and relatives, who sought before them, that domestic quiet and prosperity here, which could not be extended to them by the Mother Country."[201]

Irish immigrants were perceived to be altogether capable of attaining wealth, respectability and success. The Bytown Gazette pointed out in 1837 that the farmers and public works of Upper Canada were capable of absorbing only so many immigrants per year, and that should there be an extraordinary influx of immigrants, the government would have to support them for the first twelve months.[202] The implication was that it took only twelve months for an immigrant to build up sufficient resources and expertise to begin making his own

way in society. The clear early proof of the Irish potential for success in Upper Canada was offered by the Robinson assisted Irish settlers who had rioted at Morphy's Falls (Carleton Place) in 1824. Captain J.E. Alexander reported in 1833:[203]

> I saw many of the Irish emigrants that Mr. Peter Robinson brought out to Canada. Two ship-loads came to settle near the Rideau; they drove away a small Scotch settlement with their outrageous behaviour, and then, having no foreign foe, the passengers of one ship drew up, with sprigs of shillelah, and fought the passengers of the other. Blood was shed, and the militia called out. But now they are more tame, and expend their strength on the sons of the forest, the oak, beech, elm, pine, and maple, instead of on one another's heads.

It was the Tory newspapers that explicitly stated how useful and successful the Irish were becoming. Ogle Gowan, in an 1833 speech at Brockville, observed that Clergy and Crown reserves no longer were an obstacle to the general improvement of the country with Irish squatters clearing the land and paying taxes on it:[204]

> How many hundreds of poor persons are there, who are unable to purchase farms, and who are glad to put up a Shantee upon a Reserve, and find an asylum for himself, and, perhaps a young and helpless family, until, by his frugality, his labor and industry, he is enabled to become the purchaser, by instalment, and eventually succeeds in becoming the Lord of the soil.

Four years later, in the Upper Canadian legislature, Gowan:[205]

> instanced the rapidity with which the "paupers" (as they were scornfully termed,) felled the Forests, cultivated the Fields, and made the Roads—he insisted that productive labour was the true wealth of the country, and that it was a misnomer in fact, to term an emigrant without money, but with means, "a pauper"—he insisted that the stout and healthy constitution, the strong arm and the willing heart, were the emigrant's means of acquiring wealth; and the true secret of the country's prosperity....

Regional Reform newspapers did not contradict this. Their silence masked a less confident assessment of Irish success such as that expressed by a Scottish Reformer in South Elmsley:[206]

> [The Irish squatting on absentee lands] are poor, and Judging from appearances they will remain so[;] they are settled on the poorest land in the Township. They have cut down most of the Hard timber on the Lots upon which they have settled, and have and are burning it for the ashes. This land has not been seeded or fenced and is growing up in Thistles and other obnoxious weeds and, where the land has been cleared for some time, in June grass. Most of these persons have large families and are Emmigrants from Ireland and perhaps it would be a libel upon their character to say they were idle, but their Capital (that is their Labour) is not economically expended, in other words, however capable they may be to labour profitably for others, a number of them are not qualified to labour profitably for themselves.

In contrast with this confidential pessimistic assessment, the Bytown Gazette in 1841 pointed out that many Irish immigrants had raised themselves to comparatively affluent circumstances through industrious, economical and persevering habits.[207] The previous year the Gazette editor, in a clear reference to Irish immigrants, admitted that few immigrants upon arriving were prepared for immediate settlement, but asserted that the best settlers in the region had once been destitute immigrants who started out as farm servants, had gained experience working for their masters, and once they had obtained their own land proceeded to clear and cultivate it knowledgably.[208] The clearly articulated sentiment in the eastern Upper Canadian press was that Irish immigrants were fully capable of success, particularly in agriculture.

Tory newspapers in the region, appealing to the Irish majority constituency, emphasized the suitability of the Irish immigrant to Upper Canadian agriculture. Reform papers were wisely silent on this subject.

Before the influx of Irish immigrants in the 1820s and 1830s it was an axiom of Upper Canadian society that British immigrants were not as suited to Upper Canadian agricultural settlement as were Americans. A correspondent of the Kingston Chronicle remarked in 1818:[209]

> I believe it is generally admitted, that most of the poor Emigrants from the old country, are incapable of providing for themselves, much less their families, giving them a grant of good lands, with necessary utensils, and one or two year's provisions, we have had demonstrative proof of the fact, whilst an American, with his axe, will make provision for himself, and provide for his family, in the course of two seasons: such men are assuredly desirable in any new country.

From the early 1830s onward regional Tory papers rehearsed the advantages of Irish immigrants engaging in agriculture. The Brockville Gazette even defied the recommendation of the local emigrant society that immigrants initially be employed at making roads in 1832, advocating instead that they be immediately scattered throughout the district and settled on Crown and Clergy reserves where they could gain immediate employment from established farmers while developing their own land.[210] The Gazette reprinted an article from the London Spectator, happy to discover the claim in William Dunlop's Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada that weavers and persons brought up to other sedentary trades:[211]

> do not make the worst farmers for being ignorant of rural life at home. They are even preferred by some; and their success is considered more sure in farming in Canada.... It is singular enough that the linnen-weavers from the north of Ireland should make better settlers than any other laborers."

The Brockville Antidote in 1833 emphasised that most land grants in the Johnstown District lay waste until the hardy Irish immigrant developed them.[212] The Bytown Gazette, continuing in this vein in 1837, copied

the observations of Joseph Neilson about immigration to Upper Canada from the Quebec Mercury, that the possession of permanent property created a tie between the immigrant and his adopted country in that it gave him hopes and feelings to which he was before a stranger.[213] The Gazette editor in 1839 condemned the Irish practice of squatting as reprehensible only when it was used to rob timber. On the other hand:[214]

> when a poor but honest man with a large family, has been induced to come to the country, and attracted to a certain spot by the advice of his friends and relatives, (settled there before him,) finds a favourable lot of unoccupied land in the vicinity, and goes upon it with the fair and honorable intention of paying the fair price for it to the parties intitled to receive it, his shade of guilt is far from being as dark as the former. Perhaps in his long journey, before he reaches this point his means have been exhausted, and he is unable to proceed farther to procure his letter of occupation, far less to pay for his land, until he makes the price from his hard labour on the soil.

A proposal from the emigrant societies of Upper Canada to settle immigrants on fifty-acre portions of two hundred-acre privately-owned lots drew a mixed response from the regional press. The immigrant was to be given a deed to the fifty acres upon meeting the settlement conditions of erecting a house and barn and clearing ten acres, in addition to giving a share of his labour to the landowner.[215] The Bytown Gazette in 1840 acknowledged that the immigrant gained valuable knowledge about Canadian agriculture through working alongside settled farmers,[216] and that the scheme could benefit the country generally, and both settlers and landowners particularly.[217] By 1841, the Gazette was criticising the proposal. It simply improved the value of proprietors' otherwise valueless land, and gave the Irish immigrant fifty acres in

the backwoods that were useless to him without neighbours nearby, leaving him either to pine in solitary misery or to abandon the location. The scheme could only be of use to the Irish immigrant if he was provided with one year's paid labour in the vicinity of the lot by the proprietor. The backwoods was no place for a newly arrived pauper immigrant without experience, and immigrants with families were not suited to labour for farmers. The place for the newly arrived poor Irish immigrant was in town, at the public works, or working for established farmers from whose example he could benefit.[218] Governor-General Sydenham's assessment that it was the speculation of older established settlers, not the acquisition of land by poor immigrants, which retarded Upper Canada's development was applauded by the Bytown Gazette in 1841,[219] and in confirmation of this, the Bathurst Courier the following year welcomed the arrival of 250 Irish immigrants within two weeks with the expectation "that if they be industrious and persevering, they will thrive and in a few years become independent agriculturalists."[220] The Bytown Gazette in 1843 favourably contrasted the prosperity of Irish immigrants who had paid for their land, with veterans of the Napoleonic wars who had done considerably less with land they had been freely granted.[221] The success of immigrants at agricultural development was so evident, argued the Gazette editor, that the provincial government was establishing municipal councils and empowering them with taxation authority to allow them to impose assessments on absentee landowners and land jobbers. Lord Sydenham, in effect, preferred to give land to poor immigrants at the risk of discouraging capitalists from coming to develop large land tracts.[222] The Irish immigrant before 1845 had become a pivotal building block in the Upper Canadian agrarian myth.

Apart from religious and political topics addressed in the next two chapters, the eastern Upper Canadian press revealed little about Irish Upper Canadian perceptions of their place in provincial society. They knew that they were a significant presence, numerically and politically, and that well before 1844 they accounted for a majority in the region. After the southeastern Irish Protestant inundation of the early 1830s, there is no evidence that local Irish immigrants suffered from any form of persecution complex in relation to the older settled non-Irish population among them. The regional press took remarkable pains not to offend the Irish. If the Irish suffered from any feelings of jealousy, it was of the fresh arrivals of their countrymen every season. The Bytown Gazette in 1840 noted that the only people who did not extend a cordial welcome to new immigrants were:[223]

> those who have within a few years past come out as emigrants themselves and are now employed as labourers, servants or journeymen mechanics[.] [M]any of these from the scarcity of people in their line are now in the enjoyment of a higher rate of wages, than their employer can well afford to pay them, or than is required by the present prices of the necessaries of life. Such persons view the arrival of the new comer, with a jealous eye; fearing that it may operate in reducing the wages—they strenuously advise him to go on to some other part of the country or perhaps to the United States where they represent the wages as being higher.

Despite the perpetuation of negative and positive stereotypes about the Irish, the refusal of the eastern Upper Canadian press explicitly to link British North American Irish immigrants with violence, disease, penury, and the accentuation of the positive benefits of Irish immigration to Upper Canada could only have served to impress Irish immigrants with their improving status in provincial society. The 1844 letter of one Irishman to the Bytown Gazette, protesting a

reference to old countrymen as savage, reveals that local editors were wise in their caution to respond sensitively to the new Irish majority.[224] Brockville Recorder coverage that same year of a Repeal meeting at Prescott at which the "friends of Ireland" advocated a restoration of the Irish parliament to overcome the tyranny and persecution of Ireland and to avert the evils of poverty indicates that many Irish immigrants in eastern Upper Canada were more preoccupied with Ireland than with considering their place in local society.[225]

The Irish were nonetheless taking a place in local society. One particular Irish contribution before 1845, which revealed their growing acclimatisation to eastern Upper Canada at the same time they continued to cast glances backward to the land they had left, could not be ignored by their non-Irish neighbours. That contribution was the bestowing of Irish names on localities. A documented example is provided by the 1832 meeting of Bastard Township Irish settlers who decided to name their locality New Boyne.[226] The replacement of American-named Lamb's Pond with New Dublin, of Shipman's Mills with Waterford (now Almonte), and of Wiltse Lake with Lake Ireland[227] was forceful evidence of the strengthening Irish sense of place in regional society. More Irish names followed, such as Wexford, Ballycanoe, Ballyghiblin, Irish Lake, Irish Creek, Westmeath, Hagarty, Grattan, Mount St. Patrick, Newbliss, Antrim, Shamrock and Shannon River among others. These names were further conclusive evidence of the Irish predominance in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties by 1845, a predominance to which local newspaper editors either learned to cater or dared not overtly assail.

NOTES

[1]Aylmer (Lower Canada) Ottawa Advocate (weekly newspaper), 20 December 1842, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[2]Bruce S. Elliott, "Regionalized Migration and Settlement Patterns of the Irish in Upper Canada" in Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, eds., The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1987), pp. 309-318.

[3]W. Stewart Wallace, The Family Compact: A Chronicle of the Rebellion in Upper Canada Chronicles of Canada Series no. 24 (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1915), pp. 17-25.

[4]Montreal Herald, 19 May 1824, p. 2, col. 2.

[5]Bruce S. Elliott, "The North Tipperary Protestants in the Canadas: A Study of Migration, 1815-1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, Carleton University, 1984), p. 136.

[6]J.K. Johnson, "Colonel James Fitzgibbon and the Suppression of Irish Riots in Upper Canada" Ontario History LVIII (September 1966), pp. 142-145. A Brockville (Upper Canada) Recorder article on the riots was copied in the 15 May 1824 Montreal Herald, pp. 2-3, cols. 5-1. A further article in the Herald from a correspondent at Perth is dated 12 May 1824, p. 2, col. 3.

[7]Bytown (Canada West) Gazette, 15 June 1843, p. 1, col. 5.

[8]Ibid., 3 October 1839, p. 3, cols. 4-5; Brockville Recorder, 21 November 1834, p. 1, col. 3.

[9]Bytown (Canada West) Ottawa Advocate, 17 December 1844, p. 1, col. 1; Bytown (Upper Canada) Gazette, 13 June 1838, p. 1, col. 1.

[10]Bytown Gazette, 30 November 1843, p. 1, cols. 1-3; ibid., 3 September 1840, p. 2, col. 5; ibid., 29 December 1836, p. 1, col. 1; ibid., 5 December 1844, p. 1, cols. 1-2; Perth (Upper Canada) Bathurst Courier, 19 June 1840, p. 3, col. 1.

[11]Ibid., 12 October 1843, p. 1, cols. 1-2; Kingston (Canada West) Statesman, 14 February 1844, p. 1, col. 2; Brockville (Upper Canada) Statesman, 7 April 1838, p. 3, col. 2; Brockville (Upper Canada) Gazette, 7 December 1830, p. 2, col. 4; ibid., 22 December 1831, pp. 1-2.

[12]Bytown Gazette, 2 February 1843, p. 3, cols. 1-2; ibid., 25 June 1840, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[13]Ibid., 5 November 1840, p. 2, col. 6.

[14]Ibid., 30 January 1840, p. 1, cols. 2-3.

[15]Ibid., 23 January 1839, p. 3, col. 2.

[16]Ibid., 11 October 1837, p. 1, cols. 1-3; Bathurst Courier, 19 June 1840, pp. 1-2, cols. 4-1.

[17]Bytown Gazette, 19 July 1837, p. 1, cols. 2-3.

[18]Ibid., 14 July 1836, p. 1, col. 5; Brockville Recorder, 24 May 1838, p. 3, col. 1.

[19]Bathurst Courier, 12 July 1842, p. 2, col. 2; ibid., 11 October 1839, p. 4, col. 2.

[20]Ibid., 27 March 1840, p. 2, col. 5.

[21]Perth (Upper Canada) Bathurst Independent Examiner, 26 February 1830, p. 3, cols. 1-2; Kingston Statesman, 20 September 1843, p. 1, cols. 4-6.

[22]Bathurst Independent Examiner, 23 October 1829, p. 1, cols. 1-3.

[23]Brockville Statesman, 1 July 1837, p. 3, cols. 3-4.

[24]Brockville (Upper Canada) Constitution, 25 March 1835, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[25]Ibid., 15 April 1835, p. 1, col. 3.

[26]Brockville (Upper Canada) Antidote, 5 February 1833, p. 3, col. 3.

[27]Brockville Gazette, 8 November 1832, p. 2, col. 1.

[28]Ibid., 16 October 1829, p. 4, col. 1.

[29]Brockville Recorder, 27 June 1834, p. 2, col. 4.

[30]Aylmer Ottawa Advocate, 13 December 1842, p. 1, cols. 2-5.

[31]Ibid., 9 May 1843, p. 1, cols. 1-2; ibid., 20 December 1842, p. 1, cols. 2-5; Brockville Statesman, 10 November 1836, p. 1, cols. - ; Bytown Gazette, 25 January 1844, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[32]Bytown Gazette, 28 March 1844, p. 1, cols. 3-4; ibid., 5 January 1842, p. 1, cols. 5-6; Bathurst Courier, 20 March 1840, p. 1, cols. 3-5.

[33]Bytown Gazette, 6 October 1842, p. 1, col. 5; Ottawa Advocate, 20 December 1842, p. 1, cols. 2-5.

[34]Bytown Gazette, 20 August 1840, p. 1, col. 1; Ottawa Advocate, 20 December 1842, p. 1, cols. 2-5.

[35]Bathurst Courier, 11 October 1839, p. 2, col. 2.

[36]Ibid., 20 September 1839, p. 1, cols. 4-6; ibid., 27 September 1839, p. 1, cols. 2-3; Brockville Recorder, 4 April 1834, p. 2, col. 3.

[37]Bathurst Courier, 7 June 1839, p. 1, col. 5; ibid., 24 July 1835, p. 2, cols. 4-5; Brockville Constitution, 8 April 1835, p. 3, cols. 2-3; Brockville Gazette, 16 July 1830, p. 1, col. 3.

[38]Bathurst Courier, 8 February 1839, p. 1, col. 3.

[39]Ibid., 24 July 1835, p. 2, cols. 4-5; Bathurst Independent Examiner, 11 September 1829, p. 2, col. 4.

[40]Bathurst Courier, 24 July 1835, p. 2, cols. 4-5; Brockville Gazette, 14 June 1832, p. 1, cols. 1-3.

[41]Bathurst Independent Examiner, 12 February 1830, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[42]Brockville Statesman, 30 September 1837, pp. 1-2, cols. 5-1.

[43]Brockville Constitution, 8 April 1835, p. 3, cols. 2-3.

[44]Brockville Gazette, 26 July 1832, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Brockville Recorder, 27 June 1844, p. 1, col. 6; Bathurst Courier, 15 June 1838, p. 2, cols. 5-6.

[47]Brockville Recorder, 27 July 1843, p. 2, col. 2.

[48]Ibid., 10 January 1839, p. 3, col. 1.

[49]Ibid., 4 December 1835, p. 2, col. 2.

[50]Bathurst Courier, 19 June 1840, p. 1, col. 4.

[51]Brockville Gazette, 8 November 1832, p. 2, col. 1.

[52]Bytown Gazette, 25 January 1844, p. 4, col. 1; ibid., 1 February 1844, p. 1, col. 6; Bathurst Courier, 30 August 1839, p. 3, col. 2.

[53]Brockville Antidote, 5 February 1833, p. 3, cols. 3-4.

[54]Ottawa Advocate, 30 July 1844, pp. 2-3, cols. 7-4.

[55]Karel D. Bicha, "Hunkies: Stereotyping the Slavic Immigrants, 1890-1920," Journal of American Ethnic History 2 (Fall 1982), pp. 17-18.

[56]Johnson, "Col. James Fitzgibbon," p. 154.

[57]Bytown Gazette, 21 November 1844, p. 1, cols. 2-3; ibid., 17 July 1845, p. 1, cols. 3-4; ibid., 25 April 1850, p. 1, cols. 1-3; ibid., 1 March 1849, p. 1, col. 1.

[58]Ibid., 15 February 1844, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[59]Ibid., 6 April 1837, p. 3, cols. 2-3.

[60]Ibid., 24 November 1836, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

[61]Ibid., 4 January 1844, p. 2, col. 6.

[62]Ibid., 18 January 1844, p. 3, col. 1.

[63]Ibid., 3 November 1836, p. 2, col. 4.

[64]Brockville Recorder, 26 July 1833, p. 2, col. 4.

[65]Ibid., 28 March 1833, p. 3, col. 2.

[66]Ibid., 26 December 1833, p. 2, col. 3.

[67]Brockville Statesman, 5 January 1837, p. 3.

[68]Montreal Herald, 6 November 1824, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[69]Brockville Gazette, 7 December 1830, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[70]Ibid., 22 January 1830, p. 1, col. 3.

[71]Ibid., p. 1, cols. 3-4.

[72]Kingston (Upper Canada) Chronicle, 28 May 1831, p. 2, col. 2.

[73]Kingston Statesman, 28 February 1844, pp. 1-3, cols. 3-2; ibid., 6 March 1844, pp. 1-2, cols. 2-6; Bytown Gazette, 28 March 1844, pp. 1-2, cols. 6-6.

[74]Bathurst Independent Examiner, 30 October 1829, p. 2, col. 3.

[75]Montreal Gazette, 9 July 1825, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[76]Brockville Recorder, 24 October 1834, p. 2, col. 5.

[77]Bathurst Courier, 24 July 1835, pp. 2-3, cols. 5-1.

[78]Bytown Gazette, 8 June 1843, p. 2, col. 1.

[79]Ibid., 25 April 1844, p. 1, col. 6.

[80]One such account is in the Bytown Gazette, 7 July 1836, p. 4, col. 1.

[81]Montreal Herald, 12 May 1824, p. 1, cols. 3-4.

[82]Montreal Gazette, 8 May 1824, p. 1, col. 4.

[83]Brockville Recorder, 2 August 1833, p. 3, col. 3.

[84]Kingston Statesman, 12 July 1843, p. 2, cols. 3-5.

[85]Bytown Gazette, 1 February 1844, p. 1, col. 5.

[86]Brockville Recorder, 16 February 1832, p. 2, col. 4.

[87]Brockville Antidote, 29 January 1833, p. 3, col. 4.

[88]Brockville Recorder, 11 October 1833, p. 3, col. 1.

[89]Bathurst Courier, 4 March 1836, p. 1, col. 5.

[90]Bytown Gazette, 9 June 1836, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[91]Bathurst Courier, 1 July 1836, p. 2, col. 6.

[92]Ibid., 28 April 1837, p. 1, col. 3; Brockville Recorder, 4 October 1838, p. 1, col. 5.

[93]Bytown Gazette, 31 July 1839, p. 2, col. 4.

[94]Brockville Statesman, 4 January 18[39], p. 2, col. 1.

[95]Montreal Gazette, [19] October 1825, p. 3, cols. 2-3.

[96]Brockville Gazette, 4 August 1831, p. 3, cols. 2-3.

[97]Bathurst Courier, 16 June 1837, p. 2, col. 1.

[98]Bytown Gazette, 23 January 1839, p. 1, cols. 1-3.

[99]Bathurst Courier, 6 September 1839, p. 1, col. 5.

[100]Bytown Gazette, 6 July 1843, p. 2, col. 3.

[101]Brockville Recorder, 27 July 1843, p. 2, col. 2.

[102]Ottawa Advocate, 15 October 1844, p. 3, col. 1.

[103]Kingston Chronicle, 26 July 1822, p. 3, col. 2.

[104]Montreal Gazette, 30 July 1825, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[105]Brockville Recorder, 29 March 1832, p. 2, cols. 1-3.

[106]Kingston Gazette, 18 August 1818, p. 3, col. 5.

[107]Kingston Chronicle, 6 August 1819, p. 3, cols. 3-4; Brockville Recorder, 29 March 1832, p. 3, col. 2; Brockville Gazette, 5 April 1832, p. 1, col. 4; Bytown Gazette, 28 July 1836, p. 1, col. 4.

[108]Kingston Chronicle, 15 August 1823, pp. 1-2, cols. 5-3; Bathurst Courier, 6 May 1836, p. 2, col. 1; Bytown Gazette, 28 June 1837, p. 3, col. 2.

[109]Bathurst Courier, 19 June 1840, pp. 2-3, cols. 6-1.

[110]Brockville Recorder, 23 February 1832, p. 2, col. 4; ibid., 29 March 1832, p. 3, col. 5.

[111]Samples of this sentiment may be found in the Brockville Gazette, 29 March 1832, p. 1, cols. 1-5; Bathurst Courier, 15 May 1840, p. 3, cols. 1-2; Bytown Gazette, 8 December 1842, p. 2, col. 6.

[112]Brockville Recorder, 1 March 1832, p. 2, col. 4.

[113]One such project for constructing a road from Maitland on the St. Lawrence to Merrickville on the Rideau was first announced in the Prescott (Upper Canada) Grenville Gazette, then copied into the Brockville Recorder dated 7 June 1832, p. 2, col. 6; the Bytown Gazette carried a typical notice of the formation of a district emigrant society in the issue of 26 November 1840, p. 1, cols. 5-6.

[114]Bathurst Courier, 11 December 1840, p. 1, col. 4; Bytown Gazette, 17 December 1840, pp. 1-2, cols. 5-2; Bathurst Courier, 26 February 1841, p. 1, cols. 4-6.

[115]Brockville Gazette, 30 August 1832, p. 2, col. 5.

[116]Ottawa Advocate, 13 December 1842, p. 1, col. 1; ibid., 24 December 1844, p. 1, col. 1.

[117]Kingston Chronicle, 28 July 1820, p. 2, col. 5.

[118]Brockville Recorder, 13 July 1830, p. 4, col. 3.

[119]Kingston Chronicle, 24 July 1830, p. 2, cols. 3-5.

[120]Brockville Gazette, 17 November 1831, p. 3, col. 1.

[121]Brockville Recorder, 23 May 1834, p. 2, col. 4; Bytown Gazette, 7 July 1836, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[122]Brockville Gazette, 10 May 1832, p. 2, col. 1.

[123]Bathurst Courier, 22 May 1840, p. 3, col. 2.

[124]Bytown Gazette, 25 June 1840, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[125]Ibid., 23 July 1840, p. 1, col. 5.
[126]Ibid., 6 October 1836, p. 2, col. 5.
[127]Ibid., 16 June 1836, p. 4, cols. 1-2.
[128]Ibid., 28 June 1837, p. 2, cols. 1-2.
[129]Ibid., 23 August 1837, p. 1, col. 5.
[130]Ibid., 30 August 1837, p. 3, col. 2.
[131]Ibid., 26 September 1839, pp. 2-3, cols. 6-1.
[132]Bathurst Courier, 8 August 1843, p. 2, cols. 4-5.
[133]Bytown Gazette, 16 May 1844, p. 3, col. 2.
[134]Bathurst Courier, 23 July 1844, p. 2, col. 6.
[135]Bytown Gazette, 23 May 1844, p. 2, cols. 1-6.
[136]Ibid., 9 June 1836, p. 4, cols. 2-3.
[137]Ibid., 11 September 1839, p. 2, col. 2.
[138]Ibid., 25 November 1841, p. 2, col. 3.
[139]Ibid., 29 November 1837, p. 1, cols. 2-3.
[140]Ibid., 23 July 1840, p. 2, col. 6.
[141]Ibid., 9 January 1840, p. 1, col. 5; ibid., 2 February 1843, p. 3, cols. 1-2.
[142]Bathurst Courier, 11 June 1841, p. 2, col. 3.
[143]Ibid., 27 June 1843, p. 2, cols. 2-3.
[144]Kingston Chronicle, 12 December 1829, p. 2, cols. 2-3.
[145]Bytown Gazette, 11 June 1840, p. 2, col. 6.
[146]Kingston Chronicle, 10 January 1829, p. 2, col. 3.
[147]Brockville Recorder, 27 September 1832, p. 3, col. 4; ibid., 12 September 1834, p. 3, col. 3.
[148]This is based on a reading of the Upper Canada Sundries.
[149]Brockville Recorder, 27 July 1837, p. 2, col. 2.
[150]Brockville Gazette, 19 July 1832, p. 2, col. 5.
[151]Brockville Recorder, 24 January 1833, p. 2, col. 2.
[152]Bathurst Courier, 13 November 1840, p. 1, cols. 5-6.
[153]Bytown Gazette, 29 September 1836, p. 2, col. 1.
[154]Queen's University Archives (hereafter OKQAR), Rev. William Bell Journals, vol. 5, p. 1; ibid., vol. 14, p. 168; and PAC RG 5, A1, Upper Canada Sundries, vol. 69, Reel C-4613, pp. 36570-36571.
[155]Bathurst Independent Examiner, 30 October 1829, p. 4, col. 2.
[156]Brockville Recorder, 26 April 1832, p. 1, col. 5.
[157]Ibid., 7 February 1834, p. 1, col. 6.

[158]Bytown Gazette, 6 April 1837, p. 2, col. 5.

[159]Ibid., 18 February 1841, p. 1, cols. 1-3.

[160]Ibid., 30 July 1840, p. 3, col. 1.

[161]Ibid., 28 January 1841, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[162]Bathurst Courier, 13 September 1842, p. 2, col. 6; ibid., 30 January 1844, p. 4, col. 1.

[163]Kingston Gazette, 30 December 1817, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[164]Montreal Herald, 11 September 1824, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

[165]William N.T. Wylie, "Poverty, Distress and Disease: Labour and the Construction of the Rideau Canal, 1826-32," Labour/Le Travailleur No. 11 (Spring 1983), p. 18; Jean R. Burnet, Ethnic Groups in Upper Canada (Toronto: The Ontario Historical Society, 1972), p. 22.

[166]Kingston Chronicle, 22 June 1827, p. 2, col. 5.

[167]Brockville Recorder, 27 April 1830, p. 1, col. 2.

[168]Bytown Gazette, 21 July 1836, p. 2, col. 1.

[169]Brockville Statesman, 22 July 1837, p. 2, col. 5.

[170]Bytown Gazette, 25 June 1840, p. 2, col. 2; Bathurst Courier, 28 June 1842, p. 2, col. 4.

[171]Bathurst Courier, 20 June 1843, p. 2, col. 4.

[172]Bathurst Independent Examiner, 16 October 1829, p. 2, col. 4; Brockville Gazette, 8 May 1829, p. 2, col. 4.

[173]Brockville Gazette, 16 July 1830, p. 1, col. 3.

[174]Bathurst Courier, 27 July 1841, p. 2, cols. 2-4.

[175]Bytown Gazette, 5 January 1842, p. 1, cols. 4-5.

[176]Ibid., 2 May 1844, p. 1, col. 6.

[177]Brockville Recorder, 18 October 1833, p. 3, col. 6.

[178]Ibid., 11 October 1833, p. 3, cols. 1-3.

[179]Ibid., 18 April 1833, p. 3, col. 2.

[180]Ibid., 25 October 1833, p. 2, col. 6.

[181]Brockville Gazette, 22 January 1830, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[182]Brockville Recorder, 16 August 1833, pp. 2-3, cols. 5-2.

[183]Bathurst Courier, 28 July 1837, p. 3, col. 1.

[184]Bytown Gazette, 25 April 1838, p. 3, col. 3.

[185]Bathurst Courier, 23 April 1841, p. 2, col. 5.

[186]Bytown Gazette, 26 September 1839, p. 1, col. 5.

[187]Brockville Recorder, 5 October 1837, p. 2, col. 3.

[188]Ibid., 25 August 1831, p. 2, col. 4; Bathurst Courier, 10 July 1840, p. 3, col. 2; ibid., 7 May 1841, p. 2, col. 2.

[189]Bathurst Courier, 5 June 1840, pp. 2-3, cols. 6-1.

[190]Brockville Recorder, 25 August 1831, p. 3, col. 2.

[191]Bytown Gazette, 28 January 1841, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[192]Bathurst Courier, 11 December 1835, p. 3, col. 4.

[193]Wylie, "Poverty, Distress and Disease," p. 21; Robert W. Passfield, Building the Rideau Canal: A Pictorial History (Don Mills: Fitzhenry & Whiteside and Parks Canada, 1982), p. 78.

[194]John MacTaggart, Three Years in Canada: An Account of the Actual State of the Country in 1826-7-8 (London: H. Colburn, 1829) II:243-244.

[195]Cornwall (Upper Canada) Observer, 27 November 1835, cited in Ralph Ellis, "Labourers, Contractors and Townspeople: The Social, Economic and Demographic Impact of the Cornwall Canal, 1834-1843" (paper given at 1983 annual meeting of and gestetnered by the Canadian Historical Association), p. 11.

[196]Marion Macrae and Anthony Adamson, The Ancestral Roof: Domestic Architecture of Upper Canada (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1963), p. 34.

[197]Bathurst Independent Examiner, 26 March 1830, p. 3, col. 1.

[198]Ibid., 22 January 1830, p. 3, col. 1.

[199]Ottawa Advocate, 24 September 1844, p. 1, col. 6. See, as examples, the Bytown Gazette, 28 February 1838, p. 1, col. 1; and Ottawa Advocate, 9 May 1843, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

[200]H.R.M., A Brief History of St. Paul's Church, Delta, Ontario (Delta: St. Paul's Woman's Auxiliary, 1934), p. 6.

[201]Bathurst Courier, 14 June 1842, p. 2, col. 5.

[202]Bytown Gazette, 19 July 1837, p. 1, col. 5.

[203]Cited in Gerald M. Craig, ed., Early Travellers in the Canadas (Toronto: Macmillan, 1955), p. 86.

[204]Brockville Antidote, 2 April 1833, p. 3, col. 2.

[205]Brockville Statesman, 22 July 1837, p. 2, col. 1.

[206]PAC Reel C-11733. Remarks of enumerator William Riddell, on the 1851 South Elmsley township census manuscript.

[207]Bytown Gazette, 18 November 1841, pp. 2-3, cols. 6-1.

[208]Ibid., 16 July 1840, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[209]Kingston Gazette, 9 June 1818, p. 2, col. 1.

[210]Brockville Gazette, 3 May 1832, p. 3, col. 1.

[211]Ibid., 4 October 1832, p. 1, cols. 1-5.

[212]Brockville Antidote, 29 January 1833, p. 3, col. 4.

[213]Bytown Gazette, 6 April 1837, p. 2, cols. 1-3.
[214]Ibid., 7 August 1839, pp. 2-3, cols. 7-1.
[215]Ibid., 11 June 1839, p. 2, col. 3.
[216]Ibid., 25 June 1840, p. 2, cols. 4-5.
[217]Ibid., 23 July 1840, p. 1, col. 5.
[218]Ibid., 28 January 1841, p. 2, cols. 4-5.
[219]Ibid., 27 May 1841, p. 1, cols. 3-5.
[220]Bathurst Courier, 14 June 1842, p. 2, col. 5.
[221]Bytown Gazette, 8 June 1843, p. 2, col. 6.
[222]Ibid., 28 September 1843, p. 3, col. 1.
[223]Ibid., 25 June 1840, p. 2, cols. 4-5.
[224]Bytown Gazette, 18 January 1844, p. 3, col. 1.
[225]Brockville Recorder, 28 March 1844, p. 2, col. 3.
[226]Brockville Gazette, 15 November 1832, p. 3, col. 3.
[227]Archives of Ontario (hereafter OTAR), RG 1 Series C-IV Crown Lands Department, Township Papers, Yonge Township, Box 551, p. 1630.

V

THE RELIGIOUS CHALLENGE

Irish immigrants prompted a devotional revolution in a region previously indifferent to formal religious activity. The chief argument presented in this chapter is that the earlier-settled Scottish, French-Canadian and particularly American-origin population was challenged by the religiosity of the Irish inundation, especially by the sophistication of their church architecture and by their aggressive building of houses of worship. This chapter first shows the state of irreligion in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties before the Irish began to flow into the region in the 1820s. The straggling growth of early congregations in building meeting-houses before 1825 contrasted with the zeal of United Church of England and Ireland and Irish Catholic immigrants in erecting churches between 1825 and 1844. Although voluntarists kept pace in building meeting-houses after 1825, their lashings-out at the state-backed, largely-Irish congregations betrayed a paranoia about their continuing ability to keep abreast of the Irish devotional challenge. This paranoia assisted the splintering of the two major voluntarist denominations by 1844 over the principle of whether they, like the Irish denominations should accept even nominal funds from the state. The increasing piety of local society due to the influence of the Irish influx, and which was apparent for all to see, weighed considerably against the integrity of the Scottish and American voluntarist traditions of keeping the church independent of the state. The only seeming victory which voluntarists initiated before 1845 was the banning of Orange processions.

The central region of eastern Upper Canada was a spiritual and religious desert before the arrival of significant Irish immigration beginning in the late 1820s. Not a single house of worship had been constructed a generation after Loyalist settlement began. Before 1825 all Christian denominations knew the difficulty of collecting funds to support clergymen and to build churches. Episcopal, Presbyterian and Methodist settlers jointly attempted to build a meeting-house in Augusta during the 1790s, but too few members and insufficient funds doomed the effort.[1] Another early unsuccessful attempt to erect a house of worship in Augusta by voluntary labour at a "grand bee" was disrupted by all the settlers becoming thoroughly drunk and unable to raise the walls.[2] Lacking visits from clergy, early settlers neglected to have their children baptised, and spent Sundays amusing themselves drinking, shooting and fishing. Death alone was able briefly to summon some form of rudimentary worship. A rare early account tells of a religious burial service held for a tramp found in Yonge; afterwards the assembled settlers agreed to spend the remaining funds collected to interr the corpse on a pail of liquor which was readily consumed.[3] Whiskey and beer were available for sale at camp-meetings in Augusta and Elizabethtown as late as 1831,[4] and Methodists going into meeting at Perth in 1824 were observed to drink large doses of rum.[5] Smith's Falls with its largely American and Scottish population as late as 1833 was a village where "no Sabbath [is] kept—no laws observed—[and] rioting and drunkenness pass unrestrained."[6]

Brockville in 1824, the largest village in the region with a population over five hundred, well reflected the lack of interest in religion. In a village where many stores and trades serviced a large

district, and where everything appeared prosperous and flourishing, an American visitor that year found an unfinished Catholic chapel, a Presbyterian church lacking both steeple and bell, and talk of building a Methodist meeting-house, while Methodists and Episcopalians worshipped in the unfinished court-house. This American visitor, upon entering the Episcopalian service, was surprised,[7]

> when, instead of seeing the national place of worship, crowded to excess; there was only a handful of people!!...I returned to my lodgings, and could not but express my surprise and disappointment, to my landlord. He mentioned it was to be lamented that so little attention was paid to religion, and remarked that very few attended the English Church, only at the time of the sitting of the Court of King's Bench if any of the Judges happened to attend. But, observed he, there is a great many more attend the Presbyterian Church.—This was some consolation.

The American visitor accordingly arrived early for the afternoon service at the Presbyterian Church:[8]

> There were but few people....After a short time the minister entered. I now expected a vast crowd to follow, and began to make room by mooving up to the further corner of the pew, but I had an unmolested possession of it all the afternoon. A few more people came to Church before the sermon was done. Here too was only a handful of people, one here, and a few there, here a pew entirely empty, and yonder, a few solitary worshippers, scattered over a large place of worship. What a melancholy sight!!...
>
> In the evening I attended the Methodist meeting, here was the same scene presented. O 'tis cold & dreary attending public worship in Brockville.

In contrast with his native New England, the American visitor was appalled to find in Brockville no Bible societies, no missionary institutions, no benevolent and charitable associations, no prayer meetings and no religious conferences. What he did find in the course of a morning walk about the village "on the Mill pond there was a

greater collection of people of all ages, ranks and sexes, than in all the three congregations put together!!!" profaning the Sabbath by "skating, sliding and running, some falling and some standing looking on" such as he claimed to have never before witnessed in all New England.

Immigrants arriving from the British Isles before the late 1820s also noted the overwhelming disinterest in religion by Upper Canadians of American and French origin. The Rev. William Bell, a Scottish Presbyterian clergyman, walking about Prescott upon arriving in 1817, observed that "public morals were at a low ebb, drunkenness...quite common, and profane swearing almost universal."[9] Churches erected in Perth and Lanark within a few years of the military settlements being founded contrasted with the twenty-five years that stretched between initial settlement and the building of the first churches along the St. Lawrence. Still, many Scottish settlers gave religion no priority in their lives. Even Robert Lamond, who, as secretary and agent to the Glasgow committee settling unemployed weavers in Lanark County highlighted the more positive aspects of the new settlement, had to admit that many gave little thought to religious observance:[10]

> As to the state of religion in Canada, it appears to be very low in many parts of it: you would see very little difference on the Sabbath-day, from the other days of the week: so far as I have seen, the people are all remarkably addicted to drinking spirits, yet there are a few individuals of a different description.

John M'Donald, an immigrant from Glasgow who settled near Lanark, agreed that few Scottish settlers newly struggling with clearing land seemed to care for the Gospel:[11]

> Many who come here know not its value, and cannot therefore be expected to give it a hearty welcome.

> ...I met with one on Sabbath day, and we began to converse about it, when to his no small surprise he was informed that it was the Sabbath day. Is this the Sabbath? he exclaimed, and acknowledged he had forgotten it. He said that it was not at all like a Sabbath with them, for they come in with their waggons full, and transact all their business on the Lord's day.

A perceptive Church of Scotland minister in Glengarry attributed the unflourishing state of religion among recent Scottish settlers in the early 1820s being due to their having "little, or no means upon their arrival, and they are yet so poor that they can scarcely contribute any thing to the support of a Clergyman." The older Loyalist and American settlers "were almost all Soldiers in the American War, and from their early manner of living, and the easy rate at which spiritous liquors may be had in this Province, added to the want of religious instruction..[had] contracted careless and extravagant habits."[12] Irreligion in the region, then, evolved from the combined exigencies of pioneer privations, military recklessness, and lack of clergy.

The little religious observance in the region before the mid 1820s was largely evangelical, voluntarist, led by itinerant clergy who were not formally educated, lacking funding, with few meeting-houses, and with an emphasis on experience rather than ritual. Irish-born Loyalist exile, Barbara Heck, generally credited with founding Methodism in North America, during her twenty-year residence in Augusta before her death in 1804 worshipped with neighbours in their homes for lack of a chapel to attend. The first two meeting-houses in the region were built in 1809, seven more during the 1810s, and most of the twenty-three in the 1820s were constructed after 1825 (Table 3). The few meeting-houses constructed before the late 1820s reflected a lack

Table 3.

Church buildings constructed in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, 1800-1844, by decade and by denomination. No.= number built during decade. Cum.= number built since 1800.

Denomination	1800-1809		1810-1819		1820-1829		1830-1839		1840-1844		Total
	No.	Cum.	No.	Cum.	No.	Cum.	No.	Cum.	No.	Cum.	
Quaker			1	1		1		1		1	1
Baptist			2	2	1	3	3	6	2	8	8
Methodist (Wesleyan)	1	1	2	3	6	9	11	20	7	27	27
Methodist Episcopal							2	2	2	4	4
Presbyterian			2	2	3	5	5	10	2	12	12
Church of Scotland					1	1	5	6	2	8	8
Cameronians							3	3		3	3
Free Church											
United Church of England and Ireland	1	1		1	9	10	12	22	4	26	26
Roman Catholic					3	3	10	13	3	16	16
Total	2	2	7	9	23	32	51	83	22	105	105

Source: All available printed local histories, parish histories, and records from Baptist, Anglican, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and United Church Archives for the Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties study area.

of concentrated settlement. The central voluntarist concept that congregations should raise their own funds to build meeting-houses and pay clergy precluded funding being made available from American churches. Quaker, Baptist, and Methodist missionaries from the United States paid occasional visits to the region before the late 1820s.[13] Worship was irregularly held and perfervid in nature before 1830 in a region where people of different Protestant traditions worshipped together. This spontaneous worship left a marked imprint which was not easily effaced once formally educated clergymen became available. No less staunch a member of the United Church of England and Ireland than Richard Cartwright at Kingston remarked, "I do not wish to undervalue education, but really I have seen so many of those educated preachers who forcibly reminded me of lettuce growing under the shade of a peach-tree...that I turn away sick and faint."[14] Early settlers, seeking release from the physical tedium of clearing forest, related more readily to travelling missionaries who spoke from the certainty of personal religious experience than to educated clergy who preached scholarly sermons. The emotional clamour of the camp-meeting and dramatic personal conviction of sinfulness leading to one's conversion were valued more highly than the sedate performance of service ritual.

The austere meeting-houses constructed before 1830 reflected the evangelical and unrefined nature of early worship in the region. The Quaker meeting-house at Farmersville was a long, low building with verandah and separate doors by which men and women could enter separately.[15] The Church of England structure built at Augusta in 1809 was hardly more prepossessing, being a large frame structure with galleries,[16] which resembled larger local Methodist meeting-houses

constructed from 1809 on into the 1850s. The basic design rule-of-thumb for these early Methodist structures was to hold as many people as possible (Illustration 9). The Rev. William H. Poole described Wolford Chapel, built in the 1820s, as a "house large & [the] gallery on 3 sides all filled like the Irish man's house inside and outside (Illustration 10)."[17] Small plain structures, resembling schools on the exterior and without adornment inside were the rule during the 1810s and 1820s, and were built by poorer congregations well into the 1840s and 1850s. Examples of these structures include Shiloh and Providence Methodist chapels, Beckwith Auld Kirk, and Middleville Congregational Church (Illustrations 11 to 15). The Presbyterian Church built at Perth in 1819 was simply a two-storey meeting-house with a French-Canadian tin clocher astride one of the gables (Illustration 16). The Presbyterian Church erected that same year at Brockville had a simple spire placed at one end of the roof and appears to have been the first house of worship in the region with pointed windows (Illustration 17). The United Church of England and Ireland and Roman Catholic churches erected at Perth (Illustration 18), the United Church of England and Ireland houses of worship built at Brockville, Prescott, March, Franktown and Maitland (Illustrations 19 to 29), and the Presbyterian church at Lanark (Illustration 30) revealed increasing architectural sophistication with the addition of towers, belfries and arched windows.

The contrast of relatively sophisticated United Church of England and Ireland houses of worship with the simpler meeting-houses of other Protestant denominations reflected emerging tensions over expectations of the different denominations. When Upper Canada was established,

Clergy reserves were set apart to support a "Protestant clergy." The Church of England expected to become the state church of Upper Canada, and with proceeds from the sale of Clergy Reserves it anticipated settling clergy, building churches and establishing rectories throughout the province. Church of Scotland advocates argued that as a British established church it should share Clergy Reserve revenues. Grenville County Presbyterians of American origin disagreed. In a 1796 petition to government, requesting for their clergy the right to perform marriages that would be legally binding, they implicitly rejected sharing funds accruing from the reserves in favour of the type of voluntary religious freedom to be found south of the St. Lawrence. They held that:[18]

> ...religion being a personal thing, amenable only to the Divine Jurisprudence, and its outward forms having no more Connexion in the nature of things with Civil government than with Military Discipline, your petitioners conceive that an honest man is more deeply interested in liberty of conscience, than in anything else in this World; and every good and peaceable Subject is as much entitled to the exercise of private Judgement in Choosing the Form of Worship and Church Government that is most agreeable to his own ideas as he is in regard to the Management of his land or the Model of his house.

In light of this prose, it is no coincidence that the early editors of Reform newspapers in the region were all Presbyterians. Presbyterian clergy were granted the legal right to solemnize marriages by a 1798 Act, but continued to divide over ethnicity and custom (Illustration 31). Upper Canada in 1832 was ministered to by four Church of Scotland clergy and another[19]

> eighteen in the Province who call themselves Presbyterian clergymen; some of whom belong to the Secession Body in Scotland; some to the Synod of Ulster in Ireland; some to the Independents in England; and two, or three are from the United States.

Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists and Quakers, among other societies, continued to be restricted from legally holding property before 1829, nor could their preachers legally perform marriages until 1833.[20]

By the early 1820s, as southeastern Irish Protestant chain migration began filtering into the region, national ties, ethnic loyalties and political assumptions increasingly were associated with each denomination. The earlier settled voluntarist, evangelical American-origin Quakers, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and even some Episcopalians regarded newly arrived British immigrant members of their own communion with mixed feelings of inferiority, resentment, and awe. All voluntarists shared a mutual distrust of state-backed churches. A few of the Irish immigrants were equally, if not more, vehement in their voluntarist condemnation of church establishments, even within their own denominations. An Irish Presbyterian at Bytown, for example, commented that the "Satanic agency" locally emanated "from two sources, the [Catholic] Bishop's Palace, and the no less Vatican, my own free church of Scotland...."[21] The clergy of the United Church of England and Ireland, the Church of Scotland and the Church of Rome perceived themselves to be defenders of British connection against the intrigue and disloyalty of dissenters (Illustration 32). The Rev. John McLaurin in 1822 argued that if government funded the establishment of twenty more Church of Scotland clergy "of known loyalty" in Upper Canada, they would more effectively retain the province under British rule than would many regiments of soldiers:[22]

> They would give a direction, and an impulse to the minds of the rising generation—they would bind them to their King and Country in bonds of affection and

> love which would not easily be broken...[T]he Methodist and Presbyterian Clergymen who reside in this Province from the United States must operate strongly in alienating the minds, and affections of his Majesty's loyal subjects. I have been told by a respectable English Methodist Preacher, that a preacher from the United States haranqued a large audience on a Sunday lately, on the probability of this Province's falling to the States in the event of war with Great Britain, and the beneficial effects which would flow to the Inhabitants of this Province from such an event.

Similarly, when United Church of England and Ireland missionary, the Rev. C.J. Stewart, visited Yonge Township in 1822, he was struck "forcibly with the evils which arise in a community from the lack of an established church, and orthodox theology and authorized interpreter of Scripture." Stewart found the existing Methodist, Baptist and Quaker societies "on a poor foundation" and "unsettled in their religious sentiments or prejudiced against us" due, apparently, to the many United Church of England and Ireland "families from Wexford county, Ireland" thickly settled in the vicinity who offered "a fruitful field" for the exertions of a diligent missionary.[23]

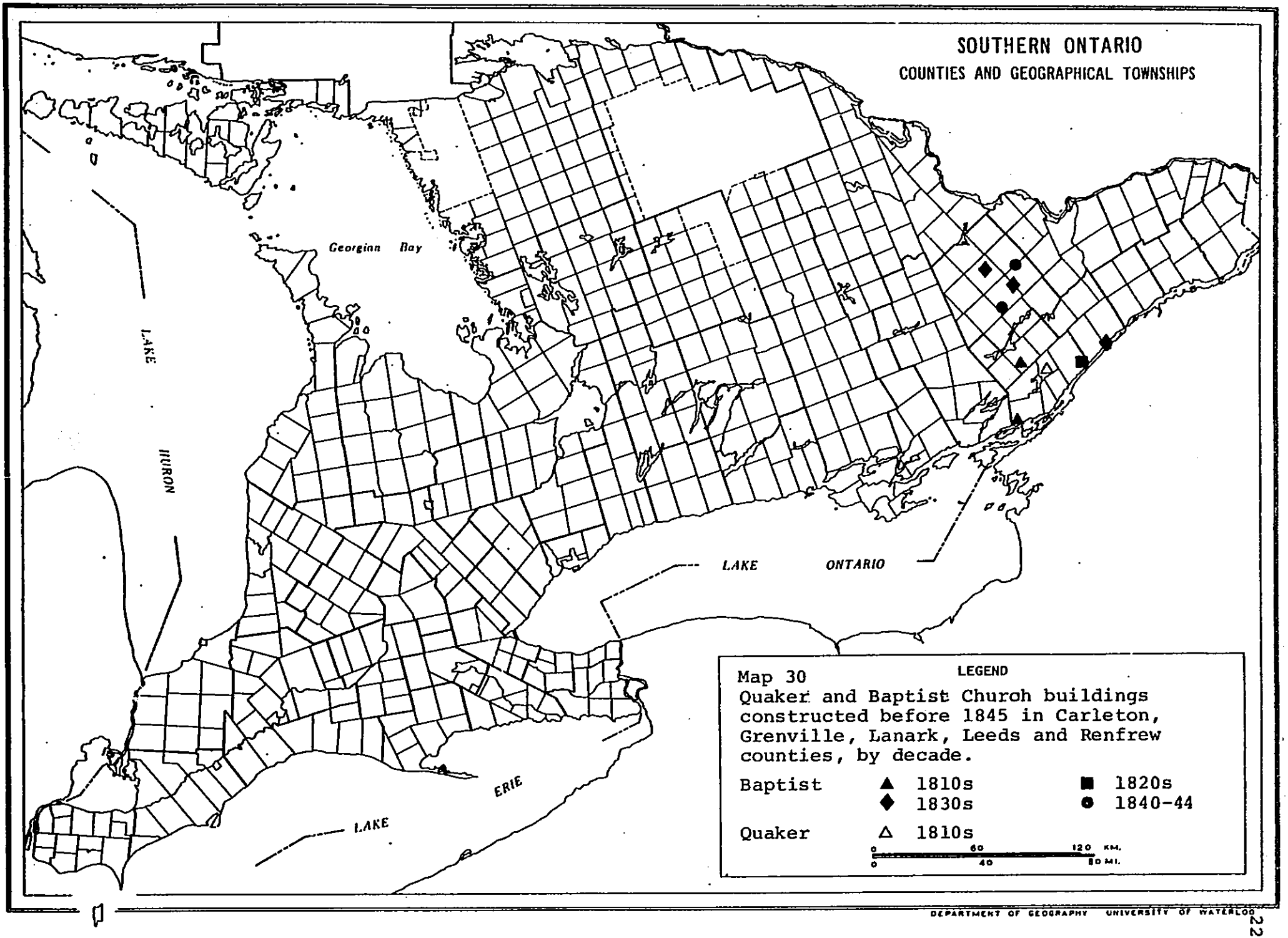
The southeastern Irish Protestant immigrants inundating the region, though their evangelical Protestant heritage was similar to that of previously established American and Scottish immigrants, essentially stood apart in their acceptance of support for the church from the state. Otherwise, the Church of Ireland like the American Episcopalian tradition was low church in theology with a strong emphasis on lay participation, enjoying through their vestries a virtually congregational form of church polity.[24] Irish and American Presbyterians shared similar evangelical traditions as did Irish and American Methodists.[25] American and Irish Protestants shared a common

fear of Catholicism. Early Episcopalians and Methodists in Upper Canada had worshipped together; numerically weak Methodists in Ireland had given religious and political support to the Church of Ireland, especially after the 1798 Catholic uprising in Wexford.[26] These similarities could not bridge the chasm between the ambitions of the state-backed national churches of England, Ireland, Scotland and Rome, and the dissenting, populist-based, voluntarist, Quaker, Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist denominations. Irish Protestants came from a tradition wherein church and state were crucially allied. The religious devotion that had interlocked with economic and political agendas for Protestants in Ireland was only strengthened by what they perceived to be their forced exile in the face of impending Catholic emancipation. Their devotion appeared remarkable compared with the irreligion of longer-settled American, Scottish and French-Canadian neighbours in Upper Canada. Within each denomination there was a division between Europeans and North American-origin members, and with the Irish comprising a new regional majority from the early 1830s onward, the division tended to be Irish versus American in Leeds and Grenville, Irish versus French-Canadian in Bytown and along the Ottawa River, and Irish versus Scottish in Lanark and Carleton counties. The funds received by United Church of England and Ireland, and by Church of Scotland congregations from Britain were viewed jealously by American-origin settlers. The handsome churches with some pretensions to architectural design built from these funds provided a continuing visual focus for the jealousy of the older-settled population which either worshipped in plain meeting-houses or did not worship at all.

The shifting balance of denominational strength was one reason for the ethnic jealousies and division of religion in the region. Methodism gained its early strength in society due to its system of circuit-riders who covered large swaths of territory, preaching to classes of settlers in their remote backwoods homes. The largely Irish clergy of the state-backed churches once they arrived were no less indefatigable in making extensive forays to remote locations, but were based in churches and rectories. By counting the actual number of houses of worship constructed per decade, not including those that replaced earlier buildings, it is possible to assess the regional strength of the different denominations one with another. Buildings which by their very appearance were identifiably intended for religious worship were difficult even for people in a pre-literate culture to ignore. The number of churches built in the region, indeed in each locality of the region, had a tangible meaning for local people about the strength of each denomination. Table 3 presents a summary of the church buildings constructed before 1845. Clearly, the voluntarist denominations had a head start, with eight of the nine structures before 1820 being built by Quakers, Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians. Most significant is how few church buildings there were before 1820. Though most of these meeting-houses belonged to bodies that legally could not hold property and legally could not perform marriages before the 1830s, these legal restrictions paled before the irreligiosity of local society generally as the major cause for so few houses of worship being constructed.

From 1820 onward, the United Church of England and Ireland constructed more churches than any other single denomination in the

region. Quaker and Baptist meeting-houses constructed in Leeds County before 1845 were all built before the Irish inundation of the early 1830s. The Baptist meeting-house at Prescott and the four in Lanark County were built during the 1830s and early 1840s by Scottish congregations (Map 30). Three Methodist chapels were built in the St. Lawrence townships before 1820, and six more in the Rideau corridor and military settlements during the 1820s. Had American members not insisted in separating from the union in 1833, Methodists would have had the largest number of houses of worship of any denomination in the region. Nine of the thirteen Wesleyan and Methodist Episcopal chapels built during the 1830s were located in American-settled Leeds and Grenville, as if to consolidate and catch up with the United Church of England and Ireland pace of church-building taking place in the late 1820s and early 1830s. No Methodist chapels were built in Carleton County during the 1830s, only one was built in the Renfrew region before 1845, and only three were constructed in northern Lanark County between 1830 and 1845. Regional Methodist strength, to judge from chapel construction, was focussed along an axis between Brockville and Merrickville (Map 31). Early Presbyterian church construction focussed in southern Grenville County and at Perth. The Church of Scotland began erecting churches after 1825, and save for congregations at Bytown and Brockville, was totally concentrated in Lanark County before 1845. Cameronian congregations were concentrated in Ramsay Township and Perth (Map 32). Had Presbyterians not been divided into at least four groups by 1844, the number of their combined church buildings would have approached that of the United Church of England and Ireland.



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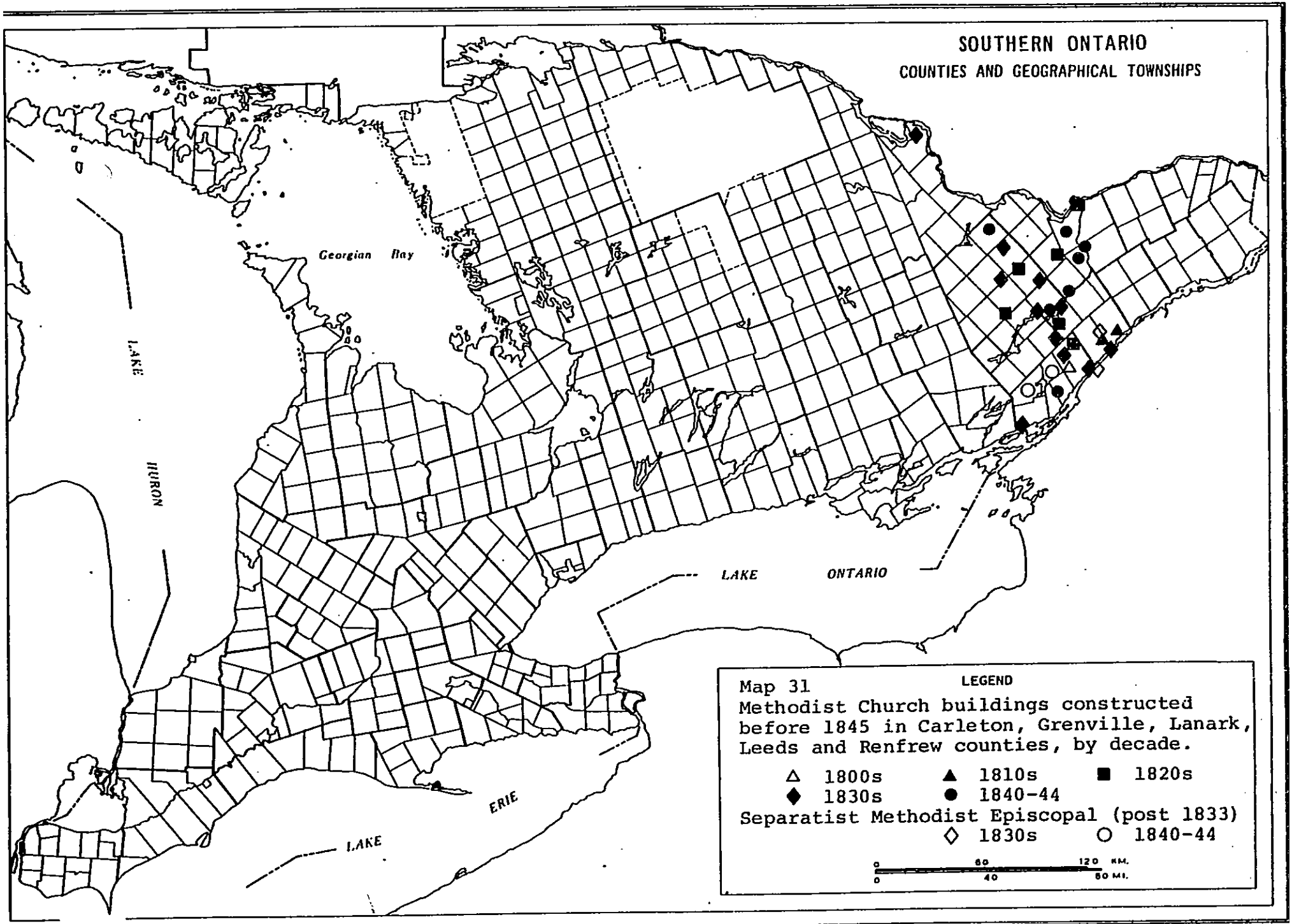
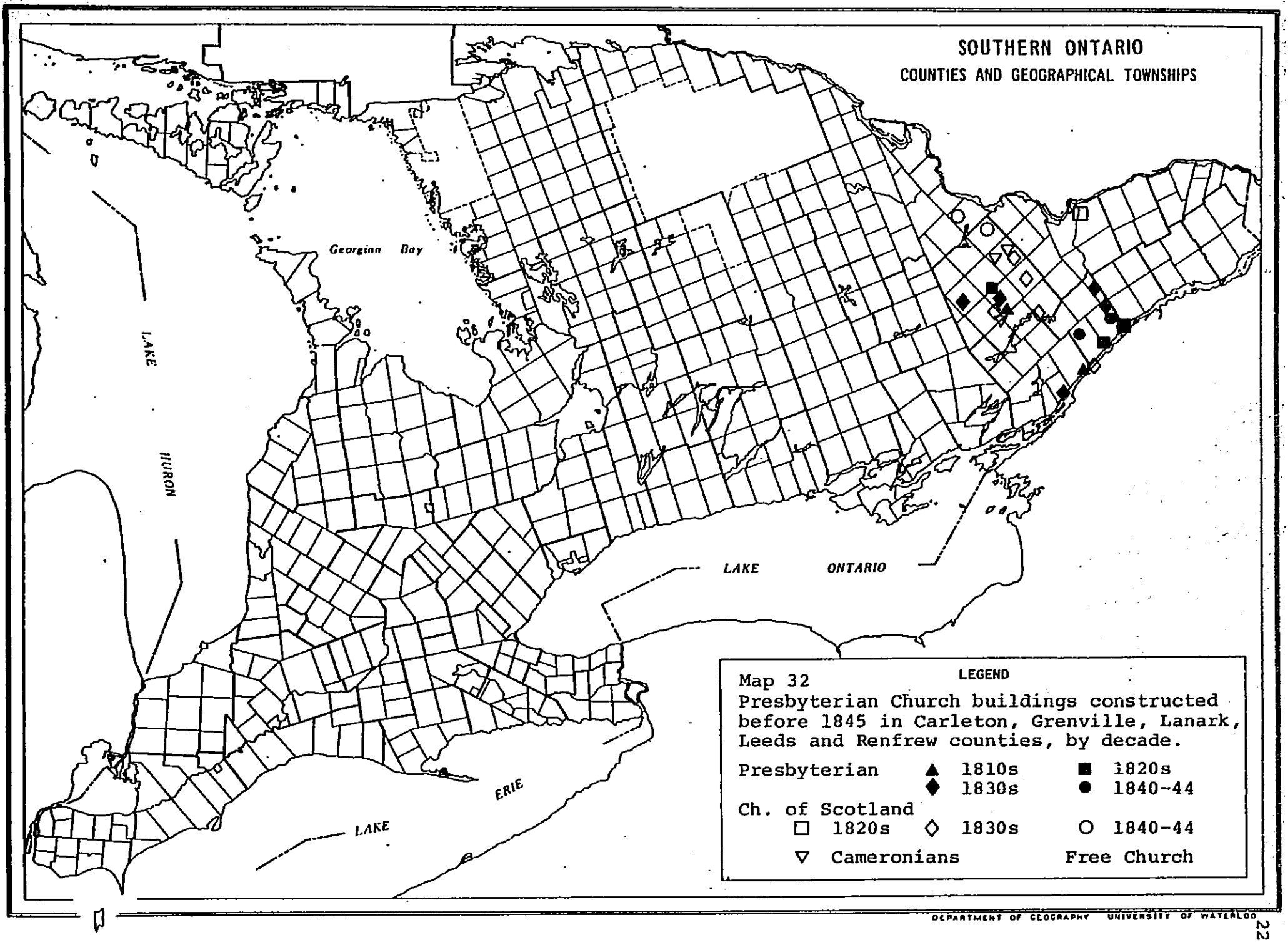

SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
Map 31
LEGEND
Methodist Church buildings constructed before 1845 in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, by decade.
△ 1800s
▲ 1810s
■ 1820s
◆ 1830s
● 1840-44
Separatist Methodist Episcopal (post 1833)
◇ 1830s
○ 1840-44
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.



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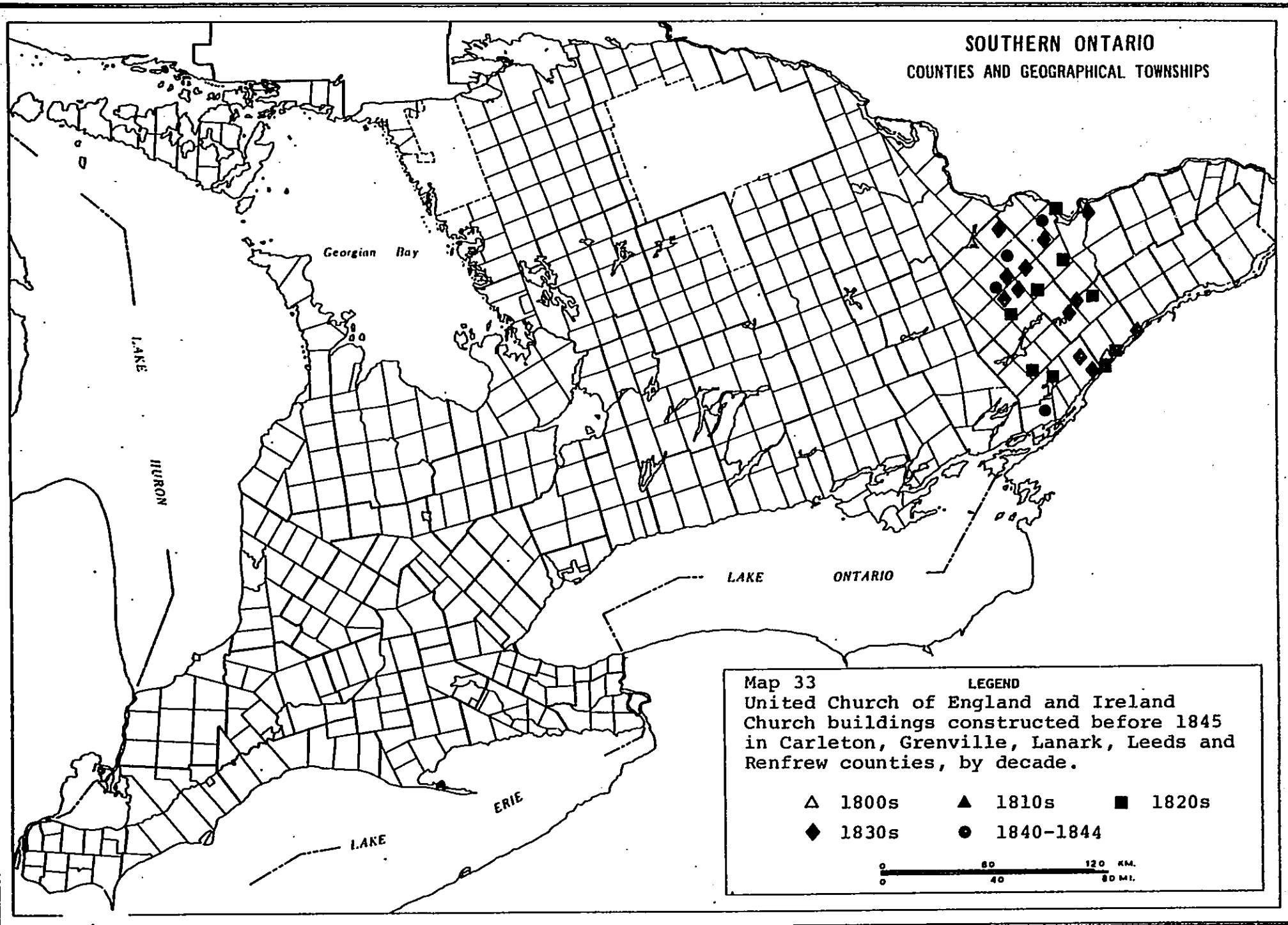
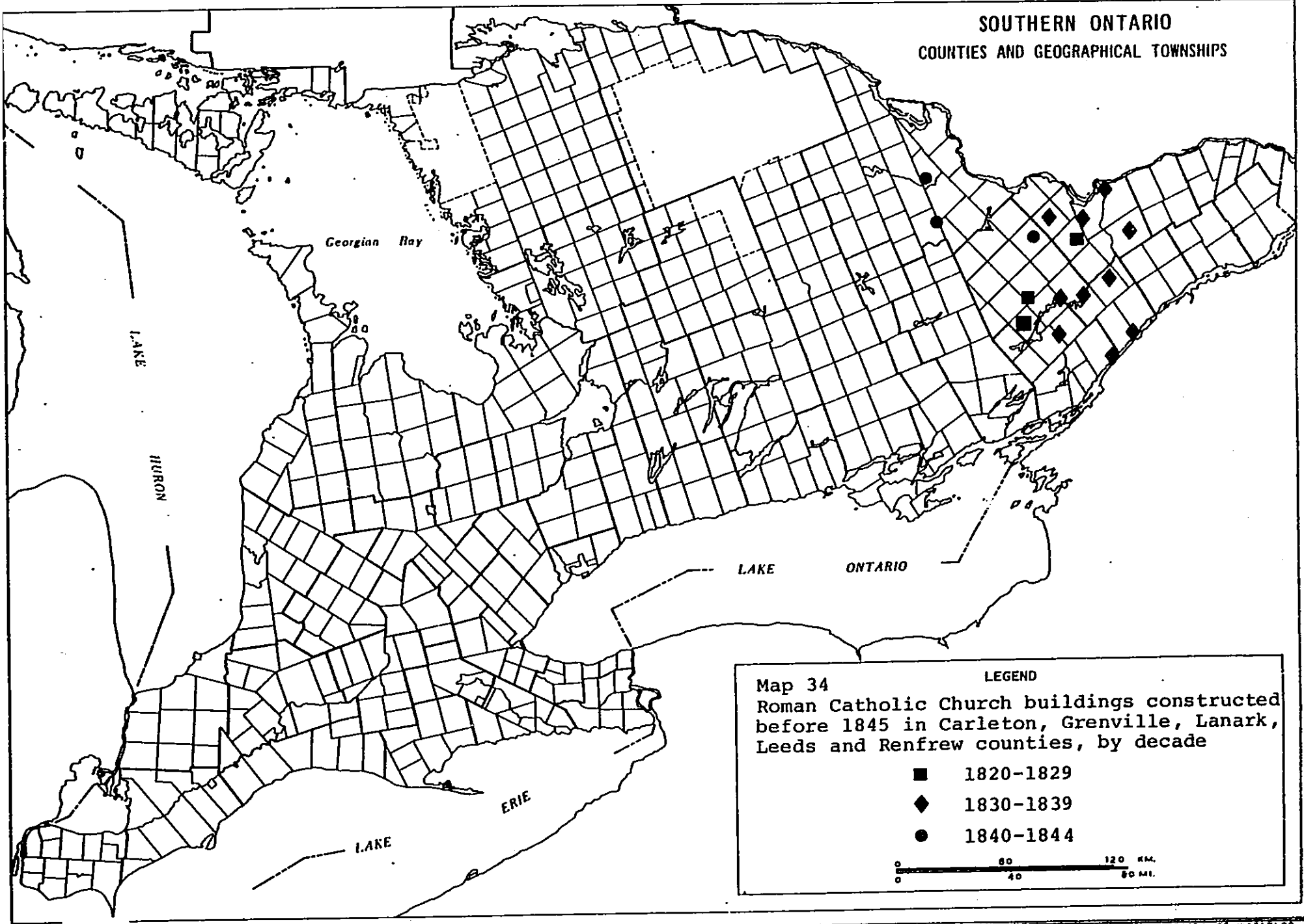
The Irish inundation during the late 1820s and early 1830s accounts for the extensive construction of twenty-five United Church of England and Ireland and sixteen Roman Catholic churches, and even for a number of the Methodist and Presbyterian houses of worship. The nine United Church of England and Ireland churches constructed during the 1820s were evenly spaced throughout Leeds, Grenville, Carleton and southern Lanark counties. None were built in northern Lanark until the 1830s; by 1845 the single largest cluster of United Church of England and Ireland churches was located in Lanark County. None were built in Renfrew County before 1845 (Map 33). Three Roman Catholic churches built in the 1820s were located in the military settlements, ten constructed in the 1830s were in larger towns and along the Rideau, and three erected in the early 1840s were located in the new Irish Catholic settlements in inland Renfrew and at the 1823 Peter Robinson settlement in Ramsay (Map 34). Though there were no Roman Catholic chapels in the region as late as 1820, in the 1840s Irish Catholics constructed more churches than any other denomination (Table 4).

The twenty-five United Church of England and Ireland churches built between 1820 and 1845 profoundly changed the landscape of the region. With their towers, spires, pointed windows, box pews, pointed windows, battlements, cupolas, parapets, and with being named after saints, the sophistication of these churches contrasted with the plain meeting-houses without identifiable religious symbols or forms in which most other regional Protestants worshipped. The interior of the log chapel at Perth bespoke the plainness of early Methodist meeting-houses, furnished as it was with a pulpit and seats made of lumber fresh and green from under the saw, unplaned and unpainted.[27] Local Upper


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
LAKE
ERIE
Map 33
United Church of England and Ireland
Church buildings constructed before 1845
in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and
Renfrew counties, by decade.
LEGEND
1800s
1810s
1820s
1830s
1840-1844
0 80 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

225a



DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

Table 4.

Church buildings constructed in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, 1800-1868, by decade and by denomination.

Denomination	1800-09	1810-19	1820-29	1830-39	1840-49	1850-59	1860-68	Total
Quaker		1						1
Congregational					3	1		4
United Brethren							3	3
Baptist		2	1	3	4	2	4	16
Methodist (Wesleyan)	1	2	6	11	9	17	8	54
Methodist Episcopal (1833)				2	2	3	3	10
New Connexion Methodist							1	1
Presbyterian		2	3	5	7	6	4	27
Church of Scotland			1	5	3	1	0	10
Free Church (1843)					6	1	1	8
Cameronian				3				3
Lutheran							3	3
Evangelical Lutheran							1	1
United Church of England and Ireland	1		9	12	10	12	18	62
Roman Catholic			3	10	11	13	3	40
Total	2	7	23	51	55	56	49	243

Source: All available printed local histories, parish histories, and records from Anglican, Baptist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and United Church archives for the Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties region.

Canadians did not know that architectural fashions in Ireland lagged notoriously behind England, and that early nineteenth-century Irish Protestant church-building was still wedded to seventeenth and early eighteenth-century models.[28] Local Methodists did not know that the Greek temple model for Christ Church at New Dublin (Illustrations 33 and 34) was out of date by English standards,[29] when they copied its columned facade in their stone chapel at Brockville and copied the joinery around the door in the log chapel at Kitley (Illustrations 35 and 36).[30] Irish architectural laggardliness aside, it was all too evident for anyone who had eyes to see, that when the churches erected by largely Irish state-backed denominations were compared with regional voluntarist meeting-houses, they appeared more sophisticated and more enduring. By the time this copying had been done, new United Church of England and Ireland churches at Burritt's Rapids, Beverley, Brockville, Maitland, Bytown, Merrickville and Carleton Place were presenting new sophisticated fronts by combining pointed windows with the older Greek temple pediments (Illustrations 27, 37 to 45). Roman Catholic and Church of Scotland (Illustrations 47 to 51) congregations also used pointed windows before 1845, but the use of them in the Farmersville Methodist meeting-house (Illustration 52) was exceptional. One of the few Methodist chapels experimenting with looking like a church, built at Pakenham in the early 1840s, featured windows that hearkened back to Georgian neo-classicism of a century earlier (Illustration 53).

It is difficult to ascertain just what the regional general population thought of the new ecclesiastical architecture. It is possible that not even all the contractors and clergymen building and designing these churches were as capable of assessing or describing

their design as Rev. George Romanes at Smith's Falls, who reported in 1835 to the Glasgow Colonial Society that the "outside of our church is finished, except the parapet on the tower. It is a Gothic building, and has a very handsome appearance."[31] Some churches were copied from memory, some from the suggestion of a local learned inhabitant, and some from designs provided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Britain. By whatever process, the churches built for the United Church of England and Ireland in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark and Leeds counties before 1845 intimated through their architecture that they were houses of worship for a denomination with a special link to the state. The earliest churches featured round and round-headed Georgian windows, cupolas placed atop the roof at the entrance of the building or atop a square tower, pediments or eave returns in the gable ends, and occasionally a palladian window. These structures, like the meeting-houses of other denominations, had galleries (Illustration 54), but the pillars bearing them were fine Tuscan columns rather than squared beams, and there were finished box pews rather than rough benches (Illustrations 55 to 57). These were Georgian structures of modest domestic proportions by the scale of what was being built in Britain, but when compared with what other denominations in the region were building, they indubitably bespoke churches. Goldwin French has pointed out that Methodist and Baptist services were conducted in a simple physical context, and though disordered and colourless, much of the tastelessness and informality of evangelical worship derived not so much from their own convictions as from their prejudices—a morbid suspicion of the older churches, and their membership predominantly being composed of poorly educated and rural people.[32] Presbyterianism

saw little need to play upon the emotions of its membership, because God evidently disliked uproar, and the liturgical adornment of worship. Hence, austerity and solemnity, with minimal visual symbolism, were the distinctive features of Presbyterian architecture and religious services,[33] in contrast with the Georgian adornment of most regional state-backed churches.

The new United Church of England and Ireland churches built before 1845, for all their relative sophistication, were the houses of worship of a reactionary Irish low church denomination which locally as late as 1846 was called Episcopalian. Just as the architecture reflected a Georgian tradition more than a century old, the interior layout reflected the Church of Ireland low church tradition. Preaching was stressed to the extent of the altar being in the background (Illustration 58). An 1836 Recorder correspondent in describing the comfortable, elegantly finished and adorned interior of St. Peter's Church at Brockville, did not even notice the altar:[34]

> The aisles below are completely covered with handsome Carpeting, the stairs and aisles above are covered with durable Cloth, and the Pulpit desk, is overspread or is in process of being overspread with splendid crimson Damask, the tout ensemble gives such an air of comfort to the building as I have never seen surpassed.

Irish congregations able to afford baptismal fonts placed them at the front of the sanctuary, and, as shown in the interiors of Christ Church at Bytown, St. James Church at Kemptville, and St. Peter's Church at Brockville, directly in front of the altar (Illustrations 59 to 61).

This low church emphasis is important to recognise, for it reflected the mindset of the southeastern Irish Protestant inundation which arrived in the early 1830s. This mass migration was triggered by

parliamentary debates and the agitation of Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Association leading up to the Catholic emancipation Act of 1829. The embattled minority Protestant mindset which all along assumed the union of church and state to the exclusion of the Catholic majority in Ireland suddenly felt itself deserted by government.[35] Added to the post-Napoleonic downturn in the southeastern Irish agricultural economy, Protestants feared that the British government was giving up on its program of attempted assimilation of Irish Catholics. They feared that with Roman Catholics free to practise their religion, to even collect tithes to build Catholic churches, that Protestants in Ireland were doomed either to become a minority or to be themselves eventually assimilated. Irish Protestants also feared that Roman Catholics would demand rights as a state church in Ireland, similar to the Church of Scotland, and that these would be gained at the expense of Church of Ireland members. Inevitably, they foresaw that Protestant privileges in Ireland would be extinguished. With these thoughts rankling in their minds, Irish Protestants settling among Americans, Scots and French-Canadians were a reactionary population, intolerant alike of any aspersions cast against their church, of any alterations in its form of worship, and of any architectural innovations that savoured of Rome.

The pointed or Gothic windows that increasingly were placed in regional United Church of England and Ireland churches from the late 1820s through to 1844 were not perceived to mark an architectural or ideological break with the Irish Georgian tradition. St. Mary's Church in March, despite its Catholic-sounding name and the Regency whimsy of its ogee-arched windows, had a Georgian meeting-house design which flowed from the low church tradition. The floorplans of the new

churches with pointed windows were hardly different from that of the Presbyterian church built at Lanark in 1823 (Illustrations 24 and 25). The acceptability of these picturesque Gothic churches to local low church Irish congregations is underlined by the fact that the finest local examples were designed by Arthur McClean, a staunch Orangeman who like other Orangemen was ever watchful for the Protestant integrity of the United Church of England and Ireland.[36] He incorporated pointed windows in the churches at Maitland, Brockville, Beverley, Burritt's Rapids, Merrickville, and near Cardinal to make them instantly recognisable as houses of worship in the tradition of the older parish churches dotting the landscape of England and Ireland (Illustrations 27, 37, 40, 42 to 44). The combining of pointed windows with classical details such as fluted Greek columns with capitals, cornices, architraves, pediments and quoining, alluded to the imperial linking of church and state under Constantine. This architectural symbolism was appropriate, considering the substantial government funding poured into the construction of these churches, and into the salaries of United Church of England and Ireland clergy who also presided over the government-funded district schools and acted as local Crown land agents. A personal link of church and state was also shown when the chief justice of Upper Canada, Sir John Beverley Robinson, presented a bronze bell to the new church at Beverley.[37] The new churches were not influenced by the Gothic Revival movement variously promoted by Tractarians and Ecclesiologists in England, as part of a movement to reform the Church of England by a return to mediaeval rites and architecture. It is true that a number of the earliest churches designed by an early Roman Catholic proponent of Gothic Revival,

Augustus Welby Pugin, were constructed in Wexford, but they were not built until the late 1830s.[38] The use of pointed arches in the huge Notre Dame Church erected in Montreal to the design of Wexford Irish Protestant James O'Donnell, may possibly have influenced the design of early eastern Upper Canadian churches.[39] Despite the use of pointed windows, the new churches were laid out along a simple Georgian rectangular plan customary in Ireland for well over a century.

There were no departures from the traditional low church service within the new churches. The reactionary Orange membership of all local United Church of England and Ireland congregations ensured that no seemingly "Roman" innovations would be introduced into their service. The initial strong religious link with Orangeism is suggested by many churches in the region being designed by prominent local Orangeman, Arthur McClean. An assembly of over two hundred Orangemen inside the unfinished St. Paul's Church at Beverley was addressed on 12 July 1829 by United Church of England and Ireland clergyman, the Rev. Rossington Elms, who also happened to be chaplain to the Grand Orange Lodge of British America.[40] Daniel O'Connell presented the British parliament with a report of an Orange procession in Richmond, Upper Canada, at the end of which "Divine Service was performed for them by a clergyman of the Established Church, while an Orange banner was flying over his head."[41] The battlements atop the towers of these early regional churches, if they stood for anything, represented the embattled mentality of their southeastern Irish immigrant members, who perceived American-origin voluntarists as no less a threat than Catholics had been in southeastern Ireland. The combination of Gothic and Georgian in the churches designed by Arthur McClean, together with no outburst

reported in the regional press about the pointed windows in the new churches, indicates that there were no innovations in the performing of Church of Ireland services locally.

Beginning about 1842, articles were copied from British papers into the local press about the commotion taking place in Britain over attempts to reintroduce mediaeval or Catholic ritual into the Church of England. The articles decried Puseyism for "utterly reject[ing] and anathamatiz[ing] the principles of Protestantism as a heresy, with all its forms, sects, or denominations" and for "hat[ing] the Reformation and the Reformers more and more" by bringing concepts such as the Communion of Saints, Transubstantiation, and Purgatory back into United Church of England and Ireland theology.[42] Eastern Upper Canadians before 1845 were hardly conscious of the liturgical revolution brewing across the Atlantic. There is no evidence that any regional members of the United Church of England and Ireland took umbrage at the introduction of pointed windows into their new churches as the opening wedge of a revival of mediaeval forms, ritual and architecture in their church or as suspiciously "Roman-looking". There is no evidence that local inhabitants before 1845 were in any way conscious of the romantic revival of mediaeval architecture in Britain, save for an 1840 water-colour of Dryburgh Abbey painted by the daughter of an English rector at Prescott and the incorporation of a picturesque castle as the centre-piece of an 1857 sampler sewn by a Presbyterian girl in South Elmsley (Illustrations 62 and 63).

The Irish majority in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew before 1845 did not necessarily equate Gothic-style architecture with Catholicism. The surviving mediaeval Gothic parish churches and

cathedrals in Ireland had been occupied by the Protestant Church of Ireland for the better part of two centuries. Although they were recognised to have been built for the mediaeval church, the performance of Church of Ireland services within them for a couple of centuries had removed any visual equation of mediaeval architecture with Catholicism for Irish Protestants, the overwhelming majority of whom did not have the benefit of a continental tour to behold the continuing Gothic heritage of Catholic Europe. With Catholicism in Ireland virtually illegal before 1829, its adherents secretly meeting in hidden locations, there was no recent tradition of Catholic church-building in the British Isles on which to base assumptions about what specifically made a Roman church look Roman. Furthermore, since the early Renaissance, Catholics and Protestants had abandoned Gothic as a contemporary architectural style, its survival owing to the many churches built in mediaeval times not being replaced by more recent structures. Finally, most of the churches constructed by Roman Catholics in eastern Upper Canada had no Gothic Revival component, nor even pointed windows. A few such as the 1835 structure in Kitley and the 1843 Catholic cathedral at Kingston (Illustrations 47 and 64) did have pointed windows, but more were designed with round-headed openings such as the church beginning to be raised at Bytown in 1841 (Illustrations 65 and 66), and many were primitive log structures. As late as 1844 in local minds the pointed arch did not necessarily equate with Catholicism, especially since pointed arches in Canada were more likely to be found on United Church of England and Ireland than on Roman Catholic churches (Illustrations 67 and 68).

The late arrival, the early privations and the poverty of Catholicism in the region contributed to the tolerance with which

Protestants greeted it. The lack of early denominational distinctions and the few Catholics in the region also accounted for this. The funds for building the first log Catholic chapel at Brockville were provided by the Protestant husbands of four Catholic women.[43] The early exclusivist claims of Catholic clergy were bemusedly tolerated before the late 1820s, as shown in a Presbyterian minister's description of a funeral sermon conducted by the Scottish Catholic priest at Perth in 1824:[44]

> The passage was John 14th—My sheep hear my voice &c. Dis, said he is de alegoshticul alegost (alegorical alegory) dis is de true catolic church who hear my voice and follow me. Other sheep I have &c. Days are de gentile nations from which we are all deshended &c. Every now and then in reading he had to stop and spell some word and this, together with his singing twang had such an effect upon his Protestant audience that they made a speedy retreat to prevent their laughing in the church.

At an early Catholic funeral in Perth the officiating priest's "dress attracted much attention, being both fantastic and ridiculous."[45] Partly because of the early dearth of interest in religion, and partly because Catholics like Protestants had few clergy and very few early congregations meeting in unpretentious buildings, there appeared to be little or no overt friction between Catholics and Protestants. Even self-righteous Rev. William Bell at Perth, who rarely made charitable comments about the members of any denomination, including his own, remarked admiringly in 1823 on the tolerant character of a Perth Roman Catholic who "had no objection to his wife being a Protestant if she was only a christian." Bell found in the mid 1820s that "[a]ll the Catholics show some liberality except the Irish. They are more savage and intolerant [than] I have met with anywhere."[46]

The Irish Roman Catholics in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew before mid-century appeared to Protestants and French-Canadians to be unduly zealous in their religious devotion. French-Canadian clergy serving parishes along the Ottawa River contrasted the eager giving of Irish Catholic members of parishes with the reluctance of longer-established French-Canadians.[47] This Irish Catholic zeal, which often extended to intolerance of French-Canadians and Protestants, was the reaction of a people whose faith had been suppressed as a legal policy of the Protestant and foreign-lanuage state establishment in Ireland. The secrecy of maintaining the faith's survival in Ireland, the previous persecution and the continuing persecution-complex of Irish Catholics, and the lack of priests both in Ireland and Upper Canada to provide the consolations of religion, all combined with a native Irish determination to remain loyal to the Church of Rome as an incipient expression of Irish nationalism. They did this even though their intermittent or non-practice of the faith, their lack of opportunity to be instructed in that faith, essentially meant that they were maintaining loyalty to an institution about which they knew virtually nothing. Consequently, upon arriving in Upper Canada, the priority Irish Catholic immigrants placed on the practice of their faith was evident. The editor of the Brockville Recorder in 1835 was impressed by the zeal which Irish Catholics in Kitley Township showed in constructing a stone church, "especially as they are mostly new settlers and have not as yet been able to procure comfortable houses for themselves, although they have undertaken to erect a stone building to the service of their maker."[48] Bishop Macdonell at Kingston was even more amazed, as he did not know about the new church's existence

until after it was constructed, and subsequently chastised the visiting missionary and Irish congregation for not previously consulting with the nascent diocesan structure over which he presided.[49]

It was with difficulty that Irish Catholic congregations were divested of their own voluntarist tradition. Numerous incidents before mid-century of Irish priests and congregations in the region being reprimanded for inappropriate conduct and ignorance of their faith, all point to the tragic legacy of a denomination which had been meeting in secret, if it met at all, since the late seventeenth century. It is within this context that an Irish Catholic schoolteacher discussing religion with a Protestant at Perth in 1825 asserted[50]

> that the R.C. church was the only true church and therefore there could be no salvation out of it— That all Protestants must perish unless they returned to the true church and that the priests had still the power of pardoning sins and working miracles.

In 1842 Rev. J.H. McDonagh at Ramsayville (later Almonte) attempted to correct the Protestant misconception that Catholic priests claimed to have power to open the gates of heaven.[51] Many Irish Catholics in the region, by implication, were equally as ignorant of the nature of Catholic doctrine as were Protestants. Irish Catholic immigrants arriving in the region, no less than their countrymen at home were taking part in a devotional revolution, as they began practising a faith to which they previously had been unquestioningly loyal despite its absences under persecution from the British state.[52] Irish clergy and laity in Upper Canada came from a background where the historic repression of the Catholic Church had welded pastor and flock together in a distrust of the civil establishment and in a voluntary tradition.[53] Irish Catholics initially perceived before 1845 that they had far more

in common with the voluntarist Protestant denominations such as Methodists and Presbyterians than with state-backed churches, and although the Upper Canadian Catholic hierarchy supported the Tory administrations, many Irish laity initially joined Reform political ranks.

Save for an 1830 riot at the Isthmus (later Newboro) on the Rideau Canal between four hundred Irish Protestants and Catholics,[54] there was no evidence of specifically religious conflicts until 1837 when the Catholic church at Bytown was reported broken into, the plate and vestments despoiled, and the altar desecrated "in such a manner as it would be indecent to mention."[55] In 1839 the windows of a Roman Catholic chapel in Nepean were destroyed.[56] Local newspapers reported in 1842 that a Catholic church at St. Catharines was burnt to the ground in the midst of a canal riot.[57] At Kingston in 1843, local Orangemen complied with a new provincial law banning public processions by secret societies, settling instead for a public dinner "in honour of the victory of William over James" on the twelfth of July. In the morning a group of youths paraded with an Orange flag around the grounds of the huge new Catholic church being erected, until opposed by a band of Catholic youths. That evening:[58]

> A party of [Catholic] men, apparently expecting to be attacked, or that the building would be attacked —as the materials used in its erection have been frequently damaged, so as to be rendered useless,— gathered about the new Catholic building and placed themselves within it. They were in due course visited, between eight and nine at night by a party of boys, afterwards joined by men. Stones were thrown on both sides for some time, and finally an attack on the building and all upon it or about it for its defence seems to have been prepared. This was met by a discharge of fire arms which, unhappily, deprived the unfortunate lad Morrison of his life, and wounded one or two others slightly.

No objective or ultimate conclusion was reached by regional editors about who should bear blame for defacing two carved faces ornamenting the Gothic entrance to the cathedral or the death of the Orange youth,[59] save that the imported religious violence of one Irish faction against another had not been prevented by banning Orange processions. The editor of the Brockville Recorder asked his readers:[60]

> What tangible harm, in this land of Canada, does the Catholic in his worship, after the manner of his fathers, and of ours, to the Protestant, or the Protestant to the Catholic, that history must be searched for topics of animosity, mutual defiance and exasperation? Why cannot King James and King William be permitted to rest in their silent tombs, instead of being dragged forth and paraded as a raw head and bloody bones apparition to scare the timid and rouse the bold to deeds of violence?

Evidence of emerging religious violence does not negate the devotional revolution which began in the late 1820s. The description by a Methodist of Prescott's response to the boatloads of destitute and sick Irish immigrants dumped on its wharf by the Montreal Emigrant Society in 1831, effectively contrasted with the village which Rev. William Bell had described in 1817 as being pervaded with low morals, drunkenness and profane swearing:[61]

> The clergy of the different denominations, not only entreated their respective congregations to stretch forth the hand of charity for the relief of their suffering destitute brethren, but...met of one accord, consulted, and went around the village from house to house soliciting alms, declaring..."whoever giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord." A sight so unexpected by the inhabitants of seeing a Roman Priest, ...Church of England, Presbyterian and Methodist Preachers, going round together as a band of loving brothers had an effect altogether indescribable.... Many of the inhabitants fearing that the ministers should pass their humble dwellings without a call, ran with their widow's mite, to meet them in the street. Here were no distinctions. Catholics and Protestants were equally liberal, and...these amiable servants of

> the most high, collected about fifty pounds.... Happy Prescott, blessed with such preachers. But a few years since it was remarked, if the adversary of mankind had a resting place on earth, Prescott must surely have been the very spot. But by the assiduous efforts of pious and exemplary ministers, and the instituting and supporting of moral and pious institutions we behold that where wickedness did abound, morality and good will doth much more abound.

"Methodicus" did not attribute the devotional or religious awakening of local society to the incoming Irish immigrant tide, since to do so would have let down the Methodist side in a religious battle of words between Methodists and United Church of England and Ireland members which had been underway since the late 1820s in local newspapers, and to a lesser extent between Church of Scotland members and Presbyterians.

The emerging denominational battle of words between state-backed churches and voluntarist denominations essentially centred on the religious challenge which the new Irish immigrant majority offered the American-origin and Scottish population already settled in the region. Political, ethnic, national, ideological and nascent class strains combined in this battle. Methodists and other voluntarists stressed the virtue of individuals whose conversion had been prompted by a personal conviction of their sinfulness and who were assured of forgiveness through God's grace as being the essential strength for forming congregations and Christianizing local society. Their voluntary coming together to form a Christian community was the only true basis for fighting irreligion. The United Church of England and Ireland, by contrast, stressed the superiority of authorised ecclesiastical institutions for building churches and gradually converting the local population. The Methodists knew success with their voluntarist approach, but from the late 1820s they knew too well the effectiveness

of the state-backed churches, as promising Methodist preachers such as Hannibal Mulkins and James Padfield converted to become United Church of England and Ireland clergy.[62] The tension, the ethnic and growing political discord that the denominational battle fostered is shown in John Robinson's 1833 account of happening upon a meeting of American inhabitants in a Smith's Falls store, excitedly threatening to fight local United Church of England and Ireland immigrants:[63]

> [W]hile I was looking on a Yankee boy that minds the shop, asked me to sign [a paper],—what is it, said I; it['s] a petition to the King, said he, to have the Clergy Reserves sold for to make a railroad from Smith's Falls to Brockville, and from Morristown to Saratoga; a petition to the King, said I in surprise, —have the Yankees found a King at last; seeing that all the Americans about here had signed it, and some of them were boasting that they had put down the names of their friends in Connecticutt, who had never crossed the St. Lawrence, oh! no, said the lad, it['s] a petition to the King of England, aye, sign away, Mr. Robinson, said another, we want none of your Established Churches in this country; we can live well enough without any religion.... I fell in with a Mr. Mattisson, who explained to me...the Reserves were lands...for the support of a Protestant Clergy; and that the descendants of the men who shed their blood on the plains of Abraham were now to be deprived of them by the Yankees, the Mackenzie-men, the Universalists, and the Five Monarchy Men, the Saddle-bag Tribe, the men of no religion, and all the sanctified vagabonds in the country.

Supporters of a church establishment argued that in its absence there would be the same general carelessness about religious matters found in the United States. Although people in the States might make a great show of erecting chapels, this was more to be attributed to a motive of speculation, in adorning a village, or to a boyish rivalryship in each sect, each vying with the other to see who could build the finest, than to any genuine piety or care for true religion. American clergy were painted as being generally dependent, cringing and ill

educated. By contrast, in Ireland the Catholic clergy appeared as well if not better supported than the state-paid clergy because of the religious rivalry of Roman Catholics to keep up with the established church. The moral of this comparison for Upper Canada was clear:[64]

> [Were] the present Establishment annihilated, the zealous rivalry, which now causes the revivals &c. in religion (and which excitements, are absolutely necessary for the existence of some of our churches,) would die away; and a supineness grow up in the place of it, favourable to the growth of infidelity.

Various letters to local newspapers contrasted the dignity of United Church of England and Ireland services with emotional Methodist camp-meetings,[65] and the illiteracy and poor education of Methodist clergy to the thorough educations of state-backed clergy.[66] Correspondents heaped scorn on Methodist pretensions to having an extraordinary intercourse with God, while remaining unable to explain rationally various aspects of the Christian experience;[67] alluded to Methodists as "a faction among us who, under the mask of religion, threaten us with rebellion and bloodshed, if they cannot carry their points by other means,"[68] and as part and parcel of a "Yankee junto of hypocrites, traitors and knaves, who hold their seditious meetings at York, and fulminate from thence their poison through the Province."[69] The local Tory press hinted at links between Methodist camp-meetings and revolutionary meetings; explicitly spoke of links between the French revolutionary mobs, the Methodist Christian Guardian and William Lyon Mackenzie; pointed to the godless insolence of reverend editorial demagogues (a clear allusion to Guardian editor, Egerton Ryerson)[70] who incited discontent and promoted radical anarchy,[71] and who as incipient revolutionists should not be licensed to marry the king's subjects.[72]

The preferable alternative of the United Church of England and Ireland, as presented in the regional Tory press, was its lengthy experience of history, its benefit from wisdom accumulated over the ages as contrasted with the rashness of revolutionary agitators, its long built-up establishments,[73] and its influence in making the British constitution a regular system of Christianity.[74] The Brockville Statesman in 1839 predicted continuing disruptions in Upper Canadian Methodism because Irish Methodists in the region regretted the highly political course that American Methodists led by Egerton Ryerson had taken in the late 1820s and 1830s.[75] In 1844 the Statesman contrasted the hostility of Upper Canadian Methodists to the United Church of England and Ireland with Methodists in Ireland who made kind references to the state church.[76] As early as 1832 Tory editors noted that British immigration was swelling the regional population, and that valueless Yankees were not only being outnumbered but replaced by Europeans.[77]

In vain did local American-origin Methodists and other voluntarists respond that they were loyal, that they favoured British connection, and that their denominational links in the United States were simply a matter of past history. Every fulmination they brought against their being forbidden legally to marry their own adherents, against their being allowed legally to hold property, against the privileges given the state-backed churches, together with their allowing Reform political meetings to take place in the Methodist chapel at Brockville, was returned to them fourfold as proof that they were disloyal to the state. Even after Egerton Ryerson's considerable exertions in the mid-1830s to distance Methodism from politics, the

memory of its strong links with Reform helped maintain continuing allusions by Tory editors to alleged Methodist disloyalty. Though a separate Canadian Methodist conference was formed in 1824 to minimise the aspersions cast on the Episcopal Methodist ministers as foreigners;[78] though their organ, the Christian Guardian, had strong political clout and the largest circulation of any Upper Canadian newspaper in the early 1830s; and although a union with the British-based Wesleyans was negociated in 1833; regional Methodism suffered from a weak infrastructure and from many divisions. The union in 1833 had been hastily arranged to prevent the government giving aid to the Wesleyans alone,[79] but American-origin Methodists were so enraged by taunts from other voluntarists of having sold out principles in return for government funds, that they broke away to form the separatist Methodist Episcopal Church.[80] Despite attacks by the Reform editor of the Grenville Gazette against the Methodist union of 1833,[81] an Augusta Methodist claimed in April 1833 that Methodists of his area including English, Irish and Scottish embraced the union.[82] Sufficient numbers of American-origin Methodists in the region refused to accept the 1833 union to build four Methodist Episcopal chapels before 1845 (Table 3). The number of Wesleyan chapels constructed before 1845 kept pace with the United Church of England and Ireland, but they were largely modest and ungainly structures when set beside its battlemented, pedimented, Gothic-sashed late-Georgian churches. The Methodists, even had they not been divided, were ministered to by a much smaller number of clergy. Though they boasted of voluntary giving from their adherents, Methodist clergy could only regard with envy the funds that were channelled through state-backed agencies such as the Society for the Propagation

of the Gospel and the Glasgow Colonial Society, in contrast with their own coaxing of stipends from scattered groups of settlers.

As Upper Canadian society increased in wealth and sophistication, Methodists increasingly found their form of worship, their churches and their preachers unable to keep pace. This was particularly true in the centre of the British-settled part of the region at Perth as early as 1823. Methodist envy of and intimidation by the state-backed churches is clearly evident in an early account of popular Methodist preacher, Franklin Metcalf, being sent to Perth:[83]

> Multitudes of the élite of that then aristocratic little town flocked to hear him; and could Methodism then have secured a respectable place of worship, similar to those whom Government aided were enabled to build, instead of the little chapel built of round logs;—could he have preached there once a week instead of once a fortnight;—and could men of equal calibre been always sent to succeed him, it would not have experienced the long years of painful struggle it underwent, and it would now, in all human probability, occupy a position far in advance of what it does.

Two years later the Rev. John Ryerson effectively preached the Methodist gospel at Perth because "among the half-pay officers in that settlement, [he] had the reputation of being a gentleman in his connections, and well educated. These things gave him a prestige which no Methodist preacher had had in that part of the country, excepting Mr. Metcalf."[84] The prejudice of Irish Methodists in the military settlements against American Methodism was a hurdle American-based preachers were unable to overcome before 1833.[85] The separation of American-origin members that year only confirmed the difficulties that Methodism continued to face.

Methodists were hardly alone in their sense of being outdistanced by the state-backed churches. Presbyterians had protested against the

special privileges of the United Church Church of England and Ireland since the 1790s. With the Methodist union and acceptance of a government grant for its clergy beginning in 1833, and the Church of Scotland building as many churches as did Presbyterians during the 1830s thanks to government grants, it was inevitable for Presbyterian editors of local Reform papers to inveigh:[86]

> The Church of England is feathering its nest, firmly establishing its Rectories on the ruins of Christianity, while the government is paying a few pounds a year to the Clergy of other denominations to keep them quiet till the chains of ecclesiastical bondage are riveted on the Canadas.

Although they scorned government grants to churches, individual Presbyterian clergy such as Rev. William Bell at Perth accepted pay to teach the government school at Perth until ousted by newly arrived United Church of England and Ireland clergyman, the Rev. Michael Harris.[87] Bell even agreed with Harris to allow mutual reading of the burial service in their respective cemeteries to the exclusion of Methodists.[88] Presbyterians shared with nonconformists such as Quakers, Congregationalists, Baptists and Methodists disdain for the ritual and liturgy of the Roman and English churches, but were equally capable of ridiculing the "impudence..., ignorance and coarseness", "the groaning and grunting" of Methodist congregations,[89] and of ridiculing the Baptist refusal to baptise infants.[90] Presbyterian politician, Malcolm Cameron, drew analogies between Roman Catholics and Presbyterians as peoples that had suffered similar oppression from the Church of England. Cameron charged that the United Church of England and Ireland and Orange lodges in Ireland had combined to treat Roman Catholics as an inferior, dependent race, and to create heartburnings and misery and bondage in

the same way that the Scottish people had been pursued with fire, sword, fetters, dungeons and death for being constant to the faith of their forefathers.[91]

Presbyterian jealousy of United Church of England and Ireland growth, together with local divisions between Gaelic and English-speaking Presbyterians and between Secessionists, Cameronians and the Church of Scotland, paled in significance before the news in 1843 of the disruption of the Church of Scotland over the matter of ministers being settled in parishes by appointment rather than by congregational call. In Upper Canada between 1833 and 1843 Presbyterians had reproached Methodists for receiving government funds and for withdrawing from active partisan politics. The members of many congregations made an instant connection between the ferment in Scotland and the decision of many Upper Canadian ministers and presbyteries to accept a share of the Clergy Reserve fund. They accused them of having[92]

> given in their adherence to the Residuary Church; which ministers we think have departed from the faith contained in the Word of God, and in the confession of faith, in giving way to Acts of Parliament and civil courts of law in things spiritual, thereby giving that power in the church to civil rulers which is due Jesus Christ alone as king of nations and head of the church.

This Free Church disruption of Upper Canadian Presbyterianism in the mid 1840s presented yet another fracturing of the voluntarist Protestant denominations that twenty years earlier had outnumbered by far the United Church of England and Ireland. Methodism and Presbyterianism, the two denominations potentially large enough to rival the United Church of England and Ireland in the 1820s, by 1844 were badly splintered, largely for appearing to accept funds from the same source

as the United Church of England and Ireland. By contrast, the two major denominations in the region most of whose clergy and adherents came from Ireland, the United Church of England and Ireland and the Church of Rome, built the largest numbers of churches of any denominations during the 1830s and 1840s (Table 5).

Despite the complex variety of denominational relationships, the jealousies, the political and social networks, four common strands united a majority of Christians in the region before 1845 in a way unthinkable in the following decades. First, they shared a common abhorrence of the irreligious state of society which existed before the late 1820s. Second, despite rivalry and jealousy of the perceived advantages enjoyed by the United Church of England and Ireland, and possibly even because of such rivalry and jealousy, Protestants in the region before 1845 displayed tolerance toward Roman Catholics. Third, in virtually all denominations there was a division between British-born and North American-origin members. Fourth, Orangeism, with rare exceptions, was regarded with disfavour by most clergy of all denominations. Rev. William Bell at Perth observed in July 1830 that[93]

> the Orangemen determined to have a procession and a sermon. But upon application, they were mortified to find that neither of the ministers of the town would act as their chaplain. To be an Orangeman was once the high road to preferment, particularly in Ireland, but now the case is altered.

In 1832 district Orange masters proposed changing their fraternity's name to the Union Society as being less obnoxious to the community at large, and in order to show Orange affection for their Catholic fellow Irish.[94] Articles in the Brockville Gazette and Antidote promoting the Union Society referred to the need for Upper Canadian Irish Catholics

Table 5.

Church buildings constructed in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, 1790-1868, by twenty year periods and by denomination

Denomination	1790-1809	1810-29	1830-49	1850-68	Total
United Brethren				3	3
Quaker		1			1
Congregational			3	1	4
Baptist		3	7	6	16
Methodist (Wesleyan)	1	8	20	25	54
Methodist Episcopal (1833)			4	6	10
New Connexion Methodist				1	1
Presbyterian		5	12	10	27
Church of Scotland		1	8	1	10
Free Church (1843)			6	2	8
Cameronian			3		3
United Church of England and Ireland	1	9	22	30	62
Roman Catholic		3	21	16	40
Lutheran and Evangelical Lutheran				4	4
Total	2	30	106	105	243

Source: All available printed local histories, parish histories, and records from Baptist, Anglican, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and United Church Archives for the Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties study area.

to seek a civil union with Protestants against the Yankee faction, in the same spirit that they had been friends and fellow soldiers at Blenheim and Waterloo.[95] Despite Orange master Ogle Gowan's pleas in the Brockville Statesman that Orangemen were not hostile to Catholics, that Orangemen believed Catholics (as opposed to American-origin Methodists) to be loyal,[96] and admired the union of Catholics and Orangemen to defeat Mackenzie's rebellion,[97] the tide of published opinion seemed turned against Orangeism, even as the number of lodges mushroomed during the 1830s.

Tory and Reform papers alike, save for Gowan's papers at Brockville, denounced Orangeism for its intolerance. Articles in the Brockville Recorder vilified the Orange Tory mobs that "state-paid priests" had urged on to commit election violence in Leeds in 1836,[98] and claimed that Orangeism "has spread religious animosity in this country, almost as bad as in Ireland,"[99] especially the twelfth of July processions that humiliated Roman Catholics.[100] The Tory Bytown Gazette in August 1838 printed Lord Durham's statement that "Orangemen are transgressors of the law, and as such deserve punishment like all others who infringe upon it"[101] and an article from the Toronto Patriot arguing that Orange processions in Canada should be banned, "tending as they do, to irritate the loyal body of Catholics, whose good will and affection it is the bounden duty of us all assiduously to cultivate and cherish."[102] Gowan responded in vain that Roman Catholics should not push for the suppression of Orange lodges at a time when an awakening majority in the United Kingdom and in the United States were resisting "the further inroads of Romish superstition and idolatry,"[103] and that Orangeism was enjoying increasing recognition from the Tory

administration of Upper Canada.[104] Lengthy letters to the Brockville Recorder from the Rev. Edward Denroche, rector of the very church in which Gowan worshipped, attacked Gowan's personal reputation, his foisting a bastard Orangeism on Canada which was not recognised in Britain, and warned his fellow United Church of England and Ireland clergy to be jealous for the integrity of the government with whom they were linked by abjuring Gowan's Orangeism since he was only of a class with Captain Rock and the violent Ribbonmen of Ireland.[105] After temporarily urging Orangemen to boycott attending services presided over by Denroche, by autumn 1839 even Gowan admitted that the "ministers of our Holy Religion have shut their Churches against us, and refused to preach for us," and morosely meditated on the irony of Catholicism being flattered, encouraged and promoted by government, while Protestants were divided, discouraged and absent.[106] With Orange processions banned in the early 1840s, and Reform papers such as the Kingston Whig and Brockville Recorder praising Archdeacon Stuart for refusing to preach to Orangemen in St. George's Church at Kingston on the twelfth of July, in the same way that royalty refused to countenance Orangeism, the ultimate moral appeared to be that the devotional revolution set in motion by Irish clergy and immigrants had succeeded so well that United Church of England and Ireland clergy no longer perceived a need to be allied with the Orange lodges.

The banning of Orange processions as expressions of religious intolerance by 1845 revealed the religious challenge which the Irish inundation presented previously established American, Scottish and French-Canadian settlers. The paltry nine meeting-houses in 1820 had mushroomed by 1845 into more than one hundred churches. The United

Church of England and Ireland led all other denominations in building churches from the 1820s on, and by designing more sophisticated churches than locally was the custom the largely Irish congregations spurred American-based Protestants to emulate them. This contrasted with the rampant irreligiosity before the late 1820s. The dimensions of the Irish inundation, their relative sophistication, their access to funds from overseas to further their religious activity, and their being favoured by the Tory administration of Upper Canada led to heightened political awareness, to jealousies among the American-based voluntarists perceiving the state of affairs, and to divisions among voluntarists, between voluntarist and state-funded denominations, and between people of British and American origin. Though the major Protestant denominations potentially shared many evangelical and low church aspects, and though early Methodists, Presbyterians and Church of England members before 1820 had worshipped together, the Irish immigrants represented too much of a challenge to the assumptions and the paranoia of American-origin settlers for the common ground ever to emerge. Though the churches built for the United Church of England and Ireland were modest structures by any measure of contemporary English church architecture, they seemed very sophisticated to the voluntarist denominations, and bespoke funding, educated clergy, formal ritual, regular salaries and regular schedules of services such as even the Methodists could not hope to offer.

The religious challenge of keeping up with the Irish-dominated United Church of England and Ireland, and with the Irish congregations in all the other denominations in the region, imbued the region with a greater religious emphasis, a piety which contrasted with the earlier

pervasive irreliosity easily recalled by older inhabitants in 1844. The religious challenge was most particularly posed for Methodist clergy. Before the late 1820s they had been the clergy that most settlers came in contact with; by the early 1830s they were being labelled "alien priests" in the regional Tory press. By contrast, Roman Catholics were accorded such tolerance as to cause even the Orange processions of the sizable Irish Protestant population in the region to be discontinued by 1844. The Irish majority had acted as catalysts for a devotional revolution which within two decades had achieved substantial results, but which was not fully accomplished.

NOTES

[1][John Alfred Morris], The Blue Church (Prescott, Ont.: Grenville County Historical Society, 1972), pp. [3-5].

[2]Thaddeus W.H. Leavitt, History of Leeds and Grenville (Brockville, Ont.: Recorder Press, 1879), pp. 23-24.

[3]Ibid., p. 23.

[4]OKQAR, Rev. William Bell Journals, vol. 7, pp. 161-164. Additional evidence of this custom from the Hamilton region is presented by John Weaver in "Crime, Public Order, and Repression: The Gore District in Upheaval, 1832-1851," Ontario History LXXVIII No. 3 (September 1986), p. 183.

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[6]Brockville Antidote, 22 January 1833, p. 3, col. 5, cited in Howard M. Brown, Lanark Legacy (Perth: Corporation of the County of Lanark, 1984), p. 162.

[7]Brockville Recorder, 29 November 1824, p. 3, col. 2.

[8]Ibid., cols. 2-3.

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[10]Robert Lamond, A Narrative of the Rise & Progress of Emigration, from the Counties of Lanark & Renfrew, to the New Settlements in Upper Canada, on Government Grant; Comprising the Proceedings of the Glasgow Committee for Directing the Affairs and Embarkation of the Societies (Glasgow: Chalmers & Collins, 1821; reprint ed.: Ottawa: Canadian Heritage Publications, 1978), pp. 83-84.

[11]John M'Donald, Emigration to Canada: Narrative of a Voyage to Quebec and Journey from Thence to New Lanark, in Upper Canada (Edinburgh: Andrew Jack, 1823; reprint ed.: Ottawa: Canadian Heritage Publications, 1978), p. 25.

[12]PAC RG5, A1 Upper Canada Sundries, vol. 53, p. 30028, letter from John McLaurin, Minister of Lochiel, 16 October 1822.

[13]Ruth McKenzie, Leeds and Grenville: Their First Two Hundred Years (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), pp. 78-80, 84, 86.

[14]Goldwin French, "The Evangelical Creed in Canada" in W.L. Morton, ed., The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), p. 22.

[15]Jane Varkaris and Costas Varkaris, "The Abel Family and the Quakers of Leeds County," Families XXII No. 1 (1983), pp. 5, 9.

[16][Morris], The Blue Church, p. [5].

[17]Mabel Willows, Anniversary of Boyd's United Church, 1833-1973 (Boyd's Settlement, Ont.: Boyd's United Church, 1973), pp. 42-43. 27 August 1846 letter from William H. Poole, Kitley, to Richard Hammond. I am grate to Howard M. Brown for bringing this to my attention.

[18]OTAR, Simcoe Papers, Envelope 46, 1797.

[19]PAC, Upper Canada Sundries, vol. 58, p. 30029.

[20]Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, Hallowed Walls: Church Architecture of Upper Canada (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1975), pp. 242-243.

[21]OTAR, RG2 C-G-C Education Department Records, Assistant Superintendent of Education, Canada West, Incoming General Correspondence, Box 19, 2 October 1855, letter from Robert McGibbin, Ottawa.

[22]PAC, Upper Canada Sundries, vol. 58, pp. 30030-30031.

[23]H.R.M., A Brief History of St. Paul's Church, Delta, Ontario, in the Parish of Lansdowne Rear (Delta, Ont.: St. Paul's Women's Auxiliary, 1934), p. 5.

[24]Robert T. Handy, A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada Oxford History of the Christian Church (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 204-205; Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841 The Canadian Centenary Series (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), p. 170.

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[49]Archdiocese of Kingston Archives Bishop Alexander Macdonell Letterbook Vol. III (1834-1839), p. 154., 11 August 1835 letter to Rev. James Campion, Prescott, re. new church at Kitley.

[50]OKQAR, Rev. Wm. Bell Journals, vol. 2, p. 153.

[51]Bytown Gazette, 3 February 1842, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

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[57]Bathurst Courier, 6 September 1842, p. 2, col. 5.

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[74]Ibid., 10 May 1832, p. 1, cols. 1-4.

[75]Brockville Statesman, 29 June 1839, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[76]Kingston Statesman, 14 February 1844, p. 1, cols. 4-5.

[77]Brockville Gazette, 4 October 1832, p. 3, col. 2; ibid., 8 November 1832, p. 2, col. 5.

[78]Aileen Dunham, Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836 Carleton Library no. 10 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1963), p. 89.

[79]Ibid., pp. 144-145.

[80]One such taunt was copied into the 29 May 1835 Brockville Recorder from the Montreal Vindicator, claiming that the Christian Guardian, edited by Rev. Egerton Ryerson went over to the Tories of Upper Canada "Press, Types and all," on consideration of an allowance of a thousand pounds a-year made by Government to the Wesleyan Methodist Ministers of that Province...."

[81]Brockville Recorder, 18 April 1833, p. 2, col. 2.

[82]Ibid., 11 April 1833, pp. 2-3, cols. 6-1.

[83]Carroll, Case and His Cotemporaries II:483.

[84]Ibid., III:86.

[85]Ibid., II:435.

[86]Brockville Recorder, 22 April 1836, p. 3, col. 2.

[87]Isabel Skelton, William Bell: A Man Austere, Parson and Pioneer (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947), p. 120.

[88]OKQAR, Rev. Wm. Bell Journals, vol. 4, p. 170.

[89]Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 77, 19.

[90]Ibid., vol. 4, p. 122.

[91]Bathurst Courier, 3 March 1837, p. 2, col. 2.

[92]From a resolution of the Ramsay congregational meeting, copied from the Toronto Banner into the Bathurst Courier, 2 July 1844, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

[93]OKQAR, Rev. Wm. Bell Journals, vol. 7, pp. 55-56.

[94]Brockville Gazette, 2 August 1832, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[95]Ibid., 29 November 1832, p. 3, col. 2.

[96]Brockville Statesman, 24 February 1838, p. 3, col. 2.

[97]Ibid., 4 August 1838, p. 1, col. 1.

[98]Brockville Recorder, 22 July 1836, p. 2, cols. 1-3.

[99]Ibid., 27 July 1837, p. 3, col. 3.

[100]Ibid., 27 July 1837, p. 2, col. 1.

[101]Bytown Gazette, 8 August 1838, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[102]Ibid., 26 September 1839, pp. 2-3, cols. 6-1.

[103]Brockville Statesman, 27 October 1838, p. 2, col. 5.

[104]Kingston Statesman, 16 August 1843, pp. 2-3, cols. 6-1.

[105]Brockville Recorder, 24 May 1838, p. 3, col. 1.

[106]Ibid., 21 June 1838, pp. 2-3, cols. 6-3; Brockville Statesman, 22 October 1839, p. 3, cols. 1, 3-4.

[107]Brockville Recorder, 25 July 1844, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

VI

THE POLITICAL CHALLENGE

Growing political awareness in the late 1820s and the emergence of partisan politics in the 1830s and 1840s coincided with the inundation of Carleton, Grenville, Lanark and Leeds counties by reactionary southeastern Irish Protestant immigrants. In this chapter regional political patterns before 1845 are surveyed to reveal the perceived contemporary importance of Irish immigrants to Tory and Reform fortunes, especially in ridings where the Irish numerically vied with Americans or with Scottish immigrants. To begin, the political and ethnic links of local newspaper editors are indicated. Political profiles of each riding are then presented, showing the complex variety of religious, ethnic, ideological and cultural influences of the major component groups in local society. The rhetoric sampled in these profiles shows the political dynamic produced by ethnic rivalry. Escalating regional political awareness developed out of the challenge which Irish Protestants in their adept support of the provincial administration presented to earlier-established American and Scottish settlers who perceived their control of local society to be diminishing with every election after 1828. The political challenge for American, Scottish and French-Canadian partisans of Reform was to render powerless the impenetrable ethnic and organisational nucleus of regional Conservatism—the secret Loyal Orange Association of British America. Between 1824 and 1844 the longer-settled non-Irish inhabitants increasingly felt themselves running a gauntlet of discrimination and violence at the hands of Irish Orange Tories.

The newspapers published in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark and Leeds counties before 1845 reflected the coincidental emergence of partisan politics with the arrival of mass southeastern Irish Protestant immigration. The Brockville Recorder (1821-present), founded by American-origin Chauncey Beach as the first newspaper of the region, was purchased in 1823 by brothers William and Andrew Norton Buell who made it a voice for the area American-origin population and eventually for Reform. From 1849 to 1875 David Wylie, a Scottish Presbyterian raised in northern Lanark, was editor of the Recorder. The Brockville Gazette (1828-1832) was set up by prominent local American-origin Loyalists allied with the provincial administration, as shown by incorporating the royal coat-of-arms on the mast-head.[1] Ogle R. Gowan became co-editor of the Gazette in 1830, reflecting the infiltration of local Toryism by Irish immigrants. The new motto on the Gazette contrasted with the Recorder push for greater democracy:[2]

> Those who are preparing to build up a government, should recollect that the Kingly power ought to form the basis, and the popular, the superstructure; for, if you place a Republic as the basis, and afterwards build a monarchy upon it, your building will fall into ruins on the slightest shock.

When the Gazette folded in 1832 under Orange editor, Arthur McClean, its motto was, "The Constitution, the whole Constitution, and nothing but the Constitution". The moderate Bathurst Independent Examiner (1828-1831) at Perth, edited successively by Scottish Presbyterian immigrants John Stewart and Francis Cummings, neither criticised nor defended the provincial administration.[3] The Grenville Gazette (1831-1835) at Prescott was founded as a pro-administration paper by American Methodist Stephen Miles who had started the Kingston Gazette

in 1810. Donald McLeod, descended from Glengarry Scottish Presbyterian Loyalists, purchased the Grenville Gazette in 1833 and made it a strong Reform newspaper. When a mob forced McLeod to flee the province, the Grenville Gazette was sold to Reform politician, William B. Wells, who changed its name to The Vanguard (1835-1838).[4]

Ogle R. Gowan published the Brockville Antidote (1832-1836) to increase his influence in Orange lodges, followed by the Brockville Constitution (1835) and the Brockville Statesman (1835-1851). William Tully, an Irish Protestant at Perth, was unable to rally sufficient subscribers to sustain his controversial British Constitution (1833),[5] and Irish Protestant James Johnston's openly pro-Irish politically-neutral Bytown Independent (1836) published only a few issues.[6] A Scottish Tory immigrant, Alexander J. Christie, purchased the Independent printing press and published the Bytown Gazette (1836-1861) until his death in 1843, his son Thomas editing until 1846, followed by William F. Powell, the Irish-born Conservative representative for Carleton, until the paper's demise.[7] Another Scottish immigrant, John Cameron, purchased the printing-press of the defunct British Constitution at Perth to publish the Bathurst Courier (1834-present). Following his death within a year, his brother Malcolm became editor, who as a Presbyterian and bitter critic of Sir Francis Head's administration used the Courier to further his Reform political career. James Thompson, a Presbyterian from Leitrim, owned and edited the Courier from 1838 to 1852; followed by Charles Rice, Free Church Presbyterian son of an Irish soldier from 1852 to 1862; and from 1862 to well into the twentieth century the Courier was edited by George L. Walker and his descendants, a Scottish-origin

Presbyterian family related to Charles Rice.[8] The Prescott Herald (1836-1837) briefly existed as a Tory paper. No copies of the Brockville New Era (1841-1842) survive to reveal its political leaning. The Perth Weekly Despatch (1842-1843) published by Wesleyan Irish immigrant, Dawson Kerr, briefly supported Tory interests. English immigrant John George Bridges edited the Tory Ottawa Advocate (1842-1849) at Aylmer for two years before moving it to Bytown, where Dawson Kerr became editor in 1844.[9] The Bytown Packet (1843-present) was founded as a Reform paper by Irish Catholic immigrant William Harris,[10] continued Reform under Irish Catholic editor Henry James Friel in the late 1840s, in 1851 was purchased by Irish Presbyterian Reformer Robert Bell who changed its name to the Citizen and who began issuing editions semi-weekly in 1859. The Ottawa Citizen became a daily Tory journal with its sale to English Anglican I.B. Taylor in 1865.[11]

An increasing number of regional newspapers were established at the peak of southeastern Irish Protestant immigration into Carleton, Grenville, Lanark and Leeds counties from the late 1820s through to the late 1830s. Most editors had political ambitions. Before 1844 Tory newspapers were predominantly edited by Irish immigrants, whereas the editors of Reform papers were predominately Scottish or American Presbyterians. An anonymous correspondent of the Brockville Gazette in 1832 remarked on the politicising of society that had followed the flood of Irish immigrants into the region. Where once earlier-established farmers of American origin had been willing to exploit Irish immigrants as labourers, claimed the correspondent, upon the Irish influx assuming a formidable dimension, the older settlers attempted to curtail immigration and to vilify the leaders of the

Irish. No sooner did a political leader such as Ogle R. Gowan:[12]

> come forward to arouse and unite their countrymen, and to expose the hollow pretences of their enemies, than they were...set upon with the most malicious rancor. The Brockville Recorder, and Grenville Gazette, with a host of private libellers, such as Crafts, Buell and Co., assailed the character of Mr. Gowan...; but all their efforts are vain, their schemes are seen through, and...[this] gentlem[a]n, as well as many others of the same country and kidney in politics, will be returned at the next election....
>
> As regards the hostility of this party to the emigrants as well as their leaders, it is only requisite to direct your attention, first, to the polltax of two dollars a head, upon British subjects, (male and female,) who may choose to emigrate to this country....

