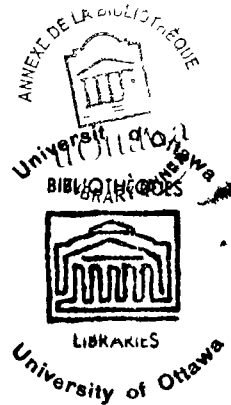


SAINT PATRICK'S, QUEBEC  
THE BUILDING OF A CHURCH AND OF A PARISH  
1827 - 1833

by

Sister Marianna O'Gallagher

Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of the  
University of Ottawa as partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts in History



UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA  
OTTAWA, CANADA, 1976

UMI Number: EC55485

### INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

**UMI**<sup>®</sup>

---

UMI Microform EC55485  
Copyright 2011 by ProQuest LLC  
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against  
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

---

ProQuest LLC  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	ii
CHAPTER ONE THE SETTING FOR THE WORK	1
SAINT PATRICK'S CHURCH, QUEBEC	2
GEOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND	9
ECONOMIC BACKGROUND	13
DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND	15
THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE TIMES	17
DIFFICULTIES OF THE RESEARCHER	18
COUNTRY SETTLEMENTS	19
SOME EARLY RECORDS OF THE IRISH IN QUEBEC CITY	22
A KEY DOCUMENT	23
SUMMARY	26
CHAPTER TWO THE MEN AT WORK	27
THE FABRIQUE	28
THE INSTITUTION OF "LA FABRIQUE"	28
THE COMPOSITION OF "LA FABRIQUE"	29
THE REVENUES	30
THE MEN	31
THE BISHOPS OF QUEBEC	31
THE COMMITTEE	32
VAGUE ORIGINS	32

	Page
COMPOSITION OF THE COMMITTEE	34
PROCEDURE FOR MEMBERSHIP	35
THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE	37
THE MEN	38
JOHN CANNON AND GORDIAN HORAN	38
FRENCH COLLEAGUES	43
O'CALLAGHAN, QUIGLEY, TEED AND CONNOLLY	45
FATHER PATRICK McMAHON	54
BUSINESS AND POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE CITY	58
SUMMARY	61
CHAPTER THREE    THE COMMUNITY AT WORK	62
NEGOTIATIONS OVER STATUS	63
THE FIRST REQUEST	63
IRISH PLANS AND FRENCH INTERIM SOLUTIONS	66
THE REQUEST REPEATED	74
NEGOTIATIONS OVER LAND	77
WORK BY SUB-COMMITTEES	77
THE BISHOP'S PROBLEM	78
THE MARGUILLIERS' PROBLEM	79
THE TURNING POINT - THE GENERAL MEETING OF THE IRISH	80
THE MARGUILLIERS' MEETING	84
THE QUESTIONS	85

	Page
THE ANSWERS	86
DEALINGS OVER LAND	89
PURCHASE OF LAND	91
TRUSTEES	91
FINANCING	92
REMINDERS TO THE MARGUILLIERS	95
SUMMARY	100
CONCLUSION	102
APPENDIX I     - L'Eglise Saint-Patrice de Québec	113
APPENDIX II    - Les jours de l'église St. Patrick seraient comptés	115
APPENDIX III   - Plan showing Cadastral Lot Number for St. Patrick's Church	116
APPENDIX IV    - The Church Facade in its Heyday	117
APPENDIX V     - The Church Prior to Partial Demolition	118
APPENDIX VI    - Addresses	119
APPENDIX VII   - Irish Quebeckers in Federal and Provincial Politics	122
NOTES ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY	124
BIBLIOGRAPHY	125

CORRECTIONS

- p. iii line 1 - last word given - replace with "presupposing"
- p. iv par 2 - line 7 - after "open" put a period. Capitalize "The"
- p. 4 par 2 - Baillairgé shall be the spelling of this man's name  
par 3 - line 5 - add "4" to the end of quotation  
foot of page add "4 O'Callaghan to the Marguilliers Nov. 10, 1831  
Saint Patrick's Archives uncatalogued ms.
- p. 5 par 2 - line 3 - John Teed instead of William
- p. 7 Fn 2 - 1st paragraph - last line - spelling of Baillairgé
- p. 17 last line - add 5 for a footnote  
Add to end of page "5 See quote from Neilson, p. 18
- p. 24 Fn 2 - last line - read "Gordian Horan a signer of that petition"
- p. 39 Fn 2 - Underline de Simon Lawlor
- p. 47 line 15 - add "and French-Canadian" craftsmen.
- p. 53 line 11 - lost paper and unrecorded
- p. 54 line 10 - Read "Even had ... " omit "had", the third last word.
- p. 57 par 