Regional anti-administration candidates and supporters recognised a new need to organise as a political unit, and later as a provincial organisation against the new onslaught of reactionary Irish immigrants recruited by the provincial administration and allied to pro-administration Tory candidates. A Perth correspondent of the Brockville Recorder in July 1833 pointed out the formidable force of patronage, money and union against which anti-administration or Reform candidates were pitted. Editors of Reform papers such as the Grenville Gazette, he urged, should no longer waste their energy in vilifying pro-administration candidates nor engaging in personal or even partisan battles of words, especially with other contending Reform candidates. It was now necessary to choose candidates well in advance of an election in order to have a concerted local effort against pro-administration candidates:[13]

> It is now very obvious that unless measures are adopted to effect a union of sentiment among liberals, unless they are brought to co-operate, their defeat at the next election is most certain. ...Here and there have some met to devise means to secure to themselves more liberal and more efficient

> representatives for next Parliament, but this has not been by any means general, and in many places has only tended to divide the people, and subsequent meetings have only confirmed and strengthened the division. This is not as it should be.... I know that Reformers claim a right individually to think for themselves and to act independently of each other, but this is not a time to exercise that right tenaciously—to exercise it so is inexpedient —where so exercised it will be pernicious, and be the bane of the cause. Before the next election proper candidates should be chosen in every county— one and only one where only one is needed, and no more than two where no more are needed; as sure as we are found divided so sure will we be defeated. On our union depends our success, and what I propose will secure it.

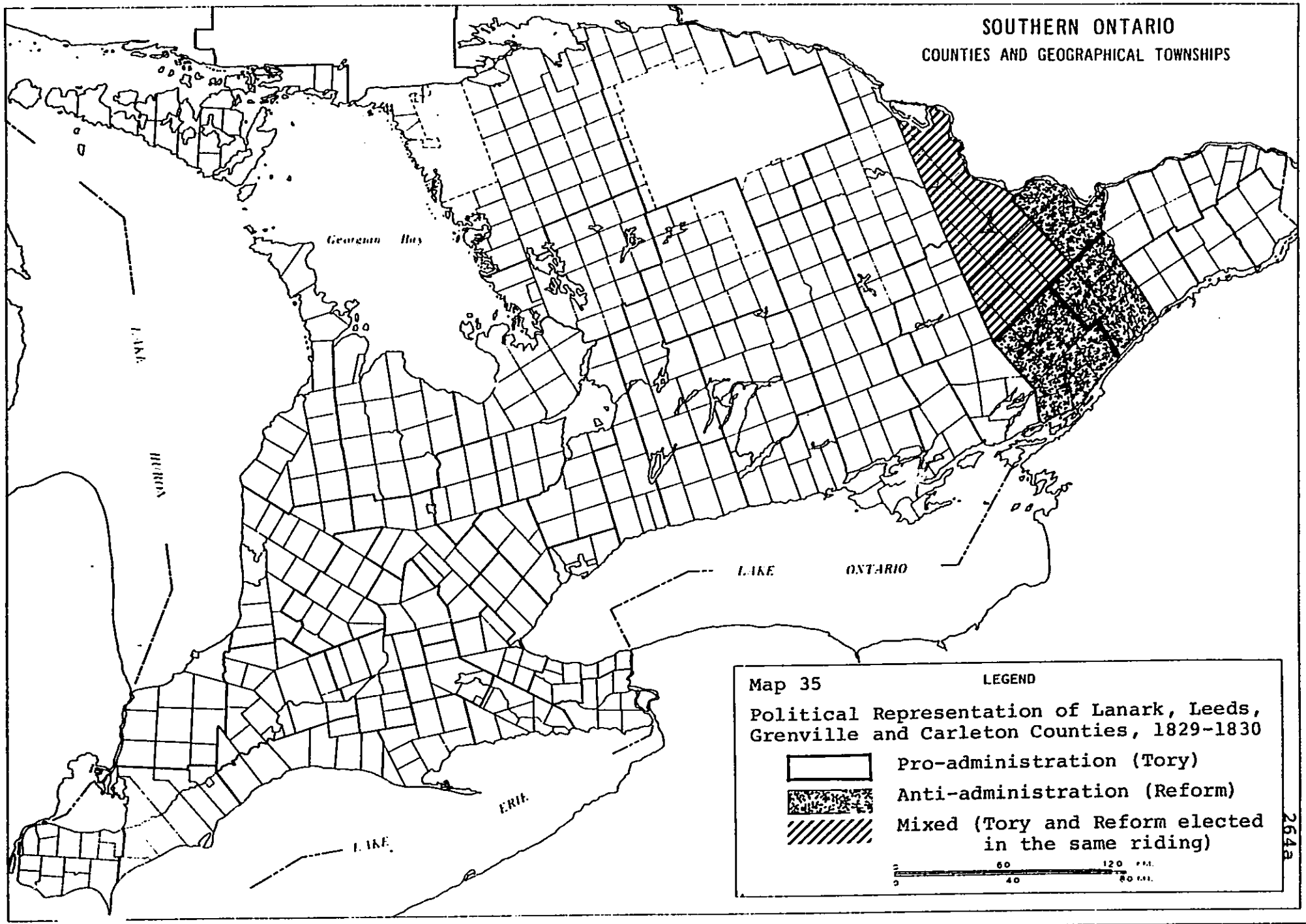
It is important to distinguish between this as a call for the union of local Reformers within each riding as opposed to the distinct emergence of provincial political parties in the late 1830s. By 1828 a divergence of principles and ideals identifiably divided the Upper Canadian legislative assembly between Tories and Reformers,[14] yet as late as 1836 the evidence for any substantial degree of province-wide party organisation simply does not exist.[15] Ideological conflict in Upper Canada, as Graeme Patterson has pointed out, was less a contest between 'conservative' and 'progressive' schools of thought than a struggle between warring conservative traditions that came into contact when transplanted from Europe and other parts of North America.[16] This was certainly the case in eastern Upper Canada after the arrival of the large southeastern Irish population. American-origin settlers and Irish Protestant immigrants shared a common Whig legacy, and both were equally concerned to preserve the representation rights of voting freeholders according to the evolving custom of the British consitution. The regional emergence of political partisanship during the 1830s was largely based on ethnicity rather than over

substantive issues. Ogle Gowan initially attempted to be a Reform candidate in 1830, but upon being repulsed by prominent local Reformers, he perceived that local Toryism might prove more easily infiltrated. The politically significant large ethnic concentrations in the region included American-origin settlers and Loyalists in Grenville and Leeds; United Church of England and Ireland Irish immigrants in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark and Leeds; and Presbyterian radicalised Scottish immigrants in Lanark County. Before the Irish inundation, elections were based solely on the personal appeal and abilities of the local candidate and on local issues.

The very concentration of the incoming Irish during the late 1820s coincided with the unsubsided uproar among American-born inhabitants over the proposed Alien Bill. This gave ethnicity a particular importance as a pretext for grouping together. It is not particularly important that there were few substantive issues on which most of these people differed. Instead, what must be recognised is that five major groups came from differing recent political experiences, and although they shared similar ideologies, were still living under the shadow of their own recent past elsewhere rather than having necessarily adopted or adapted to the local political and social reality in Upper Canada. The Scottish weavers of northern Lanark were still resisting what they considered the political persecution of the British government against radicals in the Glasgow vicinity. United Empire Loyalists and their progeny reiterated the protestations of loyalty they had submitted on claims and petitions for land since the 1780s. American settlers decried inequitable treatment as compared to the Loyalists despite having been given

everything promised them when they began migrating to Upper Canada under Simcoe's proclamation, and they pressed for the type of government they had left in the United States. Irish Catholics, yet under the sway of Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Association rhetoric, were adamant about the need for banning Orange lodges and for gaining political and religious emancipation in a province where they enjoyed both. Southeastern Irish Protestants believed themselves to still be the embattled minority with links to distant British government that they had been in Ireland, surrounded by treachery and disloyalty, despite forming a preponderant part of the regional population. It is not a remarkable discovery that the component parts of a regional population were swayed by their respective recent pasts, but simply an important reminder for the historian exploring the intellectual reality of a certain period that that reality was predominantly informed by the recent past of people rather than necessarily by the situations in which they found themselves.

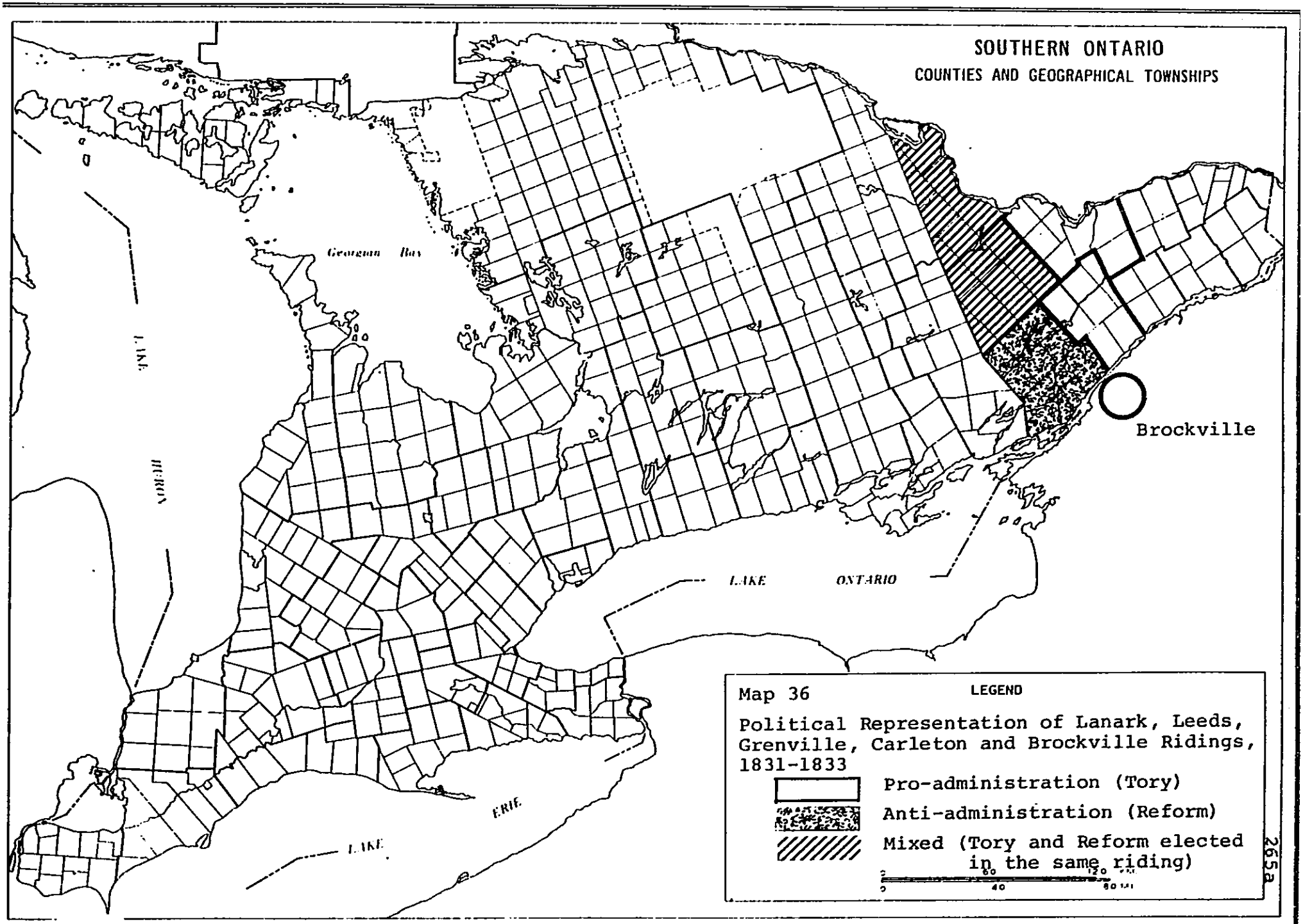
A brief consideration of the pattern of political representation for Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds, Brockville and Bytown ridings between 1825 and 1844 underlines the variation according to ethnicity from one riding to the next. In the general election of 1825 pro-administration candidates were elected in the four county ridings of Grenville, Leeds, Lanark and Carleton, continuing the pattern which had existed since the setting up of the Leeds and Grenville ridings in 1791. The 1828 election showed a remarkable change, with only one of the two Lanark candidates being pro-administration, and the rest all being Reform or against the policies of the Tory administration (Map 35). In 1830 Leeds remained solidly Reform, Carleton and


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
Map 35
LEGEND
Political Representation of Lanark, Leeds, Grenville and Carleton Counties, 1829-1830
Pro-administration (Tory)
Anti-administration (Reform)
Mixed (Tory and Reform elected in the same riding)
0 40 60 80 120 mi.

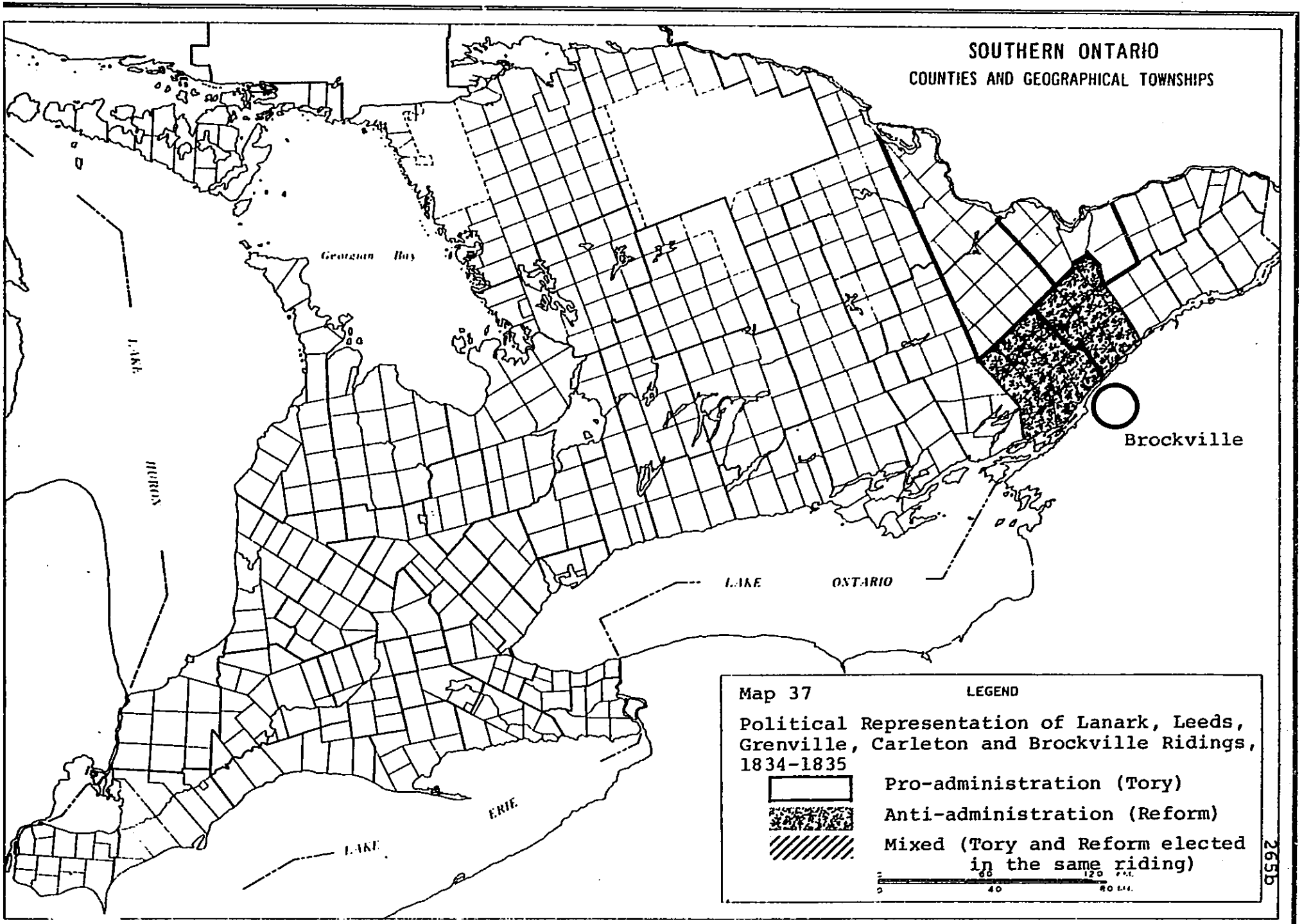
264a

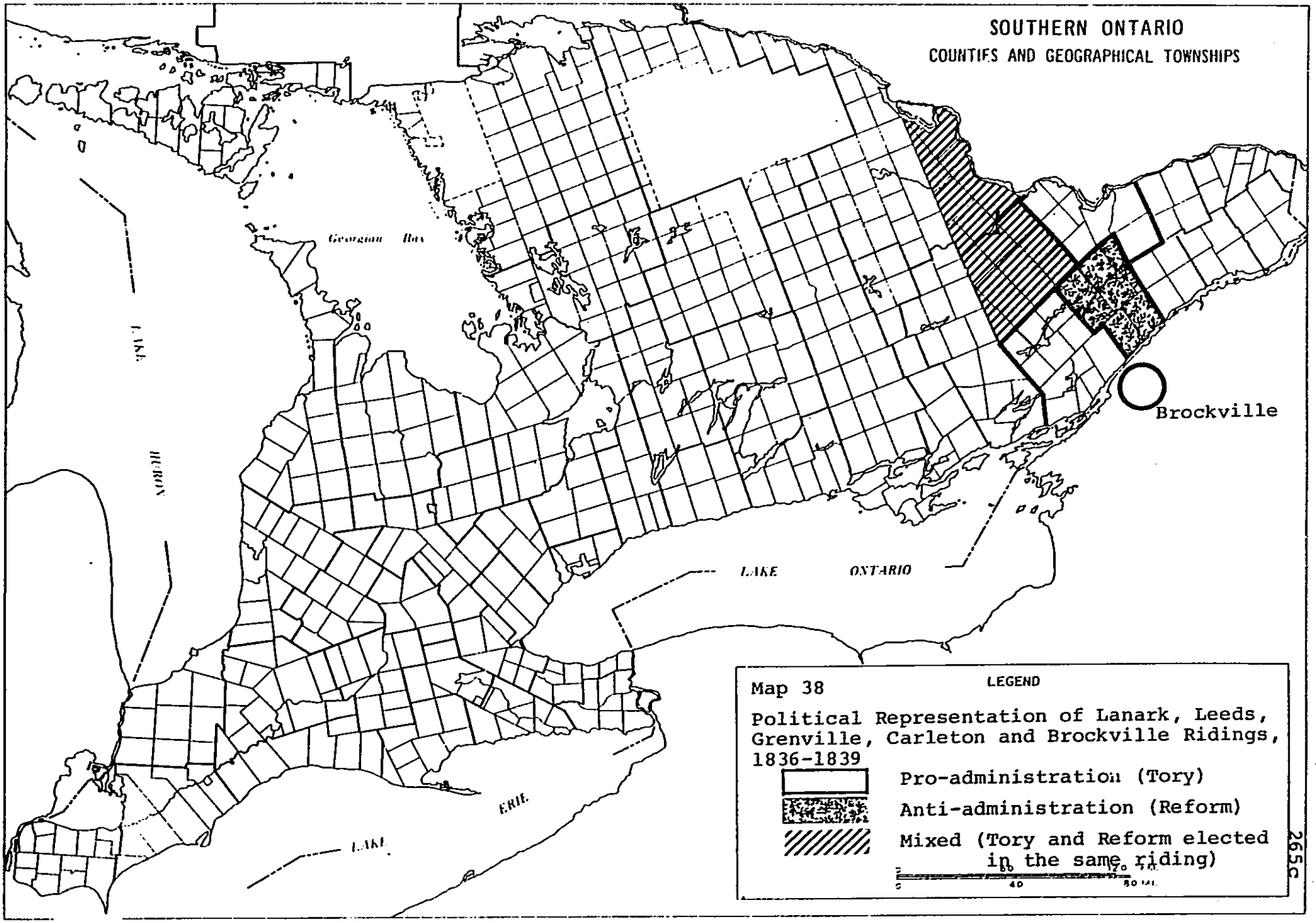
Grenville were solidly Tory, and Lanark was divided between Tory and Reform candidates (Map 36). In 1833 the Tories swept all ridings save Grenville, but election irregularities turned Leeds over to Reform to balance the Tory win in the new urban riding of Brockville (Map 37). Grenville remained Reform and one of the two members returned for Lanark was Reform in 1835 (Map 38). In the early 1840s both Lanark and Grenville were solidly Reform, and the ridings of Leeds, Carleton, Brockville and Bytown were solidly pro-administration or Tory (Map 39). In 1843 only one of the six ridings, Lanark, remained Reform (Map 40).

Assuming that political labels mean something, that the professed political complexion of the winning candidates somehow reflected the mood of the electorate, and that the electorate though a fraction of the population nonetheless reflected the larger population, the following pattern of political representation can be traced. The large influx of southeastern Irish Protestant immigrants into the region coincided with a domestic battle over the Alien Bill as to whether inhabitants of American birth should be obliged to swear allegiance as if they were foreigners—a battle which changed virtually the entire representation of the region in the provincial legislative assembly from being pro-administration to Reform in the 1828 election, the continuing impact of which was felt in 1831. From 1834 on the pro-administration or Tory alliance gained increasing ground in the region. Leeds, Carleton, Brockville and Bytown, with their substantial Irish populations elected no Reform members from 1834 onward. Reform candidates won support after 1834 only in Grenville where the American-origin population was especially concentrated, and in Lanark where Scottish immigrant numbers were yet strong.



DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
Brockville
Map 37
LEGEND
Political Representation of Lanark, Leeds, Grenville, Carleton and Brockville Ridings, 1834-1835
Pro-administration (Tory)
Anti-administration (Reform)
Mixed (Tory and Reform elected in the same riding)
0
40
80 km.
265b



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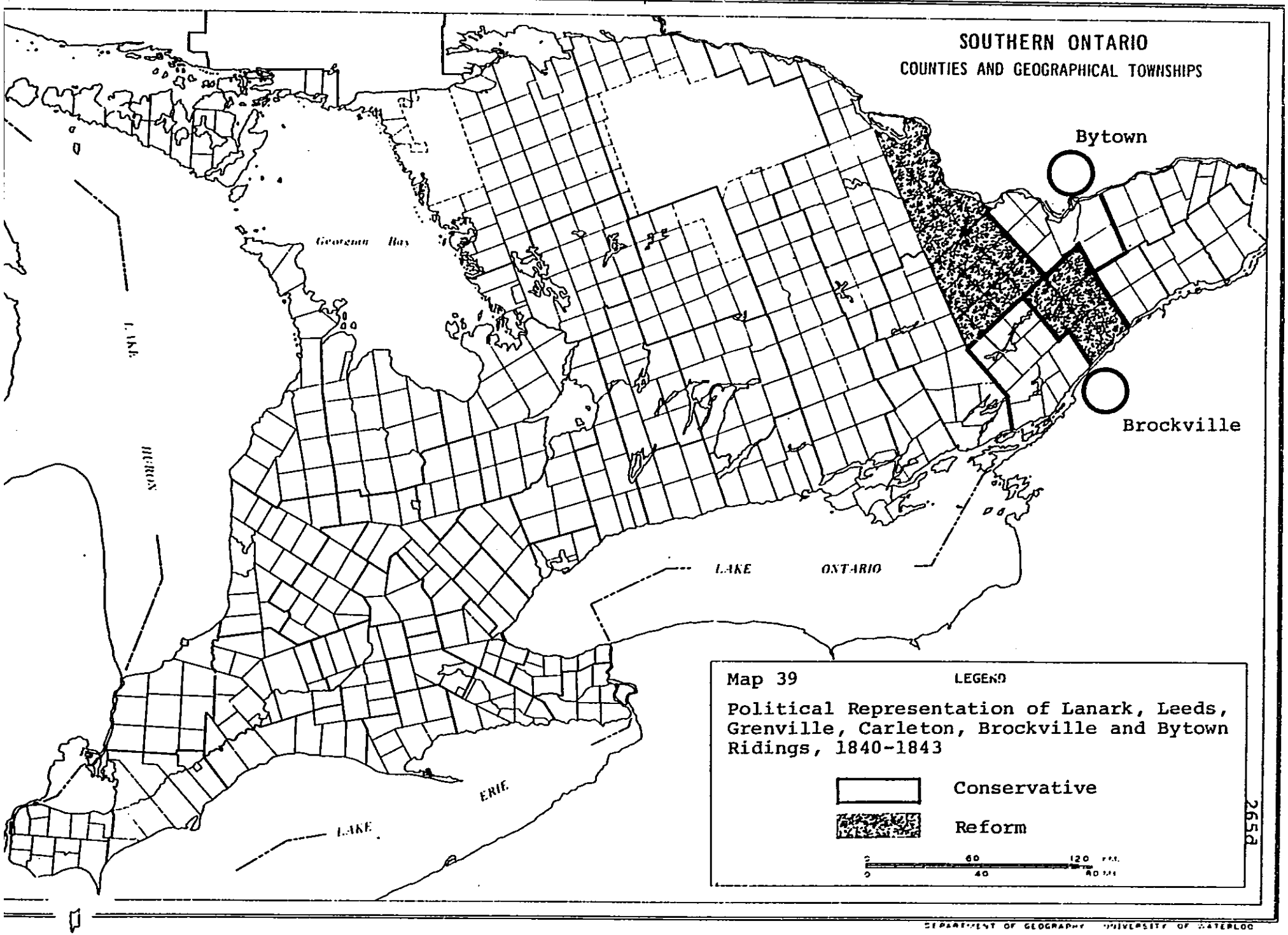

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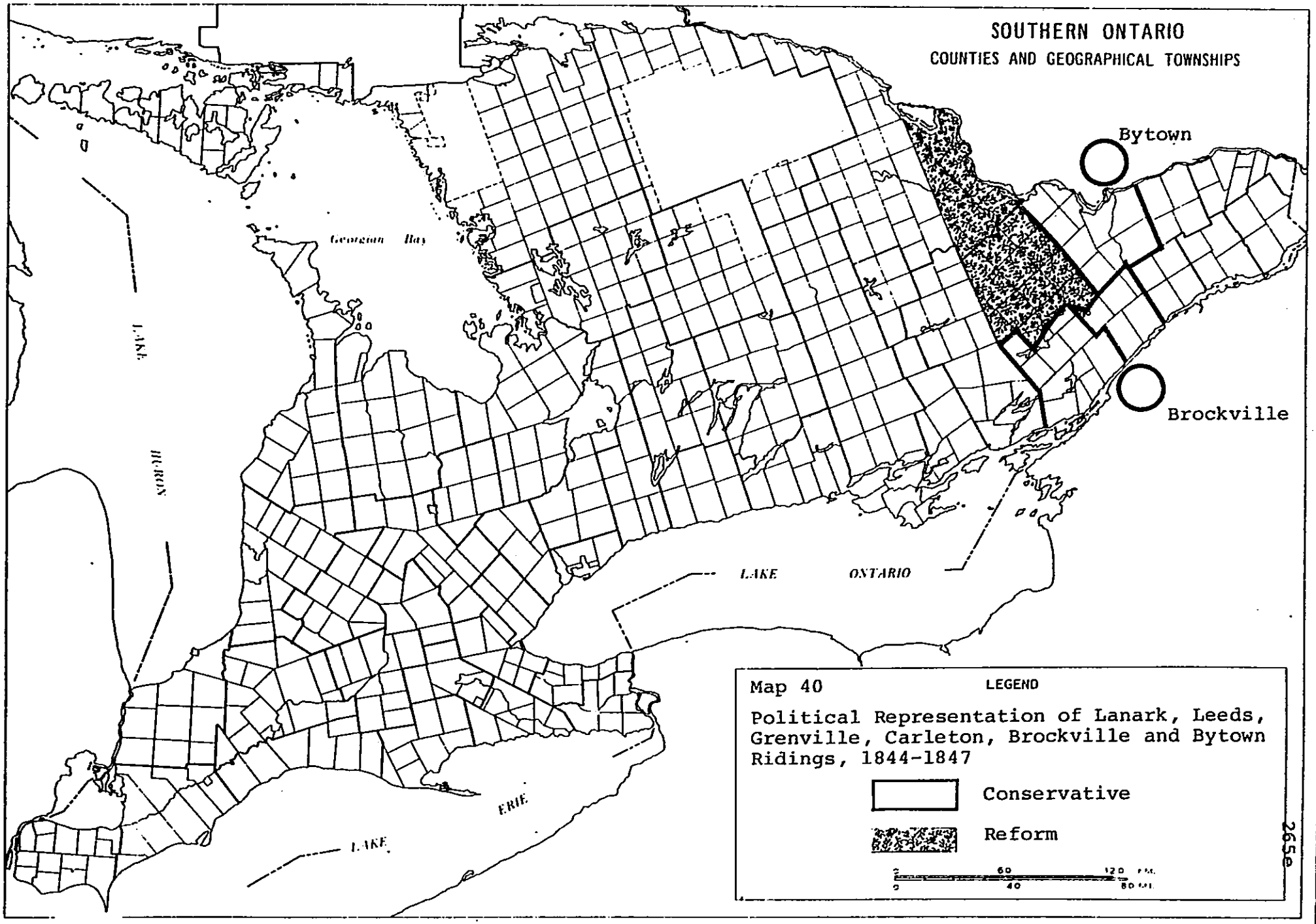

SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Bytown
Brockville
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
Map 40
LEGEND
Political Representation of Lanark, Leeds, Grenville, Carleton, Brockville and Bytown Ridings, 1844-1847
Conservative
Reform
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.

265e

The ethnic underpinnings of political strength and political behaviour are further revealed by closer scrutiny of each electoral riding, beginning with Lanark where partisan distinctions first emerged in the region. Lanark was largely divided between pro-administration United Church of England and Ireland Irish and radicalised Scottish Presbyterians. The Irish came from a tradition where they were strongly linked with government. Most of the Scottish immigrants were Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire weavers thrown out of employment by the sluggish post war economy; they subsequently engaged in radical activities and were confirmed in their radical frame of thought by the response of the British government. Sixty years after emigrating from Paisley, one of these settlers described the repressive government measures that had created the anti-administration mentality of most Scottish immigrants in Lanark County, especially in the northern townships:[17]

> The spy system introduced by the tyrannical government sent many innocent parties to prison. Richmond, the principal of the spy department, had his emissaries among the people. These wretches deceitfully led men to give expression to their feelings against the government; the names were then forwarded to the officials, and imprisonment or transportation followed. Soldiers marched through the streets, while house to house examinations were made in search for "Radical pikes," and woe to the man in whose house an old rusty sword or bayonet was found. No one dared express an opinion in opposition to the Government, and all known to do so were imprisoned or hunted out of the country. Freedom of speech there was none.

Despite the radical frame of mind of many Lanark County Scottish inhabitants, the combination of Irish Protestants, Roman Catholics and military settlers of English, Irish and Scottish origin gave Tory candidate William Morris a seat in the legislative assembly

from 1825 to 1836. His Scottish ethnicity and insistence on obtaining legal and monetary clout for the Church of Scotland (and, as it happened, for other Presbyterians) gave Morris a peculiar claim to the Scottish Presbyterian vote, and distanced him sufficiently from arch-Tory provincial figures such as Archdeacon Strachan, or at least appeared to do so in local eyes. By 1828 the population of Lanark riding had so increased that it was entitled to two representatives, with Donald Fraser, a Scottish Presbyterian ex-Army officer elected as Morris's colleague until 1833. A Reformer, Fraser nonetheless abhorred anything resembling rebellion against the Crown, and in the assembly he even moved that William Lyon Mackenzie be expelled.[18] In 1833 Fraser was replaced by English-born United Church of England and Ireland Tory Colonel Josias Taylor, the Perth postmaster. In 1835 Lanark elected John A.H. Powell and Malcolm Cameron. Powell was Irish-born, Tory, a member of the United Church of England and Ireland, and developed strong Orange links.[19] Cameron was the son of a disbanded Scottish sergeant, Presbyterian, editor of the Bathurst Courier, a mercurial Reformer, a passionate advocate of Temperance, and an implacable foe of Sir Francis Head's administration.[20] Reduced to electing only one representative in 1839, Lanark returned Malcolm Cameron, and did so again in 1843.

Save for the brief terms of Powell and Taylor, all candidates in Lanark before 1845 were Scottish Presbyterians. This was so because Scottish Presbyterians were the largest franchised ethno-religious grouping in the county.[21] As well, Irish Catholics were sufficiently alarmed by the activities of an Orange lodge at Perth as early as 1823, that their vote was divided between Scottish candidates

who deplored the existence of Orange lodges, and pro-administration largely United Church of England and Ireland candidates who officially were supported by Catholic clergy. The development of Orange lodges from the mid 1820s on was a source of concern and irritation to local Roman Catholics, but the provincial administration received more letters protesting their existence from Tory member William Morris than from local Catholic clergy.[22] The sheriff of the Bathurst District, J.H. Powell, privately advised the lieutenant-governor in 1827 that it would have been possible to prevent Orange societies forming in Lanark,[23]

> had it not unfortunately happened that language highly offensive to the feelings of orange men was made use of in the House of Assembly. This it seems produced much irritation and had the effect of giving vigour to a cause that would otherwise have died away—from that period the society gained strength and I understand that many persons of respectability and influence in the District are now members of it.

As Scottish Presbyterians moved to support Reform candidates Donald Fraser and Malcolm Cameron in the 1830s and early 1840s, bonds between Orange societies and Irish-born Tory candidates grew, so that sheriff Powell's own son, candidate J.A.H. Powell was an Orangeman by the early 1840s. Reformers were more vociferous than Roman Catholics in objecting to this, as shown by an 1841 meeting of Catholics in Ramsay who supported Powell despite the efforts of Malcolm Cameron "to ferment, and if possible to revive, those past differences which we hoped were buried in oblivion, but which are now about being resuscitated to suit the purposes of a certain party now all but extinct".[24] The continuing success of Scottish Presbyterian Reform candidates only further spurred more Orange lodges to form,[25] with officers and members becoming so pervasive through regional society by the early 1840s that juries at

Perth were largely composed of Orange members who were perceived to obstruct the course of justice.[26]

The concentration of Loyalists in Grenville kept it a solidly pro-administration riding until 1828. Large numbers of American settlers in the county had been lured by Simcoe's promise of free grants of land in the 1790s, followed by relatives and neighbours in ensuing decades who performed the duties of settlement required by the provincial administration, and some of whom fought for the security of Upper Canada during the War of 1812. The fury, the incredulity and the political awakening of post-Loyalist American settlers in Grenville during the late 1820s over having to swear an oath of loyalty is captured in the prose of Donald McLeod, a schoolteacher at Brockville of Glengarry Presbyterian descent who quickly became radicalised by the debate over this issue:[27]

> But the most cruel cut of all, was the detestable Alien Bill. After twice fighting for British supremacy, they little thought they should survive to be called aliens! But they were coolly told, that when the independence of the United States was recognized, all, without distinction, domiciled in that country, became citizens of it, and aliens to Great Britain...[American settlers in Upper Canada] were...thunderstruck, when, in 1825, they were pronounced aliens; that, as such they could not hold lands, and that all titles obtained by sales through them were so tainted as to be absolutely null and void; and also that, as aliens they could not exercise the elective franchise, or sit in the House of Assembly, although they had exercised those rights undisputed for thirty years. They were thrown into consternation; the province was up in arms, and nothing but the fear of their enemies and the patriotism of some of their public men saved them from disfranchisement, and the country from ruin.

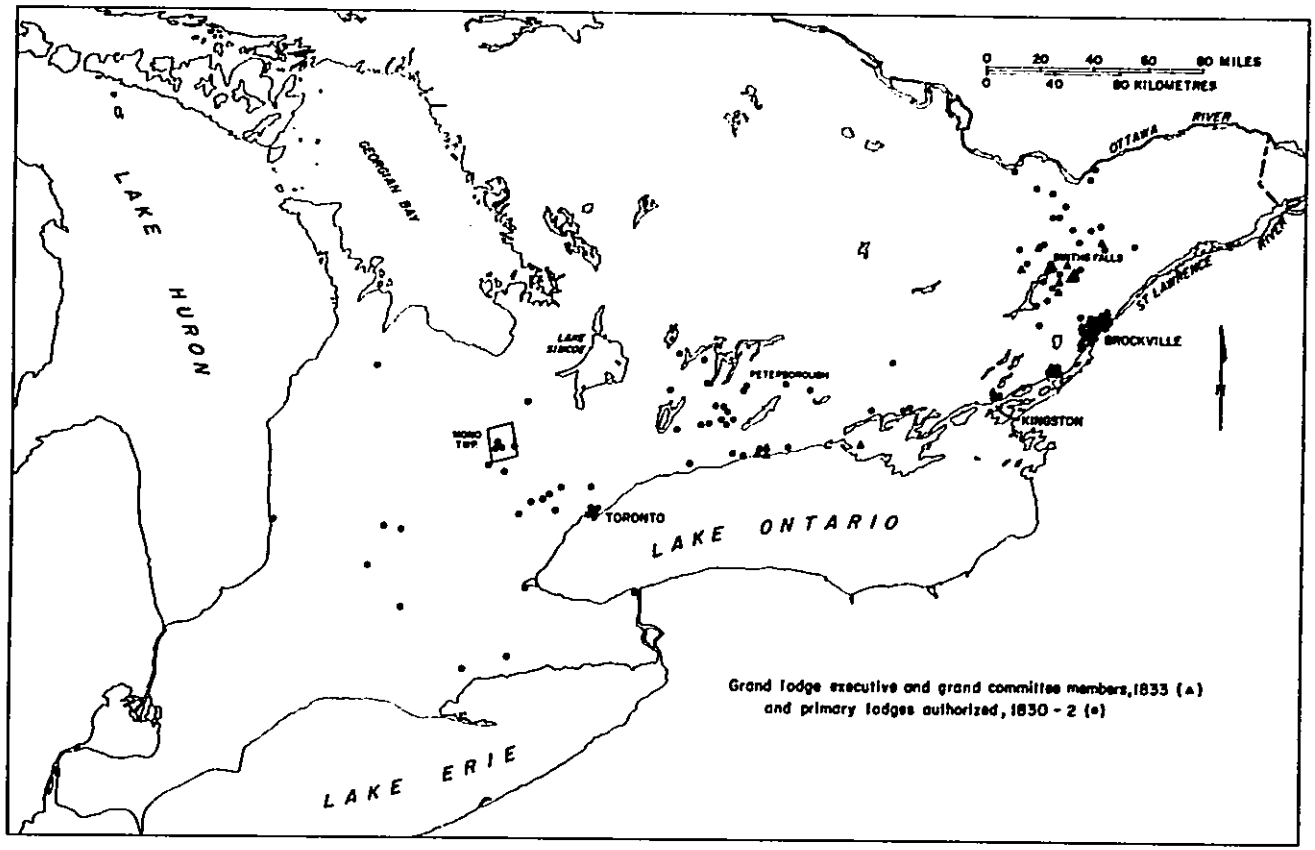
The affronted American settlers were joined by Scottish Presbyterians who, although less than twenty percent of the population

of Grenville, comprised a more significant proportion of the electorate and nursed grievances over the favours accorded the United Church of England and Ireland since the late 1790s. Together they elected two Reform or anti-administration members in 1828, George Longley and Dr. Rufus C. Henderson. Longley was a Whig from England who so openly admired the liberal Tory prime minister George Canning, the leading emancipationist of Roman Catholics in Britain, as to name a son George Canning Longley. Longley was a son-in-law of William Wells, part of an alliance of the Loyalist Dr. Solomon Jones and William Wells families in competition for power and influence with the pro-administration and Loyalist Ephraim Jones and Jessup families. Henderson was married to a Jones daughter.[28] With the quashing of the Alien Bill and the arrival of Irish immigrants, Grenville elected pro-administration candidates Richard D. Fraser and Edward Jessup in 1830. Ogle Gowan from the distance of Brockville effectively used his newspapers there to mobilise Irish immigrants in Grenville against Reform, as shown by his allegation that local Reformers in touring William Lyon Mackenzie through the country bypassed areas settled by Irishmen so that anticipated unpleasant incidents could be avoided, and so that the Irish, even the Roman Catholic Irish who the Reformers claimed to champion, would be kept in the dark.[29]

In response, Donald McLeod lashed back with equal vehemence in the Grenville Gazette, returning Gowan's epithets of "disaffected Methodists" and "rebellious radicals" measure for measure with allusions to "British beggars to this Province," "shillelah and bludgeon violence" and pointing out that Tory Loyalists originally were opposed to immigration as contrasted with their current

pandering to Irish and British immigrants.[30] In 1834 Grenville turned Reform, electing William B. Wells and Hiram Norton, the latter being related to the Buells at Brockville. Grenville continued Reform with these candidates until 1839, when Samuel Crane was elected Reform member. In 1843 the riding turned Tory with the election of Hamilton D. Jessup. The Reform success for a decade was in part due to the horror felt at the violence used by Irish immigrants in adjacent Leeds to elect Tories in the mid 1830s. Despite the establishment of Orange lodges in northern Grenville in the early 1830s (Map 41), sufficient numbers of Irish immigrants did not qualify as freeholders to vote in elections until the mid 1840s. The Loyalists and American settlers concentrated in southern Grenville had sufficient electoral numbers until the mid 1840s to keep the combined Irish Protestants and Tory Loyalists from electing Tories. Irish immigrants in Grenville were divided by religion, as shown by an 1844 meeting at Prescott of the Friends of Ireland, favouring the repeal of the union of Ireland and Britain to restore an independent Irish parliament, a programme decidedly opposed by the much larger southeastern Irish Protestant community.[31] With divisions within the American-origin and Irish communities, with competing alliances of Loyalist families to choose from for candidates, and lacking Irish candidates to mobilise and unite the Irish communities, Grenville was the second strongest bastion of Reform after Lanark in the region before 1845.

Leeds County might well have followed the same pattern as Grenville had it not been for a mobilising of the Irish vote by Irish candidate, Ogle Gowan.[32] Before 1828 Leeds had elected pro-administration Loyalist candidates such as Charles Jones and David



Map 41

Early Orange Lodges and Grand Orange Lodge of British America Members, 1833.

Source: Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada, p. 30.

Jones to the legislative assembly, but William Buell Jr., an anti-administration candidate and editor of the Brockville Recorder rode the crest of furious reaction against the Alien Bill to a legislative assembly seat that year. The Alien Bill was in some ways more a pretext to fight the Upper Canadian administration than necessarily a heartfelt vexation for local American settlers. Buell, for example, used the Alien Bill to secure his election in 1828, yet both he and his brother Andrew Norton Buell had signed an 1826 petition to the lieutenant-governor, thanking him for conferring the rights and privileges of British-born subjects on all persons settled in the province through this bill, and even praying that it would be extended to all foreign-born inhabitants.[33] In 1830 the new urban riding of Brockville elected pro-administration Loyalist United Church of England and Ireland Tory Henry Jones, while Buell and fellow Reformer American-origin Matthew H. Howard were returned for rural Leeds. Ogle Gowan, recently arrived from Wexford, put himself forth as an independent immigrant candidate, and was defeated by a small majority. Hereward Senior has identified the growing concentration of Irish Protestants in Leeds between 1828 and 1832 which created an immigrant community with special needs, a sense of grievance, and the consciousness of power felt by those capable of assembling in large numbers.[34] The vitality and swiftness with which Gowan organised these immigrants into the Grand Orange Lodge of British America in 1830 without permission from the British lodge, tesifies to their craving for power and to Gowan's recognition of the necessity of subordinating their needs within the discipline of a paramilitary organization.

To prove to old Loyalist Tories such as Charles Jones how effective Orangemen could be in preventing the spread of Reform, Gowan had his followers use violence to break up an 1833 public meeting called by Reformers at Farmersville, and later to close the polls early during the Brockville police elections to prevent Reform candidates being elected. Loyalist Tories were equally as appalled as Reformers by the accompanying violence of assault, arson and maiming livestock, and refused to be allied with Gowan. Undaunted, Gowan in 1833 persuaded provincial attorney-general, Robert Jameson, to run with him as joint Tory candidates in Leeds, and had the polls located at Beverley in the heart of a Wexford settlement. Gowan's Orange supporters intimidated Reform voters so effectively that the Reform candidates withdrew in protest. The Reform majority in the legislative assembly declared the election invalid, Gowan and Jameson won a by-election by the same tactics, and were only defeated at yet another by-election when the polls were placed at four different points. Still, Gowan had shown local Loyalist Tories that Irish immigrants organised into Orange lodges were a force to reckon with, and when in 1836 the lieutenant-governor, Sir Francis Head, called a general election to challenge the Reform majority in the legislative assembly, Ogle Gowan was a running mate of Loyalist Jonas Jones for the Tories. The lieutenant-governor tacitly accepted the support of local Orange lodges, but in light of the recent forced dissolution of Orange lodges in the United Kingdom, was unable to acknowledge them publicly. In the 1835 election a single poll was established at Beverley in the midst of a Wexford settlement, and Orange violence again ensured the return of Jones and Gowan. Brockville continued Tory.[35] Brockville and Leeds elected Tories in

1839, respectively returning Loyalist James Jessup and moderate Tory, James Morris, a son of William Morris of Lanark. In 1844 Leeds returned Ogle Gowan and Brockville the son of a Loyalist, George Sherwood, as Tory candidates.

The strength of feeling in the battles between Tories and Reformers in Leeds during the 1830s was due to a combination of circumstances. First, Irish immigrants, both Protestant and Catholic, arrived at an economic disadvantage compared to both Loyalists and early American settlers who had been given free grants of land. Save for the Peter Robinson settlement in Ramsay and those Irish immigrants who were part of the disbanded regiments in the military settlements, many Irish immigrants had to scrape together the means with which to pay for land on which to settle. With many of them making payment to settlers of American origin who had been given free grants, and lacking as good roads as they, it is not surprising that many Irish immigrants resented the advantages given American-origin settlers. The longer-established Americans and Loyalists felt threatened by the very dimensions of the tide of Irish immigration entering their county, fearing that it would be but a matter of years before the Irish would outnumber and hence outvote them. The violence used by Irish immigrants in elections was particularly intimidating. The balance of Reform and Tory numbers in Leeds only served to exacerbate mutual fear between the two groups, a balance shown by the results of the 1844 election in which Buell received 845 to Gowan's 880 votes.[36] Furthermore, Ogle Gowan in his various newspapers incited Irish immigrants to violence by such calls as that for a "purification of the magistracy,"[37] reminding them of how they could not hope to be fairly

treated by members of parliament, magistrates, captains of militia and juries that were of American origin.

By calls for a "purification of the magistracy," Gowan roused Irish immigrants as early as 1830 around the rallying cry that because they comprised one third of the population, they were entitled to an Irish candidate,[38] later enlarging this to British immigrants comprising half the population, and urging English, Irish and Scottish to unite behind an European candidate.[39] That local Protestant Irish immigrants heard, comprehended, and attached meaning from their own recent counter-revolutionary response to the Napoleonic threat and the 1798 rebellion in Wexford is shown by the doggerel adorning an Orange banner from this region and period:[40]

> In Elizabethtown we're Quiet and steady
> Though traitors and rebels may rave;
> In Elizabethtown we allways are ready
> We'er truehearted noble and brave.
>
> Let English and Irish and Scotchmen combine
> And Weell play them a tune called crossing the boyne
> For it was written in our hearts in letters blood red.
> To be alive to ourselves and true to the dead.

As in Grenville and Lanark, Irish Catholics in Leeds were divided between the call of their clergy to support Tories and Reform praise for Daniel O'Connell's Repeal campaign in Ireland. Publicly, Leeds Roman Catholics refused to join with Gowan because of his bigoted rhetorical references to Irish Catholics in his Brockville newspapers.[41]

The anti-Catholic rhetoric of Ogle Gowan was not aimed at Irish Catholics, as was shown by the assessment of one Reform elector that it was an absurdity for Gowan to think he could ensnare Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists by the threat of Catholic domination.[42] Irish Catholics, many of whom were politically aligned with American-

origin Reformers, before the mid 1840s were not perceived to pose a threat to Reform. Orange lodges, effectively organised by Gowan to serve his political ends, were the perceived threat to Reform, a threat doubly dangerous not only because its members engaged in violence, but because as a secret society it was impossible to infiltrate or regulate, and though the lieutenant-governor routinely claimed to deplore its existence it was rightly suspected that he benefitted from Orange depredations on Reformers. Worst of all from the Reform perspective, Orange numbers were so rapidly increasing that by 1839 Gowan could claim there were 3,360 initiated Orangemen in Leeds County.[43] The unspoken challenge for Leeds County Reformers from the early 1830s onward was how, as an open political constituency, they were to combat a foe which was impregnable and impossible to guage because it was a secret society at its core, a secret society bonded together by the reactionary assumptions of southeastern Irish Protestants fleeing the liberalizing notion of Catholic Emancipation in the British Isles, and the clandestine meetings of which were guarded by watchmen bearing swords.

An overview of politics in Carleton County before 1845 refines the link between ethnicity and politics noted so far. With more than three-quarters of its population of Irish origin, and with four of the seven Upper Canadian townships in which more than eighty percent of the population was of Irish origin, Carleton County was so consistently Tory that John Scott in an 1847 election address claimed to be the first candidate ever to offer himself as a Reformer in the area.[44] There previously had been one successful Reform candidate in the riding, Thomas Radenhurst of Perth, son of an English immigrant and

member of the United Church of England and Ireland, elected in 1828.[45] Radenhurst's election as the sole Reform member for Carleton before the late 1840s was in part due to local electors being caught up in the tide of anti-administration feeling sweeping the province following the fierce debate over the Alien Bill, in part due to comparatively few of the Irish majority enjoying the voting rights of freeholders, and in part due to factionalism among the vying Tory candidates. The first member elected from Carleton in 1824, Col. George Thew Burke, had been born in Tipperary, but his commanding station in society as superintendent of the Richmond settlement depot was more significant than his ethnicity in explaining his electoral success. This was also true for the two Richmond officers elected for Carleton in 1830, Captain John Bower Lewis and Captain George B. Lyon. Lewis was English and a member of the United Church of England and Ireland. Lyon was Scottish and a member of the Established Church of Scotland, which in Upper Canada effectively left him little recourse but to attend services of the United Church of England and Ireland. Lewis was re-elected in 1834, but Lyon was replaced by another Scottish immigrant and member of the Established Church of Scotland, Edward Malloch. Malloch was re-elected in 1836, and Lyon replaced Lewis. Carleton elected only one member beginning with the 1839 election, and Lyon was the choice of the Tory majority. Bytown became a separate riding and elected Stewart Derbishire, a Whig of English and Scottish parentage parachuted into the riding by Lord Sydenham over the objections of local Tory favourite, William Stewart, a Scottish Presbyterian industrialist. Stewart was elected member for Bytown in 1843, and James Johnston, a moderate Tory of Irish birth and a member

of the United Church of England and Ireland was elected by Carleton voters.

Although Carleton was populated overwhelmingly by Irish immigrants, Colonel Burke from 1825 to 1828 was the only Irish member the riding elected in twenty years. Although Orange lodges emerged earlier in Carleton than in other ridings in the region, there is no evidence that they influenced elections before the mid 1840s.[46] Unlike Lanark, Grenville and Leeds, where there were closely balanced numbers of settlers of differing ethnicity and religion, suspicious of both real and imagined advantages that the other other group enjoyed, the numerical majority of Irish Protestant immigrants in Carleton did not permit this. There were the geographic jealousies of vying half-pay officers at Richmond, March, and eventually at Bytown, but the factionalism of these Tory candidates never descended to the political, physical and verbal warfare brought into play in the other ridings. The violence which Irish Catholics manifested against French-Canadians and more briefly against Bytown's merchant class and Protestant farmers in Nepean Township during the 1830s reflected their economic ambition to remove French-Canadian competition for jobs in the timber industry and the violent business tactics of their principal employer, Peter Aylen, rather than any rivalry between settled ethnic groups locally. It is significant that regional society refused explicitly to identify the perpetrators of this sporadic violence as being Irish, using instead the colloquial term "Shiners". The Shiners were not discussed in the Bytown newspapers, and even among the dozens of confidential petitions complaining of Shiner violence overt references to ethnicity were exceptional.[47]

The Irish in Carleton felt themselves aggrieved over most of the magistrates being Scottish,[48] but as a majority they lacked an ethnic enemy to battle. Ethnic battles at the polls, such as Gowan's Protestant Irish clubbing American-origin supporters of Reform in Leeds, simply did not occur in Carleton, giving the basis for Stewart Derbishire's claim in his address to the electors of Bytown in 1840 that the "native Canadians, of French and British extraction, and natives of the British Isles, Irish—Scotch—English—all here live together in perfect social and political harmony."[49] By implication, the Shiners who engaged in violence at Bytown during the spring drive of rafts to Quebec, were woodsmen from the timbercamps of the upper Ottawa valley passing through rather than inhabitants either of Bytown or of Carleton. In other words, there was no longstanding pattern of violence between ethnic groups comprising the population which actually resided in Bytown and Carleton County. The seasonal sprees of violence that the Shiners indulged in at Bytown ended with the union of the Canadas, removing as it did the jurisdictional boundary across which the felons had fled from Upper Canadian law, so that by 1844 the Bytown Gazette editor contrasted the election violence in Montreal with the "perfect liberty in...religious or political opinions [and] peace and brotherhood" along the Ottawa.[50] The economic competition between Irish Catholics and French Canadians for jobs in the timber trade which prompted Shiner violence explains why Reform was dormant in Carleton and Bytown before the late 1840s, dormant because the two groups who elsewhere in Canada were supporters of Reform, in Carleton were battling one another in the timbercamps, in the streets of Bytown, and even in the Catholic church at Bytown.[51]

It is significant that in Carleton before 1845 there were no incidents between Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics. Leading Orange Protestants and Irish Catholics even bragged of their refusal to be provoked into confrontations. An Orangeman wrote the Statesman in 1839, telling of a procession of eight hundred Orangemen at Richmond "shunning...that house, whose front was most aggravatingly decorated with a [green] flag".[52] Irish Catholic magistrate Daniel O'Connor denied the suggestion in an 1843 Statesman that Orange and Irish Repeal lodges existed in Bytown; he denied that Orange processions took place at Bytown in defiance of the recent legislative ban; and he denied that Irish Catholics paraded Bytown streets on the twelfth of July calling out for the face of an Orangeman as a form of provocation.[53] When the Statesman alleged in 1839 that the union of the Canadas was a Popish plot, the editor of the Bytown Gazette denounced such a fermenting of religious differences in a country where Irish Catholics and Protestants enjoyed ample religious tolerance.[54] The skirmishing between Irish Catholics and French-Canadians for employment in the timbercamps aside, there was perceived to be no evidence of ethnic nor religious disharmony in Carleton or in Bytown before 1845, politically manifested, to belie the claims of religious tolerance. All the allegations of ethnic discord in Carleton, it bears pointing out, originated in Leeds County where political strife between two major ethnic communities persisted from 1830 on.

The pattern which emerges from this scrutiny of election results in the six regional ridings is one of a solid phalanx of pro-administration members before 1828, an upset that year due to mass

indignation over the Alien Bill which replaced all members save one with anti-administration candidates, Reform maintaining strength in ridings where there were large concentrations of American and Scottish settlers, but the administration gaining proportionally with each election so that by the aftermath of the rebellions, only one of the six ridings was Reform. American Methodist and Scottish Presbyterian concern over Archdeacon Strachan's ecclesiastical chart, the issue of a new charter for the provincial university, and the dismissal of pro-radical judge John Willis added to the Alien Bill gave Reform brief strength throughout the region.[55] In areas where Americans and Scottish immigrants were numerous Reform maintained its strength. The anti-administration surge in the 1828 election, at least in the region studied here, can in part be attributed to American and Scottish settlers becoming uneasy at the dimensions of the incoming immigration from Ireland at the same time that provincial legislation seemed to threaten the status of non-British-born and religious Dissenters in society. The perceived cosy relationship of the surge of Irish immigrants to the provincial administration was confirmed by the call of lieutenant-governor Colborne in 1832 for the creation of local emigrant society branches to promote the settlement of British immigrants in each district.

The meetings called to form these emigrant societies in Leeds and Grenville quickly deteriorated into vocal frays between pro-administration and anti-administration camps, as Orange and Irish Protestants led by Ogle Gowan shifted the rhetorical fulcrum away from the treatment of American-born "aliens" to the reception to be accorded British immigrants.[56] The indignation with which American

settlers had bristled at being treated as aliens gave way in a very short space of time to an equal sense of indignation at any hinted questioning of Irish immigrants being other than a beneficial addition to Upper Canadian society. Older Loyalist Tories and Reformers originally were reluctant to ally themselves with Irish immigrants, but as S.R. Mealing has suggested was particularly the case for Tories, the lines of communication and patronage that linked local Tories to Toronto were increasingly ineffective in the face of the heavy British immigration of the 1830s, and increasingly inaccessible to members of that group who aspired to political activity. Swamped as the Tory system was by this human flood, a flood which in eastern Upper Canada was predominantly Irish and which increasingly blocked the ambitions of older settlers, it could only save itself by falling back on inflammatory appeals to loyalty.[57] The role of Irish immigrants in improving, if not the outright turning around, of pro-administration or Tory political fortunes in Upper Canada was apparent to the best-placed political observer in the province, lieutenant-governor Sir John Colborne. His assessment as early as 1832 was that major change had already taken place in several districts due to recent immigration, and that the "Irish settlers have taken the lead at these district meetings". In 1833 Colborne wrote:[58]

> None of the proceedings of Government have rendered more benefit to the Colony, or more advanced our interests than the protection and encouragement afforded to Emigrants. In one district the Emigrants of the last five years have obtained such an influence as to enable them to regulate all public affairs with which their local interests are connected.

It might appear deceptively simplistic to ascribe the major political divisions in Lanark, Leeds, Grenville and Carleton before

1845 to ethnic sparring. There is no denying the intensity of feeling that emerged between Irish Protestants and American settlers in Leeds and Grenville, between Irish and Scottish immigrants in Lanark and Carleton, and between Irish and French-Canadians at Bytown and along the upper Ottawa by the early 1830s. Because French-Canadians were comparatively sparse in numbers, with few of them qualifying as electors, they did not represent a political threat before 1845; the Irish Protestants in Carleton and Bytown did not view them as a body against which to politically mobilise. Reactionary southeastern Irish Protestants perceived American settlers, Scottish radicals and French-Canadians in the lower province to be similar in spirit. As Ogle Gowan put it, the infusion of British feeling which Irish immigrants were bringing to the colonies was required by the French republicans of Lower Canada no less than by the Yankee republicans of Upper Canada.[59]

Allied to the arguments of both Irish immigrant leaders and particularly the American population in Leeds and Grenville were sets of assumptions about how society operated and would continue to operate in future. A battle of petitions and public meetings in Leeds in 1832 between American settlers and Irish immigrants strenuously debated whether or not the policy of the provincial administration contained abuses or not. The editorials traded back and forth in the Brockville newspapers in 1832 and 1833 pivoted over whether or not British immigrants should be encouraged to come to Upper Canada. Reformers were openly accused of hating Europeans, and the Reform call for the banning of all "national prejudices" was angrily rejected as an attack on Irish ethnic tradition.[60] The impact of such rhetoric on

an immigrant population under the best of circumstances would have been explosive, let alone on a population which perceived itself as tragic exiles rooted out of Ireland by Catholic emancipation. Reformers, largely perceived in the region to be Americans, also were seen to be attacking the administration's welcoming immigration policy, attacking the very basis of British government with their republicaton notions, attacking the governor who had befriended Irish immigrants, rumoured to be secretly attacking the Rideau Canal project which was providing employment for thousands of immigrants,[61] and attacking the established church to which most Irish immigrants belonged. All these impressions mounted, combined and rankled in the minds of a population which perceived that it was expected to rely on its own resources, and that it was not given an equally advantageous start in society as had earlier Loyalist, American, military and Scottish settlers.

It matters little that a letter such as the following was either the genuine expression of an Irish settler or the calculating fabrication of a demagogic politician such as Ogle Gowan. In the midst of contending Irish immigrant Tories and American Reformers its impact was equally potent. "Hibernicus", in a March 1833 edition of the Brockville Antidote, alluded to the recent triumphs of British immigrants in society in contrast with a few years previously when merchants exploited immigrants and advertisements stated that Irish women need not apply for servants' positions. The victory won by Irish immigrants, claimed "Hibernicus", after having been oppressed at home [Ireland], was that they had sought this country, "ours by conquest" and that Irish immigrants were not to be put down by

"pretended loyalists".[62] The pique of the earlier-established American and Loyalist population at such claims by Irish immigrants of superior loyalty to Britain is demonstrated by the address of James Breakenridge in late 1832 to his fellow magistrates of the Johnstown District; he suggested that they continue in the paths of service and not heed the Irish few who were attempting to influence other Irish immigrants [by calls for a 'purification of the magistracy'], closing with a revealing allusion to Loyalists showing loyalty to the empire long before Irish immigrants were thought of.[63] This was telling evidence of how vulnerable the American and Loyalist establishment was beginning to feel. Reformers drew attention to the inconsistency between the strong claims of loyalty mounted by Irish leaders such as Gowan and his open attempts to incite immigrants to violence.[64] Gowan more effectively decried Reform appeals to Irish Catholics and Protestants to forget their native land and to cherish a deadly hate of religious distinctions in Ireland.[65] The loyalty cry under lieutenant-governor Head, and the pro-immigration campaign of Colborne which preceded it, both recognised the psychological or overwhelming sentimental attachment of Irish immigrants for the country they had left. However simplistic or jingoistic the political message of British connection in the 1830s, the Irish immigrant population still psychologically more in Ireland than in British North America, responded to the Tory message.

The sheer numbers of Irish immigrants that arrived in the early 1830s partly explains their strong political impact, and so too does the effective welding of them together by Ogle Gowan within the secret bonds of the Orange Society of British America. Though Reform briefly

dwindled across Upper Canada following the rebellions of 1837-1838 in contrast with resurgent Toryism in the eastern part of the province, it revived in the early 1840s, especially under Irish Anglican Robert Baldwin, positive proof that American and British immigrants could jointly support the same cause. Still, the Irish concentration in eastern Upper Canada did not follow the provincial pattern for a variety of reasons. As a large inter-related settlement they had their own intellectual reality which did not conform to Upper Canadian politics. As an unassimilable group they felt themselves forced to leave Ireland within a few years of one another by the unenunciated threats that they felt would accompany Catholic emancipation. They came from the same vicinity in Ireland, were settled in the same region of Upper Canada, were facilitated in their settlement together by the opening of the Rideau Canal as an artery for moving immigrants, and had an abiding suspicion of anything claiming to do with reform. This suspicion stemmed from their experience as a privileged minority surrounded by a Catholic majority, and although as a minority they were comparatively tolerant of Catholicism in contrast with the American Puritan and Scottish Calvinist traditions, the 1798 rebellion and more particularly the slaughter at the Battle of Vinegar Hill in Wexford cast a shade over allowing their tolerance to be mistaken for weakness. Reform had threatened to leave them vulnerable in Ireland in 1829, and thus, although Robert Baldwin might win the support of Irish Protestants elsewhere in Upper Canada, the Irish Protestants in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark and Leeds were overwhelmingly Tory from the 1830s onward. The key ingredient of regional southeastern Irish Protestant wariness was their belief that they had been betrayed by the imperial government which previously had been their strength.

The issues of the early 1830s continued to haunt politics beyond the mid 1840s. Irish immigrant uncertainty in a new land did not lessen any more immediately than did the defensiveness of established American settlers who felt numerically and ideologically overwhelmed by the unceasing tide of Irish immigrants. American-origin settlers in Leeds and Grenville and Scottish inhabitants of Lanark and Carleton did not cease to dwell on the organisational and social benefits, however cloaked, that Irish Protestant Tories enjoyed due to their membership in the United Church of England and Ireland and their links with the Grand Orange Lodge of British America, no matter how negative the implications for regional society generally. One Reformer complained in late 1838 that many people were leaving Upper Canada just as many had left Ireland, expecting to escape the burden of an established church.[66] Reform candidate, William B. Wells, in an 1838 published letter complained that the oath of an Orangeman was enough to imprison a Reformer for months in local post-rebellion society.[67] Such complaints by American Reformers particularly were made in the aftermath of the rebellions when Orange and Irish Protestants had distinguished themselves in rallying against the rebels, and in repelling an attempted invasion by Americans and local American sympathisers below Prescott in 1838. When the provincial administration failed to openly acknowledge the loyalty of Orangemen in repulsing rebellion, regional Irish Protestants proved equally as petulant as Reformers. An 1839 letter to the Bytown Gazette from "Bytown Lassie" expressed regret that Lord Durham had become the advocate of rebels, and that rebels, their aides and abettors were given employment at the expense of Irish Protestant Loyalists.[68]

When lieutenant-governor Sir George Arthur toured an Irish Protestant settlement in Leeds County in late 1839, advising local farmers to give up Orangeism since it vexed Roman Catholics, and advising them very strongly against the notion of responsible government, a correspondent observed that his Irish Orange audience at Charleston was "bursting with rage; but all were silent, they would show no disrespect to the Governor; nor give the Yankees any cause of rejoicing".[69] Arthur was not alone in misjudging the Irish Protestant attitude toward responsible government. Local Scottish-origin Tory and Reform editors were confounded by Orange grand master Ogle Gowan's support of responsible government.[70]

The relationship between Orangeism and Upper Canadian politicians had been uneasy from the beginning of Irish settlement. As early as 1823 the legislative assembly debated banning Orange societies, dividing evenly between those favouring a ban and others such as speaker Levius P. Sherwood from Leeds who believed it inexpedient to attempt controlling Orangeism with legislation.[71] Roman Catholics and Reformers viewed attempts by the provincial administration to discourage Orange lodges from being established during the 1820s and 1830s as half-hearted efforts at best because of the strong political support it received from Orangeism. Tory and Reform papers noted a voluntary foregoing of processions "and all offensive displays" by Orangemen at Perth and Brockville during the 1830s and early 1840s,[72] and even a premature bid by Gowan to dissolve the Orange Lodge in 1843.[73] The implementation of responsible government after the rebellions sparked renewed debate over whether Orange societies should be permitted to exist in Upper Canada,

culminating in the legal banning of Orange processions enacted by William Henry Draper's conservative ministry in 1844. This contrasted with the not quite secret links that Orangeism as a strong secret political force had enjoyed with the Upper Canadian administration during the 1830s. In the early 1840s political parties in the legislature of the new united Canadas vied one with another to attract French-Canadian members and votes, reducing even further the desirability to be perceived linked to an avowedly anti-Catholic organization.

By reducing the visibility of Orangeism through banning its processions, Conservatives hoped to allay French-Canadian fears, while rendering Orangeism all the more effective and more secret a political ally. Orangemen and even some of their foes read the move in a different light. Orangemen perceived that the initiative to ban processions had originated with Reformers. Friends and foes alike criticised the potential of the legislation to make martyrs of Orangemen. The Bytown Gazette noted an even larger turnout at an Orange procession in Toronto in 1839 after the lieutenant-governor issued a prohibitory letter against it.[74] Though the legislation was phrased in language which suggested it was against secret societies in general, the focus on Orangemen was only too evident since Freemasons (an equally secret society) were exempted from its provisions. Many politicians were uneasy about fighting "the evil of Orange processions" with legislation which infringed upon the natural liberty of loyal and devoted subjects,[75] legislation which the editor of the Bytown Gazette regarded as withholding the birthright of British subjects—the right to freely assemble.[76] Even with processions

banned, with its own founding grand master attempting at one point to dissolve the society, so integral a social and ethnic organisation had Orangeism become to regional southeastern Irish Protestants that it continued to perpetuate itself and even to grow. By 1844 it had for its goal the reactionary defence of Irish Protestant values and an affirmation of the numerical importance of Irish immigrants in regional society. These values and this importance, like the Grand Orange Lodge of British America itself, had been respectively emphasised and created to advance the political career of Ogle Gowan in the early 1830s, but by 1844 were taking on an existence of their own quite independent of Gowan's meandering career.

The ethno-religious lines along which political battles were fought in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark and Leeds counties during the 1830s proved enduring features of the regional political landscape. Members of the United Church of England and Ireland, the Church of Scotland and some Roman Catholics allied themselves to the Tory administration. In terms of ethnicity, Tory supporters included Irish Protestants, military settlers, some United Empire Loyalist families and some Irish Catholics. Partisans of Reform included American settlers, Scottish immigrants, some Loyalists, the few French Canadians, some Irish Catholics, all Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians. There was virtually no change in this pattern of support for political parties before 1845. The emergence of political parties and the union of the Canadas brought about the banning of Orange processions, but regional Reformers knew too well that the increasing ground won by Tories regionally from 1828 to 1844 was largely due to the organisational impetus of the network of Orange

lodges among the Irish Protestant population; the ban on processions legislated in 1844 would not prevent Orangeism from continuing to advance the interests of Conservatism, but rather simply promised to reduce the offence it gave Roman Catholics. The Grand Orange Lodge of British America in 1844 even more than when it was organised at Brockville on the first day of 1830 was the ethnic and organisational nucleus of regional Conservatism. Armed sentries stationed outside the taverns and lodgerooms rendered Orange meetings impenetrable by Reformers, and the secret ceremonies and hierarchy of offices helped reinforce Irish Protestant solidarity to translate into staunch support of Conservative political candidates. The banning of Orange processions had been legislated to prevent Irish Protestants from assembling to commit violence at the polls in support of Tory candidates as had been the case in Leeds in the 1830s. By the mid 1840s such a procedure seemed unnecessary since the Irish had become an ethnic majority in the region. To the frustration of Reformers, continuing Irish immigration and proportionally improving Tory results with each election threatened to make the Orange Irish Protestant political stranglehold on the region an unyielding political challenge for decades to come.

NOTES

[1]Hereward Senior, "Ogle Gowan, Orangeism, and the Immigrant Question, 1830-1833," Ontario History LXVI (1974), p. 195.

[2]Brockville Gazette, 4 January 1831. This quote from Lord Bollingbroke also appeared on the mast-head of Gowan's later paper, The Statesman.

[3]Howard M. Brown, Lanark Legacy: Nineteenth Century Glimpses of an Ontario County (Perth: Corporation of the County of Lanark, 1984), p. 58.

[4]For background information on Stephen Miles, read Greg Burliuk, "Dailies and Weeklies," in Brian Rollason, ed., County of a Thousand Lakes: The History of the County of Frontenac, 1673-1973 (Kingston: Frontenac County Council, 1982), p. 243. For further background on Donald McLeod, read William Canniff, The Settlement of Upper Canada (Toronto: Dudley & Burns, 1869; reprint ed., Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1971), pp. 356-357.

[5]Brown, Lanark Legacy, pp. 58.

[6]Archives of Ontario (hereafter OTAR) MU 7523 Pinhey, Christie, Hill Papers—H.K. Pinhey Correspondence, Prospectus of the Bytown Independent and Farmer's Advocate.

[7]Michael S. Cross, "The Dark Druidical Groves: The Lumber Community and the Commercial Frontier in British North America to 1854" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1968), pp. 532-533.

[8]"A Hundred Years of Community Service," Perth Courier, 3 August 1934, pp. 1, 4-5.

[9]Bytown Ottawa Advocate, 23 April 1844, p. 4, col. 5.

[10]Cross, "Dark Druidical Groves," p. 497.

[11]R.U. Mahaffy, "Ottawa Journalism 1860 to 1870," Ontario History XLII (1950), pp. 209-210.

[12]Brockville Gazette, 10 May 1832, p. 2, col. 1.

[13]Brockville Recorder, 19 July 1833, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[14]Aileen Dunham, Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836 Carleton Library no. 10 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965), pp. 160-161.

[15]Sidney F. Wise, "Tory Factionalism: Kingston Elections and Upper Canadian Politics, 1820-1836," Ontario History LVII No. 4 (1965), p. 205.

[16]Graeme Patterson, "Whiggery, Nationality and the Upper Canadian Reform Tradition," The Canadian Historical Review LVI No. 1 (March 1975), pp. 43-44.

[17]Thaddeus W.H. Leavitt, History of Leeds and Grenville (Brockville: Recorder Press, 1879), pp. 149-150.

[18]Jean S. McGill, A Pioneer History of the County of Lanark (Bewdley, Ont.: Clay Publishing Company Ltd., 1979), p. 155.

[19]Public Archives Canada (hereafter PAC) MG55/30 #37 Margaret G. Armour, A Few Notes About the Forming of a Military Settlement at Perth and Surrounding Country, p. 6.

[20]McGill, Pioneer History of Lanark, pp. 159-161.

[21]Two different sets of statistics about the religious composition of the Bathurst District appeared in the Brockville Statesman, respectively on 22 June and 3 September 1839. The latter of the two is more correct, but either set of figures serves to point out that Presbyterian and United Church of England and Ireland numbers almost balanced. Had Roman Catholics not been divided among themselves, being guided on the one hand by their clergy to vote for pro-administration candidates who happened to be members of the United Church of England and Ireland while on the other hand perceiving that these pro-administration candidates enjoyed support from local Orange lodges—a fact which prompted many Catholics to support Scottish Presbyterian candidates who fulminated against the existence of Orange lodges, Roman Catholics in Lanark would have enjoyed a balance of power in deciding who the successful member would be.

Denomination	22 June 1839 Figure	3 September 1839 Figure
Presbyterians (including Kirk of Scotland, Seceders, United Synod, Independents, &c.)	8,660	8,933
United Church of England and Ireland	8,239	7,671
Roman Catholics	5,414	5,509
Methodists	1,745	1,802
Baptists	255	264
Other Sects	184	191
	24,497	24,370

[22]PAC RG5 A1 Upper Canada Sundries, Reel C-4615, vol. 73, pp. 39065-39067; ibid., Reel C-6863, vol. 85, pp. 46277-46278.

[23]Ibid., Reel C-6863, vol. 83, pp. 45226-45227.

[24]Perth Bathurst Courier, 19 March 1841, p. 1, cols. 3-4.

[25]PAC RG5 A1 Upper Canada Sundries, Reel C-6870, vol. 100, pp. 56511-56514.

[26]OTAR MU 842 Judge John Glass Malloch Diary, 1841-1845, pp. 23-24.

[27]Donald McLeod, A Brief Review of the Settlement of Upper Canada (Cleveland: F.B. Penniman, 1841; reprint ed.: Belleville, Ont.: Mika Silk Screening Ltd., 1972), pp. 24-25.

[28]Stephen A. Otto and Richard M. Dumbrille, Maitland: A Very Neat Village Indeed', (Erin, Ont.: The Boston Mills Press, 1985), pp. 37, 44.

[29]Ian MacPherson, Matters of Loyalty: The Buells of Brockville, 1830-1850, p. 118.

[30]Brockville Recorder, 26 April 1832, p. 1, col. 5, letter from CALEDON copied from the Prescott Grenville Gazette.

[31]Brockville Recorder, 28 March 1844, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[32]A diverting biography of Gowan, presented in novelized form by Don Akenson is The Orangeman: The Life and Times of Ogle Gowan (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1986).

[33]PAC RG5, A1 Upper Canada Sundries, Reel C-1616, vol. 76, pp. 40832-40837.

[34]Hereward Senior, "Ogle Gowan, Orangeism," p. 193.

[35]Idem, "A Bid for Rural Ascendancy: The Upper Canadian Orangemen, 1836-1840" in Donald H. Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History V:225-227 (Gananoque, Ont.: Langdale Press, 1986).

[36]In the 21 November and 28 November 1844 issues of the Brockville Recorder the vote of every elector in Leeds County is listed. This tabulation offers conclusive proof of the ethnic division of Leeds County over political parties.

[37]In the 22 November 1832 edition of the Brockville Gazette Gowan and his colleague, Captain James Gray placed a notice of numerous meetings to be held throughout Leeds to procure "a purification of the Magistracy of this District." They collected 1,357 names on a petition within two months, deploring that the Johnstown district magistracy was largely of foreign birth, that few magistrates possessed any British feeling, and that a purification of the magistracy was needed. PAC RG5, A1 vol. 125 Reel C-6877, pp. 69037-69058.

[38]Brockville Recorder, 28 September 1830, p. 3, cols. 2-3.

[39]Ibid., 12 October 1830, p. 3, col. 1.

[40]Fragment of an 1830 Elizabethtown Orange banner incorporated into a later banner of the 1850s, currently in the keeping of Loyal Orange Lodge no. 48. I am grateful to Eldon Henderson for assisting me to gain access to view and photograph this banner.

[41]Brockville Recorder, 18 April 1839, p. 3, cols. 4-5.

[42]Ibid., 27 July 1843, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[43]Brockville Statesman, 22 October 1839, p. 2. col. 2.

[44]Cross, "Dark Druidical Groves," p. 503.

[45]William Cox, "Thomas Mabon Radenhurst" in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. VIII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 732-733.

[46]Nicholas Flood Davin, The Irishman in Canada (Toronto: Maclear and Company, 1877), pp. 323-325.

[47]As an example, Captain Andrew Wilson in 1827 complained at length how the public peace was "most dreadfully disturbed—and the lives and property of the inhabitants [of] Bytown in danger day and night...by drunken, riotous, persons employed on the works of the Rideau Canal." PAC RG 5, A1 vol. 84 Reel C-6863, pp. 45755-45758.

[48] Expressions of this ethnic grievance can be found in PAC RG 5, A1 vol. 125 Reel C-6877, pp. 68951-68952; and in the Bytown Gazette, 11 April 1838, p. 3, col. 3.

[49]Bytown Gazette, 1 October 1840, p. 3, cols. 2-3.

[50]Ibid., 2 May 1844, p. 3, cols. 2-3.

[51]Queen's University Archives, Wilson-Lees-Gemmell Letters (Perth), microfilm 602, 18 August 1835 letter from Robert Gemmell, Quebec, to Joanna Lees, Bathurst; Bathurst Courier, 15 June 1838, p. 2, cols. 5-6; and Kingston (Roman Catholic) Archdiocesan Archives, Bishop Macdonell Letterbooks, Vol. III 1834-39, 6 July 1835 letter from Bishop Macdonell to Rev. Patrick MacDonagh, Montreal, pp. 140-141.

[52]Brockville Statesman, 3 September 1839, p. 2, col. 6.

[53]Ibid., 11 October 1843, p. 1, col. 1.

[54]Bytown Gazette, 14 November 1839, p. 2, cols. 2-3. This editorial was copied by the Bathurst Courier, 22 November 1839, pp. 1-2, cols. 6-1.

[55]Aileen Dunham, Political Unrest, p. 115.

[56]Brockville Gazette, 29 March 1832, p. 1, cols. 1-5; Brockville Recorder, 22 March 1832, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[57]Bruce Walton, "The 1836 Election in Lennox and Addington" Ontario History LXVII No. 3 (September 1975), p. 153.

[58]S.D. Clark, Movements of Political Protest in Canada, 1640-1840 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 486.

[59]Brockville Gazette, 16 August 1832, p. 2, col. 5.

[60]Ibid., 22 March 1832, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[61]Ibid., 29 November 1832, p. 3, col. 2.

[62]Brockville Antidote, 26 March 1833, p. 3, col. 3.

[63]Brockville Recorder, 6 December 1832, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[64]Ibid., 18 October 1833, p. 3, col. 6.

[65]Brockville Constitution, 25 March 1835, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[66]Brockville Recorder, 4 October 1838, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[67]Perth Bathurst Courier, 8 June 1838, p. 2, col. 2.

[68]Bytown Gazette, 21 August 1839, p. 1, cols. 4-5.

[69]Brockville Statesman, 8 October 1839, p. 3, col. 2.

[70]The editor of the Bytown Gazette charged that Gowan's leadership of Orangeism was in question due to his support of responsible government. Bytown Gazette, 3 October 1839, p. 2, col. 3.

A letter from a Toronto Orangemen, copied in the 20 September 1839 Perth Bathurst Courier claimed that Gowan could not enlist 500 of the 20,000 Orangemen in Canada to support responsible government.

[71]Donald H. Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984, p. 171.

[72]Brockville Recorder, 20 July 1830, p. 3, col. 1; and Brockville Statesman, 17 September 1839, p. 1, cols. 5-6; and Perth Bathurst Courier, 9 August 1842, p. 3, col. 1.

[73]Bytown Gazette, 21 December 1843, p. 2, col. 4.

[74]Ibid., 31 July 1839, p. 2, col. 4.

[75]Kingston Statesman, 1 November 1843, p. 2, cols. 1-6, and 8 November 1843, pp. 2-3, cols. 1-2. The same article appeared in the Bytown Gazette, 9 November 1843, pp. 1-2, cols. 5-3.

[76]Bytown Gazette, 5 September 1844, p. 3, col. 1.

VII

THE TEMPERANCE COUNTER-CHALLENGE

Leeds and Grenville American-origin inhabitants increasingly felt challenged by the Irish Protestant inundation of their region during the late 1820s and 1830s. The Irish threatened to overwhelm local society institutionally, organisationally, politically and even morally, causing American settlers to fear that the Irish would undermine the prominent position of American-origin settlers in society in years to come. In this chapter the emergence of the Upper Canadian temperance movement is considered within the context of ethnic tensions between Irish immigrants and American settlers. Irish and British North American society had been equally intemperate before a transatlantic temperance crusade emerged precisely when Irish immigrants thronged into eastern Upper Canada. A chronology of temperance as a social movement in transatlantic society precedes a brief survey of various historical interpretations of why temperance sprang forth as a movement. The surface welcome given the Irish by regional Americans contrasts with complexly interwoven unprinted ethnic, religious and political fears and grievances that were reflected in an anti-Irish current of the temperance movement.

American-origin Reformers used temperance to respond discreetly to the organisational tactics of Irish Orange lodges and to criticise Irish immigrants indirectly. Unlike Orangeism, the avowed anti-Catholicism of which led to its processions being banned, the altruistic goals of temperance were unassailable, since they did not appear to be biased against any religious or national community and

because these goals were so obviously directed toward accomplishing moral ends to benefit the whole of society. So subtle yet nonthreatening did the temperance message appear that Orange and Tory Irish Protestants rarely dared assail it for the organisational counter-challenge which it represented. Despite the positive moral image projected, each temperance society was as secret as and less likely to be infiltrated than local Orange lodges, ultimately bequeathing to historians few minutes and only indirect evidence to prove the ethno-political agenda of temperance supporters. A microcosm of the ethnic tensions underlying the rapid spread of temperance is provided by the first Upper Canadian society founded in Bastard Township. The nature of meetings enabled the temperance movement to operate as an effective political tool for American Reformers against Irish immigrants, although the wider altruistic appeal of temperance ultimately attracted some British immigrants.

Heavy liquor consumption was a conspicuous aspect of eighteenth and early nineteenth century Ireland. In the 1690s the British government created a market for low-grade grain unsuitable for brewing by slapping duties on imported spirits and by throwing open the distilling and spirit-selling industry to all comers, without any license or control.[1] In Ireland this produced a remarkable increase in consumption shown by the jump from 461,274 gallons of whiskey in 1725 on which excise duty was paid to 3,413,055 in 1777.[2] Government offered no effective restriction to high liquor consumption due to the significant revenue from drink taxes which flowed into the British treasury.[3] Before 1829 no movement emerged to counter the trend which persons in positions of authority condemned as making[4]

> Ireland...continue as she is?...her lower orders are kept in a state of intoxication, perhaps designedly, for this keeps them beasts of burden; not strong, however, as they appear generally feeble, withered animals....Will anything of a reforming cast remove the habits of this people, high and low, with the one-half wine the chief [god], and with the other whiskey.

Similarly, in eighteenth century British North America heavy liquor consumption was common. Nearly every family kept a bottle in the house to 'treat' guests and workmen, community gatherings witnessed heavy drinking by people from all levels of society, and liquor was simply considered an absolutely normal accompaniment to whatever men did in groups.[5] Before the late 1820s few people perceived any moral and social implications to heavy drinking. After 1800 a few New England clergymen who found it difficult to save souls whose mortal shells were immersed in alcohol, made isolated attempts to fight intemperance, warning against chronic drunkenness as a form of gluttony rather than against moderate drinking.[6] In frontier Vermont and New York, where Loyalist and American settlers of Leeds and Grenville originated, bush drudgery and high grain yields together produced a society equally as inebriated as that in Ireland.

Similar though the prodigious drinking legacies of the British and British North Americans were, the immigrant groups upon meeting in Upper Canada used drinking habits as a pretext for criticising one another. Scottish Presbyterian Rev. William Bell upon arriving at American-settled Prescott in 1817 observed "that public morals were at a low ebb[,] drunkenness was quite common, and profane swearing almost universal."[7] Ere moderate-drinking Rev. Bell ministered a few seasons at Perth his Sunday sermons were interrupted by drunks staggering into church. He observed Irish Methodists drunk in chapel, Irish Roman

Catholics drunk at mass, and beer and whiskey available for sale as a matter of course at American Methodist camp meetings. Bell noted an Irish defendant excused from court because he "got a little high, and forgot he was to be there,"[8] a French-Canadian labourer so drunk at work that he plunged his hands into a boiling cauldron of potash,[9] and chopping and building bees where liquor lubricated the drudgery of lengthy workdays. Church of Scotland Rev. John McLaurin observed that the older American settlers "were almost all Soldiers in the American War, and from their early manner of living, and the easy rate at which spiritous liquors may be had in this Province, added to the want of religious instruction, they have contracted careless and extravagant habits."[10] In rebuttal, the pro-American Methodist Christian Guardian in 1830 singled out the British-settled Bathurst district where in 1828 it claimed there were twenty inquests at each of which the cause of death was traced to the use of ardent spirits.[11] Among the British, drinking habits were seized on to distinguish between national groups. Hence Scottish Rev. Bell at Perth remarked, "It is a striking feature in the character of the Irish, that they generally finish their more important transactions, whether at fairs, weddings or funerals, with drink and a fight."[12] The potent mixture of ethnicity and liquor was shown by the 1824 riot at Carleton Place brought on by a captain treating only Scottish members of a militia company to the exclusion of Irish members.

Ethnic pretexts aside, heavy drinking was universal in the region before 1830. The thirty thousand inhabitants of the Bathurst District could choose from thirty-five shops and sixty-five inns selling or serving liquor.[13] An Augusta inhabitant asserted in 1830

that more people worshipped Bacchus than attended church:[14]

> I need no other proof for this assertion, than daily observation. Go to the new countries and attend there the Logging-bees, the Husking-bees, and the Raising of Houses and Barns, and there you will find many who do homage to this deity. Attend the general muster of our Militia; visit the Grocer's shop or the Bar-rooms, and there too you will behold almost an innumerable number of those deluded worshipers of Bacchus....
>
> It is not only at these crowded Assemblies that you will find them practising their Idolatrous deeds, but they are so enthusiastic in their devotions, that when there is not only two or three of them met together, they are often found to have their Idol in their midst.

Before a popular view emerged around 1830 of "disadvantages [to society] arising from the cheapness of ardent spirits"[15], the only negative references were connected with illegally selling liquor or with defying the emerging code of behaviour of the fledgeling regional élite. The 1820 conviction of Patrick Nowlan in Beckwith for selling liquor without a license was a simple matter of defrauding government of liquor revenue. It was a more complex matter when Captain John LeBreton of Nepean was taken to task in 1821 for providing workers at his Britannia estate with liquor, thereby illegally giving competition to local taverns; he defended his behaviour by claiming that if he did not stock liquor he would lose the workmen.[17] LeBreton, whatever his economic motives, was attempting to justify how he as a gentleman was involved in the ungenteel business of trading in liquor. It was not unaristocratic to drink, but dealing in trade made questionable LeBreton's claims to gentility. Captain Benjamin Street of March Township in 1823 explained that he held a license to sell liquor because all gentlemen paid workmen in liquor as part of their wages.[18]

Most of the regional gentry were merchants whose aspirations to gentility were very recent. They were influenced by the growing gulf between classes in the industrialising British Isles in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which made drunkenness among the respectable classes increasingly unfashionable.[19] Thus Irish immigrant J.H. Powell of Perth in 1825 confided to the lieutenant-governor's secretary that the inebrious conduct of John Robinson, formerly a half-pay adjutant of local militia in Scotland now residing at Perth, made him a poor example in local society to enjoy a position of respectability.[20] In the same vein, George C. Rankin at Bytown in 1828 declined to act as a magistrate, claiming that a person of honour could not associate with tavern keepers or with Alexander J. Christie,[21] who another nominee agreed was "unfit for any public office because he is continually at the bottle".[22] Despite universal heavy drinking in regional society before 1828, drunkenness was being used as a lever by British aspirants to local gentility to denigrate and socially distinguish among themselves as they vied for prominent positions in society.

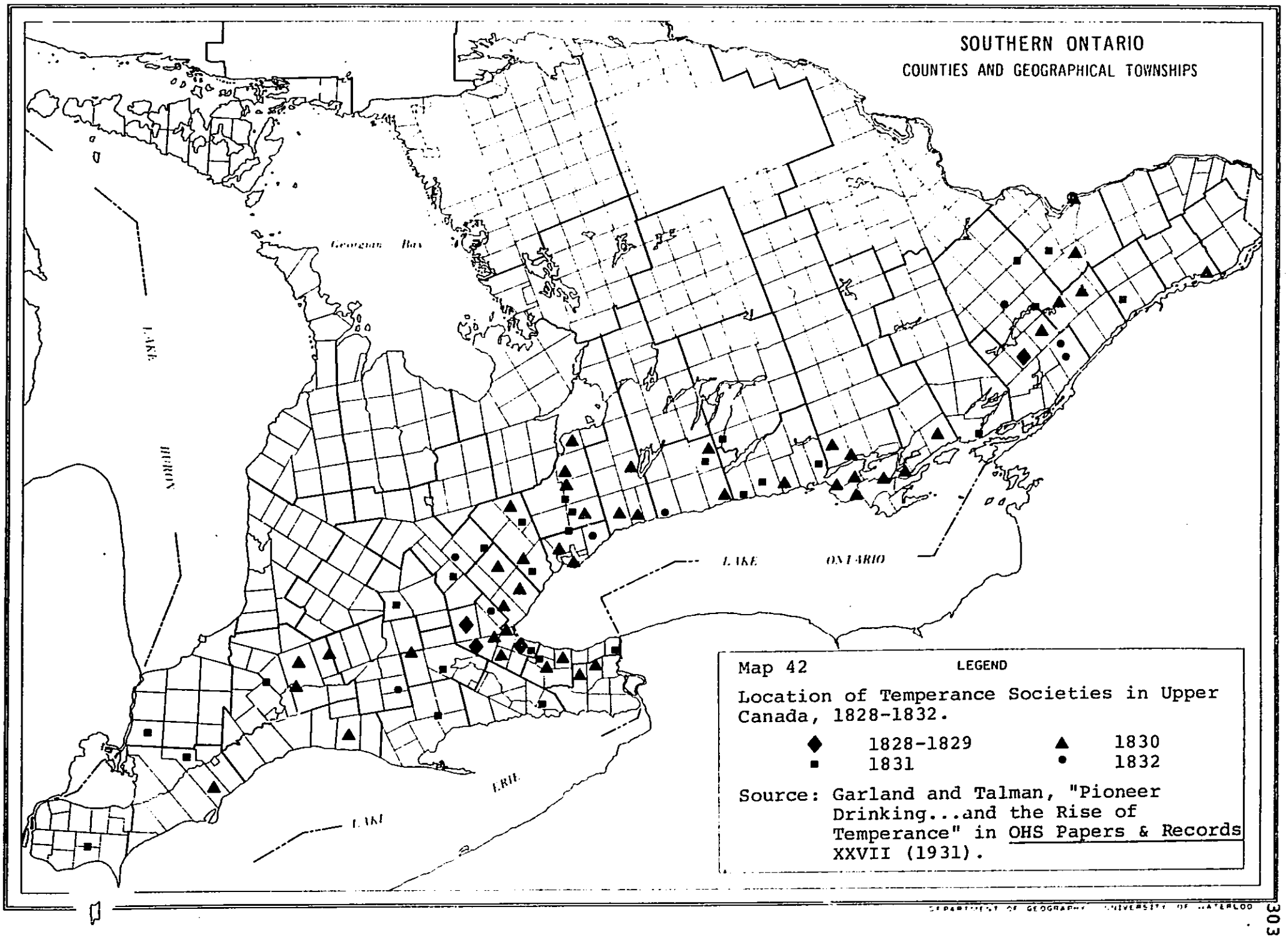
The temperance movement in North America and the British Isles which began in the late 1820s gathered momentum in only a few years. Historians agree that temperance as a movement originated in the United States and spread to Britain and to British North America. Paul E. Johnson notes that the temperance question was non-existent in 1825, yet three years later it was a middle-class obsession in the northeastern United States.[23] Elizabeth Malcolm notes that the temperance movement reached Ireland from America in 1829, appearing almost simultaneously in Dublin and Belfast.[24] T.C. Smout dates the

Scottish temperance movement from 1829 when societies founded in Greenock and Glasgow abjuring spirit drinking within a year acquired a membership of over three thousand.[25] Brian Harrison traces the spread of the anti-spirits movement through England beginning about 1830 from origins in Northern Ireland and Scotland.[26] In British North America temperance societies were founded in Nova Scotia,[27] in Montreal and in Upper Canada in 1827 and 1828[28], and by 1831 there were over eighty temperance societies in Upper Canada alone (Map 42).[29] The interest in temperance developed with remarkable speed.

Historians vary in explaining why temperance emerged as a movement. M.A. Garland and James J. Talman applied the frontier thesis to temperance in Upper Canada, arguing that the movement was a natural response to the excessive drinking of pioneer life as provincial society became more sophisticated, and was simply an extension of the American movement.[30] C.R. Wood explained the temperance movement within Upper Canadian Methodism as part and parcel of North American fundamentalism both in its origin and survival.[31] Ernest J. Dick agrees, noting that the popular impetus for temperance in Nova Scotia[32]

> came very directly from New England along the same axis as the earlier religious revivals. Congregationalist Evangelist Lyman Beecher's famous 'Six Sermons on the Nature, Occasions, Signs, Evils, and Remedy of Intemperance' were widely circulated and quoted in Nova Scotia after they had been published in 1826 (Halifax edition published in 1830)....It was the Baptist preachers of the Annopolis Valley...who avidly read Lyman Beecher's sermons and preached the first temperance sermons.

Brian Harrison traced the origins of English interest in temperance during the early 1830s to a receptive cultural, social and political context within which four principal factors operated. First, non-



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intoxicating drinks such as tea and coffee became inexpensive during the 1820s to replace beer and liquor as practical and safe alternatives to impure water and dangerous milk[33]; second, temperance was only one of several attempts around 1830 to propagate the middle class style of life; third, drunkenness was already unfashionable beginning with curbing the gin mania in the 1750s; and fourth, both religious and secular opinion-formers campaigned for sobriety in the 1820s with rationalists such as Jeremy Bentham and Benjamin Franklin having perhaps a greater influence than John Wesley.[34] In contrast with Upper Canada, Methodists were among the last of the denominations in England to embrace the abstinence principle.[35]

Paul E. Johnson attributes the new perception of drinking as a problem in late 1820s Rochester New York to a changing relationship between master and wage earner as "proprietors turned their workshops into little factories, moved their families away from their places of business, and devised standards of discipline, self-control, and domesticity that banned liquor."[36] By default, the meaning of drinking changed as it became part of an autonomous working class social life. James Clemens argues that temperance attracted middle class membership in Canada West as a defensive or nativistic response to the influx of large numbers of Famine Irish immigrants in the late 1840s. Clemens cites the Methodist Christian Guardian extensively to reveal fears of brutality, anti-Irish prejudices, and middle class virtues of industry, thrift and peaceful family life held by the movement's supporters.[37] Jean Burnet, by contrast, argues that Canadian temperance leaders aspired to a respectability which eluded them due to their American origins, radical politics and nonconformist religion.[38] Graeme Decarie

suggests that the temperance movement spontaneously emerged in response to liquor overconsumption, and that although it sought to sustain a value system nurtured in rural Ontario, by the 1890s it was largely concerned with problems posed by urban growth.[39]

Two more recent studies present temperance as a popular movement which focussed discontented and powerless masses toward particular political goals. Janet Noel interprets temperance agitation in Canada between 1840 and 1854 as the translation of radical religion, both Catholic and Protestant, into "an emotional and self-confident campaign for social and political reform. At a time when political radicalism was effectively checked, temperance channelled popular discontent into a less direct attack on a reactionary colonial élite and an irresponsible government."[40] By mid-century, according to Noel, temperance also attracted middle class supporters.[41] Elizabeth Malcolm argues that temperance in Ireland between 1829 and 1900 was transformed from a largely conservative loyal Protestant cause into a mass crusade for moral regeneration preached by Catholic Irish nationalists, often with markedly revolutionary overtones.[42] The Protestant movement in the 1830s had the recognisably political goal of making Ireland more prosperous and more peaceful under British government. It was believed that public houses were the haunts of subversive societies and that within them under the influence of drink, young men could be exposed to revolutionary doctrines and enticed into joining illegal organisations. Many of the worst atrocities in 1798 were believed committed by insurgents under the influence of drink:[43]

> The anti-spirits movement believed that excessive consumption of spirits destroyed the individual's sense of right and wrong, robbed him of his reason and reduced him to the condition of a brute. Thus,

> only barbarism could be expected from a population habitually addicted to spirits, and temperance men felt that this was particularly so in Ireland, given the character of the people....Dr. William Urwick, a Dublin Congregationalist minister, writing in 1829, gave his...opinion that a population addicted to intemperance was ready to obey the call of every political incendiary who addressed their passions and that they would not be 'deterred from advancing in the career of rebellion though the gibbet or the scaffold be in view'.

Capuchin monk Father Theobald Mathew promoted temperance from the late 1830s on as a means of reducing social misery. Though Father Mathew condemned secret societies and tried to prevent links from forming between his total abstinence crusade and Daniel O'Connell's political repeal movement, the two organisations overlapped considerably and many people read political connotations into his work. A sub-inspector at Enniscorthy, for instance, in a report to Dublin Castle noted that ribbonmen were joining the temperance movement in large numbers. From Arthurstown, another part of Wexford with vivid memories of the 1798 rebellion, the sub-inspector wrote: "it is whispered about here that if the battle was to be fought over again it would not be lost in consequence of intemperance as before."[44]

The variety of historical explanations for the growth of temperance as a movement do not necessarily contradict one another. Few historians have lingered over an explanation of why temperance as a movement began in the late 1820s, and why it spread so rapidly in the 1830s. A synthesis of the various studies suggests that nonconformist clergy were isolated harbingers of the temperance movement, and that the published sermons of Rev. Lyman Beecher in 1826 acted as a catalyst for its becoming a movement within five years. Simultaneously, there was a compelling and widespread ferment for religious, political, moral,

economic and social reform in transatlantic English-speaking society; the temperance gospel was used by a variety of groups varying from one country to another, indeed from one region to another within the same country, as a vehicle for eliminating disparate social problems. It also became a moral justification to cover other objectives. Some of the explanations historians offer for the spread of temperance have relevance for a specific region but do not necessarily apply elsewhere. For example, Paul Johnson explains the new middle class obsession with temperance in the late 1820s as stemming from the new relationship between master and wage earner in an industrialising society. This has no application in rural Upper Canada where the movement spread equally rapidly during the same years but where industrialisation was yet another three decades in the future.

Temperance in eastern Upper Canada was used by American inhabitants to stave off potential assimilation by Irish Protestant immigrants and as a cover for organising as an ethno-political community to respond to Orangeism. By 1830 there were over three thousand Irish immigrants residing near Brockville alone.[45] A steady inflow of immigration from Ireland indicated by newspaper reports made the earlier established American inhabitants distinctly uneasy. They camouflaged their discomfort behind facades of welcome and assistance, petitioning government for additional funds to care for the sick and destitute immigrants afflicted with cholera who poured in during the early 1830s. What else could they do? To complain about the Irish flood would be interpreted as being disloyal, and yet the more British immigrants that arrived the more precarious seemed the control which American inhabitants enjoyed in regional society. Under the best of

circumstances it promised to be an uneasy relationship between two numerically balanced ethnic groups.

Rivalries and ethnic discord between American and British immigrant communities dated back to the War of 1812. A "Canadian" correspondent of the Kingston Gazette in 1811 complained that of the two streams entering the region "either from Europe or the neighboring States,"[46]

> The Europeans are indeed the most querelous and the most discontented, they look with contempt upon every thing which this country produces—there is nothing here as it is in England—even the eggs are not without contamination, they have neither the sweetness nor the nourishment of those produced by a British hen.

As British immigration grew and American immigration was discouraged after the War of 1812, local American resentment of British highhandedness and contempt for North American values grew apace. It was no secret that the Rideau military settlements and canal were established to counter the strong American-origin settlements along the St. Lawrence. The Earl of Dalhousie, as governor-in-chief of the Canadas in 1820 at his own expense placed two hundred stand of arms and two light field pieces at Perth and Richmond to induce military settlers "to keep up that spirit of loyalty and British feeling which exists now, but which might give way to evil communications with these Americans who really swarm in the woods near Brockville."[47] The chief justice of Upper Canada, William Dummer Powell, assessed the inhabitants residing in the Brockville vicinity in 1820 as "Yankees & openly speak as such, violent and disobedient to the Laws & disposed to do everything they dare to hurt these new back settlements."[48] American settlers while yet "a large majority of our whole population" did not hesitate to

question the post-war "policy of promoting emigration from the British European dominions, and excluding settlers from the United States".[49]

The mood of resentment among American-origin settlers viewing a continuing flow of British, predominantly Irish, settlers fill the vacant lands in the region became embittered with the Alien Bill controversy of the late 1820s. From then on there were few aspects of regional society that American settlers did not encrust with cultural or ethnic significance in responding to the flood of Irish immigrants taking a dominant place among them. American inhabitants found themselves seeking to justify their place in society, especially as they moved within a few years from stoutly asserting in 1827 that as a majority of the electors only American-origin "Aliens" would be elected for years to come,[50] to protesting being equally as loyal as British immigrants by 1833.[51] They noted complaints by Irish settlers that length of residence in Canada was an unimportant criterion for selecting officials within regional society,[52] and that Americans but a short time in the province were advanced unduly over the heads of more qualified old country immigrants. American settlers recognised the coded allusion to British ascendancy implicit in the remark that although at one time in Upper Canada "nothing but basswood could be obtained,...now that we have better timber let us use the Oak and Laurel".[53] American inhabitants read statements in regional Irish newspapers repudiating the hostility of local American officials,[54] insisting on British supremacy which translated to Irish immigrant supremacy,[55] and about the overt martialing of Irish settlers against Americans by demagogue Ogle Gowan to gain his election.[56] Americans at Brockville viewed with alarm references in local Irish Tory papers to

the pauper immigration swelling the loyal population[57] and replacing valueless Yankees.[58] The smaller communities of American settlers along the Rideau became alarmed in the late 1820s by the extensive canal works attracting "many hundreds of various descriptions of Characters, independent of the permanent residents and inhabitants, among whom peace and good order are indispensably necessary to be attended to, and preserved".[59] One resident on the Ottawa in 1827 found it "rather alarming to witness the labourers descending the River in search of a better livelihood".[60] The potential for violence by Irish immigrants at elections, at musters of militia, at public meetings, at fairs as a form of recreation and as a vehicle to intimidate older settlers concerned American inhabitants. The threat of violence was never more explicitly stated than when a correspondent of the Brockville Recorder quoted Ogle Gowan as saying that the local Irish were "done training under the 'd——d yankees,' as they term all those who oppose Mr. Gowan's factious and mad career."[61]

The growing Irish predominance among British immigrants entering the region alarmed local Americans because although most Scottish immigrants joined Americans in supporting political reform, if ever the Scottish were lured over to join the Irish, British immigrants united would inevitably render local Americans powerless. The threat of all British immigrants uniting seemed all too possible when Americans read items such as the 1836 election address by English-born candidate Hamnett Pinhey to Carleton electors, claiming Irish immigrants as his countrymen and warning the non-Irish that Irish immigrants should not be made envious.[62] Americans feared the ramifications of the ongoing appeal by Ogle Gowan for "a general amalgamation of loyal Britons", to

unite in electing British candidates in the same way that during the Napoleonic wars "all loyal men and true stood together in the crisis of their country's difficulties...engaged for the same Sovereign... battl[ing] the same foe, st[anding] on the same field, the dead...buried in the same grave, and the living triumph[ing] in the same victory".[63] It was inescapable that most immigrants arriving were Irish Protestants,[64] and that inevitably they would "in a few years render British feeling and British interest paramount".[65] In local American eyes this meant that their interests would become subservient to those of the Irish.

What could the American-origin population say in response to the claim of an Irish contributor to the Brockville Gazette that the large British immigration brought in money compared to Yankee beggars,[66] that most land in the district lay waste until developed by Irish settlers,[67] and that most new buildings in Brockville were erected by Irish immigrants?[68] Even American and Scottish editors were perceived not to identify the Irish directly as the ethnic group committing election violence in the 1830s. Those who suggested that Irish immigrants brought little capital found both Tory and Reform candidates publicly feigning surprise at anyone who would oppose rendering assistance to persons helping build up the colony, especially considering the benefits that immigration had produced.[69] The growing local American feeling of being overwhelmed was all too evident when a Brockville Recorder correspondent inquired in 1833:[70]

> what are we to think of those characters who demand superior claims, from our Government, to those of their fellow-subjects, either in church or state, and openly declare that those claims of superiority are the only Tie that binds them to the constitution; making the rights of superiority supercede the rights of equality;— denominating the rights of man a levelling system that should be exploded?

It was impossible for American Reformers to ignore the note of triumph and the implicit threat to their place in society in the speech of Tory Loyalist Henry Sherwood at an 1832 public meeting in Brockville, "that if Emigration goes on as it has done for some years past, a bulwark of British feeling will be erected, against which the waves of Democracy may beat in vain for ages".[71] Local American insecurity was further shown when the editor of the Recorder decried the "attempt to preserve in this province a national character, as Irishmen".[72] The Bathurst Courier indirectly alluded to regional society when it reported in 1843 that inhabitants of the United States were looking on incoming British immigrants with jealousy and alarm since within a few years native Americans stood to lose their power and influence in society.[73]

From the Alien Bill controversy in the late 1820s onward American settlers were disturbed by Irish immigrant claims of superior loyalty to Britain. United Empire Loyalists such as Jonas Jones urged the necessity of the Alien Bill to counteract the American oath of allegiance which explicitly abjured loyalty to the British monarch which all Upper Canadians born in the United States had been obliged to swear.[74] Local American over-sensitivity at thus being labelled aliens was further fed every time Irish immigrants fastened on every prank by local American youths, such as hoisting an American flag near Merrickville, as proof of disloyalty.[75] The rebellion panic gave local Irish further cause to vaunt their greater loyalty, while accusing local Americans of sowing sedition.[76] No more proof of this was needed than for Ogle Gowan to print chief justice John Beverley Robinson's appraisal of the Irish response to rebellion:[77]

> I think it was universally felt throughout the Province that the conduct of the Irish, as a body was pre-eminently good. They seemed not only to acknowledge promptly their obligations to support their government and laws, but they discharged their duty with an eager forwardness, and a fine hearty warmth of feeling, that it was really quite affecting to witness. Hundreds of these poor fellows came at the first summons, from remote settlements, in the depth of winter, half clothed, without other arms than hoes, pitchforks, axes or clubs;...they had to pass through the rich old settlements of the very persons who, under the influence of a feeling hardly to be credited or accounted for, had abandoned their homes and taken up arms against their Sovereign....[C]ompared with the rugged wilderness these poor Irishmen came from, the land [the settlers along the front] inhabited is like the Garden of Eden: and to see these faithful emigrants pouring from the woods to support the government against the wicked attempts of the others was a spectacle really affecting....

This echoed the contrast between Irish loyalty and anti-British, treasonous, Methodist Yankees which Gowan had been making since 1830.[78] Regional Americans recognised that military service was a major aspect of the Irish claim to superiority,[79] one which Gowan exploited by printing numerous letters ostensibly from Irish immigrants uncomfortable at serving under young inexperienced Yankee militia officers when experienced men among the Irish were passed over.[80]

Various other issues gave local Americans cause to worry about their continuing security within local society. The Irish claimed to be discriminated against by American[81] or "Alien" juries[82] and magistrates[83] hence necessitating a "purification of the magistracy" to reduce the number of magistrates of American origin.[84] British immigrants were touted as being generally better educated, better informed, and more literate than either Americans[85] or French Canadians.[86] The Brockville Recorder editor was taunted in 1829 for selling "his darling shopkeepers American spelling-books" rather than the National spelling-book of

England.[87] Local American settlers could not help but contrast their meagre religious resources with the lead taken by United Church of England and Ireland clergymen in building churches, outstripped only by Irish Catholics in the 1840s. The churches of Irish immigrants bespoke British funding, sophisticated architecture, educated clergy, formal ritual, regular salaries and regular schedules of services in contrast with voluntarist circuit-riders who sporadically visited American settlements that gave them little more than board and lodging,[88] and who incurred derision and disgust from Irish neighbours for their mesmerizing performances at camp meetings. American evangelicals enviously perceived that they had been outbuilt, outorganised, out-sophisticated, outlegitimised by the state churches to which the Irish belonged. The Brockville Recorder decried the dazzling splendour of bishops in the Irish Church, the intolerant aristocratic goals of Irish clergy in preventing voluntarists from marrying and owning property, in pilfering profits from Clergy reserves, in countenancing Orange riots and even tolerating Orange processions to church.[89] Furthermore, American voluntarists withstood accusations by Irish editors that there were links between camp meetings and revolutionary schemes.[90]

The political ramifications of the growing Irish population focussing on promoting only its own interests as an ethnic community were particularly alarming to regional American inhabitants.[91] The Irish presented the threat of replicating in Canada the authoritarian regime which had favoured them in Ireland, rather than joining local Americans in pressing for responsible government.[92] Irish immigrants in official stations were believed to work mischief against the common good[93] in the same way that Irish Protestant immigrants and editors were

used as political tools by the provincial élite and by regional candidates. The Irish even perpetrated violence against American Reformers altruistically fighting for the rights of all freemen.[94] The 1830s election violence in Leeds revealed how serious the Irish were about wresting power from the American population. The very vocabulary and prose of "the British Victory over the Yankees at Brockville," of "driving radicals out"[95] and "British ascendancy" were continual reminders that the Irish viewed local Americans as a foe to be routed out. To crown the edifice of American fears, Orange lodges in the late 1830s began receiving as members sons of the Tory Loyalist élite who recognised that the Orange Lodge held the key to political success.[96] This contrasted with Loyalist Tory criticism of Orangemen earlier in the 1830s for introducing religious and national bigotry to the region.[97]

It was apparent to all that Irish immigrant political clout was due to the organisational nucleus of the Orange Lodge. When Orangemen broke up a public meeting at Brockville in 1832, American inhabitants met to voice their disgust with "all irritating distinctions, societies, badges and processions" and[98]

> all endeavours to create distrust, dislike and opposition between the Irish and other Emigrants who have settled amongst us, and the settlers of the Province and their descendants, who first penetrated the interminable wilderness and amid extreme hardships and privations caused the country to present fertile fields and cultivated plains, is unjust, ungenerous and impolitic and can only be the work of self-interested or evilminded persons.

Persistent fears of being politically outdistanced and religiously outstripped by Irish immigrants led on by demagogues brought local Americans to link Irish Protestants, the impenetrable political Orange organisation, the holding of Orange meetings in taverns, and the need

to curb liquor overconsumption. Jason Gould of Smiths's Falls, for example, in late 1832 was lured into attending one of Ogle Gowan's political meetings packed with Orangemen against his wishes, and although he stayed for only ten minutes, viewed a sufficiently potent mixture of liquor overconsumption and anti-Yankee sentiment so as to trouble him very deeply.[99] Within a month Gould was an active member of the Smith's Falls Temperance Society.[100]

It is a moot point as to whether local American Reformers created temperance societies as an organisational counter-challenge to the Irish Tory Orange lodges, or if they recognised the potential of temperance societies as a facade behind which the activities of American Reform could effectively be cloaked, and infiltrated them toward that end. So successfully secretive were the meetings of local temperance societies that no Upper Canadian manuscript records from before 1845 have survived. The minutes of meetings of the inner circles of local temperance lodges were no more reported in newspapers than were those of the Orange lodges. Reform newspapers from 1829 on were vigilant in praising temperance as an altruistic movement. The instant moral legitimacy with which American Reformers encased temperance could not be arrested. So quickly did more than eighty lodges spring up in American-settled areas of Upper Canada within five years (Map 42) that regional Tory papers no more dared criticise temperance than American editors dared openly assail Irish immigrants as an ethnic group. Colonel Thomas Talbot might privately suspect that American "rebels" in his settlement had "commenced their work of darkness under the cover of organizing Damned Cold Water Drinking Societies, where they met at night to communicate their poisonous and seditious schemes",[101] but Irish Tory

editors in eastern Upper Canada were more subtle, alluding to secret meetings and good causes rather than openly link temperance and American Reformers. In 1831 the Brockville Gazette accused the Recorder editor of having a network of emissaries spreading word of a secret meeting at which William Lyon Mackenzie was speaking "to acquaint his friends of their designs, but with strict injunctions not to tell any but the friends of the good cause [emphasis mine], and above all to keep the Irish in the dark."[102] A Gazette correspondent late in 1831 alluded to a Grenville political candidate "with the most yankefied modesty...avow[ing] Mr. Mackenzie's principles" who had for the past year been a "haranguer on temperance and a drinker of 'PURE UNADULTERATED LEMONADE'".[103]

Regional Reform editors took care not to openly allude to temperance as a screen for American Reform organising. There may have been a secret ethno-political code in such items as a Recorder article recommending temperance as a safeguard against cholera at the same time cholera-ravaged Irish immigrants were arriving, and in an 1836 Kingston Chronicle description of Upper Canadian Radicals as being "mostly of American origin [but although the good of the country is eternally on their lips..[i]mprovement is with them but another [term] for subversion, excision [and] revolution.[104] The Recorder in 1837 referred to a Merrickville secret society rumoured forming to put down Orange lodges, and the Bathurst Courier in 1842 admonished immigrants "desirous to prosper" to avoid taverns.[105] Only years later was the secrecy cast aside when Ogle Gowan alleged that the Sons of Temperance was "a secret Society formed for political purposes" which was foreign, dangerous and unlawful,[106] spurring a Recorder correspondent to retort that temperance was "dangerous only to those whose only plan of electioneering tactics for years was to distribute spirituous liquors for the double purpose of

confusing men's ideas of right and wrong, and deterring quiet and peace-loving electors from recording their votes."[107]

An overt link between temperance and recognisably ethno-political goals was presented in regional newspaper coverage of Daniel O'Connell's Catholic movement to repeal the union of Ireland and Britain. The Bathurst Courier editor in June 1843 concluded "Temperance and the reform created by it in the habits and condition of the Irish, have given them a superhuman strength, beyond the power of British arms to subdue".[108] The observations of a traveller through Ireland presented in the Bytown Gazette underlined the political goals of Irish Catholics in becoming "a sober, temperate, and religious people" in contrast with their ancestors during the 1798 rebellion who "lay drunk in the ditches" over whom government "troops obtained an easy victory":[109]

> Although the organization of the Temperance Societies preceded the Repeal movement, that organization has been adopted into it. The congregation of each Roman Catholic chapel generally forms into a Temperance Society. The repeal wardens are the officers; the temperance band, the members of which are dressed in uniform, are the rallying point; and when it is determined to shew the strength of the country, the male members of the Temperance Societies are marshalled under their respective bands and colours, and march out to the monster meetings. The people appear to take a pride in displaying their fixity of purpose and the supposed moral excellence of their cause, by an obvious abandonment of their previous habitual vices.

A history of Irish repeal printed in the Bytown Gazette claimed that the temperance hotels in Ireland were "so many political reading rooms", and that teetotal clubs were imprinting a corporate character on the Irish masses.[110] Ogle Gowan in his Kingston Statesman referred to Irish Catholic rioters at Lachine in 1842 as "temperance repealers...hurrahing for O'Connell and Father Mathew".[111]

By whatever means American Reformers seized hold of temperance to cloak their ethno-political agenda from the scrutiny of Irish Orange Tories, by 1833 temperance supporters had established local lodges in areas of American settlement (Map 42), and succeeded in closing down some of the taverns within which local Orange lodges met. Cautious though they were to keep out of the press references to temperance as a screen for their more secret ethno-political agenda, American settlers waxed euphoric over the sudden remarkable moral transformation wrought by temperance in their previously inebriated communities. The secretary of the Prescott Temperance Society enthused:[112]

> Many, who were on the way to ruin, and whose cases were considered remediless, are restored to their families, their friends and connections, and become useful members to society. This is encouraging; onward then, let us be sober, and double our diligence, and be not wearied in well doing; and if we faint not, we will, in due season, receive the fruits of our labour a thousand fold.

Bastard Township, the community in which the first Upper Canadian temperance society was founded, offers a sample of the ethnic tensions that impelled American settlers to embrace temperance. Baptist elder, Abel Stevens, settled the southern concessions of Bastard with ninety Baptist, Methodist and Quaker families in the 1790s. They were described in 1811 as "hav[ing] settled themselves down in peace expecting never to be disturbed, [and as] hav[ing] worn out the best of their days in settling this town."[113] The lack of ambition in these settlers is suggested by their comparatively low rate of clearing land.[114] Their lack of empathy for the British connection of Upper Canada is shown by numerous desertions during the War of 1812, by their unconcern to take the oath of allegiance,[115] and by attending Robert Gourlay's meetings.[116] In the mid 1820s southeastern Irish Protestants began

filling the northern concessions, with some three hundred families largely from Wexford inundating Bastard in 1831 and 1832.

The earlier-established American settlers felt threatened from the beginning by the arriving Irish Protestants who soon outnumbered them. The slow acquisition of title to land by the Americans contrasted with "the greater part of [the Irish who] purchased Land from individuals on arrival, and have by their industry assisted with their little capital brought from home, made their entire payments, and are daily receiving their Deeds" within one to two years.[117] Faced with the ultraloyalist vocabulary of the Irish Protestants, and keeping in mind that deserters from their midst during the war had had their property confiscated, American-born Bastard inhabitants in late 1826 feared that "from their inability to comply with all the provisions of the naturalising laws of this Province, the right of some of them...to be regarded as British Subjects, is liable to be questioned."[118] Fear changed to anger as Bastard Americans met in March 1827 to protest the Alien Bill which forced them after thirty years' residence to swear an oath of allegiance to become the equals of Irish immigrants just off the boat. One American settler, Joseph K. Hartwell, who recognised the implications of the Irish tidal wave and knew too well the republican inclination of many of his neighbours, urged them not to petition against the Alien Bill, claiming that those who complained it forced them to abjure allegiance to all foreign powers were[119]

> none but those who ha[ve] abjured allegiance to His Majesty, and whose hearts are wedded to the United States, while they are residents in this country, and who, in case of war, would immediately flee to the land of their birth, and turn the force of their arms against the country in which they had lined their purses: such are not the subjects that should be allowed to inhabit a British colony....

As if to provide a visual symbol of American fears that the Irish were taking over their community, a church which American Baptists had failed to complete since 1811, was sold to the Bishop of Quebec in February 1827. Local Irish Anglicans promptly completed the church in time for an Orange chaplain to address two hundred Orangemen crowded into the church on the twelfth of July 1829.[120]

Joseph K. Hartwell's "determined...welcoming [of] Emigrants [from Ireland] to this part of the Country and assisting them to get to their friends and acquaintances without allowing their being detained on the way" only served to heighten the jealousy of Bastard Americans towards the Irish. The "unwelcome and unkind reception the [Irish] Emigrants [settling in Bastard] met with...[from] some of the old [American] Inhabitants being unnecessarily alarmed" threatened "to produce serious consequences."[121] By early 1829 ethnic sparring in Bastard was so serious "that great inconvenience is daily felt by the Inhabitants... for the want of Magistrates".[122] By 1833 the Irish of Bastard were organised into three Orange lodges,[123] with their settlement provocatively named New Boyne to suggest their militant expectation of enjoying ascendancy over the American inhabitants. Tension mounted as local Americans supported William Lyon Mackenzie,[124] culminating in Orangemen clubbing Reform electors at the Bastard poll in 1834, followed by a brutal riot at a nearby tavern.[125] Those Bastard Americans who escaped without a beating, could not mistake the thirst for power evident in the deafening roar of local Orangemen well supplied with liquor who intended their candidate to win at any cost.[126]

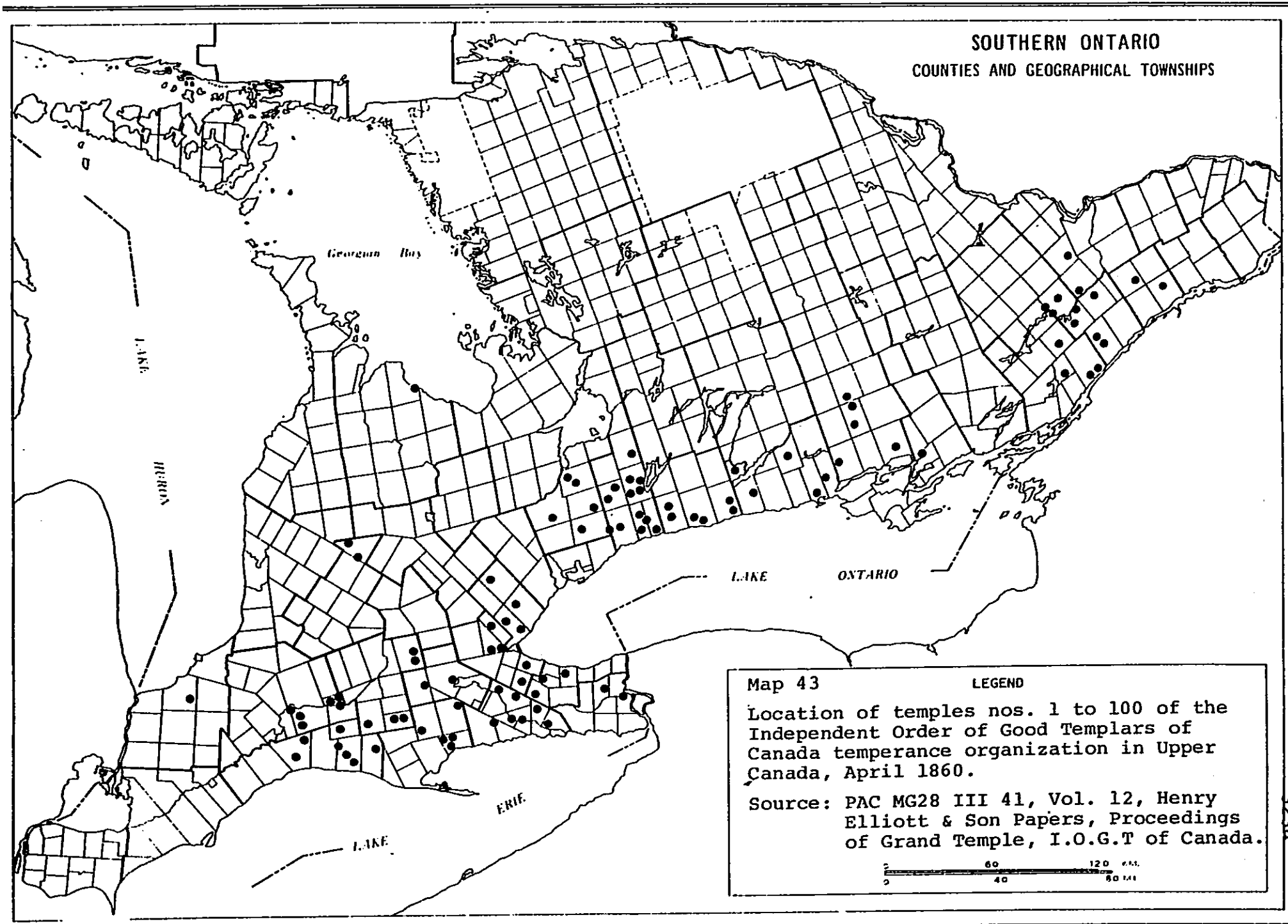
In June 1828 Dr. Peter Schofield of Bastard organised the first temperance society and delivered the first temperance address in Upper

Canada. American by birth and hostile to Upper Canadian institutions,[127] Schofield decried the annual production of fifteen thousand gallons of whiskey in Bastard[128] for increasing sickness, shortening life, producing crime, litigations and family feuds, leading its deluded victims to the scaffold, prison and wretched abodes, specifically alluding to the well known high mortality of labourers at Rideau Canal work-sites.[129] Faced with Irish Protestants organised in Orange lodges who willingly engaged in violence to advance their interests, the temperance society organised by Schofield desperately attempted to rally the American inhabitants of Bastard within a cause the Irish would scorn to join, to reduce the heavy liquor consumption which increased the tension between Irish and American inhabitants, and to introduce an elevating influence which would prevent local Americans in positions of authority being replaced by high officials bending to Irish calls for a "purification of the magistracy". Very quickly, temperance spread as a movement among the American population of Bastard, although Dr. Schofield regretted "that the great men, the leading and most influential men, Magistrates, and officers of Government stand aloof from our measures, and of the two, rather hold forth an example at variance with the constitution of every Temperance Association in the Province".[130] Whem prominent local American Dr. George Breakenridge fraternised with the Irish in local taverns, Schofield as president "of a numerous and respectable Temperance Society" took pains to quash his ambitions to become a magistrate.[131]

As Bastard Americans embraced temperance, liquor consumption declined abruptly, with the number of taverns in Bastard declining from eight to three by 1834.[132] Township liquor production so declined that local Orangemen had to import large quantities for the 1836 election.[133]

As Bastard Americans increasingly perceived links between drinking and Irish Orangemen, and between temperance and their own survival, their barn-raisings and logging bees were conducted without liquor.[134]

The mushrooming number of temperance lodges from one in Bastard in 1828 to more than eighty by 1832 compares with the number of Orange lodges founded during the same years. Dr. Peter Schofield felt that the usefulness of the temperance societies was "much abridged for lack of a Federal head, a general Provincial and Parent Society".[135] Just as the distribution of early Orange lodges reflected the pattern of Irish Protestant settlement (Map 41), the locations of early temperance societies closely followed the concentrations of early American settlers across Upper Canada, and more especially the concentrations of American settlement threatened by large adjacent Irish Protestant settlements (Map 42). Lacking information about the temperance societies founded after 1832, the pattern of lodges of the Independent Order of Good Templars which spread from New York state across Upper Canada in the 1850s suggests how closely temperance continued to be tied to American settlements besieged by Irish immigration.[136] The first one hundred temples of the I.O.G.T. show a concentration in Leeds and Grenville comparable to counties bordering on Lake Ontario and eastern Lake Huron (Map 43). Few additional temples were established in eastern Upper Canada in contrast with the continuing concentration of new temples in American-dominated south-central and southwestern counties and in Irish Catholic settlements around Peterborough (Maps 44 through 46). Areas of heavy American settlement with few Irish Protestants nearby offered poor ground for temperance lodges. Areas of heavy Scottish settlement such as Glengarry and northern Lanark manifested no interest in temperance,



Map 43

LEGEND

Location of temples nos. 1 to 100 of the Independent Order of Good Templars of Canada temperance organization in Upper Canada, April 1860.

Source: PAC MG28 III 41, Vol. 12, Henry Elliott & Son Papers, Proceedings of Grand Temple, I.O.G.T of Canada.

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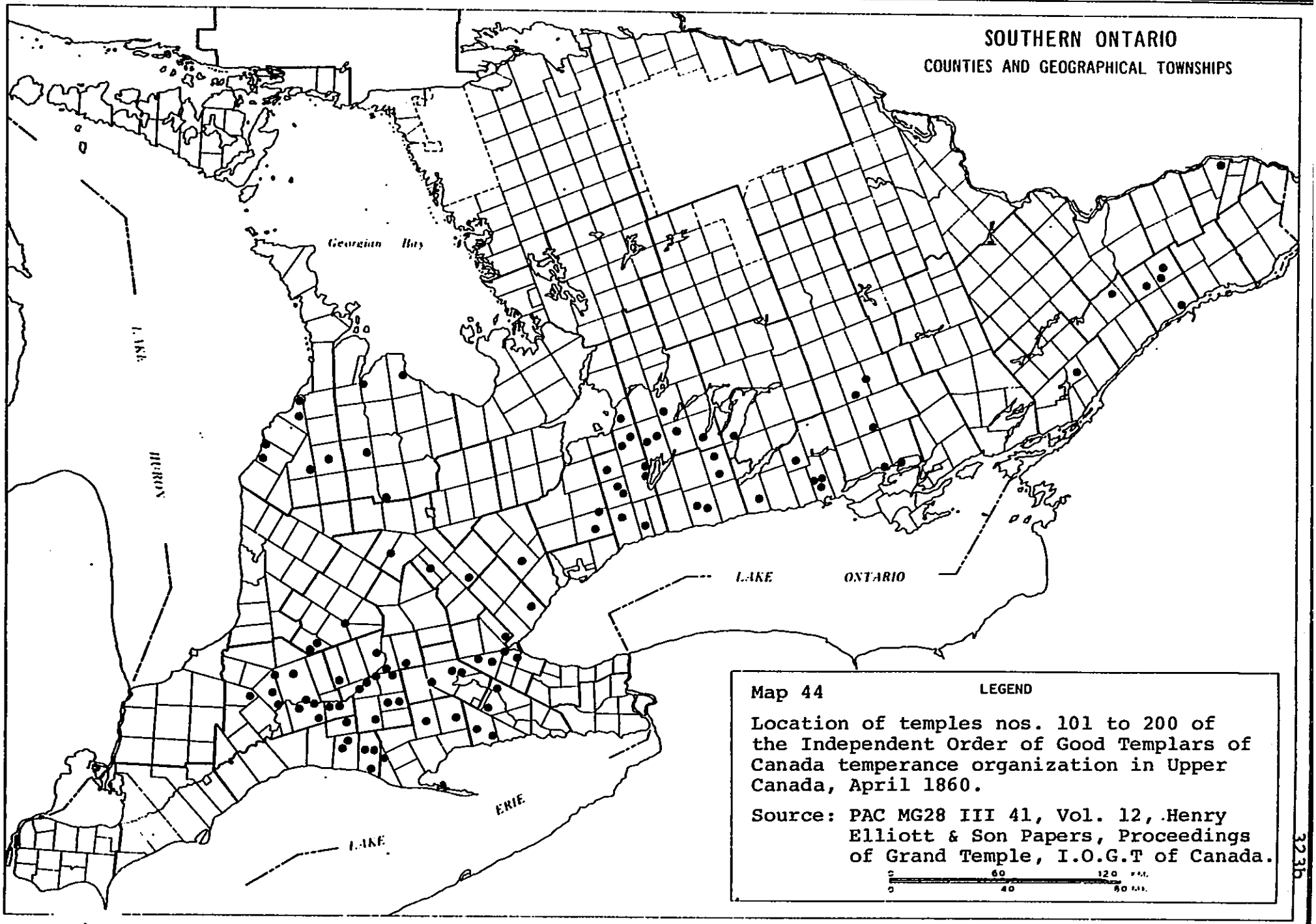
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
Map 44
LEGEND
Location of temples nos. 101 to 200 of the Independent Order of Good Templars of Canada temperance organization in Upper Canada, April 1860.
Source: PAC MG28 III 41, Vol. 12, Henry Elliott & Son Papers, Proceedings of Grand Temple, I.O.G.T of Canada.
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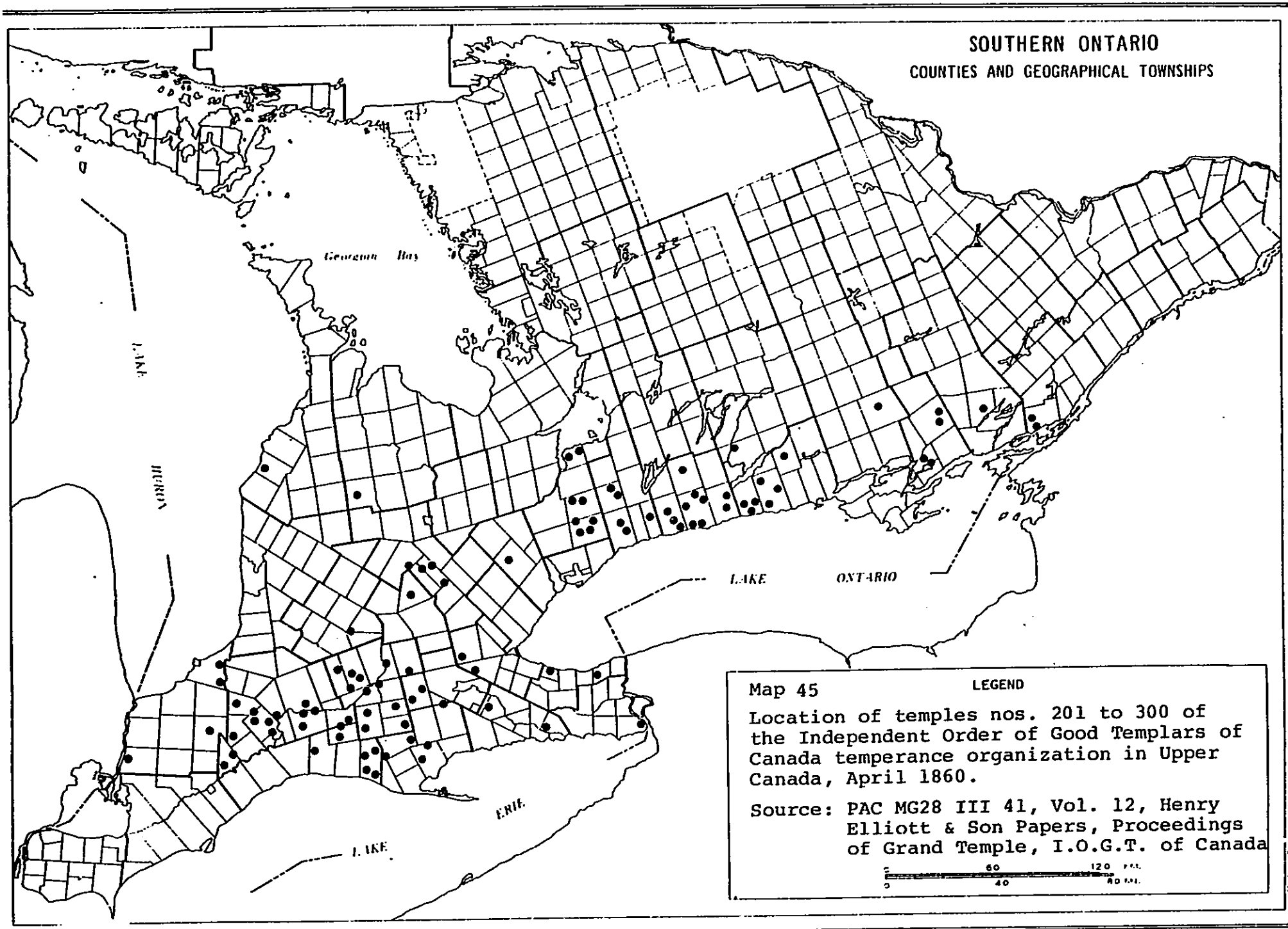
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO



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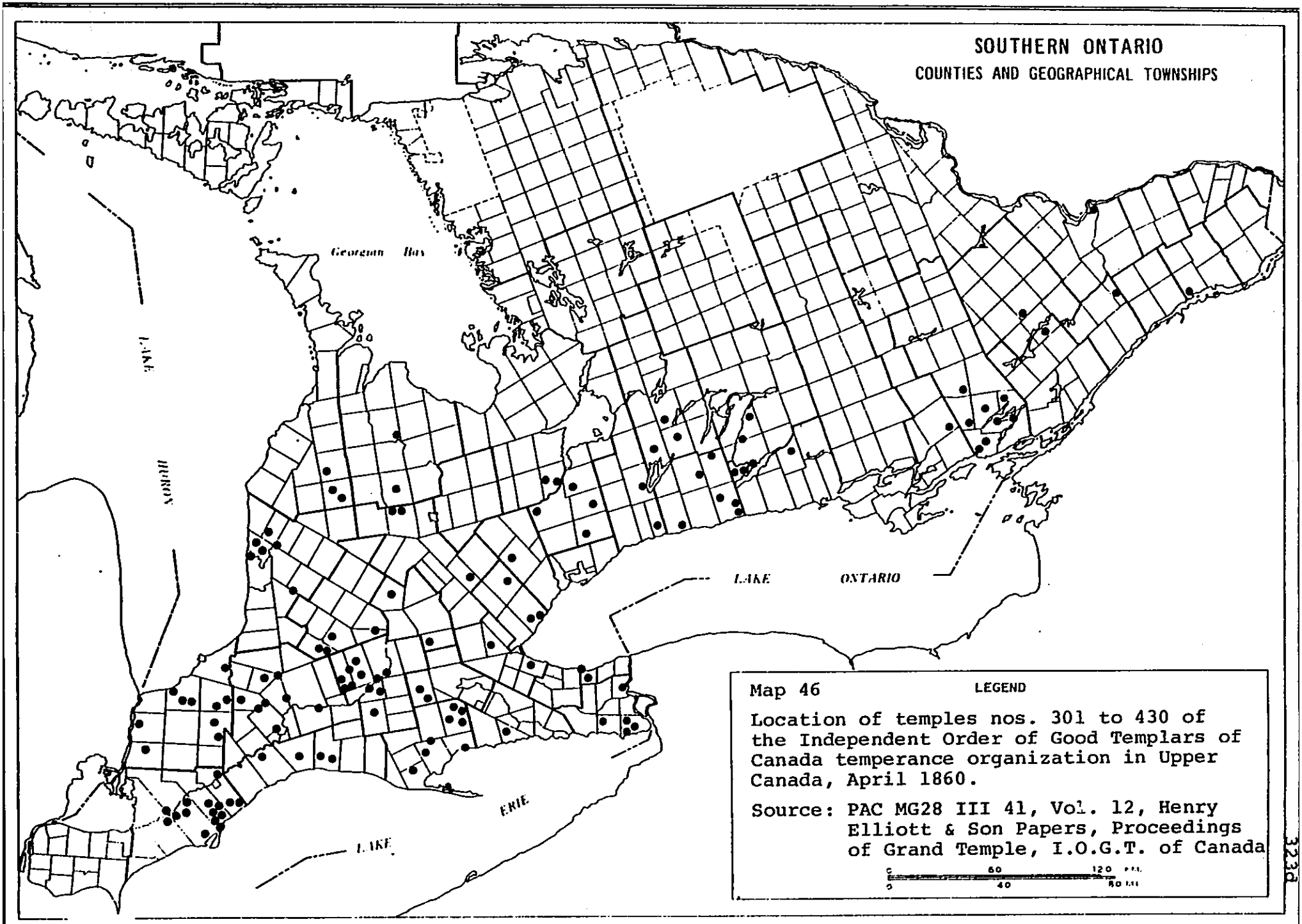

Map 46

LEGEND

Location of temples nos. 301 to 430 of the Independent Order of Good Templars of Canada temperance organization in Upper Canada, April 1860.

Source: PAC MG28 III 41, Vol. 12, Henry Elliott & Son Papers, Proceedings of Grand Temple, I.O.G.T. of Canada

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as suggested by the boast of the Bathurst Independent Examiner in 1829 that "it has not been found necessary to establish, either here or in any part of the [Perth] settlement, that disgrace to humanity and certain mark of former debasement—a temperance society."[137] By contrast, the activities of the Prescott Temperance society among the large American population in the vicinity of that town reduced liquor sales in 1830 to a quarter of what they had been the previous year.[138]

Temperance was primarily viewed by Irish immigrants as an American phenomenon in regional society. Irish-born Rev. Edward Denroche, United Church of England and Ireland clergyman at Brockville, in an 1840 sermon argued against churchmen supporting temperance societies because they were secular institutions that threatened to replace the Christian Church "for instructing men in the morality that is acceptable in God's sight", offering as proof the fact that "the Temperance Reform has flourished most in...New England...among the descendants of the Puritans, in that region of the country which is well known to be the head quarters of American Unitarianism, Universalism, and Atheism."[139] Most British immigrant clergy agreed with Denroche, linking atheistic and American republicanising tendencies with the temperance movement.[140] Irish Wesleyan Methodists in the Perth area created a sensation in 1842 by refusing to allow their chapels to be used for temperance meetings,[141] in complete contrast with American Methodists who had spread the temperance message across Upper Canada in the Christian Guardian, and particularly in contrast with the strictly American-origin membership of the separatist Episcopal Methodist Church after 1833 which strongly embraced temperance. By implication, the widely recognised ethnic and political bases of the temperance movement were perceived by

Irish Methodists at Perth to potentially sabotage the Christianising and moral objectives of their church in a British settlement.

Letters to the Bathurst Courier questioned the scripturalness of teetotalism, arguing that "a man's Christianity should not be suspect if he does not teetotal, nor if he does not join a Temperance Society",[142] that teetotalism was a distortion of the Biblical injunction not to be drunkards,[143] and that Christians ought not to co-operate with enemies of their faith in pushing the temperance cause since it threatened to supplant Christianity. [144] Ogle Gowan in 1843 alleged that Yankee lawyers were travelling around Upper Canada stirring up rebellion against England among Irish Roman Catholics and told of a Kingston meeting which was closed with cheers for Daniel O'Connell, Repeal of the Union and for the Very Rev'd. Theobald Mathew, "the Apostle of Temperance".[145] Further allusions to temperance as a subversive movement for American inhabitants were made by an anonymous Oxford Township correspondent of the Brockville Gazette who in 1830 overhead American-born Grenville Reform candidate Hiram Norton drinking "d——d disloyal toasts" in an Ogdensburgh tavern on the fourth of July:[146]

> never, never, shall I forget it, for when I got into a rage and wanted to bolt into the room, you see, to curse you, half a dozen of your d——d yankee countrymen [came] at me at once, tore my clothes, got me down, stamped on me, and almost gouged out my left eye! There is another objection against you Mr. Norton, don't you recollect always making yourself busy, to prevent your yankee countrymen from training, don't you recollect me telling you at Montgomery's tavern, Johnstown, all I thought about it. So you have turned [M]ethodist, and a cold water man. Now Mr. Norton, you had better get into a good method; cease playing the hypocrite in religion and Loyalty, and give all up, or I shall tell you more on the day of election than you will like to hear about your liberty dinner.

The establishment of the Grand Orange Lodge of British America at Brockville on 1 January 1830 prompted American settlers to found a number of organisations and to formulate opinions advocating temperance in a region and society where previously there had been no evidence of a collective sense[147] and where heavy drinking had been the rule. The American-origin doctors belonging to the Johnstown Medical Society at Brockville stipulated in its February 1830 constitution that "The Society shall consist of such medical gentlemen only as are temperate in their habits."[148] The first article of the Brockville Temperance Society constitution in March 1830 stated that "The object of this Society is, to restrain the use of Ardent Spirits to cases in which the use of them may be strictly Medicinal".[149] The Grand Jury of the Johnstown District Court of Quarter Sessions, composed wholly of prominent American-origin individuals, in May 1830 forbade ardent spirits in the Jury Room.[150]

The fear underlying the new emphasis on temperance and temperance societies at exactly the same time Irish immigrants were being welded together into a chain of Orange lodges was revealed in an 1830 editorial copied from the Toronto Patriot into the Brockville Recorder. It responded to the protestations of a Bathurst Independent Examiner correspondent that Orangemen did not assemble to wound the feelings of any group by noting that a Kingston Orange lodge unanimously toasted "The Pope in Hell, and the key in an Orangeman's pocket" to show that Orangeism was "poisonous to the peace of society". Poisonous not so much because Irish Protestant immigrants joined the lodges, but rather because the impressionable progeny of American settlers were being recruited:[151]

> We have been greatly astonished to learn, that Orangemen have been made here, of the thoughtless young natives of the country. The parents and elder relatives of giddy and heedless youth

> [emphasis mine], should be careful to prevent their becoming members of any institutions which are likely to stir up strife in the Colony. What do they, or can they, possibly know, about Orangeism, more than they learn from its worst effects?...Orangeism can serve no other purpose than to stir up the evil passions of one class of His Majesty's subjects against another, and to perpetuate the heartburnings and animosities which have made Ireland one of the most miserable countries on earth, and which, if suffered to reign here, Upper Canada will become proverbial for its wilderness aspect, and the savageness and ferocity [emphasis mine] of its scanty population.

To think that the burgeoning Irish immigrant population might assimilate the youth of American settlers to their way of thinking, attracting them with the secrecy and mysterious rituals of Orangeism, gave a moral urgency to the temperance movement in the 1830s. Rather than for regional American settlers to continue in the alcoholic stupor that had been a normal part of colonial life before 1830, there was a new emphasis on morality and enlightenment to prevent the younger generation being gulled by Orange rhetoric. Within this context there is significant meaning to be drawn from the strong moral tone in letters of Brockville Recorder correspondents such as that in 1836 from 'AN OLD MAN' warning against acquiring any bad habits by either associating with or hiring as servants "all persons who are disposed to be quarrelsome and vicious" by setting "down your foot with a firm resolution to reform, and believe me that the society in your town will improve".[152]

The dramatic spread of temperance in the 1830s imparted an ethno-moral division in society, with drinking Orange Irish on one side and increasing numbers of pro-temperance American settlers on the other. By 1845 the Recorder editor, giving notice of a liquor-free banquet held by the Johnstown Agricultural Society, remarked:[153]

> It is but a few years since the farmers thought they could not get through their ordinary harvest without the use of alcoholic drinks. Now it is to be entirely excluded from the public social board. What abundant cause for rejoicing in this! What a vast amount of degradation [emphasis mine] will be spared.

Farmers broke off the tradition of providing liquor at barn raisings and other bees, confronting the angry denunciations of neighbours who "would not stand for such an innovation".[154] Temperance inns and hotels sprang up, such as that of Florence McCarthy in Elizabethtown in 1833 which offered to attend with proper care and respect to a "sober, generous, and enlightened public".[155] All workers at Temperance Mills in Yonge Township were abstainers.[156] In 1836 the Rev. William Bell attended a wedding in Bathurst Township at which "all the family being temperance folks, no liquor stronger than tea was used. It was the first wedding I had ever seen at which there was neither wine nor spirits".[157] In 1843 the Bathurst Courier editor deplored the evil of schools hiring the cheapest teachers available, with the services of moral and able teachers being judged by the same standard as "those of the ignorant and intemperate".[158] The consequences for the future of regional society were thus potentially imperilled. One American Reformer who started his own private school at Farmersville to counter "the indifference of many of our wealthy agriculturalists in the formation of proper Schools" observed, "It is only through Schools that we can ever hope to elevate the intellectual character of our yeomanry. It is to the youth of our country we must look for a simultaneous improvement of the soil and mind."[159] The unspoken fear was that the youth of American-origin would become delinquent under the influence of a burgeoning Irish population.

The ethno-moral division in regional society between American and Irish communities reflected the ethnic pattern of settlement. In

a community such as Gananoque where a high proportion of the population was of American origin the success of temperance was so overwhelming that by 1852 the town's three temperance societies had "hardly left a Drunkard or drinking man in this region".[160] In Augusta Township the American temperance supporters in southern concessions contrasted with the Irish to the north who an 1852 census enumerator found "much addicted to Intemperance".[161] Similarly, the American population along the Rideau in Montague Township supported two temperance societies while the Irish Protestant majority in the rest of the township supported four Orange lodges.[162]

The surging growth of the temperance movement, indeed its promise to prevent local American-origin youth from being won over by Orangeism, partly stemmed from its stated altruistic objectives. Unlike the intolerant references to Catholicism in Orange processions and the expulsion of Orange members who married Roman Catholics,[163] the articulated temperance goal of effecting a moral reformation was beyond reproach. The worst that Ogle Gowan could say in his Statesman was to lamely lump temperance lecturers in with quasi-Italian singers, instrumental performers, Phrenologists and Mesmerists, and to suggest that "these people had better remain at home in Italy, France, Germany or the United States, as the case may be."[164] The instant moral legitimacy of temperance contrasted with continuous questioning of whether Orangeism should exist as a secret society and hold public processions; this was underlined by the last provision of an 1843 Reform bill outlawing secret societies which threatened to revoke the license of any innkeeper permitting a secret society to hold meetings in his place of business—an obvious reference to Orangemen.[165]

Temperance societies were not considered secret societies since they appeared open to the general public. Orange lodges also purported to recruit members of the general public, excluding Roman Catholics, but not only were Orange lodge minutes and rituals kept secret from the general public, but the minutes of the successively higher blue, purple and black degrees in the lodge were kept secret from the hierarchically lower general Orange membership to effectively ensure a careful screening of those who advanced upward. Although temperance lodges with rituals, regalia and hierarchical structures did not appear in Upper Canada until the late 1840s, from 1830 on the nature of temperance society meetings subtly and effectively filtered the membership to ensure that Irish Tory immigrants did not infiltrate. Temperance society meetings essentially brought together "fit and proper persons" to promote the spread of abstinence principles. Members were accepted after pledging to[166]

> entirely abstain from the use of Ardent Spirits, except as an article of Medicine. We will not furnish them to our friends as an article of entertainment; nor to persons in our employ, as an article of refreshment; and in all suitable and proper ways we will discountenance their use in the community.

Any member either violating or accused of violating this pledge might "at any regular meeting, be expelled by a majority of two thirds of the members present, and the cause of his expulsion...entered on the records of the Society".

The rumours, investigations, revelations, exposures, confessions, repentance, votes on expulsion engendered by the pledges, investigating committees and consequences of violating abstinence pledges made temperance societies puritanical and inquisitional and offered the American membership a pretext for effectively excluding Irish Tory

immigrants without being accused of being a secret society. How its avowedly moral purpose effectively placed temperance above criticism and permitted it to acquire undue political influence was apparent to an anonymous American moralist in 1836 who deplored "that, for the accomplishment of its objects, high pressure forces of the nature of compulsion have been contrived and employed in ways and to an amount not very approvable."[167]

> The arrogance, dictatorial airs, and tyranny, assumed and practised by this society over the public, and over individuals, are only one of the modes in which a reforming empiricism has recently overrun the land. ...Nobody feels it his duty to oppose, for the cause is good; every one believes, because everybody else does....
>
> It is true that intemperance had become a great evil in the land, and called for a remedy—although the evil has been greatly exaggerated by the customary extravagance of detail and representation...From a purely benevolent institution, based upon humane motives, or the higher aims of religion, as the case may be, the association is gradually converted into an engine of power, and the policy henceforth is to retain and augment these advantages, under the appearance of pursuing the original purpose....It is the assumption of a controlling influence by a few who stand at the head of moral and religious organizations of various names.

The finishing stroke which enhanced the moral and social prestige of regional temperance was its ability to attract some British immigrants to its ranks, and ultimately to affect even Orangeism. The Rev. Henry Patton, English-born United Church of England and Ireland clergyman at Kemptville, in 1830 delivered a lengthy address favouring the temperance movement in which he equated degradation, violence and domestic misery with intemperance.[168] Orangemen at Richmond boasted of holding a procession in 1839 "without drunkness, riot, or ought else unseemly"[169], and by 1843 Orange grand master Ogle Gowan counselled lodges to "Forsake

Taverns, as the Lodges generally, are now doing—look upon the use of any part of your funds for liquor as an abomination", and asked Orangemen "to degrade not your characters, and to waste not your funds, in Taverns".[170] Irish Tory Orangemen had hardly given up drinking, but unquestionably there was a change in emphasis from the early 1830s when a rural Kitley lodge drank eleven quarts of whiskey, ten quarts of wine and eleven quarts of beer within two months at meetings, to 1852 when the same lodge limited its drinking to "one Glass before the lodge is opened and two after it is closed".[171] Minutes from a rural Montague lodge during the 1850s and 1860s show repeated attempts by some Orangemen to eliminate liquor from meetings and to prevent drunkenness during processions were to no avail; beverages at meetings and decreasing fines for drunkenness reflected the continuing easy tolerance of liquor by most Orange Irish immigrants.[172] Temperance was not their cause, although some Orangemen were beginning to feel the pressure of not appearing to be sober members of society within a new moral atmosphere which the temperance movement had created.

Various reports in the early 1840s of interest in temperance by French-Canadian and Irish Catholics[173] only heightened the contrast with most Irish Protestant immigrants who warily regarded it as having Reform and American associations yet who recognised the growing social impact of temperance as a measure of respectability and lever for securing political power. The Catholic priest at Bytown in 1841 preached on "the undeniable advantages of adopting the salutary laws of Temperance" urging his parishioners to join "in the good cause, by the directions of their Pastor, and not [allow themselves to be] led by the false reasonings of Fanatics, and Bigots, who rant on the importance of Temperance, and who

are not sent by...a proper and legitimate authority".[174] The winning over of some Irish Protestants to the stated altruistic objectives of the temperance movement promised to reduce drunkenness among them and to reduce any repetition of the election violence the Irish had mounted in the 1830s, and was firm evidence of the general appeal of temperance rather than Orangeism to American-origin youth. Any Irish Protestants perceived to be infiltrating the ranks of the movement were quickly expelled by a majority of the membership of each temperance society.

The temperance movement in eastern Upper Canada before the mid 1840s was dominated by American-origin inhabitants. It rapidly emerged and was strongly promoted by American voluntarist anti-administration settlers at the same time regional society was inundated by reactionary Irish Protestant immigrants and at a time when the political, social and moral values of Irish immigrants threatened to overwhelm regional society. The ultra-loyalism and government favour that Irish immigrants enjoyed in the establishment of churches, the placing of teachers in schools, in being brought into the country, in flouting the wishes of the longer-settled inhabitants through violence at elections, and using the Orange lodge as a secret society and ethno-political organisation to transform the region into a Tory stronghold, all clearly daunted the American population. They fastened on the temperance movement at the same time as did people in other ethnic, social, economic and political contexts throughout the transatlantic world to make it work to their advantage in retaliating against the forceful new Irish presence. Temperance provided local American Reformers with a viable alternative to the emerging Irish immigrant polity, providing a renewed sense of moral legitimacy, and providing too an alternative to the Orange lodges wooing

their youth to ensure that Upper Canadian society did not inevitably degenerate further into a perpetual donnybrook of violence between Irish Tories and American Reformers.

The anti-Irish current in regional temperance rhetoric disintegrated within two decades. Significantly, the criticism of Irish immigrants, the intentions to counter the negative aspects of Irish immigrant life that had been brought into Upper Canada, and the very cloaking of an ethno-political agenda under the wing of a moral cause, all were so mute, so hesitant, so submerged and subservient to not directly antagonising the Irish, that the regional temperance movement later resumed as a purely moral movement in its own right, unsullied by any accompanying ethnic agenda. By the 1850s regional members were drawn from all ethnic groups and political affiliations including some Irish Protestant Orangemen. Even while an ethno-political dynamic infiltrated the early regional segment of the temperance movement, it was so carefully hidden and so innocuous as not even to be of visible concern to arriving Irish immigrants. It represented no outright threat to their numerical predominance. The greatest achievement of the counter-challenge to impending Irish immigrant dominance which existed within the regional temperance movement may well have been to lull its American-origin promoters into believing that they at last were as morally viable as the Irish and that consequently they as a part of regional society might survive. If the temperance movement did act as a vehicle for anti-Irish feeling, by the mid 1840s it had proven so ineffective and innocuous that Irish Protestants and Catholics were beginning to appropriate its moral dimension.

NOTES

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[12]Rev. William Bell Journals, vol. 12, pp. 30-31.

[13]Garland and Talman, "Pioneer Drinking," pp. 341-342.

[14]Brockville Recorder, 19 January 1830, p. 2, col. 3.

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[44]Ibid., pp. 74-77.

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[50]Kingston Chronicle, 11 May 1827, pp. 2-3, cols. 4-2.

[51]Brockville Antidote, 1 January 1833, p. 3, col. 5.

[52]Bathurst Independent Examiner, 26 March 1830, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[53]Brockville Gazette, 20 September 1832, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

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[55]Ibid., 22 January 1833, p. 3, col. 2.

[56]Brockville Gazette, 25 September 1830, p. 2, col. 5.

[57]Ibid., 4 October 1832, p. 3, col. 2.

[58]Ibid., 8 November 1832, p. 2, col. 5.

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[60]Ibid., Reel C-6863, vol. 84, pp. 45639-45642.

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[63]Brockville Statesman, 27 April 1839, p. 3, col. 4.

[64]Bytown Gazette, 5 November 1840, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[65]Brockville Gazette, 30 August 1832, p. 2, col. 5.

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[67]Brockville Antidote, 29 January 1833, p. 3, col. 4.

[68]Ibid., 14 May 1833, p. 3, col. 1.

[69]Brockville Gazette, 29 March 1832, p. 1, cols. 1-5.

[70]Brockville Recorder, 25 April 1833, p. 3, col. 5.

[71]Brockville Gazette, 29 March 1832, p. 1, col. 1.

[72]Brockville Recorder, 1 March 1838, p. 3, col. 2.

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[74]Kingston Chronicle, 27 April 1827, pp. 1-2, cols. 1-1.

[75]Brockville Gazette, 12 July 1832, p. 3, col. 1.

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[89]Brockville Recorder, 11 October 1833, p. 3, cols. 1-3.

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[91]Bytown Independent, 24 February 1836, p. 3, col. 5.

[92]Brockville Statesman, 25 May 1839, p. 2, cols. 5-6.

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[97]Brockville Gazette, 18 September 1830, p. 3, col. 2.

[98]Brockville Recorder, 22 March 1832, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

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[107]Ibid., 25 January 1849, pp. 2-3, cols. 7-1.

[108]Bathurst Courier, 20 June 1843, pp. 2-3, cols. 6-1.

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[134]Brockville Recorder, 14 July 1831, p. 3, col. 2.

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[157]Skelton, William Bell, p. 253.

[158]Bathurst Courier, 11 July 1843, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[159]Brockville Recorder, 25 December 1845, p. 3, col. 4.

[160]PAC MG23 HII 1 McDonald-Stone Papers, Francis B. Baker, Gananoque, to his mother, 15 February 1852, vol. 4, p. 2555.

[161]PAC Reel C-11724, part 1 of the 1852 census of Augusta Township.

[162]Glenn J Lockwood, "Success and the Doubtful Image of Irish Immigrants in Upper Canada: The Case of Montague Township in Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, eds., The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1987), pp. 319-342.

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[164]Kingston Statesman, 16 August 1843, p. 3, col. 2.

[165]William James Sale Mood, "The Orange Order in Canadian Politics, 1841-1867" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1950), p. 45.

[166]Brockville Gazette, 12 March 1830, p. 3, cols. 2-3.

[167]Anonymous, Protestant Jesuitism (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1836), pp. 50-51, 53, 75, 97, 107.

[168]Brockville Gazette, 21 May 1830, pp. 1-2, cols. 1-3.

[169]Brockville Statesman, 3 September 1839, p. 2, col. 6.

[170]Kingston Statesman, 1 November 1843, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[171]Glenn J Lockwood, Kitley: 1795-1975 (Prescott: by the author, 1974), p. 121.

[172]Idem, "Success and the Doubtful Image," p. 3.

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CONJUNCTURE TWO

1845-1868

VIII

SURFACE RESPONSES TO THE SECOND IRISH INUNDATION

The flood of Irish Catholic Famine immigrants entering Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties in the late 1840s provided a distinct contrast with the southeastern Irish Protestant arrivals of the late 1820s and 1830s. Despite this contrast, regional newspaper editors showed the same restraint in not explicitly identifying the Irish in Upper Canada as an ethnic community with negative events that they had with earlier Irish Protestant arrivals. This chapter opens by briefly reviewing the political, religious and ethnic links of regional newspaper editors not previously covered in Chapter V (pages 258-260). The main body of this chapter then proceeds to survey the surface responses of regional society to the Famine immigration. The underlying and most pervasive expression in regional newspapers was one of welcoming Irish immigrants to be settled among the rest of the population to add to the wealth of Upper Canada. There was brief concern about a typhus epidemic which accompanied the Famine immigration, and there was more enduring yet equally subtly-expressed concern about the threat to provincial society of a new criminal class. Moreover, Irish Catholic leaders expressed through the medium of their regional press a concern that Famine immigrants be settled in their own separate counties, and denounced public caricatures of the Irish that harmed the respect of Irish immigrants for themselves. These charges reflected the ambitions of the Irish Catholic leadership since even they admitted that the regional Irish population was foremost in enjoying such caricatures. The lack of insecurity among Irish Catholics in the region reveals the lack of outright hostility they

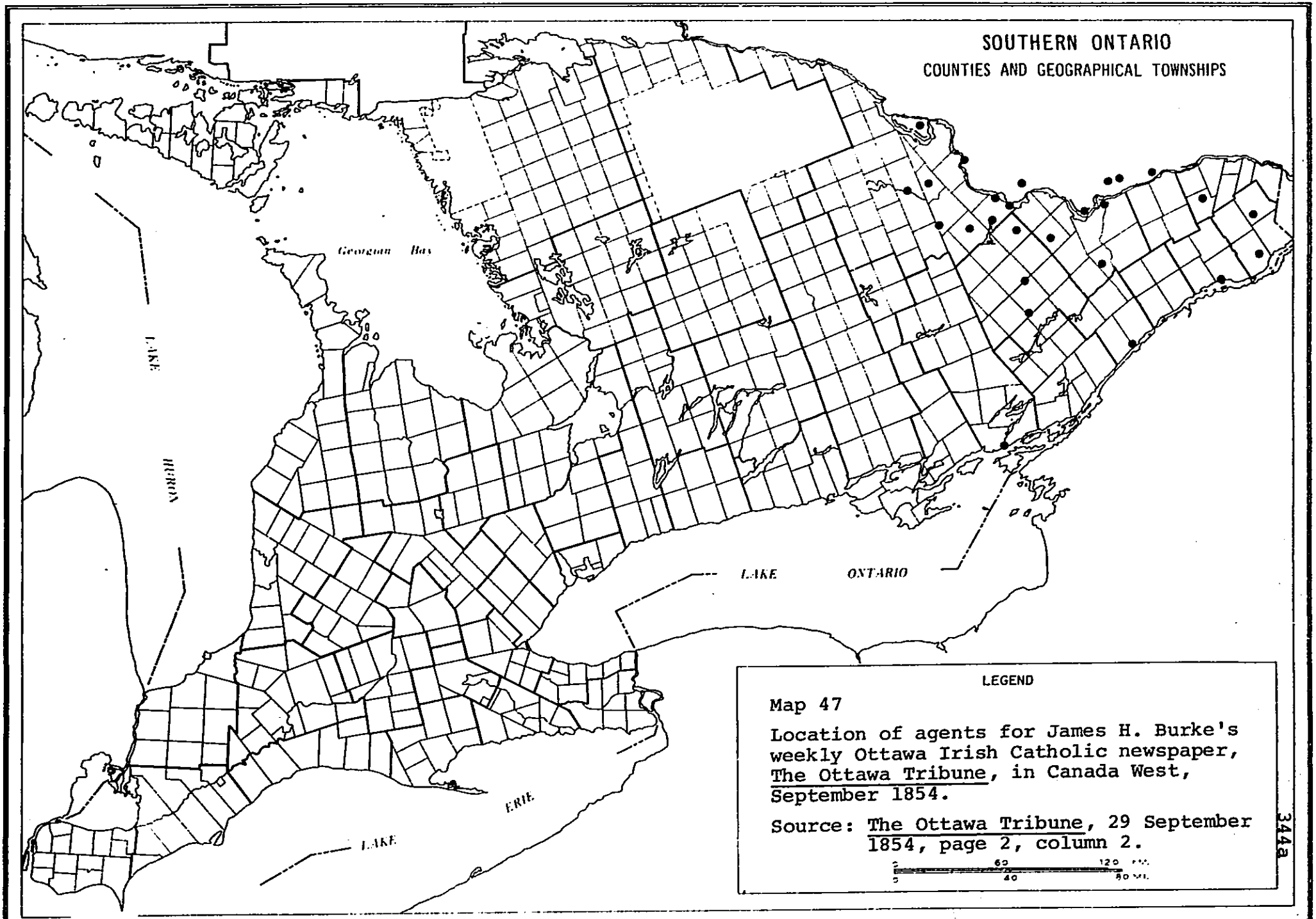
faced from the host population whose institutions their presence acted as a catalyst to significantly modify.

Twice as many newspapers were established in the region between 1845 and 1868 as had been set up between 1824 and 1844.[1] The Prescott Telegraph (1847-1896) was "conducted on reform principles" by American-origin agnostic-turned-United Church of England and Ireland Stephen B. Merrill until 1863,[2] and from then until after 1868 was jointly operated by English-born Free Church Presbyterian Peter Byrne and Scottish-origin Methodist J.W. Anderson.[3] The pro-Orange Perth Constitutional (1848-1849), originally intended to be named The Conservative,[4] was edited by erratic Scottish-origin Presbyterian Dugald C. McNab before moving to Cornwall.[5] The Bytown Orange Lily (1849-1853) was published by Irish-born Wesleyan Methodist editors of the Ottawa Advocate, Dawson Kerr and William Pittman Lett, as part of a campaign for subscribers against the rival Conservative Bytown Gazette, a battle which involved both newspapers founding rival Orange lodges at Bytown in hopes of making subscribers of the members.[6] The Orange Lily continued as the Railway Times (1854-1857) under Kerr.[7] The Carleton Place Herald (1850-1943) was a Reform paper edited by Irish-born Free Church Presbyterian James C. Poole up to 1883.[8] Scottish-origin Presbyterian editor J.R. Gemmill "professed the Liberal creed" in the Lanark Observer (1850-1853)[9] which he moved first to Perth in March 1852 and eventually to Sarnia.[10] Newly arrived United Church of England and Ireland Irish immigrant John McMullen edited the independent Brockville Leeds Free Press (ca. 1850-1852), then paused to write a History of Canada before proceeding to edit the more remunerative Conservative Brockville Monitor (1856-

1888).[11] The Bytown, Perth and Smith's Falls Visitor (1852) was briefly published by Free Church Presbyterian clergy.[12] The initially pro-Orange Perth British Standard (1852-ca.1868) was founded by Irish-origin United Church of England and Ireland Richard Shaw in support of his father Conservative M.P. James Shaw,[13] and edited from 1853 until its demise by United Church of England and Ireland Irish immigrant Burton Campbell.[14] The Ottawa Tribune (1854-1862) was an ultramontane organ[15] for Irish Catholic interests[16] established when the Reform Bytown Packet proved unsympathetic to separate schools;[17] Irish Catholic editors James H. Burke and M.J. Hickey guided the Tribune toward supporting the Conservatives and gained for it a large distribution throughout the region (Map 47).[18] The Kemptville Progressionist (1855-1860) was edited by Irish-origin United Church of England and Ireland Robert Warren Kelly who styled himself "an old Orangeman"[19] although rumoured to be a "deserter from the Roman Catholic Church"[20] in support of Conservative Ogle Gowan. Kelly moved to Brockville to publish the Conservative British Central Canadian (1861-ca.1870);[21] his son J.H. Kelly briefly produced the Conservative tabloid Kemptville Observer (1861-1862).[22]

The Ottawa Monarchist (1855-1856) edited by Irish origin United Church of England and Ireland Orange Conservative William F. Powell was purchased by Irish Catholic Henry James Friel who changed its name to the Ottawa Union (1858-ca.1868)[23] and its readership largely to Irish Catholics supporting the right wing of the Reform party.[24] The Union published tri-weekly in 1861,[25] absorbed the Ottawa Tribune in 1862,[26] and in 1864 it became a daily newspaper.[27] The Pembroke Observer (1855-present) was founded by United Presbyterian Irish immigrant

OTTAWA TRIBUNE AGENTS 29 SEPT. 1854 p.2 col.2



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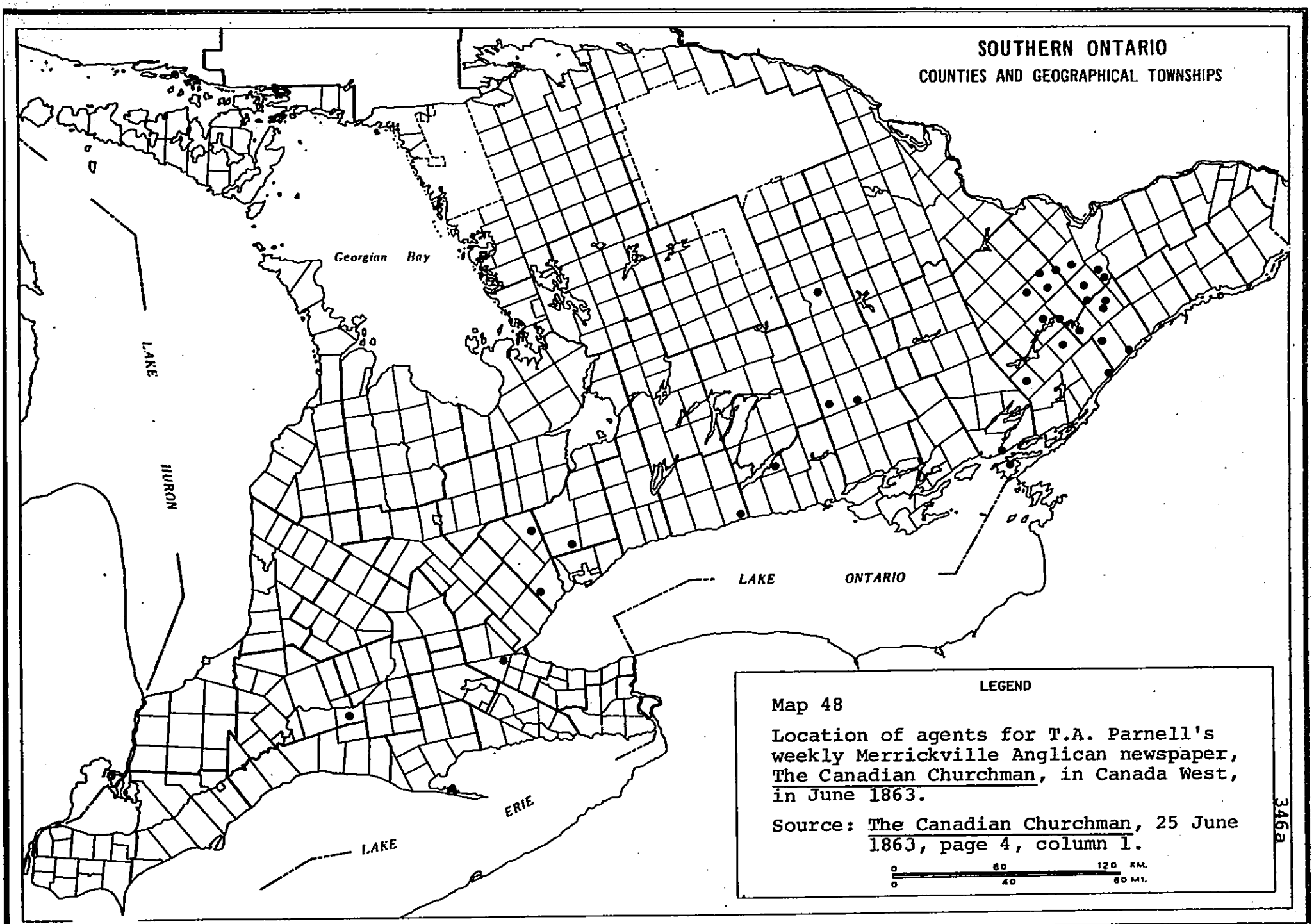
George Edward Neilson as a "staunch and unflinching advocate of the great leading principles of Reform",[28] was edited in the early 1860s by Church of Scotland Scottish immigrant Thomas Reid, and from 1866 to 1868 by Scottish-origin Presbyterian James M. Walker.[29] The Prescott Conservative Messenger (1855-1867) was edited by Irish-origin United Church of England and Ireland Charles J. Hynes.[30] No copies of the Prescott Tribune (ca. mid-1850s) have survived to reveal its ethno-political links.[31] The staunchly Orange Mirickville Chronicle (1856-ca.1873) founded by Free Church Presbyterian Scottish immigrant John Muir as "a professed Conservative Paper",[32] under United Church of England and Ireland proprietors Irish-born William Wright and Irish-origin David J. Hall from the late 1850s on condemned provincial Orange leaders and Conservatives for "truckling to the priest power" of French Canada,[33] preferring to take "up an independent cudgel",[34] and professing to admire the "undoubted Protestantism" of the Reform opposition.[35] The Ottawa Banner & Railway & Commercial Times (1858-1864) was founded as an independent family paper addressing moral questions such as Sabbath desecration and temperance[36] by Conservative Free Church Presbyterian Scottish immigrant Andrew C. Wilson who in 1864 made it the first daily newspaper in the region, the Ottawa Daily News (1864-1872).[37] Le Progrès of Ottawa (1858) founded by the Institut canadien français d'Ottawa survived only a few months as the first French Canadian newspaper in the region.[38] The Smith's Falls Rideau Gleaner (1858-ca.1862) was published by George E. Neilson,[39] but unlike his pro-Reform Pembroke Observer, the Rideau Gleaner backed Conservative James Shaw.[40] The Almonte Examiner (1860-1861) was owned and edited by Scottish-origin Baptist Edward C. Scott,[41] reemerged as the Almonte

Express (1861-1864),[42] and under Irish Catholic editor E.A. O'Donnell changed its name to the Almonte North Lanark Advance (1864-ca. 1867); throughout these incarnations while claiming to be independent it was Reform in alignment.[43]

The Gananoque Reporter (1860-1862) for the first year under English-origin Wesleyan Methodist editor D. Freeman Britton Jr. was politically neutral,[44] before announcing itself pro-Reform.[45] The Perth Expositor (1861-1936) was established by Wesleyan Methodist Irish immigrant Thomas Cairns and Irish-origin Baptist Thomas Scott as a Conservative paper[46] appealing to Orangemen alarmed by the British Standard having "too much of the Green about it".[47] Le Courrier d'Ottawa (1861-1864) under editor J.E. Dorion was an ultramontane paper "publié dans les interets Franco-canadiens de Canada Central".[48] The Ottawa Ontario Episcopal Gazette (1862) lasted only a few months as the first journal of the infant United Church of England and Ireland Diocese of Ontario; it yielded to the Merrickville Canadian Churchman (1862-1863) edited by Irish immigrant Rev. T.A. Parnell which was officially supported by Bishop John Travers Lewis, ensuring a wide distribution in the region (Map 48).[49] The Smith's Falls Review (1863-1868) edited by Canada Presbyterian Scottish immigrant William M. Keith was "an independent Reform Journal".[50] Le Canada (1865-1869) was published at Ottawa as a political organ of George-Étienne Cartier to "servir la cause nationale dans les rangs du grand parti libéral-conservateur" by Duvernay frères of Montreal, proprietors of La Minerve.[51] The Ottawa Evening Post (1865-1867) was "firm in its adhesion to the Liberal Cause" under Irish-origin Presbyterian editor C.E. Stewart, and became a daily paper late in 1865.[52] The Ottawa Times


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
LEGEND
Map 48
Location of agents for T.A. Parnell's weekly Merrickville Anglican newspaper, The Canadian Churchman, in Canada West, in June 1863.
Source: The Canadian Churchman, 25 June 1863, page 4, column 1.
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

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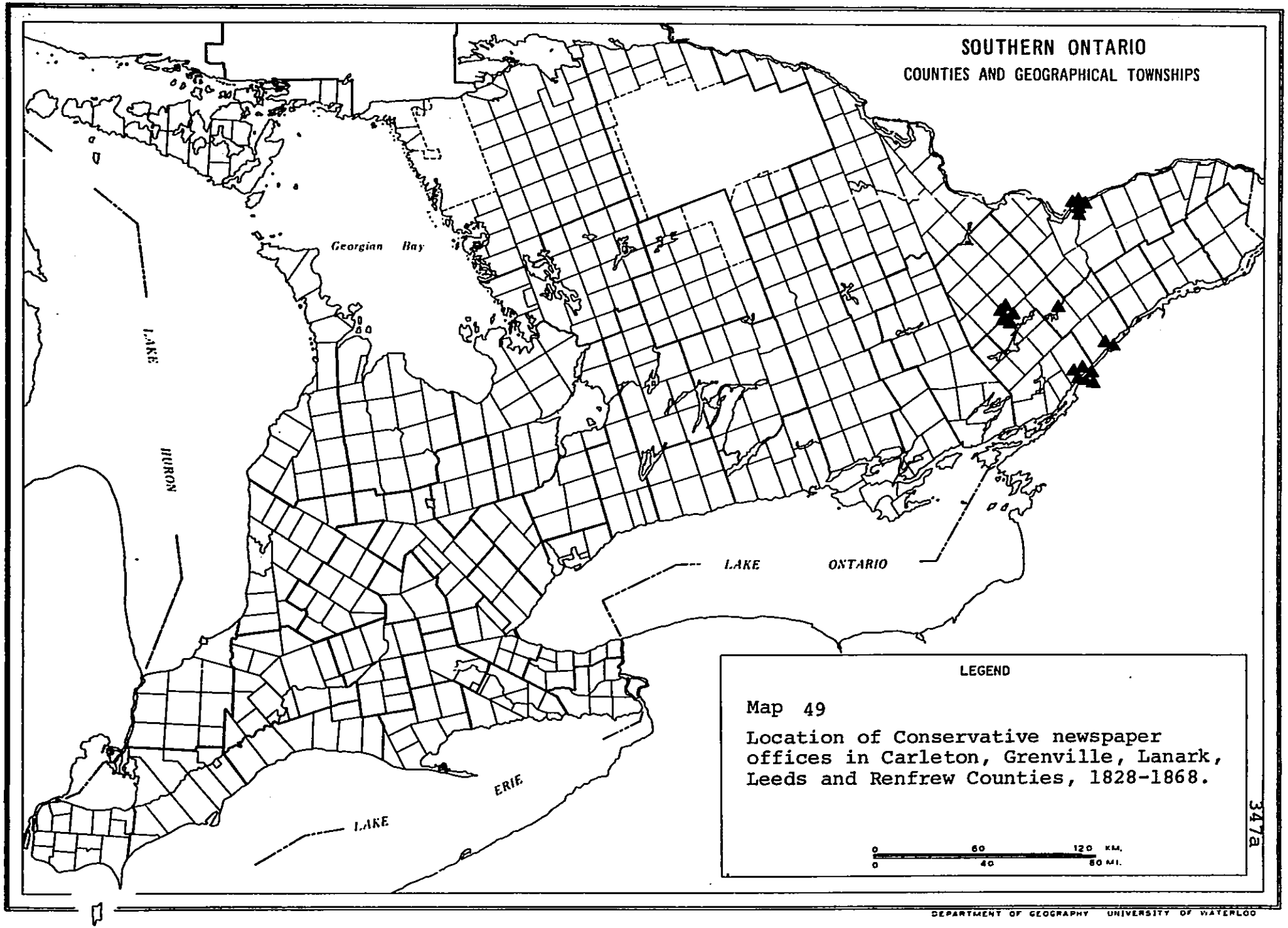
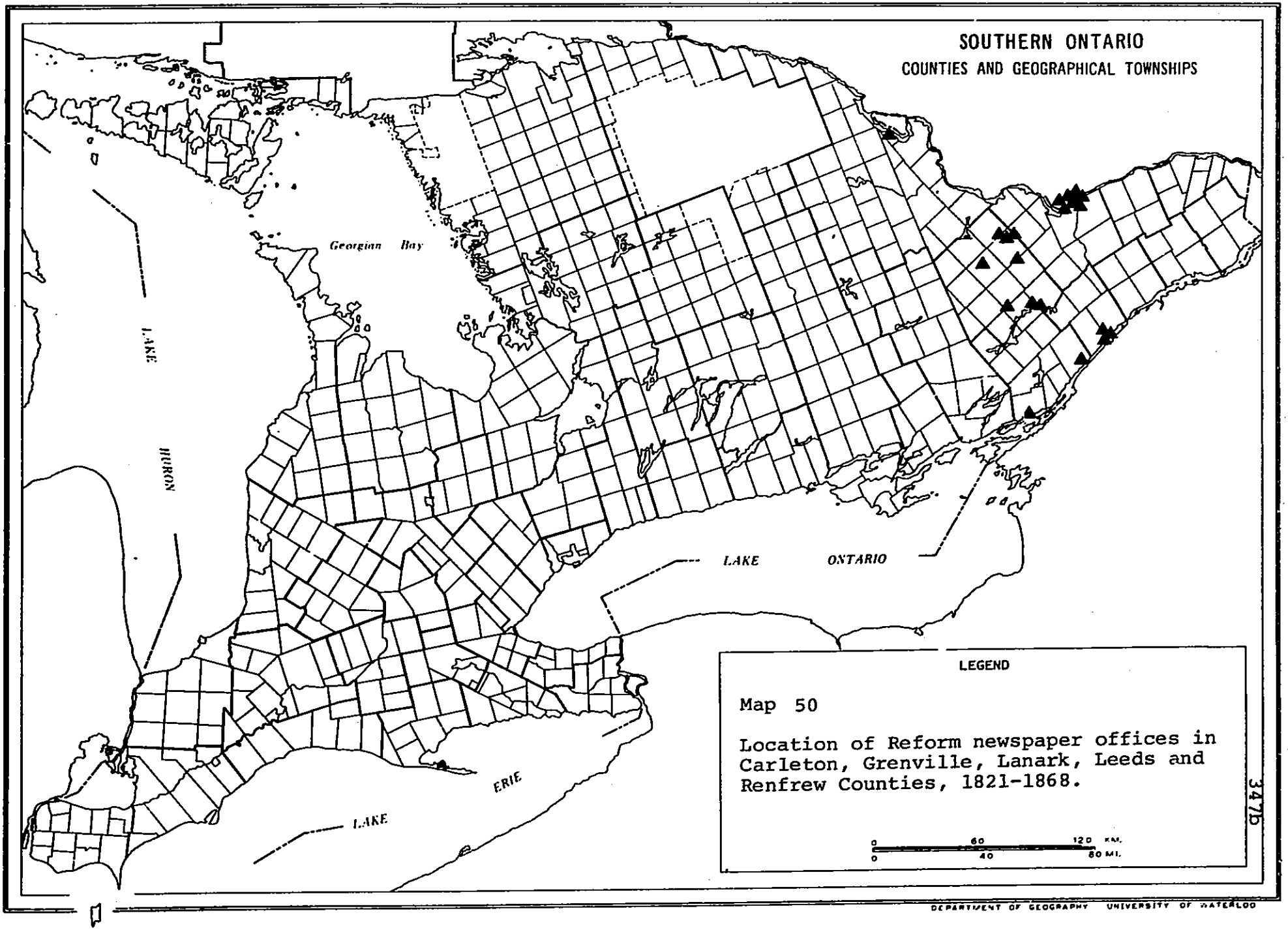
(1865-1877) edited by Irish-origin United Church of England and Ireland Robert Davis until after 1868[53] was "a first class Daily Journal of staunch and well defined Conservative Politics", and although claiming to "be neither sectarian nor sectional"[54] it was accused of being "a leading Orange journal"[55] and of being "published in extreme Protestant interests".[56] The Ottawa Bee (1866) was a short-lived satirical tabloid.[57] The last newspaper to be founded in the region before 1869 was the Almonte Gazette (1867-present), a Reform organ founded by English-origin Catholic Richard J. Northgraves and Irish-origin Church of Scotland William Templeman Jr., with Templeman becoming sole proprietor in October 1868.[58] Increasingly there was a noticeable concentration of Conservative newspapers at Ottawa, Brockville and Perth (Map 49) whereas Reform newspapers were concentrated at Ottawa and Prescott and dispersed among a large number of smaller towns (Map 50).

I

The Irish Catholic immigrants arriving after 1844 were not inevitably bound to clash with Irish Protestants and non-Irish inhabitants of the region. They found Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics a significant and prospering part of the population, and although with political and religious differences, sharing a number of views. The region had been so strongly moulded by Irish immigration from the mid 1820s on that one immigrant's son exclaimed, "In North America the Irishman will not be altogether an exile—the exile of the Poet: he will, in fact, be coming home".[59] The accounts of destitution in Ireland and the Scottish highlands arising from the potato blight in


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
LAKE
ERIE
LEGEND
Map 49
Location of Conservative newspaper offices in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew Counties, 1828-1868.
0 60 120 KM.
0 40 80 MI.
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
LEGEND
Map 50
Location of Reform newspaper offices in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew Counties, 1821-1868.
0
60
120 KM.
0
40
80 MI.
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

the late 1840s, and again in Ireland in 1861, prompted "liberal contributions to alleviate the distress of the starving".[60] A public subscription at Bytown was jointly headed by prominent Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant names (Illustration 74).[61] Within a couple of evenings more than four hundred pounds were raised at Brockville.[62] Prominent Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants at Bytown in early 1847 attempted to found an ecumenical St. Patrick's Society,[63] and although it soon became identified as a Catholic association with Irish Protestants kept apart in Orange lodges, there were continuous calls for Irish Catholics and Protestants to at least unite in celebrating St. Patrick's Day.[64] By 1858 Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants were political allies, and Irish Catholic Thomas D'Arcy McGee addressed the first public festival of the Ottawa Irish Protestant Benevolent Society "to show practically, that on week days at all events, we [Irish Protestants and Catholics] can cordially unite in acts of charity and benevolence, and in the free interchange of all the courtesies of life".[65] Even religious differences could be temporarily forgotten when a cyclorama depicting Ireland visited the region, and with "pride and feelings of the deepest emotion...the exiled sons of Ireland... [toured] the old sod with Professor MacEvoy".[66]

There is no explicit evidence to suggest that either Irish Catholics or Irish Protestants who had arrived before 1845 regarded the Famine and post-Famine arrivals as unfit or unwelcome. The new arrivals occasionally felt themselves at a comparative disadvantage and sometimes overlooked, but never unwelcome. The Perth Courier in stating that the greatest want in Canada was "the existence of a national Canadian feeling"[67] indirectly criticised Irish immigrants for

looking backward to Ireland rather than forward to their future in Canada. When the Irish contribution to regional society was ignored as was the case in an 1867 Ottawa Citizen editorial lauding the contribution by immigrants from England, France, Scotland and New England to building the Ottawa Canal Project, an Irish inhabitant immediately repudiated "the striking omission of Ireland".[68] A letter to the Perth Courier suggests that Irish Catholic immigrants arriving after 1844 felt less generously treated than other groups:[69]

> How is it that in the county of Renfrew the government exact from the settler the performance of certain actual settlement duties that are not required in other counties? Is it because the majority of the settlers are Irish? The county of Lanark, with a majority of Scotch, is not placed under the same ban; there the settler can at once pay down his money and obtain a deed for his land without any restriction. The new English settlement near the Opeongo, embracing the townships of McClure, Herschel, &c., have also the same privilege of getting deeds for their land forthwith, and, in consequence, become owners of the land as well as timber.

Irish Catholics initially anticipated little empathy from established Irish Tory Protestants, as was broadly hinted by a Bytown Packet correspondent responding to a letter in the Ottawa Advocate that Ireland had its share of "fellows who plume themselves on abusing their own countrymen, and heaping every indignity that meanness or pay could bring forth".[70] A correspondent of the Brockville Recorder in June 1846 appealed to "Irishmen in Brockville or in the County of Leeds [to not be] so wrapt in your own prosperity as not to hear the echo that comes from your own "Native Isle of the ocean", or the cry for Bread that is daily sent forth from your starving countrymen, [but rather to give] from out of your own abundance".[71]

The immigration of Irish Catholics and Protestants continued to be wholeheartedly welcomed and encouraged. Immigrants were largely perceived to ensure their own happiness at the same time they added to the prosperity and advancement of Canada.[72] The inundation of destitute Irish Catholics in 1847, it is true, briefly overwhelmed attempts to integrate them into the agricultural economy, but complaints against the Irish paupers were few, fleeting, and mostly originated outside the region.[73] During the brunt of the Famine immigration regional criticism focussed on the need for government to be ready with massive aid and land grants[74] to ensure that the immigrants could benefit themselves and the host population,[75] on the failure of government to sufficiently provide for the immigrants[76] and the need to provide accommodation and work for houseless wanderers in the short term[77] since few of the incoming Irish were in a fit state to commence hard work,[78] and on the selfishness of Irish landlords in dumping helpless paupers on Canada.[79] Only unmanageable paupers[80] and the clearings of workhouses were not welcome.[81] Although preference naturally was expressed for self-motivated immigrants[82] and those with small capital over paupers,[83] the wider perception was that Canada presented "a field for every man, with capital or without capital, who is willing to work".[84] The objection was not against the paupers, for whom sympathy was expressed,[85] but against them being encouraged to emigrate, and then left to shift for themselves.[86] The generally accepted premise that immigration lifted a burden from the mother country and benefitted both Upper Canada and the immigrant[87] appeared confirmed by reports in 1851 that Irish landlords feared too many peasants were leaving, fleeing with the profits from crops and leaving a gap in the population.[88] This benefit was stressed in government advertisements (Illustration 75).

Irish and non-Irish Protestants consistently opposed schemes to settle destitute Irish Catholic immigrants apart from the rest of the population in separate counties or colonies beginning with the Famine arrivals.[89] These proposals included an 1848 plan to grant a tract of land for Catholic Bishop Guigues to colonise,[90] an 1856 Buffalo Convention intention to settle American Irish Catholics "in masses in Upper Canada wherever large tracts of land can be procured",[91] and in the late 1850s and 1860s "attempts to settle the free grants of the Opeongo road...wholly [with] Roman Catholic Irish.[92] The consistent argument employed against these block settlements was that Irish Catholics would benefit more by being mixed among other settlers from whom they could learn. Irish Catholics deplored the importing of German and Polish paupers who "were strangers to our language, laws, manners and customs"[93] when English-speaking immigrants were preferable.[94] The Irish themselves did not face such overt bias, due to the scarcity of agricultural labourers and domestic servants which was felt,[95] as fears were expressed that the United States was attracting immigrants who by rights should be settling in Canada,[96] and as the declining number of immigrants arriving caused some editors to query "What mismanagement has driven emigration from our shores?"[97]

Most of the Catholic Irish arriving after 1844 were not of comparable means to the Irish Protestants who arrived earlier. All the same, the claim that capital brought by immigrants was adding to the wealth of the province continued to be made.[98] The claim of the Orange Brockville Statesman in 1845 that English immigrants could not "so readily accommodate themselves to their new life" as could Irish immigrants[99] was matched by the prediction of the Catholic Ottawa

Tribune in 1855 that agriculture was the natural occupation of the Catholic Irish.[100] The cultivation of land was obviously the proper sphere of the Irish because they as an agricultural people were perceived to be incapable of thriving in the city.[101] Those Irish who huddled in the city and who whined for charity, were readily demoralised and made shiftless by the ease with which they obtained relief,[102] as opposed to "around us everywhere comfortable, and in many cases wealthy, Irish Catholic farmers, who came to this country [s]ome years ago, w[i]th no other capital than health, industry and sobriety".[103] Hence local editors could promise that Canada would give full satisfaction to immigrating farm labourers, farmers and domestic servants, as opposed to clerks and artisans.[104]

The only note of disagreement about the success of the Irish in Canadian agriculture was over Irish Catholics being settled in separate colonies or districts. The Ottawa Tribune advocated Irish Catholic group settlements in 1856 because previously Irish Catholics had suffered from being dispersed among the Protestant population by being isolated from one another and from being located on the worst soil.[105] By contrast, a Renfrew County observer appraised Irish Catholics as being "the most careless of settlers with regard to the external appearance of buildings, fences, &c.",[106] and predicted utter failure for the concentrated settlement of Irish Catholics along the Opeongo Road, due to[107]

> the statistical fact, that Roman Catholic settlements en masse, never succeed; they remain together a few years, then gradually break up, and drift naturally into the great avenues of commerce, public works, and the confines of great cities, where they receive their daily dollar for their daily toil, and where the mysterious attractions of their religion are rendered doubly attractive by the gorgeous trappings in which they are presented in the sombre city cathedral.

Irish Catholics were capable of agricultural success, the commentator opined, as shown by those in Bagot Township "who are fast advancing towards comfort" and who "are a law abiding people, probably [because] their volatile temperaments have become more uniform by contact with the calmer characteristics of their Scottish neighbors."[108] The potential of the Irish to be successful was so obvious that one editor inquired "where is the Irishman who can state he is in any worse position in Canada than those of any other nationality, unless it is so by acts of his own" (Illustrations 76 through 79)?[109]

Irish Catholics initially perceived themselves to be somewhat at a disadvantage. Under the shadow of the Famine they were horror-stricken by the calamitous mass distitution and starvation in Ireland,[110] they decried exports of food to England from Ireland during the Famine,[111] they were appalled that the substantial Irish population in the Rideau townships initiated no campaign to provide relief,[112] they castigated English rule of Ireland as "an outrageous Tyranny"[113] by which "the majority of Irish Catholics know how they and their forefathers have been persecuted" and that they could not "forget how we used to sweat and toil for those [United Church of England and Ireland] ministers of religion who contributed to forge our chains?"[114] Irish Catholics complained of being discriminated against in being left out of the fifty new magistrates appointed in the Bathurst District in 1845,[115] in not holding their fair share of public offices[116] or higher government positions in Canada,[117] in not being fairly represented among the magistrates of Lanark, Renfrew and Carleton counties in 1854,[118] in the lieutenants-colonel for Irish Carleton County all being Scottish,[119] in being subjected to anti-Catholicism in the Ottawa Rifle

Company,[120] in being left out of regional appointments by government,[121] discriminated against on religious grounds in favour of Orangemen in Ottawa, Carleton County,[122] Bagot Township[123] and Brockville municipal offices,[124] and in the relative Irish Catholic lack of success in becoming landed proprietors.[125] They deplored as well the lack of an Irish-named county[126] while English and Scottish place-names proliferated[127] and official toadies imposed names such as Algona, Sebastopal and Brudenell rather than Killarney, Galway and O'Connell on townships filled with Irish Catholics[128] in a province most of whose early settlers were Irish[129] and especially in light of the importance placed by Irish immigrants on hastening "to the country with a name, where he will feel he is not a foreigner, and where he knows he will be understood and his feeling appreciated.[130] These feelings of being relatively disadvantaged waned as Irish Famine immigrants became more rooted by the 1860s when articles emphasised that the Irish laboured under no disabilities, that other races in Canada had no antipathy toward the Irish,[131] and that the Irish in Canada occupied prominent places[132] unattainable by the Irish living in the United States.[133]

It is true that when the number of Irish immigrants entering British North America jumped to 104,518 in 1847 from 26,708 in 1845 and 40,667 in 1846,[134] there was a brief panic in regional society about the accompanying typhus epidemic. It contrasted with the otherwise pervading assumption that Irish immigrants were a healthy people. The Ottawa Advocate in 1845 welcomed the arriving throngs[135]

> of strong, healthy, robust men and women from Ireland, whose appearance points them out as beings well calculated to withstand the toils and privations to which the newcomer is often inevitably exposed, and which the persevering industry of the sons of the Emerald Isle is sure to overcome.

Although regional inhabitants were understandably wary of contracting disease, there were no recriminations expressed against the immigrants nor suggestions that immigration be either halted or reduced. The Brockville Recorder claimed that "there has been much exaggeration as to the effect had on the general health of our Towns and Cities".[136] The focus of concern in regional newspapers rather was to prevent disease spreading to the inhabitants of regional towns[137] by isolating infected immigrants in hospitals or sheds;[138] to denounce the cruelty to immigrants and unjustness to the colony brought about by Irish landlords thrusting sick, starving and dying people on Canada,[139] and to deplore the loss of trade as farmers responded to the rumoured prevalence of disease in local towns by staying away.[140] With the decline in 1848 to one quarter the number of Irish arrivals in 1847, the regional panic quickly subsided. Only with an outbreak of cholera in 1866, did regional papers again allude to the link between lower class immigrants and the outbreak of cholera.[141] Irish immigrants arriving in the 1850s and 1860s were otherwise perceived to be healthy and strong.[142]

Of more enduring and subtle concern to Upper Canadians was the perceived connection between Irish Catholic immigrants and a growing criminal class which threatened to pose a burden on society. From the 1820s on reports from Ireland, from Rideau Canal worksites, and from the Ottawa timber camps had given Irish immigrants a reputation for violence. The Lachine strike in 1843 enhanced this reputation, and the multiplying railway construction sites in the 1850s and 1860s witnessed numerous violent confrontations involving predominantly Irish Catholic names. For the Irish Protestants who had fled southeastern Ireland in the late 1820s and 1830s the Catholic inundation in the late 1840s

aroused bitter memories of persecution by Catholic peasants which they believed had forced their exile, and raised fears of a possible repetition in Upper Canada. The 1853 Gavazzi riots and the 1856 Corrigan murder at Montreal seemed to confirm in Irish Protestant eyes that Irish Catholics figured prominently in dozens of riots, strikes, murders, fights, and generally violent incidents, and were allowed by Catholic juries to get away with aggression perpetrated against Protestants. One response from the late 1840s onward was a rapid proliferation of Orange lodges, especially once the party processions Act was repealed in 1851. Regional newspapers continued not to explicitly identify the Irish in Canada as an ethnic group with criminal acts other than to print the names of the perpetrators; this effectively identified Irish Catholics with criminal behaviour. Simultaneously, the regional press developed a fascination with reports of statistics from the provincial penitentiary and schedules of local convictions by magistrates. The penitentiary statistics were broken down by birthplace to show that the greatest proportion of criminals were born in Ireland, and by religion to reveal that Roman Catholics and the United Church of England and Ireland were disproportionately represented.[143] Statistics were cited to show that two thirds of Toronto criminals were Irish,[144] and that Ireland was birthplace to an undue proportion of inmates in the provincial lunatic asylum.[145]

Irish love of violence was a commonplace in humour and literature printed in regional newspapers,[146] and essays copied from American papers and British books alluded to the Celtic race delighting in war, plunder, bloodshed and violence,[147] and becoming a drain on society through their criminality and their destitution.[148]

Increasingly, the effect of this literature was felt. Initially, the Ottawa Advocate in 1846 anticipated that once the Irish were freed from their morally debasing potato diet, their behaviour would be modified to suit the more aristocratic elevating fare of a grain economy.[149] The Bytown Packet in 1848 hoped that despite the bodily injury caused "by a portion of the people who are thrown upon us in want of employment,... a better spirit may be infused into the minds of those unfortunate wretches who...set the laws of God and man at defiance".[150] By the late 1850s occasional comments betrayed a less hopeful outlook. The Carleton Place Herald in 1857 described workers on the Chats Canal as being "of the improvident class, and are as troublesome as they are needy".[151] The Brockville Recorder headed an account of a murder committed by a Wicklow immigrant in 1861 with the observation, "Canada is fast becoming notorious for the very worst species of crime, and especially for murders" and described the accused as "always [having] been wild, vicious, and vindictive, never generous or kind".[152] In 1866 the Ottawa Citizen deplored that Ireland was as turbulent as thirty years previously, and that the Irish were easily led astray by demagogues.[153] As early as 1849 a correspondent of the Bathurst Courier contrasted the less than four hours of cases in the Bathurst Assizes with more than five days at the Dalhousie Assizes; the unstated conclusion being that the Irish posed a criminal burden and a social drain on regional society in contrast with the Scottish.[154] Hence the strong emphasis by the 1850s on interspersing Irish Catholic immigrants among the rest of the population, and not by themselves in separate block settlements.

More noticeable and more frequent than occasional allusions to the Irish Catholic propensity to violence were the Irish jokes and

humour presented in regional newspapers. These were largely copied out of the transatlantic press and consisted of comic absurdities and bulls[155] emphasising Irish unfamiliarity with higher society and modern life,[156] their love of violence,[157] and their vast stock of wit.[158] In the heyday of Samuel Lover and other popular mid-Victorian writers who deftly delineated Irish humour and character, it is important that too much not be made of the increasing appearance of Irish humour in regional newspapers. More significant is to note when it did not appear. Both the Ottawa Tribune and Union, that catered to Irish Catholic readerships, featured no Irish jokes. The Ottawa Citizen printed Irish humour only after it lost its Irish Catholic readership to the Tribune. Clearly, Irish Catholic leaders considered such humour demeaning and at the very least either patronising or condescending. Irish Protestants had chuckled at Irish jokes all along, as Ogle Gowan had printed them in his Brockville newspapers from 1829 on. Although Irish jokes did not exactly exist in a vacuum, but were featured alongside jokes about Scottish immigrants, Americans and French-Canadians, a greater volume of Irish humour was printed in the regional press than about any other ethnic group.

A trend to use or to mimic Irish brogue coincided with the Irish Catholic inundation in the late 1840s and became tremendously popular by the mid 1850s. It varied from a mockery of Irish pronunciation of English,[159] to poking fun at the Irish,[160] to fairly accurate transcriptions of Irish pronunciation of English in the region.[161] The Irish Catholic inundation even more than its Irish Protestant predecessor was quickly identified by "the brogue of each county of Ireland...heard on every side, in all its native purity".[162] Nor was

this mimicry of the Irish brogue unique. Scottish, American, English, French-Canadian and German accents were all affected by letter writers, but again in no comparable volume to the Irish brogue. The use of the Irish brogue by anonymous correspondents was similar to the use of Irish jokes in offering regional society at least one subtle means of keeping Irish Catholics in their place socially, allowing references to be made in jest to various aspects of Irish character that regional and transatlantic society found objectionable without incurring direct accusations of staining the Irish escutcheon. Care has to be taken in assessing the use of this brogue as altogether condescending, because examples written by Irish Catholics can be found in Irish Catholic newspapers. Furthermore, the wit displayed in such writing compensated for any seeming mockery of Irish pronunciation of English. Coverage by the new Ottawa daily newspapers of the local police courts paraded an unending stream of Irish names, Irish brogue, wit and petty crime to amuse readers, as shown by an excerpt from a September 1865 Citizen:[163]

> POLICE COURT, YESTERDAY.——...Wm. Haughey was charged by John Marks with assault....The case was dismissed with costs, whereupon Mr. Marks became outrageously noisy and flew around the room in every direction. All the efforts of the Constables failed to keep him quiet. At length His Worship committed him six hours for contempt. Marks was dragged off muttering "I'll appale," and "Divil a cint will I pay." Mrs. McVeale charged Mrs. McMahon with calling her a "thafe." The case was dismissed.

From the mid 1850s on, Irish Catholic leaders increasingly refused to tolerate the caricatures of Irish character presented at circuses, at the theatre and at skating rinks. In 1856 the Ottawa Tribune chided Irish Catholics for not protesting a circus display of national characteristics in which "the Irishman with a crownless hat, and dress [as] mean as decency would admit of, [was] exhibited as a drunkard

and beastly ruffian" in contrast with an Englishman presented as bold, cautious, steady and grave, and a Scotchman esconced in plaid and kilt, shield and sword who embodied patriotism and valour.[164] A correspondent of the Ottawa Union in 1863 deplored the popular caricature of the Irish presented either in song or on the stage as being "almost essentially either in liquor or in love [since although] such caricatures may be amusing to ignorant or prejudiced minds, yet they have...a serious tendency to confound and undervalue the just relations which should exist between one people and another".[165] Numerous letters in 1865 deplored the caricature of a rollicking Irishman presented at the Ottawa skating rink:[166]

> He was drunk, ragged, quarrelsome, inviting people to tread upon the tail of his coat, and the inevitable shilelagh was in his hand. Of course he had a black eye. The hair stuck out of the dilapidated crown of his hat and "ruffian" was imprinted upon his general character.

One correspondent reproved local Irish inhabitants for not resenting or even frowning upon the disgrace and insult of Irishmen being "exhibited in no character but that of a drunken ruffian".[167] Another writer argued that the caricature of the Irish as drunken, rowdy and askew at theatres, circuses, comic performances, skating rinks and masquerades was outrageous and insulting, but by[168]

> refusing to attend at such scenes, Irishmen might spare themselves the harrowing sight of witnessing their own inferiority in the social scale, as judged by their "betters",...[but] such a course would be degrading and humiliating in the extreme —a sort of tacit acknowledgement of inferior social rank—a position which no Irishman will admit.

These writers clearly deplored the general Irish population, Catholic and Protestant, enjoying caricatures of the Irish as much and perhaps

more than anyone. The productions at Her Majesty's Theatre in Ottawa in the two months following these letters of protest, for example, included "the Glorious Farce of Paddy Miles' Boy", the "Roaring Farce of The Limerick Boy Or, Paddy's Mischief!", "Irish Mesmerism", and the "glorious Farce of The Irish Tutor!"[169]

Regional society had few reservations about the stage Irishman as a comic and witty figure because it believed that Irish immigrants fared better in Canada than in the United States. The Irish entered Canada as equal British subjects, it was argued, as opposed to undergoing a process of naturalisation in the United States.[170] The Ottawa Tribune in 1855 fleetingly disparaged American Irish immigrating north because western Canada offered little better prospect of equal rights for Catholics.[171] With this sole exception, regional newspapers focussed on the relative ill-treatment of Irish Catholics in the United States. The Ottawa Citizen in 1854 pointed to the alarming prevalence of riots between Irish immigrants and native Americans in many large United States cities.[172] The Ottawa Tribune in 1856 argued that the "humbug of Republican license does not suit [the Irish immigrant], and hence the troubles he finds in those boasted realms of Freedom, where every man is at liberty to 'wallop his nigger,' is easily understood.[173] The Irish in the United States found themselves idle, penniless, with nowhere to turn for relief,[174] used as cannon fodder in the Civil War,[175] politically manipulated by American politicians,[176] and insulted by American newspaper editors who urged "the necessity of giving votes to the black Americans, in order that their votes may kill, or at least neutralize the low Irish scum who come to our shores and pollute our land".[177] Thomas D'Arcy McGee contrasted the equality Irish

immigrants enjoyed in Canada with the "most intolerable social impression under the symbol of the largest political liberty" in the United States. McGee extolled the Canadian Irish for escaping city slums and radicalism by landing in the St. Lawrence in contrast with the social attrition south of the border.[178] He argued that the Irish in Canada were allowed to rise in the Canadian social and political system due to their having very positive convictions of duty and loyalty in decided contrast with the Know-Nothing nativism which greeted Irish immigrants in the United States.[179] The Irish in Canada enjoyed political equality where the American Irish did not.[180] In a few Canadian constituencies, McGee admitted, an Irish candidate might be beaten because of his creed, but never because of his country.[181]

Irish immigrants, both Catholic and Protestant, were believed to fare better in Upper Canada than in the United States not only because of the implicitly superior and more familiar institutions, but also because the loyalty of the Irish in eastern Upper Canada was never seriously at question. When the Crimean War broke out, a few anonymous letters appeared in the Ottawa Tribune voicing anti-British sentiments,[182] arguing that the Irish owed no political loyalty to England, and imploring retribution against English bigotry in the past by refusing to fight in the Crimea.[183] Other Irish Catholic correspondents pounced on such suggestions, arguing that English persecution of Ireland was in the past,[184] and that the Irish should join with their English and Scottish neighbours in united support of the Crimean Patriotic Fund.[185] Protestant editors greeted the statement from an 1861 Upper Canadian Irish Catholic convention deploring the copying of violently inflammatory anti-English and anti-Protestant

articles from Irish newspapers into the Irish Catholic Canadian press, articles that did not apply in Canada and only made it more difficult for Irish Catholics to live peaceably in mixed communities.[186] Ogle Gowan's Brockville Statesman in 1846 printed a twelfth of July address by a Protestant clergyman to Orangemen which paid[187]

> a just tribute to the loyalty of the thousands of our Roman Catholic fellow subjects, who, instead of emigrating to the land of Liberty AND SLAVERY, have voluntarily entered the army and navy of Great Britain, have signalized themselves in the bloody battle field, and fallen in defence of a Protestant Crown and Government.

Regional editors noted that St. Patrick's societies in eastern Upper Canada displayed the Union Jack conspicuously in their 17th of March processions.[188] Irish Catholic loyalty was as evident and as tangible as the crown painted hovering over the Irish harp on the St. Patrick's Society banners (Illustrations 80 and 81). So accepted and emphatic was the regional perception of Irish immigrant loyalty that the Perth Courier chided Thomas D'Arcy McGee for attacking American Irish Catholics as a group at the same time he quite appropriately underlined the loyalty of Irish Catholics in Canada.[189]

Overwhelmingly, the surface response to Irish Catholic Famine immigrants presented in regional newspapers was one of welcome and acceptance. Concern about typhus and a criminal element was underplayed. Emphasis was given to the ability of the Irish to succeed in regional rural society, to the greater opportunity provided them in Canada in contrast with the United States, and to their undisputed loyalty. The Irish Catholic Famine immigrants in eastern Upper Canada, despite how they differed from the earlier Irish Protesant arrivals, were welcomed no less warmly.

NOTES

[1]Six out of seventeen newspapers established between 1821 and 1844 in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties were still publishing in 1844; this was a survival rate of 35 percent. Sixteen out of thirty-seven newspapers published between 1845 and 1868 were still publishing in 1868; this was a survival rate of 43 percent.

[2]Public Archives Canada, 1852 Census of Town of Prescott, Reel C-11724, Enumeration District A, page 25.

[3]Thaddeus W.H. Leavitt, History of Leeds and Grenville (Brockville: Recorder Press, 1879), p. 171.

[4]Perth Constitutional, 2 February 1848, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[5]Perth Bathurst Courier, 24 November 1848, p. 2, cols. 3-5.

[6]Bytown Packet, 20 May 1848, p. 2, cols. 1-3.

[7]Carleton-Place Herald, 26 February 1857, p. 3, col. 1.

[8]Howard M. Brown, Founded Upon a Rock: Carleton Place Recollections (Carleton Place: 150th Year Festival Committee, 1969), p. 81.

[9]Lanark Observer, 14 August 1850, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[10]Perth Lanark Observer, 31 August 1853, p. 2, col. 3.

[11]Ruth McKenzie, Leeds and Grenville: Their First Two Hundred Years (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), pp. 155-156.

[12]Bathurst Courier, 6 February 1852, p. 3, col. 2.

[13]Ibid., 23 October 1857, p. 2, col. 1.

[14]Burton Campbell was favoured by the Grand Orange Lodge with the printing contract for Proceedings of the Semi-Annual Meeting of the Grand Lodge of the Loyal Orange Institution of British North America, Assembled in the Temperance Hall in the Town of Perth, County of Lanark, on Tuesday the 6th, and by Adjournment on Wednesday the 7th Days of September, 1853. Further information about Campbell is available in the Perth Courier, 3 August 1934, p. 15, cols. 2-3.

[15]Mirickville Chronicle, 29 November 1861, p. 2, col. 7.

[16]Ottawa Tribune, 27 July 1855, pp. 2, col. 3.

[17]Background material can be found in the Ottawa Tribune, 12 September 1857, p. 2, cols. 1-2; ibid., 21 May 1859, p. 2, cols. 1-2; and the Ottawa Citizen, 1 April 1854, p. 2, col. 4.

[18]Jesse Edgar Middleton and Fred Landon, The Province of Ontario: A History, 1615-1927 (Toronto: Dominion Publishing Co. Ltd., 1927), II:800-801.

[19]Brockville British Central Canadian, 17 July 1867, p. 1, col. 4.

[20]Mirickville Chronicle, 8 November 1861, p. 2, col. 2.

[21]McKenzie, Leeds and Grenville, p. 157.

[22]Mirickville Chronicle, 2 August 1861, p. 2, col. 3; and 14 November 1862, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[23]Middleton and Landon, Province of Ontario, II:800-801.

[24]R.U. Mahaffy, "Ottawa Journalism 1860 to 1870," Ontario History XLII No. 4 (1950), p. 206.

[25]Ottawa Union, 1 October 1861, p. 1, col. 1.

[26]Middleton and Landon, Province of Ontario, II:800-801.

[27]Mahaffy, "Ottawa Journalism", p. 209.

[28]Pembroke Observer and Renfrew Advertiser, 9 August 1855, p. 4, col. 7.

[29]Perth Courier, 26 October 1866, p. 2, col. 3; and ibid., 3 August 1934, p. 4.

[30]Leavitt, Leeds and Grenville, p. 174, and Merrickville Chronicle, 14 May 1867, p. 2, col. 4.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Mirickville Chronicle, 22 August 1856, p. 2, col. 2.

[33]Brockville Recorder, 23 September 1858, p. 2, col. 2.

[34]Carleton Place Herald, 28 November 1860, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[35]Mirickville Chronicle, 30 November 1860, p. 2, col. 3.

[36]Middleton and Landon, Province of Ontario, II:801.

[37]Ottawa Daily News, 10 April 1872, p. 2, col. 2.

[38]Lucien Brault, Ottawa Old and New (Ottawa: Ottawa Historical Information Institute, 1946), p. 290.

[39]Smith's Falls Rideau Gleaner, 12 January 185[illegible], p. 4, col. 6.

[40]Ibid., 17 August 1860, p. 1, cols. 2-3.

[41]Perth Courier, 29 June 1860, p. 2, col. 4.

[42]Ibid., 3 May 1861, p. 2, col. 3.

[43]Archives of Ontario (hereafter OTAR) Introduction to early Almonte newspapers on microfilm, N-Z99 Reel 1np, pp. 1-2.

[44]Gananoque Reporter, 21 March 1860, p. 1.

[45]Ibid., 3 July 1861, p. 2.

[46]Howard M. Brown, Lanark Legacy (Perth: County of Lanark, 1984), p. 108.

[47]Perth Courier, 23 November 1860, p. 2, col. 4.

[48]Le Courrier d'Ottawa, 3 avril 1861, p. 1.

[49]T.R. Millman, "Canadian Anglican Journalism in the Nineteenth Century," The Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society III No. 5 (March 1959), p. 7.

[50]Smith's Falls Review, 2 April 1863, p. 4, col. 5.

[51]Le Canada d'Ottawa, 21 décembre 1865, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[52]Ottawa Evening Post, 14 December 1865, p. 4, col. 1.

[53]Middleton and Landon, Province of Ontario, II:801.

[54]Ottawa Times, 19 December 1865, p. 1, col. 6, and p. 2, col. 1.

[55]Ottawa Citizen, 10 December 1866, p. 2, col. 5.

[56]Ibid., 8 February 1866, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[57]Ottawa Bee, 2 June 1866. It was referred to as a satirical journal in the Ottawa Citizen, 14 May 1866, p. 2, col. 2.

[58]OTAR Introduction to early Almonte newspapers, N-Z99, Reel lnp.

[59]Bytown Packet, 24 April 1847, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[60]Bathurst Courier, 16 February 1847, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[61]Bytown Gazette, 11 June 1846, p. 2, col. 6. The same article appeared in the Ottawa Advocate, 9 June 1846, p. 2, col. 7.

[62]Brockville Recorder, 25 February 1847, p. 2, col. 3.

[63]Ottawa Advocate, 9 February 1847, p. 3, col. 2.

[64]Ottawa Times, 10 March 1866, p. 2, col. 4.

[65]Ottawa Citizen, 9 August 1866, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[66]Ottawa Tribune, 25 October 1861, p. 2, col. 7.

[67]Perth Courier, 3 April 1863, p. 4, col. 2.

[68]Ottawa Union, 23 May 1865, p. 2, col. 3.

[69]Perth Courier, 22 February 1867, p. 2, cols. 6-7.

[70]Bytown Packet, 17 January 1846, p. 2, cols. 5-6.

[71]Brockville Recorder, 11 June 1846, p. 3, col. 4.

[72]Two examples are found in the Bytown Gazette, 15 May 1847, p. 2, cols. 2-3; and the Mirickville Chronicle, 30 May 1862, p. 2, cols. 4-6.

[73]For example, an article in the 7 October 1847 Brockville Recorder, complaining of many thousands of miserable wretches being inflicted on the colony was copied from the Hamilton Spectator.

[74]Brockville Recorder, 22 April 1847, p. 3, col. 1.

[75]Ibid., 20 May 1847, p. 2, col. 3.

[76]Bathurst Courier, 6 July 1847, p. 2, col. 4.

[77]Examples are found in the Bathurst Courier, 6 July 1847, p. 2, col. 4; the Brockville Recorder, 23 October 1851, p. 1, col. 6; and in the Ottawa Advocate, 1 June 1847, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[78]Brockville Recorder, 12 August 1847, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[79]Ottawa Advocate, 18 May 1847, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[80]Bathurst Courier, 23 March 1849, p. 2, col. 7.

[81]Carleton-Place Herald, 13 August 1857, p. 2, col. 5.

[82]Ottawa Advocate, 18 May 1847, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[83]Examples of this preference appear in the Carleton-Place Herald, 11 June 1857, p. 2, col. 2; and the Ottawa Citizen, 13 January 1866, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[84]Ottawa Citizen, 13 January 1866, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[85]Ottawa Advocate, 29 June 1847, p. 2, col. 4.

[86]Examples appear in the Merrickville Chronicle, 11 July 1862, p. 2, cols. 2-3; and the Ottawa Citizen, 13 January 1866, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[87]Ottawa Advocate, 9 February 1847, p. 2, cols. 5-6.

[88]Brockville Recorder, 16 October 1851, p. 2, col. 5.

[89]Ottawa Advocate, 18 May 1847, p. 2, col. 6.

[90]Bytown Orange Lily and Protestant Vindicator, 1 September 1850, p. 74, cols. 1-3.

[91]Bathurst Courier, 15 February 1856, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[92]Carleton Place Herald, 21 May 1862, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[93]Ottawa Union, 18 March 1862, p. 2, col. 1.

[94]Ottawa Tribune, 21 July 1860, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[95]Examples appear in the Bathurst Courier, 9 June 1854, p. 2, col. 4; ibid., 24 April 1857, p. 2, col. 3; ibid., 26 June 1857, p. 2, col. 3.

[96]Examples appear in the Lanark Observer, 2 September 1851, p. 3, col. 3; and the Ottawa Union, 13 June 1860, p. 2, col. 3.

[97]Ottawa Tribune, 16 June 1860, p. 2, cols. 3-5.

[98]Brockville Recorder, 8 February 1855, p. 1, col. 5.

[99]Brockville Statesman, 6 September 1845, p. 1, cols. 2-3.

[100]Ottawa Tribune, 23 November 1855, p. 2, col. 3.

[101]Ibid., 7 May 1859, p. 2, col. 6.

[102]Merrickville Chronicle, 20 June 1862, pp. 1-2, cols. 6-2.

[103]Ottawa Tribune, 7 May 1859, p. 2, col. 6.

[104]Examples appear in the Carleton Place Herald, 2 July 1862, p. 2, col. 5; the Ottawa Union, 19 May 1865, p. 2, col. 3; and in the Ottawa Tribune, 17 July 1857, p. 3, col. 1.

[105]Ottawa Tribune, 9 May 1856, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[106]Carleton Place Herald, 20 March 1861, pp. 2-3, cols. 7-1.

[107]Ibid., 3 April 1861, p. 2, cols. 6-7.

[108]Ibid., 13 February 1861, p. 3, col. 2.

[109]Ibid., 14 July 1869, p. 2, col. 5.

[110]Examples are found in the Brockville Recorder, 14 May 1846, p. 2, col. 6, and 18 February 1847, p. 1, col. 5.

[111]Ibid., 7 May 1846, p. 2, col. 2.

[112]Ibid., 18 March 1847, p. 3, col. 1.

[113]Bytown Packet, 5 August 1848, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[114]Ottawa Tribune, 9 March 1855, p. 2, cols. 5-6.

[115]Bathurst Courier cited in the Brockville Recorder, 31 July 1845, p. 2, col. 2.

[116]Bytown Packet, 25 September 1847, p. 2, col. 2.

[117]Ottawa Tribune, 12 June 1857, p. 2, col. 7.

[118]Ibid., 29 September 1854, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[119]Ibid., 11 January 1856, p. 2, col. 3.

[120]Ibid., 12 June 1857, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[121]Ibid., 18 May 1861, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[122]Examples are found in ibid., 17 August 1861, p. 2, cols. 2-3; and in the Prescott Telegraph copied in the Ottawa Tribune, 21 September 1861, p. 2, col. 1.

[123]Ottawa Tribune, 18 October 1861, p. 2, col. 3.

[124]Brockville Recorder, 6 February 1862, p. 2, col. 6.

[125]Examples are found in the Ottawa Tribune, 1 February 1856, p. 3, col. 1; and ibid., 28 December 1855, p. 1, col. 4.

[126]Ottawa Tribune, 9 February 1855, p. 3, col. 2.

[127]Ottawa Citizen, 24 December 1853, p. 2, col. 5.

[128]Ottawa Tribune, 15 August 1857, p. 2, col. 7.

[129]Ottawa Citizen, 24 December 1853, p. 2, col. 5.

[130]Ottawa Tribune, 9 February 1855, p. 3, col. 2.

[131]Examples are found in the Ottawa Citizen, 22 October 1861, p. 3, cols. 3-4; and ibid., 27 November 1865, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[132]Ottawa Union, 15 September 1863, p. 2, col. 2.

[133]Brockville Recorder, 10 August 1865, p. 2, col. 7.

[134]Donald H. Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), pp. 14, 32.

[135]Ottawa Advocate, 3 June 1845, p. 3, col. 1.

[136]Brockville Recorder, 12 August 1847, p. 2, col. 5.

[137]Bathurst Courier, 13 July 1847, p. 2, col. 7.

[138]Bytown Packet, 24 July 1847, p. 2, col. 2.

[139]Brockville Recorder, 22 July 1847, p. 3, col. 3.

[140]Ibid., 26 August 1847, p. 3, col. 1.

[141]Ottawa Citizen, 13 April 1866, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[142]Almonte Gazette, 12 June 1868, p. 3, col. 2. This same article appeared in the Brockville British Central Canadian, 17 June 1868, p. 3, col. 2. See also the Carleton Place Herald, 7 April 1869, p. 2, col. 7.

[143]Examples are found in the Carleton Place Lanark Herald, 21 February 1851, p. 2, cols. 2-4; and the Carleton Place Herald, 24 April 1856, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[144]Ottawa Citizen, 24 April 1852, p. 4, col. 2.

[145]Ottawa Union, 5 October 1861, p. 2, cols. 2-3. This article also appeared in the Ottawa Citizen, 11 October 1861, p. 2, col. 1.

[146]Brockville Recorder, 4 August 1853, p. 1, col. 6.

[147]Carleton-Place Herald, 18 December 1851, p. 3, col. 5.

[148]Brockville Recorder, 22 June 1854, p. 1, col. 5.

[149]Ottawa Advocate, 10 November 1846, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[150]Bytown Packet, 19 February 1848, p. 2, col. 1.

[151]Carleton-Place Herald, 1 January 1857, p. 2, col. 5.

[152]Brockville Recorder, 13 June 1861, p. 2, col. 7.

[153]Ottawa Citizen, 20 November 1866, p. 2, col. 2.

[154]Bathurst Courier, 9 November 1849, p. 2, col. 5.

[155]Perth Constitutional, 14 June 1848, p. 4, col. 1.

[156]Ibid., 2 August 1848, p. 1, cols. 3-4.

[157]Lanark Observer, 2 April 1851, p. 4, col. 4.

[158]Brockville Recorder, 17 January 1867, p. 1, cols. 5-8.

[159]Carleton Place Herald, 24 August 1864, p. 3, col. 6.

[160]Examples are found in the Ottawa Advocate, 23 May 1848, p. 3, col. 2; and the Carleton Place Herald, 7 March 1866, p. 1, col. 1.

[161]Carleton Place Herald, 8 August 1851, p. 3, col. 5.

[162]Brockville Recorder, 25 August 1853, p. 1, col. 5. This article also appeared in the Carleton-Place Herald, 18 August 1853, p. 2, col. 6.

[163]Ottawa Citizen, 6 September 1865, p. 2, col. 3. As discussed earlier on pages 91 through 99, there have been conflicting interpretations by transatlantic historians as to the ramifications of joking patterns and cartoons as an expression of ethnic conflict and ethnic stratification. These conclusions range from the negative view by L. Perry Curtis of the Irishman in Victorian caricature being an expression of hostility against the Irish people by a racially and religiously bigoted English mass media, to the view by Maureen Waters

that Irish humour in the mid nineteenth century was a conscious attempt by Irishmen such as Samuel Lover as much as anyone to replace the negative image of Irish violence in the 1820s with one which was less threatening and hence more positive.

[164] Ottawa Tribune, 29 August 1856, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[165] Ottawa Union, 3 March 1863, p. 2, col. 4.

[166] Ibid., 16 March 1865, p. 2, col. 3.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Ibid., 17 March 1865, p. 2, col. 4.

[169] Ottawa Citizen, 25 July 1865, p. 2, col. 7; ibid., 4 August 1865, p. 2, col. 3; and ibid., 8 August 1865, p. 2, col. 7.

[170] Brockville Recorder, 12 February 1852, p. 1, col. 5.

[171] Ottawa Tribune, 19 January 1855, p. 2, col. 2.

[172] Ottawa Citizen, 7 October 1854, p. 4, col. 2.

[173] Ottawa Tribune, 18 January 1856, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[174] Ibid., 27 July 1861, p. 1, cols. 3-4.

[175] Brockville British Central Canadian, 3 September 1862, p. 2, col. 2.

[176] Brockville Recorder, 20 August 1868, p. 2, col. 5.

[177] Brockville British Central Canadian, 9 August 1865, p. 2, col. 4.

[178] Carleton Place Herald, 5 February 1862, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

[179] Ibid., 9 August 1865, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[180] Ottawa Evening Post, 16 November 1866, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[181] Carleton Place Herald, 5 February 1862, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

[182] Ottawa Tribune, 29 December 1854, p. 2, col. 5.

[183] Ibid., 5 January 1855, p. 2, col. 5.

[184] Ibid., 26 January 1855, p. 2, col. 7.

[185] Ibid., 9 February 1855, p. 3, col. 3.

[186] Mirickville Chronicle, 11 October 1861, p. 2, col. 4. This article also appeared in the Brockville Recorder, 24 October 1861, p. 2, col. 6.

[187] Brockville Statesman, 4 August 1846, p. 2, cols. 2-4.

[188] Brockville Recorder, 19 March 1863, p. 2, col. 5.

[189] Perth Courier, 10 August 1866, p. 2, cols. 6-7.

IX

SOCIETAL REALIGNMENTS

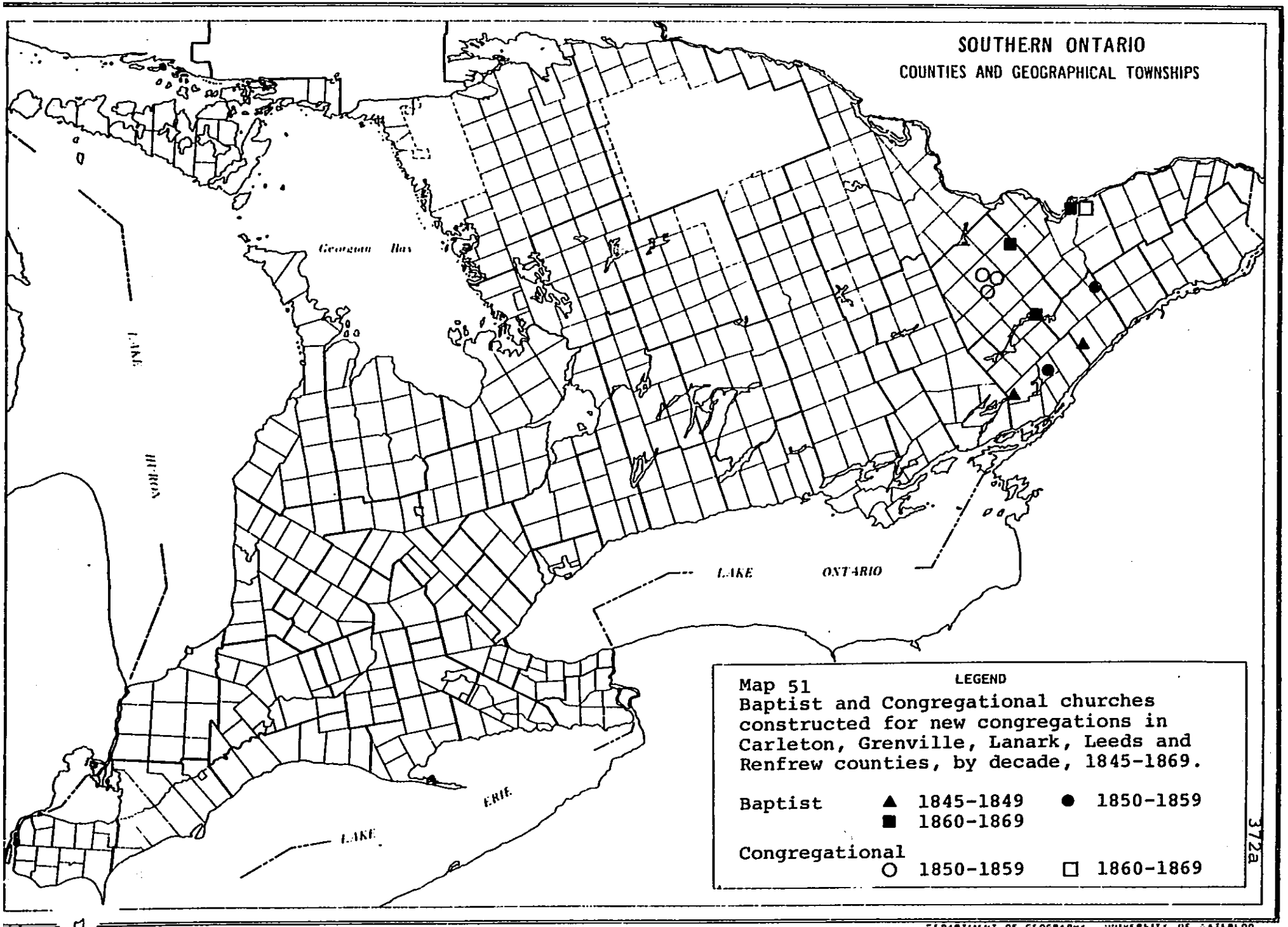
"Times have changed—[political] parties have changed—the institutions of the country have changed" the Perth Courier noted in 1858. Numerous changes in regional society coincided and combined with the Irish Catholic Famine inundation to produce new political and social realignments between 1845 and 1868. The perceived changes included a moral revolution, religious issues coming to dominate elections, Roman Catholicism replacing the United Church of England and Ireland in benefitting from a political compact with government, the achieving of responsible government, the regional re-disintegration of Reform, Conservative joint harnessing of Orange and Irish Catholic support, merging voluntarist and Orange points of view, the new respectability of Orangeism, the public education revolution, and the imposition of separate schools. In this chapter the growing impact of religion on politics, the education revolutions, and the changing acceptance of Orangeism are three touchstones used to evaluate regional perceptions of Irish immigrants.

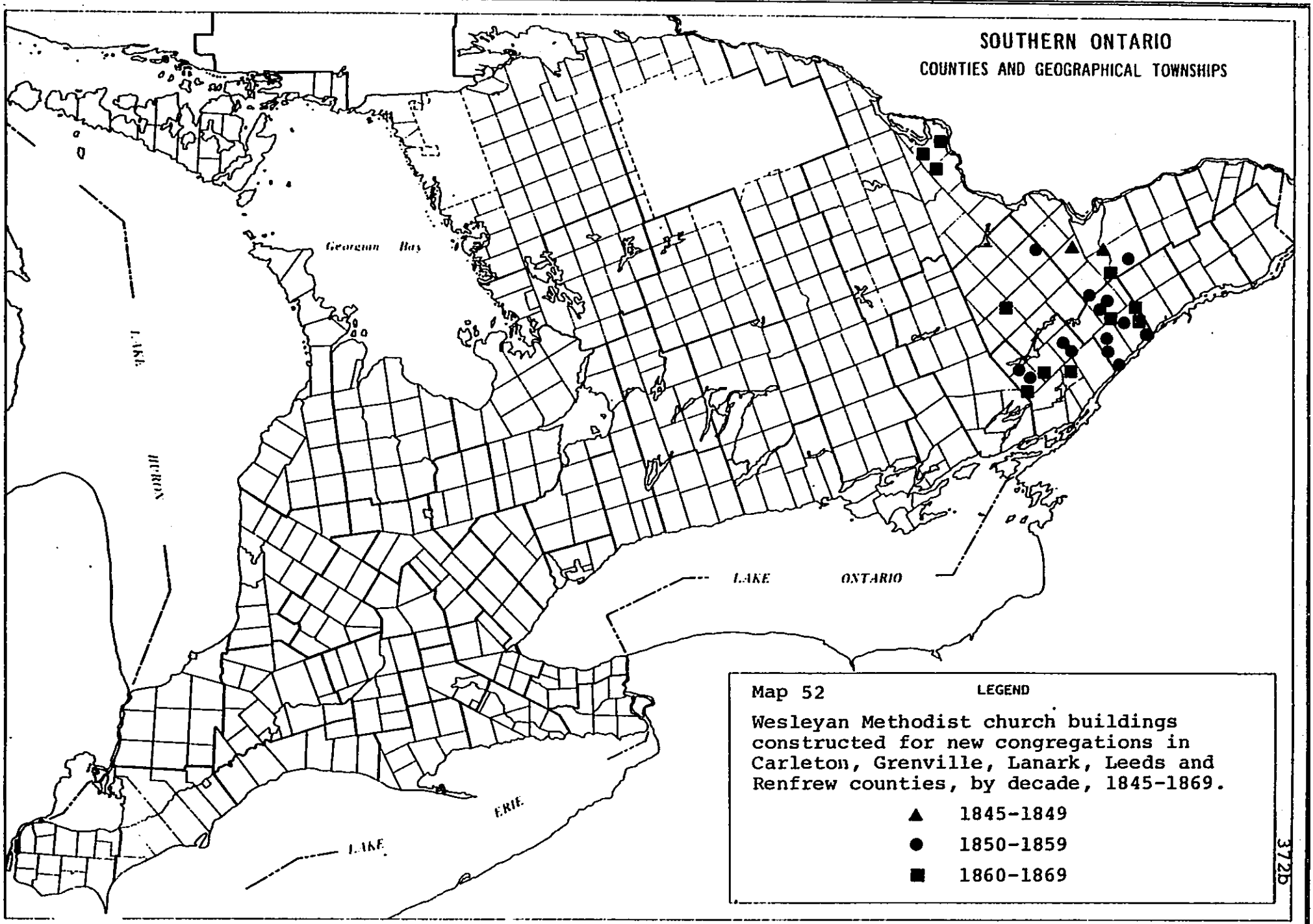
I

A major realignment in regional society which affected the way in which Irish immigrants were perceived was a "moral revolution" which took place between 1845 and 1868. In this period 138 churches were constructed for new congregations, not counting the numerous congregations meeting in schools and other halls, and in addition to the churches already built (Table 5). Using the measure of churches

built to assess relative denominational strength, the United Church of England and Ireland led with thirty-six new churches, Wesleyan Methodists with twenty-seven, Roman Catholics built twenty four, and Presbyterians built fifteen churches for new congregations. Maps 51 through 58 show that these major denominations followed the geographic distribution established before 1845. Congregational churches were clustered in Lanark Township and Lutheran churches were found only in northern Renfrew.

The moral revolution in regional society flowed from a number of tributaries. Irish Catholics arriving in the late 1840s already had experienced a devotional revolution in Ireland.[1] The splintering of Methodism together with the Free Church disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843 spurred intra-denominational rivalry which gave religion a new prominence and interest.[2] The temperance movement, despite its ethno-political origins, contributed toward the new moral atmosphere in regional society, and indeed Baptists and Methodists appropriated temperance as an important requirement for membership. A revival in Irish Presbyterianism in the late 1850s and 1860s was influential.[3] The increasing wealth and growing sophistication of regional society contributed to the moral revolution as denominations vied one with another to build increasingly more elaborate houses of worship. Fear that a new criminal class existed in regional society prompted county councils to pass by-laws making provision "for the Preservation of the Public Morals" that effectively constituted the cornerstone of Victorian prudery in the region (Illustration 82). Save for some remote Renfrew townships where there was no Sabbath observance,[4] the moral revolution in the region had become so


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
LEGEND
Map 51
Baptist and Congregational churches constructed for new congregations in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, by decade, 1845-1869.
Baptist
▲ 1845-1849
● 1850-1859
■ 1860-1869
Congregational
○ 1850-1859
□ 1860-1869
372a



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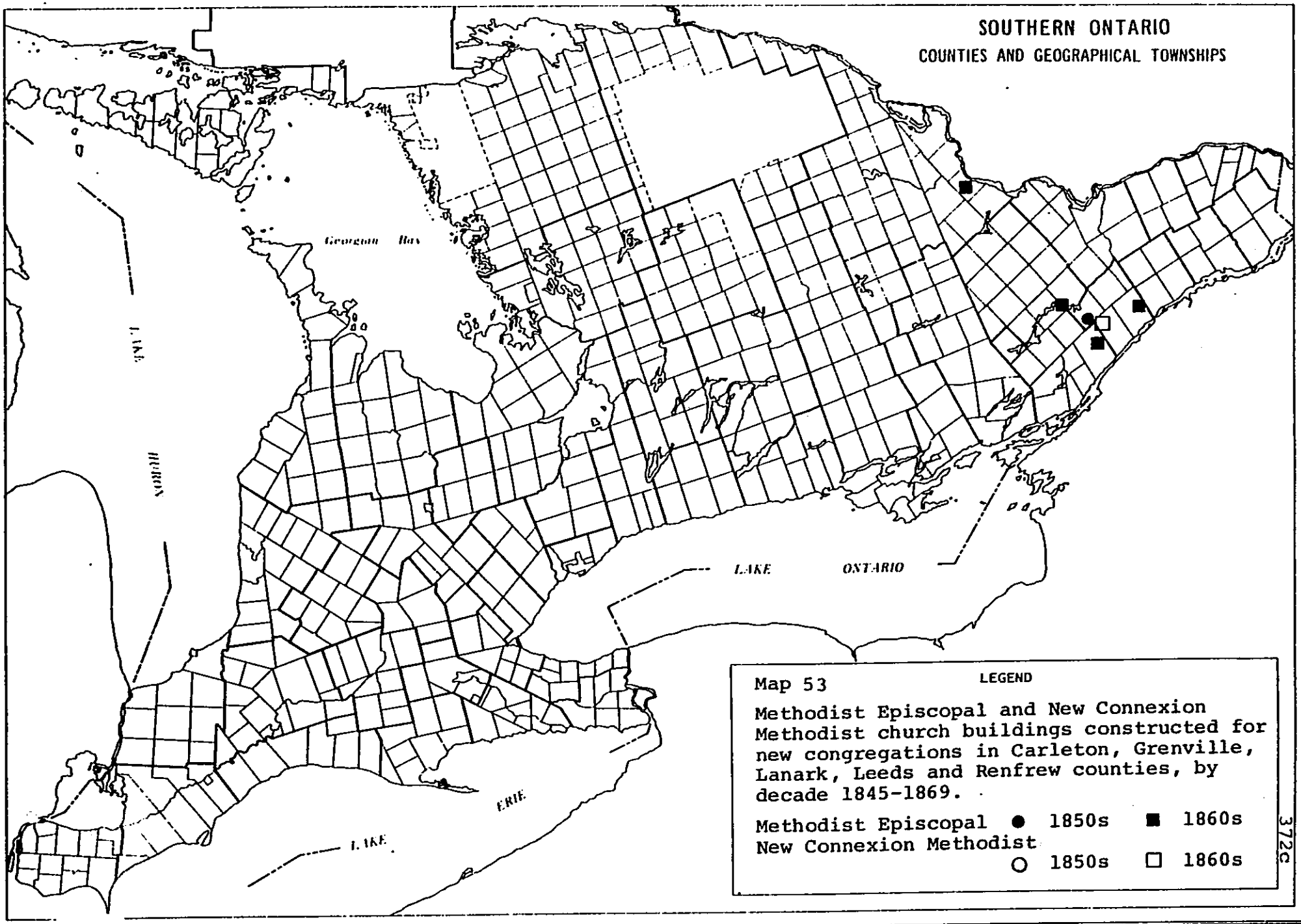
SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
Map 53
LEGEND
Methodist Episcopal and New Connexion Methodist church buildings constructed for new congregations in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, by decade 1845-1869.
Methodist Episcopal ● 1850s ■ 1860s
New Connexion Methodist
○ 1850s □ 1860s
372c
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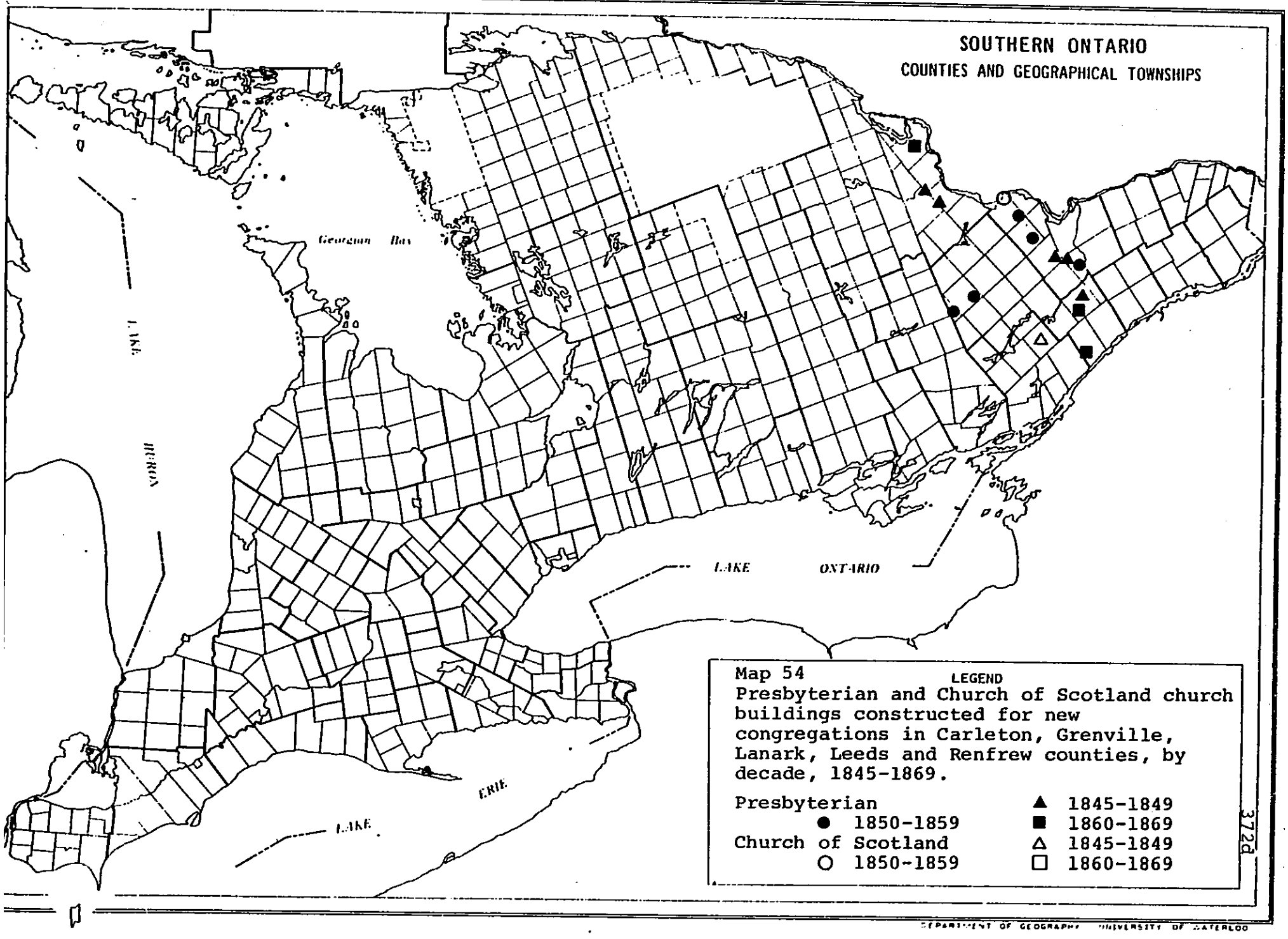
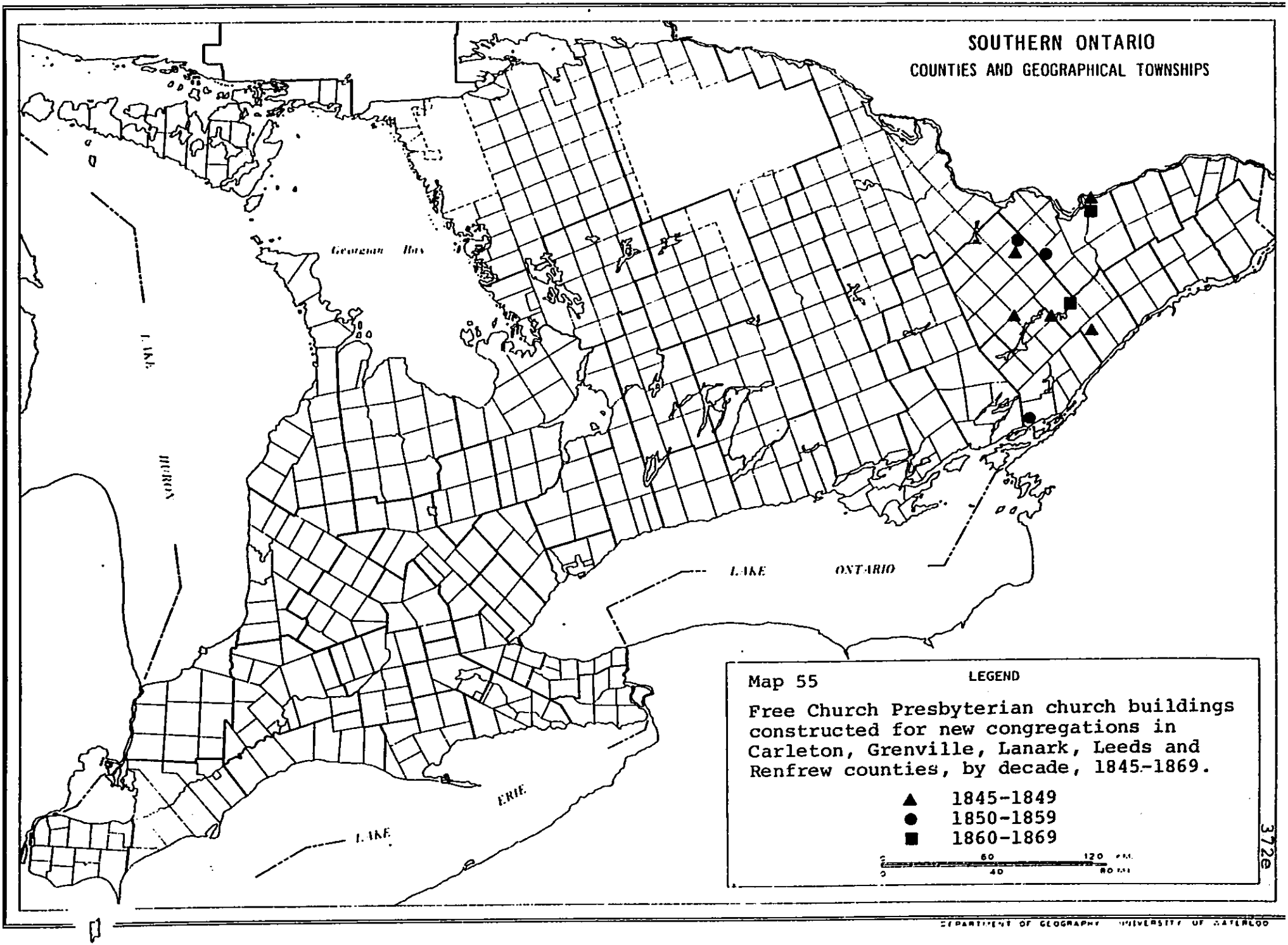

SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
Map 54
LEGEND
Presbyterian and Church of Scotland church buildings constructed for new congregations in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, by decade, 1845-1869.
Presbyterian
▲ 1845-1849
● 1850-1859
■ 1860-1869
Church of Scotland
△ 1845-1849
○ 1850-1859
□ 1860-1869
372d
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
Map 55
LEGEND
Free Church Presbyterian church buildings constructed for new congregations in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, by decade, 1845-1869.
1845-1849
1850-1859
1860-1869
0 60 120 KM
0 40 80 MI
372e
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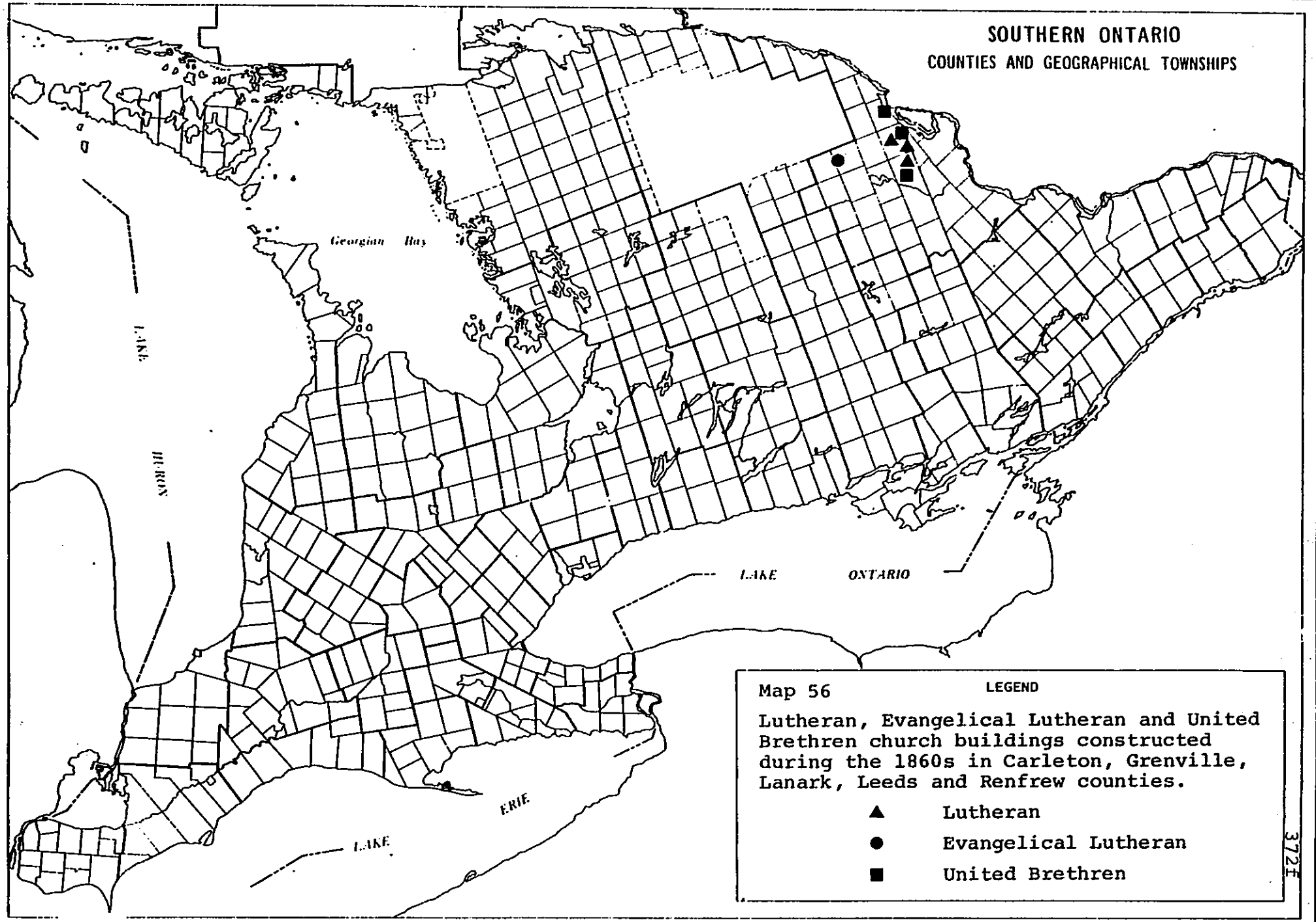

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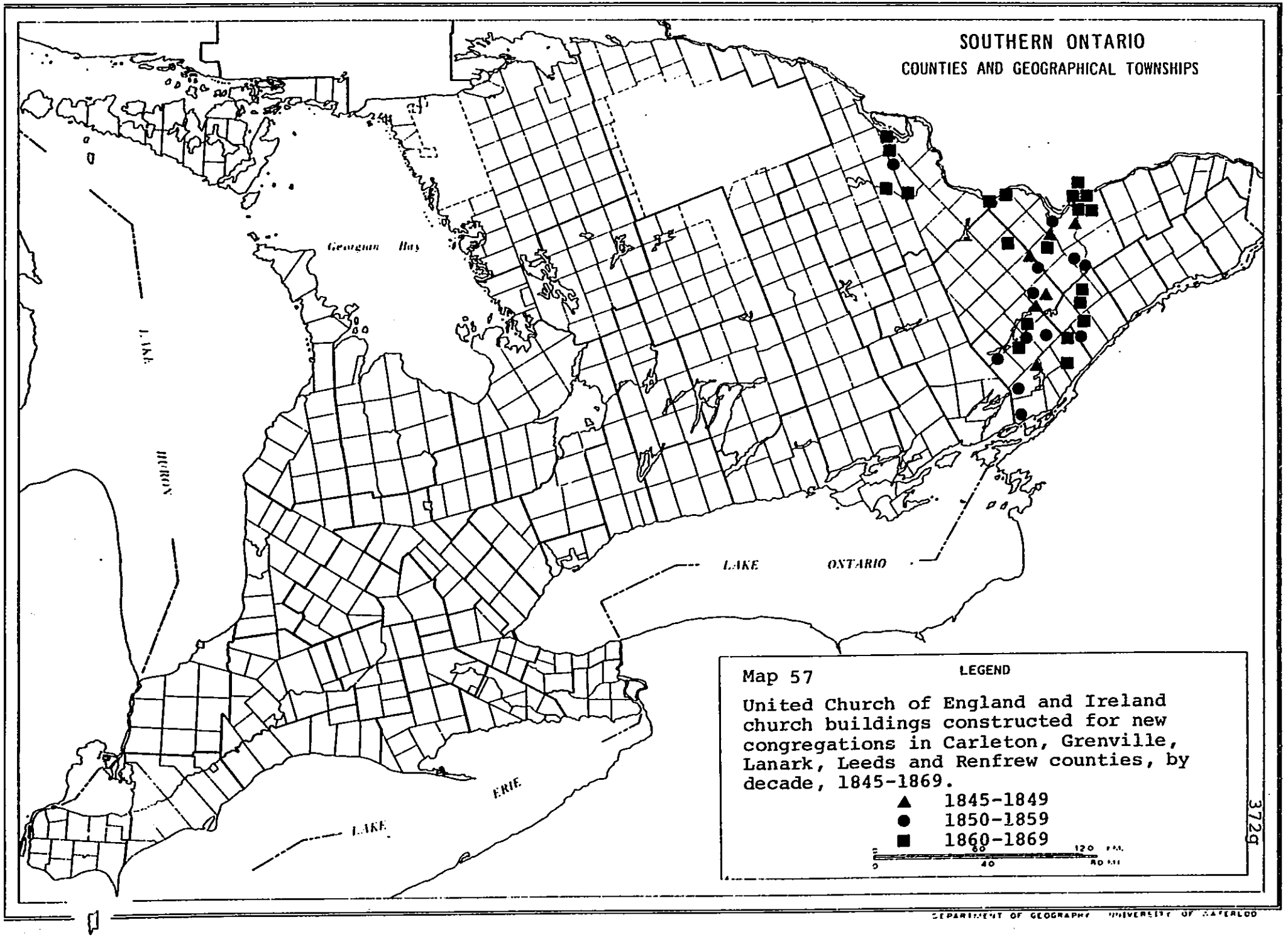
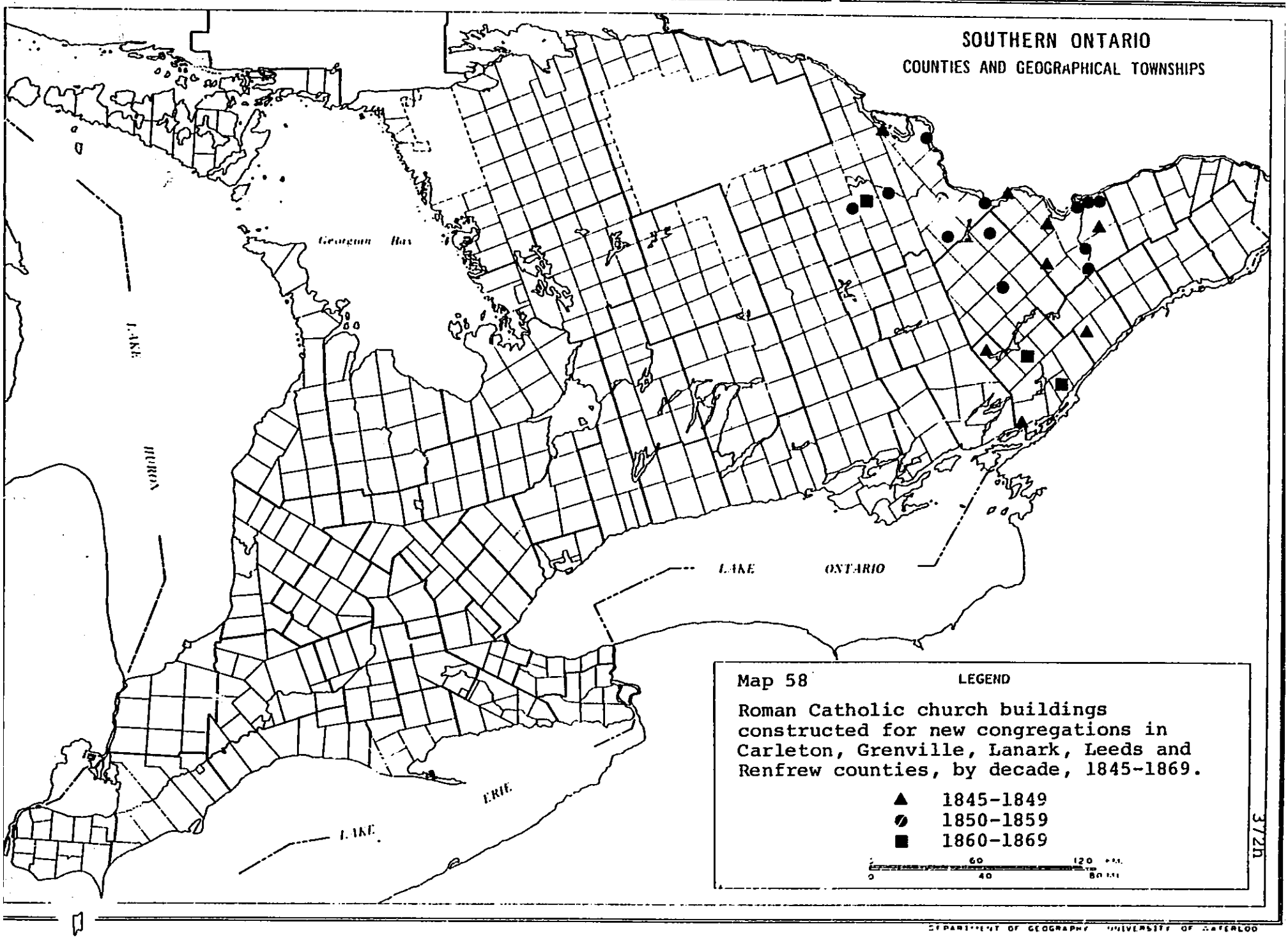
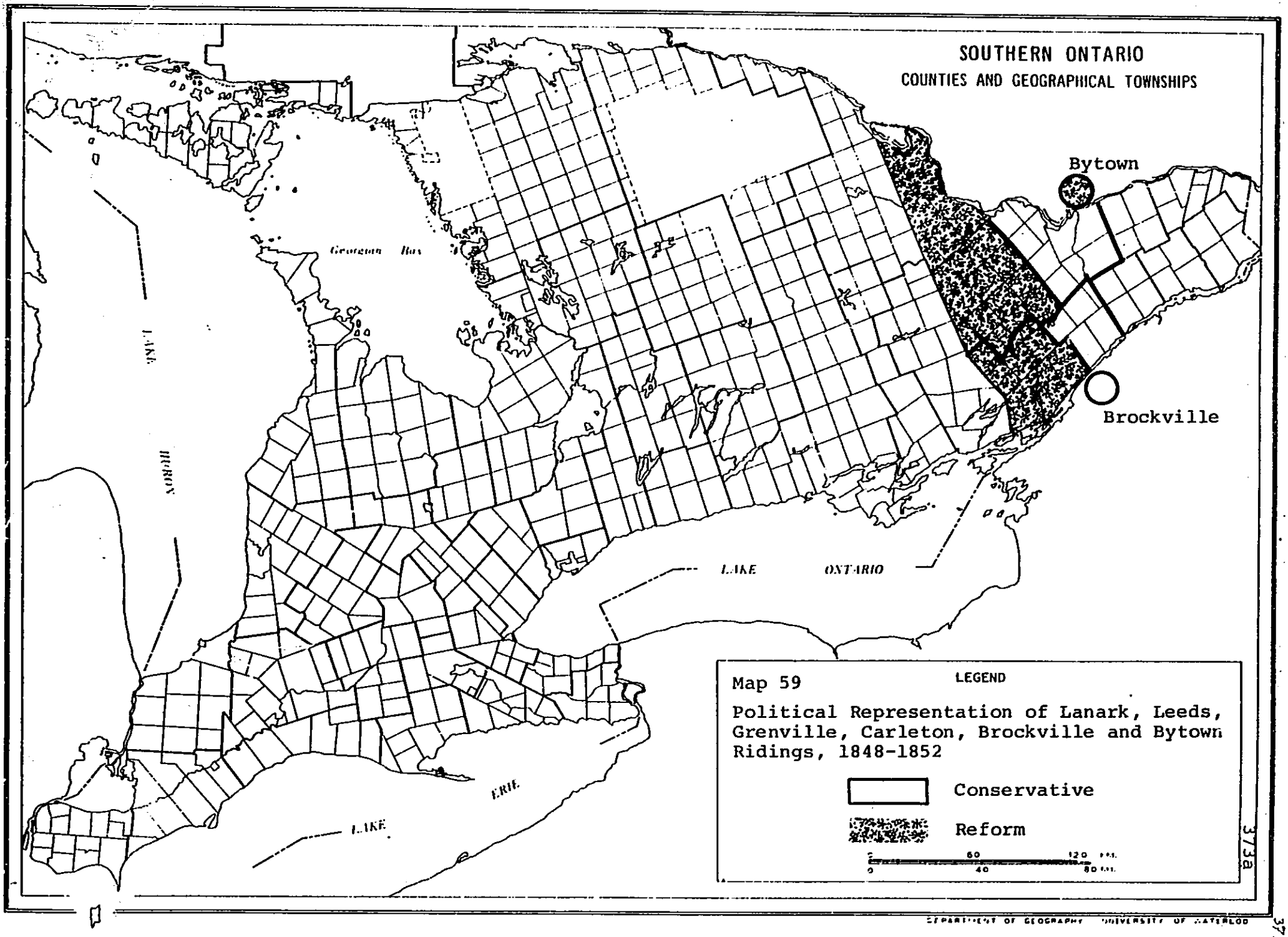

SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
Map 57
LEGEND
United Church of England and Ireland church buildings constructed for new congregations in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, by decade, 1845-1869.
1845-1849
1850-1859
1860-1869
0
40
80
120 KM.
50 MI.
372g
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
LAKE
ERIE
Map 58
LEGEND
Roman Catholic church buildings constructed for new congregations in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties, by decade, 1845-1869.
1845-1849
1850-1859
1860-1869
60
120
0
40
80
372n
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF WATERLOO

pervasive that the Carleton Place Herald asserted in 1866, "pecuniary prosperity and happiness are ultimately connected with morals".[5] The beneficial influence of increasingly numerous churches had been demonstrated from the beginning of the Famine influx. The Catholic priest at Bytown asserted in 1848 that the town never before had been so peaceful as between 1844 and 1848 due to the strong influence of the church over the explosive ethnic mixture of Irish and French Catholics, whereas magistrates previously had been ineffective.[6]

The ultimate proof of how pervasive and influential the moral revolution became in regional society between 1845 and 1868 is provided by the religious issues that came to dominate politics. It is true that from the 1820s there had been ethnic and religious affiliations with political candidates, with voluntarists and Irish Catholics supporting Reformers, and clergy and members of the state-backed churches supporting Tories. The earlier Irish Protestant arrivals had already given politics in the region a religious cast, but with the Irish Catholic inundation of the late 1840s following upon the union of the Canadas religion assumed a new importance which politicians ignored at their peril. In the legislature Irish Catholics together with French Canadians were perceived to be a potentially threatening Catholic majority which could impose its wishes on Protestant colonists. The threat at first appeared to be in the Reform party which French Canadians and Irish Catholics supported and which won half the regional ridings in the first election after the Famine migration (Map 59). In regional society the growing fear of what was termed "Popish ascendancy" was initially promoted by Orangemen, but increasingly was subscribed to by all shades of Protestants and non-Catholics.[7] When



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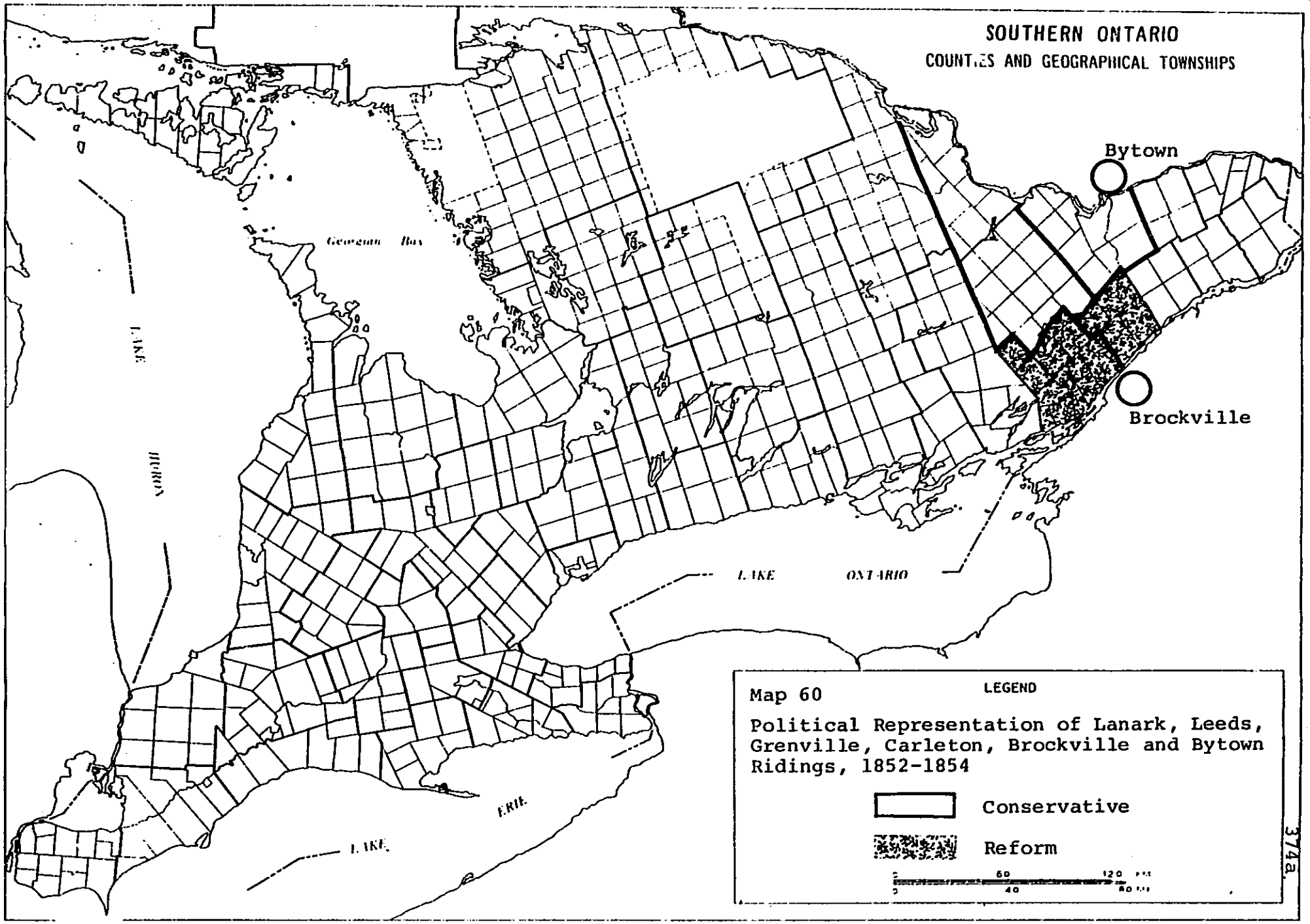
Irish Catholics withdrew their support from the "pseudo-liberals" in 1854,[8] and in 1858 became allied with Orangemen in supporting Tory candidates, a curious realignment came into play. Orangemen and Irish Catholics pulled together in the Conservative harness, claiming that the blinkers on each other prevented the other party from seeing what the true goal was, while Reformers and voluntarists generally excoriated Conservatives for doing the bidding of the ultramontane Catholic hierarchy.

The proportion of Conservative ridings in the region grew from half in 1848 to all by Confederation (Maps 59 through 65), but the alliance of Irish Catholics and Orangemen was variously perceived and explained. The Ottawa Tribune editor admitted in 1859 that "the Irish Catholic in Canada seems to occupy a new and anomalous position... really trying to his wisdom and to his dignity". Orange Tories, descendants of the Covenanters and Cromwellian dissenters the Catholic Irish had traditionally "hated thoroughly in Ireland; but in Canada he joins, or must join, with them to build up a new and complete Nationality", because "we must not be always looking to Ireland or England either for precedents in the governing of this country".[9] Catholic clergy, editors and newspapers aggressively campaigned for Orange and Conservative candidates;[10] Reform editors accused Tories of distributing two sets of tracts to Catholic and Orange electors,[11] and the United Church of England and Ireland Orange proprietors of the Mirickville Chronicle were so incensed by Tory links with the Catholic hierarchy that they ranged themselves in support of the undoubted Protestantism trumpeted by the Reform opposition.[12] The general trend, as the Chronicle reported in 1860 was that people in the region were



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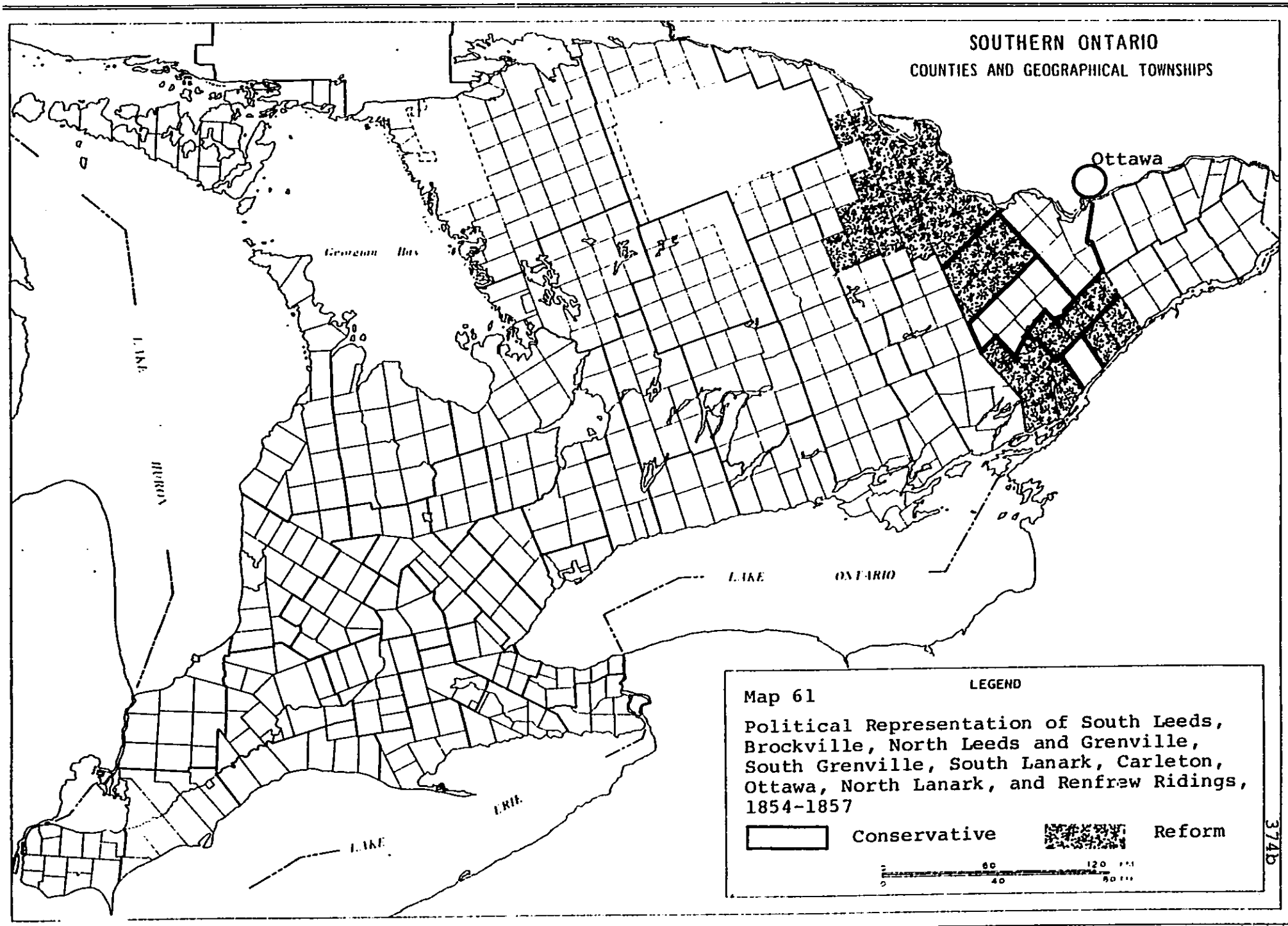

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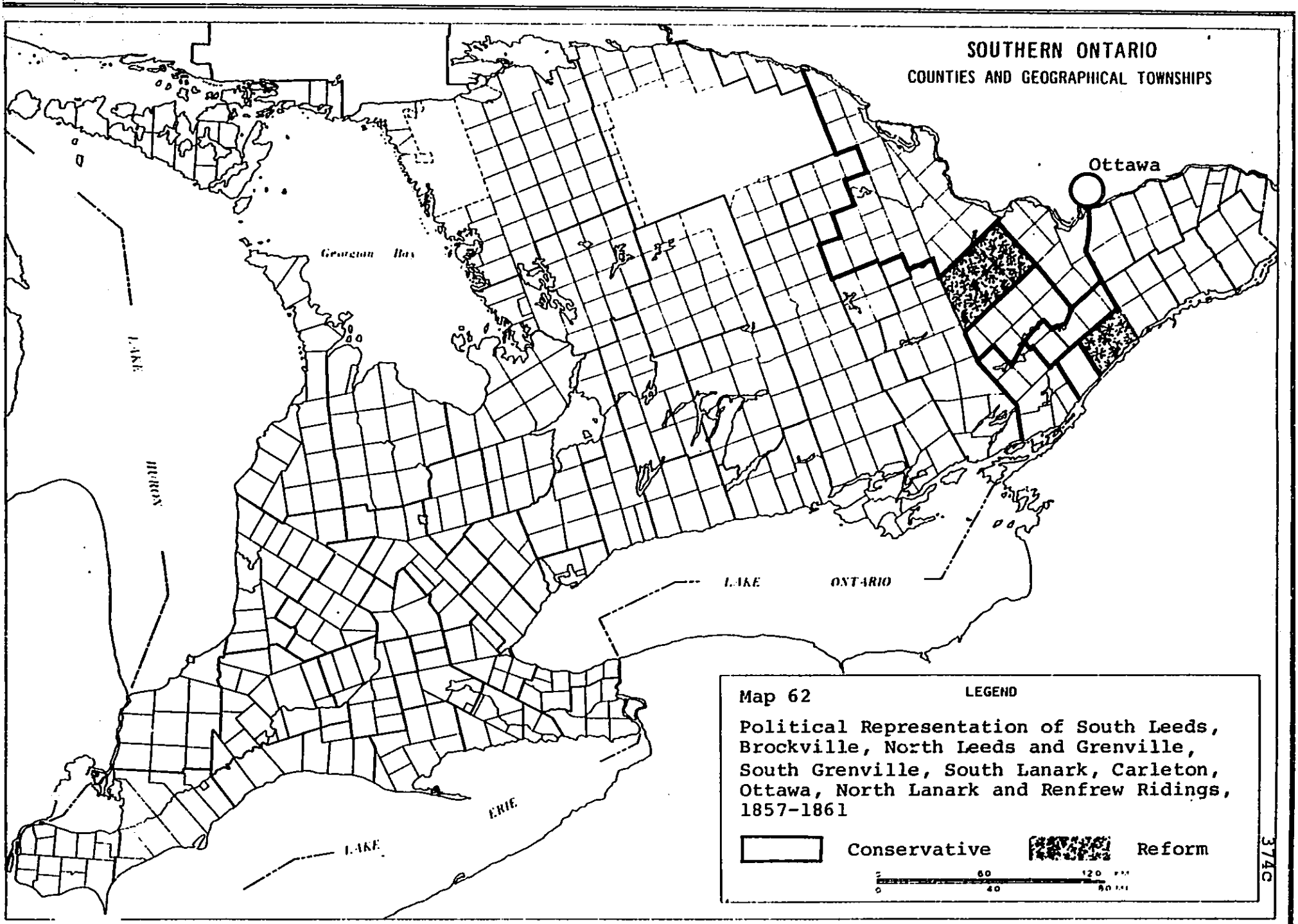
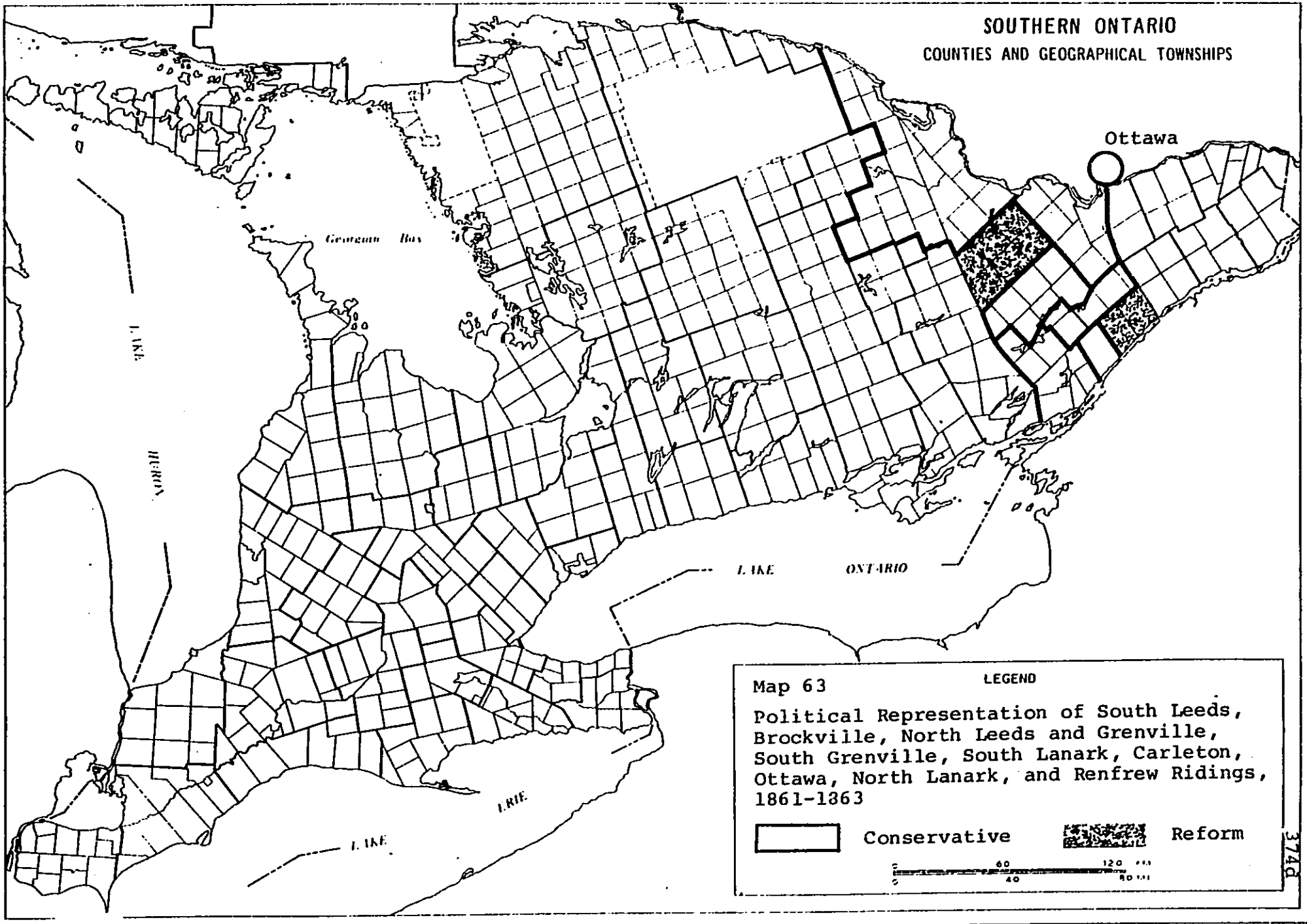
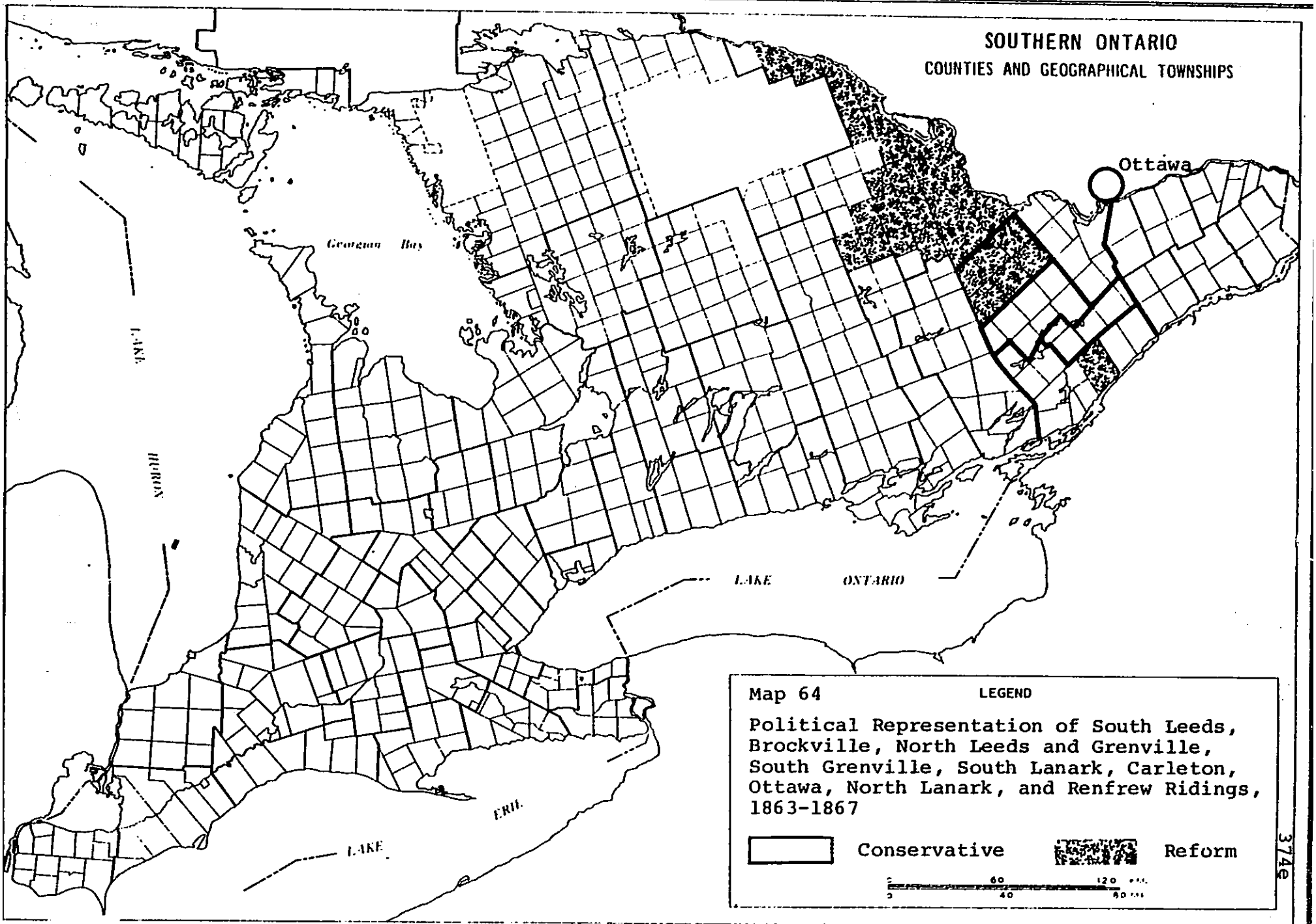
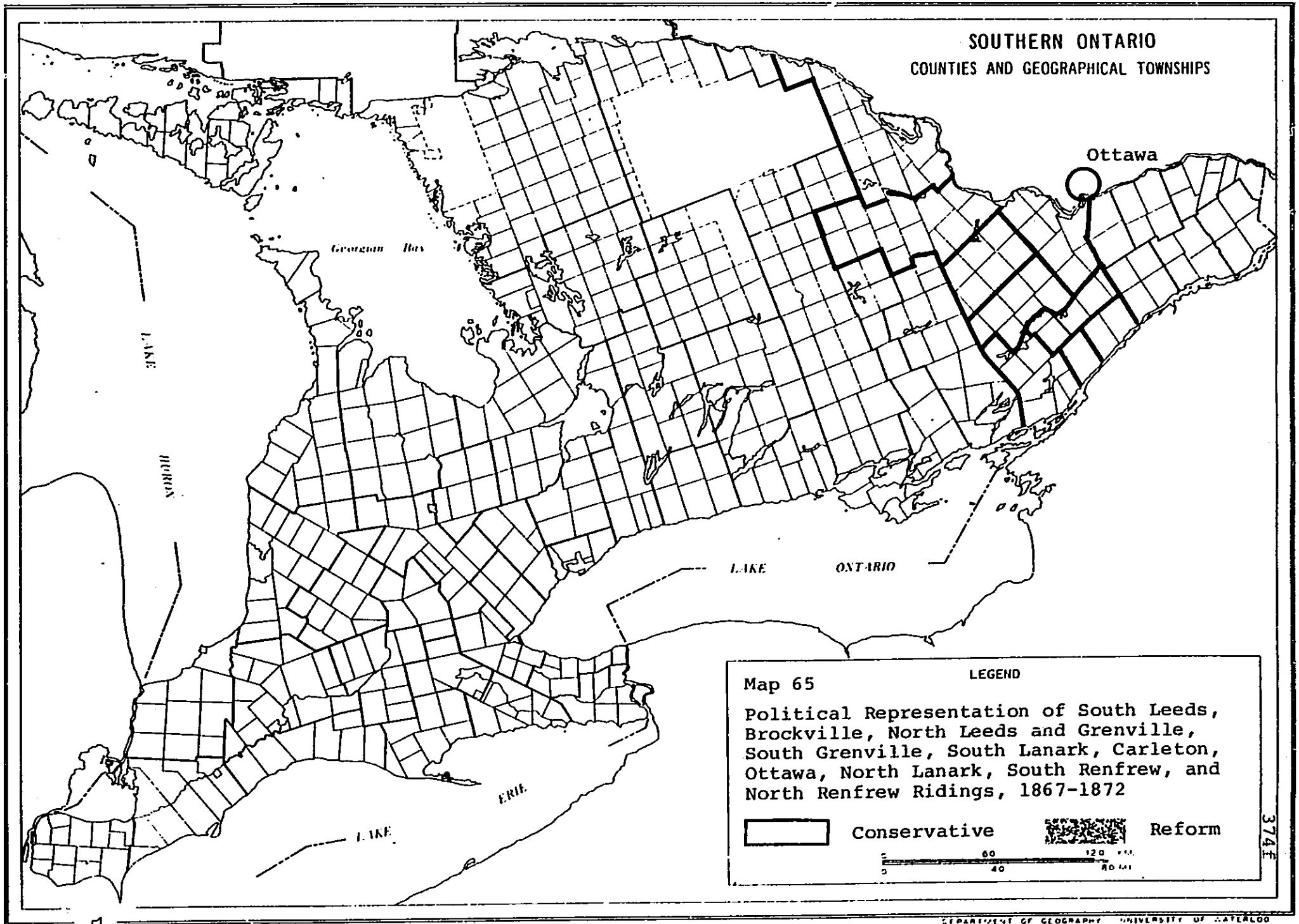

SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Ottawa
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE
ONTARIO
LAKE
ERIE
Map 62
LEGEND
Political Representation of South Leeds, Brockville, North Leeds and Grenville, South Grenville, South Lanark, Carleton, Ottawa, North Lanark and Renfrew Ridings, 1857-1861
Conservative
Reform
0
60
120
40
80

374C


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Ottawa
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
Map 63
LEGEND
Political Representation of South Leeds, Brockville, North Leeds and Grenville, South Grenville, South Lanark, Carleton, Ottawa, North Lanark, and Renfrew Ridings, 1861-1863
Conservative
Reform
60
120
40
80
374d


SOUTHERN ONTARIO
COUNTIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL TOWNSHIPS
Ottawa
Georgian Bay
LAKE
HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
ERIE
LAKE
Map 64
LEGEND
Political Representation of South Leeds, Brockville, North Leeds and Grenville, South Grenville, South Lanark, Carleton, Ottawa, North Lanark, and Renfrew Ridings, 1863-1867
Conservative
Reform
0 60 120 KMS
0 40 80 MI
374e



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becoming more Conservative every year,[13] and even the consistently pro-Reform Perth Courier admitted in 1863 that "what was once known as the Reform party of South Lanark, no longer exists".[14] The Brockville Recorder was less pessimistic the following year, cautioning Reformers against continuing to alienate Irish Catholics by censuring their clergy, arguing that Thomas D'Arcy McGee's defection to the Tories had had a strong impact on Irish Catholics, and that Irish Catholics as a body were yet neither wholly Tory nor Reform in complexion.[15]

Despite Irish Catholics and Orangemen being reluctant allies from the mid 1850s onward, the consistent theme struck by all regional Protestant editors from the mid 1840s on was resentment of the new political influence of Catholic-dominated Lower Canada, a resentment fuelled by the clamour for representation by population and as regional inhabitants perceived that over the objections of Upper Canadians separate schools and payment for seigniorial lands in Lower Canada were imposed by a majority based in Lower Canada.[16] An anonymous correspondent of the Carleton Place Herald, "THE OLD CONSERVATIVE", warned Upper Canadians to beware: "You, as a Protestant people, ought to have, at least an equal right with Roman Catholics, but of that you are deprived by the members of Lower Canada, with a few of the Upper Province".[17] By 1860, after witnessing the Catholic prelates of Lower Canada presented in due pomp before the visiting Prince of Wales whereas Orangemen, Freemasons and some Protestant clergy were prevented from so much as beholding the royal visitor, the fear that Lower Canada dominated Upper Canada was hard to deny. From the unlikely source of the Scottish Canadian the Mirickville Chronicle copied an editorial which urged Upper Canada to cling to Orangeism as its only sure means of defence against being trampled by Roman Catholic Lower Canada.[18]

When more specific criticism was aimed closer to home at the perceived growing electoral clout of Irish Catholics after 1850, overwhelmingly it came from Reform editors disgruntled with being abandoned by Irish Catholic clergy and laity for the Conservatives. As early as 1851 a letter in the Pembroke Observer expressed fear that Catholics were swamping South Lanark election meetings.[19] Despite claiming that Irish Catholics had always been consistent Reformers, the Bathurst Courier in early 1854 could not paper over the strong difference of opinion between Free Kirk Presbyterians and Catholics over the secularisation of separate schools.[20] The Ottawa Tribune accused the Reform ministry of not giving Catholics their fair share of offices.[21] The rift between Irish Catholics and Reform was apparent to all by mid 1855 when Grenville Reform candidate William Patrick accused the Catholic priest at Prescott of haranguing against him in church, which the priest admitted unrepentantly having done against "Mr. Know Nothing Patrick".[22] From 1857 onward regional Reform editors further distanced themselves from Irish Catholics, accusing Wexford-born Orange Conservative member James Shaw of being a willing tool of the Catholic priests,[23] accusing Roman Catholics of commencing a sectarian warfare for sectarian schools,[24] and reminding local Irish Catholics as late as 1858 that in Ireland Irish Catholics could never be allies of the Tories.[25] Reform editors compared Catholicism to American slavery and to Czarist autocracy for the manner in which priests coerced Irish Catholic parishioners on behalf of the Tories, and denigrated those who allowed themselves to be so coerced as a curse to society and unfit to be clothed in the garb of freemen.[26] It was alleged that Irish Catholics in Leeds County were compelled by their clergy to vote against

their will,[27] and that Irish Catholics in Renfrew voted as a bloc.[28] The key to political success in Renfrew County, observed a correspondent of the Carleton Place Herald in 1861, was friendship with the Catholic priesthood, a state of affairs which could only cease when Protestants learned to unite.[29]

Regional Protestants were anything but united with schisms splintering Methodism and Presbyterianism, with Free Church Presbyterians furiously debating among themselves whether or not to install organs in their churches, and with Anglicans hotly divided between low and high factions over Ritualism. Voluntarists were outraged by the 1854 settlement of the Clergy Reserves question which guaranteed an endowment to the old state-backed churches. United Church of England and Ireland clergy sparred with Methodists in acrimonious debate in the press over issues such as apostolic succession.[30] In 1850 the United Church of England and Ireland clergyman at Carleton Place published a fifty-five page booklet refuting an attack on the Church of England by local Methodist preacher Benjamin Nankevill and showing modern Methodism to be at variance with the Bible.[31]

Disunited as they were, Protestants of all stripes increasingly recognised that the commutation of the Clergy Reserves symbolised the end to old Compact hopes for a state church. Members of the United Church of England and Ireland were cutting other ties to the state as shown by the protest raised in St. Peter's Church at Brockville in 1856 opposing the Governor General appointing a clergyman for the first Bishop of Ontario.[32] Still, ever since the creation of Upper Canada voluntarists had zealously cried-down state-backed churches, and with the Catholic hierarchy seeking special arrangements such as separate

schools, the focus of voluntarist fury shifted from the United Church of England and Ireland to the Church of Rome. Eventually even United Church of England and Ireland and Church of Scotland clergy joined voluntarists in decrying the special link of the Roman clergy with the administrations of Cartier and Macdonald. A Renfrew correspondent of the Carleton-Place Herald as early as 1853 feared that the Reform goal of "the working man's triumph over lettered indolence" was threatened by the sectarianism echoing through the province, and predicted that ultimately "the real Tory party will appear in the body of the Roman Catholics of the united provinces".[33] This represented a radical realignment from Upper Canadian politics of the 1829 to 1849 period which the Bytown Packet four years previously had summarised as having been between the Reformers and Orangeism.[34]

The fear among regional Protestants that Catholicism was gaining undue political influence at precisely the same time all Protestant churches were distancing themselves from all links with government, was informed by a host of articles in the press that perceived Catholicism, Catholic countries and Irish Catholic editors to be intolerant to the point of persecuting Protestants and others. Regional society was influenced by the Papal Aggression crisis of 1850, in which the English masses hysterically worried that the division of England into Catholic dioceses by the Pope signalled its inevitable conversion to Catholicism. Regional voluntarists emphatically supported the American abolition movement and consequently must have regarded with concern the explicitly anti-Negro sentiments that appeared only in local Irish Catholic newspapers. The Ottawa Tribune criticised a visiting production of "Uncle Tom's Cabin":[35]

> Give us a nigger as a serenader, with the bones or banjo; give us a flat-footed congo in the plantation dance, a darky as a waiter or barber in cool weather; put Uncle Tom in a ring to butt against a male sheep for twenty-five dollars a side, we can pay a quarter for the entertainment; but when people foist Mrs. Stowe's woolly hosse, or virtuous niggers on us, by the way of giving us a genuine article, or holding the mirror up to nature, we cave, that's all.

Regional newspapers edited by voluntarists told of Protestants in Tuscany convicted by Catholic authorities for reading the Bible,[36] of Catholics in Ireland persecuting scripture-reading Protestants,[37] quoted widely-travelled provincial education superintendent Egerton Ryerson that Roman Catholics were more tolerantly treated in Protestant countries than were Protestants in Catholic countries,[38] reported Bibles being burned by monks in Ireland,[39] heard Bishop Charbonnel denouncing Canadian government ministers from the altar of his cathedral,[40] noted that even Thomas D'Arcy McGee decried the bigoted anti-Protestant rhetoric in a Montreal Irish Catholic paper,[41] and told of Famine relief sent to Ireland being refused Protestants by Catholic authorities.[42] The underlying political mistrust of Irish Catholics regionally was expressed by the editor of the Bathurst Courier in 1850, "We would give them all the political as well as religious liberty that we can desire for ourselves, but no more"[43] and by a sentence of eulogy to the assassinated McGee copied in the Merrickville Chronicle in 1868, "he belonged to a race which has never yet been able to destroy the prejudices attached to its name and morals".[44]

Beneath the expressed fears about "the interests and well being of the Protestant community...as affected by their relative position to the Roman Catholic community",[45] was a set of intersecting fears about growing Irish Catholic strength in the region. Many new Catholic

churches erected at Kingston, Bytown, Brockville, Perth, Smith's Falls and Westport during this period were huge by regional standards, and their very size suggested a power-hungry clergy to local Protestant minds rather than the actual shortage of Roman Catholic clergy which existed (Illustrations 83 through 92). Anti-Catholic lecturers came through the region.[46] Accusations were made during the 1847 cholera panic that Catholic clergy and nuns were perverting Protestants to the Catholic faith in the hospital at Bytown.[47] Anti-Catholic poems,[48] arguments,[49] stories of captive nuns,[50] and accusations of idolatry and superstition being part of the Catholic ceremony received press.[51] Articles were copied from Catholic journals purporting to show that "the main goal of the Catholic is to seek how to advance the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, and to subordinate everything to those interests.[52] Copious extracts from prominent British newspapers such as The Times argued that Catholic emancipation was a declared enemy of enlightenment.[53] Reform editors derided the Irish brigade of volunteers fighting for the Pope as the dupes of an oppressor who beggared those under his sway,[54] and printed Roman Catholic references in the Fenian oath.[55] All this combined to contribute to regional Protestant uneasiness.

Although the Lanark Observer played down the "bug-bear cry of "priestly domination" [a]s altogether too childish to tell on the minds of the enlightened men of the present day"[56] and decried Gavazzi stirring up anti-Catholic hostility,[57] regional society on the whole was tremendously affected by the reports of "priestly domination" coming from England. Protestants were alarmed by the use of Irish Catholic gang violence to deny Gavazzi free speech, by sensational charges

surrounding the deathbed conversion of Sir Allan McNab,[58] and by the tyranny which Irish Catholic clergy were accused of wielding over parishioners as in the case of the priest at Prescott who refused last rites to a dying child to punish a parent.[59] However much or however little foundation there was to any of these events, they served to confirm doubts among voluntarists about Irish Catholics being either worthy of the franchise or worthy to be the parliamentary representatives of free men.

Beneath the growing fear of Catholicism in regional society lurked an instinctive paranoia among pre-Famine United Church of England and Ireland immigrants from southeastern Ireland that the core institution of their ethno-religious identity, their church, was being subverted from within. The passage of decades had done nothing to dim their view of their tragic exile at the time of Catholic Emancipation, nor to diminish memories of relatives killed by Catholic peasants in Wexford during the 1798 Rebelllion, especially when confronted by the Famine inundation coming into the region. Regional Irish Protestant paranoia overtly focussed on separate schools and the perceived threat of a Popish ascendancy, but more subtly from the mid 1840s onward there was the accompanying fear that ambitious clergy, especially those from the English church, were stealthily at work to hand the United Church of England and Ireland over to Rome, following the lead of John Henry Newman who had converted to Catholicism and who had been made a cardinal for his example. This fear was expressed in the same vocabulary in which it had been expressed at the time of the Catholic Emancipation Act, revealing that regional low church Irish Protestant immigrants remained frozen at the same stage of ecclesiastical thought they had

held at the time of their migration in the 1820s and 1830s. An 1864 sermon to Irish Orange members of the United Church of England and Ireland, appealed to precisely the same prejudices and preconceptions that had motivated the Irish Protestant migration in 1829.[60]

Irish Anglicans feared that higher English clergy were weakening the United Church of England and Ireland by abandoning the form of worship established at the Reformation, especially the emphasis on Biblical authority, and by removing its links to the British government. Regional Irish Anglicans were particularly uneasy at the emerging Puseyite emphasis on returning to the primitive mediaeval ritual of worship in the pre-Reformation Anglican church because it included practices similar to those of contemporary Roman Catholics. As early as 1845 in local newspapers regional inhabitants read warnings by clergy in Ireland against the new Tractarian emphasis and reliance on sacraments rather than the Bible.[61] In subsequent decades countless articles warned about Puseyism inevitably leading to Rome;[62] equated Puseyism with the destructive revolutionary impact of Voltaire;[63] warned of confessionals appearing in churches;[64] noted the Romish introduction of choirboys intoning prayers;[65] and deplored the anti-Protestant semi-popish Puseyite doctrines being taught at Trinity College in Toronto.[66]

By the late 1850s regional Irish Anglicans no longer simply read about such disturbing matters elsewhere, but were fighting it in their very midst. At Pembroke in 1857 it was reported that[67]

> so convinced are the great majority of [Rev. E.H.M. Baker's] flock of his 'caballing with papists' that two-thirds of them have ceased to attend his ministrations, and the remaining one-third only countenance him from their love to the church of their choice, and not because they believe...in the pro-Romish doctrine which he preaches.

The following year in Stafford Township the Rev. William Henderson and his Irish parishioners found themselves in conflict; he refused to bless the foundation of the new St. Stephen's Church as they had set it square with the property line until after it was rearranged according to Tractarian notions with the door in the west and the altar in the east. Once the church was constructed and fully blessed, the Irish farmers jacked up the church and swung it around as they originally had planned.[68] Other staunch Irish Anglican congregations proved reluctant to build churches that were more ambitious than the basic auditory box to which they were accustomed (Illustrations 93 through 95).

Other Protestants, particularly those of Irish origin, joined in the fray. Wesleyan Methodist preacher J.B. Armstrong at Richmond accused United Church of England and Ireland Rev. John Stannage of having the style of a Puseyite.[69] Horror was expressed at a choral service in St. Peter's Church, Brockville, as yet another of the "certain ritualistic practices in this diocese" including the doctrine of Absolution of Sins being defended and clergymen wearing white silk gowns that offered "unmistakeable proofs that the old landmarks of our faith and practice were fast passing away from among us".[70] A vestry meeting at Barriefield deeply deplored[71]

> the attempts being made at introducing into our Church Services divers rites, and ceremonies calculated to estrange the people's thoughts from the great object of our frail worship, and instead thereof, direct their attention to a gorgeous and unmeaning ceremonial.

The vestry at Brockville, fearing that Purgatory, the veneration of relics, praying to Saints and the offering of masses for both the quick and the dead were at hand, stated that "our beloved church is in danger of receiving at the hands of persons within her communion wounds and

injuries which she could never suffer at the hands of external foes" and urged resistance to all such "treason within the church".[72] The first step of resistance in the Brockville church was to order the removal of mediaeval paintings that had recently been installed in the church.[73]

Regional Irish Protestants perceived both in the new liturgy and in the design of the new High Gothic architecture of United Church of England and Ireland churches meant to accommodate ritualism, their Reformation heritage to be ebbing (Illustrations 96 through 106).[74] It was difficult for a population which for two centuries had relied on the link of government and state to maintain its privileged place as a minority in southeastern Ireland to accept the assurances of higher clergy that the separation of church from state was beneficial.[75] Regional Irish Protestants on the strength of their experience perceived hidden dangers and did not wish for change. The Rev. John A. Mulock at an 1866 meeting of the Synod of Ontario decried Ritualism for threatening as a movement to "carry the church over bodily to the Church of Rome". He felt that "In England, churchmen were very confiding and very much disposed to take things as they were; while in Ireland they see the cloven foot."[76] The Rev. Frans W. Dobbs looked "with fear and apprehension at the introduction of a ritualism tending to fritter away the precious gospel and assimilate her to the apostate Church of Rome", especially as it diverged from the custom he had known in Ireland such as not wearing a surplice in the pulpit.[77]

One of the most articulate expressions of regional Irish Church bewilderment and anger with the new architecture and ritual was given by an anonymous OLD IRISH CHURCHMAN from Drummond Township in 1867:[78]

> [W]ill the old Irish Churchmen allow themselves and their families to be dragged back into Popish superstition, by pretended ministers of the Church of England [emphasis mine], while in very deed many of them are Jesuits in disguise.... I shall point out some things out of many that I believe to be contrary to our old Protestant usages. First, having a desk recently constructed in the form of a right angle, that part facing the congregation, on it the Bible is laid, the minister invariably reads it with his face to the east, and his side to the people. What is this for? Why not have the two books on a straight desk, side by side, as it has been herefofore[?]... Why not turn the back altogether with a large cross on it as some have already done, with crosses in abundance on books, crosses in the church and on the church, and on the headstones over the silent dead,...denying in the pulpit what they pray for in the desk.... [T]he introduction of what is called the little prayer book, and steps to the altar ...are well calculated to lead the innocent youth with many of the old and simple ones in the way of Popery and the Mass.... Neither do I sir, wish to make the impression that I am an enemy to Catholics; by no means, I respect many of my Catholic neighbours, though I despise the dogma of the religion, while we live on the most friendly terms.

On into the twentieth century the Irish evangelical low church criticism of Ritualism continued in the region.[79] Although Irish congregations resisted Ritualism, by 1900 an increasingly English-origin clergy had imposed the new architecture and liturgy on many congregations (Illustration 107).[80]

Regional newspapers gave extensive coverage to the ongoing debate over Ritualism in the United Church of England and Ireland. Irish Protestant editors such as John McMullen were joined by Reform editors in siding with Irish congregations against the innovations. Despite the objections of higher clergy "to the interference of the press with their religious practices", the Perth Courier responded in 1867 that "modern opinion being chiefly represented by the newspaper and periodical literature of the day, naturally finds expression on so

important a subject in the most convenient form, and therefore pays no attention to the scruples or objections of anybody."[81] Actually, for Scottish and American-origin Reform editors to be backing Irish congregations fighting the new liturgy and architecture which symbolised breaking links between church and state, was in complete contrast with the scathing denunciations they had made of the links of those very congregations with the state from the late 1820s through to the mid 1850s. The churches built by Methodists and Presbyterians before 1868 were austerely designed to incur no link with Romish tendencies, yet ambitious enough to proclaim them churches visually (Illustrations 108 through 115).

The most profound religious realignment was the political allying of Roman Catholics, Orangemen and Tories, an eventuality which seemed impossible before the mid 1850s as shown by an 1852 editorial in the Bathurst Courier that Irish Catholics in Upper Canada could never ally themselves with Tories because the "remembrance of the tender mercies of Tory rule in Ireland is too vivid in their recollection to be easily eradicated".[82] By 1857 religious paranoia informed political behaviour to the extent that Protestant Reformers at Perth rejected lifelong Irish Catholic Reformer John Doran out of hand as a serious Reform candidate because although he[83]

> is a highly respectable man,...he is a Romanist & we know enough of the principles of his Church that no trust can be placed in him or any other of his religion, should it appear to him to be for the benefit of his church, no matter what promises he may make known to the electors.

Increasingly between 1845 and 1868 religious issues dominated politics, and a major realignment in regional society was the growing number of links between various Protestant denominations wary of the perceivedly stronger links between the Catholic clergy and the Canadian government.

II

In the 1840s and 1850s the established non-Irish Catholic population seized on public education as a social instrument which guaranteed stability amid the arriving onslaught of perceivedly illiterate Irish Catholics. Previously American-origin inhabitants had used the temperance movement effectively to cloak their submerged ethno-political agenda of countering the secret influence of Orangeism, but by the late 1840s temperance had proven so popular as to become strictly a moral cause drawing support from some Irish Catholics and Protestants, whereas Scottish Reformers had not proven supportive. The promise of the temperance movement to remove demoralisation and crime had not materialised. The swell of Irish Catholic Famine immigrants in the late 1840s impelled Irish Protestants to join non-Irish inhabitants in pushing for popular education, arguing in 1846 that "[t]here is no security for the good order of society and for the protection of life and property under the laws except in the general diffusion of education, in extending its range, in elevating its standard, in improving its tone".[84] The Brockville Statesman copied lawyer Robert Sullivan's argument before a Home District jury that demoralisation and increasing crime were not caused either by poverty nor by "the immigration of new settlers importing the ignorance and lawlessness of the degraded and uneducated classes in the mother country", but rather by "the low state of popular education in this Country".[85]

For those who perceived from the penitentiary and gaol statistics that an undue proportion of Irish Catholics comprised the criminal class, universal education promised to prevent crime in all

localities, and promised to elevate all children sufficiently to make them worthy of marrying into the families of the host society.[86] Moreover, it initially was expected that[87]

> a liberal and enlightened education, is making an inroad on the rigour of all churches, affecting their clerical as well as their lay members [making it impossible] that any church whatever should remain for ever unchanged, and...that all churches will yet, through the more extended diffusion of knowledge and refinement, approach much nearer to uniformity in creed than they do at present.

Not only would education render Famine immigrants less of a social threat, but it would enlighten them to be better and more useful members of society (Illustration 116).[88] When Catholic clergy interposed with separate schools to prevent the assimilation of Irish Catholic children to the norms of the Protestant majority, both Irish and non-Irish Protestant proponents of universal education initially feared the ulterior motive of the public education revolution to be in vain. The Carleton Place Herald editor commented in 1862:[89]

> Apparently afraid that the people will become too educated, intelligent and enlightened to receive as truth, the errors and dogmas of past generations, they curse our Common School system of Education, upon which mainly depend the hopes and prospects of our rising country, and pray, fervently, for the return of the gloom and ignorance of the "dark ages".

At the same time that Irish Catholic Famine immigrants poured into the region, provincial education superintendent Egerton Ryerson warned about the dangers of juvenile delinquency to provincial society. When Ryerson met with school teachers at Perth in November 1847, he "seemed to say that they who were indifferent to education, were indirectly the means of making 'thieves, incendiaries, and murderers' by allowing the youth, without any effort to enlighten them, to grow up 'barbarians and vagrants'."[90] A Ramsay Scottish Presbyterian expanded

on Ryerson's theme, arguing that if the state did not ensure virtuous education to youth it eventually might have to pay a higher price for their incarceration as criminals. Society had to overcome the mass wallowing in ignorance that existed (Illustration 117).[91] J.A. Murdock of Perth lectured audiences throughout Lanark County that universal free schools would render unnecessary gaols, penitentiaries, sheriffs, penal colonies, hangmen and gallows.[92] E.C. Sliter enthused before the Lyndhurst Division of the Sons of Temperance in 1858 that "the day is not far distant when Education will become universal, and ignorance and crime will be driven from amongst us forever."[93] No regional supporter of free schools, it is important to note, was as explicit as Ryerson in specifically identifying Irish Catholic Famine immigrants as the social threat which only public education could reform. Ryerson remarked of the Irish Catholic immigrants in 1848:[94]

> The physical disease and death which has accompanied their influx among us may be the precursor of the worst pestilence of social insubordination and disorder. It is therefore of the last importance that every possible effort should be employed to bring the facilities of education within the reach of the families of these unfortunate people, that they may grow up in the industry and intelligence of the country, and not in the idleness and pauperism, not to say mendicity and vice, of their forefathers.

Regional advocates of universal education were aware of this linking of Irish Catholics with social insubordination, printed as it was in the Journal of Education of Upper Canada, but amid a preponderant Irish immigrant population they were more oblique in alluding to it.

Universal education as a panacea for the social ills of the region, despite gaining ready acceptance and enjoying implementation to a large degree by the early 1860s, was not without its critics. The Carleton Place Herald in 1851 perceived no necessity for the state to

educate the children of those who could well afford it, arguing instead that a direct tax should be levied to educate the children of paupers and criminals since there was virtually no actual pauper population in Canada, and because supporting a system of state paid schools was as intolerable a thought as supporting state paid churches.[95] As close as the debate over universal education in the region came to mentioning Irish Catholic Famine immigrants being regarded as a social threat to the region was when David Lawson of Carleton Place rejected the argument that education would eradicate criminality; he noted that French Canadians were the worst educated part of the population, and who though comprising one third of Canada's total population, formed less than a sixth of its penitentiary inhabitants.[96] When an advocate of public education replied that the low crime rate among French Canadians was due to "being trained from their infancy in the fear of God, and in the practice of the moral virtues", the Carleton Place Herald indignantly responded that this implied "the ignorant Roman Catholic stands in a higher position with regard to religious and moral principle, than the educated Protestant" and that this was a fallacy "as it is also well known that there is a greater amount of crime among the Irish Roman Catholics, than there is among their Protestant brethren."[97]

Eventually even the Herald editor came to advocate compulsory universal education after observing that[98]

> there are in every city in the Dominion a great mass of poor uneducated childhood of both sexes, who grow up in the worst kinds of debauchery, lewdness, profanity, and godlessness, and who, from their youth, to their grave, are nothing but drunkards, loafers, vagabonds, and criminals.... [He perceived that] the poor, ignorant, and vicious classes...systematically neglect the education of their offspring, even while living under the very shadow of the free school-house[,...allowing] our

> juvenile pauper population, our street Arabs, and our mischievous urchins, to grow up in ignorance and vice, and ultimately graduate from the Reformatory to the Prison, from the Prison to the Penitentiary, and from thence too often to the gallows.

The utopian expectations of universally available education to assimilate Famine immigrants to the norms of regional society contrasted with the actual results in school sections where large numbers of Irish Catholics resided. In some remote Renfrew Irish Catholic settlements no schools were set up. An inhabitant of Grattan Township as late as 1868 feared that many a son of these later settlers arrived "at manhood, with the vacant gaze of ignorance sullying his vivid eye and undaunted countenance".[99] The availability of public schools did not necessarily encourage the Irish Catholic settlers to send their children since they needed them at home to help work and because many were unable to clothe their children suitably for school. The poorly clothed Irish Catholic child at school was treated as if his poverty was a crime, and if a child was absent for the lack of a shirt or because he was helping his father, school funds were withheld from his section and given to one in which the children of longer-established more wealthy inhabitants were regularly attending school.[100] The Ottawa Tribune encouraged Irish Catholics not to send their children to public common schools where they would suffer from mixing with the children of bigoted Orangemen, and where the opening page of the King James Bible anathematised Roman Catholics.[101] Regional newspapers did not reflect the strong ethnic tensions that existed in school sections in which Irish Protestants and Catholics attended the same school, tensions fed by growing denominational rivalries at a time when many local schools were used as houses of worship. They recorded the results of the

tension such as the windows and shutters of a Nepean school in which Episcopal Methodists had been meeting being broken,[102] and Montague schools ransacked and burned down.[103]

The strong ethno-religious tensions reported in the late 1840s and early 1850s to the superintendent of education revealed initial mistrust in the wake of extensive Irish Catholic immigration. Irish Catholics in Bromley, for example, complained in 1845 that an Orange minority threw obstacles in the way of the municipal council elected by the Catholic majority, preventing township schools from receiving government funds.[104] The Scottish Presbyterian inspector responded to such accusations by claiming that the township clerk of Bromley acted "as an agitator or demagogue" inciting Catholics "to withstand all lawful and constituted authority" and from their numerical strength "to look for a Popish ascendency in this township, that is incompatible with the interest and welfare of the British Government and her Majesty's loyal subjects in this section of the country."[105] The United Church of England and Ireland and Irish Methodist trustees of a Montague school section who opposed retaining an illiterate Irish Catholic teacher in 1851 complained that[106]

> the opposite party like savages threatened to have the lives of all loyal people who dare oppose them and even beat one man, and had it not been that there was a justice of the peace in the house, they would certainly have done more harm, now sir if we are to be trampled upon in this manner by a mob of uncivilized Papists, It is high time that we would be separated from them....[A]t the annual meeting three of the most violent of the Papists called on the Trustees, and ordered them, not to allow any preaching being Protestant to be allowed in the school-house or they would prosecute them for so doing and If that failed they would pull down the house.

Accordingly, within a few months this school burned down.[107] Only a few school sections witnessed such raging ethno-religious tension, but the vocabulary prompted in these few instances betrayed the regional Irish Protestant mind-set, virtually unchanged since the end of the eighteenth century, that regional Irish Catholics posed a potential revolutionary threat until the common public school could work its beneficial assimilating influence.

The push for separate schools by the Catholic hierarchy in the mid 1850s only temporarily was perceived by regional Protestants to be a setback to their hopes that in the common public school "Roman Catholics so long bound down by the chains of ignorance & superstition [were] awaking up to the subject of education and exerting themselves to put their sons & their daughters in possession of this invaluable treasure."[108] Catholic bishop Charbonnel turned the criminality argument on its head, arguing that immorality and infidelity increased in proportion to Godless education, and that the mixed common schools of Upper Canada posed a danger to the faith and morals of Catholic children.[109] Regional Protestants responded to Charbonnel's drastic refusal of sacraments to Catholics attending common schools[110] and pronouncing guilty of mortal sin Catholic parents who sent their children to common schools,[111] by interpreting these remarkable measures as a preference for illiterate Catholic youth over allowing them to fraternise with Protestants. The consequence would be that Catholic children would grow up pagans so far as intelligence was concerned, that provincial gaols would continue to be filled with the same proportion of illiterate criminals, and that bigotry and ignorance would reign supreme. Almost in disbelief, the Catholic laity were

asked by regional editors if they were "content that a generation of their people shall grow up in beastly ignorance"?[112] Regional Protestants scared themselves more with this question than they daunted their Catholic neighbours. The independent, Orange and Irish Protestant Merrickville Chronicle by 1862 argued that Catholic separate schools were an admitted necessity; freedom and ignorance could not exist together, an uneducated community abounded in paupers and criminals,[113] and consequently separate schools were preferable to an ignorant population.[114]

Regional Irish Catholics in their push for separate schools did not readily dismiss the importance of education for their advancement as a community. Even before the separate schools Bill was passed in 1856, the Ottawa Tribune printed letters from Catholics in the United States who stated that bad as the Upper Canadian school system might be, it was more tolerant of Irish Catholics than was the American system.[115] Ethnic pride aside, the Tribune rebuked rural Irish Catholics on their deservedly abysmal reputation for illiteracy. The Tribune editor commented in August 1861:[116]

> In the course of a few day's travel through the country, for recreation rather than business, the fact came home to us that journalism is not sufficiently appreciated by the farming community, especially the Catholic portion of it, in many thriving quarters of this vicinity. The fact speaks badly for the people.... What we desire is to stimulate the people to educate themselves—to keep themselves informed of the history of the world around them, and to remove from themselves the stigma of ignorance which their more intelligent neighbours fasten upon them.....

A few months later the Tribune assessed the political price paid by Irish Catholics for the disgrace of reading less than any other class of society:[117]

> We know of municipalities around this city three-fourths Irish Catholic, where not a single Catholic represents his class in any capacity. Look at the County of Ottawa, examine its list of Municipal officers and see who regulates its affairs—then take a glance at the census returns and compare notes. Take the Counties of Carleton, Prescott and Russell, and Renfrew and make like investigations. The result will be that the Catholic people are covered with a mantle of shame.

Such disparagement by an Irish Catholic editor of the relative illiteracy of Irish Catholics was only possible some five years after the passing of the separate schools Bill, after Protestants grudgingly accepted the fact that separate schools were with them to stay. Regional Protestants, both Irish and non-Irish, focussed their initial anger on the religious implications. The Brockville Recorder agreed with a Toronto Examiner editorial which argued that separate schools apprehended "the influence of sound general knowledge—of free thought, and of the consequent emancipation of mind from the chains and fetters of the Priesthood."[118] There was not the hysteria regionally which pervaded Toronto Protestants who feared being swamped by Irish Catholic hordes hence allowing Bishop Charbonnel to destroy the provincial educational system,[119] and who fed on Egerton Ryerson's argument that Catholic clergy opposed Catholic and Protestant youth intermingling in the public schools since it blunted the Catholic clergy's depiction of Protestants as infidels.[120]

By contrast, the Bathurst Courier, although opposed in principle to separate or sectarian schools, argued in 1853 "if Catholics insist on having their children kept aloof and separate from other children, as a distinct class in society, why let them—but at the same time, let them 'pay the piper'."[121] An Irish Orange correspondent of the Carleton Place Herald observed coolly in 1857 that separate schools were not

rampant, and that the local Tory candidate had Orange permission to support separate schools.[122] The Perth Courier in an 1862 editorial argued that differing as the Roman Catholic Church did so widely from all other Christian denominations, and holding views so peculiarly her own, there is really some excuse for her demand for Separate Schools", whereas there was none for any Protestant denomination.[123] Even the Orange grand master in 1863 upheld the validity of Catholic separate schools, stating that Catholics must not be deprived of their religious liberty.[124] Some regional Protestants in the mid 1850s clearly felt that in their quest for separate schools, Catholics had "banded together to demand more than we conceive to be their rights",[125] but by 1863 it was also possible to find Presbyterian and Church of Scotland clergy good humouredly joining Catholic clergy to conduct examinations at the Brockville separate school.[126] In the late 1860s the only continuing notes of intolerance for separate schools in regional newspapers came from Toronto sources, such as an 1866 Globe editorial in the Carleton Place Herald which criticised Upper Canadian Irish Catholics for too often isolating themselves from the majority.[127]

There were, then, two education revolutions between 1845 and 1868, the first establishing universally available public education, and the second separating Irish Catholic students from the larger Protestant population. Regional society had the same expectation of both common and separate schools, essentially to guarantee that Irish Catholic Famine immigrants did not pose a criminal threat nor a social burden to regional society either immediately or in the future. For that assurance, regional Irish and non-Irish Protestants reluctantly tolerated separate schools before Confederation.

III

The growing importance and acceptance of Orangeism in regional society from the arrival of the Famine immigration in the late 1840s onward was a further major realignment in regional society. It buttressed the positive surface acceptance of Irish Catholic immigrants by reinforcing the devotional revolution, and by claiming to offer Protestants a bulwark of resistance to any potential Catholic dominance. The Irish Catholic inundation in 1847 briefly alarmed regional society about the possibility of being overwhelmed by a potential Catholic majority. Irish Tory Protestant editors and politicians fed these fears, furiously organising Orange lodges to gain subscribers and votes. The sudden emergence of Orange lodges at Bytown in the late 1840s contrasted with only a few years previously when "no such thing as an Orange Lodge was in existence, and...it was even dangerous for an Orangeman to avow himself one."[128] The motives for the new spurt of Orange growth in the region were defensive as shown by the motto of the Orange Lily published at Bytown, "I have set Watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace day nor night".[129] The new strength of Orangeism produced a vocabulary mingling defensive and defiant messages. Orange editors proclaimed themselves[130]

> strong in the desire for peace and religious liberty—strong, too, in the power to avenge any insult or injury received by any one of its members from those who are taught by their venal priests that Orangemen are sworn to exterminate them. Orangemen desire to live in peace and good fellowship with their fellow-citizens.

The content of regional Orange newspapers reflected an alarm more with the United Church of England and Ireland being abandoned by a government

forging stronger links with the Church of Rome, rather than a particular offensive against regional Roman Catholics (Illustration 118). The new strength of Orangeism, the Bytown Orange Lily proclaimed in 1849, effectively meant that Protestants in Bytown no longer were terrified by lawless men.[131] This was a significant statement to regional Irish Protestants for whom the fears of a Catholic ascendancy were revived with the union of the Canadas followed by the Irish Catholic Famine immigration.

There was a more subtle cause for revived Orange growth in the 1840s and after. The implementation of the party processions Act banning Orange demonstrations in 1843 gave force to Orange arguments that the union of the Canadas placed Protestants at the mercy of hostile Catholics in the provincial legislature. The Reform editor of the Carleton Place Herald remarked in 1851 that if Orangeism had not been allowed to raise the matter of the party processions as a matter of grievance, "it would die a natural death".[132] Legislators admitted that the party processions Act should be repealed, that it directly had been responsible for Orangeism dramatically growing; many Irish Protestants had not joined until the passing of the Act.[133] Even the Irish Catholic Ottawa Tribune which in one breath decried Orangeism for covering prejudice and crimes against society with the war-cry of loyalty, in the next breath admitted that in Upper Canada[134]

> the efforts to rouse public opinion in having Orangeism put down have...induced efforts in a contrary direction, which have resulted in large additions to its ranks from the masses of people, who are easily caught by religious appeals, and all the political adventurers in the country at once hastened to secure its influence by prostituting their intelligence to its uses, in order that, in good time, they might use it for their own selfish ends.

The impressive strength of regional Orangeism by the early 1860s was shown by eight thousand members[135] belonging to fifty-six lodges marching in an 1865 procession in Ottawa,[136] and an estimated ten to eleven thousand people jamming the streets of Brockville on the twelfth of July in 1862,[137] a crowd much larger than that which greeted the Prince of Wales just two years earlier (Illustrations 119 through 122).[138] The ultimate proof that Orangeism had gained new influence in society was provided by the loan of the Carleton County court-house for an Orange convention in 1860, a measure which the Ottawa Tribune deemed an "open outrage of that hitherto sacred and neutral ground".[139]

The new growth of Orangeism dated from the time of the Irish Catholic Famine immigration in the late 1840s, but the order did not gain respectability until after passage of the 1856 separate schools Act, even though the party processions Act was repealed in 1851.[140] Before 1856 regional Reform editors assessed Orangemen as being low in intelligence,[141] United Church of England and Ireland clergy defied the law in preaching to Orangemen on the twelfth of July,[142] Oddfellows disavowed any connection with Orange lodges,[143] and even Irish Protestant editors perceived it politic to see public processions "totally abandoned forever".[144] Orangeism and its leaders were disparagingly connected with burning the parliament buildings at Montreal, burning the governor general in effigy, and urging annexation with the United States.[145] An account of Orangemen armed in a twelfth of July procession at Hamilton being attacked by Catholic onlookers was reported in local newspapers with feelings of disapproval and detestation for the Orangemen.[146] Orangemen were not allowed on juries,[147] and the Ottawa Tribune in 1856 deemed it "sensational" that an Orange delegation was received by the governor general.[148]

In August 1856 the editor of the Brockville Recorder observed that "the Orange Society has made rapid strides lately [due to] the conduct of Bishop Charbonnel and his abettors in seeking to overturn the common school system of Upper Canada".[149] Increasingly, after passage of the separate school Bill, Reform editors joined Conservatives in emphasising the respectability and orderliness of Orangemen. Two thousand Orangemen who converged at Carleton Place in 1857 were described as a "most orderly gathering" as contrasted with the whiskey drinking and fights that previously had marked Orange processions (Illustration 123).[150] The Perth Courier complimented the 1858 Orange parade in that town by doubting "if any other organization amongst us, could have brought such a large, respectable and intelligent assemblage as was met together on this occasion."[151] The Merrickville Chronicle in 1859 marvelled[152]

> that the universal sentiment of the Village and country is no longer that Orangeism is a moral, social and political evil—an injury to society—a blight on the soil—a detriment to the best interests of the communities where it is found—a reproach and damage to the whole country. But within the last twenty-eight years a different sentiment has sprung up, and deems Orangeism not an evil, but a blessing; not a virgin of harlotry, but a virgin decked in bridal attire, to be gazed on with complacency and love! and many are compelled to abandon opinions held a quarter of a century ago, and give in their adhesion to the fact, that Orangeism is the flower of Protestantism.

At Carleton Place in 1862 a United Church of England and Ireland clergyman "spoke in glowing terms of praise of the moral tendency of the institution, and the highly religious character of the members" of Orange lodges.[153] A history of Orangeism published in 1859 by Ogle R. Gowan reinforced the growth and new public acceptance of the order by most regional Protestants (Illustration 124).

The new respectability of regional Orangeism in large part can be traced to the growing influence of the temperance movement, especially between 1840 and 1854. Drinking still went on in many Orange lodges, but increasingly there was pressure to limit consumption and not to appear inebriated while assembled in public. The Orange Lily as early as 1850 linked the increasing Orange numbers to lodges no longer being places for combined drinking and carousing as they had been previously.[154] Orangemen such as the editor of the Kemptville Progressionist increasingly were sensitive to accusations from foes that they were intemperate and disturbers of the peace,[155] accusations the proof of which was as evident as the print of the Battle of the Boyne which graced a Carleton Place saloon.[156] It is possible that the promotion of temperance among the Catholic St. Patrick's societies and by Catholic clergy prodded Orange lodges not to be outdone by Irish Catholics,[157] especially at a time when intemperance was increasingly linked with debauchery, anarchy[158] and riot.[159] For some Irish Protestants it became a matter of social esteem not to be contrasted unfavourably as heavier drinkers than their Scottish neighbours,[160] nor to be refused tavern licences in company with Irish Catholics because of their perceived tendency toward violence under the influence of liquor.[161]

By the mid 1850s the temperance movement suffered an apparent decline of interest[162] as regional inhabitants stood "aloof from dealing with the growing evil of intemperance",[163] with temperance societies in the heavily British-settled area "either dying or dead".[164] What actually was dying, as Janet Noel has documented, were the underlying political aspirations and agenda of Reformers who found temperance not

to be a panacea for everything wrong with Canadian society.[165] Orange Tories as late as 1847 peered beyond the facade of temperance processions, held "ostensibly to commemorate moral and social reform", appalled to note the open display of political "party badges and banners".[166] By the late 1850s temperance was strictly a moral movement which accented the gentling of society and the devotional revolution. Though the American Reform impetus for temperance withered, the push for sobriety in Orange lodges continued, enjoying such success that some local Orange lodges and temperance societies were holding joint soirées by 1858.[167] At Ottawa by 1866 the[168]

> improvement in regard to the exclusion of liquors from Lodge rooms and the discountenancing of intoxication, had won many female friends in behalf of the order, and dissipated former anxieties entertained by mothers and wives in regard to male relatives joining the institution.

Regional Orangeism despite its growing numbers and increasing respectability was locked into an embrace with Conservatives politically, an embrace which began in the 1820s when Irish Protestants flooded the region, which was enhanced by initial Irish Protestant paranoia when Irish Catholics arrived in droves in the late 1840s, and which was ideologically and rhetorically complicated by the joint embrace of the Catholic hierarchy from 1853 onward. Unlike the western part of the province where a strong Grit wing appeared in the Orange order between 1853 and 1867,[169] the United Church of England and Ireland Irish immigrants who dominated Orangeism in eastern Upper Canada tolerated no Reformers in their ranks to recall the painful exile which earlier reformers had prompted in urging passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act.[170] So strong was the tradition of being linked with government that even when Irish Catholics began supporting Tory

candidates, most regional Orangemen preferred to endure taunts from Reform editors about the irony of commemorating the defeat of Catholics at the Boyne yet returning members of parliament who were bound to Roman Catholics politically[171] rather than lose their own link to political power. Reform editors repeatedly labelled Orangeism a mere political machine,[172] and many regional Orangemen clearly chafed at being mere political pawns[173] by advocating the organisation as a religious society rather than a political engine.[174]

Temporarily from 1853 to 1856 a schism existed in Canadian Orangeism, with thirty percent of lodges breaking away under George Benjamin from the lodge headed by Ogle Gowan at Brockville. Only the Orange lodges at Bytown and in Renfrew County, the two parts of the region in which there were large concentrations of Roman Catholics, followed Benjamin; they refused to accept an agreement with French Canadian leaders to strengthen the Conservative party politically.[175] Ogle Gowan charged the schismatics under Benjamin with organising "Know Nothing" lodges in the Kingston vicinity, and Hereward Senior has suggested that "[t]here is little doubt...there were many in the Benjamin faction...prepared for the Americanization of the lodges".[176] The schism between Gowanites and Benjaminites was healed in 1856. Two years later when a Bill was introduced for the incorporation of the Loyal Orange Association, Carleton Orange member, William F. Powell, perceived that the "feeling even in the House was much better as regarded the Orange Society, than [it] was years ago" and Attorney General George-Étienne Cartier stated "that since he had come into Parliament he had always found those who were said to be Orangemen the most liberal towards the Catholics, and far more so than those who pretend to be of

the Reform party."[177] At the local level many individual Orangemen spoke out, disparaging the concessions that Orange members of parliament made to Roman Catholics as their political allies.[178] Regional Reform editors constantly preyed on this disgruntlement with editorials that Protestantism in Canada was receiving its most fatal wounds from Orangemen as Orange members unanimously supported all bills setting up Catholic institutions.[179] In the part of the region with the highest concentration of southeastern Irish Protestants, the editors of the Orange Mirickville Chronicle felt constrained openly to withdraw their support, secretly supporting the Conservative ministry while loudly deprecating the bills it passed promoting Catholic institutions.

Although southeastern Irish Protestant immigrants and their offspring remained at the core of regional Orangeism, the order was decreasingly the voice and vehicle for them exclusively as an ethnic group as its pan-Protestant appeal grew. As late as 1852 the editor of the Bathurst Courier emphatically asserted that[180]

> an Orange procession is never seen marching to a Presbyterian, a Baptist, or a Methodist Church, nor is a sermon ever preached to them by Ministers of the denominations which the Anglican Church styles 'Dissenters;' and yet the members of these denominations are the real, genuine Protestants.

When it appeared that the Orange Association in 1853 might well act as the main link in binding together a Protestant alliance against French Canada, the Courier editor expostulated:[181]

> All Orangemen are sworn to support the connection between church and state, and the dominancy of the Anglican hierarchy. The large majority of the dissenting bodies hold principles diametrically opposite to these. No Orangeman can ever become a Voluntary, neither can a Voluntary ever become an Orangeman.

The Courier editor clearly protested too much. Barely a year later

Presbyterian clergyman John L. Gourlay claimed that many Orangemen in Carleton County did not belong to the Church of England.[182] The Ottawa Tribune estimated in 1856 that at least one quarter of Orangemen did not belong to the Church of England.[183] By 1858 the Presbyterian clergyman at Lanark Village stated publicly that he was "truly glad... to know that increasing numbers continue to attend [Orange lodges] and to unite, and that the prospect is, that every intelligent and truehearted Protestant will more and more see it to be his duty to do so."[184]

By 1859 the Mirickville Chronicle could assert that "[m]any of the most pious and devout of our Clergy, of all denominations, are found within [the] ranks of [Orangeism]."[185] An Orange Soirée was held in the Methodist church at Clayton in 1858.[186] Methodist and Presbyterian clergy were ranged alongside United Church of England and Ireland clergy on the same platform at a great Orange Soirée at Perth in 1865,[187] and again addressed Orangemen on the twelfth of July. The crucial year in which many voluntarist Protestants began heeding Orange rhetoric appears to have been 1856 when the separate schools Act was forced through parliament. Many people such as Walter Beatty of Yonge Township, who never before had attended any form of Orange gathering, in 1856 "went to Brockville with the boys for to let them see the Orangemen walk"[188] and from then on continued to attend Orange processions and gatherings at which a variety of Protestant clergymen addressed Orangemen (Illustrations 125 through 130).[189]

Orangeism enjoyed increasing pan-Protestant support from the time that Famine immigrants arrived in the region because it appeared to offer assurance against imminent French-Canadian and Catholic domination, and because it no longer posed the threat of Irish violence

being repeated in Canada it once did. Regional Orange editors in the late 1840s effectively elicited support by contrasting Orangemen who were denied the right to hold processions with Roman Catholic processions that paraded flags, banners, party colours, bands of music and what they termed "blasphemous mummery".[190] Orangemen, they continued, did not wish to suppress these Catholic public ceremonies, whereas the only way in which Orangemen could meet in public legally was to circumvent the law by attending church or being accompanied by clergy.[191] After the party processions Act was repealed in 1851, Reform editors hammered away at Orangeism as a mere Conservative tool antagonistic to the cause of civil liberty,[192] but abruptly following the Reform loss of Catholic support and the imposition of separate schools in 1856, Reform editors considered Orangemen in a new light. In 1859 the Perth Courier responded to an attack on Orangeism by the Catholic Toronto Mirror with these words:[193]

> It is true, in times gone by, Orangeism was made a tool of by designing politicians to subserve party purposes, but Orangemen are beginning to understand their duties and obligations much better than they have hitherto done. We recollect of seeing an Orange procession some years ago composed of about a couple of dozen of as ruffianly looking fellows as anyone need wish to cast eyes upon, but the procession of last year was a totally different affair. Then Orangemen were the mere ignorant dupes of designing charlatans—now, they are composed of educated and liberal-minded men, who understand that one of their chief obligations is to live in charity with all men. Times have changed, and Orangeism has changed with them.... To assume that the Orange Society is established to oppress Catholics, and deal unjustly with them, is, to say the least of it, very wide of the truth.

When the Prince of Wales during his 1860 progress across British North America refused to visit either Kingston or Belleville in response to Catholic objections over Orangemen waiting to greet him with banners

and insignia, this only served to confirm Protestant fears that only Orangeism offered a sufficient bulwark against Catholic ambitions. The Reform Carleton Place Herald, continuing in the tradition of belittling Orangeism, initially sided with the Prince's advisors, judging them right not to tolerate an Orange demonstration.[194] By contrast, the Reform Brockville Recorder perceived that[195]

> the large mass of the Protestant population, considered the event as a practical test, a sort of struggle for supremacy between Protestant and Roman influences at work in the Province, and they rejoiced that their fellowmen had not succombed to what they considered the unwarrantable dictates of a daring minister.

Within a month the Carleton Place editor agreed, saying that it stirred Protestant principles to see the Prince advised to turn his back on the banners recording events that gave him his title to the Crown.[196] Taunts from other Reform editors that Orangemen had become subservient to French Canadians contrasted with the growing pan-Protestant appeal of regional Orangeism in the 1860s.[197]

Roman Catholic perceptions of Orangeism between 1845 and 1868 were equally complex. French Canadians in the region had previously had more to fear from Irish Catholic Shiners than from Orangeism, and the three newspapers published in French before 1869 made no allusions to Orangeism other than to deplore the Orange fanatics who molested a French Canadian at Bobcaygeon.[198] Little direct evidence has survived of what regional French Canadian clergy had to say about Orangeism. It can hardly have been flattering given that Catholic churches at Onslow and Fitzroy in 1854 and at Richmond in 1857 were believed set on fire by "la rage Orangiste",[199] given that Orangemen were believed to have started a major riot at Renfrew in 1851 against Catholics,[200] and given

that all Catholic servants sent to Irish Protestant communities such as Richmond were reported "with few exceptions [having] become [Protestant] perverts by marriage or some other way".[201] Catholic bishop Guigues could hardly have become enamoured of Orangeism upon receipt of an anonymous letter in 1854 from an Orangeman in Huntley demanding that he "assist the Revd. Mr. McFeely in making up the sum of £50 by way of restitution for the burning of the Orange hall" in that vicinity.[202] The one statement on Orangeism which with certainty can be traced directly to French-born bishop Guigues was printed in the Ottawa Tribune in 1856:[203]

> We owe our tranquility to the spirit of toleration which pervades all the Canadian society. We owe it to the honorable and truly liberal conduct of many Protestants to whom, with pleasure, we render this justice. We owe it also to our priests, who by their continual exhortations are daily cementing their flocks in the spirit of charity, union and concord. To Orangeism we owe all the disorders that have taken place, we sincerely believe that if they and their brethren, the Know-nothings have not rendered themselves guilty of a much greater number, it is entirely due to the unceasing efforts of honest men of all shades of belief, who unite themselves to bring them into merited contempt.

Most regional Irish Catholics judged Orangeism in Canada "by its antecedents in Ireland, and too many give credit to those who compose the body alike for uncompromising hatred of them and their religion" which a Catholic correspondent of the Ottawa Citizen in 1852 judged a most mistaken view and as being the cause of all uncharitableness where none need exist if both parties properly understood one another. He observed that Orangemen were led to a similar prejudice against Irish Catholics because they did not know "the teaching of the catholic religion, and based [their] judgement of that teaching upon the violent, wicked and unchristian acts of depraved men, who, nominally Catholics,

despise the teaching of their church, and live virtually outside its pale."[204] Another correspondent of the Citizen agreed, arguing that both Orangemen and Irish Catholics had inherited their prejudices. He found it[205]

> most extraordinary that while Catholics and Orangemen are preparing to overcome each other as a party, that their personal feelings appear to be as good as ever,—the Orangeman is ready to oblige the Catholic, and the Catholic is ready to serve the Orangeman. This is as it should be, since neither can tell distinctly what they are quarelling about. The cause is neither land, goods, nor chattels, but a mere matter of opinion. But they cry out, liberty is is danger,—liberty would indeed be in danger if left to the protection of either party;—thank providence, liberty has a legitimate guardian in the law of the land.

In April 1858 the Ottawa Tribune referred to Orangeism as being indissolubly bound together with riot and murder, and analogous to the Terror of the French Revolution.[206] As late as 4 June 1858 in North Leeds Orange grand master Ogle Gowan received only one out of 223 Irish Catholic votes in a by-election.[207]

Within one week the fruit of a new political alliance was evident in an editorial presented the Irish Catholic readers of the Ottawa Tribune on 12 June 1858:[208]

> At this period of the nin[e]teenth century in Canada, we who know something of the history of Orangeism can say this much, that what exactly Orangeism was, as far as liberality towards Catholicism is concerned, forty years ago Clear Gritism is to-day; and Clear Gritism, as propounded through the Globe, is decidedly the Orangeism of 1798.... If the modern Canadian Orangeman cho[o]ses to aid us...well and good; and in aiding us in this effect he ceases to a certain extent to have all the attributes that made the name distasteful in another land. He may denounce Pope and Popery with every breath, but as long as his denunciations do not come with a British or practical platform of destruction, so long they are but idle wind, and harmless to Catholics. Old

> Orangeism, of Pitch Cap remembrance, does not exist by that name in Canada, as may be seen by their votes in the House. The name remains, but by a political transmigratory process, their principles are to be found in the breasts of the party marshalled by George Brown....

From the perspective of regional Reform editors, Irish Catholics and Orangemen had effectively allied themselves against the "native and free born Canadians" of Upper Canada [emphasis mine].[209]

This last remark, reminiscent of the climate of fear three decades earlier in which American-origin Reformers had seized on the temperance movement as a secret ethno-political safeguard to counter the growing influence of the vast Orange Irish Protestant immigration engulfing them, suggests a brief consideration of the Dark Lantern Society. In November 1861 Robert W. Kelly, the editor of the Tory British Central Canadian was arrested in his bed at Brockville by a Kemptville constable and taken to Merrickville where he stood at trial charged by Mr. Craig Holmes with theft of goods belonging to Holmes from the Prescott lodge of the Dark Lantern Society. Holmes and the two justices presiding over the trial were later named by Kelly as members of the Dark Lantern Society.[210] The Tory Brockville Monitor and the pro-Reform Gananoque Reporter stated that the trial was held in private upon the complainant's request until a group of prominent men in Merrickville burst open the doors and insisted that the trial be held in public.[211] Kelly not only proved himself innocent but made the Dark Lantern Society notorious in a pamphlet entitled A Full Exposure of the C.B.S. or Dark Lantern Association. Regional Reform papers made light of the episode, and the editors of the Mirickville Chronicle defended the society, arguing that "the persons represented as in connection with it are the 'leading men' of the localities in which it

exists...and if they are members, we have no objection to join them in any undertaking they may deem laudable and praiseworthy."[212] Within this set of circumstances Kelly explained that the major password to gain admittance into the Dark Lantern Society was "The Honourable George Brown", and that in the initiation oath members swore[213]

> to keep the secrets of the society, obey the rules, vote only for reform candidates, do everything in their power to weaken British authority in America, to join in any revolution to overthrow it, to suppress the Roman Catholic Church and to treat Tories and Orangemen alike. Where possible, they would employ only members of the society.

The Perth Courier attempted to play down such grave charges against Reformers, asking that if "no Orangeman, no Catholic, no British subject could join the society.—These three classes being excluded, where in the name of common sense, could the society expect to gain recruits?"[214] The answer which no regional editor dared provide to this question was that the recruits were to be found among the American-origin population in Leeds and Grenville who had given up on political Reform, who had given up on the temperance movement, and who had given up on universal education to keep Irish Orange Protestants and Irish Catholics in check as a political force, supplemented by Irish Protestants disillusioned with Orangeism having become a mere political tool to be used by the Roman Catholic hierarchy rather than a force to maintain Irish Protestant values. At the end of the trial the proprietors of the Mirickville Chronicle in a moment of remarkable candour admitted that they were members of[215]

> this much-abused Society. We would likewise say that although it has been only some three years in existence, yet in Stormont, Dundas, Carleton, Leeds and Grenville alone, it, at the present writing, numbers its members, not by hundreds, but thousands!—Moreover, its member-

> ship embraces the clergymen and adherents of almost every Protestant denomination in Canada; and the various organizations existing in the Province, of Masons, Orangemen, Templars, &c., are fully represented in its councils. So far as politics are concerned, it appears to know no party names, as it gathers within its folds alike the advocates of Conservatism and Reform.... Its objects are loyal and lawful, and tending to the lasting welfare of our country; but its growth is dreaded by sordid self-seekers who cannot obtain access and fear its power for good—hence the contumely and opposition it encounters.

As late as 1864 the Dark Lantern Society continued to wield regional influence, as shown by the complaint of a Merrickville inhabitant that "a conservative has no chance of getting heard in the Merrickville Chronicle which is controlled by the Dark Lantern Society."[216]

The Dark Lantern Society was a scuttled attempt by largely American-origin and some Irish Protestant inhabitants to develop a secret society within which they could channel their frustration and dismay with the new political alliance of Conservativism, Catholicism and Orangeism. The chronology of its founding late in 1858, following the decision of Catholic leaders to support the Tories who already enjoyed solid support from Orange leaders, is worth noting. The pointed references in the initiation oath against Catholicism, Tories and Orangemen may reflect the political bias of Robert Kelly, who was a Conservative editor, but also suggests regional disenchantment in the oldest settled sections largely based in the Reform American-origin population against Orange masters and Catholic priests acting as political brokers. They were joined by some of the more independent local Orange Irish Protestant inhabitants such as the editors of the Mirickville Chronicle who worried that the United Church of England and Ireland was being subverted to Rome from within, and who chafed at the

orders from the Orange hierarchy threatening to expel Orangemen who did not vote the Orange party line,[217] especially in favour of incorporating Catholic institutions against the strong feelings of local Orangemen. The 1857 and 1858 elections showed the growing Conservative stranglehold on the region, with only South Grenville and North Lanark remaining Reform out of the nine ridings (Map 62). The temperance movement had collapsed as an ethno-political force by 1854, existing only as a moral movement which appealed to Irish and non-Irish, Conservatives and Reformers alike, and by the late 1860s lodges of the British-American Order of Grand Temperance in the region joined the increasing number of Orange lodges conducted along strict temperance principles.[218]

With no members in Lanark and Renfrew, and few in Carleton County, the Dark Lantern Society during its brief existence was based in the American-origin counties of Leeds, Grenville, Stormont and Dundas. It lacked an effective yet subtle moral cloak such as the temperance movement possessed thirty years previously, and hence could not pose as an organisation devoted to the improvement of society while effectively screening politically undesirable people from rising in the hierarchy. The Dark Lantern Society was a secret society which stumbled when its prominent members, frustrated with the growing strength of Conservatism and the incomprehensible alliance of Catholics and Orangemen, misused public office to summarily deal with a political foe who intruded into their organisation. As with the temperance movement before it, the Dark Lantern Society's hidden attempt to combat the political success of Irish immigrants suggests how politically successful the Irish in regional society were perceived to be, and how tentative were the efforts to oppose them.

* * * * *

A review of the three touchstones — the growing influence of religion on politics, the education revolutions, and a new acceptance of Orangeism — all reveal an essentially equanimous perception of Irish immigrants between 1845 and 1868. As religion gained increasing importance in society, the growing numbers of Irish Catholics and large Irish Catholic churches appearing on the regional landscape served to remind local Protestants of the growing political influence of Irish Catholics, and spurred them to unite in the Orange order. Regional Irish members of the United Church of England and Ireland worried that the new liturgy and architecture coming from England symbolised not only the waning link of their church with government, but also the decline of the Reformation heritage of the Irish church and a declining role for Irish Protestants in regional society which was being prefigured in Ireland itself. The press for universal education from the late 1840s to prevent juvenile delinquency betrayed some underlying fears in regional society about the Irish Catholic immigrants entering the province; when faced with choosing between Catholic separate schools or an ignorant Irish Catholic population, regional society reluctantly accepted separate schools. There was never the hysteria locally which greeted separate schools in the Toronto region.

The growth of Orangeism in numbers and in respectability also betrayed concern among most regional Protestants that Catholicism was becoming too powerful politically. This appeared evident with the forcing through of separate schools and the refusal of officials to

let Orangemen, Freemasons and Presbyterian leaders meet with the Prince of Wales, who earlier had received prominent Catholic clergy during his 1860 visit. Following the passage of separate schools, Orangeism drew increasing pan-Protestant support as a type of bulwark against what were perceived as Catholic designs on supremacy, yet at the same time Orange members of the Conservative alliance in the legislature consistently backed all Catholic bills. A few thousand regional inhabitants, who could not accept this irony and who deplored the byzantine alignment of Irish Catholics and Orangemen in support of the Conservatives, were unable to harness their frustration productively in the short-lived Dark Lantern Society.

It had never been a tradition in the regional press directly to criticise Irish immigrants explicitly as an ethnic group, either the southeastern Irish Protestants arriving from the late 1820s on or the Catholic Famine inundation of the late 1840s. Increasingly after 1845 religion and politics became surrogates for ethnicity in discussions carried on in the regional press. By 1868 the major institutions of Irish immigrants in regional society were the Orange order, the Conservative party, the United Church of England and Ireland and the Roman Catholic Church. As early as 1858 these aligned institutions made the preponderant Irish population appear invincible, and by 1867 the political proof seemed evident in the Conservative sweep of all ridings.

NOTES

[1]Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75," The American Historical Review LXXII No. 3 (June 1972), pp. 625-652.

[2]As an example, in 1855 the Bathurst Courier contrasted the fine new Free Presbyterian Church at Perth built by voluntarists with the older less ambitious Church of Scotland house of worship financed by the state and attended by would-be aristocrats. Bathurst Courier, 14 September 1855, p. 2, col. 3.

[3]Brockville Recorder, 6 October 1859, p. 2, col. 8.

[4]Carleton Place Herald, 19 March 1862, p. 2, col. 7.

[5]Ibid., 17 January 1866, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[6]Bytown Packet, 19 February 1848, p. 2, col. 7.

[7]Bytown Orange Lily, 1 September 1850, p. 72, cols. 1-3.

[8]Ottawa Tribune, 23 July 1854, p. 2, col. 4.

[9]Ibid., 1 October 1859, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[10]Brockville Recorder, 20 May 1858, p. 2, col. 3; ibid., 4 February 1864, p. 2, col. 1.

[11]Carleton Place Herald, 19 September 1860, p. 2, col. 5.

[12]Mirickville Chronicle, 23 November 1860, p. 2, cols. 2-4.

[13]Ibid., 3 August 1860, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[14]Perth Courier, 26 June 1863, p. 2, col. 4.

[15]Brockville Recorder, 11 February 1864, p. 2, col. 6.

[16]Perth Courier, 29 April 1859, p. 2, col. 4.

[17]Carleton-Place Herald, 22 July 1858, p. 3, col. 3.

[18]Mirickville Chronicle, 14 September 1860, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[19]Cited in the Carleton-Place Herald, 20 November 1851, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[20]Bathurst Courier, 17 March 1854, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[21]Ottawa Tribune, 23 July 1854, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[22]Ibid., 3 August 1855, p. 1, cols. 2-6. This article was copied from the Prescott Telegraph.

[23]Carleton-Place Herald, 12 February 1857, p. 2, cols. 6-7.

[24]Perth Courier, 31 December 1857, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[25]Brockville Recorder, 26 August 1858, p. 2, col. 3.

[26]Ibid., 4 February 1864, p. 2, col. 5. This article also appeared in the Carleton Place Herald, 10 February 1864, p. 3, cols. 4-5.

[27]Carleton Place Herald, 10 February 1864, p. 2, col. 5.

[28]Ibid., 15 May 1861, p. 2, col. 5.

[29]Ibid., 1 May 1861, p. 3, cols. 2-3.

[30]As one example, between March and June 1866, United Church of England and Ireland clergy and Methodist clergy at Richmond and Augusta traded blows in a series of twelve bitter letters in the Brockville Recorder.

[31]Rev. John A. Mulock, Methodism unmasked, in a review of "A vindication of the Methodist Church" (so called) "in a pastoral address", by Benjamin Nankevill, Wesleyan Minister. (Carleton Place: printed by Smith & Oswell in Ogdensburgh, 1850). I am grateful to Howard M. Brown for bringing this publication to my attention.

[32]Brockville Recorder, 24 January 1856, p. 2, cols. 1-3.

[33]Carleton-Place Herald, 10 November 1853, p. 2, col. 6.

[34]Bytown Packet, 12 May 1849, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[35]Ottawa Tribune, 27 April 1855, p. 2, col. 4. Other examples are found in issues dated 24 November 1854, p. 2, cols. 3-4; and 17 August 1855, p. 2, col. 4.

[36]Bathurst Courier, 18 March 1853, p. 2, cols. 6-7.

[37]Brockville Recorder, 20 October 1853, p. 1, col. 3.

[38]Carleton-Place Herald, 19 September 1854, pp. 2-3, cols. 8-2.

[39]Brockville Recorder, 3 January 1856, p. 1, col. 6.

[40]Ibid., 17 July 1856, p. 2, col. 5.

[41]Gananoque Reporter, 20 March 1861, p. 1, cols. 6-7.

[42]Carleton Place Herald, 19 March 1862, p. 1, col. 1.

[43]Bathurst Courier, 6 December 1850, p. 2, cols. 2-4.

[44]Merrickville Chronicle, 28 April 1868, p. 2, col. 6.

[45]Carleton-Place Herald, 3 April 1856, p. 3, col. 6.

[46]Brockville Statesman, 5 January 1847, p. 1, cols. 3-5.

[47]Bytown Orange Lily, 1 August 1849, p. 21, cols. 1-2.

[48]Lanark Observer, 30 October 1850, p. 4, col. 1.

[49]Ibid., 7 May 1851, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[50]Brockville Recorder, 23 November 1854, p. 2, col. 1.

[51]Mirickville Chronicle, 30 December 1859, p. 2, col. 2. Another example is found in the issue dated 16 November 1860, p. 2, col. 2.

[52]Brockville Recorder, 1 December 1859, p. 1, col. 8.

[53]Mirickville Chronicle, 13 January 1860, p. 2, cols. 6-7.

[54]Examples are found in the Brockville Recorder, 30 August 1860, p. 4, col. 1; and the Ottawa Citizen, 4 December 1860, p. 2, col. 5.

[55]Brockville British Central Canadian, 15 May 1867, p. 1, col. 6.

[56]Lanark Observer, 25 November 1851, p. 2, cols. 5-6.

[57]Ibid., 29 June 1853, pp. 1-2, cols. 7-1.

[58]Brockville Recorder, 21 August 1862, p. 2, col. 1. This article also appeared in the Carleton Place Herald, 20 August 1862, pp. 1-2, cols. 7-1, p. 3, cols. 1-4.

[59]Brockville Recorder, 7 February 1861, p. 3, col. 1.

[60]Thomas Bedford-Jones, A Sermon Preached in St. Thomas Church, Frankville, on the 12th of July, 1864 (Perth: by the author, 1864), pp. 1-8.

[61]Brockville Statesman, 4 November 1845, p. 1, cols. 2-6.

[62]Ibid., 13 January 1846, p. 1, col. 3.

[63]Ibid., 2 March 1847, p. 1, cols. 3-4; and ibid., 9 March 1847, p. 1, col. 2.

[64]Ottawa Advocate, 18 May 1847, p. 3, col. 3.

[65]Ottawa Citizen, 27 December 1859, p. 3, col. 1.

[66]Carleton Place Herald, 10 October 1860, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[67]Ibid., 16 July 1857, pp. 2-3, cols. 7-1.

[68]Robert Jefferson and Leonard L. Johnson, Faith of Our Fathers: The Story of the Diocese of Ottawa (Ottawa: The Anglican Book Society, 1957), pp. 159-160.

[69]Brockville Recorder, 3 May 1866, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[70]Ibid., 6 December 1866, p. 2, cols. 1-2. A similar article appeared in the issue dated 25 April 1867, p. 2, cols. 2-5.

[71]Ibid., 2 May 1867, p. 2, col. 3.

[72]Ibid., 16 May 1867, p. 2, cols. 1-4.

[73]Brockville British Central Canadian, 15 April 1868, p. 2, col. 5.

[74]Carleton Place Herald, 15 May 1867, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[75]Ottawa Times, 29 June 1868, p. 1, col. 7. This article also appeared in the Brockville Recorder, 9 July 1868, p. 2, col. 7; and in the Carleton Place Herald, 8 July 1868, p. 1, col. 7.

[76]Carleton Place Herald, 5 December 1866, p. 1, cols. 3-7.

[77]Ibid., 12 December 1866, p. 1, col. 4.

[78]Ibid., 10 April 1867, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[79]John May, What Ails the Church? (Toronto: William Briggs, 1903), p. 37.

[80]For a discussion of resistance to ritualism in late nineteenth century Ottawa, see Bruce S. Elliott, "Ritualism and the Beginnings of the Reformed Episcopal Movement in Ottawa," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society XXVII No. 1 (April 1985), pp. 18-41.

[81]Perth Courier, 18 January 1867, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[82]Bathurst Courier, 12 March 1852, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[83]Perth Courier, 24 December 1857, p. 3, col. 3.

[84]Brockville Statesman, 21 July 1846, p. 1, col. 3.

[85]Ibid.

[86]Bathurst Courier, 2 January 1852, pp. 2-3, cols. 7-2.

[87]Brockville Statesman, 4 August 1846, p. 2, cols. 2-4.

[88]Bathurst Courier, 18 February 1848, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[89]Carleton Place Herald, 23 July 1862, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[90]Bathurst Courier, 23 November 1847, p. 2, cols. 5-6.

[91]Carleton-Place Herald, 20 November 1851, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[92]Ibid., 1 January 1852, p. 2, col. 3.

[93]Brockville Recorder, 16 December 1858, p. 2, col. 4.

[94]Susan E. Houston, "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience," History of Education Quarterly XII No. 3 (Fall 1972), p. 256.

[95]Carleton-Place Herald, 23 October 1851, p. 2, cols. 3-5.

[96]Ibid., 1 January 1852, p. 2, col. 3.

[97]Ibid., 12 February 1852, p. 2, col. 3.

[98]Ibid., 15 January 1868, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[99]Ibid., 4 March 1868, p. 3, col. 1.

[100]Ibid., 10 June 1868, p. 3, col. 1.

[101]Ottawa Tribune, 17 April 1858, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[102]Ottawa Advocate, 28 March 1848, p. 2, col. 6.

[103]Merrickville Chronicle, 14 November 1862, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[104]OTAR Education Department Records, Assistant Superintendent of Education, Canada West, Incoming General Correspondence, C-6-C, Box 4, 10 March 1845 letter from Edward Clarke, Bromley, to Egerton Ryerson.

[105]Ibid., 6 September 1845 letter from Rev. Alexander Mann, Pakenham, to Egerton Ryerson.

[106]Lloyd C. Sutherland, Yearning For Learning: The Story of Education in Lanark County (Smiths Falls: by the author, 1980), pp. 189-190.

[107]OTAR Education Department Records, Incoming General Correspondence, C-6-C, Box 15, 10 May 1853 letter from James Maitland, Montague, to Egerton Ryerson.

[108]Ibid., Box 8, 5 April 1851 letter from James Gilchrist, Huntley, to Egerton Ryerson.

[109]Carleton-Place Herald, 10 February 1853, pp. 1-2, cols. 1-6.

[110]Ibid., 17 February 1853, pp. 1-2, cols. 1-3.

[111]Brockville Recorder, 28 February 1856, p. 1, col. 6.

[112]Ibid., p. 1, col. 7.

[113]Merrickville Chronicle, 19 December 1862, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[114]Ibid., 26 December 1862, p. 1, cols. 3-4.

[115]Ottawa Tribune, 2 February 1855, p. 1, cols. 2-4.

[116]Ibid., 24 August 1861, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[117]Ibid., 7 September 1861, p. 2, col. 4.

[118]Brockville Recorder, 13 February 1851, p. 2, col. 3.

[119]Ibid., 14 February 1856, p. 2, col. 3.

[120]Carleton-Place Herald, 27 November 1856, p. 2, cols. 1-3.

[121]Bathurst Courier, 8 April 1853, p. 2, col. 3.

[122]Carleton-Place Herald, 26 February 1857, p. 3, col. 1.

[123]Perth Courier, 12 December 1862, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[124]Carleton Place Herald, 22 July 1863, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[125]Ibid., 17 December 1857, p. 2, col. 3.

[126]Brockville Recorder, 30 July 1863, p. 2, col. 3.

[127]Carleton Place Herald, 25 July 1866, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[128]Bytown Orange Lily, 1 October 1849, p. 53, cols. 1-2.

[129]Ibid., 1 February 1850, p. 113.

[130]Ibid., 1 October 1849, p. 53, cols. 1-2.

[131]Ibid., 1 December 1849, pp. 84-86, cols. 2-3.

[132]Carleton-Place Herald, 18 July 1851, p. 3, col. 3.

[133]Brockville Recorder supplement, 28 August 1851, p. 1, col. 2.

[134]Ottawa Tribune, 4 February 1860, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[135]Brockville British Central Canadian, 19 July 1865, p. 2, col. 5.

[136]Ottawa Citizen, 13 July 1865, p. 2, cols. 2-5.

[137]Prescott Conservative Messenger cited in the Carleton Place Herald, 23 July 1862, p. 1, cols. 6-7.

[138]Brockville Recorder, 17 July 1862, p. 2, col. 2. This article was copied in the 18 July 1862 issue of the Carleton Place Herald.

[139]Ottawa Tribune, 4 February 1860, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[140]Hereward Senior, Orangeism: The Canadian Phase The Frontenac Library no. 4 (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1972), p. 48.

[141]Brockville Recorder, 2 July 1846, p. 2, col. 3.

[142]Brockville Statesman, 21 July 1846, p. 2, cols. 1-3.

[143]Bytown Gazette, 23 July 1846, p. 3, col. 3.

[144]Brockville Statesman, 25 July 1848, p. 2, col. 4.

[145]Brockville Recorder, 10 May 1849, p. 2, col. 4.

[146]Bytown Packet, 28 July 1849, p. 2, cols. 5-6. This article from the Hamilton Spectator also appeared in the 19 July 1849 issue of the Brockville Recorder.

[147]Brockville Recorder, 11 October 1855, p. 1, col. 5.

[148]Ottawa Tribune, 1 August 1856, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[149]Brockville Recorder, 7 August 1856, p. 2, col. 3.

[150]Carleton-Place Herald, 16 July 1857, p. 2, col. 5.

[151]Perth Courier, 23 July 1858, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[152]Mirickville Chronicle, 22 July 1859, p. 2, col. 4.

[153]Carleton Place Herald, 16 July 1862, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[154]Bytown Orange Lily, 1 January 1850, p. 100, cols. 1-3.

[155]Kemptville Progressionist cited in the Mirickville Chronicle, 18 July 1856, p. 2, cols. 6-7.

[156]Carleton Place Herald, 18 December 1861, pp. 2-3, cols. 7-1.

[157]Articles on Irish Catholic temperance regionally include those in the Ottawa Tribune, 27 March 1858, p. 2, col. 6; ibid., 3 September 1859, p. 2, col. 2; ibid., 31 December 1859, p. 2, col. 3; ibid., 23 March 1861, p. 2, col. 5; and the Ottawa Union, 30 April 1864, p. 1, col. 7.

[158]Carleton Place Herald, 26 April 1860, p. 3, col. 1.

[159]Mirickville Chronicle, 17 October 1862, p. 1, col. 6.

[160]Carleton-Place Herald, 12 February 1852, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[161]Ottawa Tribune, 27 April 1855, p. 2, col. 5.

[162]Bathurst Courier, 5 March 1852, p. 2, col. 7.

[163]Ibid., 27 February 1857, p. 2, cols. 6-7.

[164]Perth Courier, 28 October 1859, p. 2, col. 4.

[165]This is the conclusion of Janet Noel in "Temperance Evangelism: Drink, Religion and Reform in the Province of Canada, 1840" (Unpublished M.A. thesis: University of Ottawa, 1978).

[166]Ottawa Advocate, 27 July 1847, pp. 2-3, cols. 7-1.

[167]Bathurst Courier, 5 February 1858, p. 3, col. 5.

[168]Carleton Place Herald, 28 February 1866, pp. 1-2, cols. 5-1.

[169]William James Sale Mood, "The Orange Order in Canadian Politics, 1841-1867" (Unpublished M.A. thesis: University of Toronto, 1950), pp. 167-168.

[170]Regional Conservative and Reform editors denied any connection between Orangeism and the Clear Grits, as shown by editorials in the Mirickville Chronicle, 9 July 1858, p. 3, col. 3; and in the Carleton Place Herald, 22 July 1863, p. 2, col. 3.

[171]Bathurst Courier, 18 July 1856, p. 2, col. 3.

[172]Examples are found in the Perth Lanark Observer, 6 July 1853, p. 2, cols. 6-7; Prescott Telegraph cited in the Brockville Recorder, 30 October 1856, p. 1, col. 6; Ottawa Tribune, 7 November 1857, pp. 1-2, cols. 6-1; Mirickville Chronicle cited in the Brockville Recorder, 23 September 1858, p. 2, col. 7; and the Ottawa Union, 14 July 1865, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[173]Kemptville Progressionist cited in the Mirickville Chronicle, 10 September 1858, p. 2, col. 2.

[174]Mirickville Chronicle, 17 September 1858, p. 2, cols. 2-5.

[175]Proceedings of the Semi-Annual Meeting of the Grand Lodge of the Loyal Orange Institution of British North America, Assembled in the Temperance Hall, in the Town of Perth..., 1853 (Perth: Burton Campbell, 1853), pp. 72-73.

[176]Senior, Orangeism: The Canadian Phase, pp. 48-51.

[177]Carleton Place Herald, 13 May 1858, p. 3, cols. 4-5. This article also appeared in the Ottawa Tribune, 15 May 1858, pp. 4, 2, cols. 2-7, 1-4.

[178]Carleton Place Herald, 17 October 1860, pp. 2-3, cols. 7-1.

[179]Brockville Recorder, 14 March 1861, p. 2, col. 6.

[180]Bathurst Courier, 17 December 1852, p. 2, col. 3.

[181]Ibid., 2 September 1853, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[182]Carleton-Place Herald, 28 February 1854, pp. 2-3, cols. 7-2.

[183]Ottawa Tribune, 11 April 1856, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

[184]Carleton-Place Herald, 25 February 1858, p. 3, col. 2.

[185]Mirickville Chronicle, 18 March 1859, p. 2, col. 2.

[186]Carleton Place Herald, 28 October 1858, p. 3, col. 3.

[187]Ibid., 1 March 1865, p. 2, col. 5.

[188]Queen's University Archives, Walter Beatty Journals, Collection 3057, entry for 18 June 1856.

[189]Ibid., entries for 12th day of July, 1863, 1864, 1866 and 1868.

[190]Bytown Orange Lily, 1 August 1849, pp. 20-21, cols. 1-1.

[191]Perth Constitutional, 20 September 1848, p. 2, cols. 1-3.

[192]Bathurst Courier, 9 December 1853, p. 2, col. 5.

[193]Perth Courier, 17 June 1859, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[194]Carleton Place Herald, 12 September 1860, p. 2, col. 3.

[195]Brockville Recorder, 13 September 1860, p. 1, col. 8.

[196]Carleton Place Herald, 3 October 1860, p. 4, col. 1.

[197]Ibid., p. 4, cols. 1-2; and the Perth Courier, 19 October 1860, p. 2, col. 4.

[198]Le Canada d'Ottawa, 1 février 1866, p. 2, col. 3.

[199]Archdiocese of Ottawa(Roman Catholic) Archives, Évêque Guigues régistre des lettres, vol. III, 1850-1860, pp. 129-130.

[200]Ibid., vol. IV, 1851-1852, pp. 60-62.

[201]Ibid., vol. V, 1852-1854, letter from the Rev. Mr. O'Connell of Richmond, 28 November 1853, p. 331.

[202]Ibid., vol. VI, 1854-1857, p. 9.

[203]The original draft of this letter appears in ibid., vol. VII, 1854-1857, pp. 335-340. It was printed in the Ottawa Tribune, 9 May 1856, p. 2, cols. 5-6.

[204]Ottawa Citizen, 26 June 1852, p. 2, col. 5.

[205]Ibid., 3 July 1852, p. 2, col. 4. This letter was copied in the Carleton-Place Herald, 8 July 1852, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

[206]Ottawa Tribune, 24 April 1858, p. 2, col. 4.

[207]Mirickville Chronicle, 4 June 1858, p. 2, col. 2.

[208]Ottawa Tribune, 12 June 1858, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[209]Brockville Recorder, 22 September 1859, p. 2, col. 4.

[210]J.F. Robinson, "Dark Lantern Association (1859), Secret Rites, Hooded Members Exposed by Brockville Editor" in the Brockville United Counties Packet, 4 January 1967, p. 6.

[211]Gananoque Reporter and Brockville Monitor cited in the Mirickville Chronicle, 29 November 1861, p. 2, col. 4.

[212]Mirickville Chronicle, 27 September 1861, p. 2, col. 4.

[213]Robinson, "Dark Lantern Association".

[214]Perth Courier cited in the Mirickville Chronicle, 15 November 1861, p. 1, col. 7.

[215]Mirickville Chronicle, 22 November 1861, p. 4, col. 1.

[216]Brockville British Central Canadian, 16 November 1864, p. 2, cols. 4-7.

[217]Examples are found in the Mirickville Chronicle, 3 September 1858, p. 2, col. 2; ibid., 31 December 1858, p. 2, cols. 5-6; and the Brockville Recorder, 16 July 1863, p. 2, col. 2.

[218]Brockville Recorder, 24 January 1861, p. 1, col. 6.

X

THE FENIAN REVELATION

The Fenian movement of the mid to late 1860s provides an appropriate juncture at which to conclude this dissertation. The actual Fenian movement itself has been well chronicled elsewhere;[1] here it is discussed simply as it was presented and perceived in the regional press up to the aftermath of the assassination of Thomas D'Arcy McGee in 1868. A brief consideration of cartoons from the Canadian Illustrated News in the decade following the period covered in this study is presented both to verify conclusions presented here and to suggest that a new conjuncture developed by 1870.

There were rare references to potential invasion of Canada by Irish immigrants in the United States from the time of the Famine immigration. In 1848 the Bathurst Courier printed a Montreal Pilot report of Irish sympathisers in the United States rapidly organising at New York immediately to invade Canada as being "really too ridiculous to be credited."[2] An 1853 report of the Irish at Montreal attempting to foment revolution was presented as a wonderful farce in the Brockville Recorder.[3] The Recorder editor in 1854 responded to reports from New York papers of American Irish threats to invade Canada as "unmitigated bosh",[4] whereas the editor of the Carleton-Place Herald less dismissively remarked, "among those who will resist [them] most earnestly, are the loyal sons of Ould Ireland in Canada; one thousand of whom we will back against ten times the number of Rebels and

Traitors!"[5] Coverage of the Crimean war in the mid 1850s failed to give credence to these rumours. An English traveller wrote the Brockville Recorder in late 1855 arguing that "the sooner the freeborn and loyal inhabitants of British America prepare their rifles against brigand invasion the better,"[6] but even the Carleton Place editor poo-pooed there being "the slightest probability that such a crisis should ever occur" as that of Canada being invaded.[7] Reports in 1856 of ten persons being arrested at Cincinnati for setting on foot a hostile invasion of the Canadas,[8] only spurred the Brockville Recorder to take the editor of the Toronto Mirror to task for discussing the Irish Canadian Rifle companies in the same breath as anti-English bodies meeting in the United States thereby throwing "a deep suspicion over his countrymen, for which we think they will not thank him."[9] Similarly, when Thomas D'Arcy McGee in the early 1860s warned of an Irish invasion from the United States, the Reform Ottawa Union summarily dismissed it as a fabrication designed "to embarrass the government".[10]

In 1864 serious charges began to appear from outside the region. American Roman Catholic clergy condemned the Fenian brotherhood,[11] and Thomas D'Arcy McGee from Montreal warned that it was seeking a foothold in British North America.[12] On the fifth of November at Toronto hundreds of Fenians were reported astir, ready to attack Orangemen,[13] and Toronto Protestant editors upon the alleged discovery of a cache of Fenian pikes later that month knew no restraint in accusing Irish Catholics there of complicity.[14] The Carleton Place Herald chided the Toronto press for fanning "the embers of sectional discord and embitter[ing] unnecessarily the waters of religious strife" with fanatical claims:[15]

> We are no apologists for violators of the law, armed or unarmed, by night or by day; but if the Globe or its correspondent, whose statements it endorsed and defended, really believed that the Roman Catholic churches and printing offices were filled with arms which had been surreptitiously smuggled into the province by the connivance of Roman Catholic Custom officials, why did it not take the necessary steps to have these premises searched, or why not publish the names and bring to condign punishment the guilty officials?
>
> It is a grave thing thus to stain the character of a body of men, and to give currency to statements which even the conduct of the accuser show to be false, but which may, at any time, be made the pretext by the ignorant and fanatic to sack those buildings and lead to the very scenes of riot and bloodshed which all good men should do their utmost to avert.

The Brockville British Central Canadian received unconfirmed reports that Fenians were meeting at Prescott[16] and Kemptville,[17] but for most regional editors "to give [the Fenians] our serious attention is out of the question".[18] The Ottawa Tribune viewed any discussion of Fenians in Canada as an absurd rumour created by the Toronto Globe which was doing the dirty work of American political demagogues. Fenianism did not exist in Upper Canada, he continued, because "all classes of the community are loyal at heart, and determined...to uphold the supremacy of the British crown in these Provinces."[19]

If Fenianism became "the all absorbing topic of the Canadian Press"[20] in 1865 and early 1866, regionally it was more a source of humour rather than a potential source of concern. The Fenian threat was variously and humourously dismissed as an invader which turned out be be merely a cow,[21] as preposterous,[22] as laughable blustering,[23] as tiresome,[24] as absurdities and extravagancies,[25] as "moonshine",[26] as no serious threat,[27] as harmless as a flock of turkeys,[28] as yet a further source of sarcasm for local editors trading insults with one

another,[29] as myths,[30] as "a term of absurdity and laughter [which] when directed to an Irishman [in Renfrew], he either fires up at the reproach or laughs at the arrangement",[31] as "a vast bag of gas",[32] as "a thing for jokes and laughter",[33] and as "a mammoth Bubble" (Illustration 131).[34] The prankish atmosphere was at its peak in late March 1866 when the inhabitants of Prescott were aroused at midnight by the firing of a large gun from across the river near Ogdensburgh. Initially there was[34]

> great terror and alarm [among] the people of Prescott, who rushed from their beds with the sure idea that the Fenians were come at last[,]... the temper of the roused inhabitants betokening no good to any emissary of the vile crew of peace disturbers had they dared to show their pikes or their sunbursts, [but a]fter a while the alarm quieted down, the people having ascertained that a few very foolish jokers concocted the plan to pay Prescott off for the scares created in Ogdensburgh during the late war when raids from Canada were nightly dreaded.

This incident only served to confirm that "some of the vill[ai]ns are ready to raid, rob and murder..., but they are in the minority, and not likely to risk their dirty skins".[36]

Fenianism was taken lightly in eastern Upper Canada before June 1866 simply because there was no perceived threat within regional society. The foremost spokesman of Irish Catholics, Thomas D'Arcy McGee from Montreal, was reported condemning Fenianism[37] as was the Catholic Freeman in Toronto.[38] Regional editors perceived no support for the Fenians in Canada, and that the loyalty of regional Irish Catholics was "placed far beyond the reach of suspicion".[39] When Ogle Gowan warned of a Fenian invasion, he was dismissed as a political fossil "only fishing for a little notoriety".[40] Fenianism was perceived not to exist in Upper Canada to any appreciable extent.[41]

What possible threat was there when Canadian Orangemen relied on the loyalty of their Irish Catholic neighbours, and when St. Patrick's societies and Orange lodges vied with one another to show their loyalty to the Crown and to the government during the Fenian excitement?[42] One had but to peruse newspapers to read statements by French-Canadian editors,[43] the Pope,[44] higher Catholic clergy in Ireland,[45] Irish Catholic clergy in Canada,[46] and St. Patrick's societies[47] all denouncing Fenianism.

Regional society had the occasional twinge of concern in 1865 and early 1866 that the "excitement about the Fenians may or may not be groundless, yet to err on the side of caution seems judicious".[48] Regional inhabitants were not totally oblivious to allegations made by Toronto Orangemen that the Hibernian society in that city was a Fenian cell working to bring about an invasion of British North America.[49] A militia draft in early 1865 prompted most people to believe "that the object of the draft...is to call those ballotted directly into active service, and place them at once into positions to guard the country against foes which they confidently imagine are our American neighbors or—the Fenians."[50] When the whip of an Irish Catholic priest near Hamilton was found concealing a pike, the Brockville Recorder quoted the Hamilton Spectator impression "that Fenianism is more widely spread than was at first believed".[51] There was briefly excitement at Ottawa when the Ottawa Citizen alleged that a large collection of boxes arriving at the railway station contained Fenian pikes, suspicions that were pooh-poohed by the Ottawa Times editor who stated, "There is no instance amongst our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects upon which the most rigid opponent can place his finger and say it is disloyalty."[52]

The accumulating impact of newspaper reports of Fenians massing on remote Canadian borders was beginning to be felt even in eastern Upper Canada by February 1866 when a correspondent of the Carleton Place Herald observed, "The excitement is spreading through the County of Renfrew from the reports which appeared in the papers."[53] A correspondent of the Ottawa Citizen remarked in early March, "We have laughed rather too long at the 'Fenian scare'",[54] and by St. Patrick's Day the city accordingly bore "a martial appearance", with "[b]ugles sounding and the tramp of armed men...becoming familiar to our ears".[55] In April 1866 the Grand Jurors of Leeds and Grenville expressed[56]

> their readiness to place themselves at the disposal of the proper authorities at any moment, to repel the hordes of insolent and unprincipled ruffians who threaten to invade our peaceful country with the avowed object of subverting the political and social institutions of these Provinces, and so cause bloodshed and destruction or property throughout the land.

The mixed feelings of preparedness for possible invasion overpowered by the sheer comic impossibility of it actually happening were summed up in a piece of doggerel in the May 1866 Carleton Place Herald:[57]

> Och, murther, the Fenians are coming,
> I'm frightened clean out of my life,
> If there's one thing I hate more than another,
> 'Tis bloodshed, pillage and strife,
> Our country is prosperous and happy,
> We don't want the spalpeens at all;
> But if they must come, we will give them
> A feast upon powder and ball.

A collapsed Fenian foray into New Brunswick in April 1866, the defeat of Canadian militia at Ridgeway by a second raid across the Niagara frontier on the first day of June, and a third brief Fenian reconnoitre across the Quebec frontier at Mississquoi Bay a week later prompted the rushing of regional militia to the St. Lawrence, but did not create lasting fear (Illustration 132). The only casualty from the

region was a son of the Carleton Place grammar school principal who as a member of the University Rifles from Toronto fell at Ridgeway.[58] The immediate response of regional society was expressed by the Catholic Bishop of Kingston who "deeply deplored the late wicked invasion of the country by a mob of marauders and freebooters",[59] but before June was over the Brockville Recorder made small of the affair, arguing that "Fenianism is played out".[60] The Carleton Place Herald more cautiously warned that there were more Fenians in Canada than one would suppose.[61] A mood of caution continued in some towns and villages with home guards formed and drill halls built for volunteer companies.[62] Regional unease lasted into early autumn 1866 "lest a sudden attack on our extended frontier should be attended with disaster",[63] but by October local Reform editors jocularly referred to Fenianism as "a great and... comparatively harmless humbug"[64] barely posing the threat of ravaging henroosts at night.[65]

An element of disbelief bordering on the comic pervaded regional society from late 1866 to early 1868, as occasional fears of Fenians hatching plans locally were drowned out by the united chorus of loyalty coming from Irish Catholics and Orangemen. Some local editors drew parallels between the tentative Fenian attempts at invasion and the Rebellion of 1837.[66] Others such as the editor of the Pembroke Observer remained unperturbed by reports of impending raids from a group he referred to as "the already impetuous 'Finnegans'".[67] Le Canada condescendingly referred to "les pauvres fénians".[68] A Fenian flag displayed in the 1867 St. Patrick's Day parade in Ottawa drew criticism from Irish Catholics who considered that it did not reflect their feelings of loyalty,[69] and from Irish Protestants who

considered that it represented "an element against which their forefathers had to struggle and to conquer" in 1798.[70] One correspondent of the Ottawa Citizen in 1867 suggested that the large numbers of the Boston Pilot, Irish American and Irish Canadian newspapers sold in Ottawa suggested that there were many disloyal Irishmen or Fenians in the city, notwithstanding the comments of toadying politicians to the contrary.[71] Throughout 1867 and early 1868 fears about Fenian invasion receded. The panic had served to unite Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants against an exterior threat, a unanimity shown in the motto of a union concert on St. Patrick's Day in 1868 to benefit the Irish Protestant and St. Patrick's benevolent societies, "QUIS SEPARABIT?"[72] The danger for Canada from Fenians seemingly now past, the last thing regional society needed to worry about was Thomas D'Arcy McGee claiming to receive assassination threats from Fenians.[73]

Regional society found the McGee assassination in April 1868 immediately appalling, in contrast with remote panic over Fenian invasion. The Carleton Place Herald carried an article from the Toronto Globe which argued that by assassinating McGee, the Fenians in Canada virtually had signed their own death warrant, since even those most inclined to sympathise with the Fenians were so appalled by the murder that the movement had lost all potential support.[74] The barrage of press coverage of the assassination, the ostentatious display of public mourning (Illustrations 133 and 134),[75] the capture and trial of Patrick Whelan, ending with Whelan's hanging in January 1869, all close to hand gave regional society pause to reconsider Fenianism as an actual threat. In Ottawa the sale of allegedly pro-Fenian literature

was suspended.[76] The Toronto Irish Canadian was regarded as a Fenian newspaper and the Hibernian Society in Toronto judged complicit in Fenian activities.[77] In mid 1868 when American newspapers advised Canadian authorities to guard against yet another invasion, local editors took the warning seriously.[78] The Carleton Place Herald copied a letter from the Chicago Times ostensibly from an Irish Canadian, pointing to the effect of the Fenian incursions in stirring up Protestant Upper Canadian suspicions against Irish Catholic neighbours with whom they previously[79]

> had lived on terms of intimacy half a lifetime.... Time passes on, and still the threats are repeated from over the lines. Society becomes disturbed through the bigoted representations of a venal press; it becomes a perfect hell for a Catholic Irishman to live there.

It is worth emphasising that this description was of the press, Irish Catholics and Protestants in the Toronto region, not of any of these in eastern Upper Canada.

Despite regional horror at the assassination which had taken place in their midst, despite the clear perception of the day that it had been caused by the Fenians, it is salutary that only months after McGee's murder some regional editors dismissed reports of yet another Fenian invasion as preposterous[80] and just idle talk.[81] The Brockville Recorder approvingly copied from the New York Irish People an article stating that "The New Dominion is perfectly safe from Fenian raiders. The Canadian may rest at ease".[82] As late as 1871 a single sentence in the Carleton Place Herald reflected the combined irony and threat conjured up by mention of the Fenians: "Absurd as it may appear, the Fenian brotherhood of cutthroats is again on the move against Canada".[83] The most remarkable example of regional coolness, of a

refusal to allow the various Fenian incursions and assassination to propel a hysterical Protestant backlash, indeed of a jocular response from regional society is provided by a Dominion Day celebration in the very heart of the southeastern Irish Protestant settled Rideau corridor in July 1868. Little more than a month after McGee's murder was described as "the one subject of universal thought throughout the country",[84] a spectator reported:[85]

> [A] detachment of the Fenian army which I was informed were especially imported for the occasion at an enormous expense, filed through the principal streets, headed by Gen. O'Neil,...to the amusement of the crowd[.] I have seen a great many such processions of this kind o[n] similar occasions, but this surpassed anything I have ever witnessed. A halt being made, a grand review of the irregular army, by the General, took place which was a very imposing sight, after which the General addressed his men in a very earnest and impressive manner to the effect that they were in splendid discipline and fully prepared to establish the Irish Republic in Canada, for which he received loud applause from the irregulars.... Two foreign gentlemen ... were then introduced and delivered eloquent addresses, on the popular subjects of Confederation and Fenianism, which were highly appreciated by the mass, it being almost impossible to repress laughter, so that they could get a hearing.

The ability of regional society to take the Fenian threat in stride, even to laugh and jest at impersonations of Fenians so soon after McGee's assassination, reveals a striking contrast with Orange and Protestant hostility at Toronto which continued well into the twentieth century. To some extent it is possible to attribute regional society's ability to laugh at the Fenian threat to the tradition since the 1840s in the transatlantic world of English letters of presenting the Irish as figures of wit and surpassing humour meant to be laughed at. This tradition alone could hardly have influenced eastern Upper Canada more than the Toronto region. It is more significant that

the bulk of the Irish Protestants in Toronto were Ulster Presbyterians as opposed to most Irish Protestants in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew being members of the United Church of England and Ireland. Their geographical and religious background is signifcant not in a Weberian sense. Nor is it significant because the United Church of England and Ireland was necessarily any more tolerant of Irish Catholics than was Presbyterianism, especially since Irish Catholics and Irish Presbyterians briefly combined in the ranks of the United Irishmen in late eighteenth century Ireland. Rather, for two centuries before coming to eastern Upper Canada the Anglicans as a privileged minority with links to government in southeastern Ireland had honed basic diplomatic skills to survive among an overwhelmingly Irish Catholic peasant majority. By contrast, in much of Ulster Presbyterians as a significant part of a Protestant majority had never been continuously obliged to be diplomatic in dealing with Irish Catholics, nor had they been obliged to adopt the demeanour of members of a state church.

It is true that the Wexford/Wicklow region from whence came most eastern Upper Canadian Irish Protestants was no less disturbed than northern Ireland during the 1798 Rebellion. It is true that Orange lodges flourished in both regions of Ireland subsequently, and that the Irish Anglicans as a minority in the south feared Catholic Emancipation in the late 1820s as much and perhaps even more than did the Irish Presbyterians with their greater numbers in Ulster. All the same, enjoying as they did special links with the state, and living among an Irish Catholic majority, Anglicans of English ancestry in southern Ireland as a privileged minority had learned to live with

their Irish Catholic neighbours up to the time of Catholic Emancipation. After fleeing to Canada they were initially reactionary toward Irish Catholic immigrants, at first professing only "to love them as men, though we cannot admit them as masters",[86] but as Irish Catholics in the region became neither a numerical nor an ideological threat but rather potential political partners, the reactionary bluster waned. Only after the Toronto-based national media significantly infiltrated the region in the 1870s did animosity emerge between regional Irish Protestants and Catholics. This animosity was created by importing rancor which had been a mark of relations between Toronto Irish Catholics and Ulster Presbyterians at least since the 1840s. The Fenian imbroglio served as a marker in the late 1860s that regional society had yet to come under the influence of the metropolitan media, and that both Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics were fairly confident of their place in regional society simply because no body or group had strongly or openly questioned it.

A brief review of cartoons treating Irish subjects from the first decade of the Canadian Illustrated News published at Montreal suggests caution in assuming that the tolerant reception of Irish immigrants in eastern Upper Canada was a regional peculiarity and that the hostile columns of Mackenzie's Colonial Advocate and Brown's Globe reflected hostility among the wider spectrum of British North American society. Cartoons in 1869 and 1870 presented the Fenians as a harmless empty scarecrow and as a scheme to exploit Irish-American servants and labourers (Illustrations 135 and 136). Other cartoons contrasted the riotous trouble-brewing Irish of the United States with the more industrious Irish in Canada, and showed Irish-Americans joining the

native population to harrass more recently-arrived ethnic groups such as Chinese immigrants (Illustrations 137 and 138). It is true that there were unflattering cartoon images of the Irish (Illustrations 139 and 140), but Illustration 141 serves as a reminder that other ethnic groups including Scottish, English and French Canadians were also caricatured in cartoons as part of an iconography based on stereotypes to begin with. Furthermore, for every cartoon which reflected some unflattering aspect of Irish character (Illustration 142), another presented the Irish either sympathetically or as more than the equal of the non-Irish (Illustrations 143 and 144). It well may be that the Toronto region was distinctive for its unwelcoming reception and bias against Irish immigrants, and that the comparative tolerance in eastern Upper Canada was more characteristic of the larger rural Canadian population before Confederation.

NOTES

[1]Hereward Senior, The Fenians and Canada (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978).

[2]Bathurst Courier, 18 August 1848, p. 2, col. 7.

[3]Brockville Recorder, 4 November 1852, p. 1, col. 2.

[4]Ibid., 6 April 1854, p. 2, col. 3.

[5]Carleton-Place Herald, 18 April 1854, p. 2, col. 3.

[6]Brockville Recorder, 15 November 1855, p. 2, col. 3.

[7]Carleton-Place Herald, 20 December 1855, p. 2, cols. 5-6.

[8]Brockville Recorder, 31 January 1856, p. 1, col. 7.

[9]Ibid., 2 April 1857, p. 2, col. 7.

[10]Ottawa Union, 27 August 1863, p. 2, col. 2.

[11]Carleton Place Herald, 17 February 1864, p. 2, col. 1.

[12]Ibid., 30 March 1864, p. 3, col. 3.

[13]Brockville Recorder, 10 November 1864, p. 2, col. 3.

[14]Ibid., 17 November 1864, p. 1, col. 6. This article also appeared in the 16 November issue of the Carleton Place Herald.

[15]Carleton Place Herald, 14 December 1864, p. 2, col. 3.

[16]Brockville British Central Canadian, 23 November 1864, p. 2, col. 4.

[17]Ibid., 21 December 1864, p. 2., col. 5.

[18]Ottawa Citizen, 23 December 1864, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[19]Ottawa Tribune copied in the Ottawa Union, 30 December 1864, p. 2, col. 4.

[20]Brockville Recorder, 14 December 1865, p. 2, col. 6.

[21]Carleton Place Herald, 11 January 1865, p. 2, col. 1.

[22]Ibid., 1 February 1865, p. 2, col. 5.

[23]Ibid., 4 October 1865, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[24]Perth Courier, 27 October 1865, p. 2, col. 5.

[25]Brockville Recorder, 16 November 1865, p. 2, col. 5.

[26]Carleton Place Herald, 22 November 1865, p. 2, col. 2.

[27]Brockville Recorder, 23 November 1865, p. 2, col. 6.

[28]Ibid., 7 December 1865, p. 2, col. 3.

[29]Examples are found in the Carleton Place Herald, 13 December 1865, p. 2, col. 6; and the Perth Courier, 11 May 1866, p. 2, col. 3.

[30]Carleton Place Herald, 20 December 1865, p. 2, col. 6.

[31]Ibid., 3 January 1866, p. 2, col. 6.
[32]Ibid., 17 January 1866, p. 2, col. 7.
[33]Ibid., 7 February 1866, p. 2, col. 6.
[34]Ibid., 4 April 1866, p. 2, col. 6.
[35]Brockville Recorder, 22 March 1866, p. 2, col. 1.
[36]Ibid.
[37]Ibid., 19 January 1865, p. 2, col. 3.
[38]Ibid., 11 May 1865, p. 1, col. 7.
[39]Ottawa Citizen, 27 October 1865, p. 2, cols. 1-2.
[40]Carleton Place Herald, 8 November 1865, p. 2, col. 2.
[41]Ottawa Union, 13 November 1865, p. 2, col. 1.
[42]Ibid., 20 November 1865, p. 2, col. 1.
[43]Le Canada d'Ottawa, 28 décembre 1865, p. 2, col. 5.
[44]Brockville Monitor, 21 April 1866, p. 2, cols. 6-7.
[45]Carleton Place Herald, 28 February 1866, p. 1, col. 2.
[46]Ottawa Citizen, 13 March 1866, p. 2, col. 4. This article also appeared in the 14 March 1866 issue of the Carleton Place Herald.
[47]Examples are found in the Brockville Monitor, 5 May 1866, p. 2, col. 1; and the Ottawa Citizen, 16 March 1866, p. 2, col. 3.
[48]Brockville Recorder, 7 December 1865, p. 2, col. 6.
[49]Carleton Place Herald, 4 January 1865, p. 2, cols. 1-2.
[50]Perth Courier, 6 January 1865, p. 2, cols. 5-6.
[51]Brockville Recorder, 12 January 1865, p. 1, col. 7.
[52]Carleton Place Herald, 14 February 1866, p. 2, col. 6.
[53]Ibid., 21 February 1866, p. 3, cols. 1-2.
[54]Ottawa Citizen, 9 March 1866, p. 2, col. 6.
[55]Carleton Place Herald, 21 March 1866, p. 2, col. 3.
[56]Brockville Recorder, 12 April 1866, p. 2, col. 1.
[57]Carleton Place Herald, 9 May 1866, p. 1, col. 1.
[58]Ibid., 6 June 1866, p. 2, col. 4.
[59]Perth Courier, 15 June 1866, p. 2, col. 7. This article also appeared in the 18 June issue of the Ottawa Times and the 22 June issue of the Ottawa Citizen.
[60]Brockville Recorder, 21 June 1866, p. 2, col. 1.
[61]Carleton Place Herald, 27 June 1866, p. 2, col. 4.
[62]Ibid., 19 September 1866, p. 2, col. 3.

[63]Ibid., p. 2, col. 2.

[64]Ibid., 3 October 1866, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[65]Brockville Recorder, 11 October 1866, p. 2, col. 4.

[66]Ottawa Evening Post, 6 November 1866, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[67]Pembroke Observer, 15 March 1867, p. 2, col. 1.

[68]Le Canada d'Ottawa, 4 juin 1867, p. 2, col. 1.

[69]Ottawa Citizen, 14 June 1867, p. 4, col. 2.

[70]Ibid., cited in the Carlton Place Herald, 27 June 1867, p. 3, col. 1.

[71]Ottawa Citizen, cited in the Carleton Place Herald, 3 April 1867, p. 3, col. 1.

[72]Ottawa Times, 18 March 1868, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[73]Carleton Place Herald, 21 August 1867, p. 2, col. 6.

[74]Ibid., 6 May 1868, p. 2, col. 7.

[75]Perth Courier, 17 April 1868, p. 2, col. 8.

[76]Ottawa Times cited in the Carleton Place Herald, 13 May 1868, p. 2, col. 6.

[77]Ottawa Citizen, 8 May 1868, p. 3, cols. 4-5. This article also appeared in the 14 May 1868 issue of the Brockville Recorder.

[78]Brockville Recorder, 11 June 1868, p. 2, col. 6.

[79]Carleton Place Herald, 11 November 1868, p. 3, col. 4.

[80]Brockville Recorder, 14 May 1868, p. 2, col. 2.

[81]Merrickville Chronicle, 26 May 1868, p. 1, cols. 6-7.

[82]Brockville Recorder, 12 November 1868, p. 1, col. 7.

[83]Carleton Place Herald, 30 August 1871, p. 2, col. 2.

[84]Ottawa Times, 2 June 1868, p. 2, col. 1.

[85]Brockville British Central Canadian, 8 July 1868, p. 2, col. 4. This article also appeared in the 9 July 1868 issue of the Brockville Recorder.

[86]Public Archives Canada RG 5 A1 Upper Canada Sundries Reel C-6863, Vol. 83, pp. 45229-45232. Letter from Loyal Orange Lodge No. 7, Perth, to Sir Peregrine Maitland, 4 April 1827.

XI

CONCLUSION

This dissertation is the first study of perceptions and images of Irish immigrants in British North America to emerge in response to Donald H. Akenson's challenge that the historiography of the Irish in Canada has been based on inappropriate American urban sociological models. Unlike earlier Canadian studies based on urban communities that have concluded Irish immigrants in early Victorian Canada ran a continual gauntlet of hostility and criticism, this regional study of five rural eastern Upper Canadian counties demonstrates that Irish immigrants were tolerantly received and even welcomed. Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties had some 43,000 more inhabitants of Irish origin than the cities of Toronto and Montreal combined, offering a high concentration of Irish to non-Irish inhabitants comparable to the high ratios found in those American east coast cities in which American historians have claimed to find nativism and hostility manifested on the part of the non-Irish population toward the Irish. Considering that the overwhelming majority of Irish immigrants in British North America were rural inhabitants, it is significant that the conclusions of this regional study do not agree with earlier studies based on urban centres and on American urban models that many Canadian historians and sociologists up until now somehow have assumed related to the experience of the majority of Irish immigrants in Canada.

The majority of Irish immigrants arriving in eastern Upper Canada between 1824 and 1844 were Anglicans from the Wexford/Wicklow vicinity of southeastern Ireland who fled Ireland following the passing of the Catholic emancipation Act of 1829. A major concentration of them settled in empty townships along the newly-opened Rideau Canal primarily in the 1830s. Irish Catholics came as labourers to build the Rideau Canal and to work in the Ottawa timber industry, but between 1845 and 1868 they comprised a majority of Irish immigrants entering the region, escaping from the starvation and economic dislocation of the Great Famine.

The reception of and the allusions to these Irish immigrants in the 228 years of newspapers read for this study were positive, tolerant, welcoming and largely free of negative references. Editors in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties printed excerpts from British and American newspapers presenting both negative and positive stereotypes, characteristics and peculiarities of the Irish as a people. These same editors took great care to avoid making overt negative or unwelcoming references to Irish immigrants. Indeed, eastern Upper Canadian editors bragged about the tolerant reception Irish immigrants received in Upper Canada as contrasted with the nativism they encountered in the United States. The closest regional editors came to criticising Irish immigrants was to quote incidents of violence by the Irish in Ireland and by Irish immigrants in Britain and the United States from British and American newspapers. But otherwise, they consistently expressed alarm from the mid 1820s through to the late 1860s that Upper Canada was losing Irish immigrants to the United States, and that additional means must be undertaken by

government to attract the Irish to come to and to remain in Upper Canada as an economic benefit to the development of the province. Irish immigrants, both Catholic and Protestant, were generally recognised as being capable of succeeding at agriculture. There was concern that the violence between Orangemen and Irish Catholics in Ireland not be replicated, and American Methodist and Scottish Presbyterian Reformers looked askance at Orangeism re-emerging in eastern Upper Canada as a bulwark and organising nucleus of the Conservatives.

Between 1824 and 1844, despite evidence that Scottish and American-origin settlers feared becoming dominated by Irish Protestants, the regional press took remarkable pains not to offend the Irish. It did so despite fearing the ultraloyalism and government favour Irish immigrants enjoyed in establishing churches, in placing teachers in schools, in flouting the wishes of the electorate through using violence at election polls, and using the Orange order as a secret society and ethno-political organisation to transform the region into a Tory stronghold. Between 1845 and 1868 the regional press presented a positive note of welcome to Irish Catholic immigrants. There was initial brief concern over disease accompanying them, about government not providing sufficient accommodation and employment to integrate them into Canadian life, about Irish Catholics potentially coming to comprise a new criminal class, about Irish Catholics not settling together in blocs in separate political jurisdictions, and about them being used and being supported by the numerical might of French Canada to impose Catholic separate schools on Upper Canada.

Irish immigrants did not run a gauntlet of overt hostility, criticism and discrimination from the host population both because they claimed strong ties to government favour and because they contributed significantly to the economic development and prosperity of the region. The ultra-loyalism which pervaded the vocabulary of Irish immigrants, together with their becoming a regional majority of the population gave them a psychological advantage politically, religiously and socially to shape regional society as they chose. So pervasive was the Irish accent in the region that it affected the dialect of incoming German immigrants.[1] The strong influence of Irish music on the region was discernible well into the twentieth century.[2] The Irish wake was extensively practised at mid-century[3] and has survived in the region as it has nowhere else in Canada. the non-Irish host society, beneath the surface of welcome it presented, worried about the Irish coming to dominate regional society and threatening to displace the existing religious, political and philosophical polity. In utter contrast with the overt hostility found in Toronto newspapers against Irish immigrants, it is significant that the critics and potential enemies of Irish immigrants in eastern Upper Canada took such care to conceal their concern behind innocuous causes such as Methodism, the Reform party, the temperance movement, universal education and the Dark Lantern Society that no coherent or overt criticism emerged. Any criticism of Irish immigrants was so carefully shrouded beneath an unwritten code of not directly linking Irish immigrants in Canada as an explicitly-named ethnic group with anything unseemly, but rather of criticising

Irish-Americans, that it might as well not have existed. This oblique form of criticism was so mute, so hesitant, so submerged and subservient to surface politenesses, so concealed behind articulated religious and political agendas and behind innocuous causes that it presented no challenge and was of minimal concern to the Irish entering the region.

Any underlying concerns about the Irish did not last long, drowned out by the laughter prompted by the increasing use of Irish humour, Irish witticisms, Irish caricatures and Irish theatricals, and overcome as they were by the uneasy yet continuing alliance of Orangemen, Conservatives and Roman Catholics which from 1858 up to the present made eastern Ontario a Tory bastion. Alarm over separate schools, the Prince of Wales affair, even over the Fenians and McGee's assassination in 1868 was successively brushed off, if not vanquished, so that when in the mid to late 1870s concern re-emerged over separate schools and Catholic dominance it was largely religious in tone.

The Irish heritage was by no means spent in the late 1870s, but whatever fears lurked beneath the polite welcome proffered by the regional press to Irish immigrants between 1824 and 1868 completely dissipated into political sparring, religious rivalry and moral social movements such as the rejuvenated temperance societies to complement the negligible numbers of Irish immigrants entering Ontario after Confederation. The Irish of eastern Ontario never totally lost a sense of their numerical importance in their region, but the 1870s was a crucial decade in which the Irish lost any

potential for prominence in Canadian society. They were replaced by the English as the major incoming ethnic group, and in pro-Imperial late Victorian society things English mattered far more in English Canada than things Irish (Illustration 145). Moreover, as American mass-circulation publications flooded postconfederation Canada, the negative stereotpyes of Irish Catholic immigrants presented in them rapidly gained currency (Illustrations 146 through 151). In the 1870s Methodism surged forward, building more churches than the Church of England in the region, and propagandising more effectively with the publication of John Carroll's Case and His Cotemporaries, Anson Green's Life and Times and Egerton Ryerson's The Story of My Life to eulogise early Methodism as a strong and heroic force in the early nineteenth century, and to present Methodism and Reform as righteous causes in contrast with the state-linked United Church of England and Ireland. The reunification of both Presbyterians and Methodists in the 1870s and 1880s only served to accent their new growth. The Church of England became increasingly influenced by English clergy, as shown by the increasing proliferation of Gothic Revival architecture. The waning Church of Ireland tradition was betrayed by agitation favouring the Reformed Episcopal Church in the Ottawa vicinity. Even the reference to Ireland in the title of the church was dropped in the early 1870s.

The consistent and central argument of this dissertation has been to demonstrate that the Irish who came to comprise a majority in the Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties region were not oppressed by nativism nor by a hysterical anti-immigrant

press. This contrasts dramatically with the perceptions of American historians of pilloried Irish immigrants in nineteenth century United States society. Moreover, it does not accord with the conflict models of Canadian sociologists and historians such as Kenneth Duncan, Joy Parr, Gerald Stortz, Michael Cross, Daniel Conner and Murray Nicolson. It is salutary that this study of one region contradicts the work of historians who have concentrated on the urban press and the urban Irish of nineteenth century Canada. Similar intensive studies of other regions are necessary before the conclusions of this dissertation can be said to reflect a regional peculiarity or to apply to the rest of rural Canada. Until such studies have been undertaken it would be as inappropriate to claim that the conclusions of this study are applicable to other regions of Canada as to continue the practice of identifying "the Irish tradition in Canada" with the Irish Catholic communities of Toronto and Montreal writ large.

At the least, this dissertation has suggested that the Irish of eastern Upper Canada were neither one homogeneous group nor simply two such groups, one Catholic and one Protestant. Within the region, the responses of non-Irish settlers to the Irish varied from one ethnic and religious group to another. The contradiction offered by this dissertation to previous studies of how the Irish were recieved in Canada suggests how great a need there is for historians to study how Canadians in the past lived both in relation to their local environments and to one another within identifiable communities. It is clear that the study of perceptions at a regional level offers a

useful addition to the quantitatively-based community studies purporting to explain provincial society produced in Ontario over the past fifteen years.[4]

In 1877 Nicholas Flood Davin, the first historian of the Irish in Canada, deplored the fact that many Irish Canadians were imbibing[5]

> that dislike for their race which the vain are apt to adopt when they find they are born to public contempt and that the indignant feeling which should be reserved for the persecutor, in the mortification of their disturbed sensibility, is too often visited on the victim.

In the 1870s a new conjuncture was settling into place, one very different from the preconfederation era. The Irish in eastern Upper Canada, save for their perspective of their tragic exiles, had never thought of themselves let alone behaved as victims. They had been welcomed, they had reshaped regional society, and they were so securely established that they never could have dreamed that other immigrants after 1867 would limit their importance to the confines of their region. The images, myths, and assumptions about the Irish in Canada after 1867 all sprang from Toronto and American urban editors and reporters. This meant that in terms of a national or audible image, the success of the Irish in eastern Upper Canada and the tolerance accorded them by the non-Irish population became overshadowed by a darker urban perspective of the Irish in Canada.

NOTES

[1]Christina A.L. Thiele, "Irish Features in the English of Upper Ottawa Valley Germans" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1986), p. iii.

[2]Elaine Keillor, "Fiddling in Kitley Township," in Canadian Folk Music Bulletin vol. 19, no. 3 (September 1985), pp. 20-23; and Christopher McGuire, "Instrumental Music in Sheenboro" in ibid., pp. 24-25.

[3]A reference to a wake at Richmond is found in the Bytown Gazette, 3 December 1846, p. 2, col. 5. The custom of wakes in the region is discussed extensively in a series of letters in the Carleton Place Herald, 14 November 1860, p. 2, col. 5; 5 December 1860, p. 2, cols. 6-7; 19 December 1860, p. 2, col. 7; and 16 January 1861, p. 2, cols. 4-5.

[4]Three examples of such studies are David Gagan, Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West Ontario Historical Studies Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City Harvard Studies in Urban History (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975); and Chad Gaffield, Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987).

[5]Nicholas Flood Davin, The Irishman in Canada (Toronto: Maclear and Company, 1877), p. vi.

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EASTERN UPPER CANADIAN PERCEPTIONS OF IRISH IMMIGRANTS 1824-1868

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Black's Corners, Ontario. Beckwith Township Photograph Collection.
-1866 photograph of Fenian volunteers.
-1895 photograph of interior of St. James Church, Franktown.
-1895 photograph of exterior of St. James Church, Franktown.
-1983 photograph of Orange parade at Carleton Place.

Kemptville, Ontario. St. James Anglican Church.
-ca. 1860 photograph of interior of St. James Church, Kemptville.

New Dublin, Ontario. St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church.
-1890 photograph of exterior of Christ Church, New Dublin.
-ca. 1830 architect's drawing of proposed Christ Church, New Dublin.

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-ca. 1880 photograph of St. James Anglican Church, Carleton Place.

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-C-9546 Christ Church Anglican Church, Ashton, 1925.
-C-44025 St. John's Presbyterian Church, Almonte.
-C-46490 Auld Kirk, Ramsay Township.
-C-79251 St. Mary's Church, March Township, ca. 1900.
-PA-9061 St. Alban's Church, Ottawa, 1897.
-PA-9287 Wesleyan Methodist Church, Ottawa, 1875.
-PA-26756 Exterior of Christ Church, Burritt's Rapids.
-PA-26800 Ruin of St. Paul's Church, near Cardinal, ca. 1925.
-PA-77291 Old Congregational Chapel, Middleville.

Ottawa, Ontario. Public Archives Canada. Picture Division.
-C-11849 "Meyrick Ville, Rideau Canal" ca. 1838 by Philip John Bainbrigge.
-C-40016 "Merrickville on the Rideau Canal, Upper Canada" ca. 1830 by James P. Cockburn.
-C-40048 "Long Island on the Rideau River", 1830, by James P. Cockburn.
-C-40792 "View of Horace-Ville on the Ottawa River" ca. 1827 by Mary-Anne Pinhey.
-C-48516 "Great Fenian Scare" cartoon, 1870, from the Canadian Illustrated News (CIN hereafter).
-C-48842 "Campaign of O'Neil the Brave" cartoon, 1870, CIN.
-C-48854 "What Will He Do With Them?" cartoon, 1870, CIN.
-C-50449 "Free Labour in the United States" cartoon, 1870, CIN.
-C-54365 "Census of Domestic Servants" cartoon, 1871, CIN.
-C-58487 "Group of Choice Spirits" cartoon, 1871, CIN.
-C-62942 "Hamilton-Autumn Manouvres" cartoon, 1875, CIN.
-C-66031 "The Millennium" cartoon, 1877, CIN.
-C-71801 St. Paul's Church, Almonte, 1878, CIN.
-C-71805 St. Mary's Church and School, Almonte, 187?, CIN.
-C-72922 "S.P.C." cartoon, 1879, CIN.
-C-75551 "Come To Stay" cartoon, 1880, CIN.
-C-76969 "One For Missus" cartoon, 1882, CIN.

Smiths Falls, Ontario. Montague Loyal Orange Lodge No. 512.
-ca. 1900 photograph of members of L.O.L. No. 512.

Smiths Falls, Ontario. St. Francis de Sales Roman Catholic Church.
-ca. 1895 photograph of interior of St. Francis Church.

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-Negative no. 22. "Perth, the Capital of the District of Dalhousie", 1828, by Thomas Burrowes.

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-942.48.10 "Maitland's Rapids", 1830, by James P. Cockburn.
-942.48.11 "Long Island on the Rideau River", 1830, by by James P. Cockburn.

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APPENDICES OF ILLUSTRATIONS

APPENDIX I

Most eastern Upper Canadian newspaper editors up until the late 1830s refused to adopt a strong partisan line. By the early 1850s there were few regional newspapers that did not have a strong partisan slant.

PROSPECTUS

OF A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

to be called

"THE BATHURST TIMES,,

They say!—What say they? Let them say.

The public is well aware, that the want of a newspaper is severely felt, in almost every part of this populous and flourishing District:— in order to remedy this inconvenience, the Subscriber has purchased the printing establishment formerly owned by Mr. J. Stewart, with a large addition of new types, and intends publishing a weekly newspaper, to be called the "BATHURST TIMES,, the first No. of which will be issued as soon as a sufficient number of Subscribers can be obtained. It is generally the practice of new beginners, to publish an elaborately written prospectus; making many professions of Independance, patriotism, and unflinching support to the party whose cause they may espouse, and endeavouring in glowing language and well turned periods to interest the public in their favour, as well as by promises which are never intended to be performed.

The Subscriber however, has no hollow-hearted promises to make, no patronizing *friend* at court, to *flatter*, and no *hidden* enemy of whom he is at all alarmed. The path he has chosen, will not be strewed with the vile fragile flowers of sycophancy, nor rendered attractive by a set of hack'neyed phrases.

He does not deem it necessary to say any thing with regard to the line of politics he intends to follow. He has never been the slave or the tool of any particular party, and never shall —He does not consider that the vulgar abuse of those in power, by a low set of discontented radicals, is any proof of independence of spirit, or patriotism, nor that the fawning subserviency and unmanly praise bestowed upon *all* the acts, of any ministry, through thick and thin, is any proof of sincere attachment to the British Government.

The Subscriber has been for many years in this District, and all that is good bad or indifferent of him is well known to the majority of the people. They are now to be his judges: may their verdict be in his favour.—The sun shines for every man, although the world may frown upon him, and it behoves every individual to endeavour by *fair* means to earn his livelihood: for this purpose, the subscriber is about to pass the fiery ordeal of public opinion, and if a straightforward, upright course, a fearless determination to act according to honour, justice, and honesty of purpose be of any avail he hopes to pass it unscathed. The subscriber solicits the patronage of the reading part of the public, particularly those friends, who have so long merited that appellation, not in the servile manner of a mendicant or a parasite, but as a man, who by industry and strict attention to *his own* business, wishes *really* to merit public support.

The public will soon have an opportunity of judging whether the Bathurst Times should be called *good* or *bad*.

TERMS HALF YEARLY,

15s per annum payable half yearly in advance or 17. & 6d. if not paid till the end of a Year.—Produce of all kinds taken at cash price,—subscriptions if paid within one month—to be considered as in advance.

Bathurst 6th February 1834. ALEXANDER CAMERON

Illustration 1

Source: PAC RG 5, A1, vol. 138, p. 75439

BYTOWN INDEPENDENT

AND

Farmer's Advocate,

TO BE PUBLISHED BY THE SUBSCRIBER AT BYTOWN, ON THE THURSDAY OF EVERY WEEK,

Until it shall be deemed necessary to publish a Semi-Weekly Paper—a change that can prove beneficial to one party only, viz.:—he who receives two papers instead of one.

THIS Paper will cheerfully advocate the national character and interests of every true *Briton*—IRISHMEN and their descendants *first* on the list—notwithstanding that certain old wives whose heads are bursting with loyalty, and who forget themselves and their superiors because those superiors are IRISH—so situated thank fortune! as to be above their malice or their envy.

The proprietor, will make it his study to promote the interests and prosperity of the *County of Carlton* and the Province in general, and will take an occasional peep into the affairs of our sister. He believes that it is impossible for one Province to prosper while the other decays, and that it is the duty of all loyal and peaceable subjects in both Provinces to pull together for their mutual welfare. Much depends upon this co-operation. In Lower-Canada as well as in Upper-Canada there exist many injudicious laws, and many that should be amended or struck from the Statute Book altogether, but the proprietor is of opinion that this would be an arduous undertaking for 800 rebels with their rifles.

The proprietor will on all occasions uphold the King and Constitution, by enforcing obedience to the laws. He will never forget the fostering hand of that nation which protected, or that army which defended us, while in the cradle. May the Union Jack of Great Britain never cease to proudly wave over the Citadel of Quebec? The King desires to do no wrong, but who can deny that many of his Ministers and officers have covetous eyes, and that unless the covies of both Provinces are lopped off and turned adrift to gain a livelihood by their own industry, the best of subjects may become dissatisfied.

The proprietor will be at all times happy to receive any information concerning the misapplication of the public monies or the malfactions with which public officers may be charged, from the judge down to the crier. All are public servants, and their deeds should be laid before the country, who have a right to judge of them. We should perhaps except the Attorney General, and the Solicitor General, who have an exclusive, if not a patent right, to prosecute and forgive at pleasure. This discretion they particularly use in favour of those who vote for them at elections.

Theproprietor, will exclude from his columns all religious controversy, unless where a wanton attack is made upon any body of Christians. He desires that every man should be allowed to walk in his own peaceful ways without interference, as he is responsible for them to God alone.

THE BYTOWN INDEPENDENT will be published on good paper of a fair size and be charged at four dollars per annum exclusive of postage, payable semi-annually in advance, or as as it may suit the proprietor. The press and types will arrive at Bytown in a few days. In conclusion, the proprietor begs leave to say, that he will not pledge himself to please either Whig or Tory. If he be satisfied with himself at the expiration of a year, he will treat himself and any well wisher to a bottle of something that shall be nameless at present.

Illustration 2.

Source: Archives of Ontario, MU 7523 Pinhey Correspondence

CIRCULAR

TO THE READERS OF THE 'COURIER,'

AND THE

REFORMERS OF THE UNITED COUNTIES OF LANARK & RENFREW, IN GENERAL:

Fellow Reformers,—Owing to the apathy or indifferance of many of the Reform party, the last Election for these Counties was lost to the Reformers, and a Tory returned to Parliament—the first since Malcolm Cameron became our Representative. The Reformers of these Counties, being accustomed to victory for several years, confided too much in their own strength, and hence many, who usually took a lively interest in the progress of Reform principles, began to feel indifferent—thinking that the victory would be won, as usual, without their aid. The Tories, elated by their recent temporary success, imagine that there has been an extensive political revolution in the opinions of the majority of the people of these Counties—acting upon that belief, they have got up a Joint Stock Company for publishing a Newspaper on Tory principles, called the "British Standard," the object and aim of which is, if possible, to undo all that the Reformers have done for the last dozen or more years. Under these circumstances it becomes the duty of every true Reformer to strenuously exert himself to promote the interests of the common cause—to maintain those principles of equal civil and religious rights and liberties for which Reformers have always contended, and which are the glory of every true Briton. In order to disseminate genuine Reform principles as widely as possible, and thus counteract the insidious machinations of the Tories, the best means is by the extensive circulation of a Reform Journal among the people, which will give correct and authentic information of the progress of the Reform party—place their leaders in a true light before the people, and thus counteract the insidious designs of the enemies of the Reform cause.

With this object in view, the active and hearty co-operation of the readers of the "Courier," and of the Reformers of these Counties in general, is solicited, to use a little exertion to increase the circulation and consequent usefulness of the oldest Reform Journal in the Counties—the Journal which has fought the battles of Reform for many years, through good report and evil report. Although the "Courier" has now a large circulation, still we feel confident that it could be doubled, or even thribled, were a little exertion only used to do so. For instance, let every person who now reads the "Courier" endeavor to get one or two, or as many more as possible, of his neighbors, to put down their names for a copy, and when as many have been obtained as possible, send in the list, and the papers will be duly forwarded. Farmers might take this Circular and a copy of the "Courier" to logging bees, ploughing bees, and all such gatherings, and solicit those present to subscribe. Shopkeepers and Mechanics might open a list in their shops and solicit their customers to put down their names.—We are confident that if these suggestions were only acted upon, our list might easily be *doubled* in a few weeks. This would not only be a pecuniary benefit to us, but would be a material advantage to the Reform cause in general. We trust this appeal will not be made in vain, but that each reader of the "Courier" will consider this Circular addressed to himself, and act upon it accordingly. Subscribers' names may be written below, and the part cut off and forwarded.

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.	PLACE OF RESIDENCE.

Illustration 3

Source: OONL Bathurst Courier, 9 July 1852, loose insert.

APPENDIX II

The mass media of mid-nineteenth century American society presented an unwelcoming and negative image of Irish immigrants.

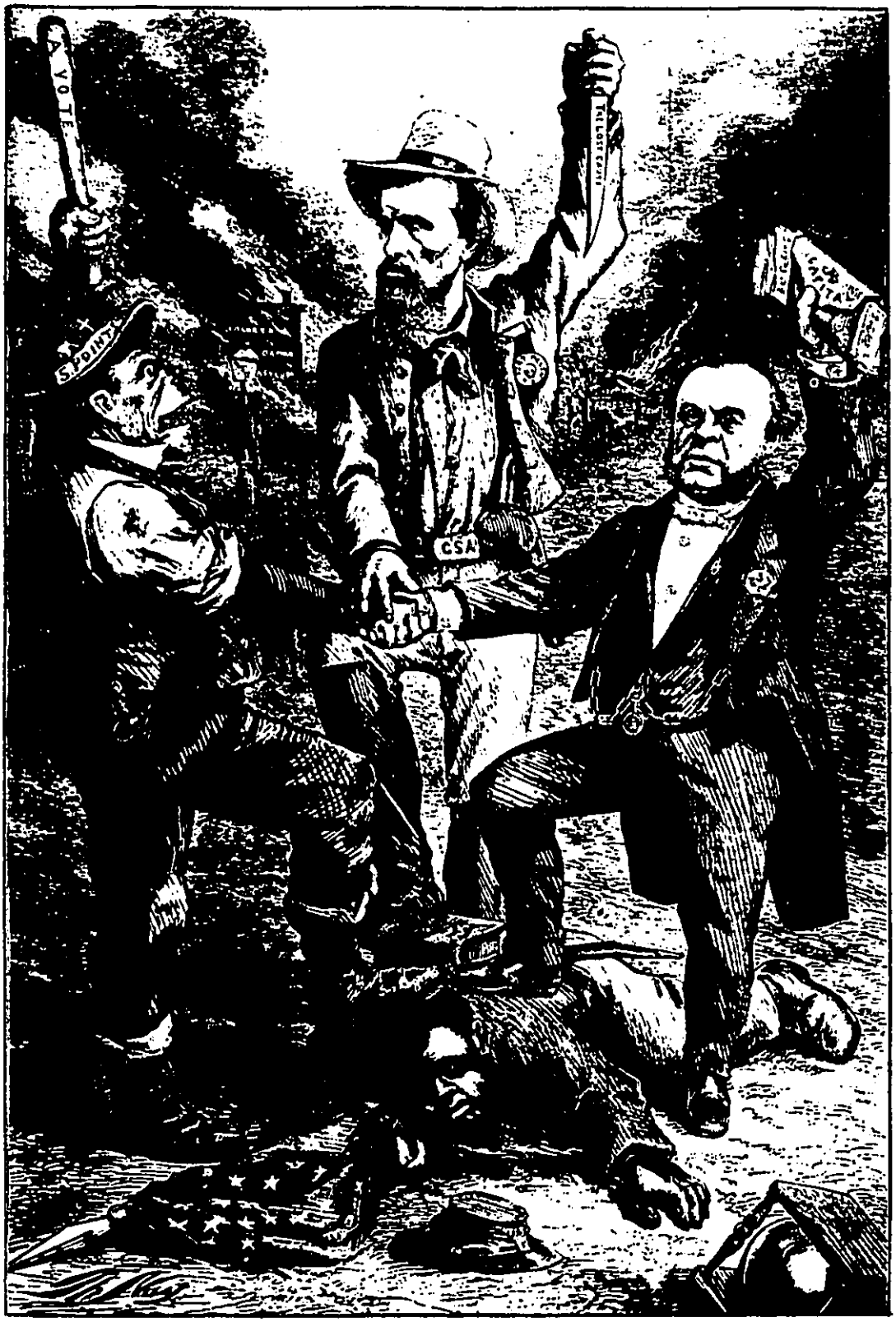


Illustration 4
Harper's Weekly cartoonist Thomas Nast portrayed the Irish voter combining with former Southern slaveholders and New York capitalists to deny the freed Negro the equality the Republicans sought to grant him. The English cartoon image of a simianized Irish 'ape-man' published during Fenian disturbances was given a strong political edge when it migrated to the United States in the late 1860s. The Irish immigrant did not figure in Canadian cartoons before 1869.

Source: Maldwyn A. Jones, Destination America, p. 83.

APPENDIX III

Topographical artists passing through eastern Upper Canada showed the distinctive garb of Irish immigrants giving way to a North American style of dress. The humble log shanties first built by the Irish upon arriving gradually gave way to more substantial structures.

Illustration 5

"Long Island on the Rideau River," c. 1830, by James P. Cockburn. This watercolour sketch shows a newly arrived Irish immigrant wearing distinctive older style breeches that bind at the knee, stockings and porkpie hat, all of which set him apart from other Upper Canadians. His log shanty is in the background.

Source: Royal Ontario Museum, accession no. 924.48.11

Illustration 6

"Merrickville on the Rideau Canal, Upper Canada," c. 1830, by James P. Cockburn. This sketch shows the larger new buildings which the commerce of the beginning inundation of Irish immigrants into the region was giving impetus to in what previously had been a straggling mill hamlet in the middle of the forest. The iconographic tradition of topographical artists such as Cockburn makes it possible to identify the four figures in the foreground as a group of three men of American origin on the left, and an Irish immigrant with an axe over his shoulder listening at the edge of the group, to the right. The male Irish immigrant soon learned to adopt trousers as he grew more skilled with using the axe, but the colonial topographical artist still managed to typify him with his porkpie hat, his pipe, and a genial expression.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, Negative no. C-40016.

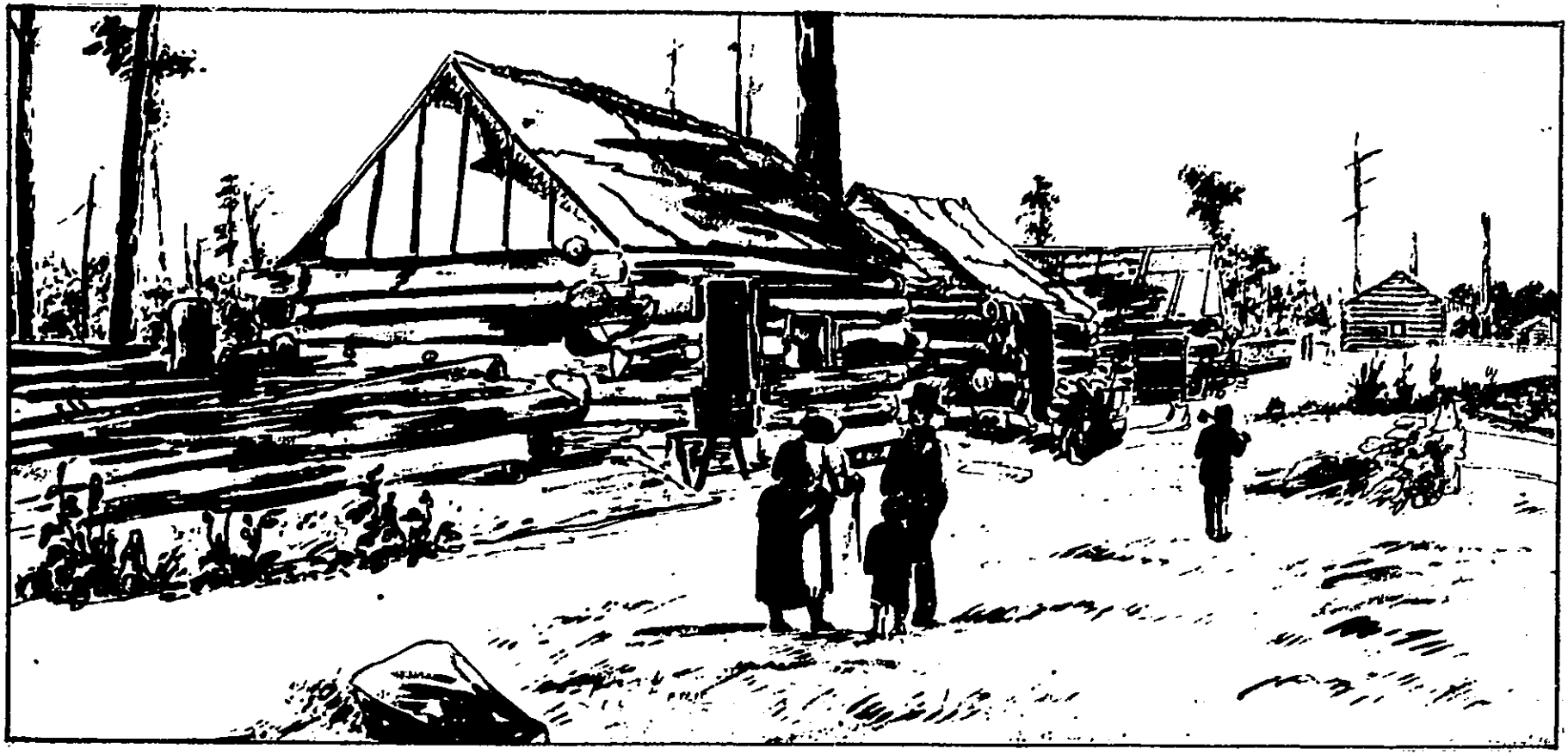


Illustration 7

"Settlement on Long Island on the Rideau River, Upper Canada, 1830," by James P. Cockburn. This collection of houses clearly shows that the Irish, no less than other immigrants in Upper Canada, made use of log construction. These structures, as with those of other ethnic immigrant groups, were basic structures intended to be used temporarily. Once again, despite the man adopting the North American trousers, the iconographic tradition portrays the porkpie hat, a pipe in the mouth, and a quizzical expression on the face of the typified Irish immigrant.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-40048.

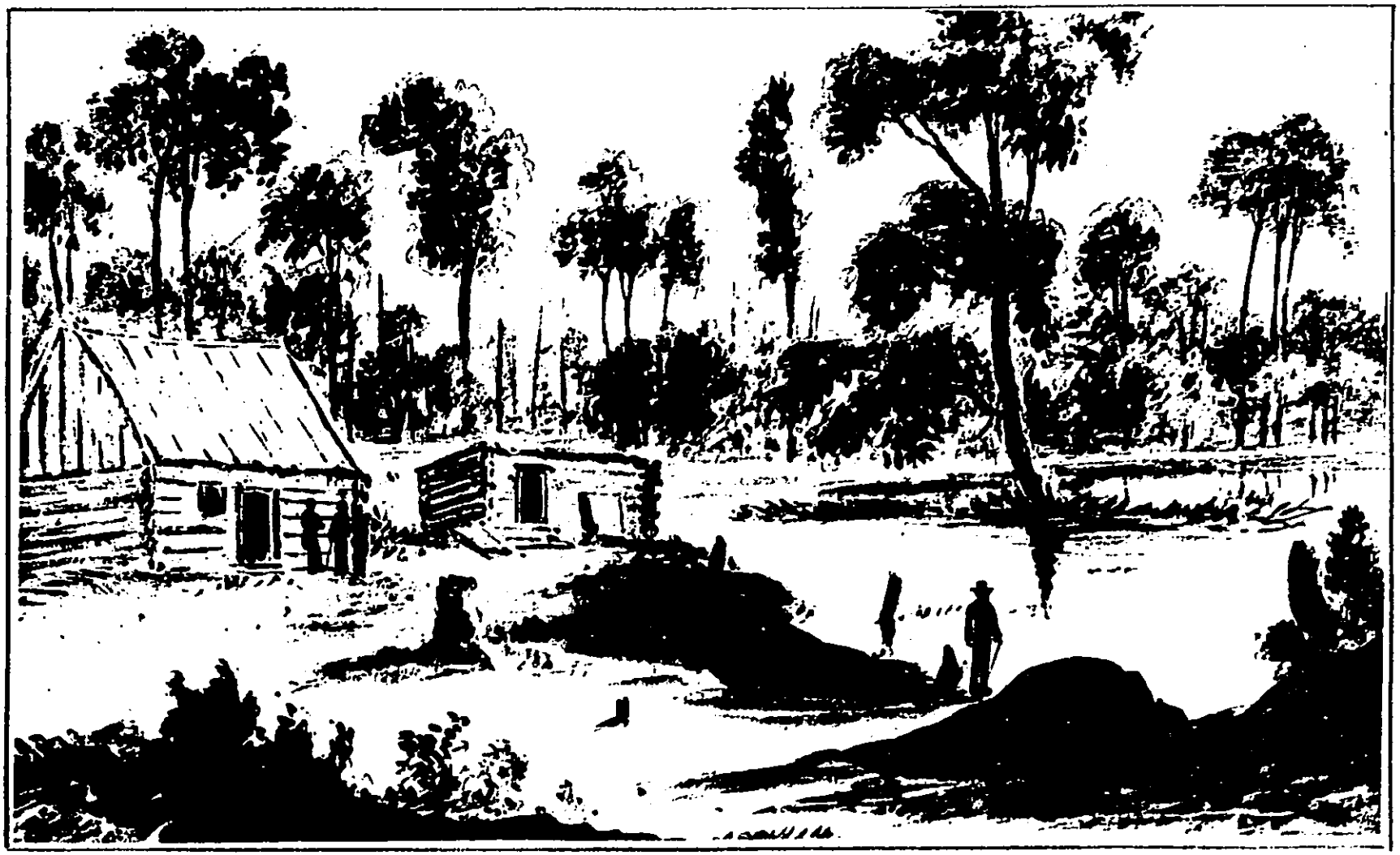


Illustration 8

"Maitland's Rapids, Rideau River," 1830, by James P. Cockburn. This view of an early log house and the even earlier log shanty it replaced, both built by Scottish immigrant, James Maitland, underlines a basic fact of pioneer life in Upper Canada: the first houses were primitive affairs, no matter by whom they were built. These structures, when compared with those shown in Illustrations 5 and 6, offer no substantiation for John MacTaggart's biased claim that the Irish did not build houses from timber, nor for any claim that the Irish were less skilled than other groups in handling timber.

Source: Royal Ontario Museum, accession no. 942.48.10

APPENDIX IV

The houses of worship built by American-origin and Scottish-origin settlers in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties were few in number and unsophisticated utilitarian structures before significant numbers of Irish immigrants arrived in the early 1830s.

Illustration 9

Facade of Methodist meeting-house at Greenbush, built about 1830. As one of the more substantial voluntarist meeting-houses erected before 1845, the alterations in the fenestration of this building reveal the challenge of sophistication posed by United Church of England and Ireland houses of worship. A careful scrutiny of the stonework shows the tall pointed windows to be mid-century replacements of plain rectangular sashes. The original second storey windows gave lighting to a substantial gallery which seated as many worshippers as the benches on the ground floor. The eave returns and the pilasters on the doorcase betray a minimal classical allusion possibly copied from United Church of England and Ireland churches.

Source: G. Lockwood

Illustration 10

Interior of the Conger Methodist chapel near Picton, built 1809. Though none of the interiors of the voluntarist meeting-houses built in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark, Leeds and Renfrew counties before 1845 have survived, this intact Prince Edward County structure reveals the plainness and severity of their basic design. The height and central position of the pulpit reflected the evangelical emphasis on preaching and conversion over the sacraments of communion and baptism. Anson Green described the three galleries as having level floors, and being seated with rough planks. The galleries enabled a great many people to attend service, but, as Green pointed out, they were much too high, and consequently "the pulpit had to be stuck up towards the moon in order to see the people in them." The sounding board above the pulpit resonated the preacher's voice throughout the chapel. Green believed it "a great mistake to build galleries and pulpits, in churches, too high; it compels the speaker to breathe the fumes and fetid breath of the congregation, while, at the same time, if he stands erect—as he always should, in order to give his lungs and speaking organs full play—he can scarcely see the people in the church below him."

Source: Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, Hallowed Walls: Church Architecture of Upper Canada, p. 32.

Illustration 11

Ruins of Shiloh Methodist chapel in northern Elizabethtown, built in the 1830s. The fieldstone walls testify to the unpretentious construction and design of voluntarist meeting-houses before 1845.

Source: Brockville Recorder TV-Travel Times, 11 June 1982, pp. 12-13.

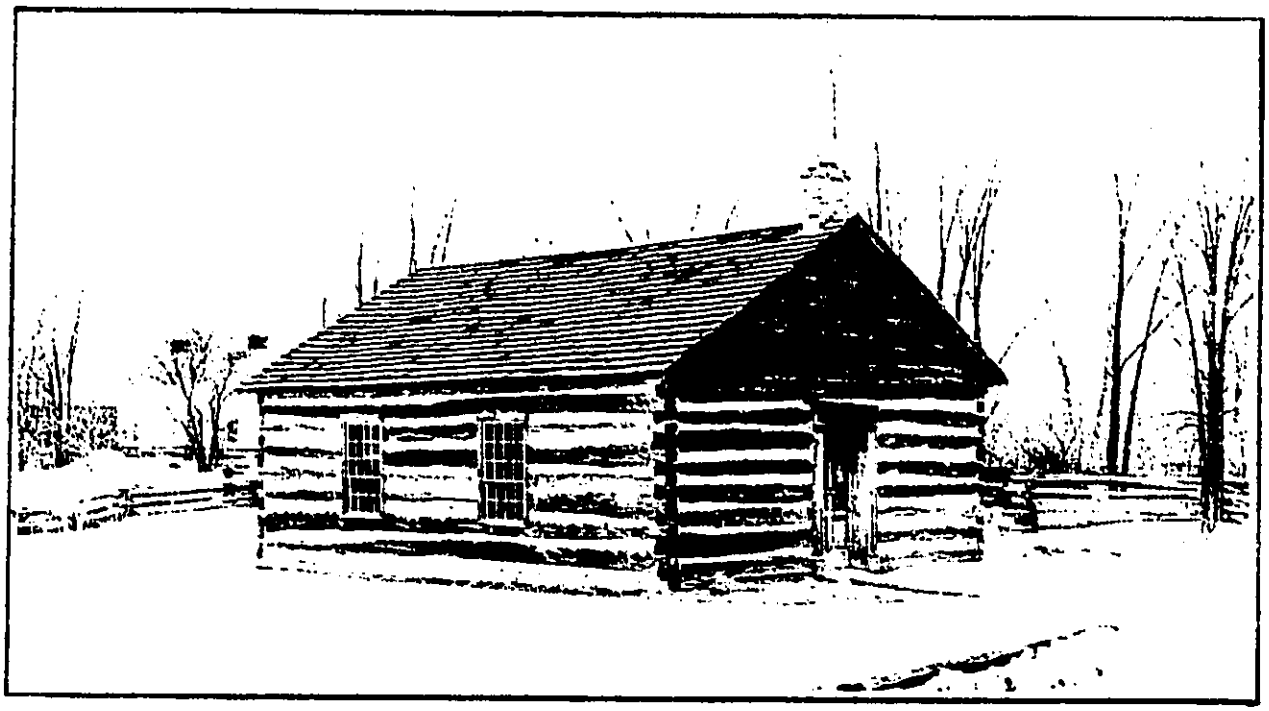


Illustration 12

Providence Methodist chapel, Kitley, built 1834. Methodism as the largest voluntarist denomination in the region, made effective use of its limited number of preachers by sending them travelling to classes throughout their extensive circuits. In their absence, a class leader attempted to maintain some semblance of regular congregational meeting until the circuit preacher returned to restoke the fires of devotion. The lapses between preaching helped account for the Methodist emphasis on conversion, repentance and revival. The lapses between meetings also accounted for voluntarist jealousy of state-backed clergy who performed regular schedules of services.

Source: Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, Hallowed Walls: Church Architecture of Upper Canada, p. 243.

Illustration 13

Interior of Providence Methodist chapel, Kitley, built 1834. This Upper Canada Village interpretation is true to the original interior, save for the pews. The originals were unpainted benches, ungraced with kneelers in keeping with the rest of the plain interior. The only kneeling which took place in Methodist meeting-houses was done by penitents seeking grace and crying to God for mercy in contrition for their previous irreligious state. This took place before the congregation at the "mercy-seat" in front of the pulpit.

Source: John de Visser, Upper Canada Village.

Illustration 14

Ruins of the Church of Scotland Auld Kirk, Beckwith, built 1833. This house of worship built for a state-backed denomination, although a fairly plain structure, was as close as Scottish highland immigrants in the region came to importing any vestige of their traditional ecclesiastical architecture. Separate entrances in both gable walls, separate galleries along each gable wall, and the design of the elevated pulpit combined to give a Scottish design to an otherwise austere structure. All other Church of Scotland houses of worship built in the region were more picturesque in their treatment.

Source: Harry Walker and Olive Walker, Carleton Saga, p. 507.

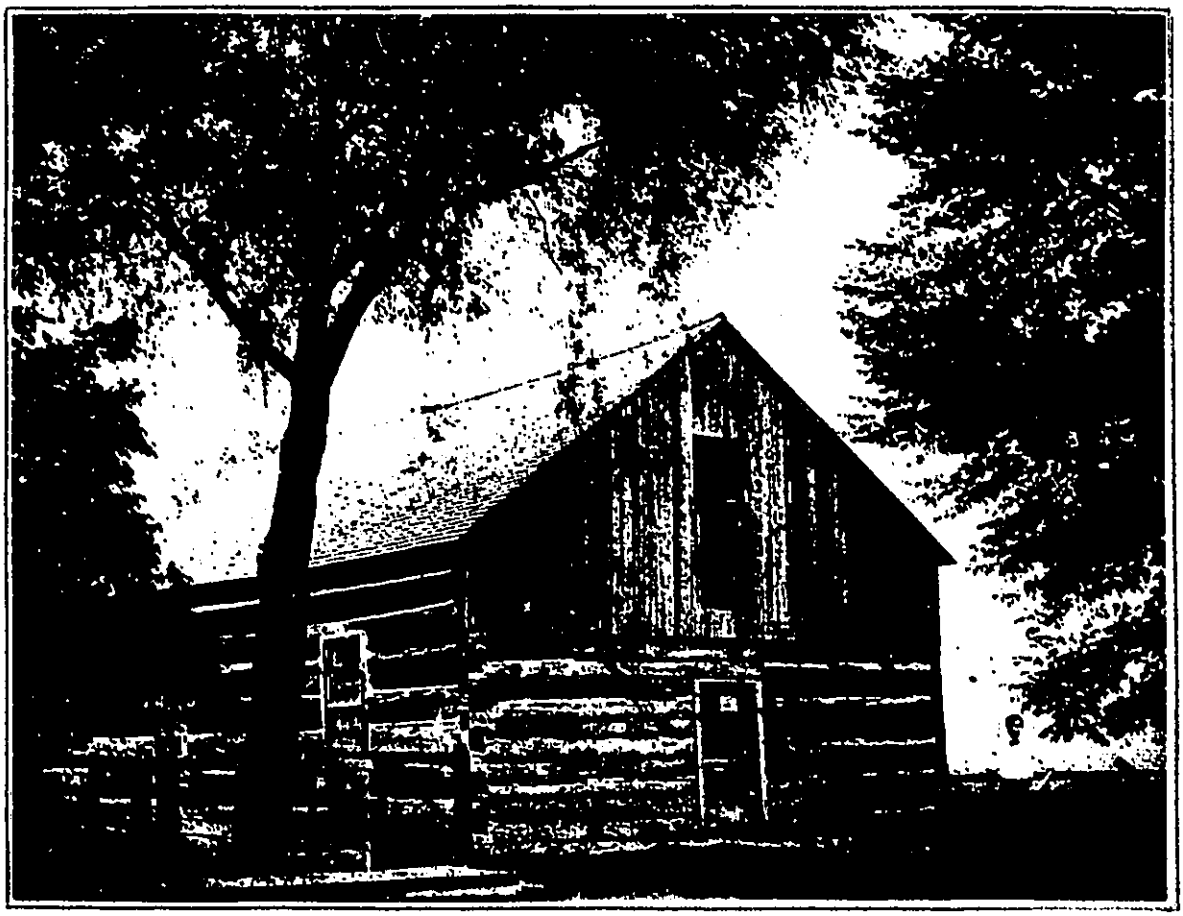


Illustration 15

Congregational meeting-house, Middleville, ca. 1900. Most voluntarist meeting-houses before 1845 were exceedingly plain structures without any features or symbols to identify them as houses of worship. They were virtually indistinguishable from houses in villages and along country roads.

Source: R.E. Borrowman Collection, Negative no. PA-077291, Public Archives Canada.

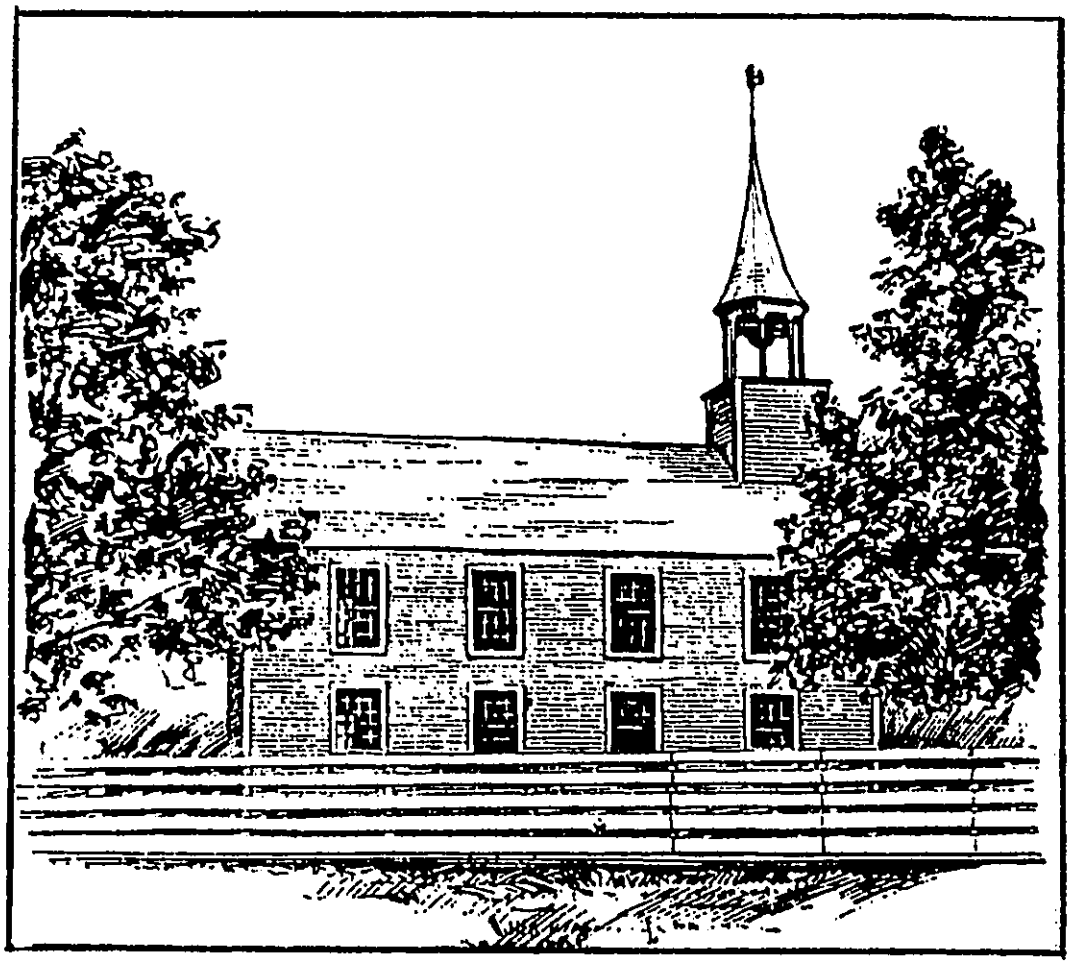


Illustration 16

Presbyterian meeting-house, Perth, built 1819. This structure consisted of a large two-storey frame meeting-house, with a French-Canadian clocher perched astride one end of the roof. The clocher was the only exterior clue to this building's religious purpose.

Source: Jessie Buchanan Campbell, The Pioneer Pastor (second edition), p. 22.

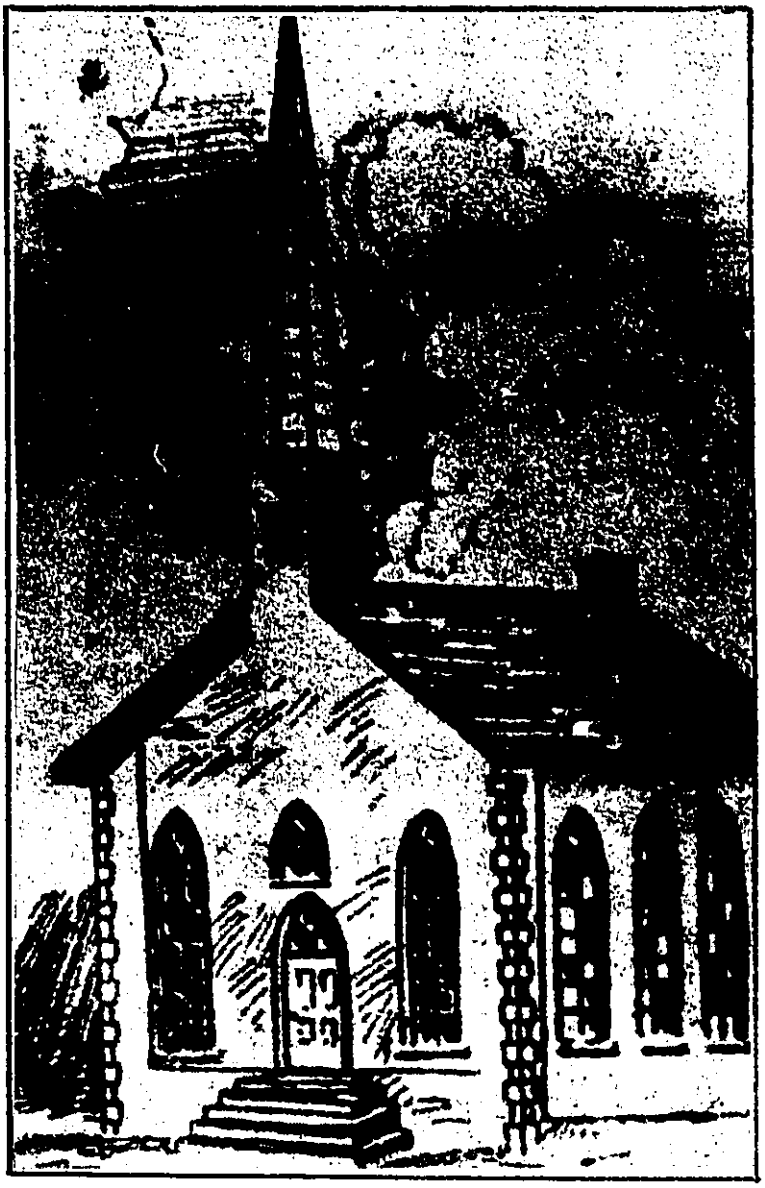


Illustration 17

Presbyterian Church, Brockville, built 1819. The use of a spire and pointed windows in this structure made it the first house of worship in the region visually identifiable as a place intended for religious services.

Source: Brockville Recorder TV-Travel Times, 10 October 1986, p. 17.

APPENDIX V

Irish Anglican immigrants built churches in such numbers and of such sophistication between 1825 and 1845 as to make those of earlier-settled American and Scottish immigrants seem crude by comparison. Although the Georgian design of these Irish Anglican churches was long out of fashion in England, their relative sophistication on the Upper Canadian landscape prompted jealousy and halting attempts by the earlier-settled population to imitate them.

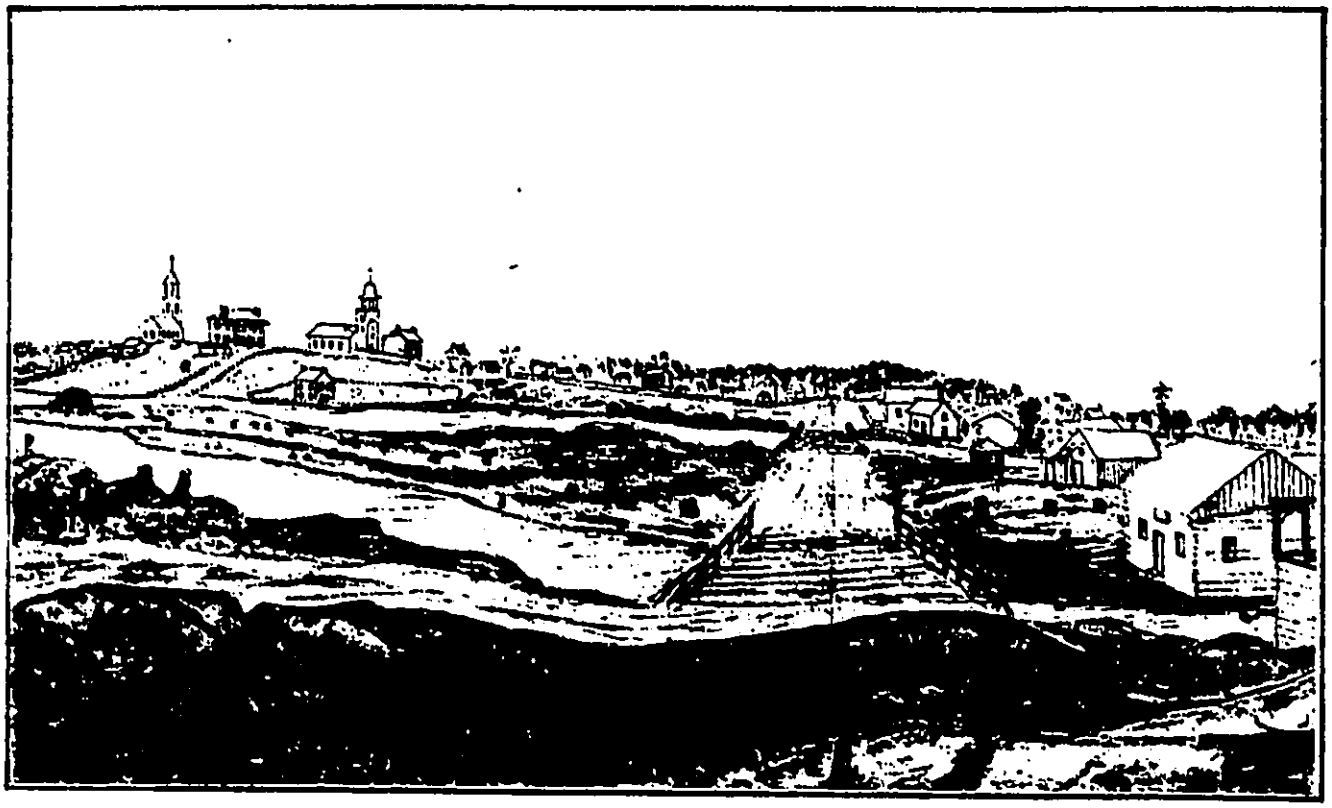


Illustration 18

Perth, the Capital of the District of Dalhousie; from the N. East bank of the River Tay, sketched 20th August 1828, by Thomas Burrows. The Roman Catholic and United Church of England and Ireland churches appear prominent and recognisable as houses of worship on the left side of this water-colour. Their prominence and purpose is shown by their large size, by their proximity to the court-house, by their use of towers, belfries and crosses. The Presbyterian meeting-house, lacking a tower, is lost among the buildings in the middle distance.

Source: Archives of Ontario

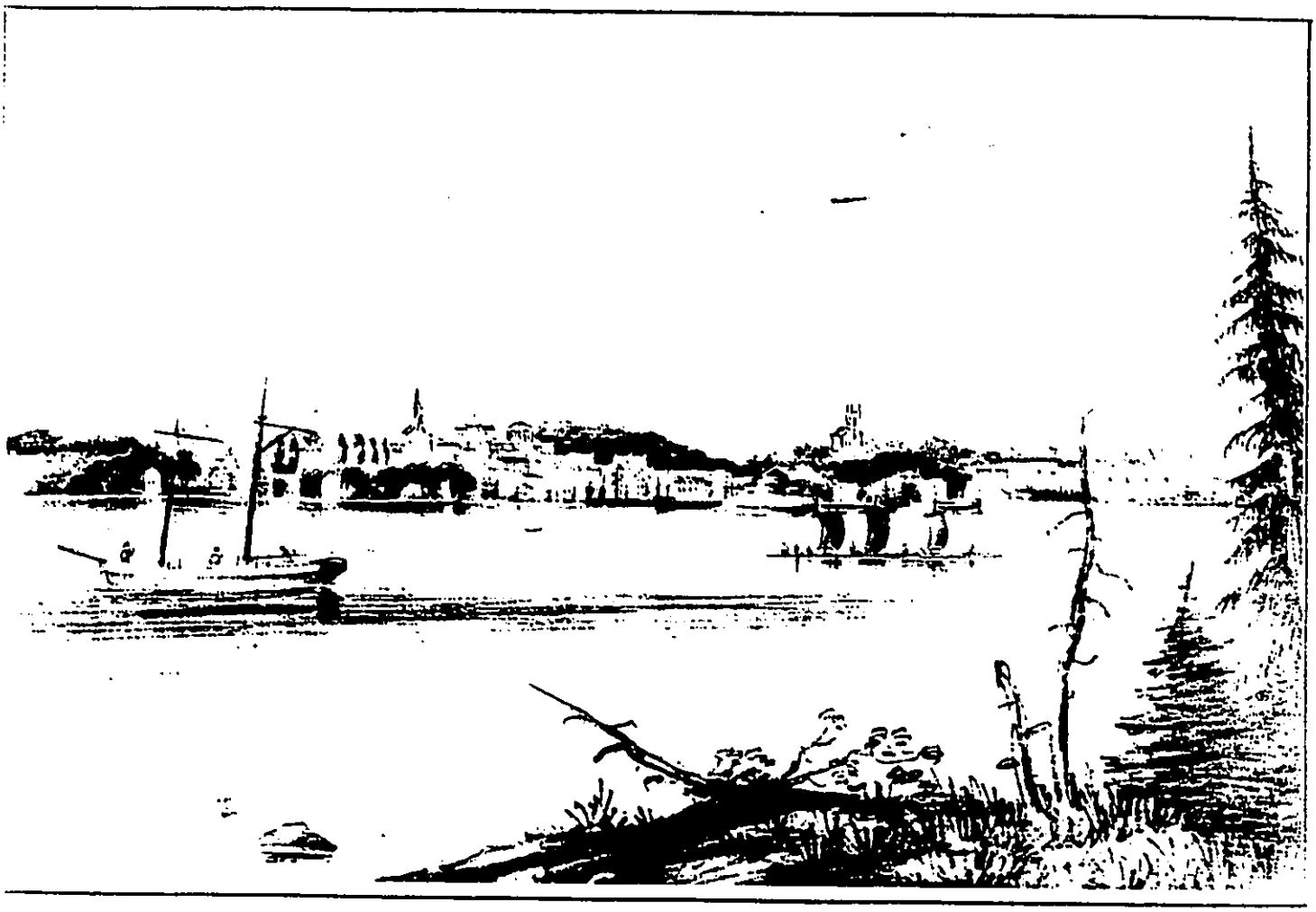


Illustration 19

View of Brockville from the American shore of the St. Lawrence, ca. late 1830s by Shepherd. This vista shows the Presbyterian church (with the spire) and Methodist chapel (with columned facade) on sites donated by Presbyterian Reformer, William Buell, flanking the court-house of the Johnstown District. Buell also offered a site on Court-house Square to the United Church of England and Ireland, but its members chose to accept a site instead from United Church of England and Ireland Tory, the Honourable Charles Jones. This site was aloof from the cluster of voluntarist meeting-houses at the court-house. The United Church of England and Ireland church was the largest house of worship in Brockville before mid-century.

Source: Adrian Ten Cate and Christina MacNaughton, eds., Brockville: A Pictorial History, p. 54.

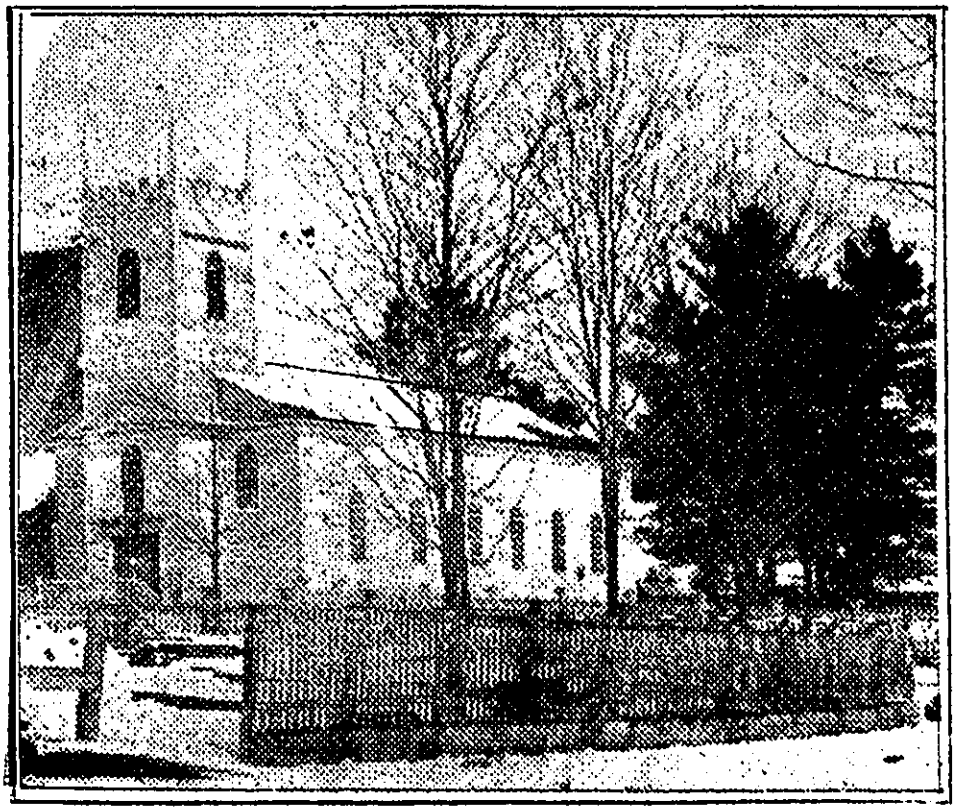


Illustration 20

St. John's Episcopal Church, Prescott, built 1820, enlarged in the 1820s, and torn down in 1860. This picturesque church combined round-headed windows, Greek pediments in the main building with pinnacles, and a battlement at the top of the tower. Following in the British North American Georgian architectural tradition of a century's standing, there likely was a Palladian window in the chancel. The Georgian design of this building would continue in other regional churches until the early 1840s, with pointed windows substituted for round-headed sashes.

Source: John Alfred Morris, Prescott, 1810-1967, p. 174.

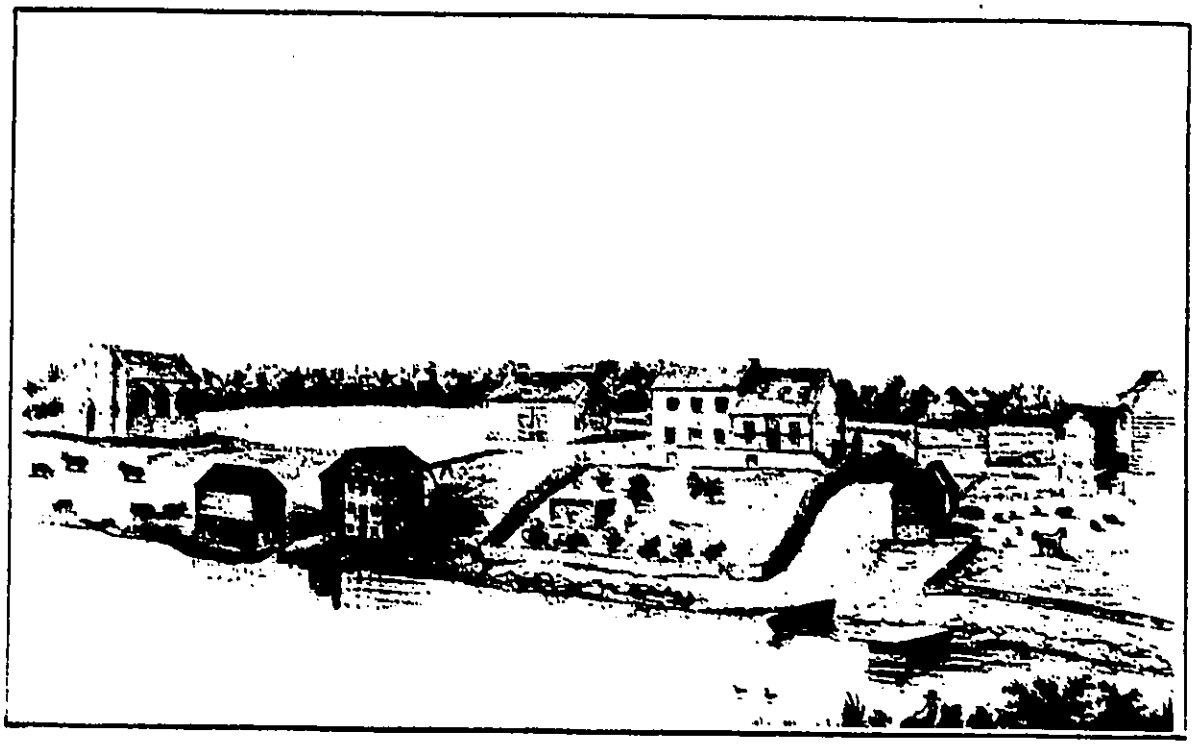


Illustration 21

View of Horace-Ville on the Ottawa River, ca. 1827, by Mary-Anne Pinhey. This early print of the estate of Hamnett K. Pinhey visually summarises the voluntarist fear that the United Church of England and Ireland would become the established church of Upper Canada. In emulation of the intimate association of this church with the governing class in Britain, Pinhey bore the entire expense of constructing St. Mary's Church on his property. He did so over the objections of inland inhabitants of March Township who felt that it should be more centrally located. The high-handed siting of the church amid the colony of British gentry officers along the Ottawa River, and Pinhey's naming it after a daughter, just as he named his estate after his son Horace, appeared to confirm voluntarist fears about an established church in Upper Canada becoming an instrument of government and aristocracy, rather than a power for good under the grace of God.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-40792.

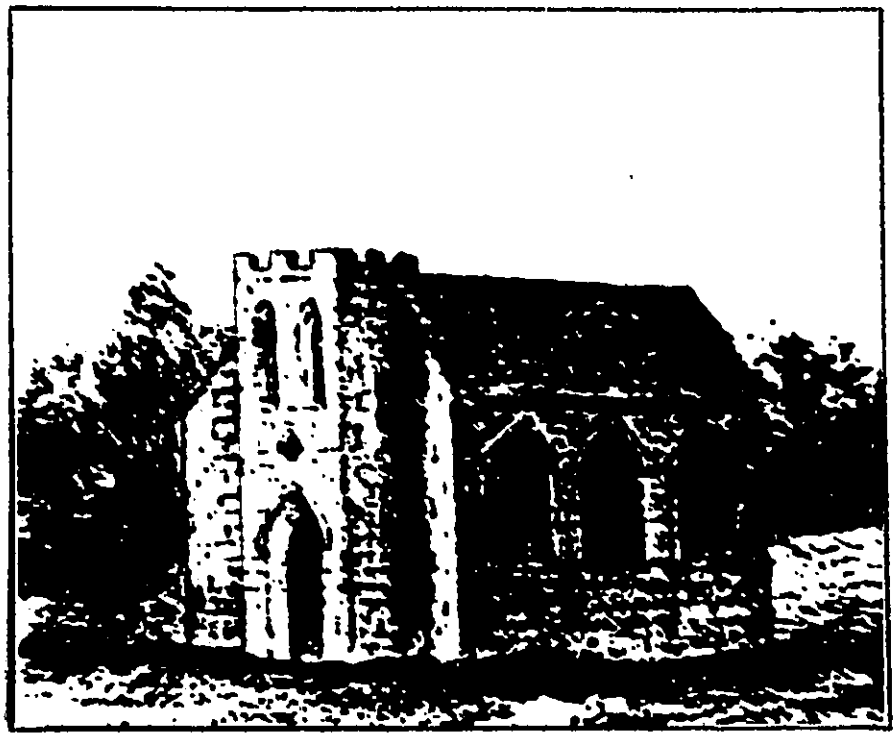


Illustration 22

Detail of View of Horace-Ville on the Ottawa River, ca. 1827, by Mary-Anne Pinhey. The original battlement on the tower of St. Mary's Church was not suited to weather the extremes of Canadian climate, and eventually a hipped roof replaced it. Despite the whimsy of Regency ogee arches in the windows and door, the picturesque details and siting of this church did not detract from the Georgian arrangement of the interior. Though little larger than many voluntarist meeting-houses, the use of pointed windows and a tower in this structure bespoke a Christian church.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-40792.

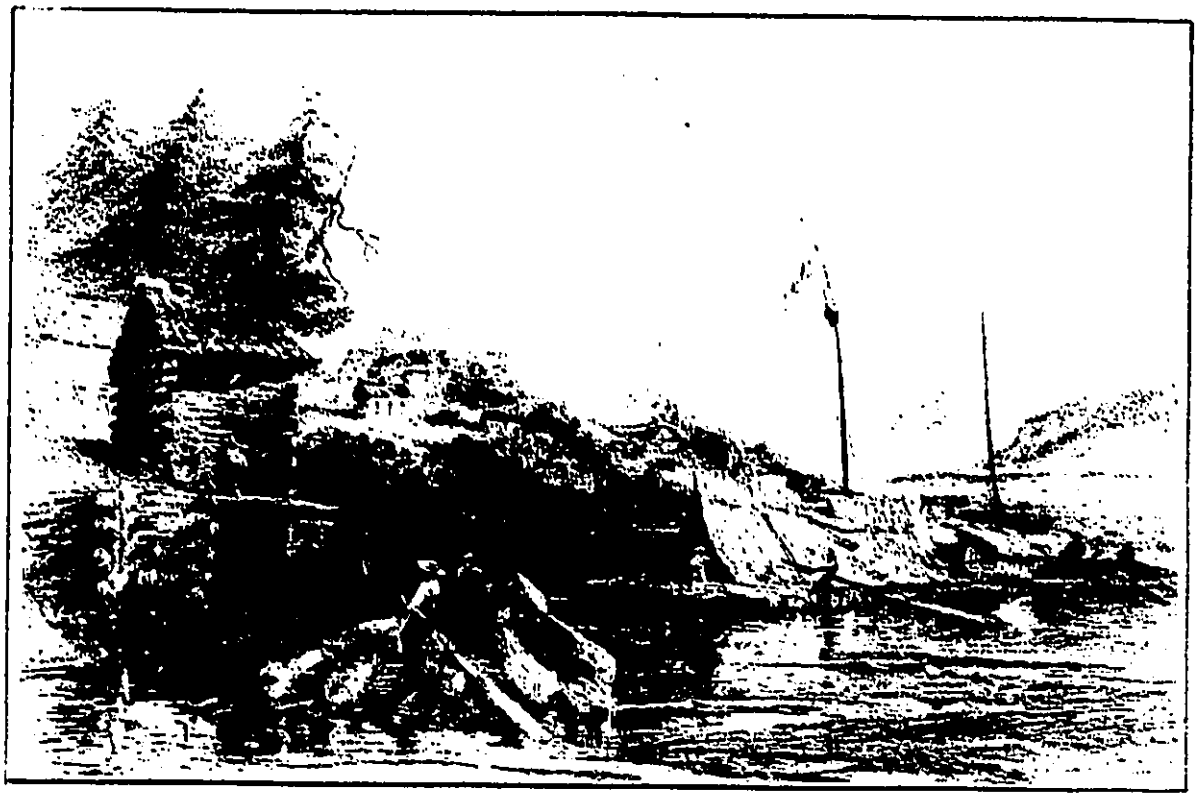


Illustration 23

March on Lake Chaudière, as engraved by J. Carter from the 1838 sketch of William Henry Bartlett. This romantic vista was the creation of a visiting English artist. There is no indication that Upper Canadians indulged in as rarefied a view of their forest landscape. Even from the distance, the new United Church of England and Ireland churches were visually identifiable as houses of worship. The comparative plainness of their architecture by contemporary English standards was no matter. In the eastern Upper Canadian context, they often were the most refined structures to be found in the local landscape.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-2321.

Illustration 24

St. Mary's United Church of England and Ireland, Horaceville, ca. 1900. This photograph shows the roof which replaced the battlements atop the tower, and the clear panes of glass with which the ogee-headed windows were glazed.

Source: Lois Long, Nepean.

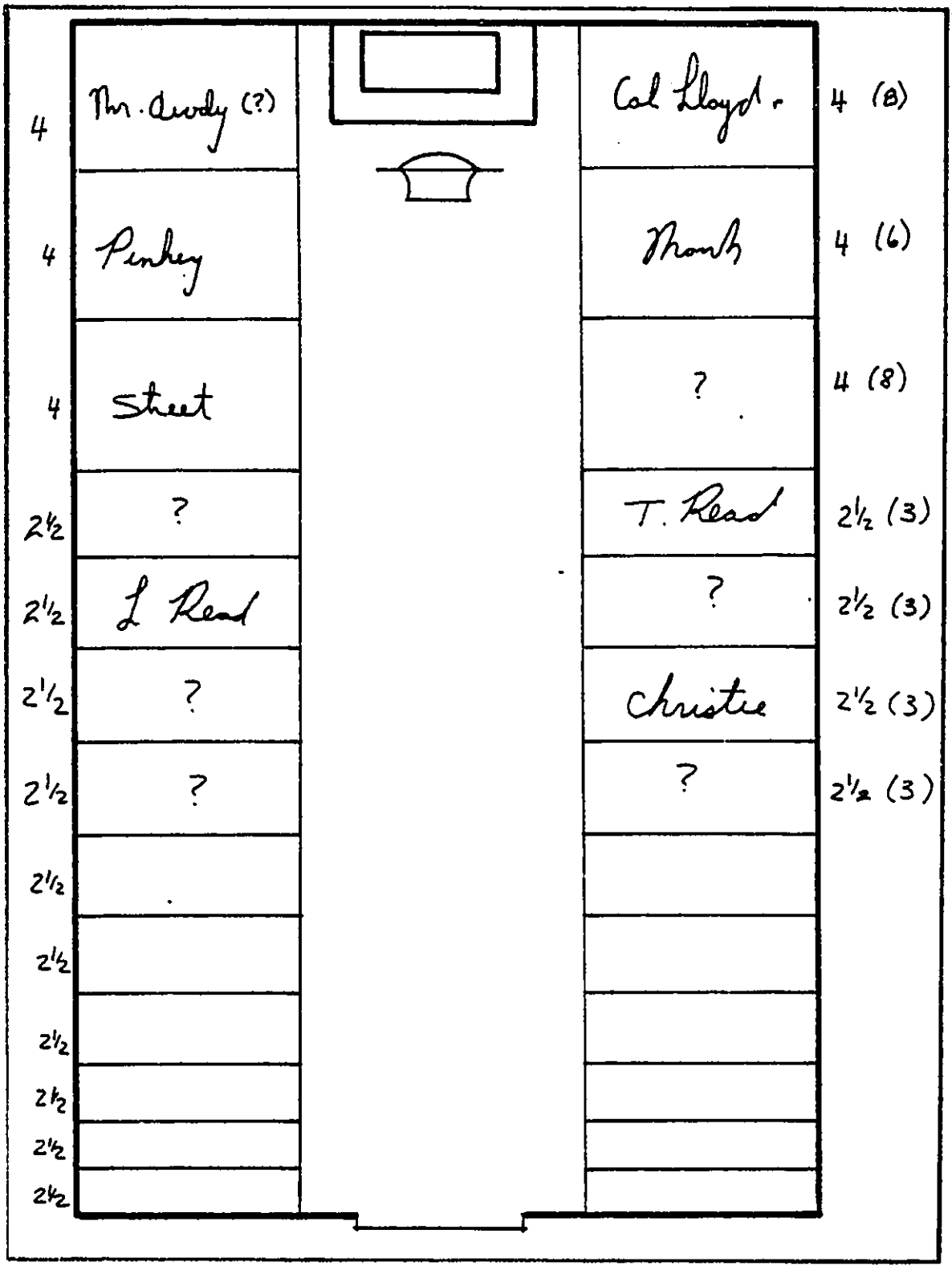


Illustration 25

Floorplan of St. Mary's United Church of England and Ireland, Horaceville, by Hamnett K. Pinhey. The larger pews of the higher-ranking gentry were placed closest the pulpit. The positioning of the pulpit in front of the altar suggests the priority placed on preaching over sacraments in United Church of England and Ireland congregations before 1845.

Source: Philip Gerrard, Pinhey Site, Kanata, Ont.: Archaeological Research Report, Part II: Interpretation, figure 108.

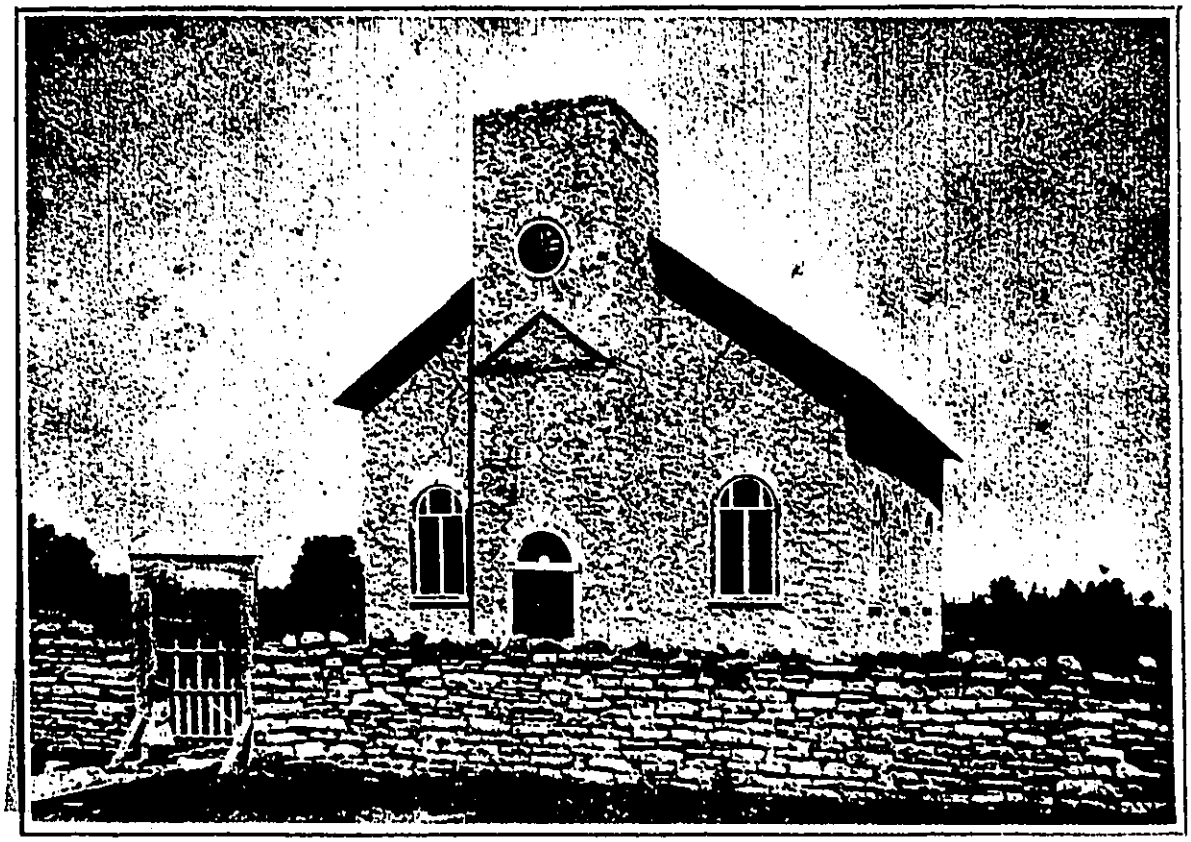


Illustration 26

St. James United Church of England and Ireland, Franktown, built 1827, as photographed ca. 1895. This view shows this modest United Church of England and Ireland church some seventy years after it was constructed, shorn of its tower cap and front pediment. A Palladian window over the communion table confirms the Irish Georgian ancestry of this building. The strong link between church and state which southeastern Irish Protestants had been used to in Ireland continued in Upper Canada in the mode of funding the construction of this church and funding the salaries of its clergy. Construction funds came from the sale of government land and buildings at Perth, and the rectors' salaries came from the Clergy Reserves fund.

Source: Donna Hughton and Robert Hughton, Franktown.

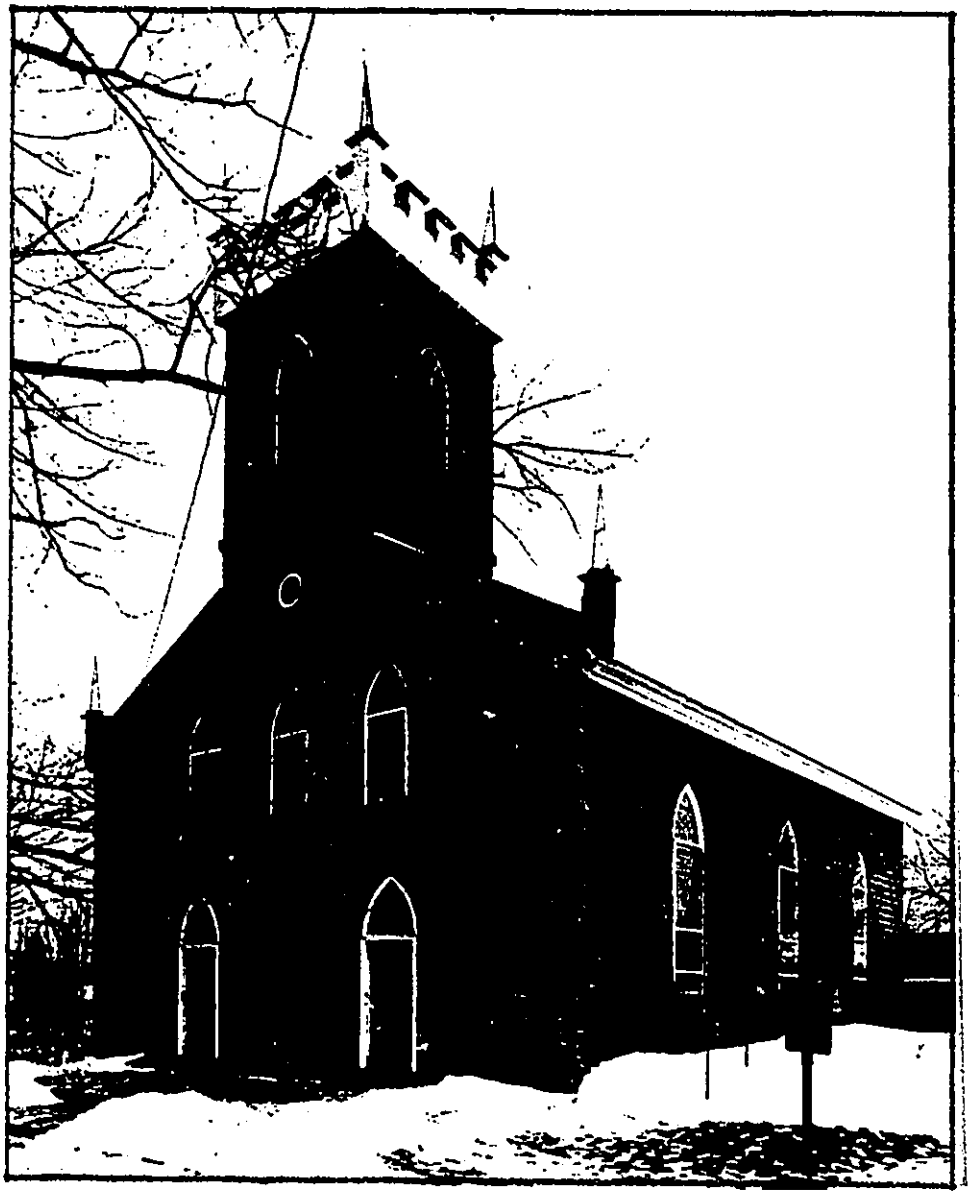


Illustration 27

St. James United Church of England and Ireland, Maitland, erected 1826-1827. The spiked pinnacles, battlements and pointed doors and windows of this church designed by Orangeman, Arthur McClean, all suggest a new stylistic influence to give this structure the immediate visual appearance of a Christian church rather than just another anonymous-looking meeting-house. The two entrances, the round vent, the simple rectangular floorplan, and the modest slope of roof all betrayed the lingering Georgian tradition of the previous century.

Source: Mathilde Brosseau, Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture, p. 49.

Illustration 28

Pencil sketch of St. James United Church of England and Ireland, Maitland, in 1873 by Colonel Macleod Moore. This naive sketch, with its exaggerated pinnacles and battlements, indicates the visual impact of the new churches combining Georgian and picturesque Gothic aspects on the local landscape. To the left can be seen a mid-century Methodist chapel which attempted to copy the pointed windows, but the hangover meeting-house effect continued in contrast with the picturesque structure which was the centre of attention for this sketch and which gave the immediate visual impression of being a church.

Source: Stephen A. Otto, Maitland: 'A Very Neat Village Indeed', p. 107.

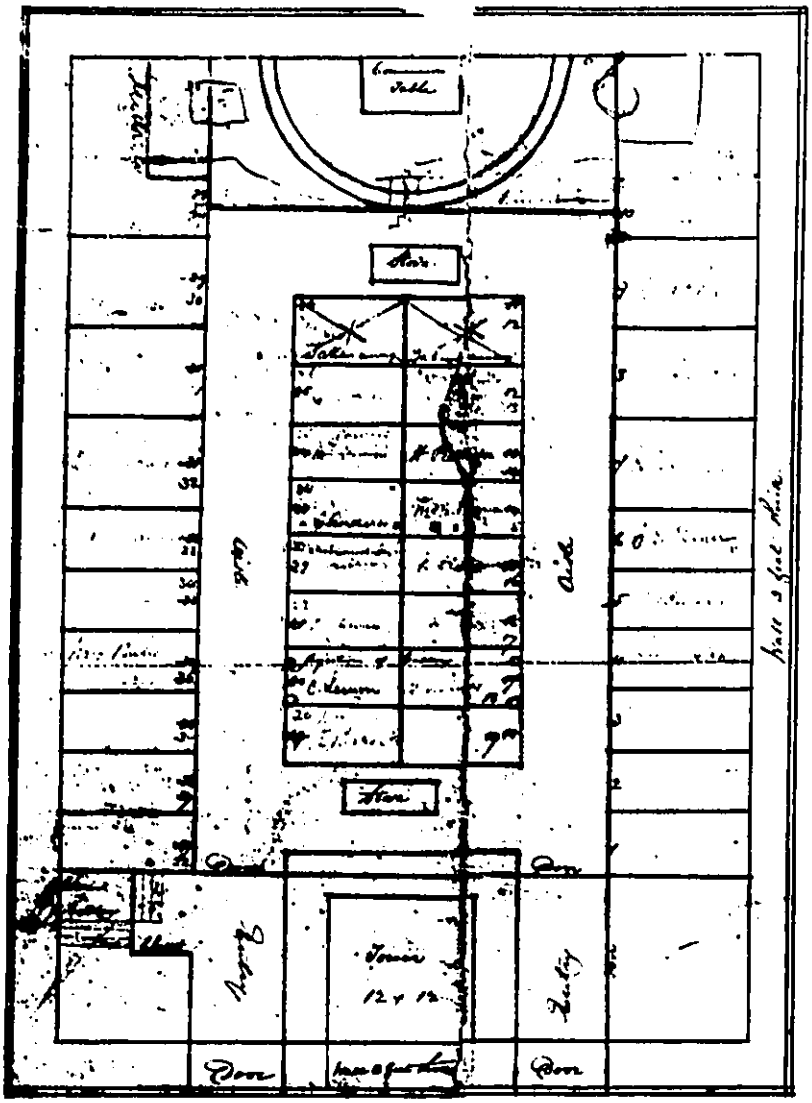
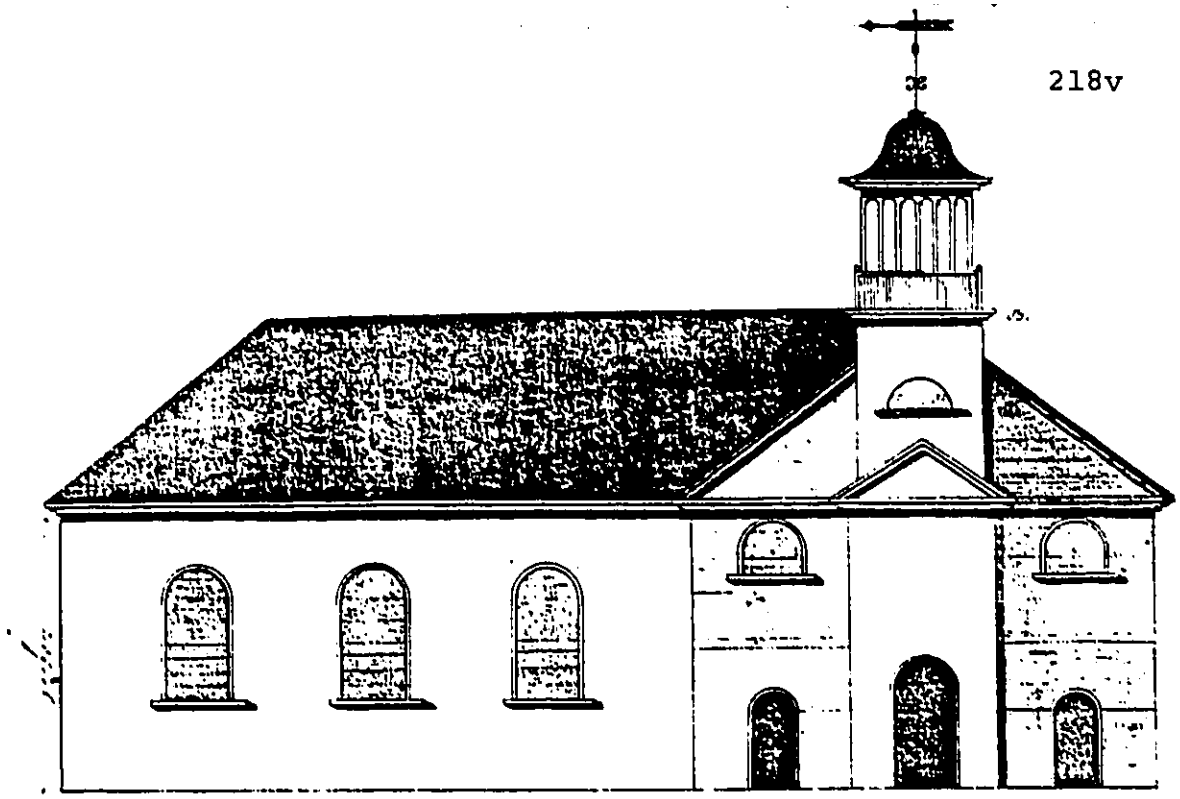


Illustration 29

Floor plan of St. James United Church of England and Ireland, Maitland, ca. 1890. The larger pews of the more prominent church members were located at the front of the sanctuary. All pews on the main floor had to be paid for, but free seats were available in the rear gallery. The simple rectangular plan, the double aisle, the abrupt placing of stove and stovepipe in front of the communion table at the front, the use of a communion table rather than an altar all reflected the continuing Georgian austere low church service, notwithstanding the pinnacles and pointed windows on the exterior. There was little visual symbolism connected with the performance of early services in this church.

Source: Queen's University Archives, Kingston, copied in Stephen A. Otto and Richard Dumbrille, Maitland: 'A Very Neat Village Indeed', p. 74.



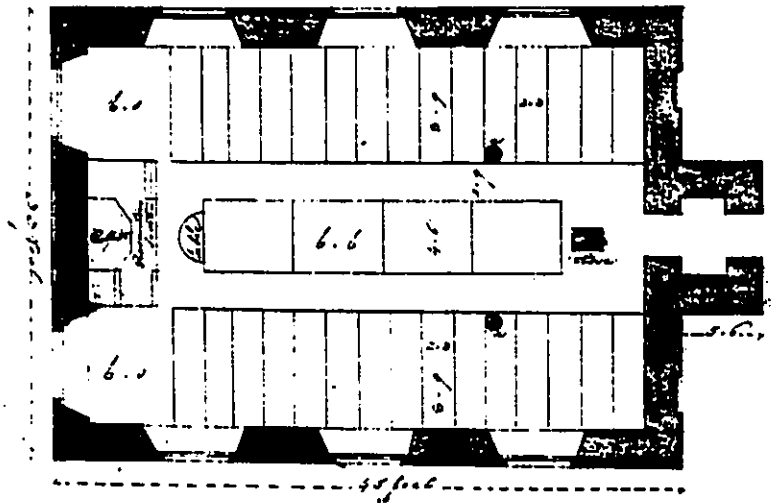


Illustration 30

Plan of the Presbyterian Church at Lanark, 1823.

Source: PAC RG5, A1 Reel c-4610, pp. 31435-8

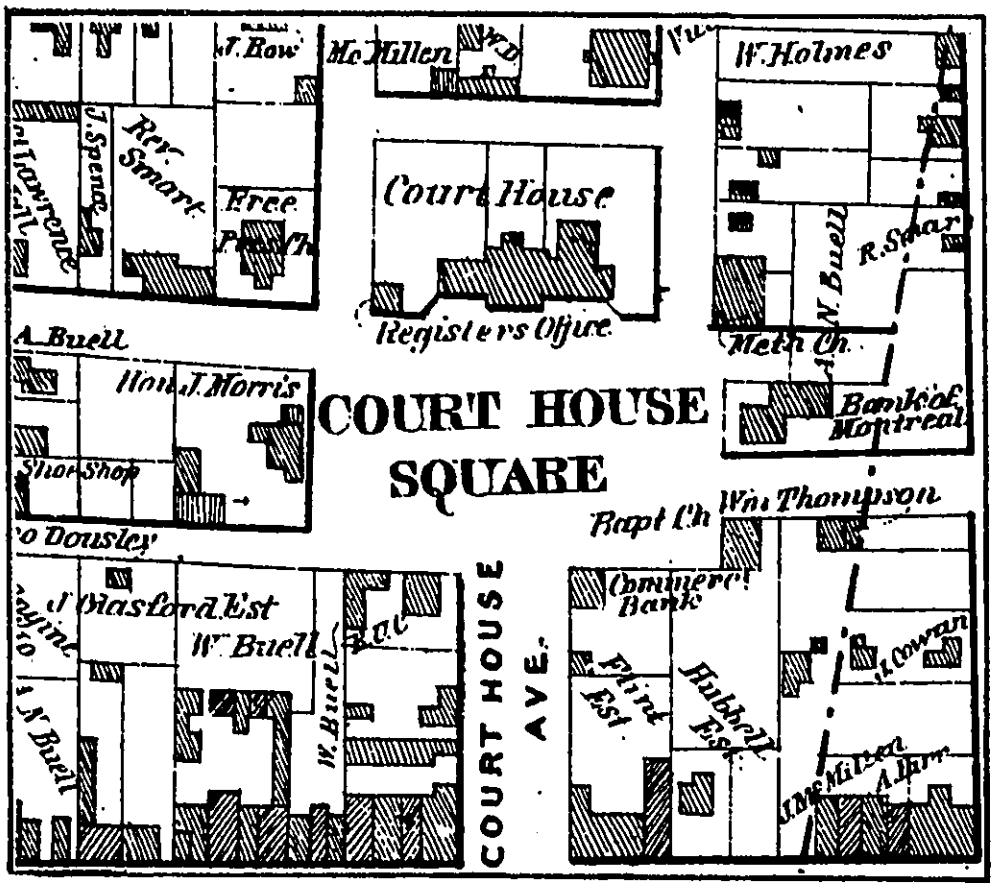


Illustration 31

Detail of 1861 map of Brockville by Henry F. Walling. This map shows the clustering of the major voluntarist churches, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist, on prestigious sites near the court-house of the Johnstown District. They were given these sites by prominent early Reformer and editor of the Brockville Recorder, William Buell, as if to emphasize the links of voluntarist Protestantism and American-origin Reform in the Johnstown District.

Source: Mika Publishing, Historical Atlas of Leeds and Grenville, p. 41.

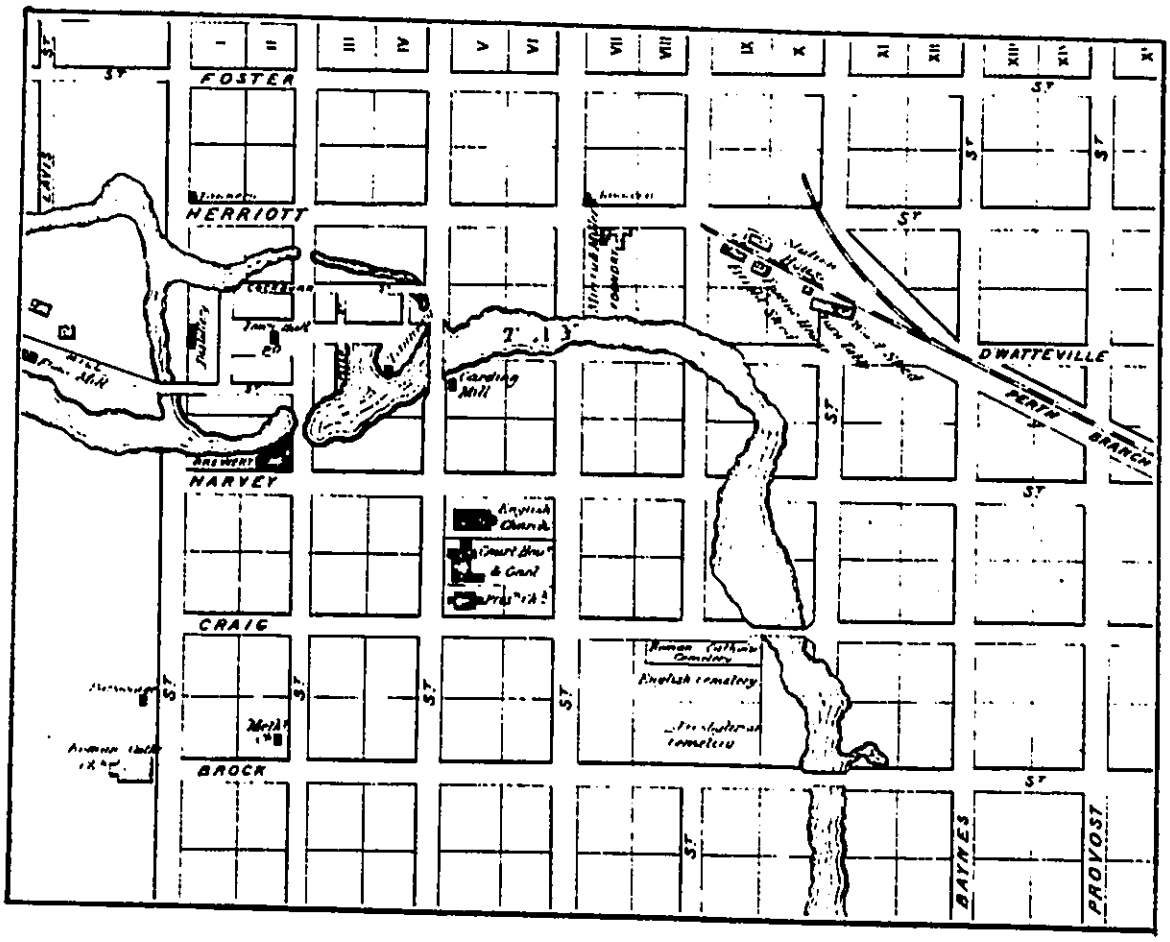


Illustration 32

Detail of map of Perth, 1879. In contrast with Brockville, the court-house of the Bathurst District at Perth was flanked by state-backed churches. In addition to the United Church of England and Ireland and Church of Scotland on either side of the court-house, the first Roman Catholic church was located across Harvey Street from the United Church of England and Ireland. The cemeteries of these three state-backed churches were located adjacent to one another. The meeting-houses of voluntarist denominations were located at a distance from the court-house.

Source: National Map Collection, NMC 15205, Public Archives Canada.

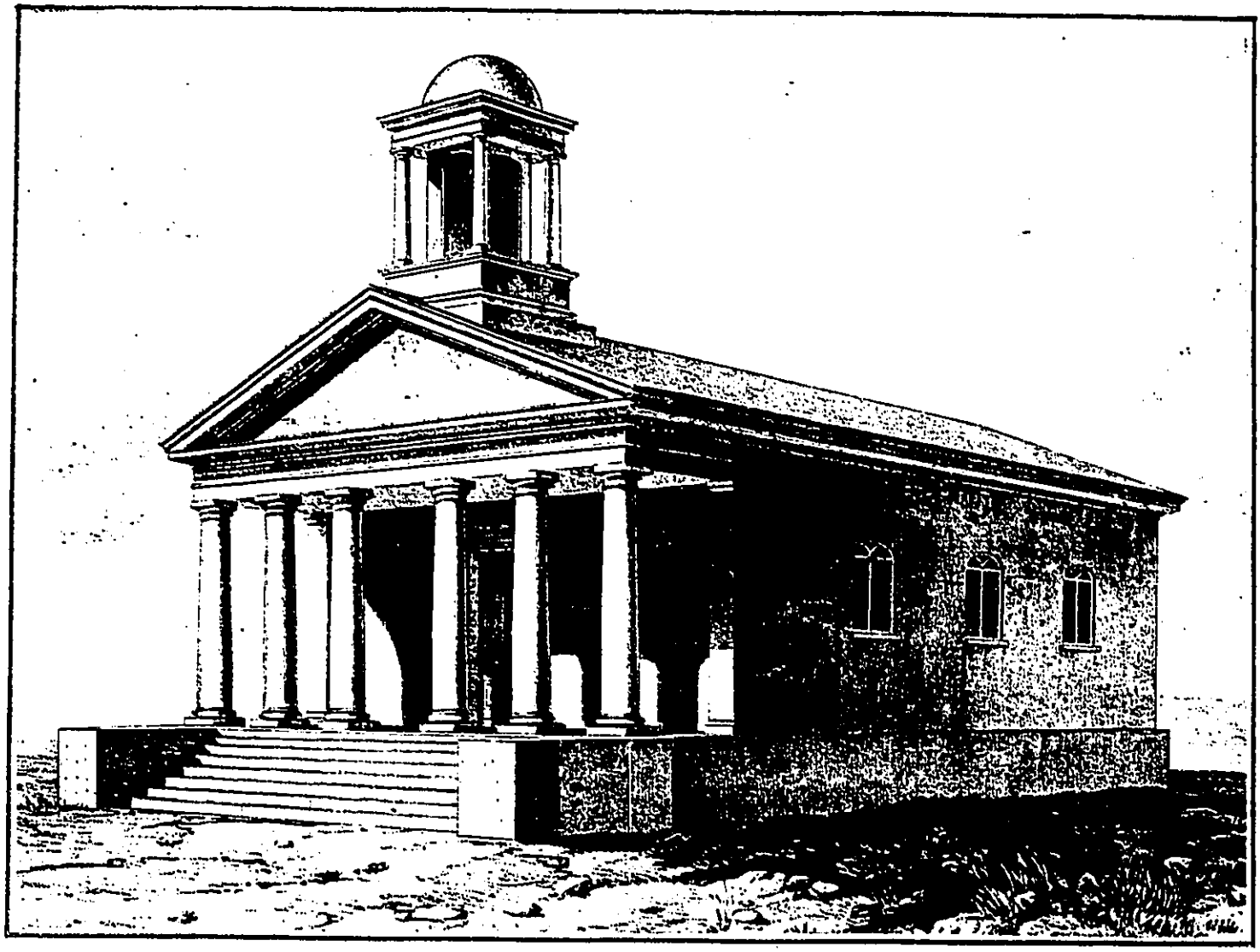


Illustration 33

Original plan for Christ Church United Church of England and Ireland, Lamb's Pond (later New Dublin), as designed by the Rev. John Wenham and drawn by H. Hanson, architect, ca. 1830. The southeastern Irish Protestant Yeomanry Veteran settlers of northern Elizabethtown Township were presented by their rector with this Georgian plan for a church. It conformed to the Greek temple model extensively used for Church of Ireland churches in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Source: Vestry of St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church, New Dublin, courtesy Rev. Ralph Eibner.

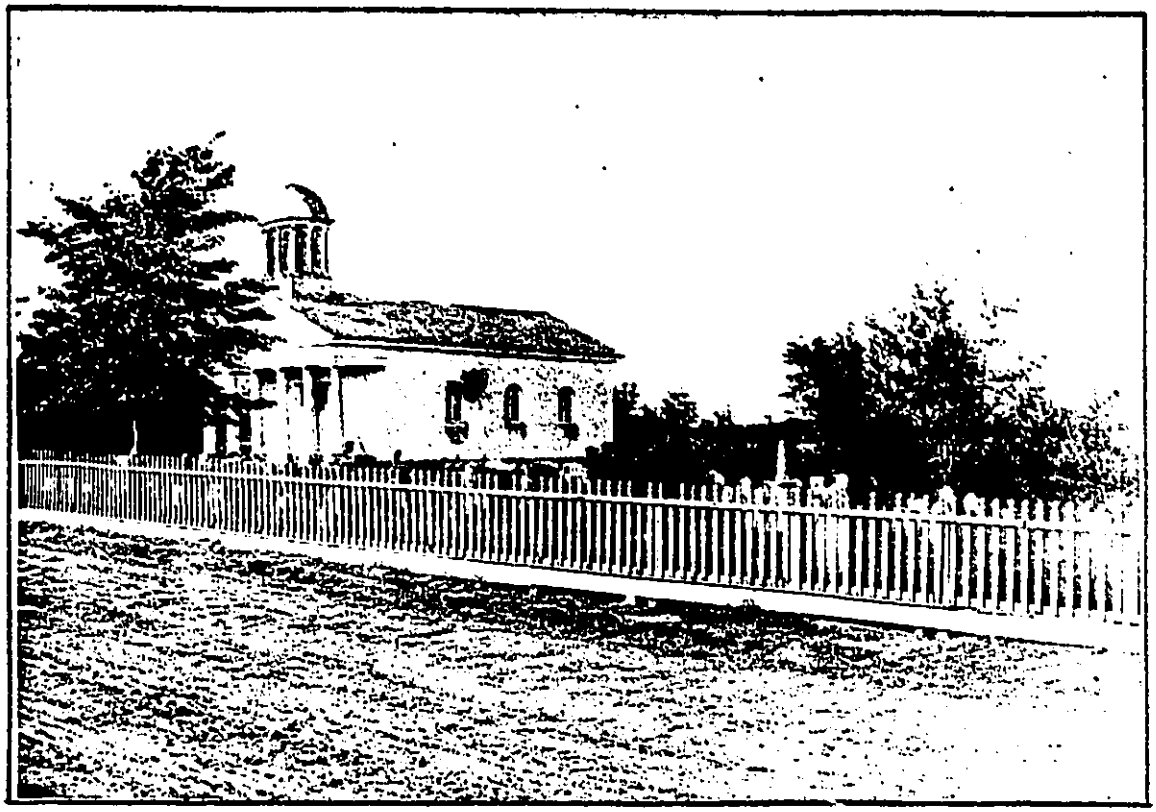


Illustration 34

Exterior of Christ Church United Church of England and Ireland, Lamb's Pond (later New Dublin), as photographed ca. 1890. The eighteenth-century Georgian design of this house of worship is revealed in the facade of Greek columns, the pediment, the low pitch of roof, the cupola with columns reminiscent of the rotunda of the Four Courts in Dublin, and round-headed windows.

Source: Vestry of St. John the Evangelist Church, New Dublin.

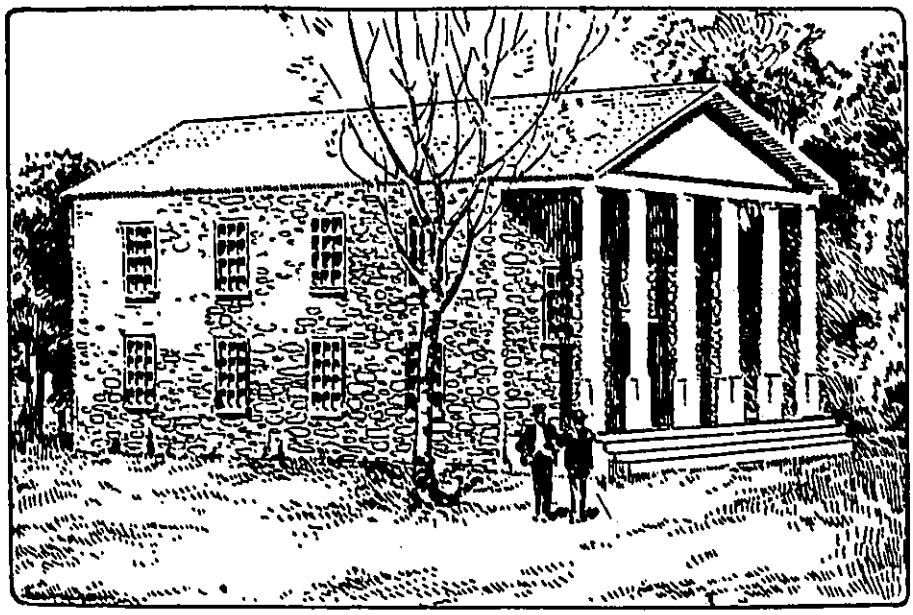


Illustration 35

Reconstruction of Wall Street Methodist Church, Brockville, constructed 1828-1830. The builders of this large Methodist meeting-house accepted from Captain James Gray the gift of six fine Grecian columns to create a facade which echoed that on the new United Church of England and Ireland church at Lamb's Pond (later New Dublin). Rev. Anson Green noted the fear of local Methodists that "the old school house and log-cabin fire [of emotional revival meetings] would not burn in so fine a sanctuary." After a meeting in the new meeting-house at which "the pent-up fires in the hearts of the people burst forth in joyful emotions[, and s]inners flocked forward, inquiring, "What must we do to be saved?", ...[the critics of the new building] acknowledged their prejudice unfounded, and went home declaring God was with us of a truth." This account suggests the mistrust and suspicion that local voluntarists had of the comparatively sophisticated new United Church of England and Ireland churches built before 1845.

Source: J.E. Sanderson, The First Century of Methodism in Canada I:252-253.

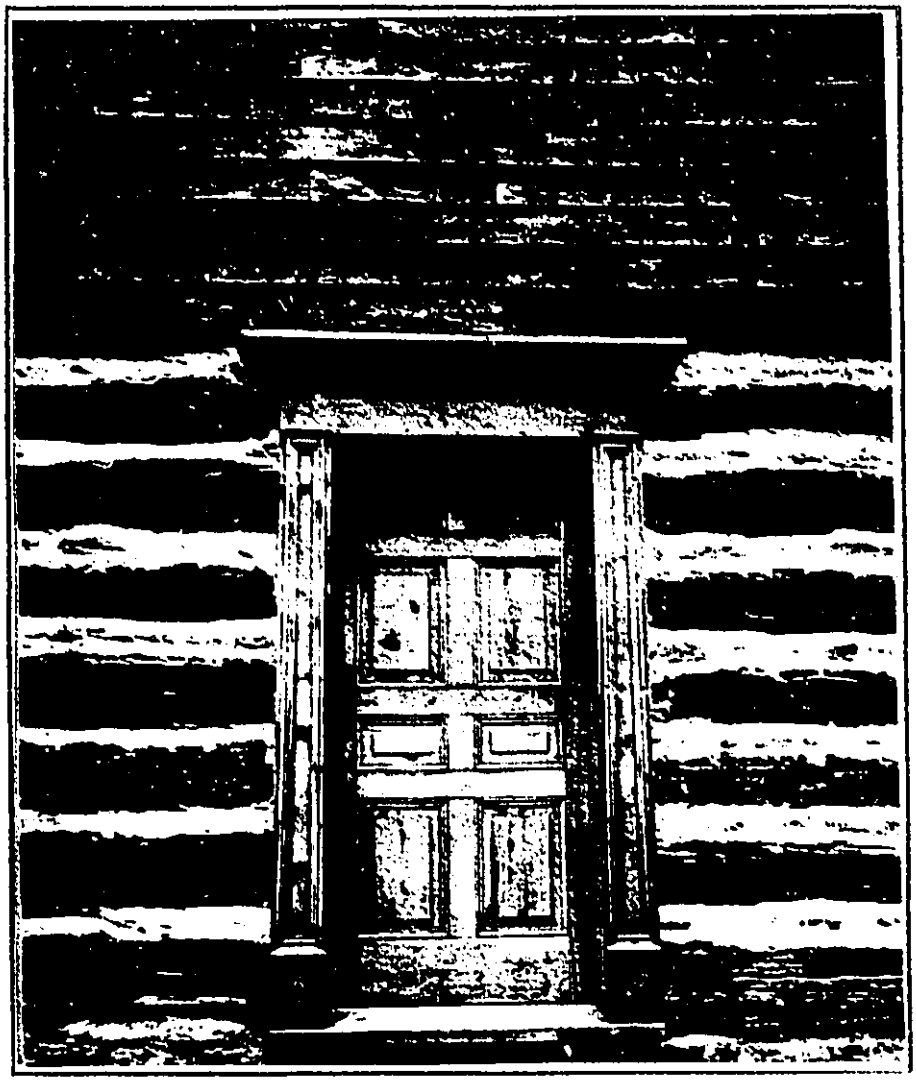


Illustration 36

Entrance to Providence Methodist chapel, Kitley, built 1834. The arrangement of panels in the door to form two crosses was as close as early voluntarist meeting-houses dared venture near religious symbolism, so fearful were they of the Biblical injunction "not to bow down to any graven images". The vernacular treatment of the door-case to suggest two columns or pilasters may possibly have been a local joiner's attempt to imitate the classical entrance on a Georgian United Church of England and Ireland church such as the one at Lamb's Pond (later New Dublin). This handsome treatment of the entrance to an otherwise plain meeting-house had its own remote symbolic importance for Methodists who stressed the concept of individual conversion, recalling the Biblical verse —"I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved."

Source: Canadian Homes, June 1961, p. 38.

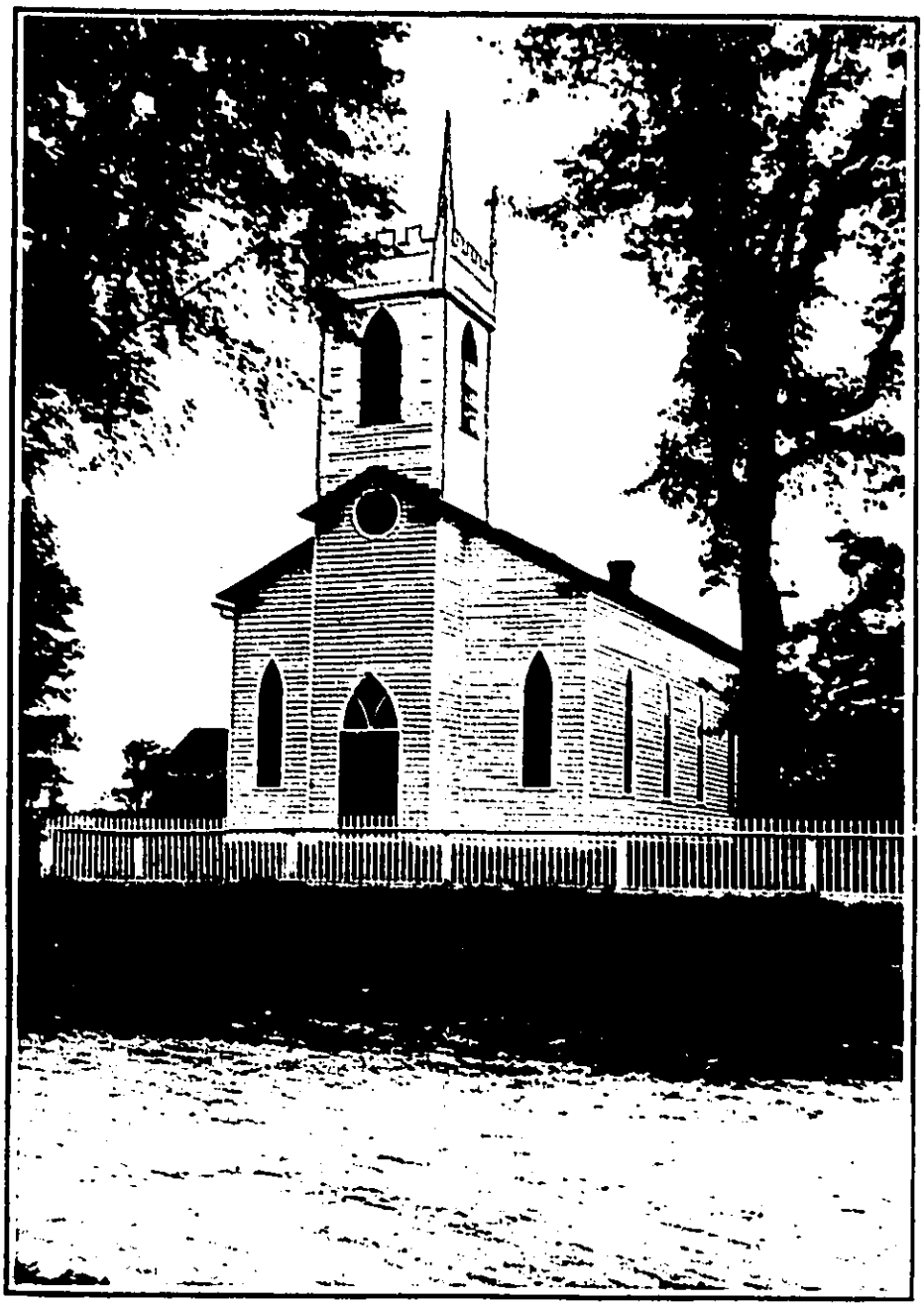


Illustration 37

Exterior of Christ Church United Church of England and Ireland, Burritt's Rapids, erected 1831-1832. The most sophisticated of the numerous regional churches designed by Orangeman, Arthur McClean, this structure securely incorporated the use of pinnacles, lancet-arched windows and battlements within the Georgian tradition through the use of a shallow-pitched roof, a Greek pediment echoed by the slope of the main roof, eave returns, a round window, quoining, and the basic rectangular floor plan.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Photograph Division, PA-26756.

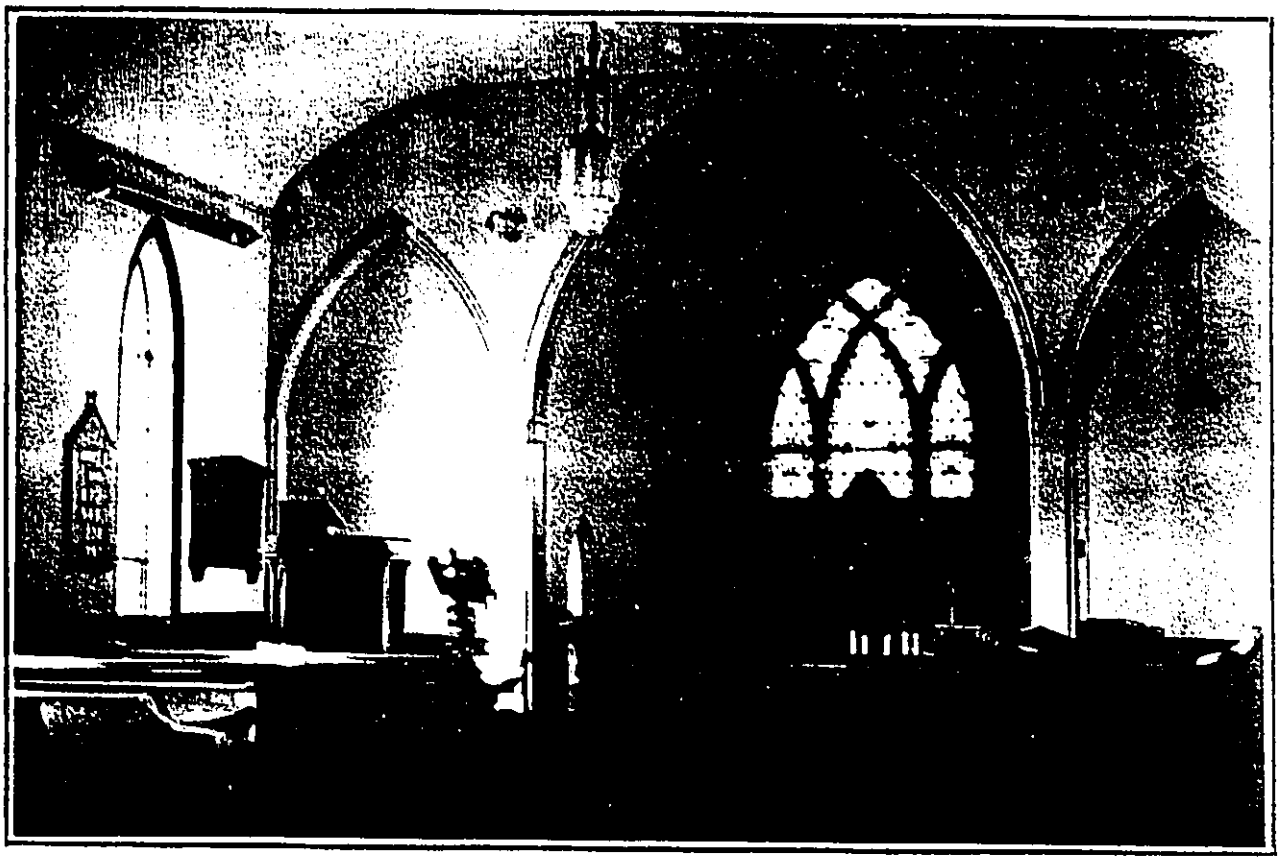


Illustration 38

Interior of Christ Church United Church of England and Ireland, Burritt's Rapids, erected 1831-1832. Arthur McClean boldly emphasized the use of pointed arches in this church by using an arcade to separate the main sanctuary from the chancel. The gentle Georgian elliptical curve of the ceiling served to keep the lancet arches under control. The overall visual impact was picturesque rather than vertical.

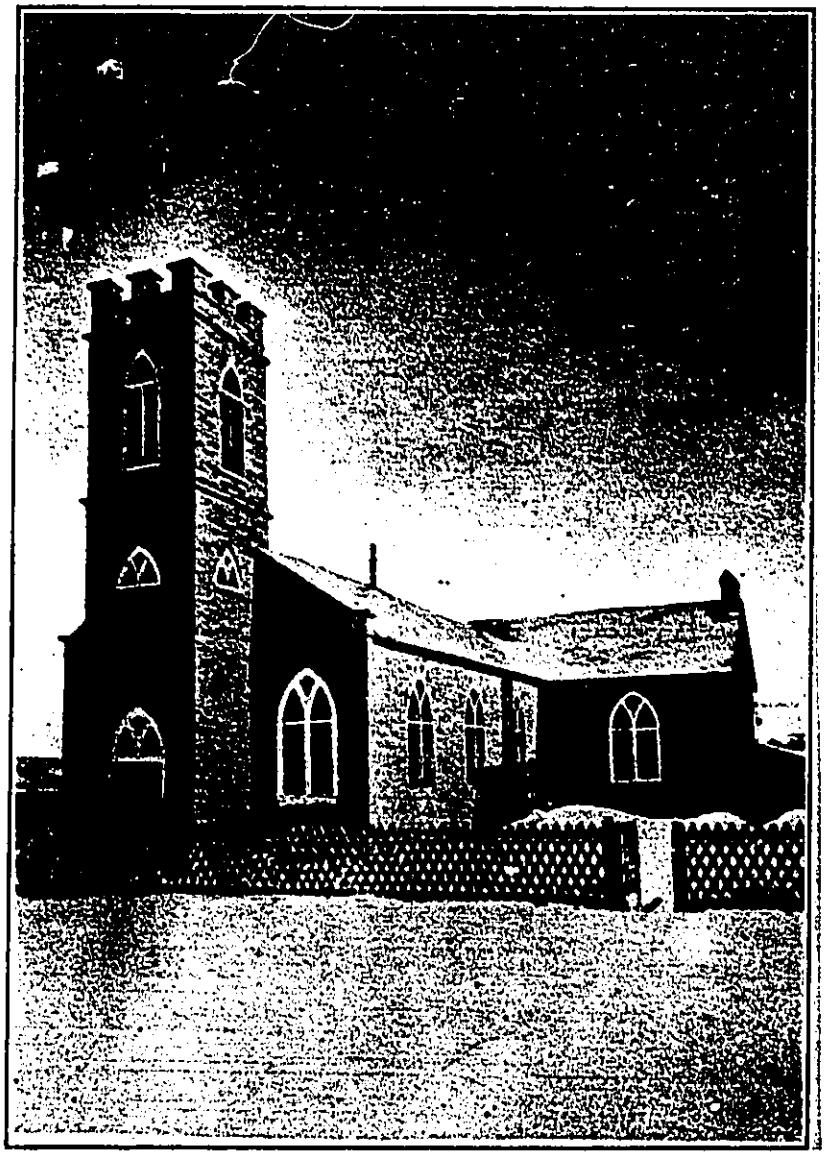


Illustration 39

Exterior of Christ Church United Church of England and Ireland, Bytown, erected 1832-1833. The transept was added in 1842, and a similar transept was added to St. Anne's Church, Merrickville, in 1869. The stone construction material together with the pointed windows and pattlements combined to give United Church of England and Ireland churches the appearance of enduring houses of worship.

Source: Hamnett P. Hill, History of Christ Church Cathedral, Ottawa, 1832-1932, opp. p. 14.

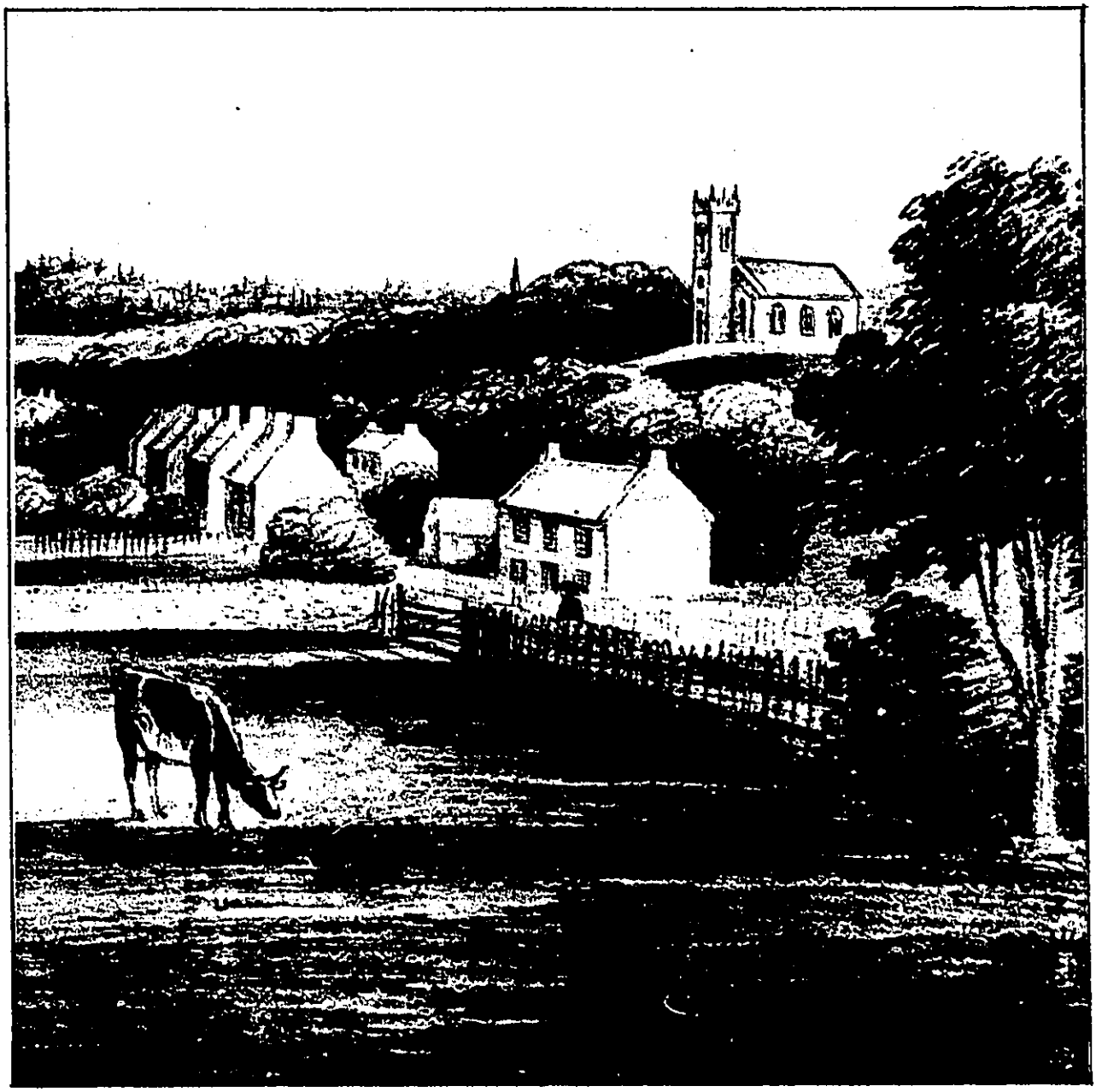


Illustration 40

St. Peter's United Church of England and Ireland, Brockville, 1841, as sketched from a distance by Frederick Holloway. This sketch reveals the picturesque focus with which United Church of England and Ireland churches erected before 1845 invested the local landscape.

Source: Stephen A. Otto, "Arthur McClean: Builder Architect, 1779-1864," in Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Selected Papers, Vol. II (1978), p. 36.

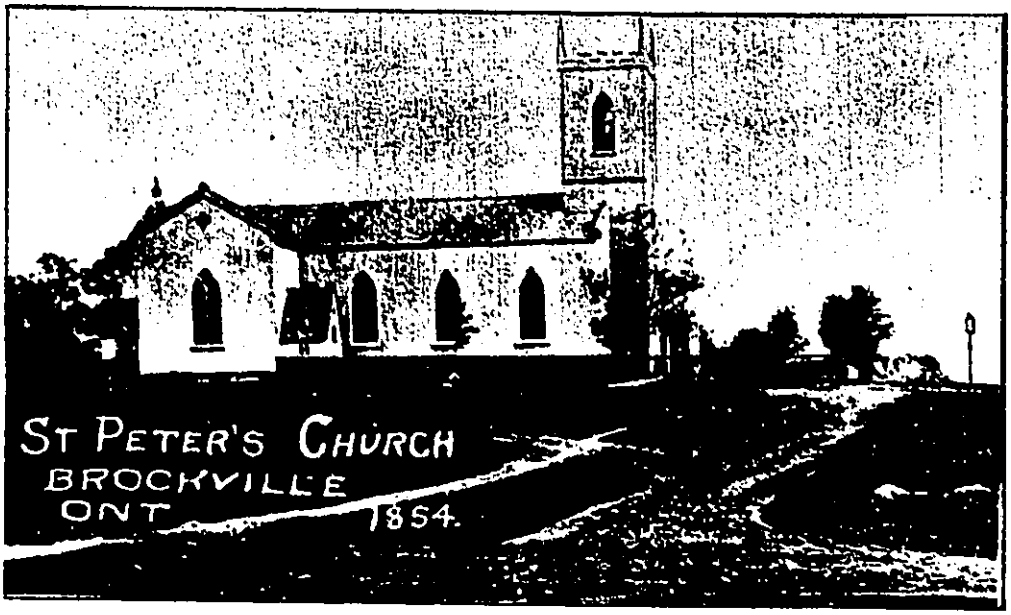


Illustration 41

St. Peter's United Church of England and Ireland, Brockville, erected 1826-1831, as photographed in 1854. This early photograph shows the transepts and small chancel that were added to the original structure in 1850. Already the pointed drip moulds beneath the eaves on the front facade had been removed in an attempt to make the church look less picturesque and more Gothic. The smooth stucco surface of St. Peter's Church was yet another Georgian hangover from the eighteenth century which mid-Victorian promoters of Gothic Revival deprecated.

Source: Adrian Ten Cate and Christina MacNaughton, eds., Brockville: A Pictorial History, p. 28.

Illustration 42

St. Paul's United Church of England and Ireland, Beverley (later Delta), erected 1811-1827. The construction of this church serves as a symbol for the complex relationship of voluntarist and state-backed congregations in eastern Upper Canada before 1845. Local American-origin Baptists began building a meeting-house on this site in 1811, but unable to summon sufficient voluntary donations to complete it, sold the property to the Bishop of Quebec, and jointly occupied the new church with United Church of England and Ireland Wexford immigrants until 1864, when the Baptists sold out their interest entirely. The joint occupancy suggests the common interest of voluntarists and state-backed churches in battling irreligion, but the insufficient voluntary funding among the Baptists and the taking over of the property and the completion of the building with funding from the Bishop of Quebec underlined the religious challenge set regional voluntarists by the United Church of England and Ireland. The smooth stucco surface reflected the Georgian heritage of the structure. The bristling pinnacles and battlements atop the tower allude to the embattled mindset of the recently-arrived Irish Orange Protestant immigrants who worshipped in this structure.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Photograph Division, C-3144.

Illustration 43

Ruins of St. Paul's United Church of England and Ireland, near Cardinal, erected ca. 1828-1833, as photographed in 1925. Possibly another of Arthur McClean's designs, the combination of round window with pointed windows in the tower suggests the continuing Georgian tradition imported from Ireland. This church was erected under the guidance of the Reverend J.G. Weagandt of Williamsburg, who created regional turmoil as a Lutheran pastor by persuading his congregations at Williamsburg and Osnabruck to adopt the United Church of England and Ireland faith in 1812. By thus becoming eligible for an adequate salary through support from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Weagandt split his former Lutheran congregations, and was perceived by regional voluntarists to have sold out religious principles for the sake of financial expediency. The affair gave an added edge to the religious challenge which voluntarists faced in attempting to keep pace with the new churches built by the state-backed churches before 1845.

Source: Negative no. PA-26800, Public Archives Canada.

Illustration 44

Meyrick Ville, Rideau Canal, ca. 1838, sketched by Philip John Bainbrigge. In a landscape where dense forest was the inevitable backdrop and in which stumps dotted the open clearings, United Church of England and Ireland churches were the most sophisticated forms of local architectural expression. Holy Trinity Church (to the extreme left), erected in 1837, was principally the house of worship for immigrants from southeastern Ireland. This view features a scow of immigrants rowing toward shore away from the steamer which had towed them thus far up the Rideau Canal.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-11849.

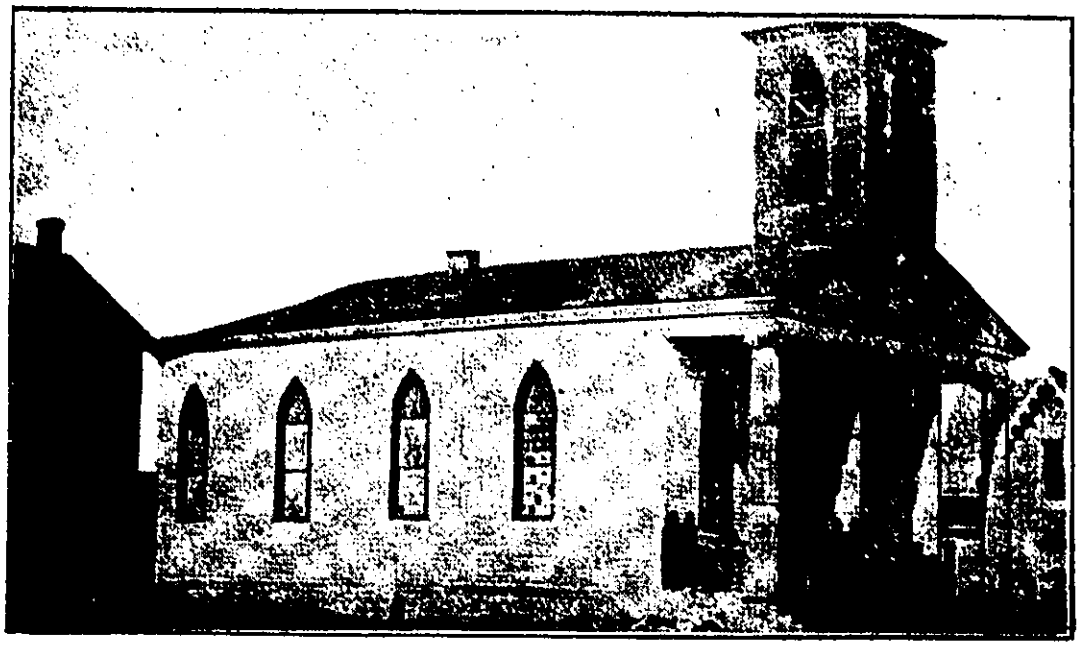


Illustration 45

St. James United Church of England and Ireland, Carleton Place, erected 1834. The southeastern Irish Protestant immigrant congregation worshipping in this church was reflected in the bold use of the Greek temple form of structure. The pointed windows and the tower do not detract from the strength of the underlying classical Georgian design.

Source: D. Ralph Langtry, Fourscore and Ten: A History of St. James' Parish, Carleton Place, p. 3.

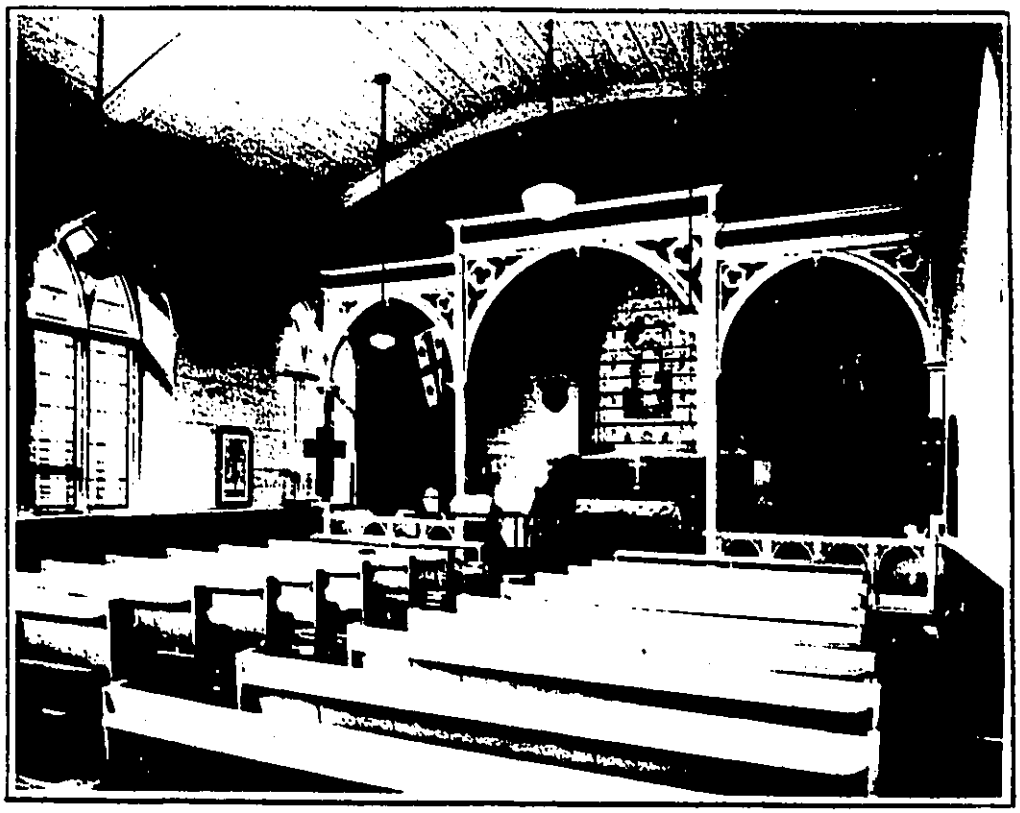


Illustration 46

Interior of Christ Church United Church of England and Ireland, Huntley, erected 1837. Despite later additions of furnishings and stained glass, this mid-twentieth century photograph conveys the simplicity of the box-like interiors of the smaller churches built by congregations accustomed to the austere traditions of the Church of Ireland.

Source: Courtney C.J. Bond, The Ottawa Country, p. 120.

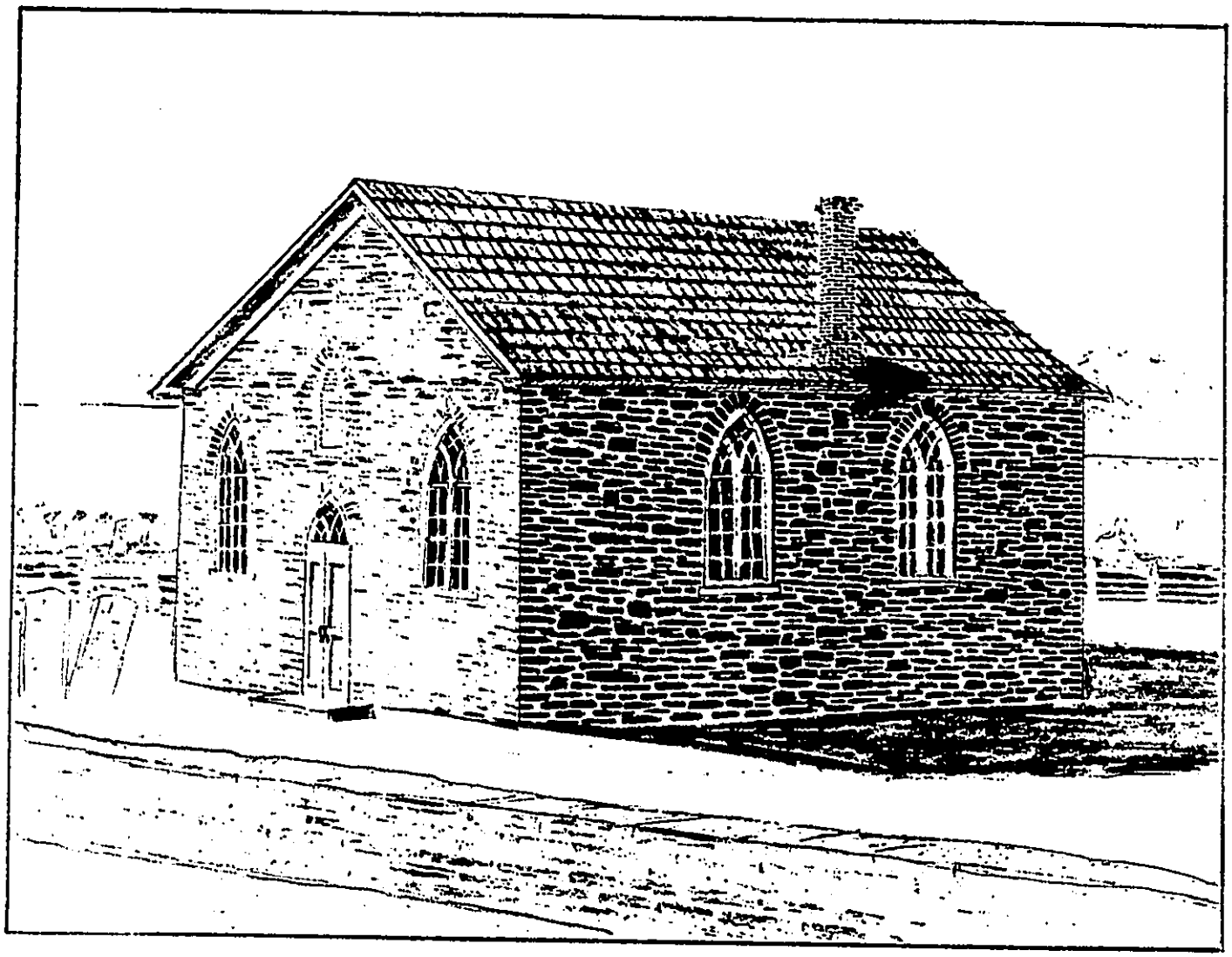


Illustration 47

Reconstruction of St. Philip Neri Roman Catholic Church, Kitley, erected 1835. The zeal of Irish Roman Catholics in establishing congregations and building churches appeared remarkable to Upper Canadian Catholics and Protestants of non-Irish origin. The editor of the Brockville Recorder was so taken aback by Irish Catholic immigrants financing and building this church before most of them had comfortable homes of their own, that he assumed they received assistance from the longer-settled inhabitants. He advised Catholics in Kitley to not forget the hospitality, humanity and benevolence which people of other Christian denominations, "more especially that of the Canadian population" had shown by their liberal donations to the project. The pointed windows visually informed passers-by that this was a church.

Source: G. Lockwood

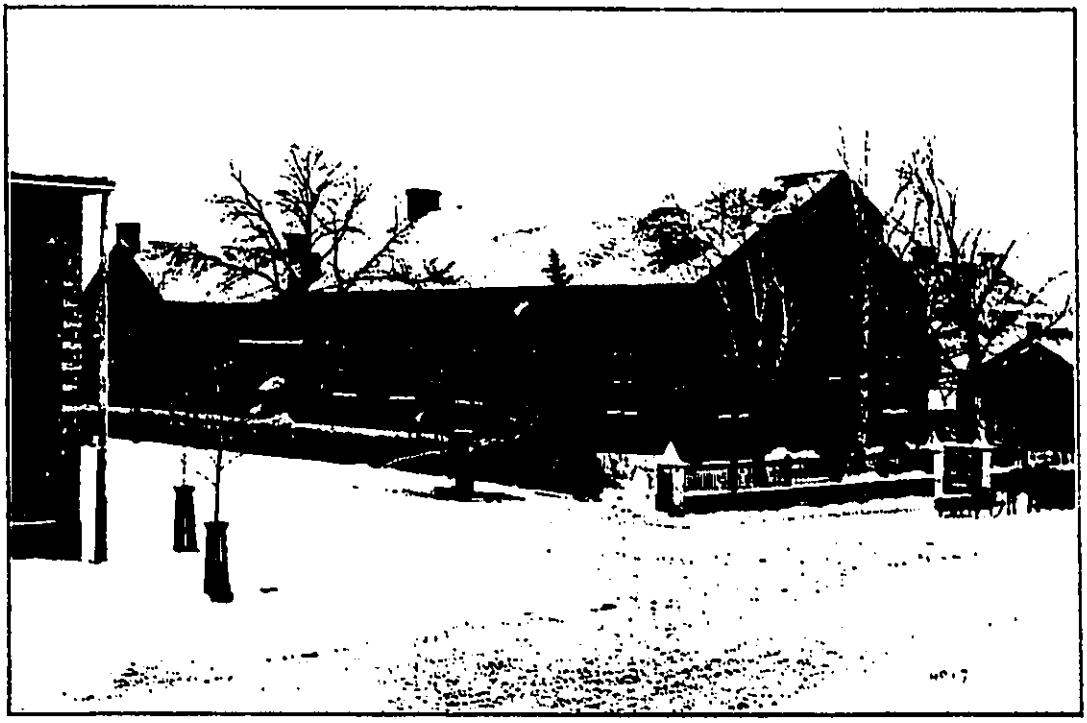


Illustration 48

St. Andrew's Church of Scotland, Bytown, built 1828. The Church of Scotland and the Church of Rome were the only denominations other than the United Church of England and Ireland to make extensive use of pointed windows in the churches they constructed before 1845 in eastern Upper Canada. These structures were less likely to have towers than the United Church of England and Ireland churches erected in the same period.

Source: John MacPhail, St. Andrew's Church, Ottawa: The First Hundred Years, 1828-1928, opp. p. 58.

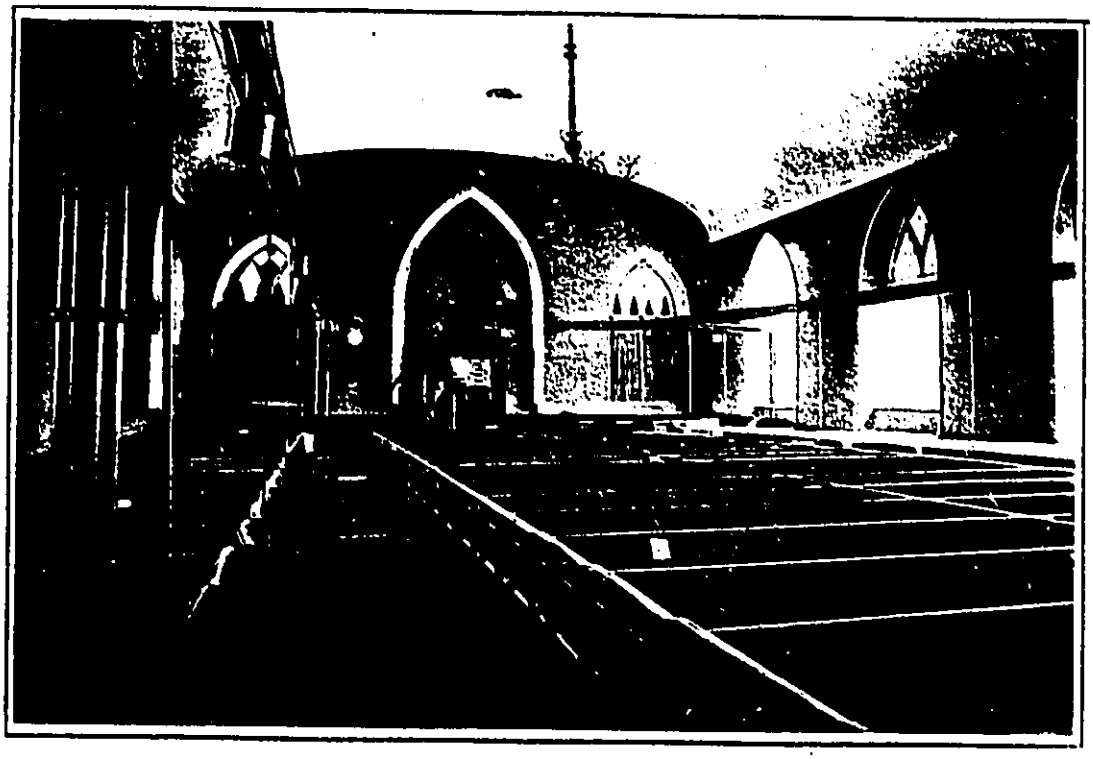


Illustration 49

Interior of St. Andrew's Church of Scotland, Bytown, erected 1828, enlarged 1854. The pulpit was the central focus of Church of Scotland and most voluntarist meeting-house interiors. Many Presbyterian congregations prohibited the introduction of musical instruments to accompany the singing of hymns until late in the nineteenth century. There are numerous variations of the story from the Presbyterian church at Brockville in which a doughty Scottish elder upon hearing the sounds of a bass viol wafting from the gallery during the singing of a hymn, indignantly stalked up the gallery stairs, snatched the bow from the hand of the player, and broke it over his knee while muttering, "We'll hae nane o' tae devil's playthings in the Hoose o' God." The greater funding, the more sophisticated architecture, and the use of musical instruments in United Church of England and Ireland churches stimulated varying moods of envy and nay-saying in Church of Scotland and Presbyterian congregations.

Source: John MacPhail, St. Andrew's Church, Ottawa: The First Hundred Years, 1828-1928, opp. p. 68.

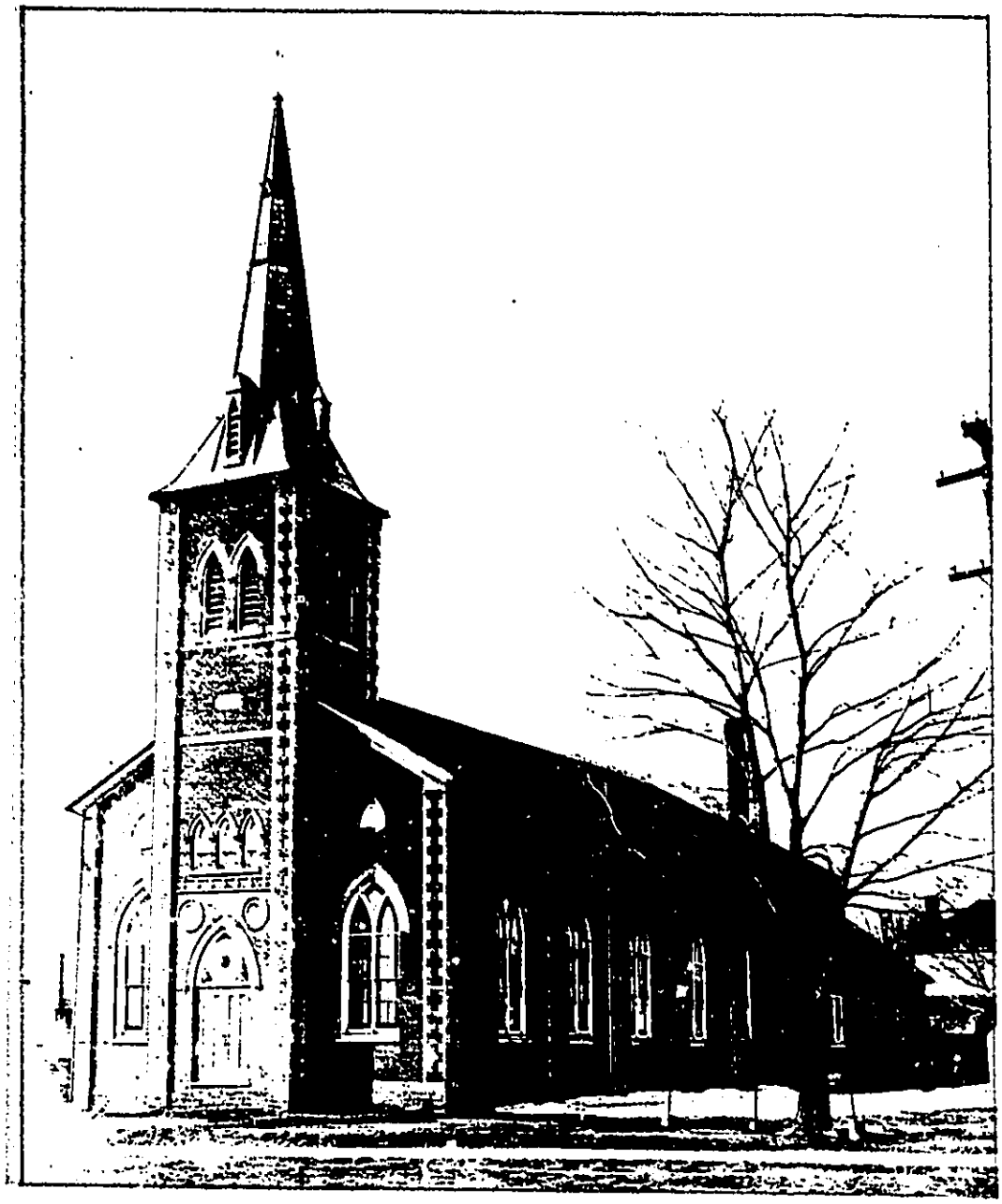


Illustration 50

St. Andrew's Church of Scotland, Smith's Falls, erected 1835, brick veneer added and edifice lengthened in 1878, as photographed ca. 1910. Within a year of organising the congregation, the Rev. George Romanes reported in May 1835, "The outside of our church is finished, except the parapet on the tower. It is a Gothic building, and has a very handsome appearance. We shall have funds enough to finish it, excepting its seats." Smith's Falls was one of the few centres where the United Church of England and Ireland lagged behind other denominations in erecting a church. Their delay was due to enjoying free use of the government storehouse at the Rideau Canal for holding services. The proud description of the appearance of the new Church of Scotland suggests the denominational rivalry stimulated by the United Church of England and Ireland program of building churches from the late 1820s onward.

Source: G. Lockwood collection, no. 75, Public Archives Canada.

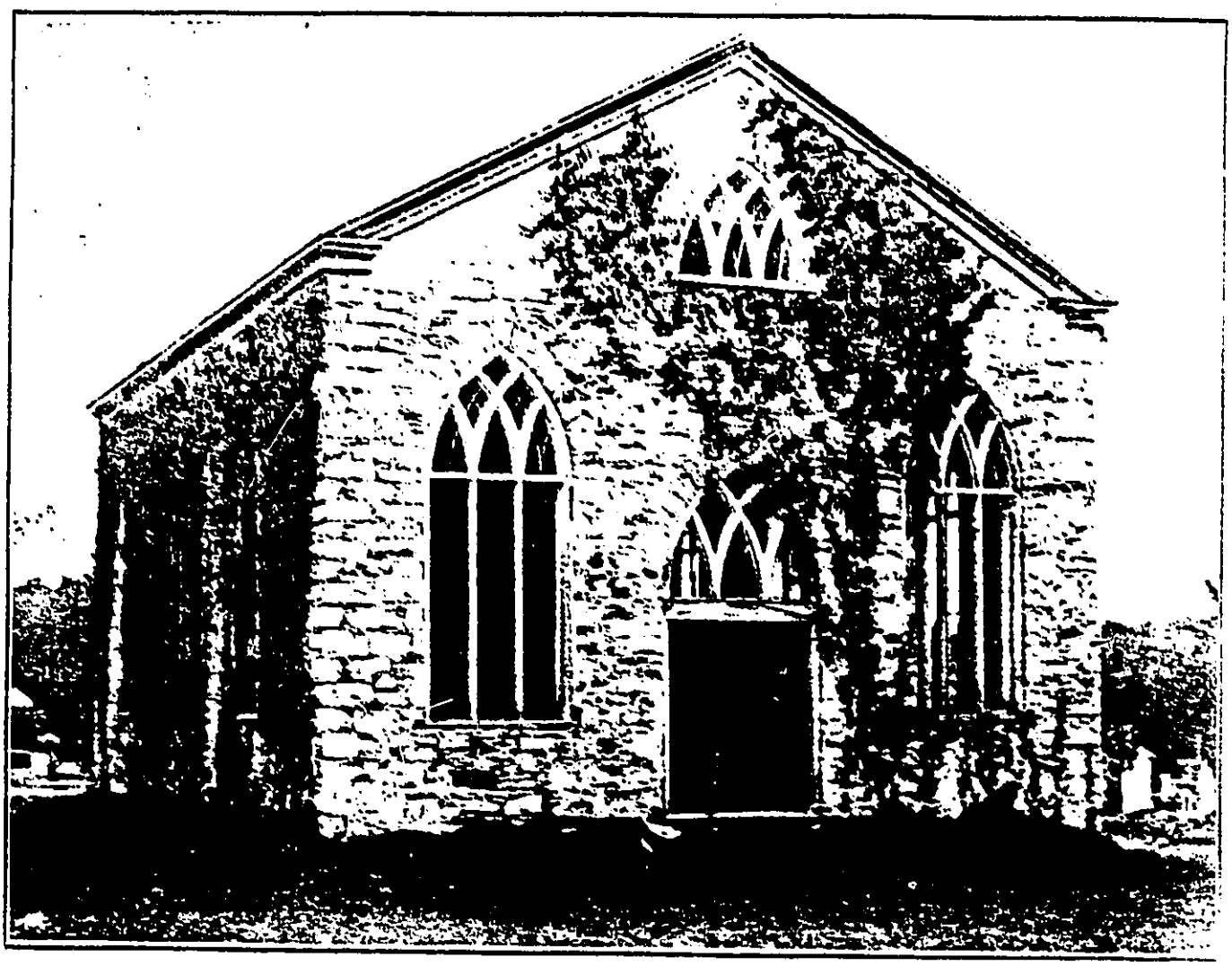


Illustration 51

St. Andrew's Church of Scotland, locally called the 'Auld Kirk', Ramsay, erected 1835-1836. Despite the continuing Georgian legacy of a modest pitch of roof, the large pointed windows provided an instant visual symbol of the building's religious purpose.

Source: Negative no. C-46490, Public Archives Canada.

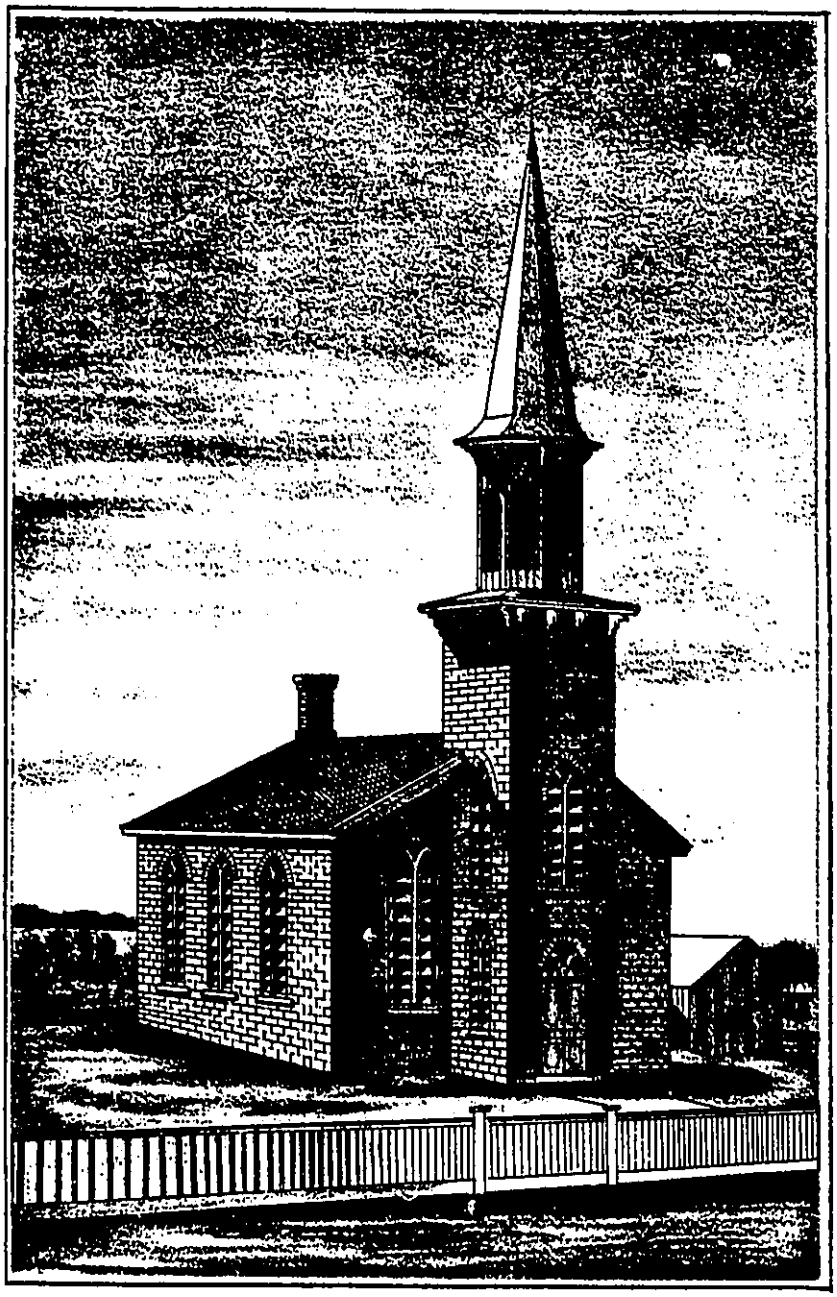


Illustration 52

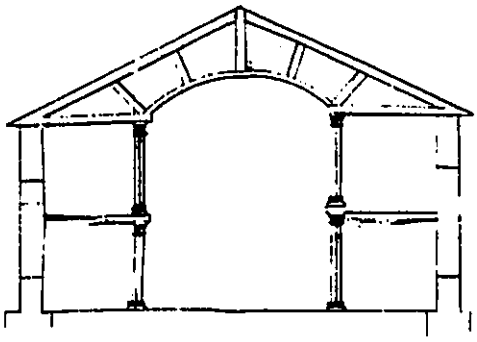
Methodist Episcopal chapel, Farmersville, built in 1842 by Joshua Bates, the tower added in 1867, as lithographed in 1879. The resentment by American-origin Methodists of the privileges, the funding, the relatively sophisticated architecture, the educated clergy and the regular schedules of services of United Church of England and Ireland congregations was shown by the refusal of many to accept the 1833 union of Wesleyan and Episcopal Methodists. Rather than appear to accept funds from the sale of Clergy Reserves, American-origin Methodists separated to form Methodist Episcopal congregations. One of the four built by this group before 1845 was located in Farmersville, one of only two Methodist chapels in the region using pointed windows before 1845. The Reform political connection with the Methodist Episcopal denomination after 1833 is shown by the claim in 1834 that not one Conservative lived within four miles of Farmersville.

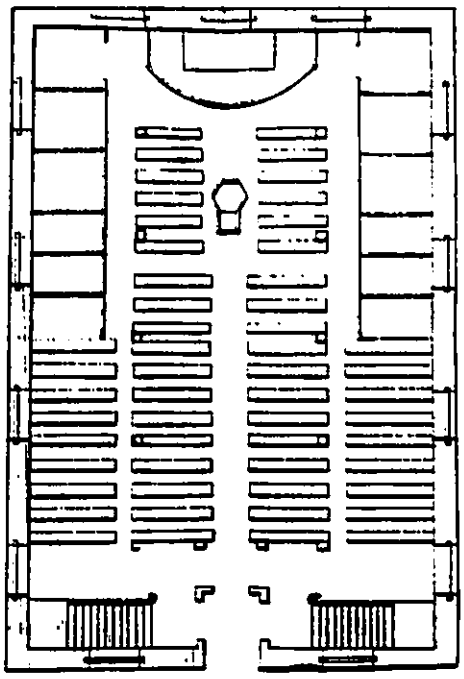
Source: T.W.H. Leavitt, History of Leeds and Grenville, opp. p. 84.

Illustration 53

Wesleyan Methodist Church, Pakenham, constructed ca. 1842. The use of large round-headed Neoclassical windows and a tower made this the first Methodist house of worship in the region which seriously attempted to look like a church. The overall size, shape and lines of the building together with the galleries inside owed much to the voluntarist meeting-house tradition. Two decades of watching the United Church of England and Ireland build relatively sophisticated churches had spurred Methodists by the early 1840s to attempt emulating them.

Source: Verna Ross McGiffin, Pakenham: Ottawa Valley Village 1823-1860.





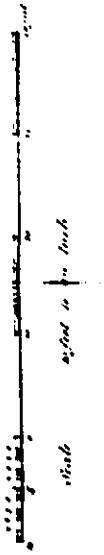
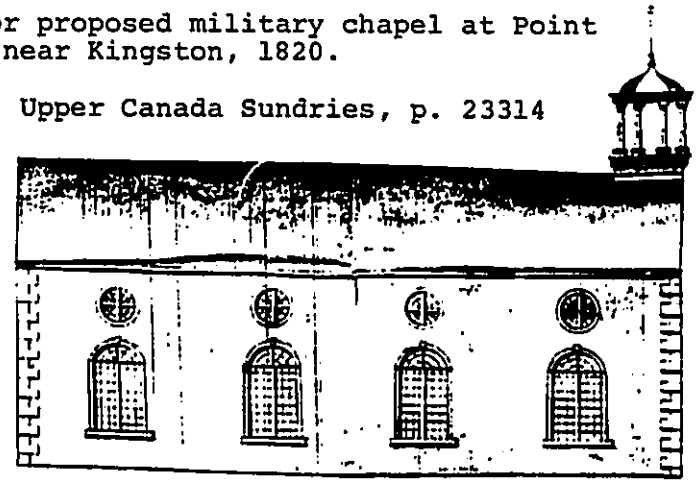


Illustration 54

Plan for proposed military chapel at Point Henry, near Kingston, 1820.

Source: Upper Canada Sundries, p. 23314



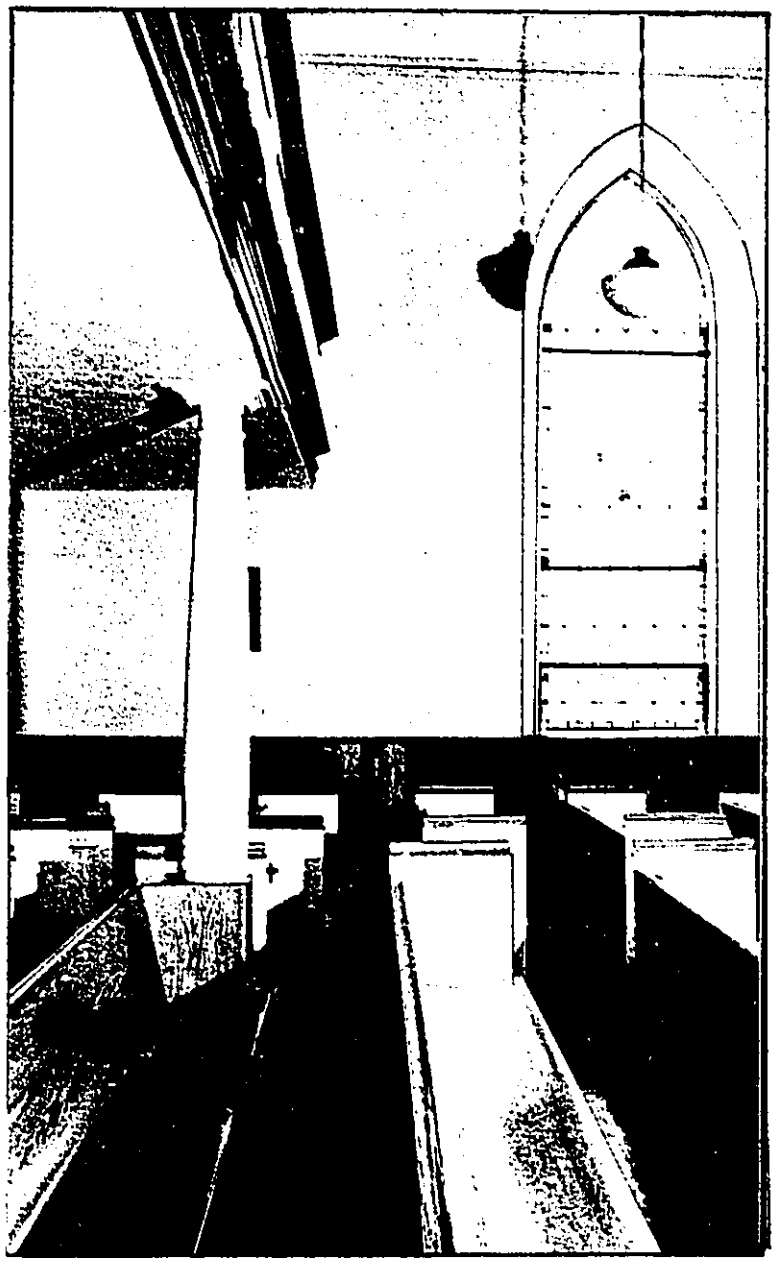


Illustration 55

Interior detail of St. James United Church of England and Ireland, Maitland, erected 1826-1827, showing window arch and column supporting gallery. Pointed windows made United Church of England and Ireland churches built between 1825 and 1844 instantly recognisable as churches in contrast with the nondescript meeting-houses of voluntarist sects. The incorporation of classical motifs such as the sturdy Tuscan column supporting the gallery recalled the Irish tradition of the church being a major source of support to government.

Source: Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, Hallowed Walls: Church Architecture of Upper Canada, p. 121.

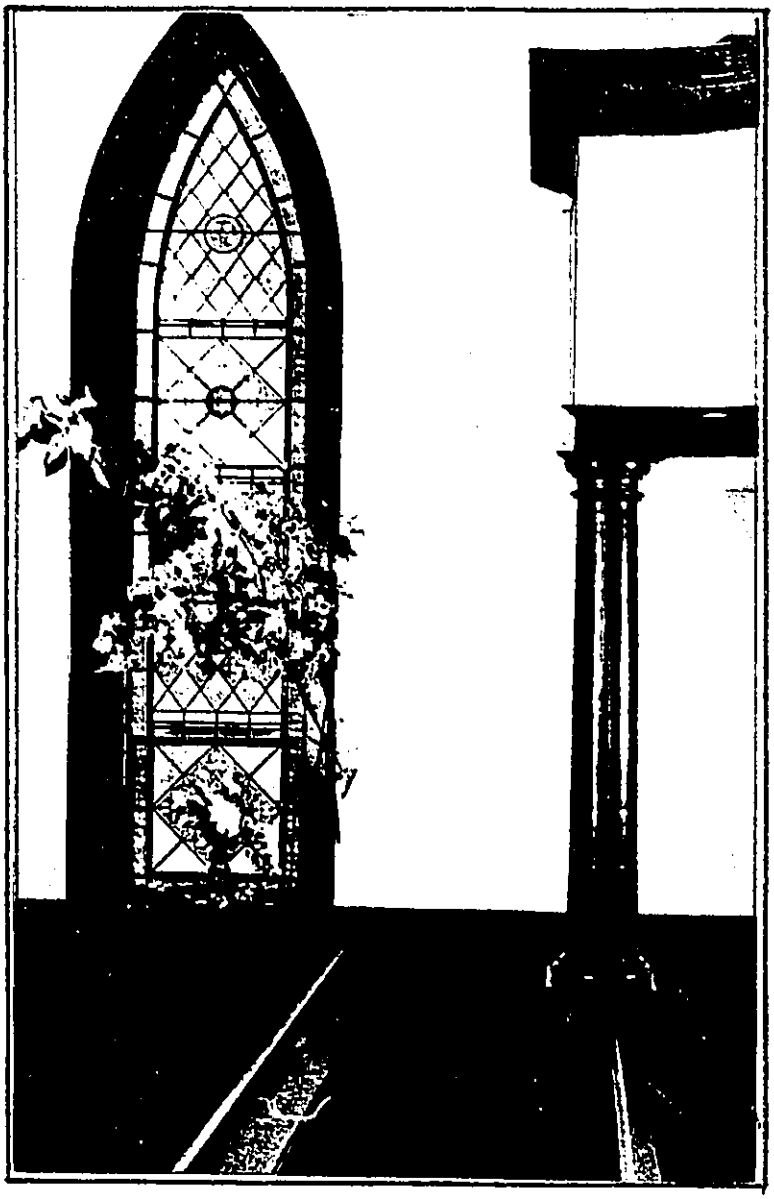


Illustration 56

Interior detail of Christ Church United Church of England and Ireland, Burritt's Rapids, erected 1831-1832, showing window arch and column supporting the gallery. The mixture of pointed windows from the Christian past and classical features such as the Tuscan column alluded to the ancient union of church and state under Constantine to remind local members of the United Church of England and Ireland of their claim to a special link with the state.

Source: Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, Hallowed Walls: Church Architecture of Upper Canada, p. 121.

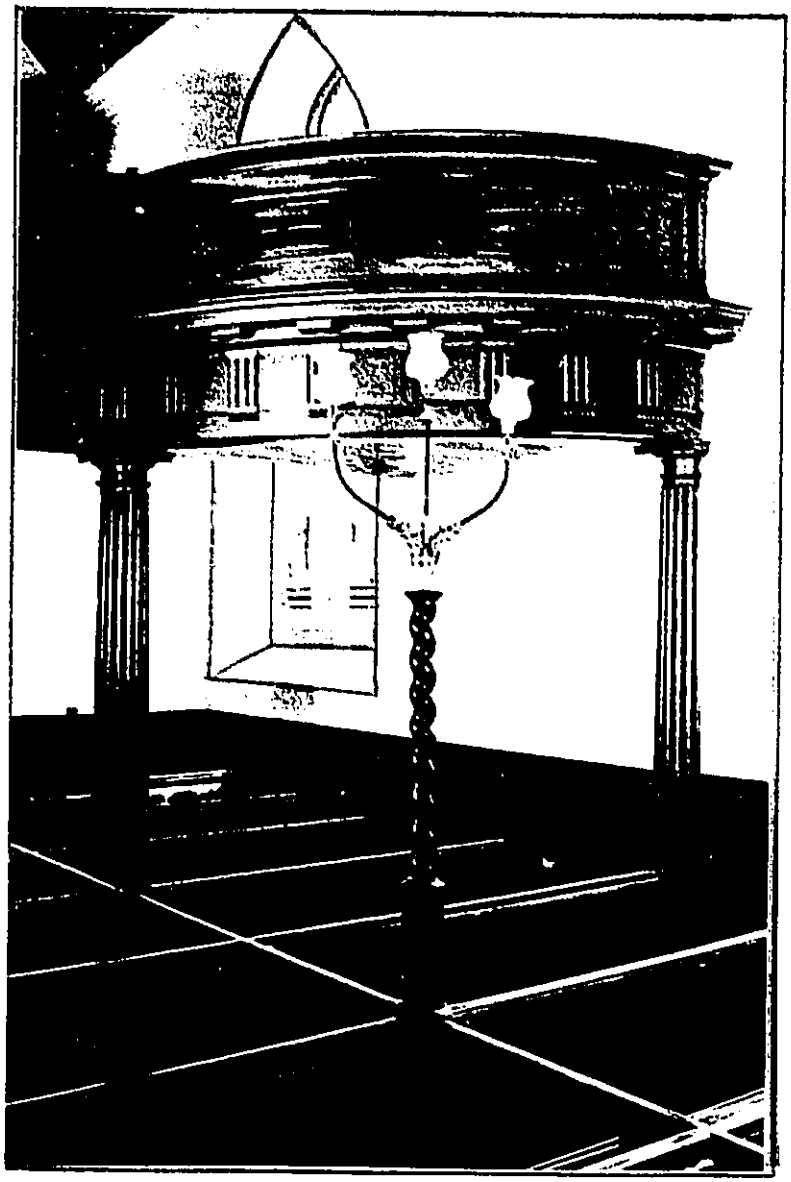


Illustration 57

Interior detail of St. Peter's United Church of England and Ireland, Brockville, erected 1826-1831, showing a section of the gallery. As Marion MacRae has noted, Arthur McClean's classical Irish training was evident in the Roman Doric dignity of the supporting columns for the gallery, turned from walnut logs brought from Lake Erie and fluted with care. McClean's original design for St. Peter's called for a gallery in the Doric Order, but the parapet of the gallery above the Roman architrave was panelled in the Neoclassic style of the pew ends.

Source: Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, Hallowed Walls: Church Architecture of Upper Canada, p. 122.

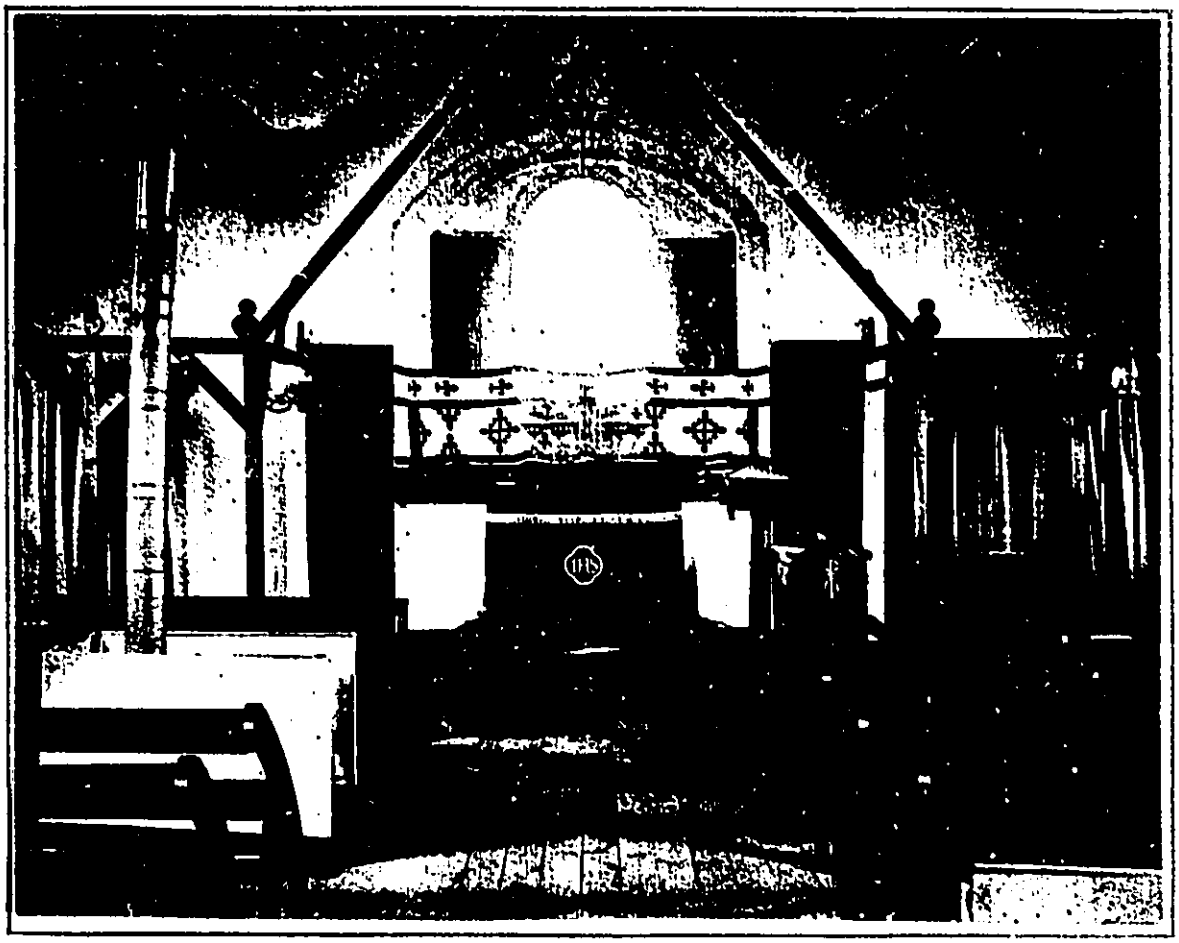


Illustration 58

Interior of St. James United Church of England and Ireland, Franktown, erected 1827, as photographed ca. 1895 before a major effort at gothicising was carried out. This rare view of the original furnishings of the interior of a house of worship attended wholly by southeastern Irish Protestant immigrants underlines the austerity of the smaller churches flowing from the Irish Georgian tradition. The influence of the Georgian tradition in this modest church is immediately evident in the presence of a Palladian window. The pulpit incorporated a Tuscan column, and was more prominent than the modest communion table. An altar rail was not even thought of. Unpretentious though this interior seems, the presence of an organ, painted pews and various religious symbols all point to its relative sophistication in contrast with the interiors of voluntarist meeting-houses.

Source: Donna Hughton and Robert Hughton, Franktown.

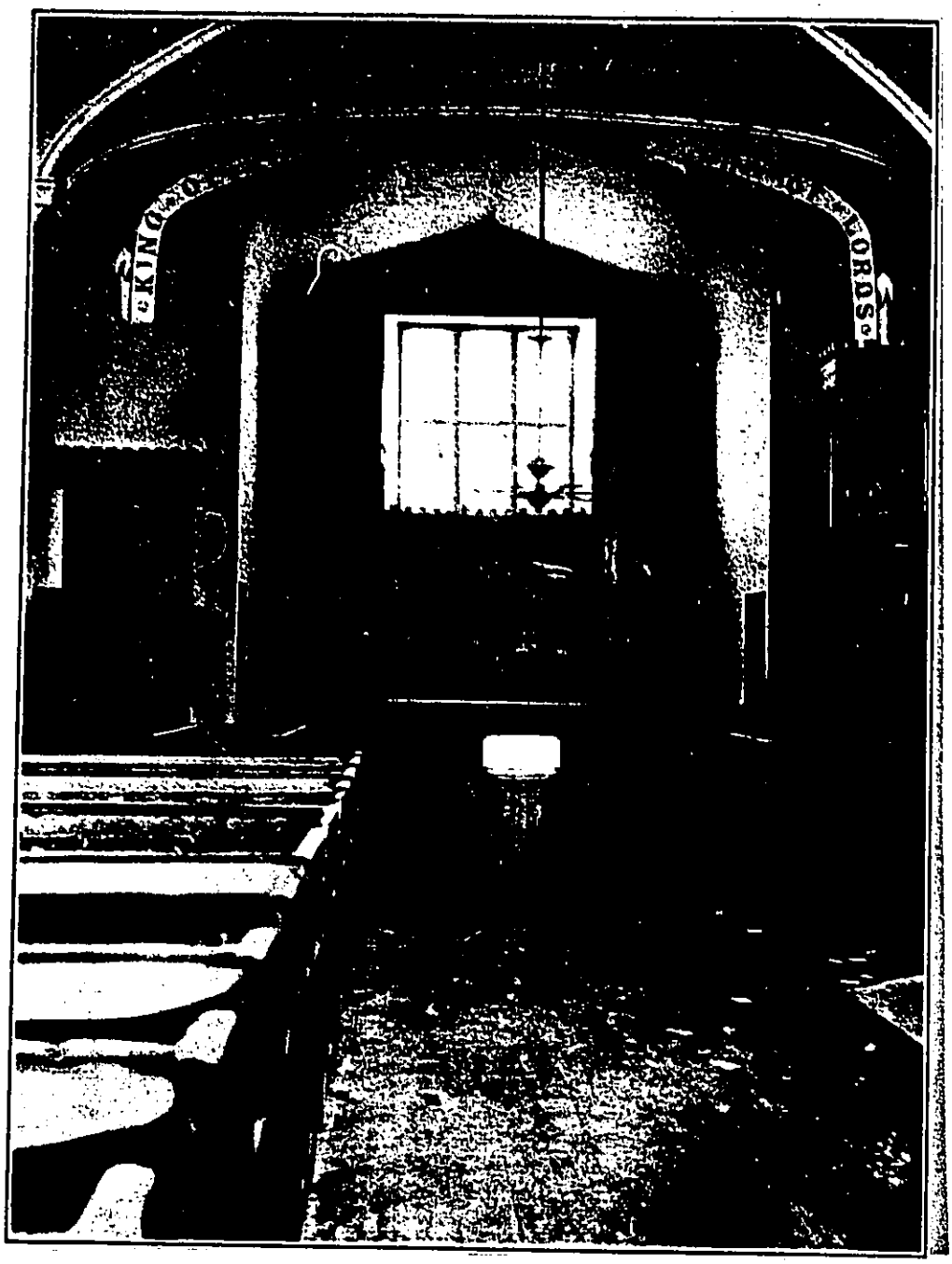


Illustration 59

Interior of Christ Church United Church of England and Ireland, Bytown, erected 1832-1833, photographed ca. 1870. This view was taken after the original building had been enlarged by adding a transept and chancel in 1849. Still, despite the mid-Victorian addition of a Gothic Revival reredos, the Irish influence can be seen in the basic austerity of the interior, in the dwarfing of the communion table in importance by the massive battlemented pulpit and battlemented lectern on either side, and in the simplicity of the chancel window. The baptismal font, following Georgian practice, was located in front of the congregation.

Source: Hamnett P. Hill, History of Christ Church Cathedral, Ottawa, 1832-1932, opp. p. 35.

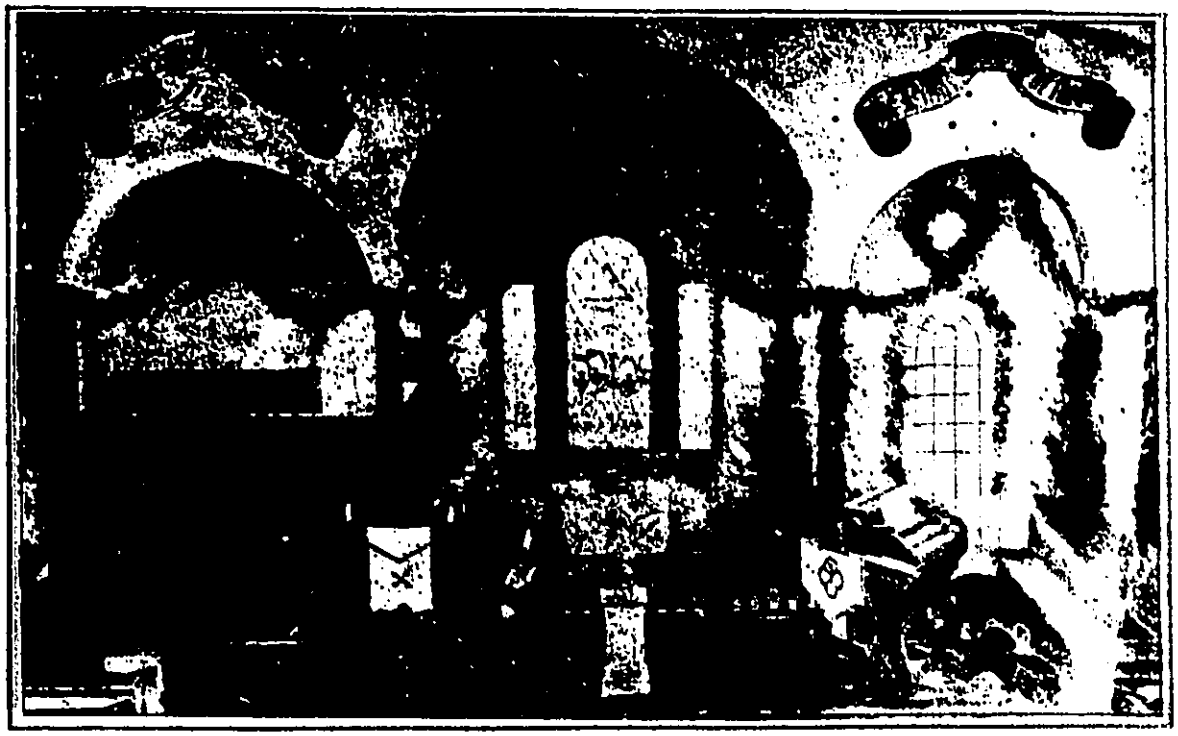


Illustration 60

Interior of St. James United Church of England and Ireland, Kemptville, erected ca. 1828, photographed ca. 1860. This hazy early photograph shows the strong Georgian and English Renaissance tradition followed in United Church of England and Ireland church architecture in eastern Upper Canada before the mid 1840s. The Christmas decorations do not obscure the palladian window, the round-headed sashes, the rounded arches, the Palladian balustrade, box pews in the foreground and the small altar hidden behind the pulpit and baptismal font. The window to the right shows the original neo-classic sash design as opposed to the more medaieval-looking diamond-shaped panes added at a later date to the window above the altar. This photograph was taken from the gallery, and hence offers a better view of the altar than members of the congregation would have been able to obtain. A comparison of this interior with that of Christ Church, Burritt's Rapids (Illustration 38) reveals that the use of gothic arches and windows before 1845 was simply a design variant on the same Georgian plan.

Source: St. James Anglican Church vestry.

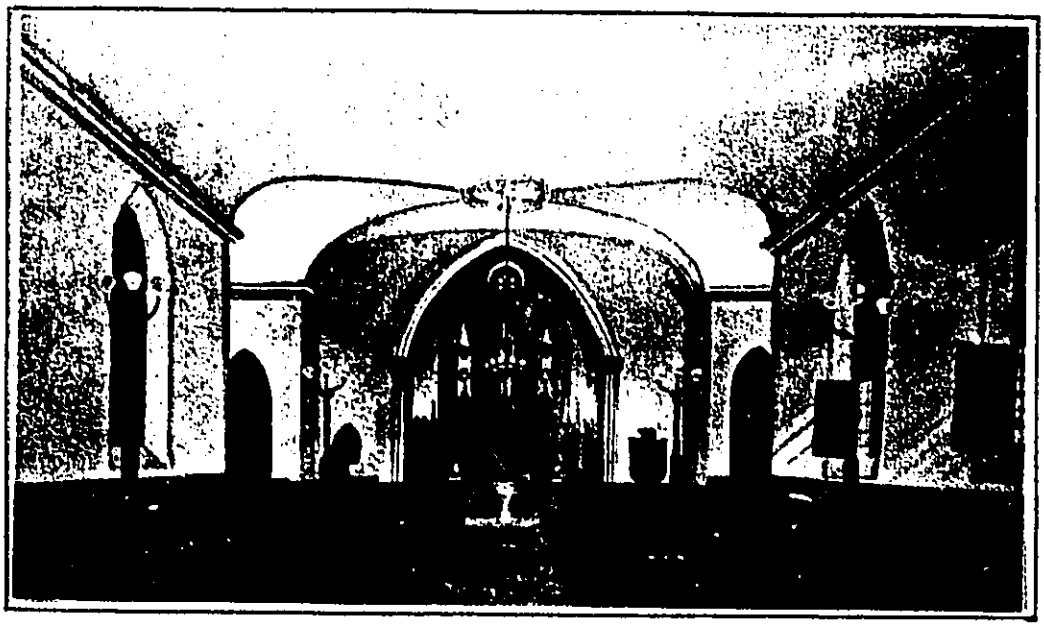


Illustration 61

Interior of St. Peter's United Church of England and Ireland, Brockville, erected 1826-1831, enlarged 1850, as photographed ca. 1854. The addition of a transept and chancel did not dissipate the original Georgian flavour of this church interior. The pulpit on the right overshadowed the communion table, and despite the addition of three lancet windows and three pointed arches at the front, the Georgian tone was reinforced by the round window, the flat elliptical curve of the ceiling, the horizontal cornices, the Neoclassic joinery of the pew ends, and the horizontal louvres in the interior window shutters. Again, the baptismal font was in front of the congregation. Most Georgian of all was the source of funding for the enlarging of St. Peter's Church in 1850: a bequest in 1849 from the will of Sir Charles Metcalfe, the late Lieutenant-governor of Canada.

Source: Adrian Ten Cate and Christina MacNaughton, eds., Brockville: A Pictorial History, p. 28.

Illustration 62

Water-colour of Dryburgh Abbey, sketched by M. Blakey, daughter of the Reverend Robert Blakey, Prescott, 1840. The romantic allusion of this water-colour was a rarity in eastern Upper Canada before mid-century, and this instance likely was influenced by the clergyman father who was aware of contemporary British romantic interest in ancient and mediaeval ruins. Few regional inhabitants, preoccupied as they were with hewing order out of the forest vaults, could have comprehended the aesthetic quest of early nineteenth century British romantics for sublime and romantic views of mediaeval architecture engulfed by nature. Even fewer regional inhabitants comprehended that many United Church of England and Ireland clergy were reviving mediaeval church architecture and ritual.

Source: Blake McKendry, Folk Art: Primitive and Naive Art in Canada, p. 176.

Illustration 63

Sampler worked by Margaret Rutherford, age 16, South Elmsley, 1857. The naive centre-piece of a mediaeval castle in this sampler is rare evidence that the influence of the Romantic movement in Britain began to filter down to the rural eastern Upper Canadian consciousness by mid-century. Before 1845 the major expression of Romanticism in the region was the picturesque incorporation of pointed windows and classical references in the churches erected by the state-backed denominations. Most of these churches looked as much Georgian as Gothic. The inspiration for the castle in this sample may well have proceeded from the romantic fiction of authors such as Sir Walter Scott.

Source: Howard M. Brown, Ottawa.

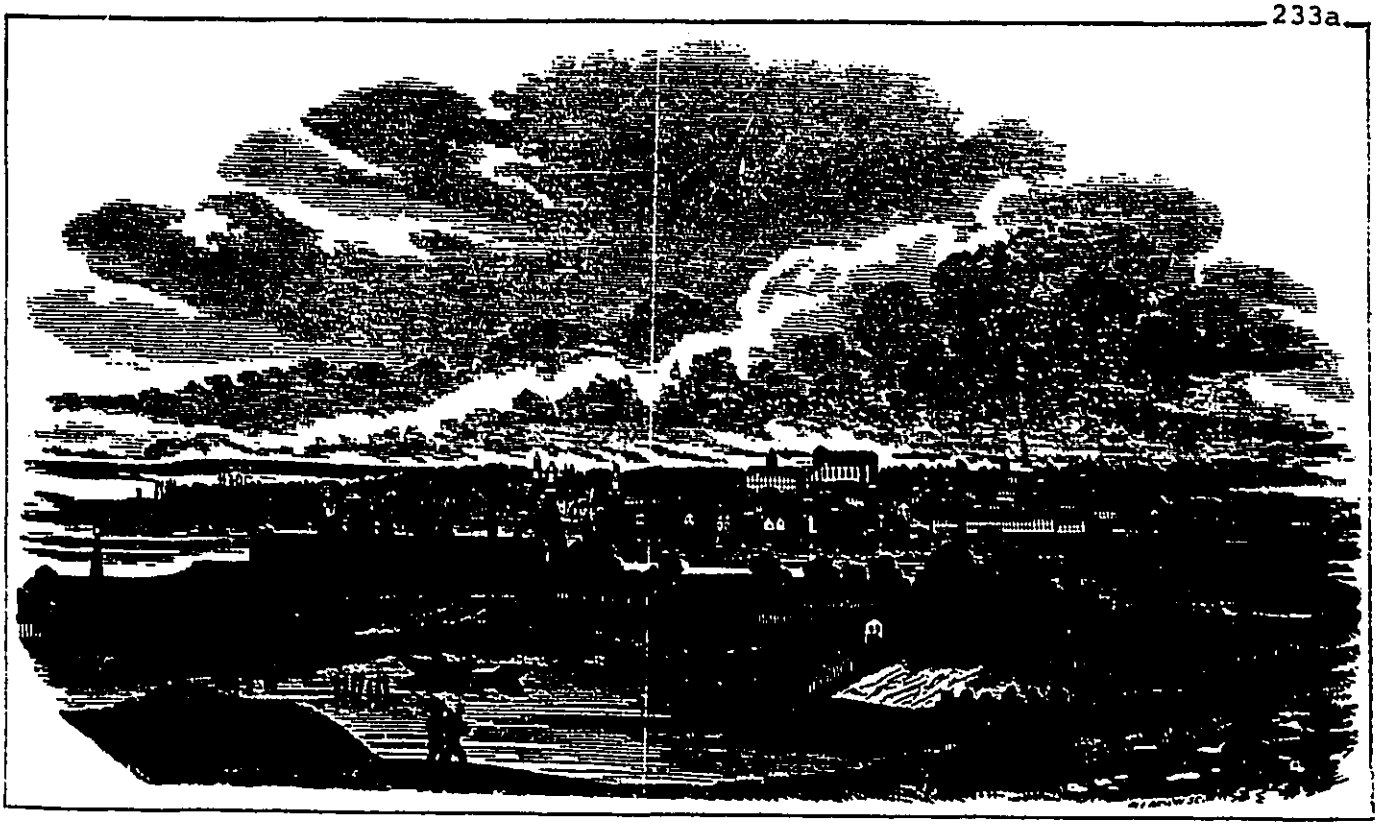


Illustration 64

View of Kingston, Canada West, ca. 1850. St. Mary's Roman Catholic cathedral at Kingston was a vast structure by Upper Canadian standards when it was erected in the early 1840s. The lack of clergy and growing numbers of Irish Catholic immigrants necessitated the building of large churches from the 1840s onward, and the style in which most of them were designed prominently featured the pointed arch. Increasingly, from mid-century on, eastern Upper Canadians equated the pointed arch with Roman Catholic churches. The visual impression of St. Mary's cathedral overshadowing the city of Kingston, even dominating the large and costly city hall built in the 1840s seemed to corroborate the fear of regional Irish Protestants that a repetition of the political and social militance of Catholics in Ireland during the 1820s was taking place at the expense of Protestantism in mid-century Canada. The confident facade of the new cathedral, despite the unfinished tower, did not mirror the decades required to pay off the debt on it. The frequent damage to building stone during the erection of this cathedral, together with the defacing of two carved faces ornamenting the Gothic entrance in 1843, suggests that regional Irish Protestants began to equate pointed arches with Catholicism in the mid 1840s, and that tolerance of Catholicism in Upper Canada was increasingly rare from then on.

Source: W.L. Smith, Canada: Past, Present and Future, opp. p. 276.

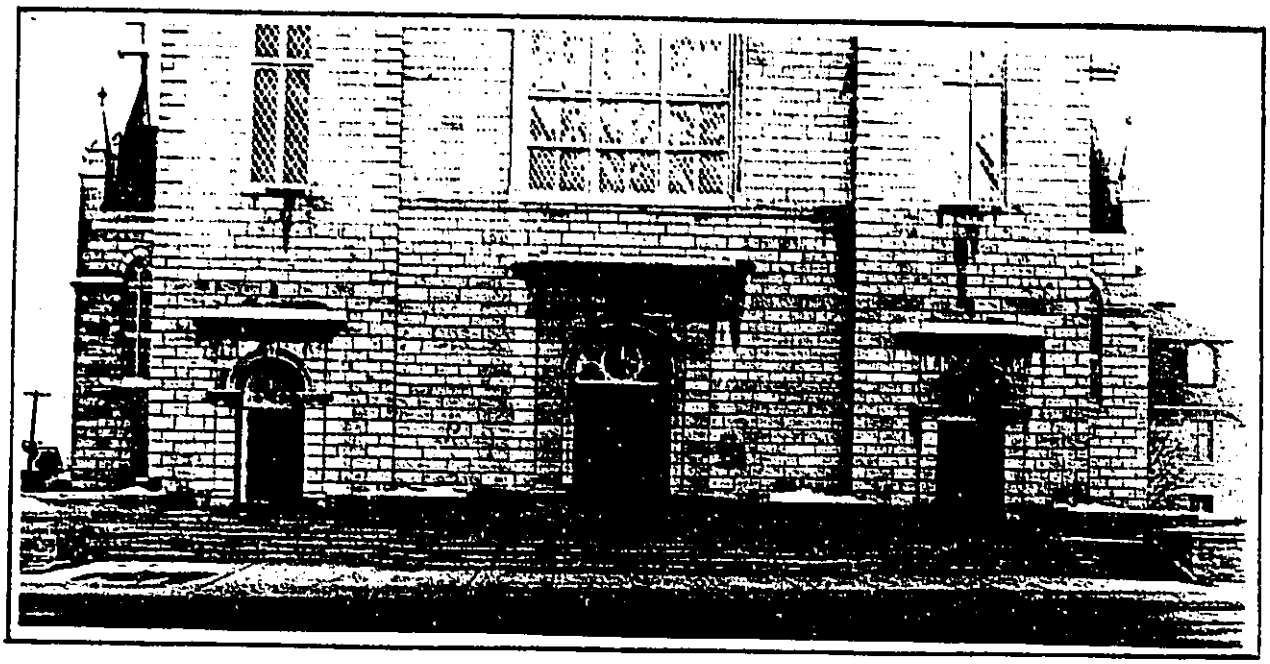


Illustration 65

Detail of lower front of Notre Dame Church, Bytown, erected 1841-1846. The grouping of the front entrances of this large church, as Marion MacRae has pointed out, was a classical restatement of the Baroque interpretation of the Roman triumphal arch; this allusion to the ultimate triumph of Christianity over classical Rome intimated the triumphalist dreams of Irish and French Catholics at Bytown. The handsome ashlar walls were built up to a usable single-storey height by Antoine Robillard when the building was doubled in length to accommodate the swelling Irish Catholic immigration. The essential style of the church was changed in 1844 to "le style ogival ou pointu."

Illustration 66

Main entrance of Notre Dame Church, Bytown, erected 1841-1843. Despite the addition of later doors and tracery, the round-headed doorway set between two Tuscan pilasters projects an image of enduring strength. It belied the lack of funds, the heavy mortgaging of the church property, and the 'dark and gloomy prospects' for completing the unfinished structure in 1844. The interior was originally planned to be executed in the Ionic order with galleries. Regional Catholic churches were less likely than those of the United Church of England and Ireland to use pointed arches before 1845. Consequently, there was no obvious visual link between Catholicism and Gothic Revival architecture in eastern Upper Canada before mid-century.

Source: Ottawa Citizen, 14 February 1976, p.

Illustration 67

Detail of engraving of Lake of Two Mountains, based on 1838 sketch by William Henry Bartlett. Eastern Upper Canadians who either ascended the St. Lawrence as immigrants, or descended the Ottawa on timber rafts before 1845 saw nothing in the Catholic churches of Lower Canada which would have led them to equate Gothic Revival or pointed arches with Catholicism. Most French Canadian churches before 1845 were descended from the Baroque tradition of New France, with round-headed windows, Norman roofs, and octagonal spires.

Source: Janice Tyrwhitt, Bartlett's Canada: A pre-Confederation Journey, p. 146.

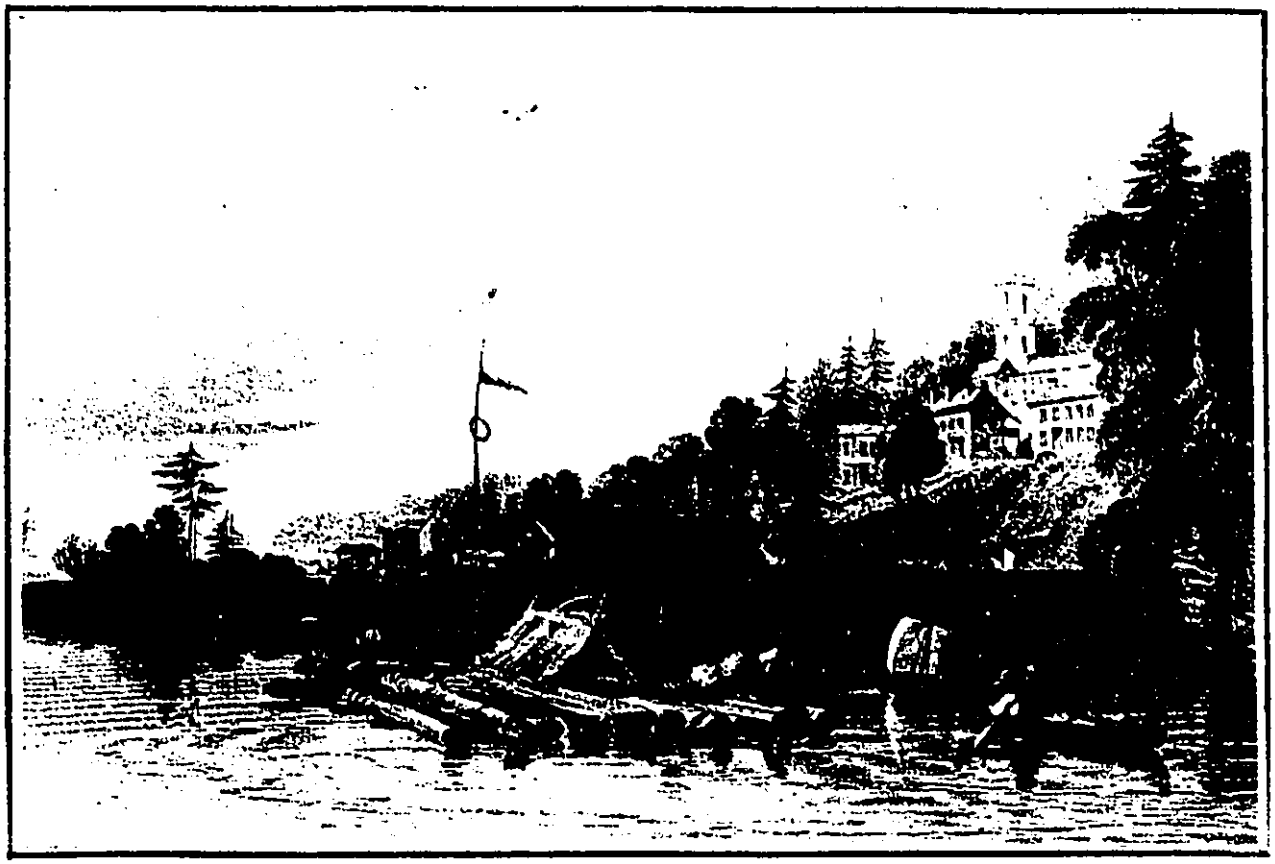


Illustration 68

Brockville, St. Lawrence, as engraved by J. Carter based on the 1838 sketch of William Henry Bartlett. The churches with which pointed arches were invariably identified before 1845 in eastern Upper Canada belonged to the United Church of England and Ireland. The romantic and sometimes exaggerated engravings based on Bartlett's sketches underline the picturesque quality of these early churches that introduced the pointed arch to British North America.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-2392.

APPENDIX VI

Open balloting at election hustings helped to polarise Irish immigrants against non-Irish in ridings where their numbers were evenly balanced.

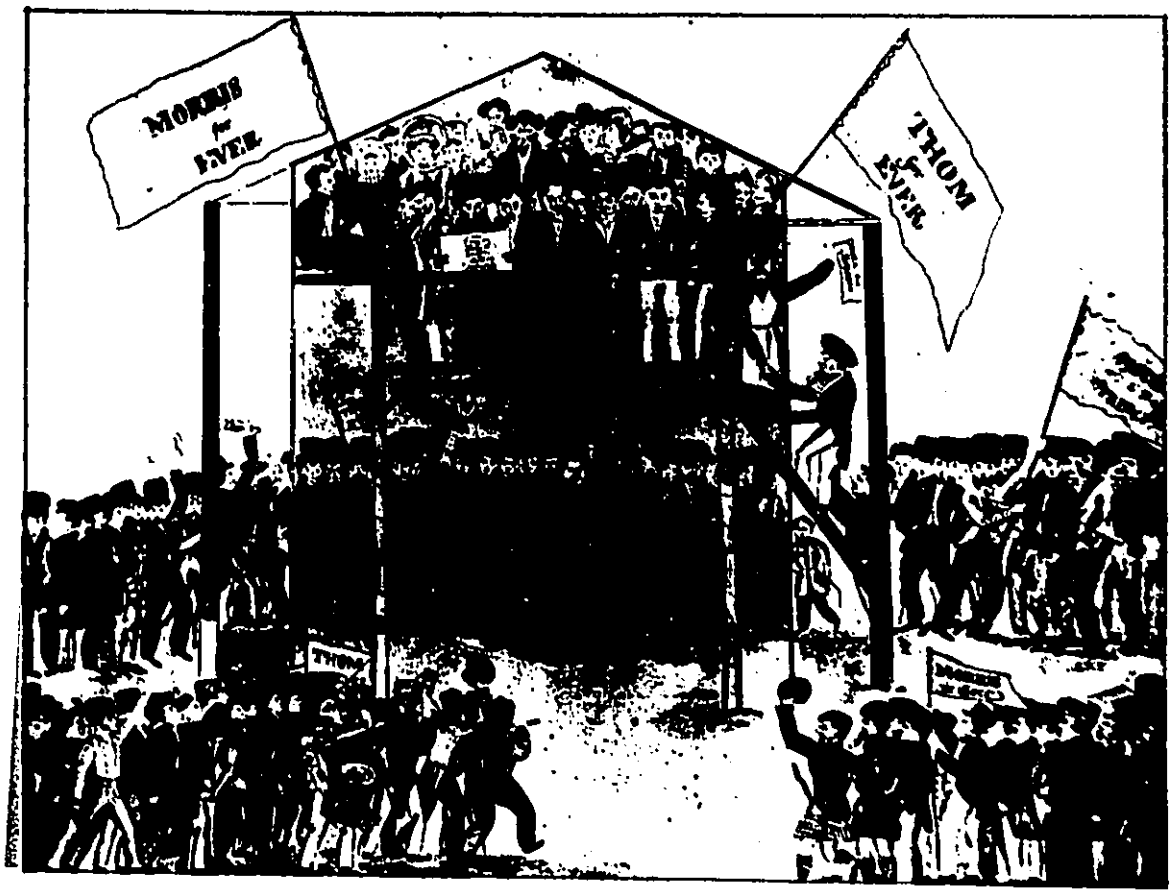


Illustration 69

"The Rival Candidates: William Morris and Alex Thom Election, 1828, on the hustings at Perth, Upper Canada", a political cartoon by F.W. Consitt from a painting dated 1830. Rival candidates William Morris and Dr. Alexander Thom are shown on the hustings at Perth, surrounded by electors. Both candidates were of Scottish birth and members of the Church of Scotland. The stylish dress of the prominent men on the platform contrasts with the kilts of the Scottish electors, the uniform of a military settler playing a drum and possibly an Irish immigrant in the centre foreground dressed in shirt and pants playing a flute. This cartoon captures the emotion of elections at open hustings by showing flags, hats, placards and sticks being brandished. When candidates of differing ethnicity opposed one another in ridings such as Lanark and Leeds where society was divided between two major ethnic groups, violence aided by copious drinking throughout the day was inevitable.

Source: Queen's University Archives, William Morris Papers.

APPENDIX VII

The altruistic rhetoric of the temperance movement eventually overwhelmed the attempt by American-origin promoters to use it as a screen to organise a Reform counterweight to Orange lodges as the organisational nucleus of Irish immigrant-based local Conservatism.

THE TREE OF DISSIPATION.

The
sin of
Drunkenness
expels reason,
drowns memory,
distempers the body,
defaces beauty, dimin-
ishes strength, corrupts the
blood, inflames the liver,
weakens the brain, turns men
into walking hospitals;—causes
internal, external, and incurable
wounds;—is a witch to the senses, a
devil to the soul, a thief to the pocket,
the beggar's companion, a wife's woe, and
children's sorrow;—makes man become
a beast and a self-murderer, who
drinks to others' good health,
and robs himself of his
own! Nor is this
all; it exposes
to the
Divine
Displeasure here!!
and hereafter to
Eternal Misery!!!
THE
Root of all is
DRUNKENNESS.

Illustration 70

Page from The Teetotaler's Handbook by Rev. William Scott, published at Toronto in 1860. The altruistic appeal of the temperance movement was based on the assumption that heavy liquor consumption was responsible for many social and domestic problems. The violence manifested by Irish Orange Tories in Leeds County during the 1830s enhanced the fear by American settlers that liquor excited all that was "earthy and animal in human nature." By combatting heavy liquor consumption, local American-origin Reformers hoped that the large Irish immigrant population could not so easily through drink be kept under the complete mental, moral and physical control of political demagogues such as Ogle Gowan. Ultimately, it was expected that the potential for Irish Protestant immigrants to perpetrate violence against their American neighbours would be lessened.

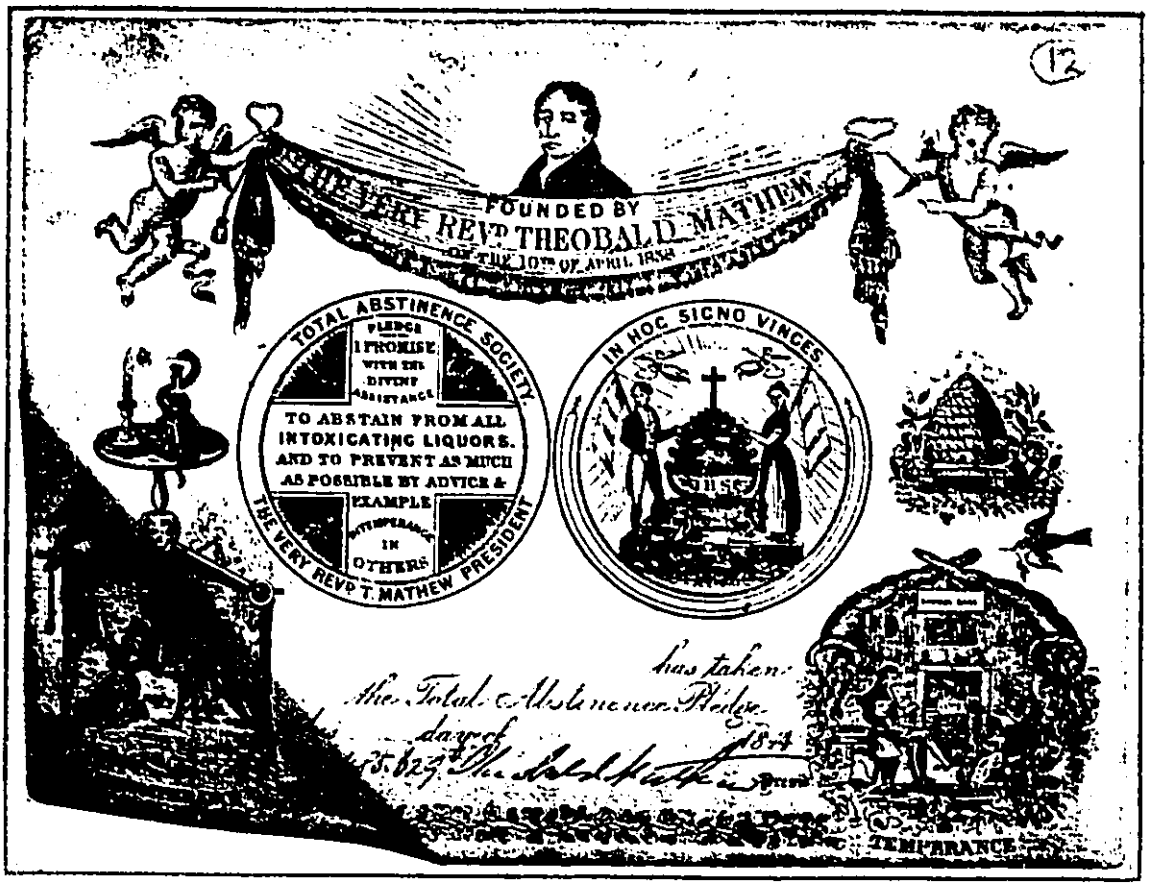


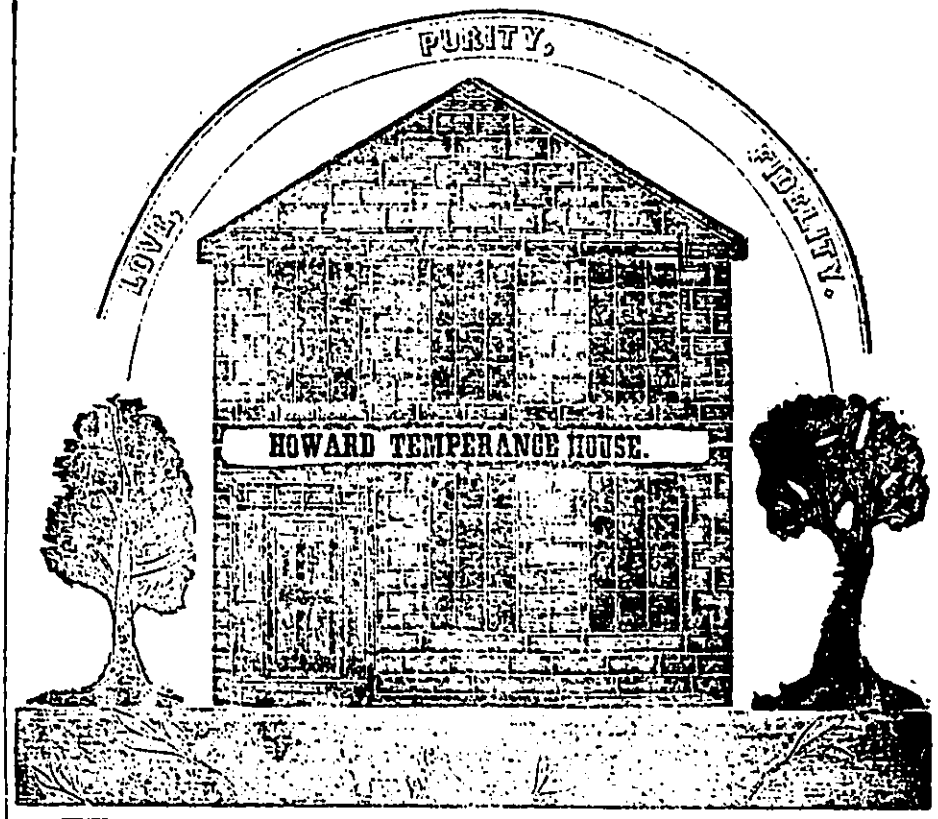
Illustration 71

Total abstinence pledge card of follower of Father Mathew, 1844. Capuchin monk Theobald Mathew was hailed by eastern Upper Canadian Reform editors for his "continued exertions to mitigate the sufferings of the poor of his neighbourhood, and to raise them from a state of moral and physical degradation to which they had been reduced" (Bathurst Courier, 12 June 1840, p. 1). The strength which Irish repealer Daniel O'Connell perceived in the Irish temperance movement to "convert the people from making slaves and beasts of themselves into habits of high and moral thinking" to promote "the future welfare and independence of the country" (ibid, 17 April 1840, p. 3) was not lost on eastern Upper Canadian political observers. The editor of the Bathurst Courier in 1842 saluted:

> Hibernia! Thou first teetotal flower
> Of her Britannic Majesty's dominions,
> Thy great example shows that truth is power—
> That men can stand by honest sound opinions
> Let Mathews prosper, and let plenty warm you,
> And no deluded agitators harm you.
> (Bathurst Courier, 4 January 1842, p. 1)

The agitators in Upper Canada against whom the local American temperance movement was arrayed were the Irish Orange supporters of Tory candidates such as Ogle Gowan.

Source: PAC MG55/24 No. 204



Howard Temperance House.

GORE-STREET, PERTH.

JOHN CAMPBELL, by the advice of a number of the friends of Temperance in Perth, and in harmony with his own views and a conviction that it will benefit the cause, has concented to embark a large amount of capital in establishing in this Town a

TEMPERANCE HOUSE,

where he now resides, on Gore-street, near the business part of the town. In doing so, his aim has been to open a comfortable home for the time to the traveller, and an agreeable retreat to the man of business. The Son of Temperance will sojourn under a fraternal roof, and the urbanity which springs from the heart to every friend of the cause the public generally shall experience.

Lunch, Coffee, &c., will be supplied at short notice, which will be a convenience to the farming community.

The Stables will be well attended to.

Everything will be conducted in the best style and charges moderate.

A limited number of respectable Boarders will be taken, on moderate terms.

N. B.—As usual the former business will be carried on, and he hopes with more success, as his new arrangements require more of the farmer's produce in the shape of butter, eggs, &c.

Perth, Feb. 6, 1852. 16m3

Illustration 72

Advertisement for Howard Temperance Hotel of John Campbell, Perth, from the Bathurst Courier, 19 March 1852, p. 3. The strong links of Orange lodges with inns and taverns made temperance hotels necessary for American-origin settlers and Reformers who wished a refuge from potential degradation through associating with carousing Irish Orange Tory immigrants. Temperance hotels provided meeting rooms for local temperance societies, ensuring that meetings were not infiltrated by the regional Irish ethno-political adversaries. By mid-century the moral influence of the temperance movement had gained such proportions that even Scottish settlements were affected. Local newspapers reported that temperance hotels in Ireland were "so many political reading rooms". (Bytown Gazette, 18 April 1844, p. 1).

J. B. GOUGH

WILL DELIVER

A LECTURE

THIS AFTERNOON,

Tuesday, 14th October, 1851,

IN KNOX'S CHURCH, BYTOWN,

AT THREE O'CLOCK, P. M.,

ON THE

PRINCIPLES OF THE ORDER

OF THE

SONS OF TEMPERANCE,

SHEWING THE

RISE, PROGRESS AND BENEFITS

OF THE ORDER.

An opportunity will thus be afforded the public of learning something of the history, character and objects of an Institution of which comparatively little is known, but which is rapidly rising in popular favour, and is evidently destined to be a powerful agent in the work of Social Reform.

THE SONS WILL APPEAR IN REGALIA.

TICKETS OF ADMISSION 7½d. EACH.

☞ Tickets may be had at the Stores of Mr. McGillivray, Wellington Street, Upper Town, and Mr. Dunn, Rideau Street, Lower Town.

NO MONEY WILL BE TAKEN AT THE DOOR.

14 Oct 1851 Sons of Temperance Lecture

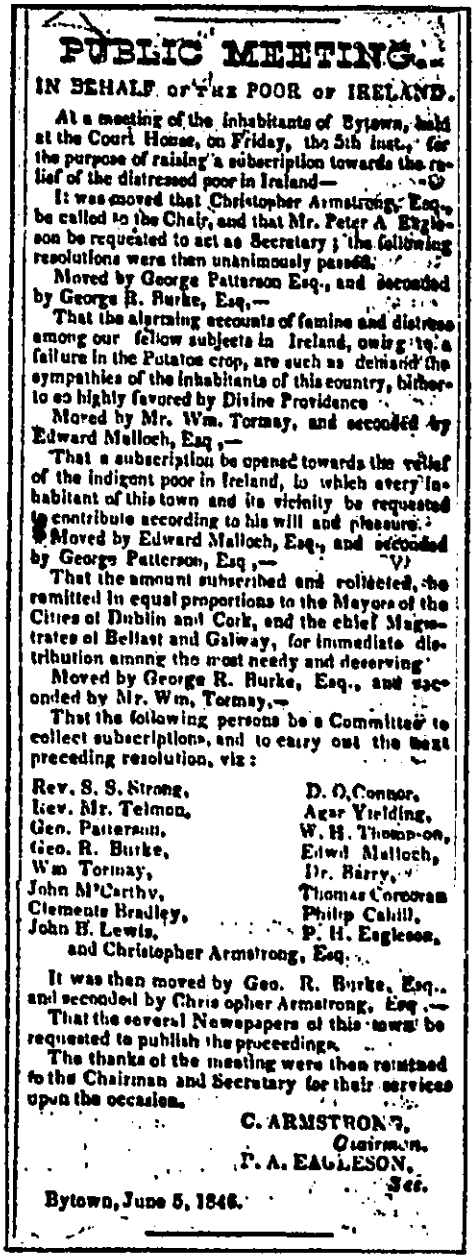
Illustration 73

Broadside giving notice of a temperance lecture by John B. Gough at Bytown, 14 October 1851. At mid-century American fraternal temperance lodges such as the Sons of Temperance and the Independent Order of Good Templars infiltrated Upper Canada, offering more overtly secret meetings, regalia, ritual and varied social activities than the societies founded in the early 1830s. This broadside reveals the ongoing expectation that temperance would bring about social reform. The location in Knox Free Church indicates the strong links of temperance to voluntarist denominations and Reform politics.

Source: PAC MG24 I72 pp. 79-80

APPENDIX VIII

Public meetings subscribing money for Irish Famine relief and government notices recruiting employment for Irish immigrants reflect the tolerant reception accorded Irish Catholic immigrants from the late 1840s on.



PUBLIC MEETING.

IN BEHALF OF THE POOR OF IRELAND.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Bytown, held at the Court House, on Friday, the 5th inst., for the purpose of raising a subscription towards the relief of the distressed poor in Ireland—

It was moved that Christopher Armstrong, Esq., be called to the Chair, and that Mr. Peter A. Egleson be requested to act as Secretary; the following resolutions were then unanimously passed:

Moved by George Patterson Esq., and seconded by George R. Burke, Esq.,—

That the alarming accounts of famine and distress among our fellow subjects in Ireland, owing to a failure in the Potatoe crop, are such as demand the sympathies of the inhabitants of this country, hitherto so highly favored by Divine Providence.

Moved by Mr. Wm. Tormay, and seconded by Edward Malloch, Esq.,—

That a subscription be opened towards the relief of the indigent poor in Ireland, to which every inhabitant of this town and its vicinity be requested to contribute according to his will and pleasure.

Moved by Edward Malloch, Esq., and seconded by George Patterson, Esq.,—

That the amount subscribed and collected, be remitted in equal proportions to the Mayors of the Cities of Dublin and Cork, and the chief Magistrates of Belfast and Galway, for immediate distribution among the most needy and deserving.

Moved by George R. Burke, Esq., and seconded by Mr. Wm. Tormay,—

That the following persons be a Committee to collect subscriptions, and to carry out the last preceding resolution, viz:

Rev. S. S. Strong,	D. O'Connor,
Rev. Mr. Telmon,	Agar Yielding,
Geo. Patterson,	W. H. Thompson,
Geo. R. Burke,	Edwd Malloch,
Wm Tormay,	Dr. Barry,
John M'Carthy,	Thomas Corcoran
Clements Bradley,	Philip Cahill,
John B. Lewis,	P. H. Egleson,

and Christopher Armstrong, Esq.

It was then moved by Geo. R. Burke, Esq., and seconded by Christopher Armstrong, Esq.,—

That the several Newspapers of this town be requested to publish the proceedings.

The thanks of the meeting were then returned to the Chairman and Secretary for their services upon the occasion.

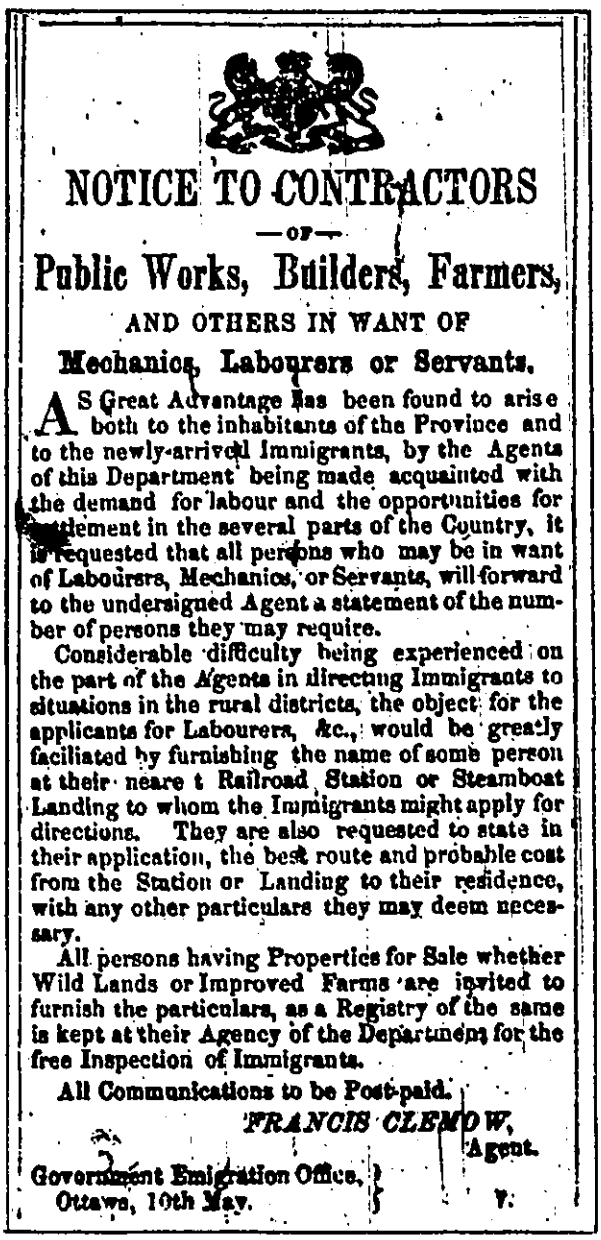
C. ARMSTRONG,
Chairman.
P. A. EAGLESON,
Sec.

Bytown, June 5, 1846.

Illustration 74

Notice of a Public Meeting at Bytown in Behalf of the Poor of Ireland, 5 June 1846. The prominent Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant names heading this committee to collect subscriptions for the distressed poor in Ireland underline the common concern they shared about the reports of unprecedented misery coming from Ireland. The ethnic composition of this committee also reflects the basic tolerance which existed between Irish Catholics and most Protestants in eastern Upper Canada up to the arrival of the Famine inundation, in contrast with the legacy of violence between Irish Catholics and French Canadians which civil and religious leaders with difficulty managed to contain by the mid 1840s.

Source: Bytown Gazette, 11 June 1846, p. 2, col. 6.



NOTICE TO CONTRACTORS

—OF—

Public Works, Builders, Farmers,

AND OTHERS IN WANT OF

Mechanics, Labourers or Servants.

AS Great Advantage has been found to arise both to the inhabitants of the Province and to the newly-arrived Immigrants, by the Agents of this Department being made acquainted with the demand for labour and the opportunities for settlement in the several parts of the Country, it is requested that all persons who may be in want of Labourers, Mechanics, or Servants, will forward to the undersigned Agent a statement of the number of persons they may require.

Considerable difficulty being experienced on the part of the Agents in directing Immigrants to situations in the rural districts, the object for the applicants for Labourers, &c., would be greatly facilitated by furnishing the name of some person at their neare t Railroad Station or Steamboat Landing to whom the Immigrants might apply for directions. They are also requested to state in their application, the best route and probable cost from the Station or Landing to their residence, with any other particulars they may deem necessary.

All persons having Properties for Sale whether Wild Lands or Improved Farms are invited to furnish the particulars, as a Registry of the same is kept at their Agency of the Department for the free Inspection of Immigrants.

All Communications to be Post-paid.

FRANCIS CLEMOW,
Agent.

Government Emigration Office,
Ottawa, 10th May.

Illustration 75

Notice to Contractors of Public Works, Builders, Farmers, from the Government Emigration Office, Ottawa, 10 May 1859. This notice along with the overwhelming majority of regional editorials between 1845 and 1868 assumed that immigration provided mutual advantage to newly-arrived Irish immigrants and to the settled inhabitants of the province. The poorer immigrants were expected to begin life in Canada as labourers, mechanics and servants, whereas immigrants with capital could start farming. The strong desire for additional immigrant settlers was expressed by the editor of the Ottawa Tribune on 2 June 1860 when he urged that "every exertion should be made to secure for this section of the Province, a portion of the vast tide of human beings seeking a livelihood and home...."

Source: Ottawa Union, 1 June 1859, p. 1, col. 2.

APPENDIX IX

Most Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics prospered at agriculture and in other forms of employment as was evident in the growing numbers of them inhabiting durable houses.

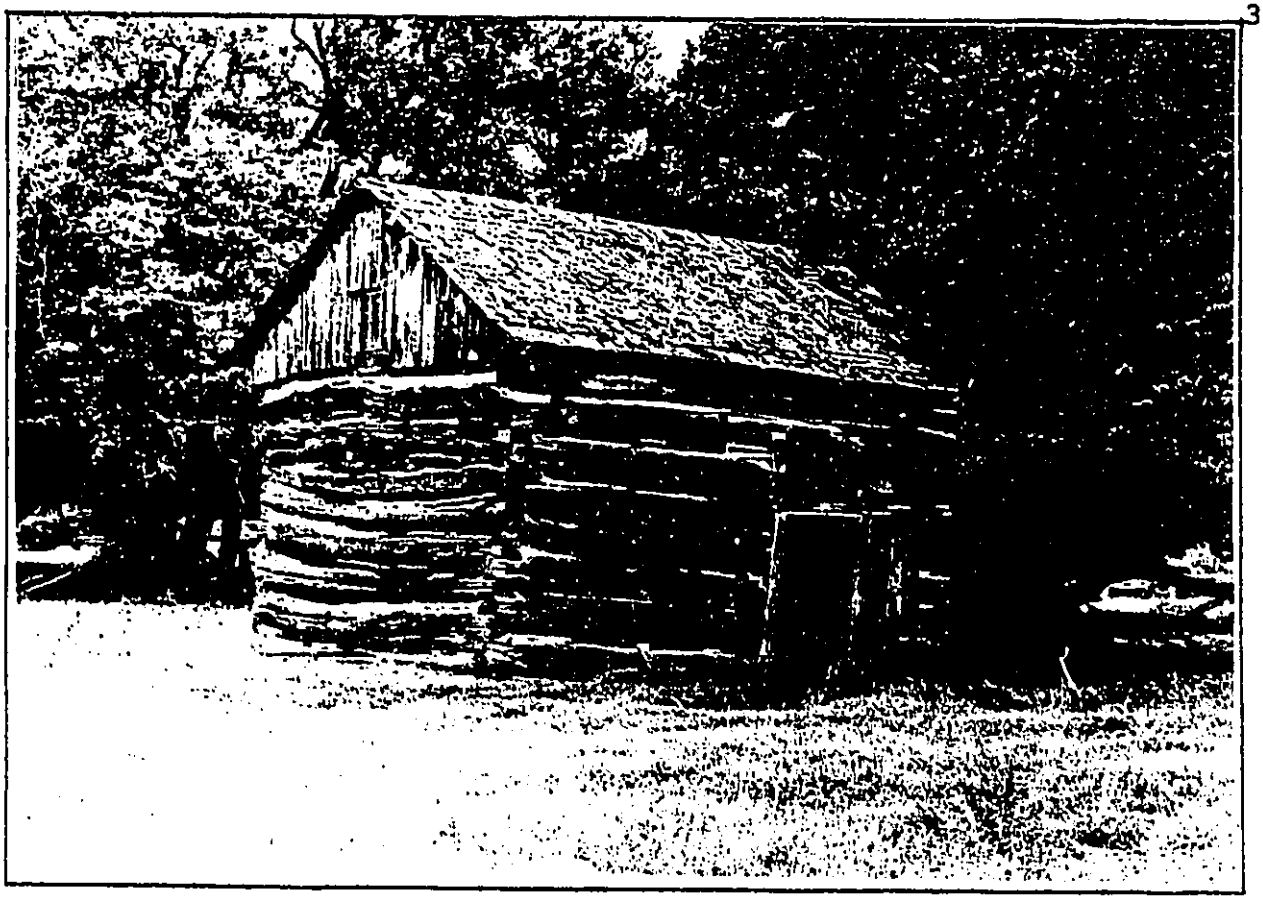


Illustration 76

Irish immigrant log shanty, lot 27, concession 9, Montague Township, as photographed ca. 1979. The Famine inundation brought a particular concentration of Irish Catholic immigrants to inland Renfrew County, and also sprinkled them about on empty Crown and Clergy Reserve lots throughout the settled townships in Carleton, Grenville, Lanark and Leeds counties. Their comparatively late arrival made them subject to unflattering comparisons with Scottish and American settlers whose longer residence and greater wealth was manifested in large stone and frame houses by the late 1850s. One anonymous Scottish commentator in 1861 described the Irish Catholics in Westmeath Township as "the most careless of settlers with regard to the external appearance of buildings, fences, &c [and that there was] an incongruity in their domestic life and its surroundings." The Irish Catholic settlement at Shamrock presented a collection of "little smoky shanties, with a cluster of juveniles peering through their matted hair, at each door". The Irish immigrants squatting on the lots of absentee landowners in earlier-settled South Elmsley Township were described by an 1852 Scottish census enumerator as

> poor, and Judging from appearances they will remain so [as] they are settled on the poorest land in the Township.... This land has not been seeded or fenced and is growing up in Thistles and other obnoxious weeds and, where the land has been cleared for some time, in June grass. Most of these persons have large families and are Emmigrants from Ireland and perhaps it would be a libel upon their character to say they were idle, but their Capital (that is their Labour) is not economically expended, in other words, however capable they may be to labour profitably for others, a number of them are not qualified to labour profitably for themselves."

Illustration 77

James Leach farmhouse, lot 18, concession 4, Montague Township, as photographed ca. 1902. This is an example of the second log house built by many Irish immigrant families from the 1840s to the 1860s. Building a larger, more permanent house such as this often required waiting a number of years until sufficient funds had been saved to pay for the land. The emphasis of many Irish immigrants on gaining title to land as rapidly as possible is shown by a November 1845 entry in the journal of the Rev. William Bell at Perth:

> 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 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. Who but an Irishman would have thought of such a proceeding?

Source: Fairburn Dizzell Collection, Montague Township.

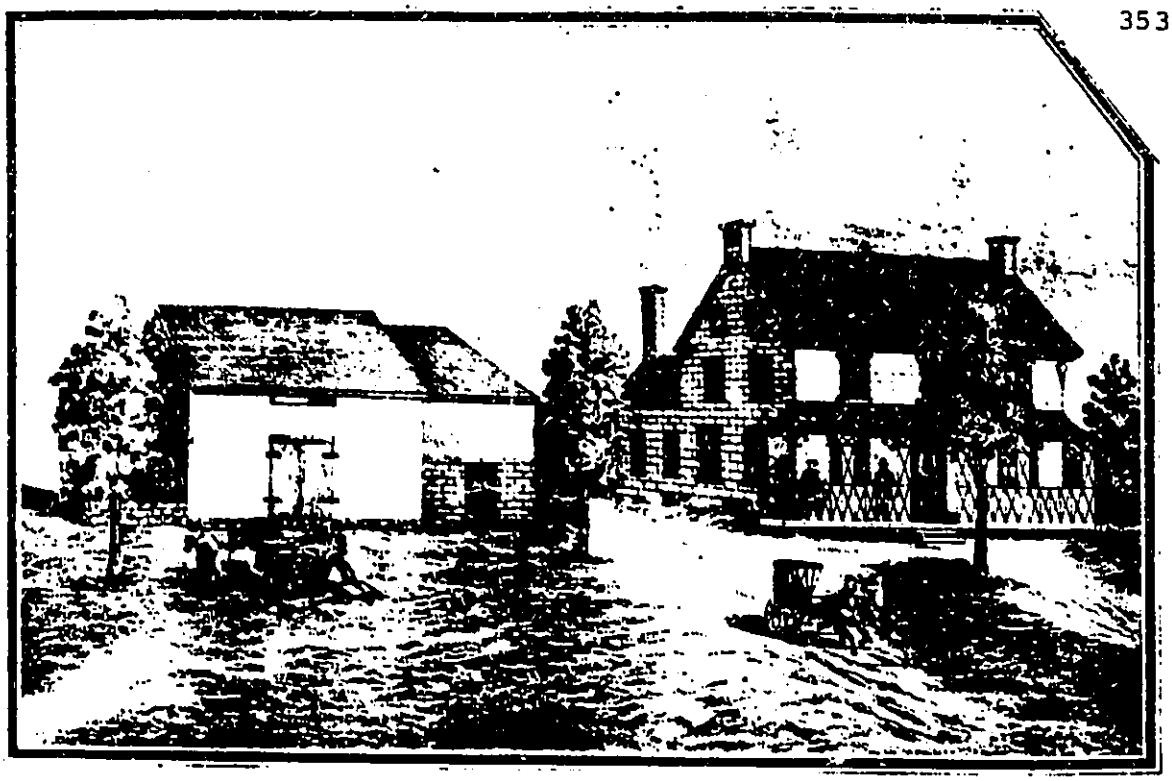


Illustration 78

Residence of John Hodgins, Esq., lot 31, concession 11, Goulbourn Township, as engraved by Henry F. Walling, 1863. This ample stone house was built in the 1850s by the son of a Tipperary Protestant immigrant who arrived in 1818. The widespread belief that Irish immigrants could achieve wealth within one generation of arriving appeared borne out by the life story of an Irish immigrant presented in James Croil's 1861 published history of Dundas County:

> [In 1839 I emigrated from Ireland, and...took possession of one hundred acres of land, for which I promised to pay $200, in five annual instalments. The lot was partially cleared, the soil was good, and, being new, I raised excellent crops during the first three years. Elated with my success, I became careless and extravagant...and ere long found myself over head and ears in debt.... I... gave up my farm to satisfy my creditors, but even after having done this, there remained $1200 of debt, which I had no means of paying. I was now houseless and homeless, with a large family of little children, depending upon me for food and raiment.... I sought out a lot of Crown land, and squatted upon it; it is the same lot I now occupy. The soil was naturally poor, much inferior to the one I had left; there was not a tree cut upon it. I cleared a small spot to build upon. My neighbors lived in shanties; I was ambitious, I made a "bee," and built me a log-house 18x24, with a chamber overhead, and cellar beneath.... It was the best building in all the settlement, it is the one I still live in, and it is now the worst, but I have bricks and boards, and timber on hand, and will build another next spring.]

Source: H.F. Walling 1863 map of Carleton County.

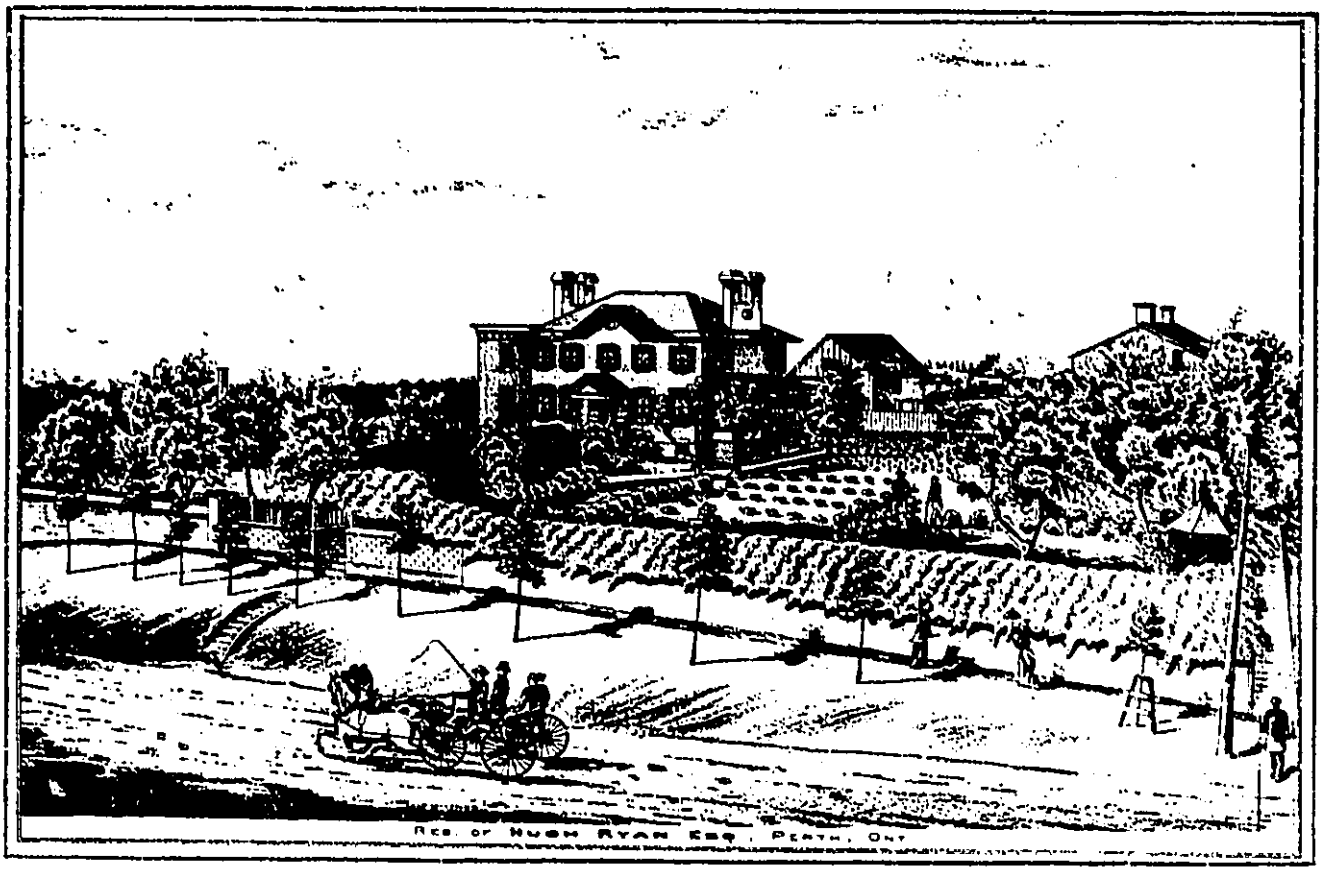


Illustration 79

Residence of Hugh Ryan, Esq., Perth, as lithographed for the 1880 Lanark County Historical Atlas. The career of Hugh Ryan appeared to confirm the widespread regional assumption before Confederation that Irish Catholic Famine immigrants could succeed as well as anyone else. Ryan arrived in Lanark County in 1856, by 1863 was a prominent general merchant at Perth, and by 1880 had become a highly successful railway contractor. The visual crown to his success was "Summit House", one of the largest houses in Perth, built in 1823 for the town's first lawyer, James Boulton of the Family Compact Boultons. The Perth Courier noted in 1859, "The Irishmen in Canada are making comfortable homes for themselves and their descendents—are accumulating wealth—and their countrymen and co-religionists are occupying the highest political and social positions in the country."

Source: Historical Atlas of Lanark County, 1880.

APPENDIX X

The tolerance of eastern Upper Canadians for Irish Catholic immigrants was reinforced by the placing of a crown above the Irish harp on the banners of regional St. Patrick's Society banners.

Illustration 80

Obverse face of Perth St. Patrick's Society Banner, painted 1857 by John Shannon. In the 1850s Irish Catholics founded St. Patrick's societies in the larger regional towns to promote charity, education and temperance. The Brockville St. Patrick's Association was founded in 1859 on "the broad and liberal basis of unsectarianism, [on] an avoidance of everything that might in the least bear semblance of a political end,...and...with permission of entrance into its ranks of every one of Irish birth or descent. The Perth banner shown here was painted on cotton by John Shannon of Ottawa in 1857. The Brockville banner was made of silk and procured from Montreal in 1860. An Ottawa banner was initially used as the model for this banner, portraying St. Patrick arrayed in cope and mitre, with the harp of Ireland to his left, and expiring serpents under his feet. The faint outline of a harp which later was removed may be seen on the right side of the banner.

Source: Perth Knights of Columbus, photographed by Claude Jobin.

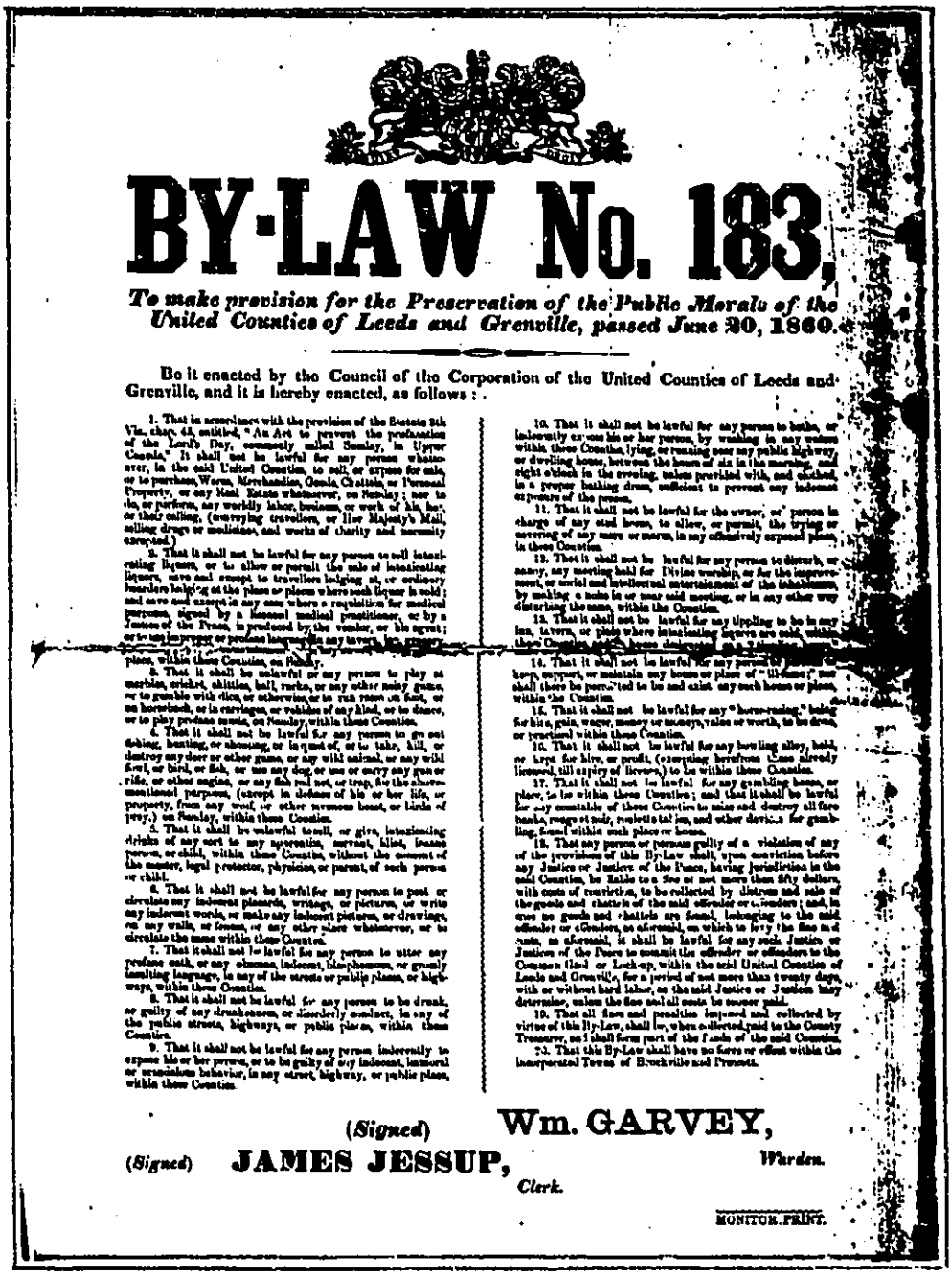
Illustration 81

Reverse face of Perth St. Patrick's Society Banner, painted 1857. The harp as an Irish national symbol figured prominently on the banners of regional St. Patrick's societies, the members of which were all Irish Catholics. Regional Irish Protestants tolerated it because the Crown was shown above the harp, and the British Ensign was carried in front of it. There was anxiety in the region in 1863 when among the banners displayed at Ottawa on St. Patrick's Day "were several green flags with the harp without a crown, and one of the ancient emblems of Ireland, such as are borne at the Irish Repeal Meetings, with the castle and shamrocks, with the two wolf dogs as supporters." The Fenian panic in 1866 heightened concern about the symbols painted on these banners. The Irish Protestant editor of the Brockville British Central Canadian inquired if, with the collapse of Fenian invasion, all Canadian St. Patrick societies authorities would "give instructions that a 'Crown' be placed over the 'Harp' in their National banners used on public occasions" to prove that they did not countenance Fenian plans for Irish independence.

Source: Perth Knights of Columbus, photographed by Claude Jobin.

APPENDIX XI

A new emphasis on moral and social order in regional society betrayed some apprehension underlying the rhetoric of welcome and tolerance accorded Famine immigrants that their legacy and environment of violence in Ireland might pose a fleeting threat to local inhabitants.



BY-LAW No. 183,

To make provision for the Preservation of the Public Morals of the United Counties of Leeds and Grenville, passed June 20, 1860.

Be it enacted by the Council of the Corporation of the United Counties of Leeds and Grenville, and it is hereby enacted, as follows:

1. That in accordance with the provision of the Statute 8th Vic., chap. 45, entitled, "An Act to prevent the profanation of the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, in Upper Canada," It shall not be lawful for any person whatsoever, in the said United Counties, to sell, or expose for sale, or to purchase, Wares, Merchandize, Goods, Chattels, or Personal Property, or any Real Estate whatsoever, on Sunday; nor to do, or perform, any worldly labor, business, or work of his her, or their calling, (excepting travellers, or Her Majesty's Mail, selling drugs or medicines, and works of Charity and necessity excepted.)

2. That it shall not be lawful for any person to sell intoxicating liquors, or to allow or permit the sale of intoxicating liquors, save and except to travellers lodging at, or ordinary boarders lodging at the place or places where such liquor is sold; and save and except in any case where a requisition for medical purposes, signed by a licensed medical practitioner, or by a Justice of the Peace, is produced by the vendee, or his agent; or to any person or persons lounging in any tavern, inn, grocery, [illegible] house, or other house of entertainment, or any other place, within these Counties, on Sunday.

3. That it shall be unlawful for any person to play at marbles, cricket, shinties, ball, racks, or any other noisy game, or to gamble with dice, or otherwise, or to run races on foot, or on horseback, or in carriages, or vehicles of any kind, or to dance, or to play profane music, on Sunday, within these Counties.

4. That it shall not be lawful for any person to go out fishing, hunting, or shooting, or in quest of, or to take, kill, or destroy any deer or other game, or any wild animal, or any wild fowl, or bird, or fish, or use any dog, or use or carry any gun or rifle, or other engine, or any fish rod net, or trap, for the above-mentioned purposes, (except in defence of his or her life, or property, from any wolf, or other ravenous beast, or birds of prey,) on Sunday, within these Counties.

5. That it shall be unlawful to sell, or give, intoxicating drinks of any sort to any apprentice, servant, idiot, insane person, or child, within these Counties, without the consent of the master, legal protector, physician, or parent, of such person or child.

6. That it shall not be lawful for any person to post or circulate any indecent placards, writings, or pictures, or write any indecent words, or make any indecent pictures, or drawings, on any walls, or fences, or any other place whatsoever, or to circulate the same within these Counties.

7. That it shall not be lawful for any person to utter any profane oath, or any obscene, indecent, blasphemous, or grossly insulting language, in any of the streets or public places, or highways, within these Counties.

8. That it shall not be lawful for any person to be drunk, or guilty of any drunkenness, or disorderly conduct, in any of the public streets, highways, or public places, within these Counties.

9. That it shall not be lawful for any person indecently to expose his or her person, or to be guilty of any indecent, immoral or scandalous behavior, in any street, highway, or public place, within these Counties.

10. That it shall not be lawful for any person to bathe, or indecently expose his or her person, by washing in any waters within these Counties, lying, or running near any public highway, or dwelling house, between the hours of six in the morning, and eight o'clock in the evening, unless provided with, and clothed in a proper bathing dress, sufficient to prevent any indecent exposure of the person.

11. That it shall not be lawful for the owner, or person in charge of any steed horse, to allow, or permit, the tying or securing of any mare or mares, in any offensively exposed place, in these Counties.

12. That it shall not be lawful for any person to disturb, or annoy, any meeting held for Divine worship, or for the improvement, or social and intellectual entertainment of the inhabitants, by making a noise in or near said meeting, or in any other way disturbing the same, within the Counties.

13. That it shall not be lawful for any tippling to be in any inn, tavern, or place where intoxicating liquors are sold, within these Counties, after the hours designated as [illegible] therein.

14. That it shall not be lawful for any person to keep, support, or maintain any house or place of "ill-fame;" nor shall there be permitted to be and exist any such house or place, within the Counties.

15. That it shall not be lawful for any "horse-racing," being for hire, gain, wager, money or moneys, value or worth, to be done, or practised within these Counties.

16. That it shall not be lawful for any bowling alley, hold, or keep for hire, or profit, (excepting herefrom Cases already licensed, till expiry of license,) to be within these Counties.

17. That it shall not be lawful for any gambling house, or place, to be within these Counties; and that it shall be lawful for any constable of these Counties to raise and destroy all faro banks, rouge et noir, roulette tables, and other devices for gambling, found within such places or houses.

18. That any person or persons guilty of a violation of any of the provisions of this By-Law shall, upon conviction before any Justice or Justices of the Peace, having jurisdiction in the said Counties, be liable to a fine or not more than fifty dollars, with costs of conviction, to be collected by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the said offender or offenders; and in case no goods and chattels are found, belonging to the said offender or offenders, on which to levy the fine and costs, as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for any such Justice or Justices of the Peace to commit the offender or offenders to the Common Gaol or Lock-up, within the said United Counties of Leeds and Grenville, for a period of not more than twenty days, with or without hard labor, as the said Justice or Justices may determine, unless the fine and all costs be sooner paid.

19. That all fines and penalties imposed and collected by virtue of this By-Law, shall be, when collected, paid to the County Treasurer, as I shall form part of the funds of the said Counties.

20. That this By-Law shall have no force or effect within the incorporated Towns of Brockville and Prescott.

(*Signed*) **Wm. GARVEY,**
Warden.

(*Signed*) **JAMES JESSUP,**
Clerk.

MONITOR PRINT.

Illustration 82

United Counties of Leeds and Grenville 1860 By-Law to make provision for the Preservation of Public Morals. The passing and enforcing of this by-law in the older counties of Carleton, Grenville, Lanark and Leeds reflected both the gentling of regional society and the growing influence of organised religion to create a new moral atmosphere to counteract any latent criminality among the Irish Catholic Famine inundation of the late 1840s. Only along the upper Ottawa, primarily in Renfrew County, could open profligacy of Sabbath observance be found in the late 1860s. At Pembroke in March 1862:

> Many of the Stores are but partially closed during the Sabbath; the Taverns are not closed at all, and strings of teams throng the highways from morning till night....The busy hum of business appears to go on as steadily and uninterruptedly as though the Sabbath had never reached our vicinity.

APPENDIX XII

Irish Catholic congregations erected large churches that dominated the eastern Upper Canadian landscape from the 1840s on. The unprecedented scale and triumphalist design of these churches raised questions in the minds of French-Canadians, Irish and non-Irish Protestants about other ways in which Irish Catholics might attempt to dominate regional society. In Protestant eyes the predominant use of pointed arches in church architecture became visually identified with Roman Catholics after 1845.

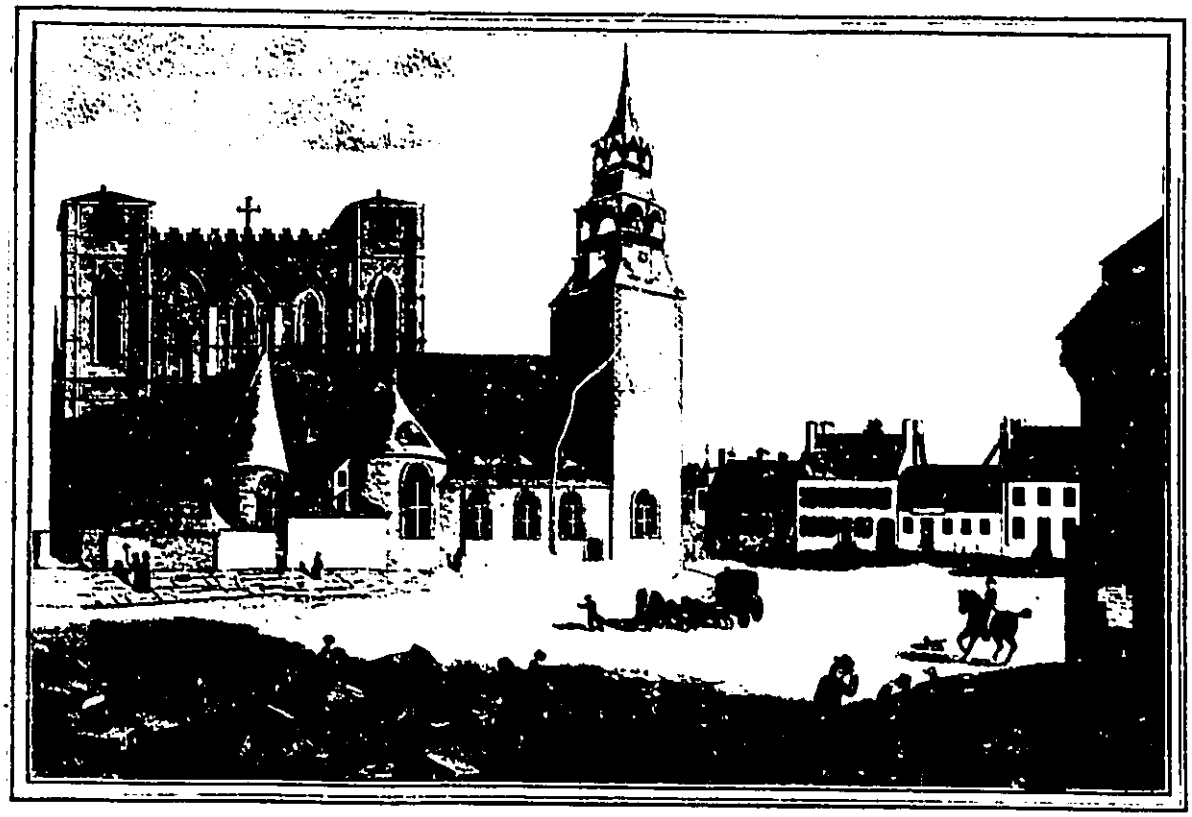


Illustration 83

"Place D'Armes, Montreal" engraving by Robert A. Sproule, published in 1830. This engraving underlines the architectural context and confusion of styles in Canadian church architecture during the 1830s and 1840s. La Paroisse, which had dominated the area for more than a century, was about to be torn down. Traditional French Canadian churches were clearly influenced by Barocque architecture, and featured round-headed windows. Behind the old church, in the course of construction arose the new parish church of Notre Dame, the largest building constructed in the Canadas, if not in all of North America before Confederation. Before the construction of this building, Gothic Revival in Canada simply amounted to a few Gothic devices grafted onto Georgian or neoclassical buildings. The tremendous impact of this monumental building on Canadian society is shown by the fact that it was the subject for more of the prints produced in British North America before 1850 (15 out of 102) than any other building or person. Its vast scale and dimensions led many eastern Upper Canadians to associate Gothic Revival with Catholicism rather than with the United Church of England and Ireland.

Source: Mary Allodi, Printmaking in Canada, p. 66.

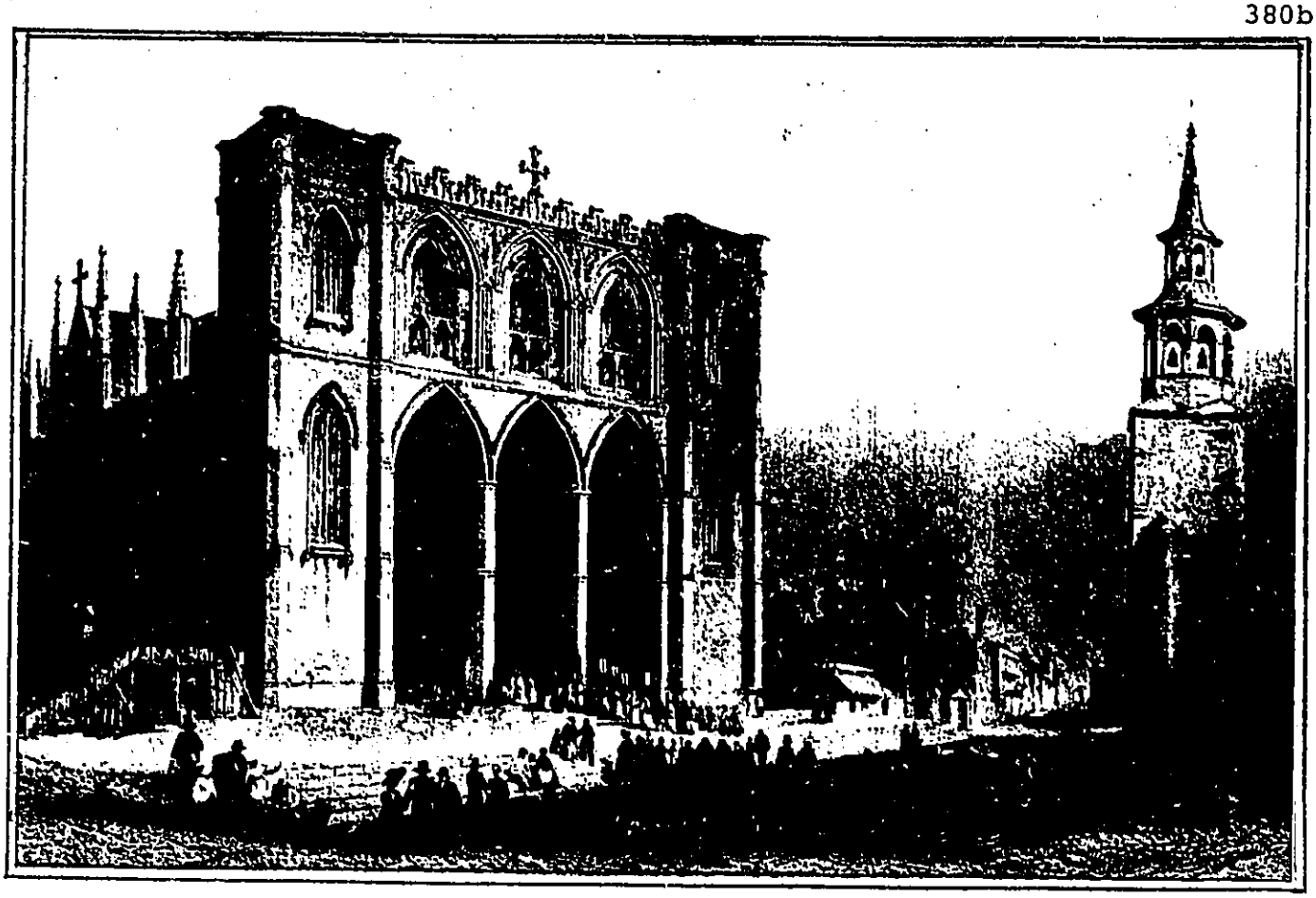
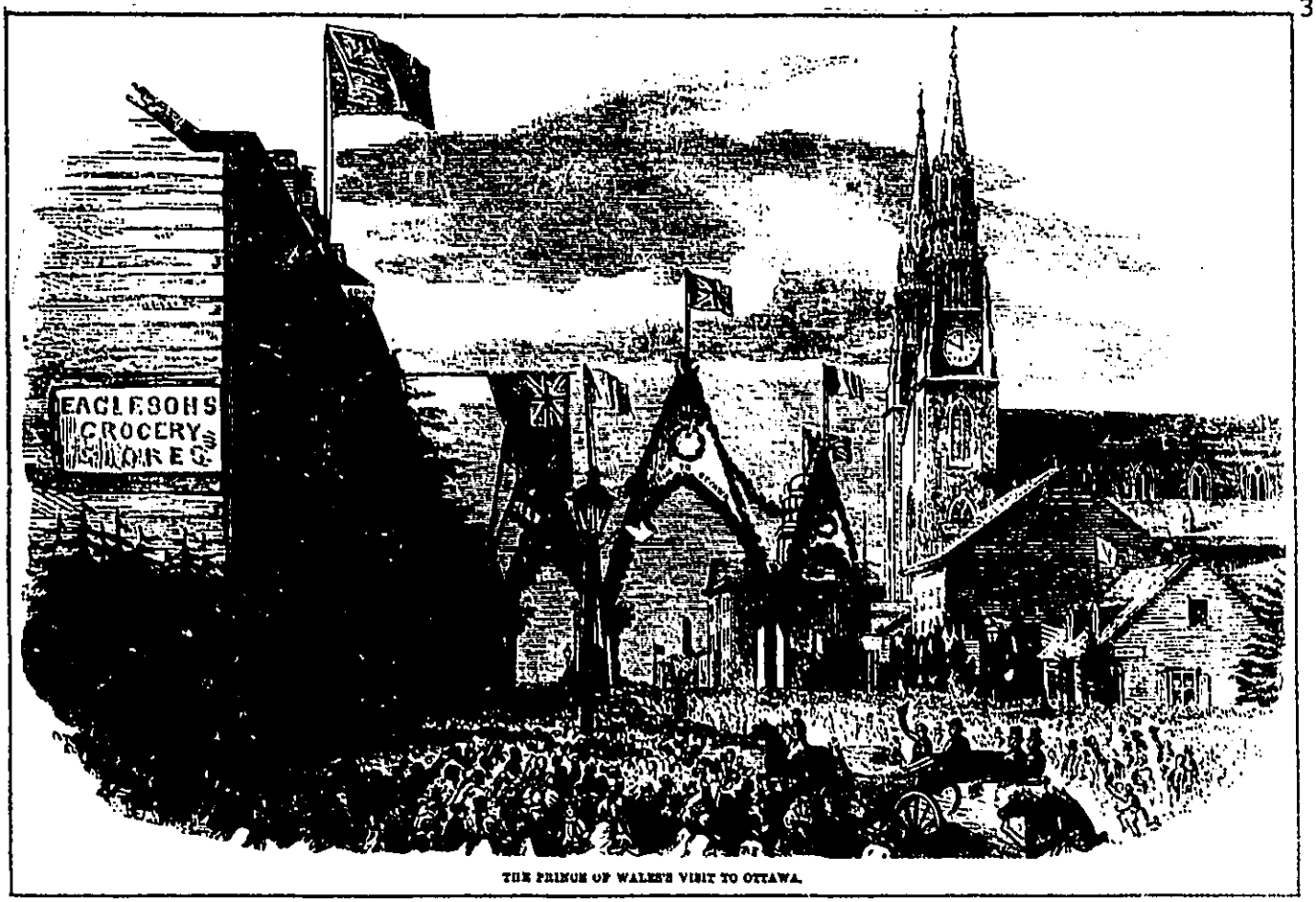


Illustration 84

Notre Dame Church, Montreal, as engraved by J. Carter in 1842, based on the 1838 drawing of William H. Bartlett. This romantic engraving by an Englishman who never viewed Notre Dame is an appropriate image to convey its religious impact on eastern Upper Canada, especially since more regional inhabitants viewed this representation than actually saw the church itself. Gothic Revival architecture loomed large in the minds of regional Irish Protestants as being emblematic of Catholicism, especially after 1850 as ultramontane Catholic clergy were perceived as a "Priest power" endlessly seeking incorporation of nunneries and religious societies from the coalition government it controlled, amd at the same time it became clear that the United Church of England and Ireland was "no longer a State, or Dominant Church in Upper Canada." A correspondent of the Brockville Recorder touring Montreal in February 1861, in alluding to Notre Dame Church, reflected the mingled feelings of awe and insecurity with which regional Protestants regarded the growth of Catholicism in Canada:

> Here stands the great Cathedral of which we have all heard so much, representative of a system which Macaulay justly calls "the most fascinating of all superstitions." It is however a fine building and may one day be used to propagate the truth.

Source: N.P. Willis, Canadian Scenery Illustrated, opp. p. 2, vol. II.



THE PRINCE OF WALES'S VISIT TO OTTAWA.

Illustration 85

"The Prince of Wales's Visit to Ottawa" as engraved from the sketch of G.H. Andrews for the Illustrated London Times, 1860. Bytown area Protestants interpreted the relatively vast dimensions and confident Gothic Revival design of Notre Dame Church (built 1841-1846) as the trappings of a church which indulged in extravagant display to show its growing power in Canadian society. The placing of the town clock in one of the towers was a galling reminder to Upper Town Protestants that the major public institutions set up in Bytown in the 1840s—the hospital, the court-house, the market and the college —had all been located in Catholic Lower Town. The confident exterior of Notre Dame shielded from Protestant eyes the monumental debt on it which forced construction to halt between 1843 and 1846, the severe shortage of Catholic clergy which necessitated lengthening the church in the midst of construction due to "the extraordinary & most rapid increase of population," the animosity between Irish Catholic and French Canadian parishioners, and an interior so painfully bare and unfinished that when the first Bishop of Bytown was consecrated on 13 July 1848, the "people had to cover the carpentry work of the ceiling with green foliage and flags, the walls with white sheets and the columns with red flannel." The Ottawa Tribune commented in September 1857, "The unfinished state of this fine edifice has been long a cause of shame to the Catholic community.

Source: London Illustrated Times, 20 October 1860, p. 250.

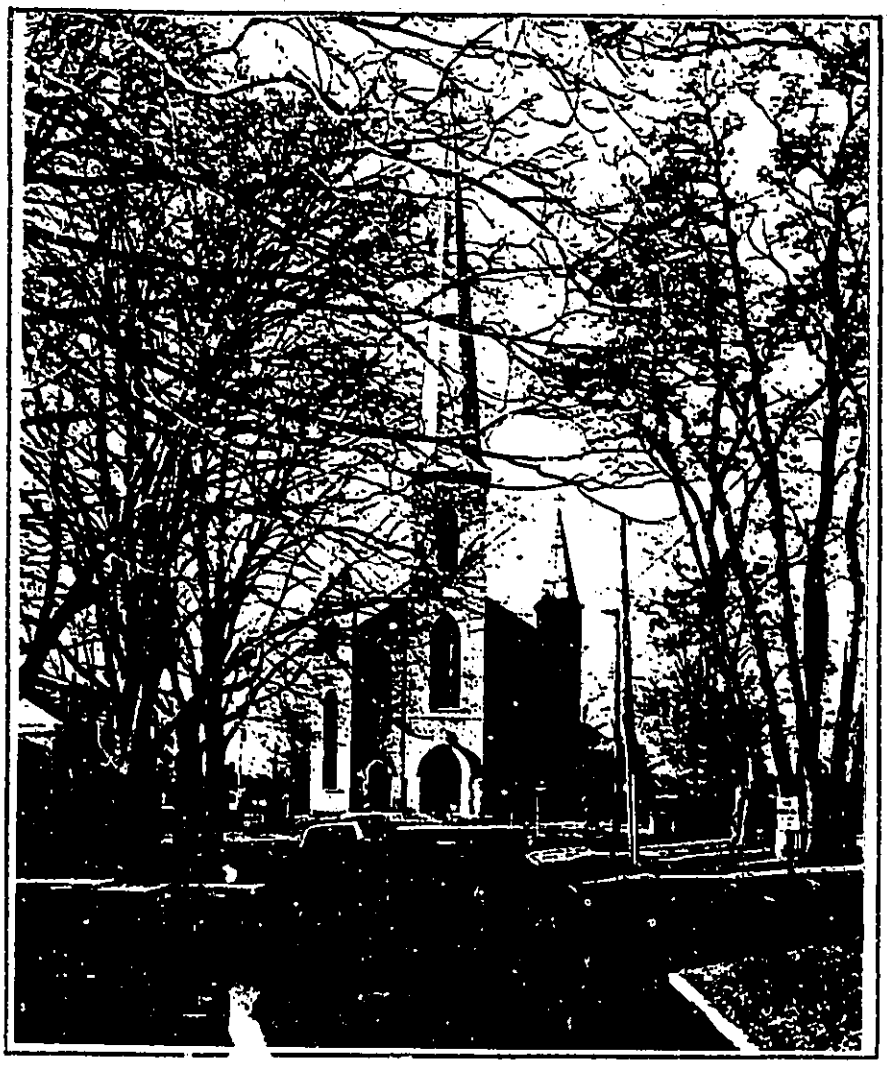


Illustration 86

Exterior of St. John the Baptist Roman Catholic Church, Perth, erected in 1848 by R. Douglas. This was the earliest of the larger Irish Catholic churches in the region outside Kingston and Bytown. The scale and handsome design of this structure, as one of the parishioners boasted in 1860, made "our beautiful new Church—the pride of our pastor and ourselves, and the wonder of the stranger." To regional Protestants the soaring towers, pinnacled buttresses, high lancet windows, and Gothic vaults all proclaimed this to be the type of Gothic Revival church promoted by Tractarians in the Church of England who were urging a return to mediaeval architecture and liturgy. In point of fact it was not, but rather a picturesque Catholic design employing Gothic or pointed windows. The Tractarians, or Puseyites as they were labelled, would have criticised this building for the exaggerated scale of its spires and windows, for the flat treatment of its exterior stonework, for its symmetry, for the sloping floor and balcony inside, and for its use of materials such as paint and plaster to create a sham picturesque effect of Gothic vaults rather than using real materials such as grained timber to create a truthful architectural statement.

Source: Ralph Greenhill, Ken MacPherson and Douglas Richardson, Ontario Towns, photograph no. 32.

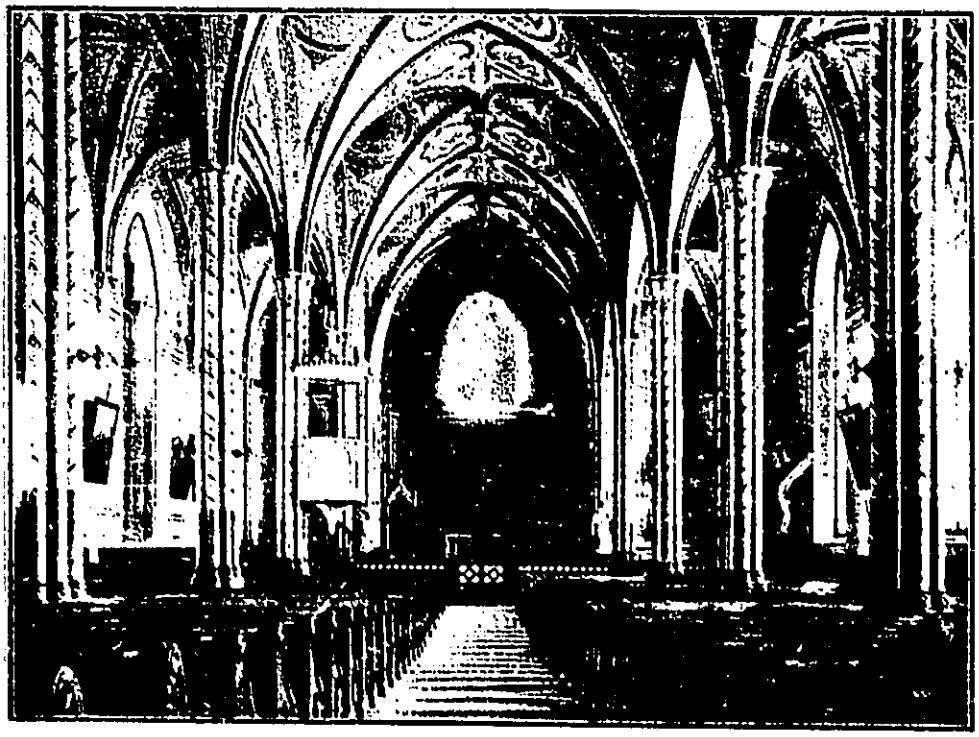


Illustration 87

Interior of St. John the Baptist Roman Catholic Church, Perth, as photographed ca. 1900. The larger new Catholic churches erected throughout the region after 1845 were unrivalled for grand interior spaces. When the Perth church was consecrated in August 1849, the Protestants among the two thousand people attending witnessed Bishop Phelan confirm no less than five hundred persons, confirming the growing proportion of Irish Catholics in regional society. The Bathurst Courier editor explained that Protestants were prompted by curiosity to witness the ceremony "rather than from any devotional motive." An Irish Catholic correspondent of the Ottawa Tribune attributed the good sprinkling of Protestants attending St. Patrick's Day celebrations in the church in 1856 to some being "attracted there by the beautiful strains of music from the Band,...[and] others again, from a desire of curiosity, such a celebration being quite a novelty in our town." As for the ceremony of the Grand High Mass, "the ceremony was grand and imposing, such as Catholics only can appreciate." Regional Protestantism, by contrast, before the late 1850s was noteworthy for its lack of ritual.

Source: Perth Expositor, 1925 Perth Old Home Week Souvenir, p. 18.

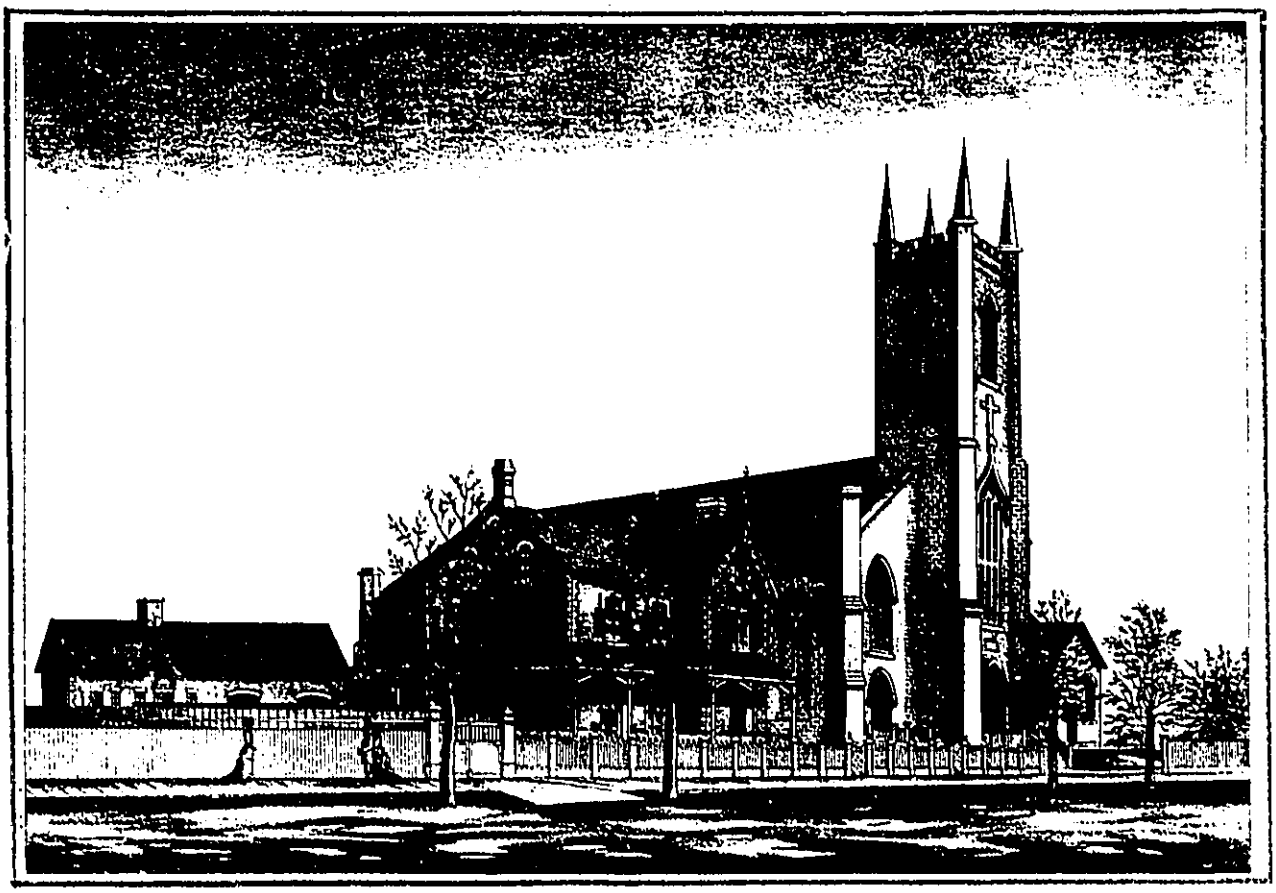


Illustration 88

St. Francis Xavier Roman Catholic Church, Brockville, erected 1856-ca. 1860. This was the largest church built outside Ottawa and Kingston before Confederation. The immensity of this structure, as with other large new Roman Catholic churches erected in the region before Confederation, served to link Gothic Revival architecture to Catholicism in regional Protestant minds. The confident design and scale of the church at Brockville masked the inability of the congregation "to bring it to a speedy completion" and the twenty years of debt required to pay for it. The large new Catholic churches were perceived by regional Protestants as emblematic of a new aggressiveness by Catholic clergy in gaining political power and winning converts. The Carleton Place Herald in 1862 described the deathbed conversion to Catholicism of Sir Allan McNab as a "horrible attempt at proselytizing, when reason had tottered from its throne". The Herald editor articulated the regional Irish Protestant paranoia about Catholic ritual:

> The marvellous love of lionising for their church, which so distinguishes the Priesthood of the Roman Church, is an arbitrary nuisance in every sense of the word, scandalizing the domestic life of many a family, in order to make a trumpery exhibition of the ceremonials of their church, coupled with what they suppose a triumph of the doctrines of their church.

Source: Thaddeus W.H. Leavitt, History of Leeds and Grenville, opp. p. 196.

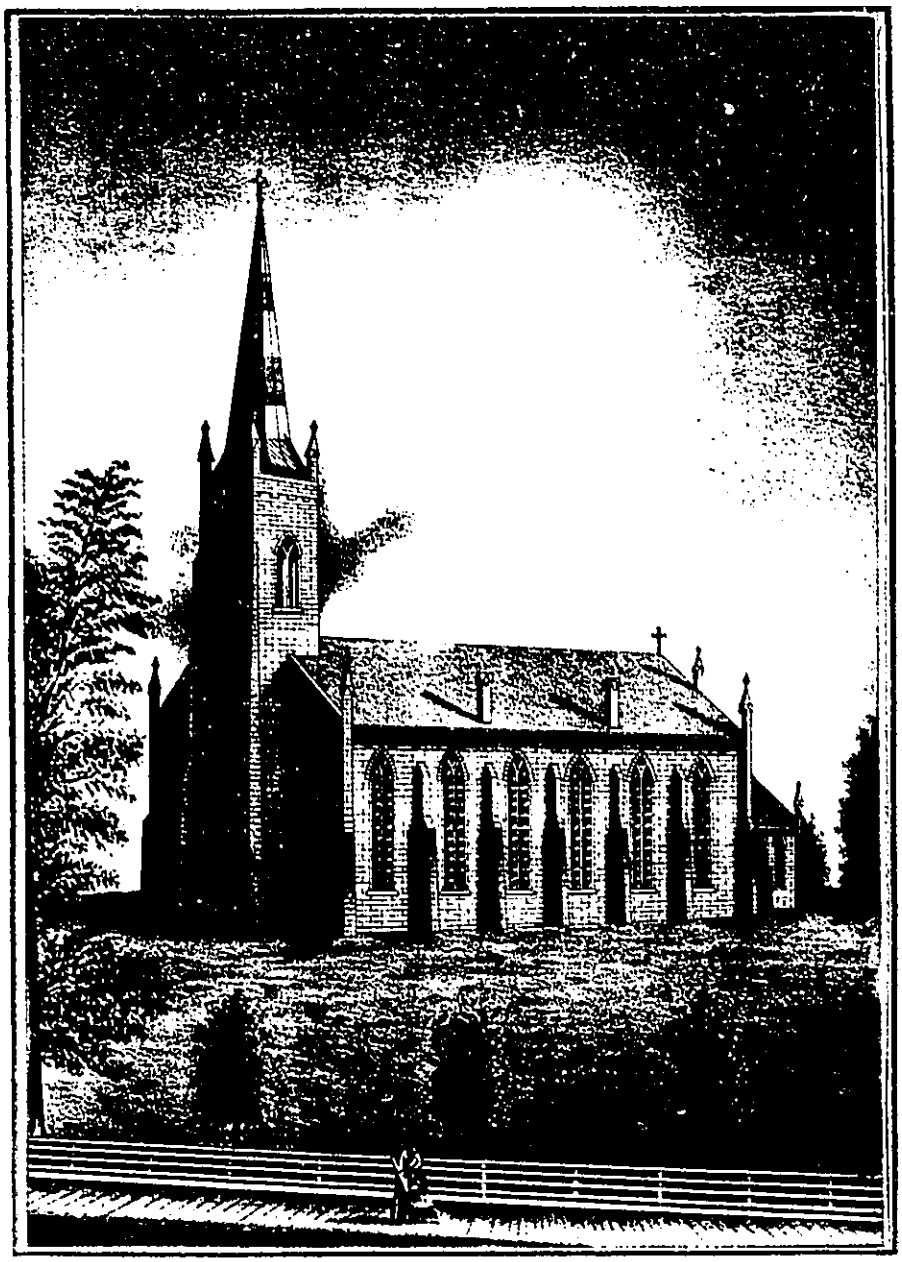


Illustration 89

St. Edward the Confessor Roman Catholic Church, Westport, erected 1859-1861. This was the first of the larger rural Irish Catholic churches to be built in the region. These triumphalist structures were considered by the clergy and laity who built them as enduring symbols of the prosperity and permanence of Irish Catholic settlement in the region. This large stone structure replaced a frame church which was destroyed by fire the very day of its completion, and before that a log church built in 1846. Bishop Edward Horan in 1860 exhorted local Catholics to contribute to the new church because

> they are the children of those pious men whose greatest joy was to erect altars to the God of Saint Patrick. I know they come from a land which after centuries of persecution is covered with churches whose ruins awaken in the mind of the stranger feelings of surprise and admiration....Let me exhort you then, Dearly Beloved, to prove yourselves worthy of the names of Irishmen and of Catholics; to come forward and assist by your liberal contributions to raise up the new church which when completed will reflect credit on your religious and and Catholic feeling.

Source: T.W.H. Leavitt, History of Leeds and Grenville, opp. p. 85.

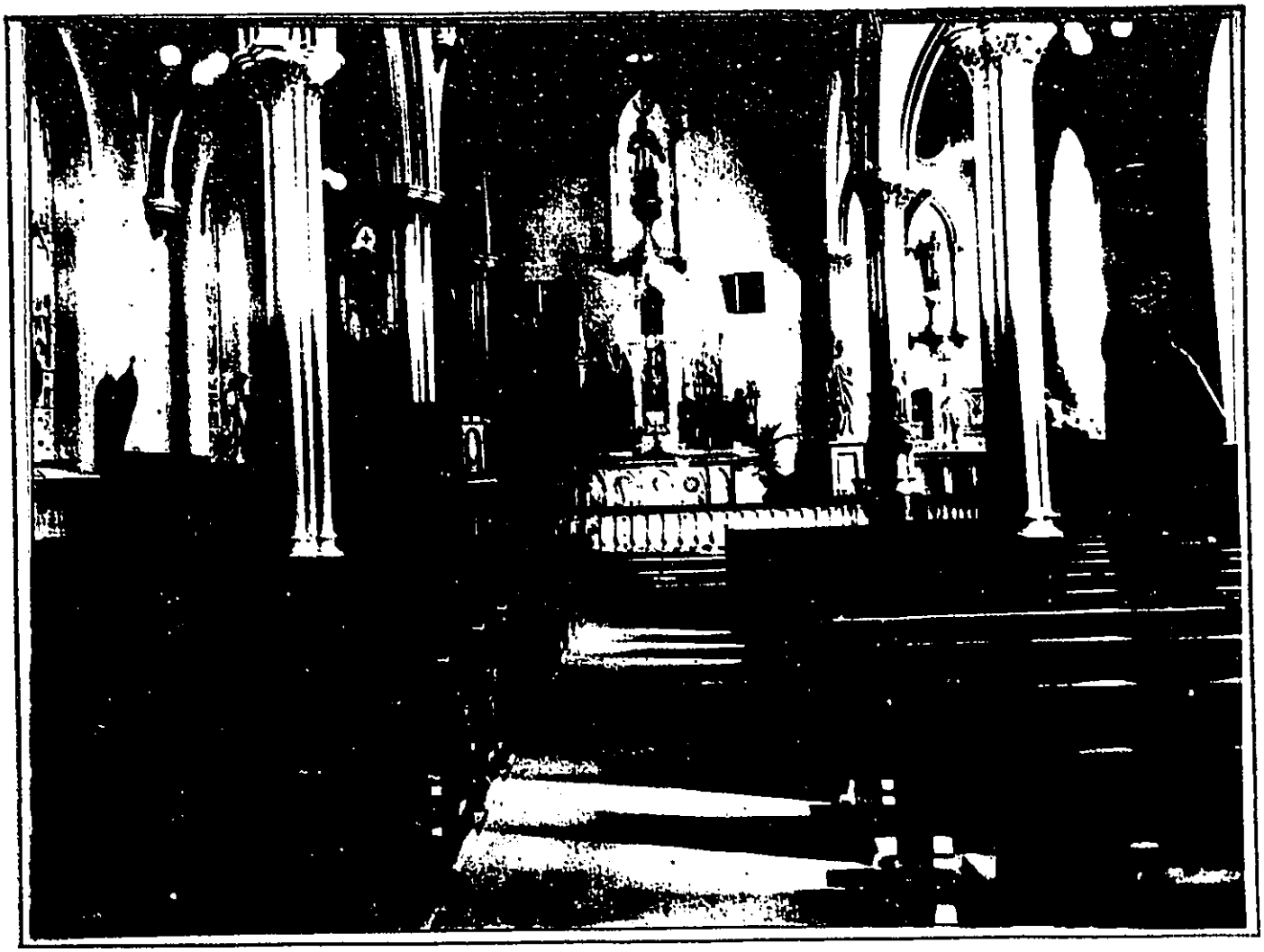


Illustration 90

Interior of St. Francis de Sales Roman Catholic Church, Smith's Falls, erected 1860-1861, as photographed ca. 1895. The sophistication of the large interior spaces of the new Catholic churches, with their stained glass, gothic vaults, statues, stations of the cross, compound Corinthian columns, altar-rails and altar-pieces was matched by the ritual performed within them. When the church of the Parish of Visitation in Gloucester Township was completed in 1861, a ceremony of dedication was performed; followed by High Mass sung by the Curate of the parish; after which a clergyman from St. Joseph's College in Ottawa explained the details of the ceremony "and in eloquent and impressive terms impressed upon his hearers a love of religion and veneration for the altar, and the church—the sacred dwelling of the Lord of Hosts"; following which the cathedral choir from Ottawa performed Mozart's Twelfth Mass and the introduction of Beethoven's "Song of Praise". The combined ambitious Gothic Revival architecture, decoration, music and liturgy in the church at Smith's Falls offered a significant contrast with regional Presbyterian congregations furiously debating whether or not to allow organs in their churches, and with the poor United Church of England and Ireland farmers attending log churches in adjacent Montague Township. The contrast helped to reinforce Irish Protestant insecurity about the growing influence of the Catholic Church in regional society.

Source: St. Francis de Sales Church, Smiths Falls.

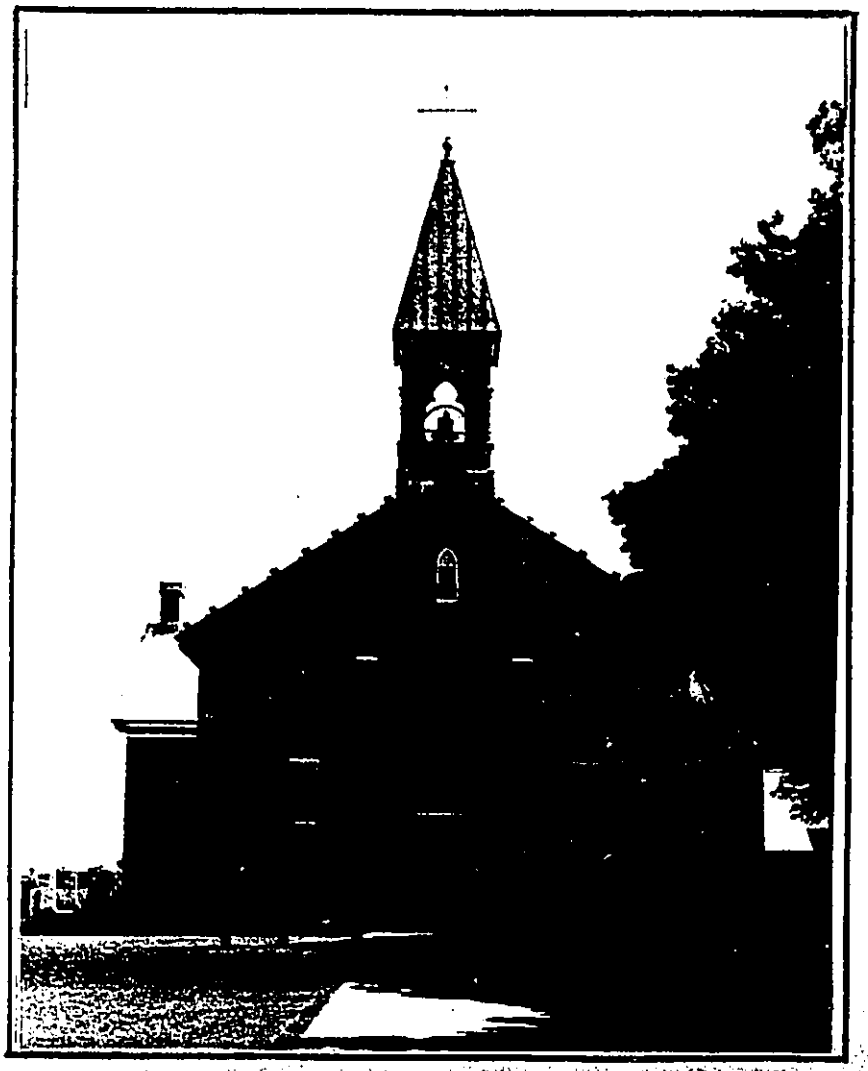


Illustration 91

St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, Fallowfield, erected 1866.

The emphatic religious zeal of Irish Catholics arriving from the 1840s on was evident in the August 1842 letter from several immigrants to the Bytown Gazette inquiring about the lack of Catholic clergy to administer the consolations of religion to dying immigrants. The priest at L'Orignal in August 1848 echoed a common complaint of clergy ministering to congregations containing both Irish and French Canadian members, that "the Irish in general pay their pastor; but among the canadians there is not one family out of ten, that ever paid me a farthing and I believe my predecessors could conscientiously make the same complaint." The Rev. Patrick Phelan, the first Irish bishop of Kingston, imposed a new ecclesiastical rigour on the diocese in May 1846, commanding regional Catholics

> publickly, that altho' [they] are not prevented by the Church to accompany their Protestant Neighbours and friends in...funerals; nevertheless they are forbidden to assist at or partake in religious rites which are different from, and contrary to the doctrine and faith of the Church of Christ. Whenever therefore it may be necessary or becoming for Catholics for fellowship sake to attend at such interments, they are obliged in conscience and obedience to the Church to abstain from joining in such prayers, otherwise they will incur the censure of the Church...until they repent and repair the scandal.

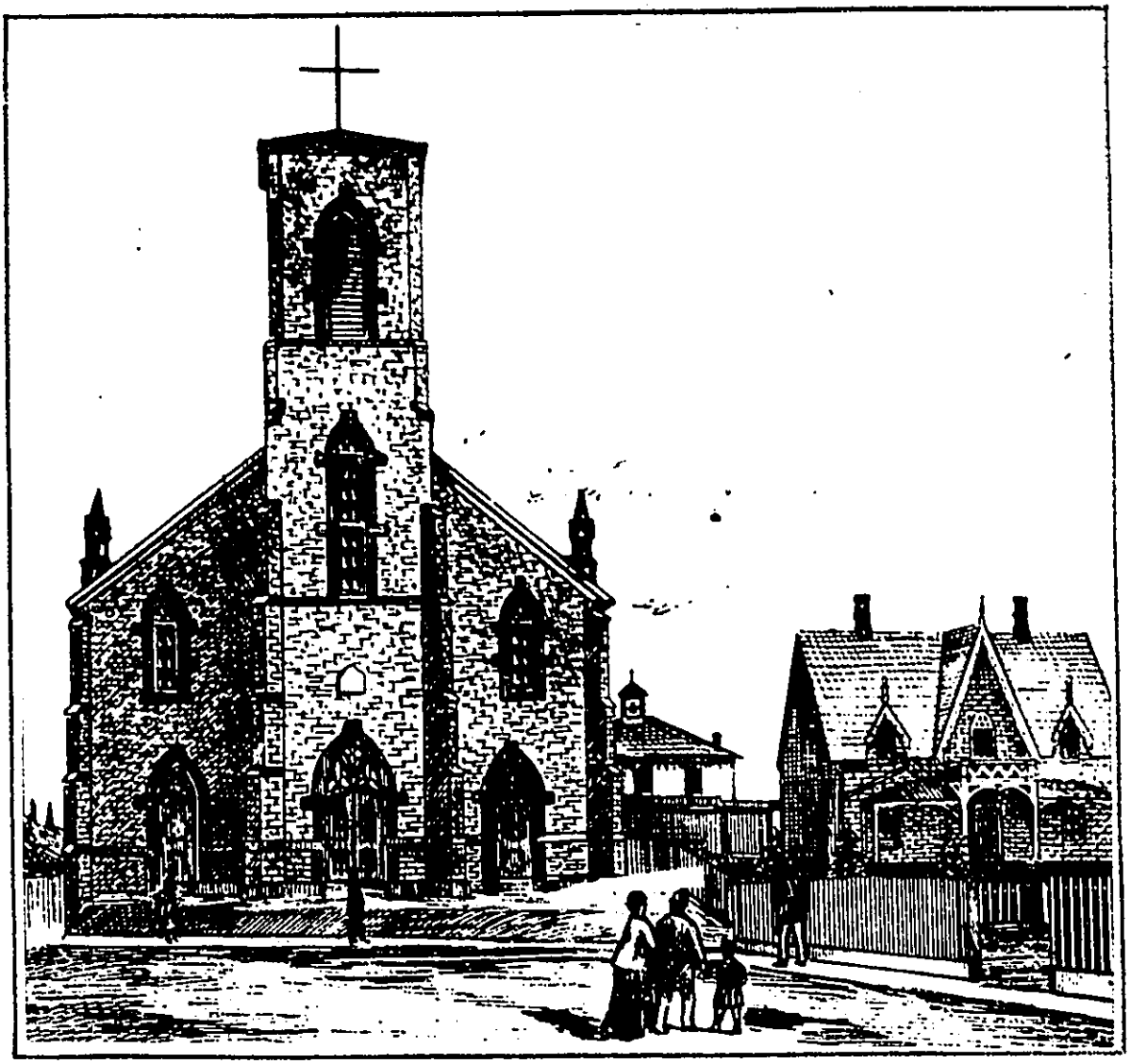


Illustration 92

St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Separate School and Presbytery, Almonte, as engraved in 1878. The large Roman Catholic churches with the separate schools in their shadow were perpetual and monumental reminders of the Irish Catholic immigrant presence and of its political ambitions. The response of regional Protestants was not one of hostility, so much as one of wariness. In expressing disapproval of separate schools in 1850, the editor of the Bathurst Courier hoped that Catholics "will not infer that we are actuated by any ill-will to Roman Catholics. We would give them all the political as well as religious liberty that we can desire for ourselves, but no more." By contrast, a Church of Scotland inhabitant of Lanark County, exposed to the rhetoric of the Toronto Globe in 1856, betrayed fears of undue Catholic ambition:

> (There is to be a convention at Buffaloe by the papists for the purpose of bringing papists from the United states to Canada. [I]t is carried on by them as if it were for the good of Irishmen in general but it is believed that it is only the Papists that they want[.] There has been delegates nominated from Quebec, Montreal, Brantford, Hamilton and Toronto. I believe every one of them are Papists[.]) (They are getting on fast the sly papists.)

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-71805.

APPENDIX XIII

Anglican congregations wholly consisting of southeastern Irish Church of Ireland members preferred to build simple neoclassic auditory boxes designed primarily for listening to the exposition of scripture. They opposed the introduction of ritual and were opposed to incorporating any of the Gothic Revival architectural refinements designed to accommodate such ritual as attempts by English Anglican clergy to coerce the Church of England back into the Roman Catholic Church. Clearly there were strong cultural traditions that set Irish Anglicans apart from English Anglicans.

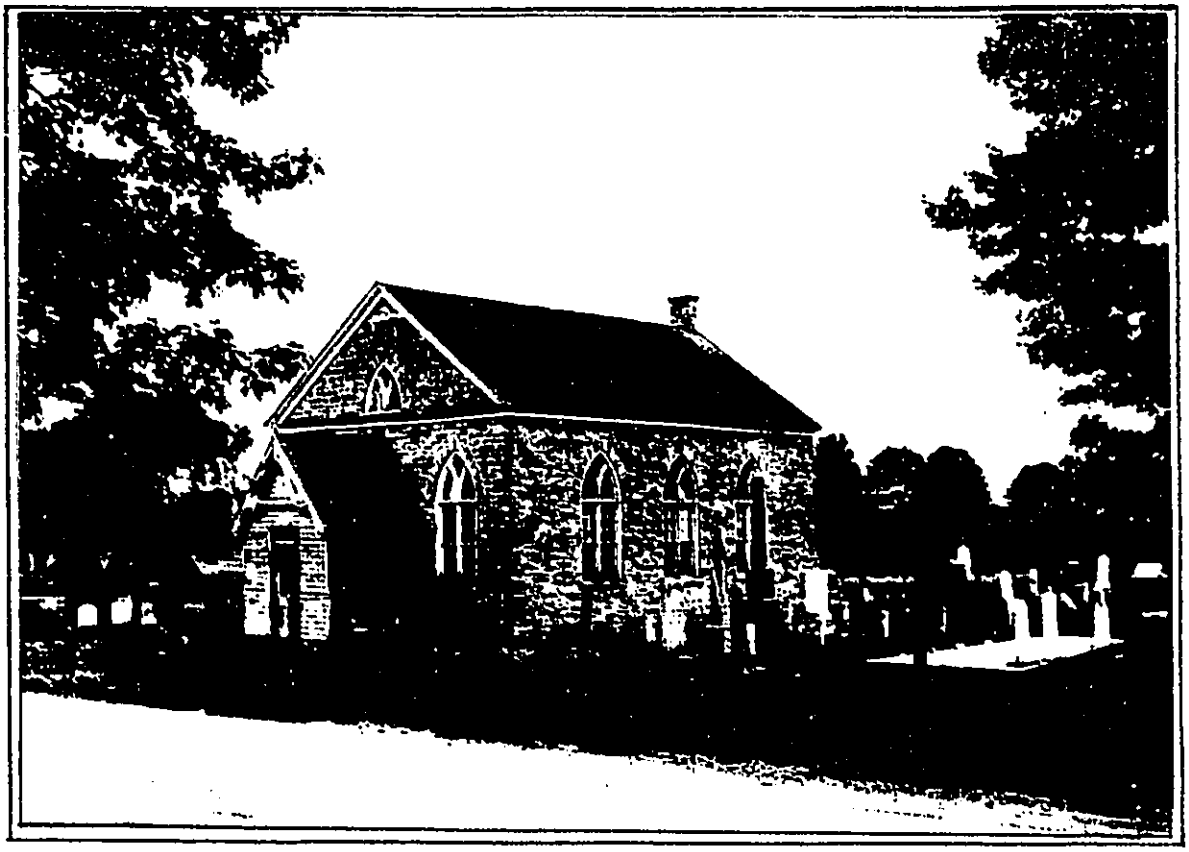


Illustration 93

Christ Church United Church of England and Ireland, Ashton, erected 1845. This small unpretentious structure built at mid-century underlines the continuing Irish Anglican emphasis of constructing churches which were simple auditory boxes, with a simple neoclassically derived pediment. Lacking steeple and tower, the pointed windows alone proclaimed its purpose as a house of worship to the world passing by. Lacking crosses, lacking a chancel, and lacking stained glass, it was a church which conformed to eighteenth century Irish Anglican tradition. Unlike the United Church of England and Ireland churches built throughout the region between 1825 and 1840, this structure was built by voluntary labour and by the donations of the congregation. The rental of pews and the cemetery surrounding the church were eighteenth century practices indulged in by the Irish congregation in this church. Elsewhere in the region, these traditions were being brought to an end by the followers of the English Tractarian movement.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Photograph Division, C-9546.

Illustration 94

Interior of St. Thomas United Church of England and Ireland, Frankville, erected 1859. The Irish Anglican builders of this church gave emphasis to a large pulpit and a large desk, and gave a fine neoclassic design to the pew ends and to the altar rail. The aisle was remarkably wide for such a small church, permitting the Orange parishioners to march in four abreast in military formation on the twelfth of July. The only concession to the new architecture and liturgy beginning to infiltrate regional Anglican churches was to place a large window above the altar, which only served to emphasize the Irish discomfort with Ritualism in that the point of the window poked above the flat ceiling. So pervasive was the regional Irish Anglican discomfiture with Ritualism that Bishop Strachan in 1854 recommended against the assistants of an Irish clergyman in the vicinity of Kemptville being admitted to study for the ministry, because "Low Church is a malady that I have always found incurable and we have too much of it among us already to our great annoyance and detriment."

Source: Photographed by John D. Munro, ca. 1972.

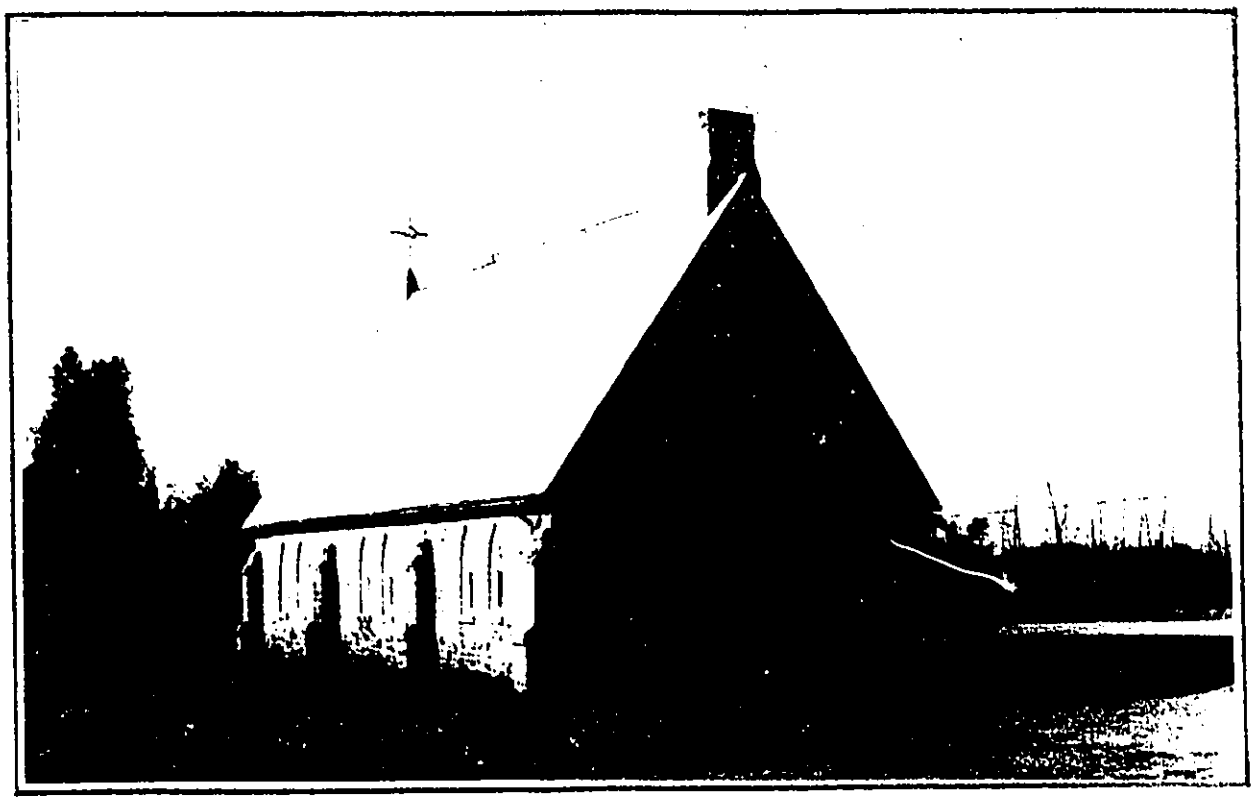


Illustration 95

Rear view of St. Augustine's Church of England at Acton's Corners in Oxford Township, erected 1879. The rear wall of this church provides evidence of the architectural and financial battles that took place between English-origin Rev. John Stannage and his Irish parishioners. Stannage was a whole-hearted proponent of Gothic Revival architecture designed to accommodate the performance of a "Splendid Ritual," justifying it on the basis that "God himself gave a most gorgeous & elaborate ritual to His ancient Church & I am not aware that He ever abrogated it." His Irish parishioners, alarmed that the ritualistic innovations threatened their evangelical Church of Ireland heritage, and alarmed at the cost of the Gothic-Revival structure envisioned by Stannage, raised sufficient funds to build only what Stannage planned as the nave of this church. The recessed arch in the rear exterior wall was intended as the arch between the nave and chancel, and foundation stones at the arch were left projecting to link up with a chancel which was never built. The steeply-pitched roof, the cross at the front, the buttresses and the narrow Gothic windows filled with stained glass were the only Tractarian achievements of Stannage; the Irish congregation had retained the Irish auditory box. At Garretton in northern Augusta Township, the Irish inhabitants refused to subscribe to the church "on the ground that [Stannage] put crosses at the end of every seat." Stannage concluded that his Irish parishioners did "not understand Ch[urch] Architecture."

APPENDIX XIV

English Anglican clergy introduced Gothic Revival church architecture after 1845 over the strong objections of Irish Anglicans who perceived the new liturgy-oriented architecture as representing a threat to their evangelical heritage equivalent to that which Catholic emancipation in 1829 had posed to their favoured political and social position in southeastern Ireland. It did not help that the new ritual and new architecture appeared to be similar to that in Roman Catholic churches.

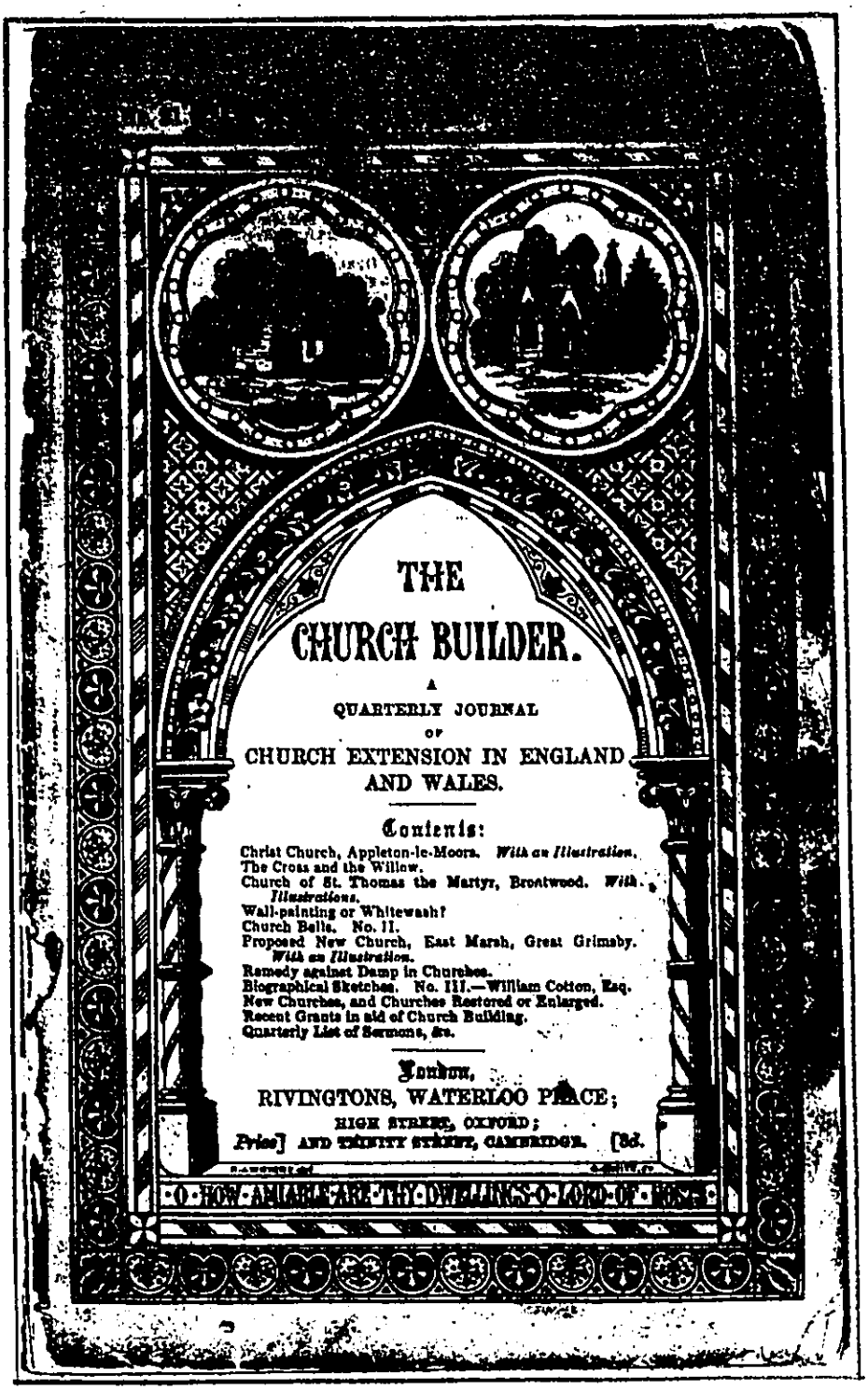
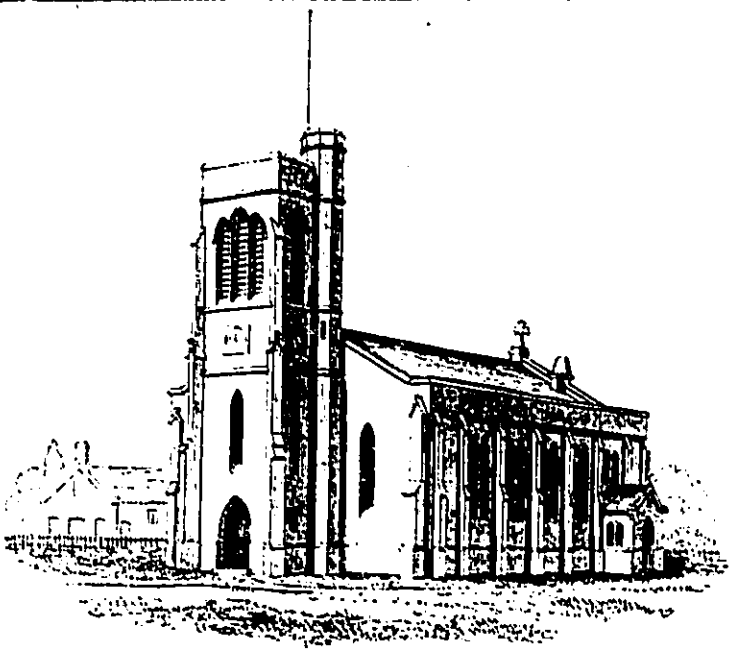
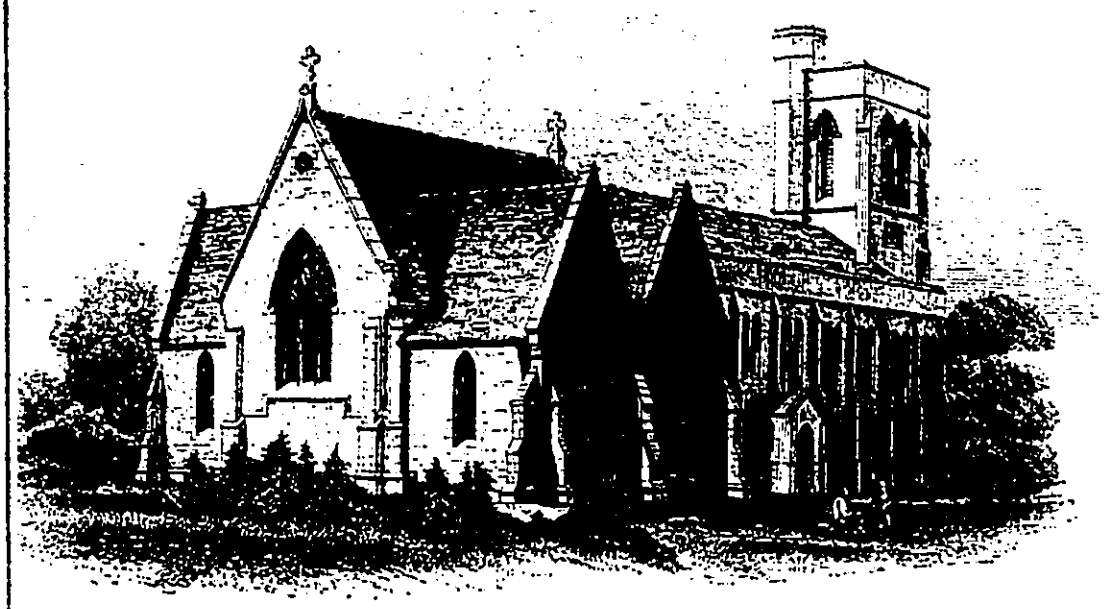


Illustration 96

Cover of a copy of The Church Builder dated January 1867 found in Christ Church Anglican Church, Montague in 1979. This monthly publication was part of a new emphasis in the Church of England to be more meaningful in the lives of its members rather than simply an arm of the state church charged with inculcating political loyalty.



Brentwood Church.



Brentwood Church Enlarged.

Illustration 97

Engraving of Brentwood Church enlarged and gothicised from The Church Builder, January 1867. The recommended transformation of late Georgian churches into Gothic Revival structures capable of accommodating revived mediaeval liturgy spurred United Church of England and Ireland congregations at Brockville, Merrickville and Bytown to add transepts to their churches between 1845 and 1870 (Illustrations 39 and 41).

Source: The Church Builder, January 1867.

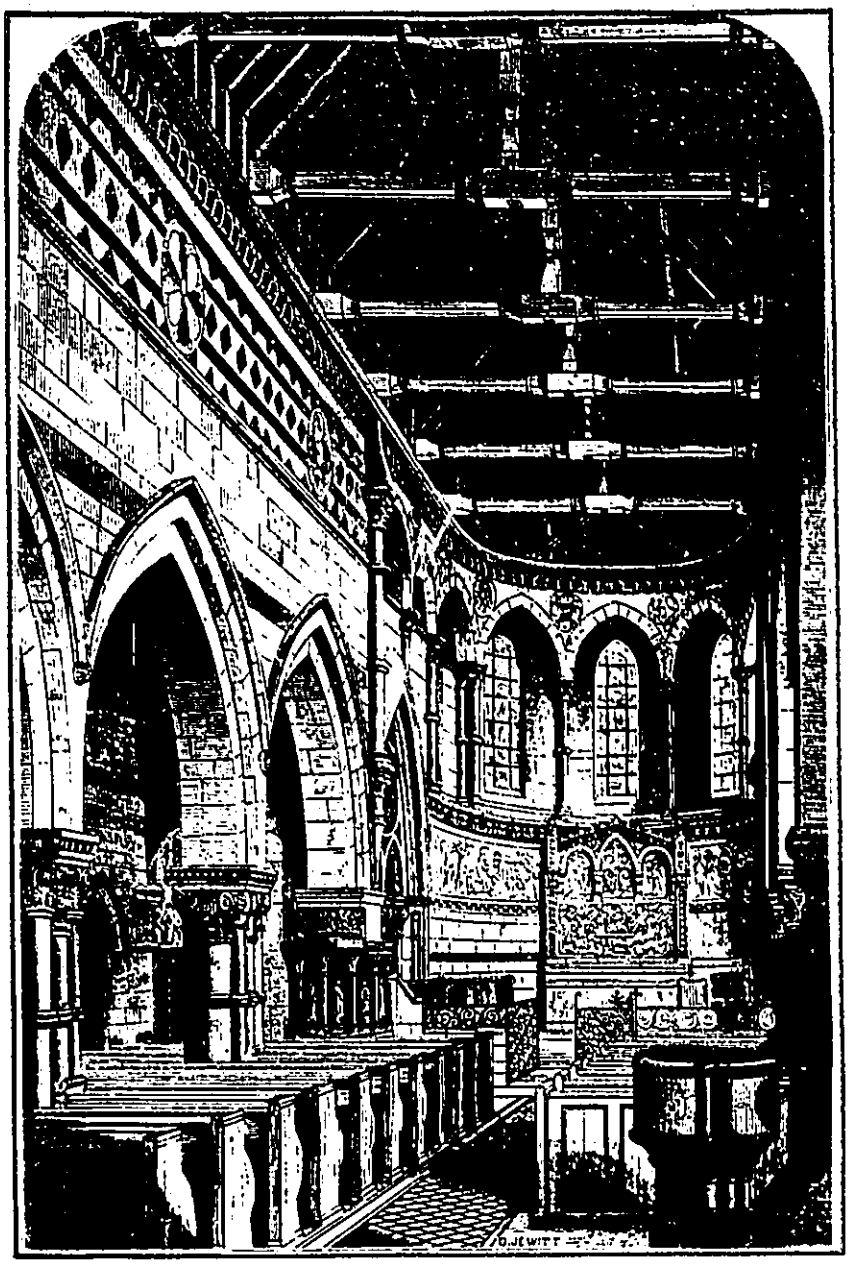


Illustration 98

Engraving of Christ Church, Appleton-le-Moors, from The Church Builder, January 1867. This was the ideal toward which the few prophets promoting Anglican Gothic Revival churches and revived mediaeval liturgy in the regional Irish Anglican wilderness strove. There was symbolical meaning to the materials used and to the placement of items. The baptismal font was placed near the entrance, since it was through baptism one entered the Church. The altar became the visual focus of the interior, with the pulpit to one side to give a new importance to sacrament over preaching. Walls and ceiling no longer were paint and plaster hiding the true structural elements, but rather stone, grained wood, brass and ceramic tile revealing the true structural elements of the church as befitted a house of worship for the true Christian faith. The seats were freely available for anyone to sit in, in contrast with the previous tradition of pews being rented by people of position while the poor either stood at the back, or sat in the gallery. Images, stained glass, candles, elaborate clerical vestments and choral services contributed to the new ecclesiastical ritual.

Source: The Church Builder, January 1867.

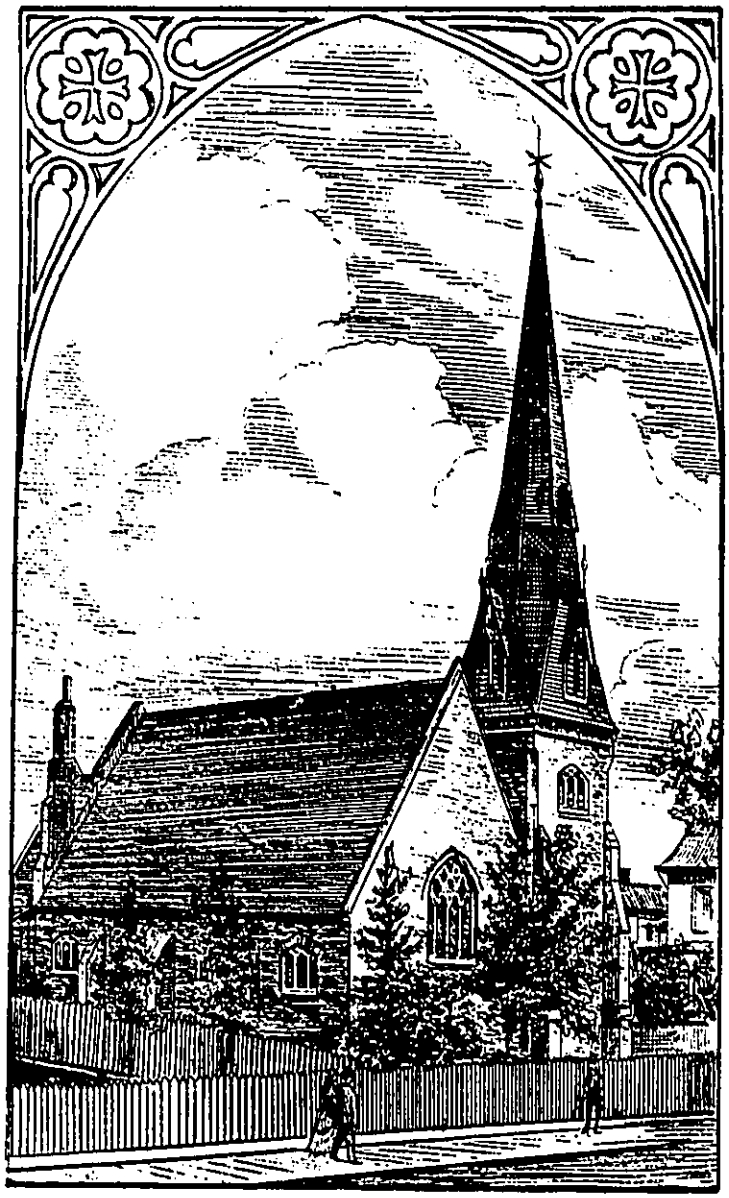


Illustration 99

Exterior of Christ Church United Church of England and Ireland, Gananoque, erected 1857, as engraved in 1879. This was one of the earliest churches in the region to be built fully in the spirit of the Gothic Revival style. It escaped the criticism which most Gothic Revival churches in the region incurred from Irish Anglicans largely due to the diplomacy of Irish-born Rev. John Carroll who was responsible for its design. After Carroll's death in 1881, for two decades there were petitions from Irish parishioners against candles being placed on the altar of this church.

Source: Historical Atlas of Leeds and Grenville, p. 23.

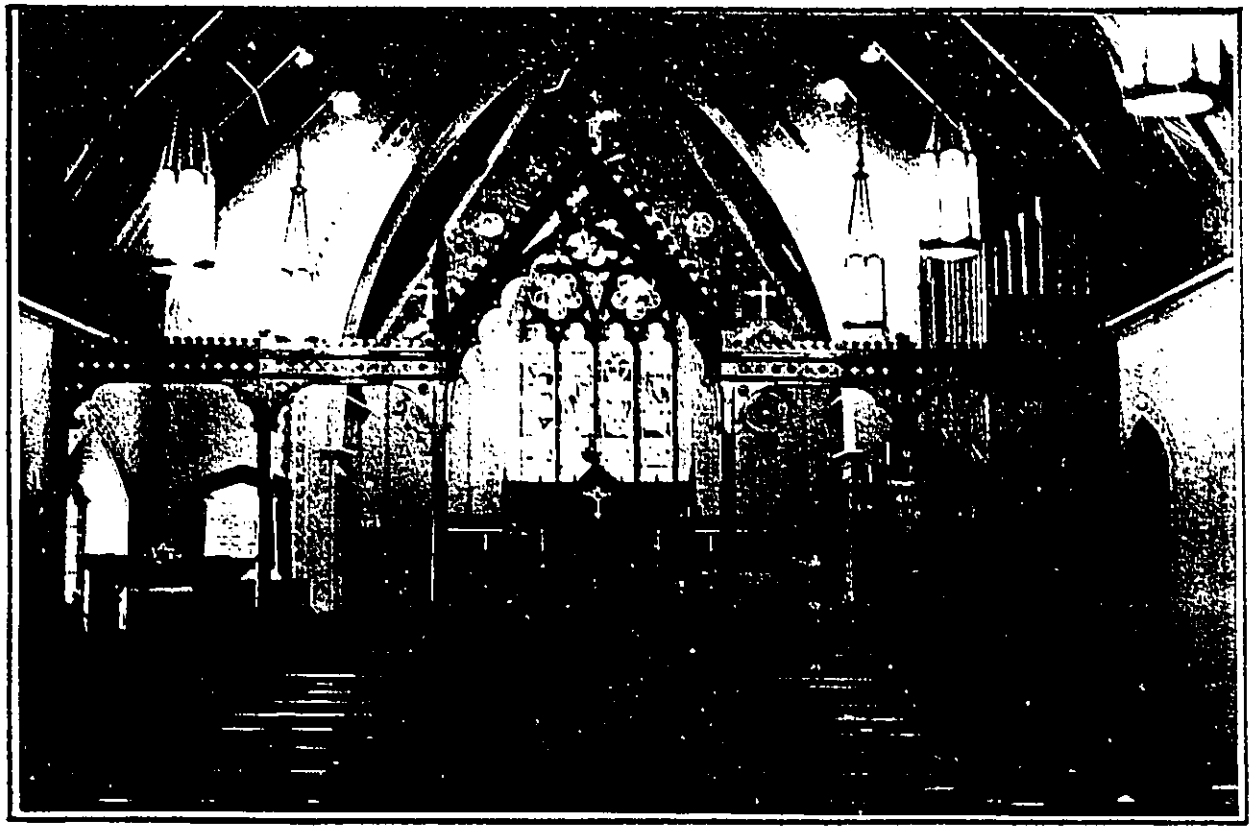


Illustration 100

Interior of Christ Church United Church of England and Ireland, Gananoque, as photographed in January 1987. Interiors such as this, with a proliferation of crosses, the altar given central prominence, and the pulpit shunted back into a corner, sparked fear among regional Irish Anglicans that their Reformation heritage was ebbing. The Brockville British Central Canadian gave voice to these fears with these verses in 1869:

The Ritualist

Who darkness puts for Christian light,
And longs to revel in the night
Of medieval gloom and rite?
The Ritualist.

Who candles lights, and incense burns,
And bows, and genuflects by turns,
While shedding perfume from Rome's urn?
The Ritualist.

Who treats the Word of God at least,
While magnifying saint and feast,
And lauds the Prayer-Book and the Priest?
The Ritualist.

Who sits beneath the Church's dome,
And works his hands like Ghoul or Gnome?
To lure our people back to Rome?
The Ritualist.

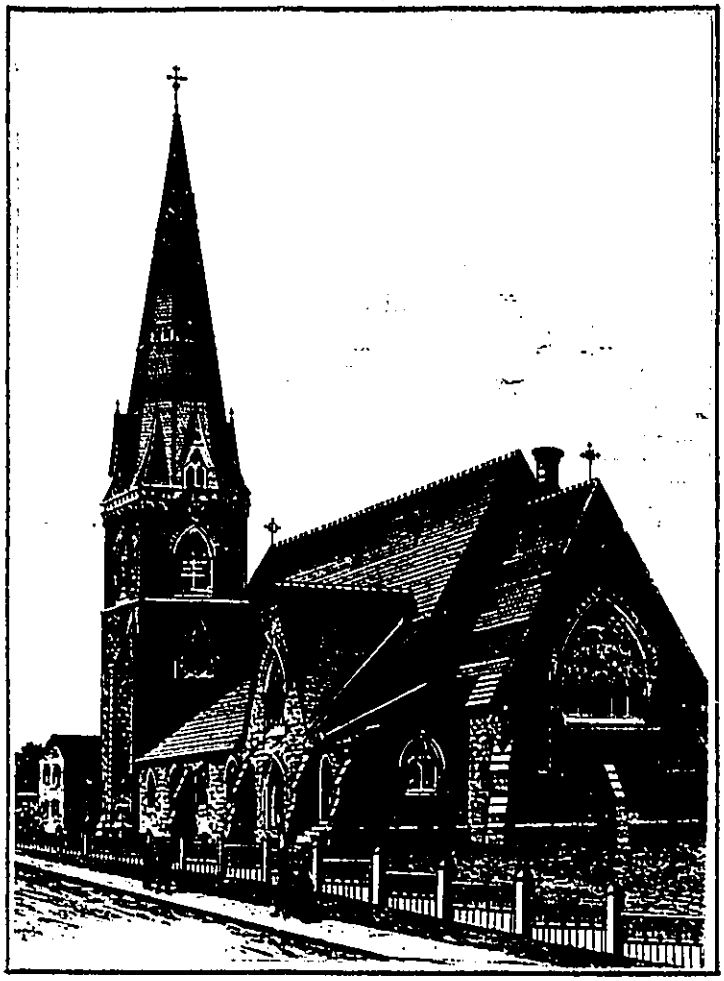


Illustration 101

St. John's United Church of England and Ireland, Prescott, erected 1860, as engraved for the Canadian Illustrated News in 1878. Some of the larger Anglican congregations in the region were divided between Irish members who favoured an evangelical emphasis, and English members who preferred the new appealing liturgy and architecture. At Prescott in 1859, Irish members of the congregation objected to the proposal of a stained glass window with figures in it as a memorial to a recently deceased clergyman, perceiving it to be the type of idolatrous image that they deplored in Irish Catholic churches. The Irish Anglican editors of the Mirickville Chronicle in November 1860 thundered their disapproval of a village merchant who engaged in

> the retailing of idolatrous pictures. We cannot too strongly condemn the man who courts custom after such a manner, imperilling the safety of his ignorant neighbor's souls for a few pence.

English-origin Rev. John Stannage in his travels through the region in 1869, discovered further the evangelical mould of Irish Anglicans in that they "generally did not believe in Apostolic Succession."

Source: J.A. Morris, Prescott: 1810-1967, p. 83.

Illustration 102

St. John the Baptist United Church of England and Ireland, Lyn, erected 1860-1869. There is no more compelling image of the greater strength of the United Church of England and Ireland in building churches before Confederation than the siting of this church on the foundation of the 1807 Elizabethtown chapel, the first Methodist meeting house in the region. The Rev. John Stannage, who laboured for a decade to complete the building of this church, was appalled by the venom Irish Anglican laity expressed against Ritualism at Synod in 1868:

> To me it is perfectly amazing to see the vast amount of ignorance, prejudice, & vituperation existing among one party against another upon the objects of the new Movement. Those who are endeavouring to revive Catholic principles & usages in the Church are accused of holding the carnal coarse presence of Christ in the Eucharist —& this because they do believe what the Church teaches, viz, that the real spiritual presence of Christ is there or that "we verily & indeed eat & drink the body & blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper" that is, in a mysterious & heavenly manner, which cannot be explained but which Faith alone can understand. And [Ritualists] wish to restore a proper respect & reverence for so holy an Ordinance by wearing special vestments on the occasion. All this is called Popery by a large Number of people & hence the desire of the Synod not to press such things, or not to allow them to be used. For my part ...I cannot...see any harm in a Splendid Ritual....

Illustration 103

Interior of St. John the Baptist United Church of England and Ireland, Lyn, erected 1860-1869. Irish Anglicans and other Irish Protestants misread the new Gothic Revival interiors that visually focussed on the altar as part of a sinister campaign by ambitious higher Church of England clergy "to indoctrinate the people, in order that they may induce them to go to Rome." Irish Anglicans deplored the passing away of the evangelical heritage of the Reformation before the new "Romish gesticulations and prostrations" of clergy wearing green and white silk gowns, swinging censors, elevating the Host, genuflecting, processions of choristers in surplices, boys carrying crosses, intoning of prayers, lighting candles, confession, absolution of sins, and even prayers for the dead.

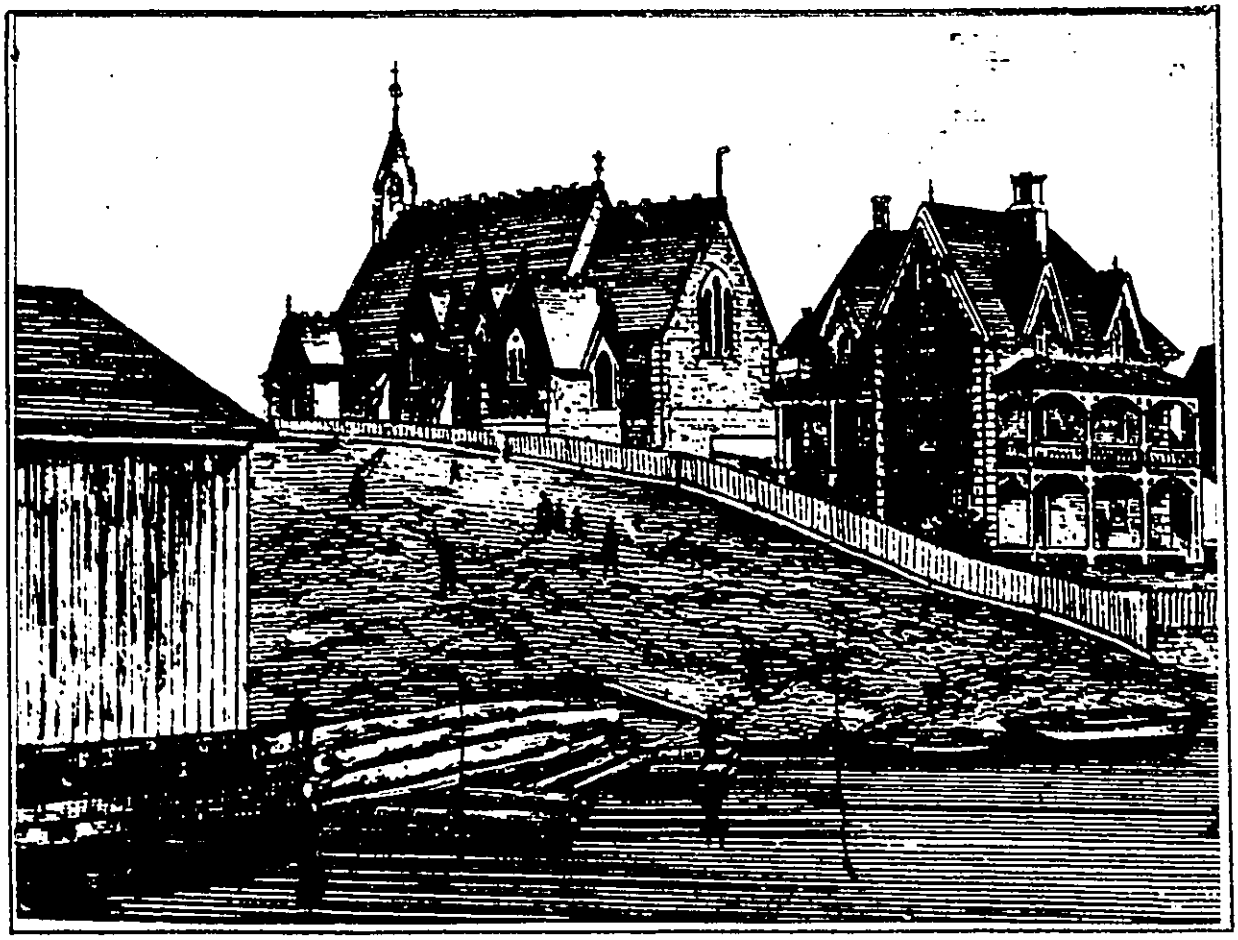


Illustration 104

St. Paul's United Church of England and Ireland, Almonte, erected 1863, as lithographed for the Canadian Illustrated News, 1878. This church was built according to the plans for the church at Lyn (Illustration 102). The Carleton Place Herald described the new church at Almonte when it was consecrated in late June 1864:

> The church is of Gothic design, built of a very durable and handsome stone, obtained in the neighborhood, and ornamented with cut-stone cornices, mullions, &c., of stone obtained from the Perth quarries, and is an ornament not only to the neighborhood in which it is erected, but to the Diocese at large, as it is generally admitted to be the most perfect in ecclesiastical architecture of all the country churches in the Diocese of Ontario.

Local Orange Irish Anglican industrialist James Rosamond, who chaired the committee selecting this design and who personally financed three-fourths of the cost of its construction, was one of a few Irish Ritualists denounced by the Orange order for "ap[ing] Roman Catholic rites and ceremonies" and for being "a secret foe in our midst...more dangerous than an open enemy without."

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-71801.

Illustration 105

St. John the Evangelist United Church of England and Ireland, Oxford Mills, erected 1869. One of the finer rural Gothic Revival churches built in the region before 1870, this structure resulted only after protracted disagreements between English-origin Rev. John Stannage and his Irish Anglican parishioners. In late July 1866 Stannage confided to his journal:

> To my great dismay the Building Committee have refused my plans for the church at Oxford Mills ostensibly on account of the expensiveness. I only asked them to erect the nave of a Church which would not cost more than $2000 & they want to build a whole stone church for $1500!!

In contrast with the church at Acton's Corners (Illustration 95), Stannage's elaborate plan at Oxford Mills won out over the objections of the Irish Anglican parishioners. In addition to the parsimony of his Oxford Mills communicants, Stannage found Irish Anglicans in Marlborough "who have not been at Church for 15 or 20 years," but on the whole "was much pleased to see signs of life in every mission" as shown in Montague "where a Log Church was full of poor farmers who seemed to take much interest in the object of our meeting." By 1868, Stannage was heartened even to find working people attending church.

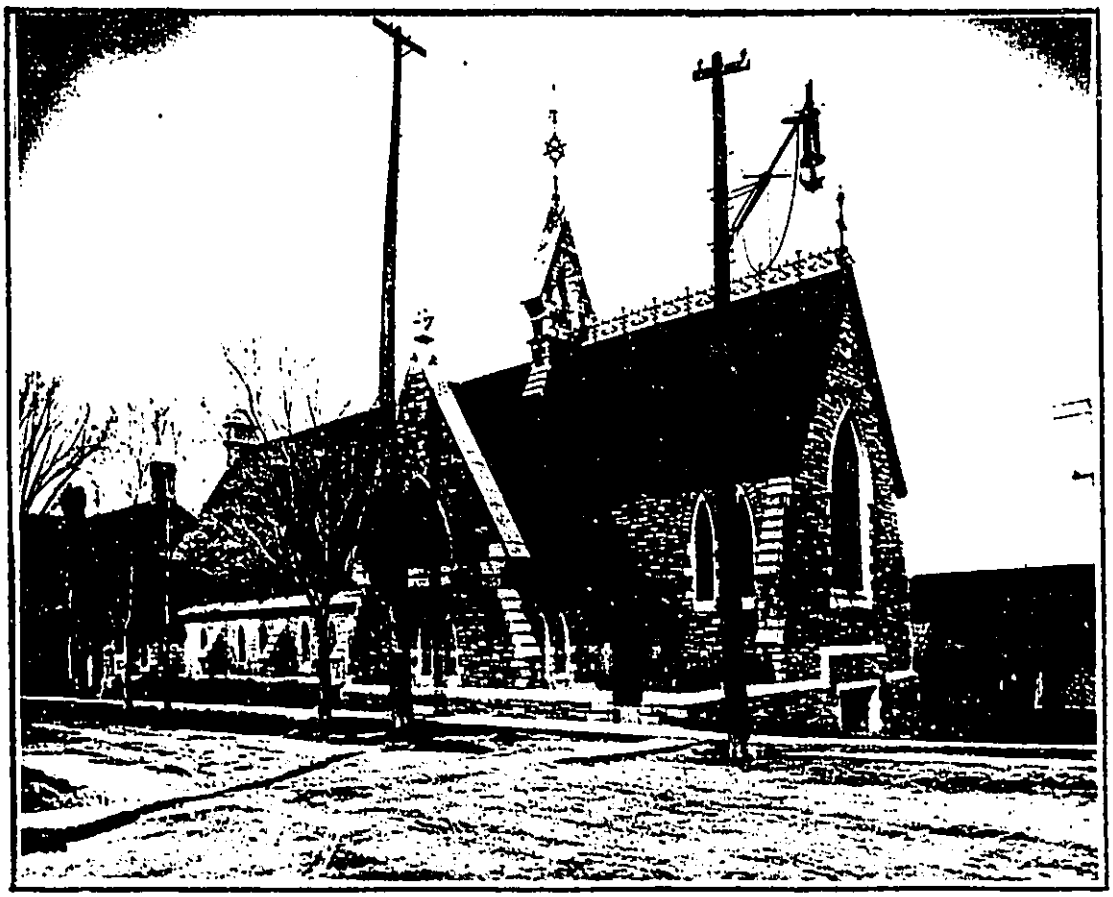


Illustration 106

St. Alban-the-Martyr United Church of England and Ireland, Ottawa, erected 1867, as photographed in May 1897. This was the height of Ritualist aspirations in eastern Upper Canada before 1870. When Ritualist Rev. John Stannage visited this church in 1868, he was pleased to find daily morning and evening services being conducted. Irish evangelical members of the parish chafed at the introduction of intoning the responsive readings as a "whining and sickly substitute for honest and healthy congregational response [and as] merely the thin edge of the wedge making space for further fickle innovations." The very name of this church conjured up other churches of the same name in England and Vermont that were in the vanguard of Ritualist experiment. In St. Alban-the-Martyr Church in Vermont, the Carleton Place Herald reported in November 1866:

> The altar was approached by eight steps, having three candlesticks on each, and at the extreme ends were vases of flowers. A boy entered and deposited part of the Eucharistic elements on the table, with low genuflections, then another boy and a priest, with more, who went through still greater genuflections. One man was seen to cross himself devoutly, and another, bowing before the altar lit three of the candles. The door of the vestry opened and a procession was formed, of choristers in surplices, and headed by boys carrying crosses, the processionists arranging themselves on each side of the altar. Then a priest entered who intoned the prayers, the greater part in such a low mumbling tone of voice that the words could not be distinguished. When the intoning began, a chorister entered, and after bowing lit the remaining candles. The church bell was also made to take part in the ceremony, and the priest made the sign of the cross with the bread on the palm of the communicant!

Source: Public Archives Canada, Photograph Division, PA-9061.

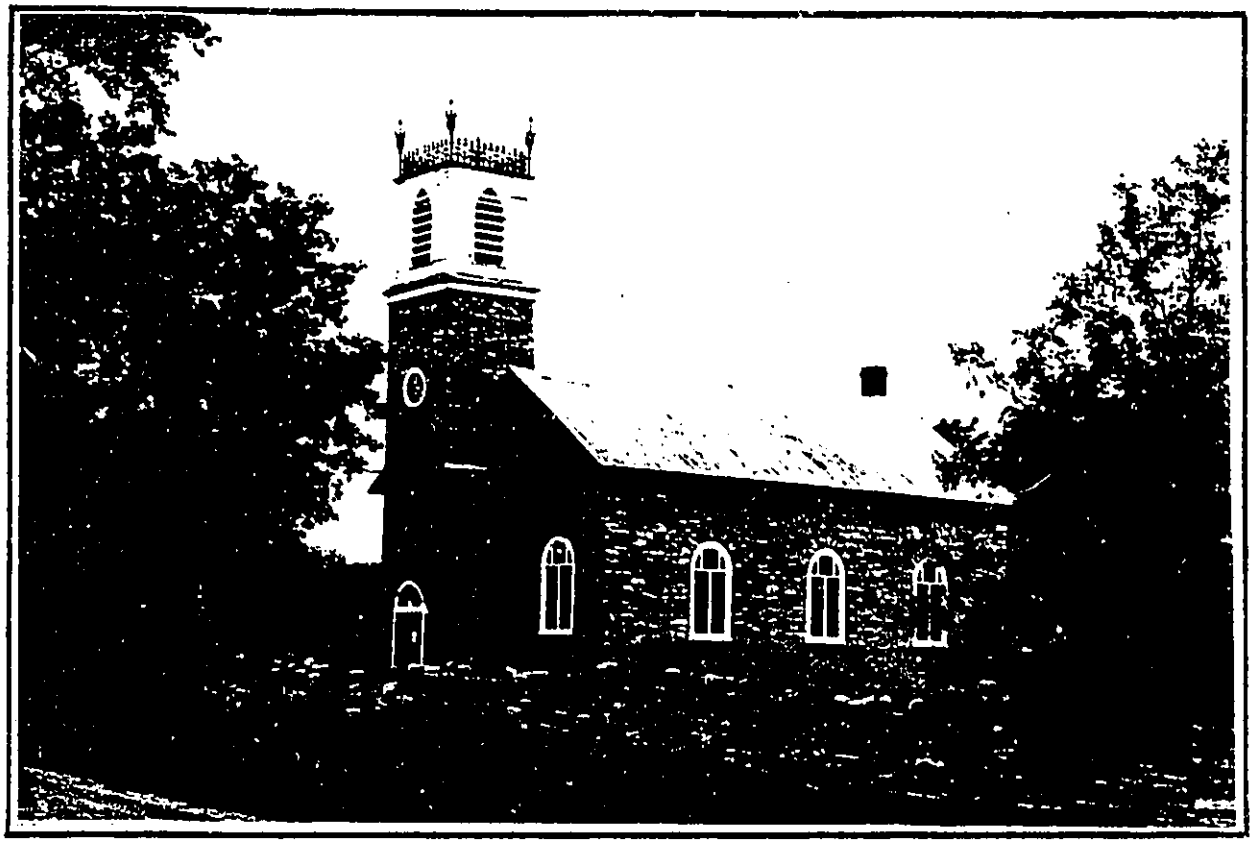


Illustration 107

St. James United Church of England and Ireland, Franktown, erected 1827, after gothicising in the mid 1890s. By 1900 few regional Anglican congregations remained unaffected by Ritualism. Even the stolidly evangelical Irish congregation at Franktown to keep up with the times, removed the old gallery at the rear, installed stained glass bearing images over the altar, ripped off the neoclassic pediment above the front door, and tacked on a Gothic-arched belfry to hang the new bell in. An elderly Irish-born member of this parish disapprovingly wrote of Ritualism in 1903:

> As a Prayer-Book Churchman, I find it difficult to speak of this deadly disease in measured terms. It is simply Popery without the Pope; a complete reversal of the English Reformation.... Our colleges, text-books, literature are saturated with the poison. In general the teaching is tainted, its trend being ever more and more towards Mediaevalism and away from the principles of the purest age. Its apostles repudiate the Pope, and would fain persuade the people that this is proof of their freedom from popery. This is a most Jesuitical falsehood. There is not a Romish tenet which they do not roll as a sweet morsel under their tongues.

APPENDIX XV

From the mid 1840s on non-Irish voluntarist congregations and denominations emulated the more sophisticated architecture of Irish Catholic and Irish Anglican churches, revealing a concern not to be perceived as less sophisticated or less wealthy than Irish-origin inhabitants.

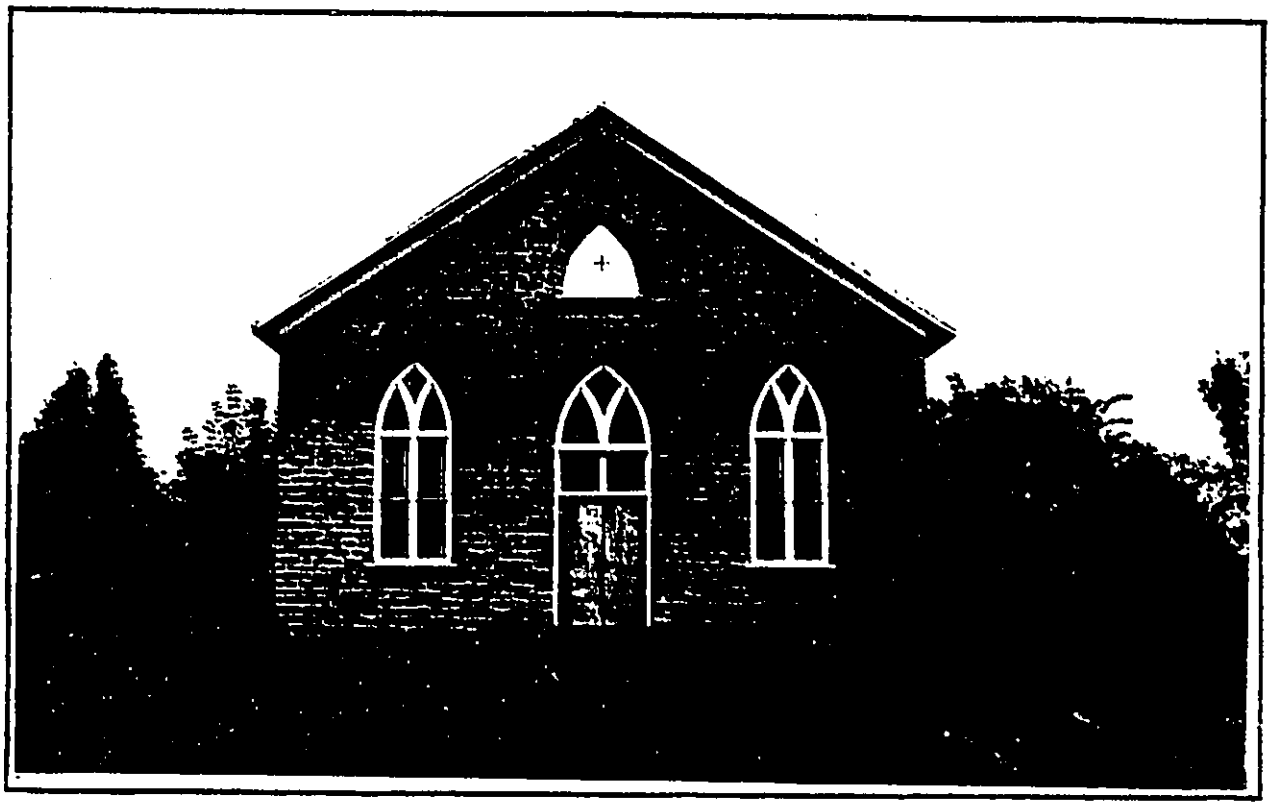


Illustration 108

Free Presbyterian Church, Black's Corners, Beckwith Township, erected 1845. The houses of worship constructed by voluntarist denominations between 1845 and 1868 contrasted with the plain meeting-houses in which they had worshipped previously. This rural structure compares with earlier churches built by Roman Catholic, Church of Scotland and United Church of England and Ireland congregations (Illustrations 47, 51 and 93). As a vernacular structure it lacked their neoclassical pediments, eave returns and mouldings, but the pointed windows on this auditory box clearly declared its purpose as a house of worship for a Christian denomination.

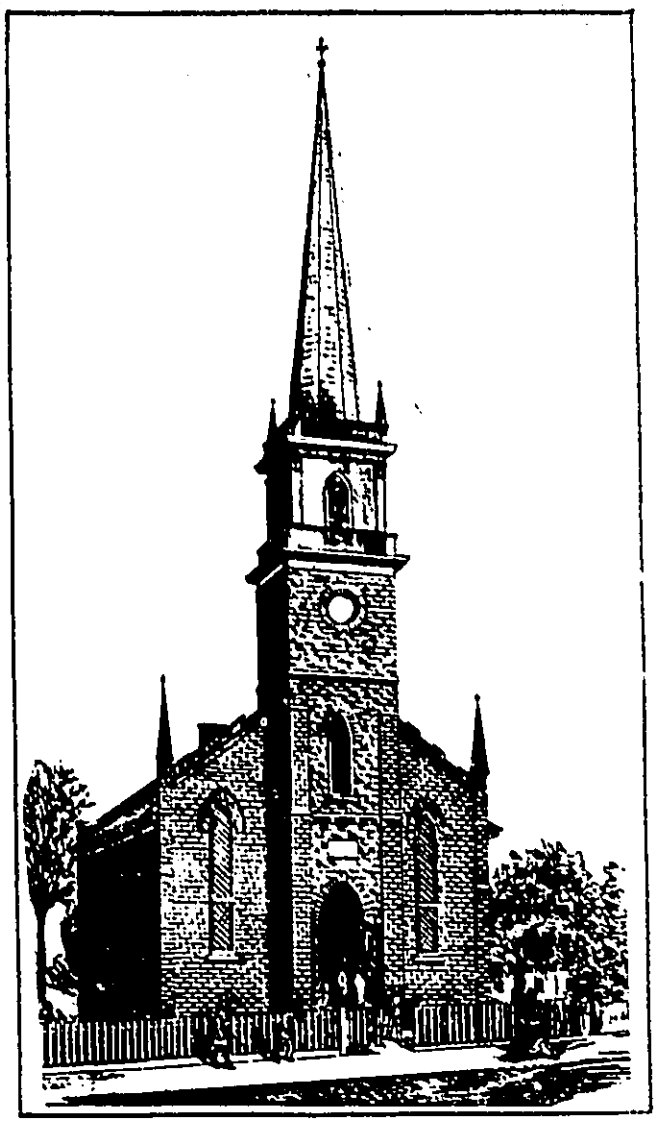


Illustration 109

Presbyterian Church, Prescott, erected 1849, as lithographed for the Canadian Illustrated News in 1878. The splintering of Presbyterian and Methodist denominations in the 1830s and 1840s prompted congregations in the same locality to vie one with another in building handsome churches that were ornaments to their community. The large stylish new churches reflected the devotional revolution in regional society, as church attendance became a measure of respectability "so as to get a general good name" and a means of passing "a part of Sunday since it is always considered a long day." The editor of the Bytown Packet marvelled in January 1846 that the fine new Free Presbyterian Church in Bytown was "erected within six months [for] a... congregation...organised on a dissent of not much over two years standing, and complete in all its parts." He perceived that voluntarists at mid-century were "steadfastly determined to make great sacrifices at the shrine of independence and conviction in the erection of new churches and support of clergymen."

Source: J.A. Morris, Prescott: 1810-1967, p. 19.

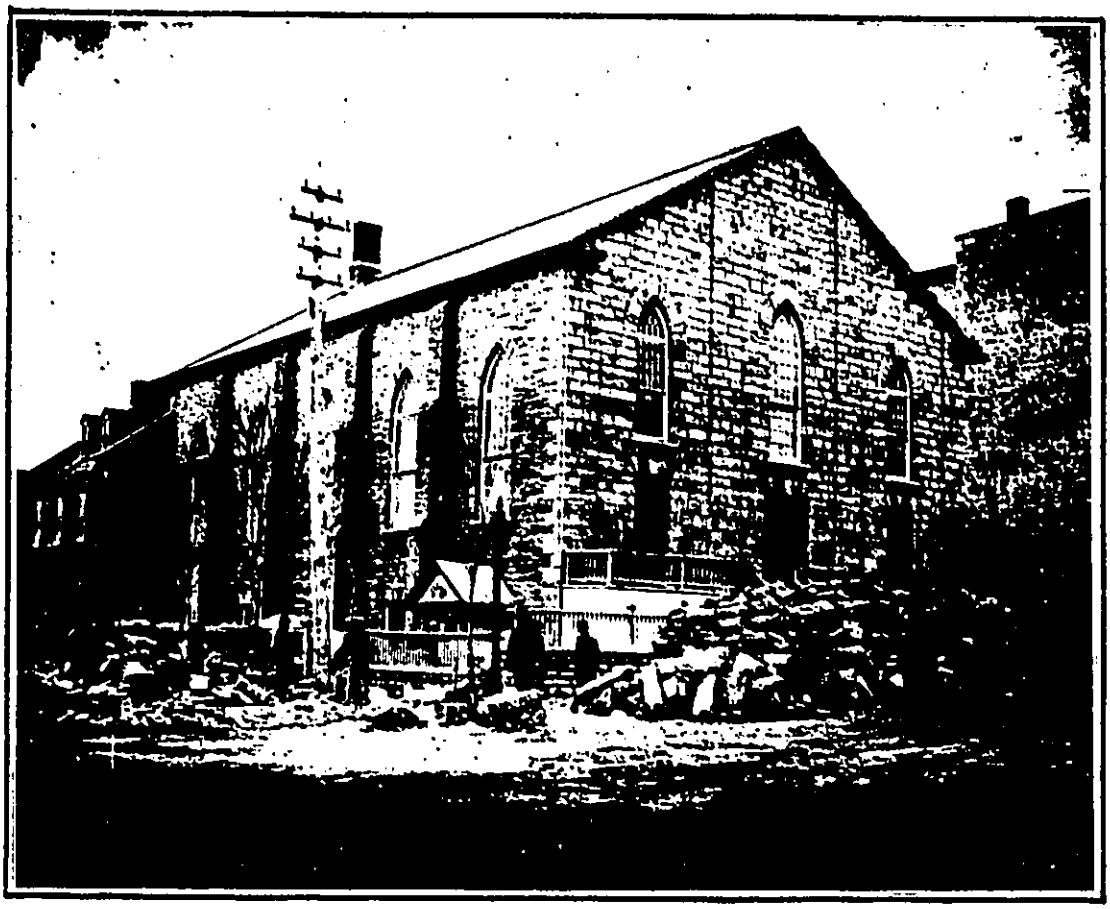


Illustration 110

Wesleyan Methodist Church, Bytown, erected 1853, as photographed in March 1875 prior to demolition. As late as the mid 1850s most Methodist churches erected in eastern Upper Canada were simple rectangular structures with the single design criteria of holding as many people as possible. In the 1850s voluntarists began thinking of themselves as members of enduring churches, an idea reflected in the more durable stone houses of worship and emerging use of architectural components such as pointed windows. The new churches contrasted with the older meeting-houses, reflecting a new concern with taking a rightful place in the community in addition to the concern of obtaining personal salvation.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Photograph Division, PA-9287.

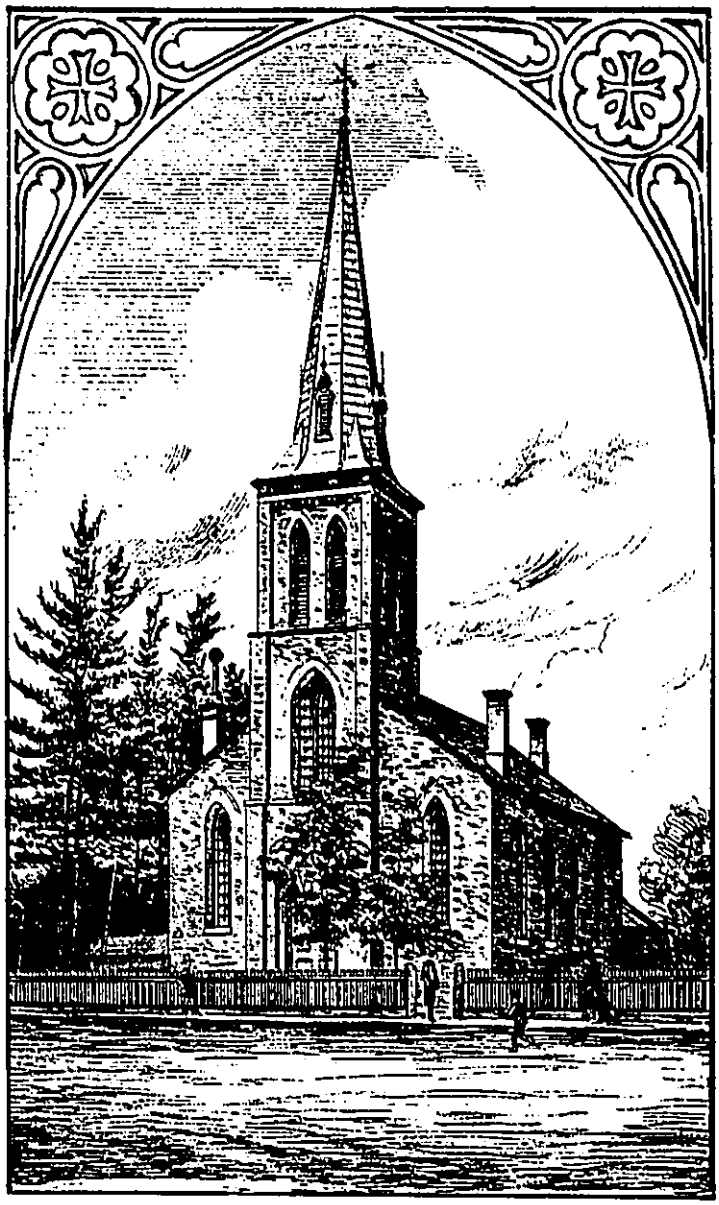


Illustration 111

Free Presbyterian Church, Gananoque, erected 1855, as engraved for the Canadian Illustrated News, 1879. The ambitious new churches erected by voluntarists, as Clyde Binfield has pointed out, reflected the emergence of civic pride among people long deprived of the means of exercising it. In allaying the qualms of Free Church Presbyterians at Perth about their stylish new church, the editor of the Bathurst Courier remarked in September 1855:

> But the possessing a handsome and commodious place of worship is not the sole end and aim of erecting the new Church. It is to be hoped...that...while the present edifice gives unmistakeable indications of the temporal prosperity of the people, that evidence equally as unmistakeable will be afforded of their spiritual prosperity.

Source: Historical Atlas of Leeds and Grenville, p. 23.

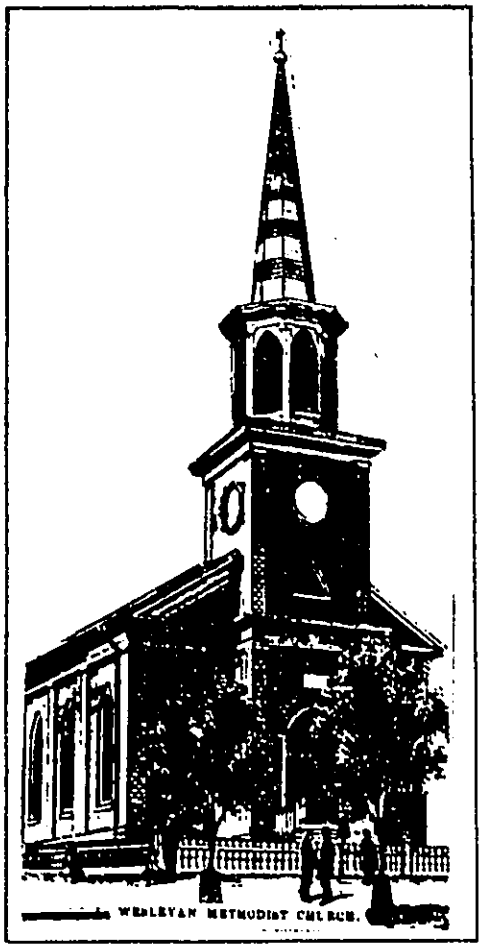


Illustration 112

Wesleyan Methodist Church, Prescott, erected 1855. The increasingly ambitious architecture of the voluntarist churches constructed from the mid 1840s onward strove to maintain a balance between stylishness and not falling prey to what were considered the extravagances and fripperies of Tractarian Anglican and Catholic church design. Hence the editor of the Bytown Packet in January 1846 praised the new Free Presbyterian Church at Bytown for respecting this balance of simplicity and good design:

> The site upon which the church is built could not be more commanding.... The front is of the Doric order of Architecture; and the sides Gothic. The interior of the church is chaste and simple—being sufficiently carved not to offend the eye of taste or the criticism of the puritanical. The pulpit is elegantly chaste, being pure Gothic. The entirety of the Church is chaste without being barren; and is capable of seating 600 persons comfortably. 150 of these can be seated in the gallery.

The Wesleyan Methodist church at Prescott sought this balance of elegance and chasteness, restraining its Gothic arches under a Greek pediment, and "with the exception of some ornamental work in the ceiling," keeping the interior "plain and very neat."

Source: J.A. Morris, Prescott: 1810-1967, p. 84.

Illustration 113

Wolford Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Wolford Township, constructed 1822, as gothicised in 1860. The American-origin members of this Methodist congregation felt that their primitive old meeting-house compared so feebly beside the large stone Irish Roman Catholic and stylish United Church of England and Ireland churches built in the 1850s, that they pulled out the galleries, replaced the plain windows with pointed ones, pitched the roof to a steeper slant, and placed a tower at the front complete with small picturesque turrets and pointed spire. A new perception had arisen among regional voluntarists that they must keep up with the more identifiably Irish denominations, and that their churches must be a credit to their neighbourhoods.

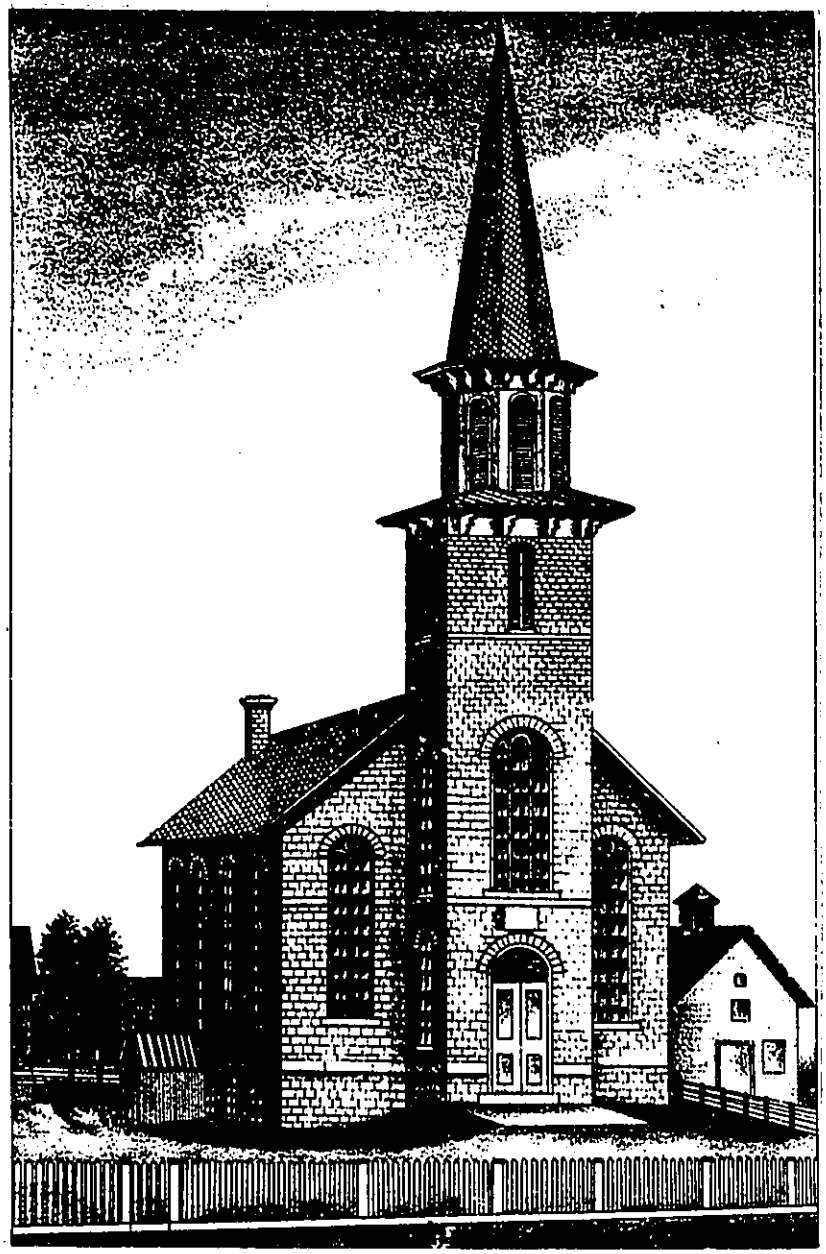


Illustration 114

Wesleyan Methodist Church, Farmersville (now Athens), erected 1863. The design for this church could as easily have been produced in mid eighteenth-century New England as in mid nineteenth-century Upper Canada. Methodist congregations of Irish background proved more resistant than American-origin Methodists to Gothic Revival influences. Neoclassic influences were perpetuated in this church.

Source: Thaddeus W.H. Leavitt, History of Leeds and Grenville, opp. p. 176.

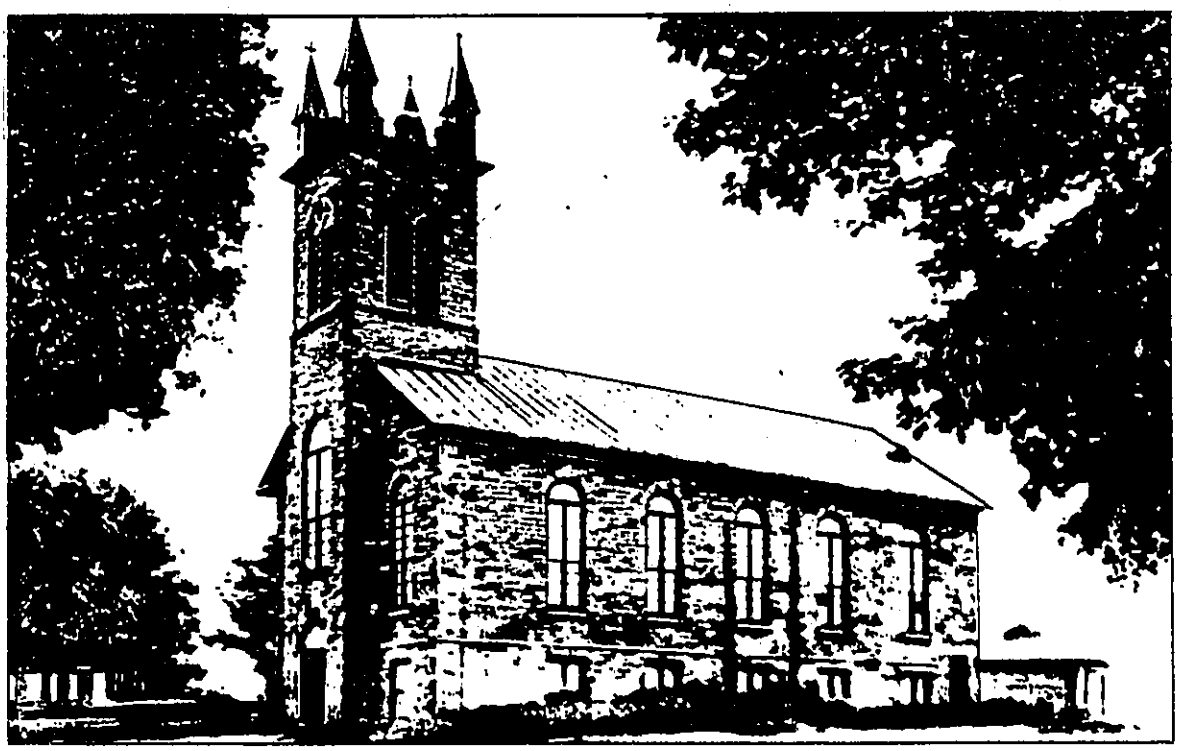


Illustration 115

St. John's Church of Scotland, Almonte, erected 1865. This was one of the few new Church of Scotland churches built in the region between 1845 and 1868. The round-headed windows reflected both a continuing conservative outlook and a preference to avoid the Gothic Revival styling favoured by Roman Catholics and Tractarian Anglicans. When the new Church of Scotland at Lanark Village incorporated pointed windows and a steeply pitched roof in 1860, protracted criticism of its design by members of the congregation dragged on for two years in the Perth Courier. Church of Scotland members were unmoved by the arguments of Free Church Presbyterians about their stylish new churches reflecting a greater spiritual prosperity than existed in the old state-backed churches. The argument of one Free Church Presbyterian along this vein appeared in the Bathurst Courier in September 1855:

> The old [Perth Church of Scotland] church stands yet—as it stood in 1822, and although the congregation is able enough to build a new one, a new one has never been erected. The people have not been accustomed to give of their substance for the support of religion, and it is difficult to induce them to make a commencement. Under the fostering care of State pay they have become callous and indifferent. On the other hand, look at the [Perth] Free [Presbyterian] Church. The old one was erected some eight or nine years ago by voluntary contributions—a Minister has been supported by voluntary contributions; and as soon as the old Church became filled, a new one has been erected, all by voluntary contributions, not a cent of State-pay has been received—not a farthing of the Clergy Reserves proceeds or commutation money, has been received either by people or Minister.... Which of the two affords the most striking evidence of the progress of religion? State-pay or Voluntaryism?

Source: Public Archives Canada, Photograph Division, C-44025.

APPENDIX XVI

A new concern to provide universally available education from the late 1840s on attempted to ensure that Irish immigrants would be assimilated to the Canadian way of life, rather than risk having another Ireland replicated in Upper Canada.

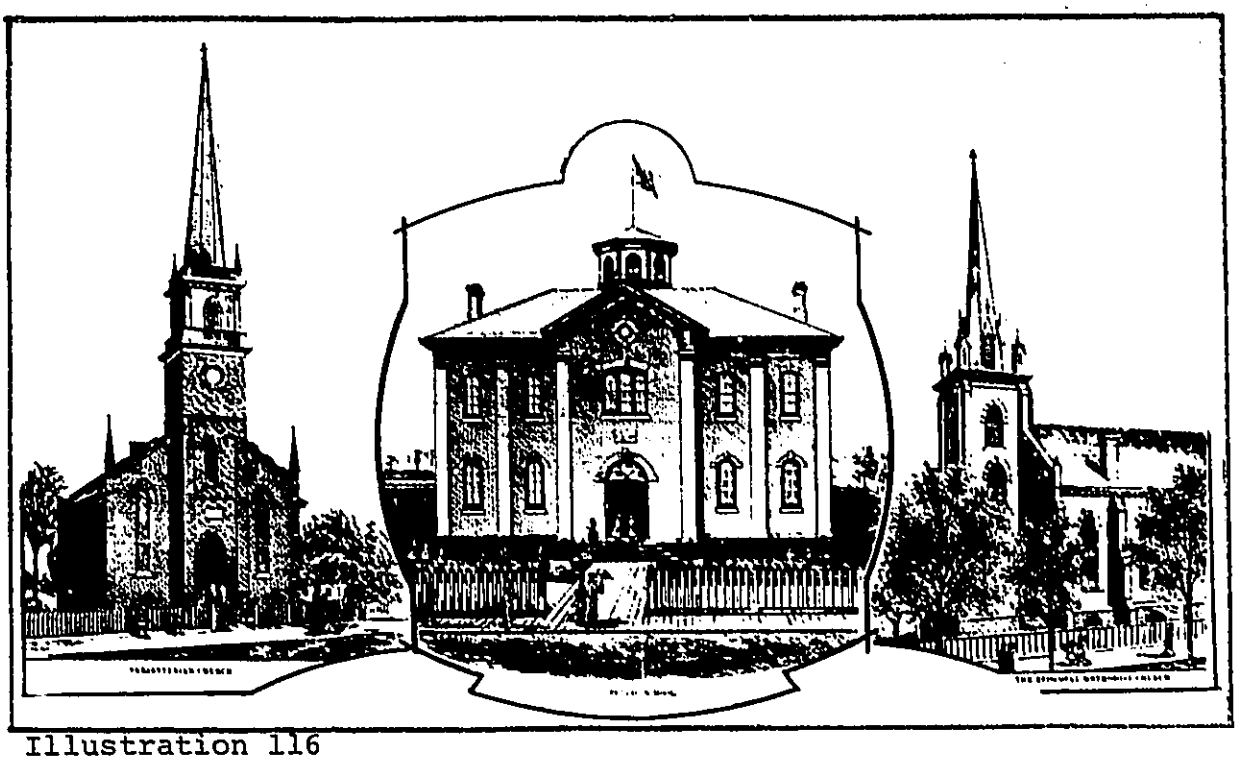


Illustration 116

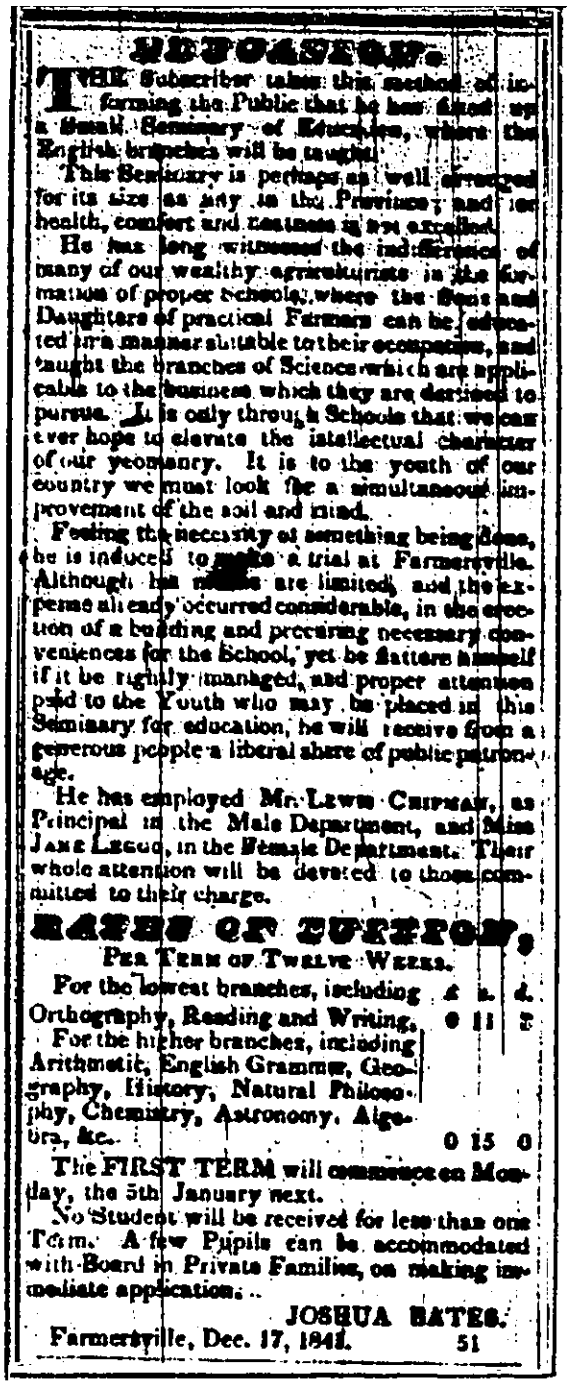
Prescott Public School, erected 1867, appropriately framed by the Presbyterian and Episcopal Methodist churches, as engraved for the Canadian Illustrated News, 1878. Regional American and Scottish-origin inhabitants assumed that universally accessible public education would remove any potential for Irish Catholic Famine immigrants to replicate their legendary propensity for violence in Canada. "What", inquired the editor of the Ottawa Evening Post in December 1865,

> has caused the repeated rebellions and outbreaks in Ireland? Are they not to be ascribed to the ignorance of the people, who are excited to outrage, treason, and rebellion, by designing demagogues, who take advantage of the simplicity and ignorance of the people to gratify their own sinister purposes? What is Fenianism, but the child of ignorance?... Educate the Irish people as they ought to be educated, and no such shameless and villainous conspiracy [could have been organised] to disburb the peace and happiness of the people of Ireland....

It was imperative that the blessings of education be secured "to the children of our yearly increasing Immigrant Population", argued Hannibal Mulkins of Pakenham in the Bathurst Courier in April 1850, since they

> must eventually give to Canada its tone, its morals, its religious feelings, its character, and in fine, entail upon it a destiny, hopeful or inglorious.... Many may prove blessings in the places where they settle, others may bring with them indolence, ignorance, pauperism, and vice.... The physical distress and death which have accompanied [the] influx among us [of 100,000 souls in 1848], may be the precursor of the worst pestilence of insubordination and disorder.... [E]very possible effort should be employed to bring the facilities of education within the reach of these unfortunate people, that they may grow up in the industry and intelligence of the country, and not in the idleness and pauperism, not to say mendicity and vices, of their forefathers.

Source: J.A. Morris, Prescott: 1810-1967, p. 19.



NOTICE.

THE Subscriber takes this method of informing the Public that he has fitted up a Small Seminary of Education, where the English branches will be taught.

This Seminary is perhaps as well arranged for its size as any in the Province; and its health, comfort and neatness is not excelled.

He has long witnessed the indifference of many of our wealthy agriculturists in the formation of proper schools, where the Sons and Daughters of practical Farmers can be educated in a manner suitable to their occupation, and taught the branches of Science which are applicable to the business which they are destined to pursue. It is only through Schools that we can ever hope to elevate the intellectual character of our yeomanry. It is to the youth of our country we must look for a simultaneous improvement of the soil and mind.

Feeling the necessity of something being done, he is induced to make a trial at Farmersville. Although his means are limited, and the expense already occurred considerable, in the erection of a building and procuring necessary conveniences for the School, yet he flatters himself if it be rightly managed, and proper attention paid to the Youth who may be placed in this Seminary for education, he will receive from a generous people a liberal share of public patronage.

He has employed Mr. Lewis Chipman, as Principal in the Male Department, and Miss Jane Leeds, in the Female Department. Their whole attention will be devoted to those committed to their charge.

RATES OF TUITION.

Per Term of Twelve Weeks.

	£	s.	d.
For the lowest branches, including Orthography, Reading and Writing,	0	11	3
For the higher branches, including Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, History, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Algebra, &c.	0	15	0

The FIRST TERM will commence on Monday, the 5th January next.

No Student will be received for less than one Term. A few Pupils can be accommodated with Board in Private Families, on making immediate application.

JOSHUA BATES.

Farmersville, Dec. 17, 1844. 51

Illustration 117

Advertisement for a Small Seminary of Education at Farmersville by Joshua Bates, 1845. In addition to combatting the ignorance and any incipient tendency toward criminality of incoming Irish Catholic Famine immigrants, earlier-settled American and Scottish-origin regional inhabitants already perceived a need to establish schools that would produce "citizens...capable of reading and judging for themselves, independent of the caprice of conservatives, place men, or designing demagogues and he [Ogle Gowan] who gained an ascendancy by...force contrary to the true intent and meaning of our dearest rights to the free and undisturbed elective franchise...by learning at an early age their duty to their creator, their neighbour and the constituted authorities...." Before universally accessible common schools were available in the early 1850s, schools such as the one established by Joshua Bates, offered a Reform alternative to the government schools in which Irish Protestant immigrants presided.

Source: Glenn Lockwood, Joshua Bates, p. 15.

APPENDIX XVII

Orangeism gained unprecedented pan-Protestant popularity from the 1850s onward, ostensibly to counteract the political influence of Irish Catholics in achieving goals such as separate schools.

Orange Lily And Protestant Vindicator.

"I have set Watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace day nor night."

VOL. I. BYTOWN, (C.W.) FEBRUARY 1, 1850. NO. 15

(*From the Constitution and Church Sentinel*)

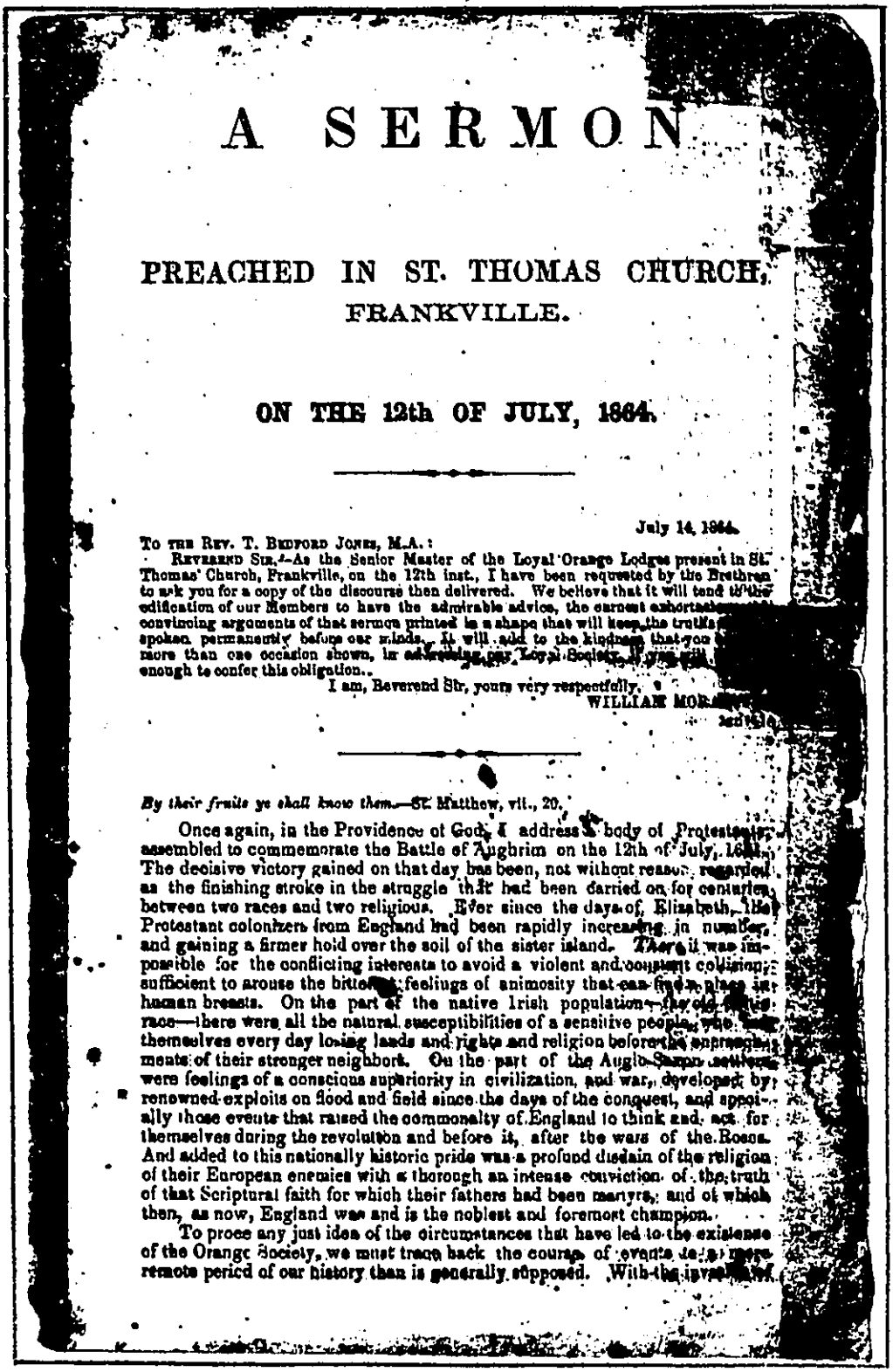
THE TOTTERING OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE—A CONSEQUENCE OF NATIONAL APOSTACY—THE COLONIES—THE *TIMES*.

It is frightful to observe, in the public prints, the manifold evidences of the rapidly approaching overthrow of the British Empire. From every quarter of the globe [illegible] of [illegible], and [illegible] immediate annihilation, daily arise [illegible] decay of everything resembling social prosperity under British rule, and the consequent loud call for, and earnest anticipations of the annihilation of British influence. In Canada, reduced to a state of internal anarchy, and impoverished by the infatuation of the British Government, a cry for annexation with the United States, and for separation from the mother country, is incessantly heard. In the West Indies—impoverished by the abolition of the slave system, unaccompanied by those arrangements which would have made abolition an unmitigated blessing—disaffection to British sway is universal. What is the simple history of the misfortunes of the West India Islands? When the slave trade was abolished, and thus the production of their great staple, sugar, rendered, of course, more expensive, our government, in obedience to the mandates of the free-trade quacks, opened our ports to the importation on an equalized duty, of the slave-grown sugar of Cuba and Brazil; and thus, of course, extinguished the trade of our fellow-subjects, and reduced them to hopeless poverty. But our misgovernment and political neglect or delinquency did not stop there. No constitution but that of Africans can sustain labor in the sugar plantations of the islands of the Caribbean Sea; and when the slave-trade was abolished, Jamaica and the rest of those islands were shut out of that constant supply of "hands," which had previously been yielded by the yearly importation of fresh slaves from Africa. A paternal government would have procured annually the introduction of some twenty or thirty thousand free Africans to supply the labor market. Not only, however, did our government neglect this duty, but they would not allow the West Indian proprietors to send for help to Africa themselves, although abundant means to prevent foul play could have been employed. Thus does our misgovernment, at the same time, augment the cost of raising sugar in our own colonies, and the difficulty of disposing of it when raised. What wonder is it that hatred of the English sway pervades the West Indies—that as a late, well-written Jamaica paper says, "The bonds of love and friendship [illegible] are severing. We are becoming not only indifferent, but averse to our fellow-countrymen at home!" In Australia the cry for separation is loud and urgent; while the Cape of Good Hope is almost in a state of rebellion. How long may our great East Indian Empire last? Almost every year involves us, by the outbreaking of some new war, in the expenditure of countless treasure, and of rivers of British blood; while a gigantic rival stands almost upon our very frontier, to seize the earliest moment to enrich his hordes of northern barbarians with the spoils of Calcutta and Bombay, of Hyderabad and Seringapatam. But these are not the most appalling features of the time. While from North and south, from east and west of the vast British Empire the cry of complaint is heard, and the clamour of disaffection to the government of Fatherland resounds, what do we see? Absolute infatuation on the subject prevailing at home! The quacks who have, by their unprincipled policy, all but overthrown the Irish Church, and shaken the pillars of that of England—who have spread Popery and demoralization like a pestilence, so that the cry of crime and superstition calls aloud to heaven for vengeance—who have reduced our merchants to bankruptcy, our landlords to destitution, and our labourers to a morsel of bread, as the alternative for actual starvation—who have annihilated our trade, and ruined our agriculture, are now declaring that our colonies had *better* be surrendered at once! This is actually the chorus which the *Times* is practising factionists to chaunt, and preparing the government to reduce to a political reality. Article after article appears in that journal, arguing for the reasonableness of surrendering the colonies; for it comes to that. Forsooth, our trade with the United States is now great, or greater, than if the whole continent of America were, as it once was, a British dependency; and, by a parity of reasoning, if all our colonies were disunited from the mother country, it would be better for all parties. "Verily there is a God that judgeth the earth." Of a truth "The people or nation that forgets thee shall perish." Well might the seer of ancient [illegible] exclaim—Whom God would not? [illegible] of [illegible]—glorious mission—a message from the Almighty himself. Her people were called English, in latin Angli, or (writ short), Angeli—i. e., Messengers—i. e., Missionaries. Accordingly, England became the depository of God's truth, and the central residence of God's holy Church, after it had, as it was predicted it should, shaken off the yoke of "that man of sin," the Roman Antichrist. When Britain had thus done—she that was, in point of territory, infinitessimal, merely the largest of a northern group of Orkney or Shetland Islands, a better sort of Guernsey, or Jersey, or Achill; contemptible, in fact considered in relation to her territorial extent; she won or received enfranchisement from heaven, and then heaven gifted her with a race of giants, with a giantess at their head. The great Elizabeth laid the foundation of our colonial empire. She it was who incorporated the East India Company; she stimulated the discoveries of enterprising navigators. She was attended by spirits who gave us souls of her subjects dimensious proportionate to a glorious destiny. Her era introduced, and was followed by a growth of heroes. Bacon, Burleigh, Drake, Raleigh, Shakespeare, Spencer, Milton, Anson, Cook, Clive, and countless others lived under a dispensation of British faithfulness, and were made subservient to raise up the edifice of British power, for the purpose of bringing all the world under a dispensation of British power, for this purpose with a single eye made the glory of God and the spread of the Gospel her one great aim, for this cause tied up her children, with this purpose animated her statesmen, as subservient to this purpose employed her warriors, not to coerce conscience, but to.

Illustration 118

Title-page of the 1 February 1850 edition of the Bytown Orange Lily and Protestant Vindicator. This tabloid, published from 1849 to 1853, appealed primarily to the fears of Bytown area Irish Anglicans who perceived the Irish Catholic and French Canadian Reform alliance to pose an unprecedented numerical and political threat. It chastised provincial Orange leaders for being politically allied with Catholics at the same time the Church of Ireland seemed in danger of being overthrown.

Source: Mrs. Judy Burns, Ottawa.



A SERMON

PREACHED IN ST. THOMAS CHURCH, FRANKVILLE.

ON THE 12th OF JULY, 1864.

July 14, 1864.

To the Rev. T. Bedford Jones, M.A.:

Reverend Sir,—As the Senior Master of the Loyal Orange Lodges present in St. Thomas' Church, Frankville, on the 12th inst., I have been requested by the Brethren to ask you for a copy of the discourse then delivered. We believe that it will tend to the edification of our Members to have the admirable advice, the earnest exhortation, convincing arguments of that sermon printed in a shape that will keep the truths spoken permanently before our minds. It will add to the kindness that you [illegible] more than one occasion shown, in addressing our Loyal Society, if you will [illegible] enough to confer this obligation.

I am, Reverend Sir, yours very respectfully,

WILLIAM MOR[illegible]

[illegible]

By their fruits ye shall know them.—St. Matthew, vii., 20.

Once again, in the Providence of God, I address a body of Protestants assembled to commemorate the Battle of Aughrim on the 12th of July, 16[illegible]. The decisive victory gained on that day has been, not without reason, regarded as the finishing stroke in the struggle that had been carried on for centuries between two races and two religions. Ever since the days of Elizabeth, the Protestant colonizers from England had been rapidly increasing in number, and gaining a firmer hold over the soil of the sister island. There it was impossible for the conflicting interests to avoid a violent and constant collision; sufficient to arouse the bitterest feelings of animosity that can find a place in human breasts. On the part of the native Irish population—the old Celtic race—there were all the natural susceptibilities of a sensitive people, who saw themselves every day losing lands and rights and religion before the encroachments of their stronger neighbors. On the part of the Anglo-Saxon settlers were feelings of a conscious superiority in civilization, and war, developed by renowned exploits on flood and field since the days of the conquest, and specially those events that raised the commonalty of England to think and act for themselves during the revolution and before it, after the wars of the Roses. And added to this nationally historic pride was a profound disdain of the religion of their European enemies with a thorough an intense conviction of the truth of that Scriptural faith for which their fathers had been martyrs, and of which then, as now, England was and is the noblest and foremost champion.

To procure any just idea of the circumstances that have led to the existence of the Orange Society, we must trace back the course of events to a more remote period of our history than is generally supposed. With the [illegible]

Illustration 119

Title-page of a Sermon preached on 12 July 1864 to a congregation of Irish Orangemen in St. Thomas Church, Frankville. The growing respectability of regional Orangeism was revealed by the growing numbers of voluntarist clergy who joined United Church of England and Ireland clergy addressing Orange gatherings on the twelfth of July.

PROGRAMME

OF THE

ORANGE PROCESSION,

FOR SOUTH RIDING OF LANARK,

To be holden at the Town of Perth,

On Monday, 12th day of July, 1858,

THE Brethren will meet on the ground of MATTHEW BELL, Esq., (kindly granted for the occasion), where the Procession will be formed and march in the following order, viz:—

Bro. C. Meighen, Aide de Camp.

DAWSON KERR, Jr., Esq.,
Grand Marshal.

Brother W. Hicks, Aide de Camp.

Banner of the Prentice Boys of Derry.
Tylers.
Lodge of Prentice Boys
Two and two.

Band.
County Master.
County Chaplain.
Other County Officers.
District Masters,
And other District Officers.
The various Lodges in the County according to the Number of their Warrant, as follows:—
Tylers.
—Band—
Banner.
Master and Deputy.
Secretary and Treasurer.

Marshal.

Marshal

Members of Committee
Knights Champion of the Royal Scarlet.
Brethren of the Royal Arch Mark.
Brethren of the Royal Blue.
Brethren of the Royal Purple.
Brethren of the Orange.
Two and two.

In every case each Lodge to be escorted by Two Marshals, wearing full Military Uniform.

It is expected that each and every brother will be decently attired, and will each wear a scarf having a rosette attached thereto, composed of ribbons emblematic of the degree or degrees he may have received; and Masters of Lodges will be particularly careful that none of the members under their charge wear a color to which he is not actually entitled.

The Montague, Smith's Falls, and Port Elmsley Lodges will arrive at Ten o'clock, a.m.; the Franktown and Second Line Lodges at half-past Nine o'clock; the Ramsville Lodges at half-past Nine o'clock; the Dalhousie, Lanark, and Balderson's Corners, at Ten o'clock; the Kitley, New Boyne, Lombard's Corners, and Ferry Lodges, at half-past Ten o'clock; the Sherbrooke and Bathurst Lodges at Ten o'clock: the Perth Lodges will be on the ground punctually at Nine o'clock.

In accordance with a resolution of the County Lodge, each Lodge will provide refreshments for its own members.

The strictest order and decorum must be preserved, and quietness and sobriety characterise the whole proceedings.

The Procession will be formed at Twelve o'clock, noon, and the Chair will be taken immediately after its return to the ground, when several reverend and other gentlemen will address the assembly.—Protestants of all denominations are respectfully and cordially invited to attend, while it will afford the Committee of Arrangements the highest satisfaction to extend a hearty welcome to all who favor the glorious principles embodied in our Holy Christianity.

Every matter, as respects arrangements, right of precedence, &c., will be decided by the Grand Marshal, from whose decision there shall be no appeal

God Save the Queen.

Illustration 120

Programme for an Orange Procession at Perth, 12 July 1858. The extensive preparations for this procession reveal the remarkable growth of regional Orangeism in the 1850s, its hierarchical and ritualistic organisation, and a concern with a respectable public image in the quest for "quietness and sobriety to characterise the whole proceedings." The new pan-Protestant popularity of the order contrasted with the situation thirty years previously when the members of the Perth Orange lodge "learned with extreme regret" that the lieutenant-governor had written the "Sheriff of the District of Bathurst, for the purpose of Suppressing, or preventing our association" which was purported to be "conducted in such a Spirit as to endanger the peace and harmony of the District."

Source: Perth Courier, 9 July 1858, p. 3, col. 4.

A GRAND PROCESSION!

OF THE

KNIGHTS OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS ORDER OF ROYAL SCARLET,

WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE

VILLAGE OF MIRICKVILLE,

ON

WEDNESDAY, Sept. 14, 1859.

The Procession will form at TWELVE o'clock, Noon, at the ORANGE HALL, and—passing through the principal streets of the Village, including North Mirickville—proceed to the TOWN HALL, where an appropriate discourse will be delivered by Comp. the Rev. T. A. Parnell, one of the Deputy Grand Chaplains, after which addresses will be delivered by several of the Companions.

ORDER OF PROCESSION:

Grand Marshal on Horseback.

MIRICKVILLE BRASS BAND.

I. Herald | SCARLET BANNNER | O. Herald

Herald-Knight-at-Arms. | Knights Companions, Two and Two. | Herald-Knight-at-Arms.

Officers of Chapters.

County Officers.

Grand Officers.

KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

☞ No Companion will be allowed to walk in procession unless he is provided with a Scarlet Cloak or Sash.

The Companions of the surrounding Chapters are most respectfully invited to take part in the proceedings.

The Watford Chapter will be opened at 10 o'clock, A.M., on the day of Procession.

Illustration 121

Programme for an Orange Procession at Mirickville, 14 September 1859. Orange processions were not confined to the twelfth of July, especially in an Orange stronghold such as Merrickville. The discourse advertised in this notice was delivered by one of the editors of the Mirickville Chronicle.

Source: Mirickville Chronicle, 5 August 1859, p. 3, col. 2.

EXCURSION,

12th JULY, 1864.

BROCKVILLE AND OTTAWA RAILWAY!

RETURN TICKETS AT ONE FARE.

IN addition to the regular trains leaving Brockville, Perth and Almonte, in the morning and evening, there will also be

2 SPECIAL EXCURSION TRAINS

TO CARLETON PLACE.

One leaving Perth at 9.30 a.m., and arriving at Carleton Place at 11 a.m.
" " Almonte, 10.30 a.m. and arriving at Carleton Place at 11 a.m.

In time for the

GRAND PROCESSION

All Tickets purchased to or from any Station on the 12th, at the usual price, will be good to return on, *if used the same day.*

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

R. P. COOKE,
Engineer and Superintendent.

Brockville, 1st July, 1864. 40-n

Illustration 122

Advertisement for a Railway Excursion to an Orange Procession at Carleton Place, 12 July 1864. The hiring of trains was telling testimony to the growing popularity of Orangeism in eastern Upper Canada after the Prince of Wales incident at Kingston in 1860. Increased popularity from the mid 1850s onward prompted some waning of the anti-Catholic paranoia which Irish Protestants had brought with them from Ireland, and which had been nurtured by the enforcement of the party processions Act from 1843 to 1851.

Source: Perth Courier, 8 July 1864, p. 3, col. 5.

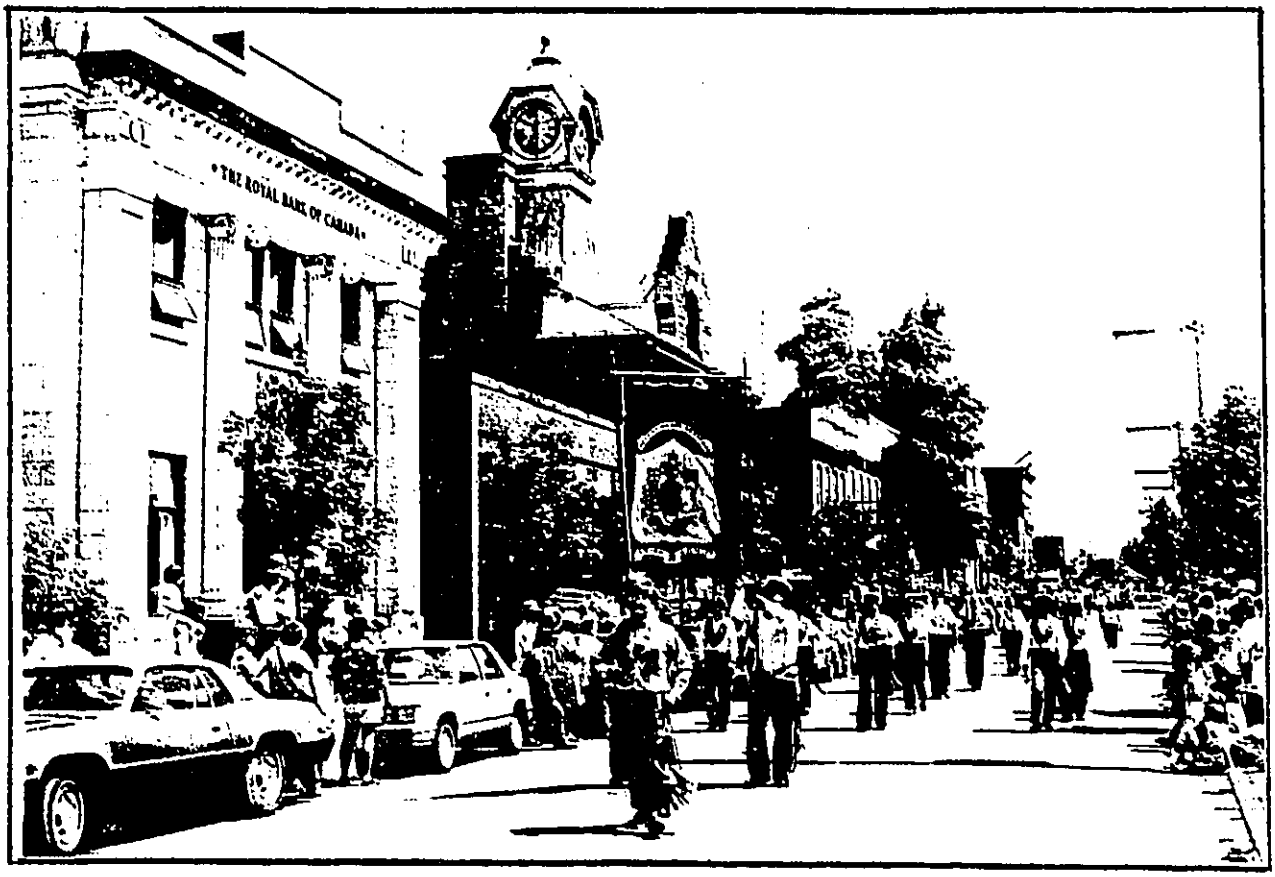


Illustration 123

Orange Procession at Carleton Place on 13 July 1983. Orange processions in eastern Ontario have been an annual event since the lifting of the ban on party processions in 1851. The first processions in Upper Canada occurred in this region in the 1820s. As the Orange order dwindles in the late twentieth century, it is likely that the last Orange processions will take place here.

In the Press, and speedily will be published, the

HISTORY AND MYSTERY

OF

ORANGEISM,

BY

OGLE ROBERT GOWAN, Esquire,

Member of the Legislative Assembly of Canada, and late Lieut.-Col. Commanding the "Queen's Royal Borderers," &c., &c.

Dedicated, by permission, to the Honorable JOHN HILLYARD CAMERON, Q.C., the Most Worshipful Grand Master and Sovereign of the Loyal Orange Institution of British America.

THE first part of this important work will contain a brief review of the rise and progress of Popery, and the cruel persecution inflicted on the early reformers—the formation of the first "*Secret Societies*" upon the Continent of Europe—when and where, and for what purpose, and by whom, instituted; together with a description of the Signs and Passwords used by them.

The second portion of the work will trace the life and character of "THE GREAT PRINCE OF ORANGE;" his landing in, and delivery of England; and his planting the System of Orangeism in that Kingdom.

Next will be noticed William's landing in Ireland; with a full description of the memorable events which distinguished his career in that country. The annals of Irish Protestantism, will be traced "*from the Boyne*" to "*the great Rebellion* of 1798:" shewing the origin of Irish Orangeism; when, where and by whom formed; together with its full history down to the year 1807.

The fourth division will treat of the planting of the System in the North of England; its transfer to the Metropolis of the Empire, and the various incidents connected with the history of the Order in England and Scotland up to the year 1830.

The fifth part will trace the annals of the Society in Ireland, from 1807 to 1830.

The next division of the work will embrace the planting of Orangeism in British America; containing its full history up to the present period. In this part will be detailed, the fullest particulars of the CANADIAN INSURRECTION in 1837-8-9, the record of which must be interesting to every inhabitant of these Colonies.

The last part will be devoted to the history of the planting of the Society in India, Van Dieman's Land, Australia, Malta, Bermuda, and other Colonial Dependencies: concluding with the history of the Order in the British Isles, from 1830 to 1860; together with a full return of the Sovereigns, Members of the Royal Family, Nobility, and other eminent and distinguished individuals, who have from time to time, enrolled themselves members of the Order.

This authentic work, (the only full and authentic history of Orangeism ever published) will appear in numbers. Each number will contain 112 pages of closely printed matter, at the price of two shillings and sixpence each.

Persons desirous of subscribing for the work may address the Author, [post-paid,] at Toronto; or the names of intending subscribers will be received here.

Toronto, September, 1859. 173

Illustration 124

Advertisement for Ogle Gowan's History and Mystery of Orangeism, 1859.

Source: Mirickville Chronicle, 30 September 1859, p. 3, col. 1.

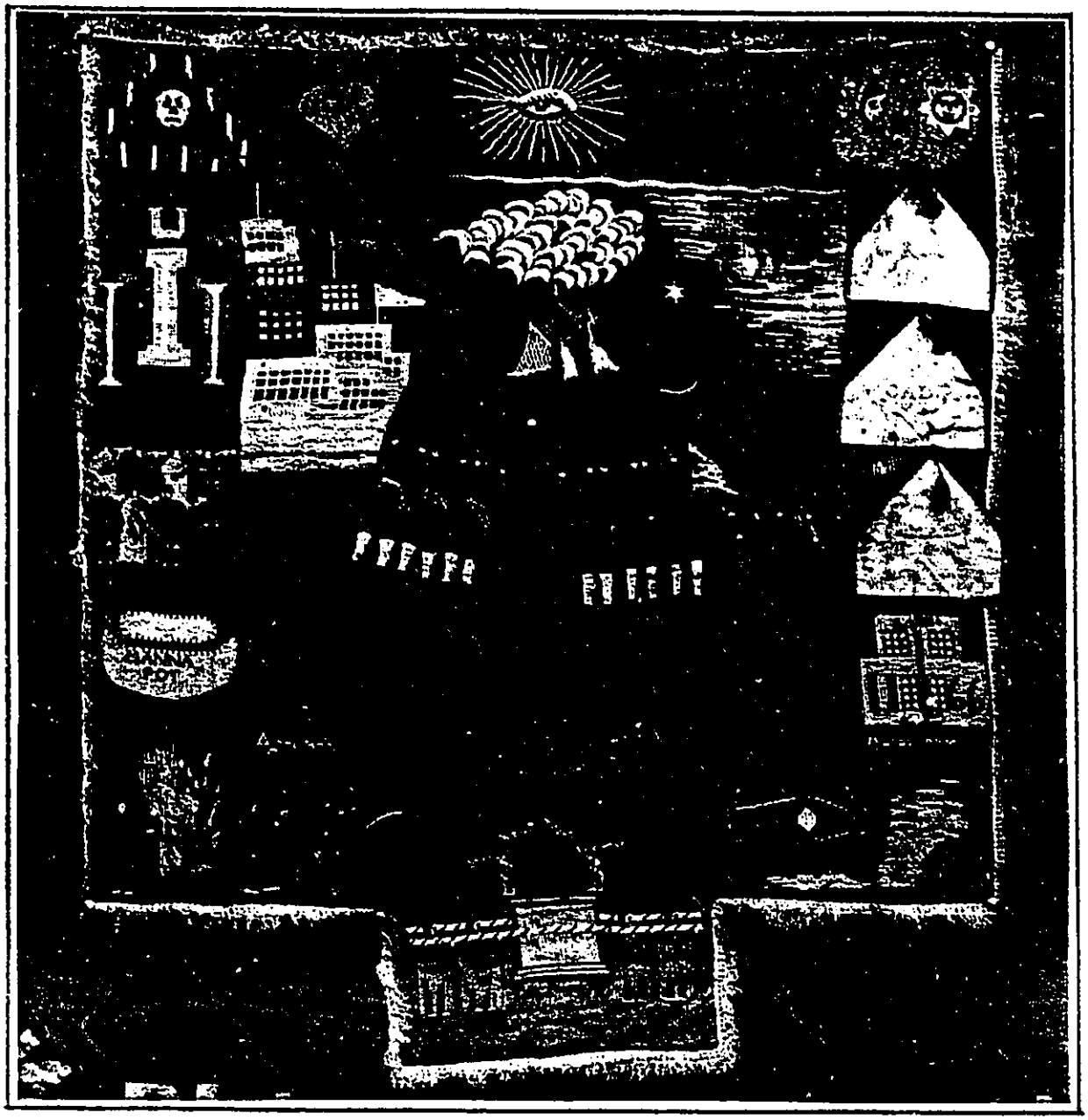


Illustration 125

Elizabethtown Orange Banner dating from the 1830s. Southeastern Irish Anglican immigrants perceived their exodus to Upper Canada in the imagery of the Old Testament books of Exodus and Joshua. They perceived themselves led by God (the all-seeing eye) out of potential religious and political bondage and violence in the Egypt of emancipated Catholic Ireland (the pyramid of candles surrounding a skull). As descendents of seventeenth century English Anglican plantations (the enslaved descendents of Joseph) they no longer could expect the privileges they had enjoyed for 150 years following the defeat of James II by William of Orange (represented by Protestant apprentices closing the gates of Derry against the Earl of Antrim and his Catholic regiment). The Irish Anglican exiles were led by barn-burning "statesman" Ogle R. Gowan (Moses with the burning bush) and state-paid United Church of England and Ireland clergy (the high priest Aaron), and safely crossed the Jordan of the Atlantic (ship led by the Star of David) safely past turbulent waves to the calm waters of Upper Canada (Canaan). Assistance from government including initial payment of passage, grants of land, public works employment and emigrant societies (manna pots) sustained Irish Anglicans in their quest for the land promised them by God (ark of the covenant). The new land was scouted out by the earliest Irish immigrants (Joshua and scouts) who linked up with Tory Loyalists (Rahab). The Tory Loyalists assumed they could make political use of the Irish Anglicans (Israelites). The inundation of eastern Upper Canada by Irish immigrants led by their clergy (seven priests blowing trumpets) brought the walls of the American-origin and Loyalist establishment in Leeds County (Jericho) tumbling down, leading to the region being taken over by Wexford/Wicklow Irish Anglicans (tents containing the tribes of Reuben, Gad and Manasseh). Their conquest of the new territory did not lessen the dark memories for Irish Anglicans of the circumstances that had prompted their exile from a once-privileged position in Ireland (Joseph's coffin).

Source: Carleton Place Loyal Orange Lodge No. 48, by courtesy of Eldon Henderson.

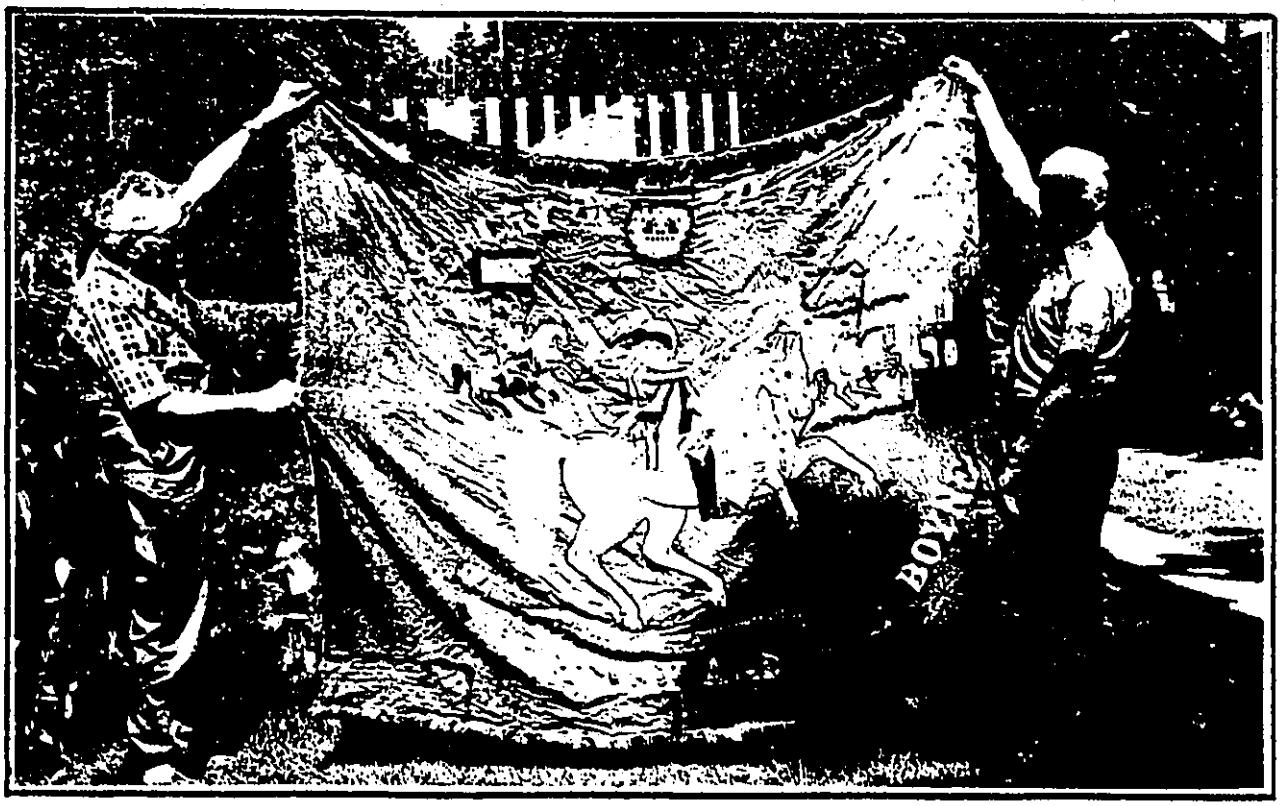


Illustration 126

Orange Banner of Carleton Place Loyal Orange Lodge No. 48, incorporating portions of an Elizabethtown banner dating from the 1830s, obverse. The main design presented here is believed to date from the 1860s, including the mottoes "In Memory of William the III, 1690, Aughrim, Derry And the Boyne." The slogans of "No Surrender" and "God Save Our Queen" together with the crown placed prominently at the top and centre of the design contrasted with the refusal of the Prince of Wales to countenance Orange displays at Kingston in 1860. The positive emphasis on loyalty helped to attract non-Irish members after 1856, as opposed to the doggerel from earlier banners which told of an Irish Protestant ascendancy besieged by violence in Ireland. The lines beneath the feet of William's steed stated:

> May heaven still protect the sons of Roses
> Whose Fathers ventured o'er,
> For us they stood both fire and blood
> Could mortal man do more?

The verse on the lower left corner ended with telling references to the import of the uprising in Wexford in 1798 and the ongoing violence of the 1820s in Ireland, to the link in regional Irish Protestant minds between this violence, Orangeism, and their exile in Upper Canada:

> In Elizabethtown we're Quiet and steady
> Though traitors and rebels may rave;
> In Elizabethtown we allways are ready
> We'er truehearted noble and brave.
> Let English and Irish and scotchmen combine
> And We ell play them a tune called crossing the boyne
> For it was written in our hearts in letters blood red,
> To be alive to ourselves and true to the dead.

Source: Carleton Place Loyal Orange Lodge No. 48.

Illustration 127

Loyal Orange Lodge No. 512, Montague Township, preparing to celebrate the twelfth of July, ca. 1900. Increasing numbers of clergymen from various Protestant denominations addressed gatherings of Orangemen from the mid 1850s onward, especially after the passing of the separate schools Act in 1856, and the Prince of Wales affair at Kingston in 1860. The private reflections of English-origin Anglican clergyman, the Rev. John Stannage after addressing Irish immigrant Orangemen at Kemptville in 1868, reveal continuing mixed views of the order's value to Canadian society:

> 12th July. Was asked to preach to the Orangemen. Preached from the words "Obey them that have the rule over you," shewing them how they were departing from Holy Scripture in several ways quite as much as, if not more than the Romanist.... It is wonderful what amount of expense these Orangemen go to in order to celebrate the Accession of Wm. of Orange or rather his Conquest at the Boyne, which secured us liberty of Conscience. And Alas! they do not see themselves that they are abusing Liberty of Conscience to their own destruction.

Source: Montague Loyal Orange Lodge No. 512.

Illustration 128

Banner of Montague Loyal Orange Lodge No. 512, dating from 1854, reverse. This design in needle-point focusses on the subject of the apprentice boys of Derry closing the city gates against the Catholic regiment of the Earl of Antrim in 1688. Such a theme may have reflected an otherwise unarticulated wish to shut out the tide of Irish Catholic Famine immigrants entering Upper Canada in the late 1840s. The doggerel reads:

Many a long winters night
And sultry summers day
Have past and gone since James took flight
From Derry's walls away.

Then heres a health to all good men
To all good men and true
And when wee'll close those gates again
Wee'll then be all true blue.

As for those prentice boys
Their names should be enrolled
And sent to DUBLIN castle
In letters graved in gold.

Illustration 129

Banner of Montague Loyal Orange Lodge No. 512, dating from 1854, obverse. Designed some twenty years later than the Elizabethtown banner in Illustration 125, this banner presents a further delineation of Irish Anglican immigrants' perception of their exodus to eastern Upper Canada in imagery taken from the Old Testament books of Exodus and Joshua. The doggerel reads:

> Our good british laws they still merit applause
> Since blood purchased the refformation
> Our church did not shine till that fortunate time,
> When William was king of the nation
> Ye sons of montague let your spirits now rise
> And trust to the heart that won't waver;
> Victoria on the throne is a good Queen we own
> But the memory of william for ever.

The Bible is shown open at the twenty-fifth chapter of Exodus, at scripture which describes the ark of the covenant constructed by the Israelites to hold the stone tablets bearing the ten commandments. For exiled Irish Anglicans in eastern Upper Canada, the most illustrious years for the Church of Ireland were those stretching from the reign of William III to Catholic emancipation. With Catholicism resurgent from 1829 on, and with English Tractarians reviving mediaeval liturgy and emphasizing sacraments, Irish Anglicans feared that the strength of the Church Ireland—its reliance on scriptural authority—was being replaced by the Ritualists with a golden calf. The all-important link between church and state which had given Irish Anglicans a privileged place in southeastern Ireland is shown here by the Bible under Victoria's right hand and the constitution in her left hand. One of the flags bears the slogan "For the Protestant religion and constitution."

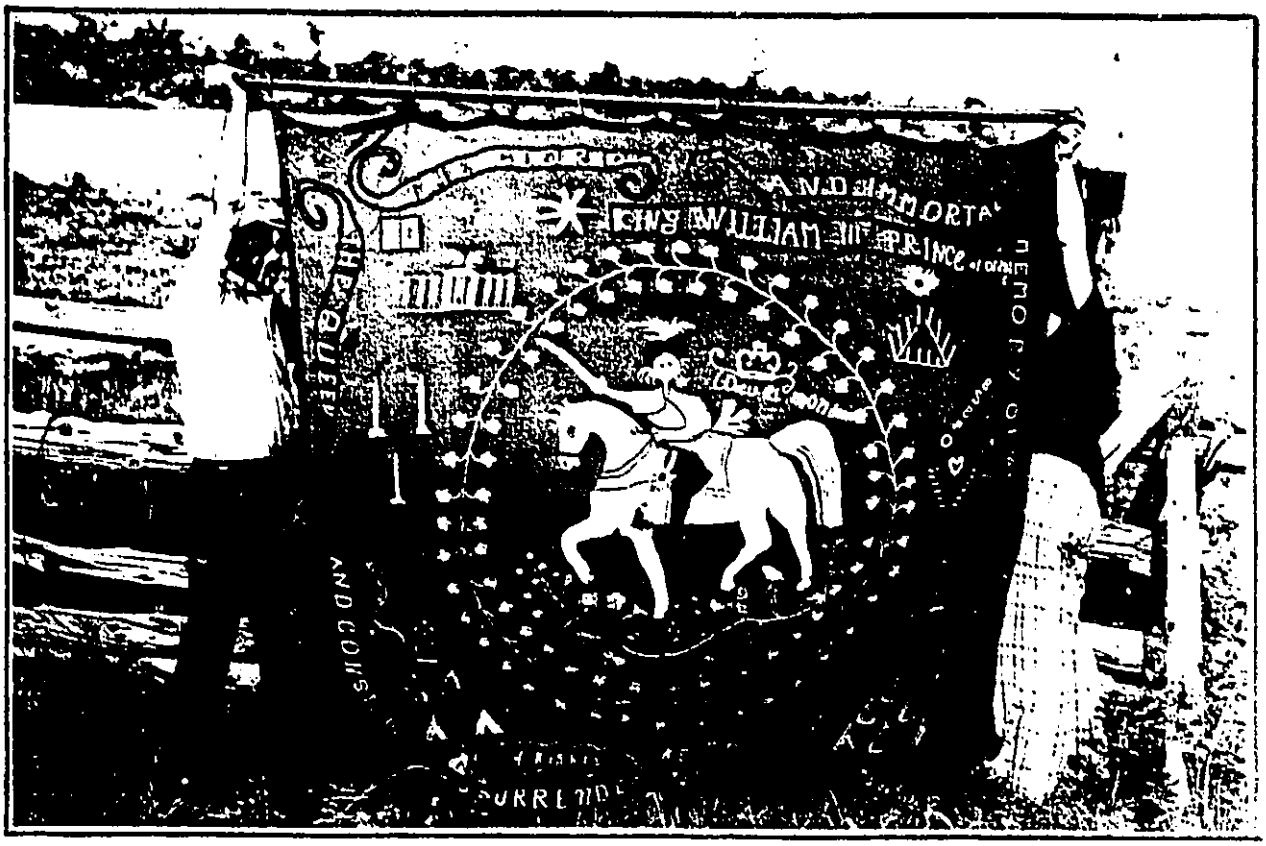
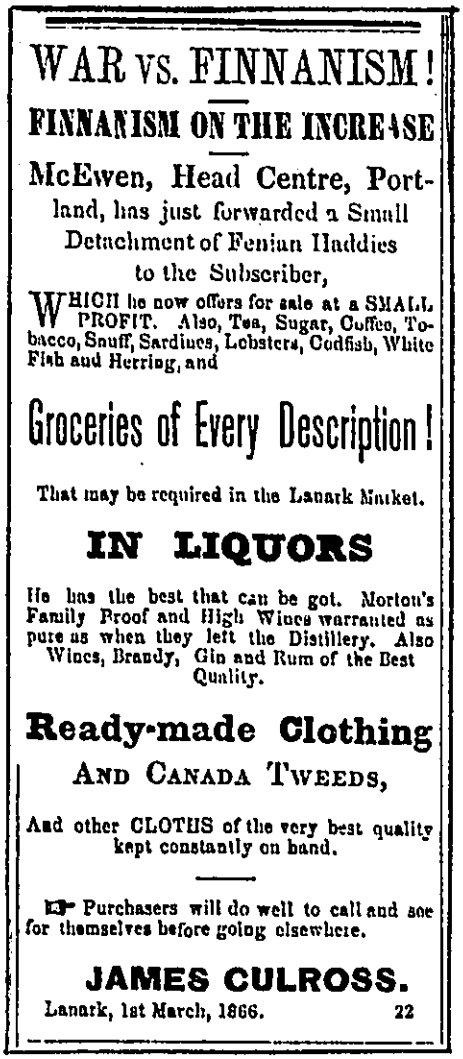


Illustration 130

Banner of Numogate Loyal Orange Lodge No. 705, Montague Township, dating from the late 1860s. The proliferation of new Orange lodges established in the 1850s and 1860s produced a heavy demand for Orange banners. Among the most sumptuous was one painted on blue silk by John Lang for lodge no. 126 in Bytown in 1850. Colborne Lang of Ottawa painted banners for lodges no. 33 Fitzroy, no. 69 Goulbourn, no. 470 Pembroke, and no. 653 Winchester in July 1866, which serves to explain the similarity of the Numogate banner with one made for Loyal Orange Lodge No. 910 at Jasper. Many of the symbols in the Elizabethtown banner from the 1830s again appear on this banner made over thirty years later, including the tents (symbolising escape from Egyptian bondage), the ark of the covenant (symbolising the bringing of the Church of Ireland faith to Upper Canada), and the open Bible (symbolising the Church of Ireland emphasis on scriptural authority). The implications of Ritualistic deviation from the Church of Ireland evangelical emphasis was perceived by regional Orange leaders "to introduce again much of that mummery and frippery which were thrown off at the time of the glorious Reformation." The insistence of regional Irish Anglicans in retaining prominence for scripture reading in their service of worship was not only due to its comforting familiarity in the land of exile, but also hearkened to the promise contained in the Book of Joshua, that by ensuring that the book of the Law "is always read in your worship...you will be prosperous and successful."

APPENDIX XVIII

Neither the Fenian raids nor the assassination of Thomas D'Arcy McGee were able to make eastern Upper Canadian inhabitants regard Irish Catholic immigrants as a serious or substantial threat to regional society.



WAR vs. FINNANISM!

FINNANISM ON THE INCREASE

McEwen, Head Centre, Portland, has just forwarded a Small Detachment of Fenian Haddies to the Subscriber,

WHICH he now offers for sale at a SMALL PROFIT. Also, Tea, Sugar, Coffee, Tobacco, Snuff, Sardines, Lobsters, Codfish, White Fish and Herring, and

Groceries of Every Description!

That may be required in the Lanark Market.

IN LIQUORS

He has the best that can be got. Morton's Family Proof and High Wines warranted as pure as when they left the Distillery. Also Wines, Brandy, Gin and Rum of the Best Quality.

Ready-made Clothing

AND CANADA TWEEDS,

And other CLOTHS of the very best quality kept constantly on hand.

☞ Purchasers will do well to call and see for themselves before going elsewhere.

JAMES CULROSS.

Lanark, 1st March, 1866. 22

Illustration 131

Advertisement by James Culross, Lanark, of War versus Finnanism, March 1866. The reference to forwarding "a Small Detachment of Fenian Haddies" reflected the refusal of eastern Upper Canadians to take the Fenians seriously as a threat.

Source: Perth Courier, 2 March 1866, p. 3, col. 2.

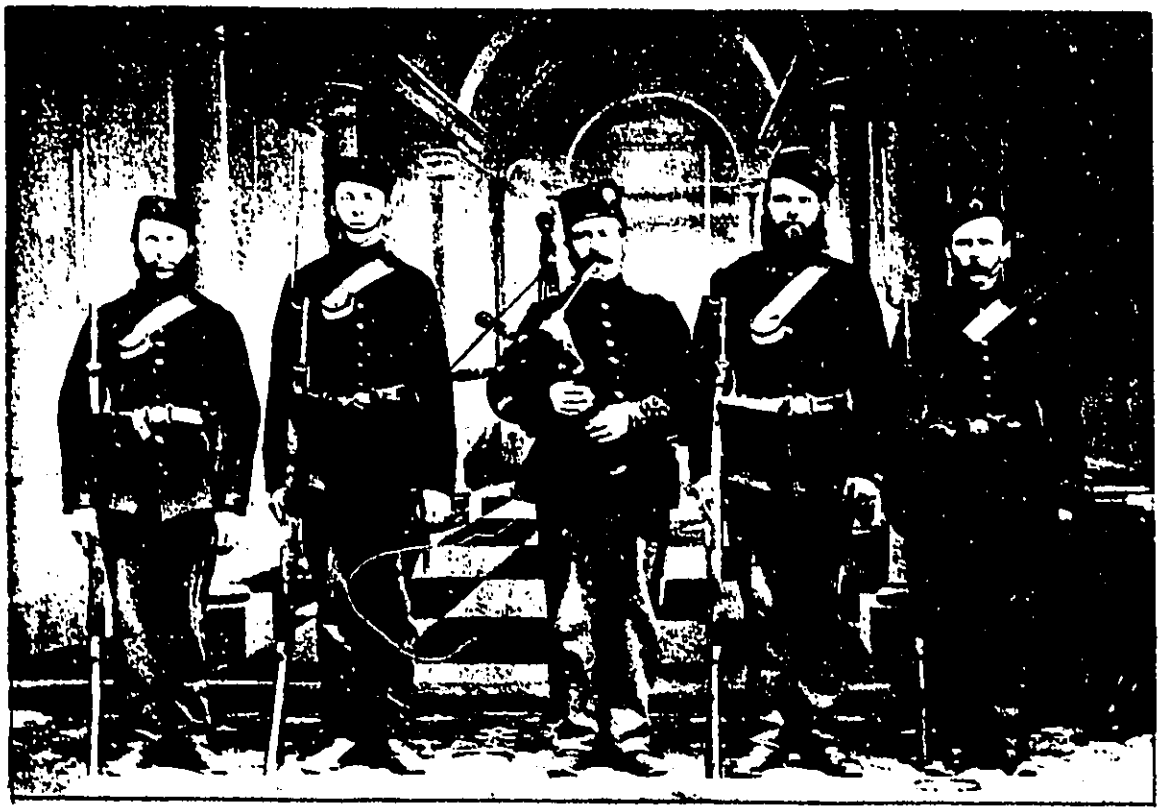


Illustration 132

Group of Carleton Place area militia members armed against Fenian invasion, as photographed at Brockville in A.C. McIntyre's International Gallery, 1866. Briefly, in the face of three abortive Fenian raids into British North America in April and June 1866, there was a panic in regional society about the Fenians posing a threat to Canada. At this point, the one Irish Catholic in this group, while mustered at Brockville to defend the border, "imbibed rather freely [and] foolishly gave utterance to treasonable language, denouncing our good Queen, in very ugly and unmanly terms, and wishing success to the Fenian cause." The sentence of three months imprisonment he received for this behaviour, the Brockville Recorder trusted would "teach him and all others of his class to be careful what they say in these troubled times." In describing the miscreant simply as a "foolish fellow," the Recorder showed that it did not perceive the matter a serious threat.

Source: Carleton Place and Beckwith Historical Society.

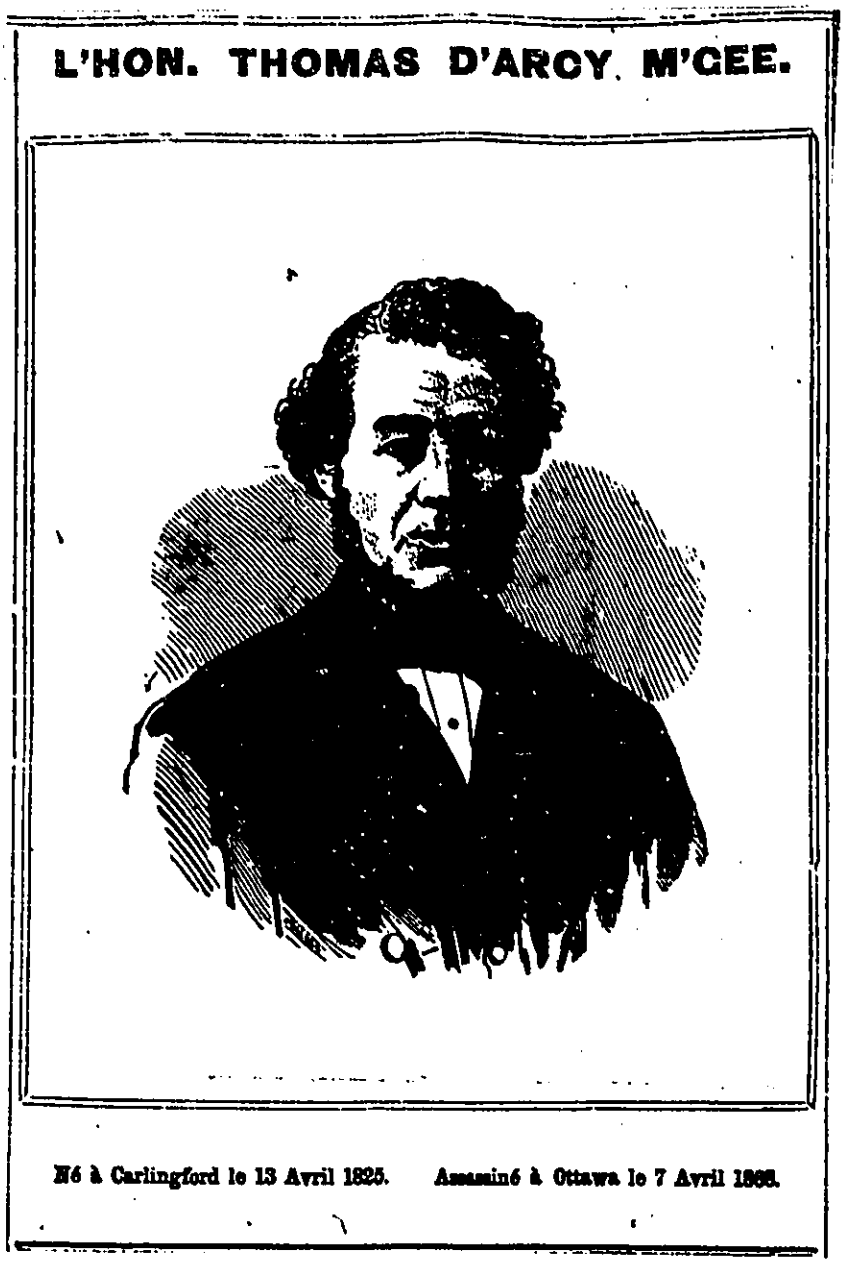


Illustration 133

Lithograph of Thomas D'Arcy McGee in Le Canada, 16 April 1868. The assassination of McGee was the only act which forced regional society to ponder the Fenians as a serious threat to eastern Upper Canada. All three French Canadian newspapers published in Ottawa before 1869 studiously avoided referring to Irish immigrants to prevent any possible enmity welling up, especially between Irish Catholics and French Canadians. They could not ignore the McGee assassination.

Source: Le Canada d'Ottawa, 16 April 1868, p. 2, cols. 5-6.

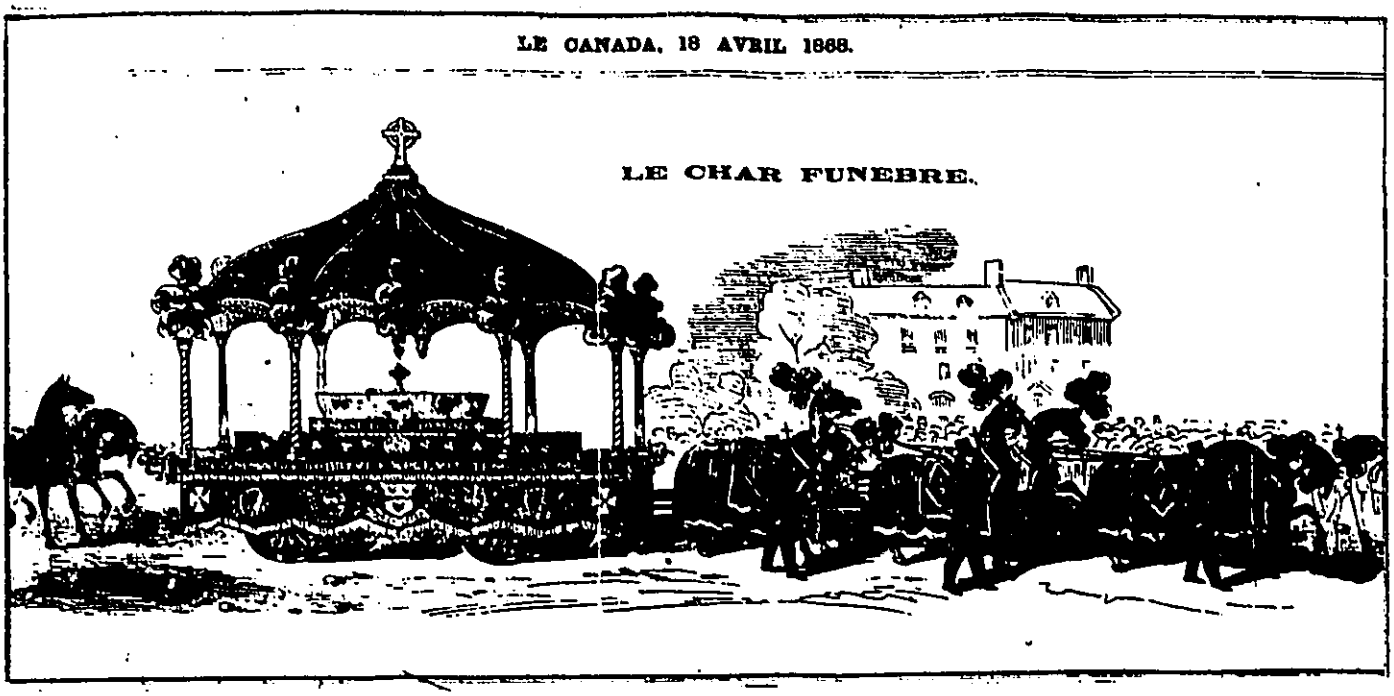


Illustration 134

Lithograph of the funeral carriage bearing the coffin of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, in Le Canada, 18 April 1868. Shocking as the assassination of McGee in their midst was, regional Irish Anglicans perceived equally if not more distressing the rumoured disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. The Rev. John Stannage at Kemptville confided in his journal on 7 April 1868:

> Comes the news that the British Parliament have determined to destroy the Irish Church as an Establishment, & that the Honourable D'Arcy Magee has been assassinated in Ottawa for his zeal against the Fenians. It is evident judging from the signs of the times that the British Empire is becoming more & more unchristian. Whether it is that we have abused our privileges & deserve all this, which is most likely, or that prophecy is being fulfilled by the prevalence of Evil for awhile until the end of all things come, God knows. A Kingdom divided against itself must fall, & we are divided enough in both Politics & Religion.

Source: Le Canada d'Ottawa, 18 avril, 1868.

"GREAT FENIAN SCARE," 9th October, 1869.

Illustration 135

Cartoon "Great Fenian Scare" in the Canadian Illustrated News, 9 October 1869. Fenianism was presented as a harmless empty scarecrow.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-48516.

Illustration 136

Cartoon "Campaign of O'Neil the Brave" in the Canadian Illustrated News, 4 June 1870. This Canadian image of Fenianism as a scheme concocted by charlatans to defraud Irish-American labourers and servant girls out of funds they contributed to the movement followed numerous reports to the same effect in the eastern Upper Canadian press in the mid and late 1860s.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-48842.

APPENDIX XIX

Canadian cartoonists in the 1870s presented positive and negative caricatures of Irish immigrants in the Canadian Illustrated News.

Illustration 137

Cartoon "Uncle Sam and His Boys: What Will He Do With Them?" in the Canadian Illustrated News, 11 June 1870. This cartoon contrasts the riotous, unproductive, inebriated, violent, warmongering Fenian Irish immigrants in the United States with the productive, industrious and contented Irish in Canada. This contrast was made by eastern Upper Canadian editors from the mid 1830s on. They emphasized that it was due to the superior treatment Irish immigrants received in Canada, and due to the superior institutions of Canada, in contrast with the hostility manifested by American society toward Irish immigrants as represented in this cartoon by the concealed knife in the clenched fist of Uncle Sam. When a travelling lecturer at Perth discussing "Ireland and Irish Nationality" in August 1859 "launched forth in a tirade against Great Britain,...the Mayor, the Sheriff, [and the Catholic priest], rose and left the room, which was a prelude to a general break up." The Perth Courier commented:

> In choosing Canada as a field to preach rebellion against Britain, Mr. Black has made a grave mistake. ... The Irishmen in Canada are making comfortable homes for themselves and their descendents...and they are in consequence looking forward to a Canadian, not an Irish nationality.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-48854.

Illustration 138

Cartoon "Free Labour in the United States" in the Canadian Illustrated News, 15 October 1870. The Irish Americans in their frantic and futile quest to fit into American society, were portrayed joining the earlier-established American Caucasian population to harrass more recently-arrived, more identifiably "ethnic" immigrant groups. By implication, this type of nativism was perceived not to exist in Canada.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-50449.

GROUP OF CHOICE SPIRITS, *NOT* BY CORREGGIO.—From a sketch by our Artist.—See page 82.

Illustration 139

Cartoon,"Group of Choice Spirits, Not by Correggio" in the Canadian Illustrated News, 10 February 1872. At least three of the faces presented here were part and parcel of the transatlantic stock of caricatures of the Irish. By the early 1870s such unflattering images of the Irish could be found in Canadian publications with a national circulation.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-58489.

Illustration 140

Detail of Cartoon "'Autumn Manouvres' of the Hamilton Police Force" in the Canadian Illustrated News, 23 October 1875. By the caricature conventions of the 1870s, the faces on the ragged and inebriated revellers in this cartoon belonged to Irish immigrants. This was one of the few Canadian cartoons showing the Irish in an unflattering light. There was no explicit identification of these characters as being Irish, effectively continuing the tradition in regional newspapers since the late 1820s of pointing to misdeeds committed by Irish immigrants without mentioning explicitly the ethnicity of the perpetrators.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-62942.

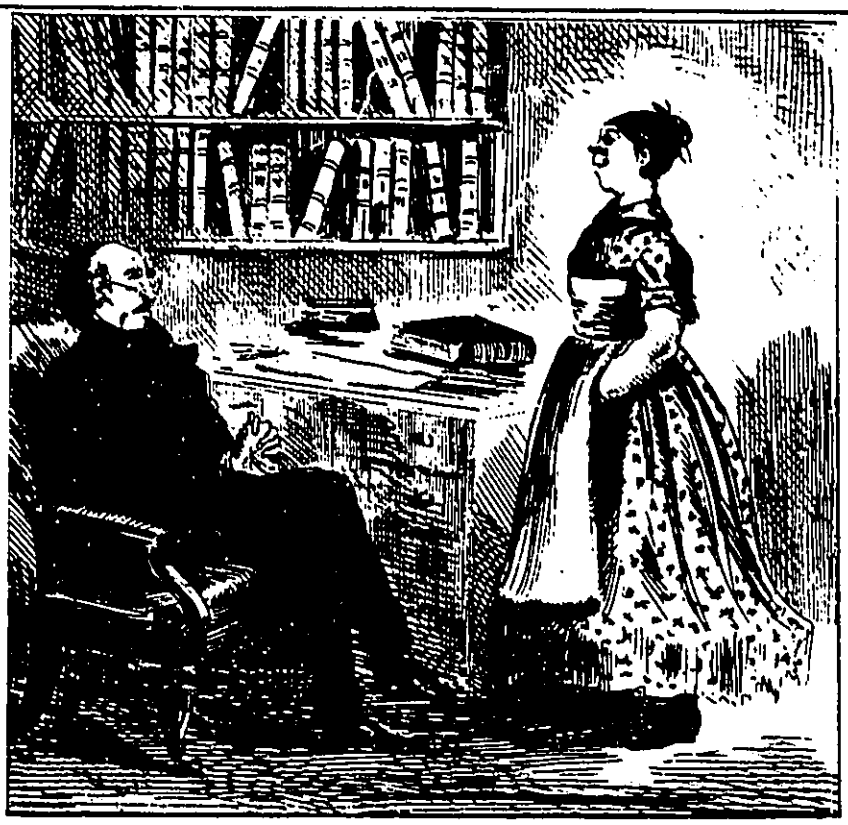
S. P. C.

This little Nihilist wants to drive out John Bull, Sandy and Patrick with dirk and torch. But these parties have the cheek to laugh at him and stand around to witness his little performance before Jean-Baptiste shuts him up in his cage.

Illustration 141

Cartoon "S.P.C." in the Canadian Illustrated News, 3 April 1880. This cartoon did not use unflattering caricatures of physiognomy to indicate ethnicity. Rather, caricatures of national dress were used to distinguish the Irish, Scottish, English and French Canadian characters presented in this cartoon.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-72922.



Old Regulus.— "It is necessary, Bridget, that you should inform me of your age and origin that I may comply with the law in filling up the census."

Bridget.— "Is it me age ye're wantin' to know, sir? An' faith, I've often heerd me mother say I was born the same day as Mrs. Mahoney's Pat that killed hisself wid drink; but me origin, faith! yer honour, I'ven't the laste idea of me origin."

Illustration 142

Cartoon "Census of Domestic Servants" in the Canadian Illustrated News, 22 April 1871. This cartoon combined unflattering physiognomy with references to drunkenness, ignorance, an amusing accent, and unmanageable personality. Portrayal of the Irish as members of a servant class reflected the urban milieu in which these images originated.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-54365.

ONE FOR MISSUS.

Mistress.—BRIDGET, I REALLY CAN'T ALLOW YOU TO RECEIVE YOUR SWEETHEART IN THE KITCHEN ANY LONGER.

Bridget.—THANK YOU KINDLY, MUM, BUT HE'S TOO BASHFUL FOR THE PARLOUR.

Illustration 143

Cartoon "One For Missus" in the Canadian Illustrated News, 7 January 1882. Save for the name presented in the caption, there is no visual caricature used to denote the ethnicity of the domestic servant. A continuing convention of nineteenth century humour was for the Irish immigrant to be more than a match for the non-Irish who presumed to be his social betters.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-76969.

CANADIAN
Illustrated News

VOL. XVI.—No. 10. MONTREAL, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1877. SINGLE COPIES, TEN CENTS. $4 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.

THE MILLENIUM.
SIR FRANCIS HINCKS and MR. DEVLIN, M.P. dancing an Irish gig on the deck of the steamer *Rocket*.

Illustration 144

Cartoon "The Millennium: Sir Francis Hincks and Mr. Devlin dancing an Irish gig on the deck of the steamer Rocket" in the Canadian Illustrated News, 8 September 1877. There is no visual clue to Irish ethnicity, apart from the shillelaghs.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-66031.

CANADIAN
Illustrated News

Vol. XXII.—No. 7. MONTREAL, SATURDAY, AUGUST 14, 1880. SINGLE COPIES, TEN CENTS. $4 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.

CANADA WELCOMES.—These hands of Immigrants who, in such numbers, last week, came to settle in the Dominion, instead of passing through to the United States.

COME TO STAY.

Illustration 145

Cartoon "Come To Stay" in the Canadian Illustrated News, 14 August 1880. In the 1870s the Irish were replaced by the English as the largest ethnic group entering Ontario. By 1900 there were more English immigrants than people of Irish origin in Ontario. Significantly, the Irish harp on the coat of arms held by Canada is obscured.

Source: Public Archives Canada, Picture Division, C-75551.

APPENDIX XX

The overwhelming negative portrayal of Irish immigrants and their descendents by American cartoonists in the mid-nineteenth century United States persisted in the American mass media, and in the twentieth century it has had an influence on Canadian perceptions until comparatively recent times.

Illustration 146

Cartoon "'The Day We Celebrate': Irish Riot" by Thomas Nast in Harper's Weekly, 6 April 1867. There was no British North American visual cartoon or image to match this virulent portrayal by American cartoonist Thomas Nast of Irish immigrants as simianised, brutalised, havoc-wreaking monsters, intent on spilling the blood of American citizens.

Source: Dale T. Knobel, Paddy and the Republic, opp. p. 157.

Illustration 147

Cartoon "Letters to the Ould Counthry" by Thomas Nast in Harper's Weekly, 1873. These composite images reinforced the American popular image of the Irish as an impoverished servant and labouring class frequently clashing with the law.

Source: Maldwyn A. Jones, Destination America, p. 74.

She Was No Chippy.

"Good Monday mornin' to ye, Mrs. O'Raherty. I didn't see ye to home yiste'day all day hardly. Was ye out visitin'?"

"Well, not altogither, Mrs. O'Flaherty. I was to choorch in the mornin', an' in the afternoon it was sich a lovely day I did go out promenadin', I belaves it is they calls it. Ye see Mary Ann has made sich a great ripytation in New Yark that I thought I would walk about the city an' show the payple her mother. An' it's a great soocciss it was, for as I'd be goin' along I'd fraquintly hear thim as would be at their front doors or their front gates say 'That's Mary Ann's mother.'"

"An' has Mary Ann got on the thayater shtage yit, Mrs. O'Raherty?"

"Well, no; not altogither. But she'll soon be there, I think. Ye see she doesn't want to git on the shtage until she makes some great sinsation, ye know; which will be a great boom for her, ye know."

"An' is the New Yark hoigh-tariff millionaire shtill runnin' wid her, Mrs. O'Raherty?"

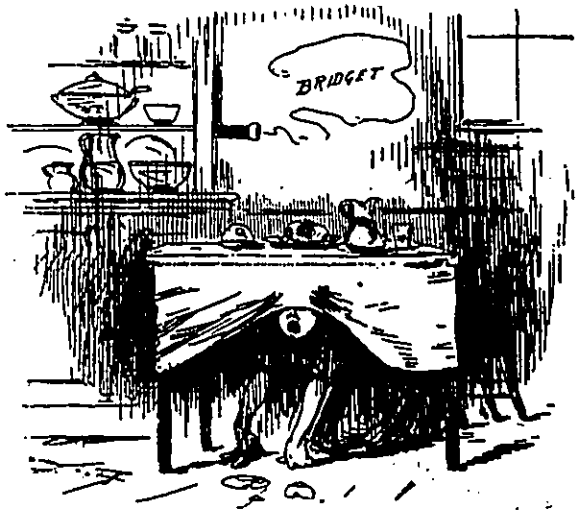
"Shtill runnin' wid her, is it? Indade! Mrs. O'Flaherty, it is very insoultin' for ye to shpake that way. Mary Ann hain't no chippy, t'ank ye. The gintlemon ye shpake av is Mary Ann's guardeen, her foster father an' chaperoon, an' that's all. An' if that's too hoigh langwidge for ye to undershtand ye'd better go to school awhile and learn something. So put that in your poipe an' schmoke it."

—*Kentucky State Journal.*

Irish Delivery.

Mistress, wishing to see if her message had been correctly delivered: "What did you tell the ladies, Bridget?"

Bridget—"I told 'em yez wasn't feelin well, and yez was goin' to call on 'em soon, and they sez they was sorry to hear it."



Miss Murphy (fresh from the Emerald Isle, and who knows not the uses of the speaking tube)—Howly saints protect me! I hea-r-rd my name called.

Illustration 148

Page from Irish Wit and Humor by Walter Henry Howe, published in Philadelphia, 1898. As late as the turn of the century, American humour about Irish immigrants in the United States parodied their unfamiliarity with modern conveniences and their brogue.

Source: [Walter Henry Howe], Irish Wit and Humor, p. 31.

OPENING OF THE HOGAN'S ALLEY ATHLETIC CLUB.

Illustration 149

Cartoon "Opening of the Hogan's Alley Athletic Club" in the New York Journal, 1896. This cartoon with its Irish-sounding title was set in a slum, and was replete with unscrubbed faces, violence, imperfect use of the English language, and universal disorder. The essential image conveyed by this weekly cartoon was that Irish-Americans still belonged to the lower class.

Source: Bill Blackbeard and Martin Williams, The Smithsonian Collection of Newspaper Comics, p. 22.

Illustration 150

Cartoon "Happy Hooligan Dropped Into the House of Lords" in the New York Journal, 1905. The protagonist in this comic strip which ran from 1900 until 1932 has been described as "the classic Irish-American tramp." The pejorative title of this character also helped to keep alive the image of the Irish in the United States as a lower class community.

Source: Bill Blackbeard and Martin Williams, The Smithsonian Collection of Newspaper Comics, p. 30.

Illustration 151

Cartoon "Bringing Up Father" in the New York Morning Journal, 1918. This cartoon strip began in 1913 and lasted into the 1970s, enjoying an international audience. It featured the low-comic saga of Jiggs, an Irish-American bricklayer made suddenly wealthy by the Irish Sweepstakes, and Maggie his socially ambitious wife. The broad implication presented in this twentieth century comic strip was that the Irish were out of their depth in upper middle-class American society.

Source: Bill Blackbeard and Martin Williams, The Smithsonian Collection of Newspaper Comics, p. 100.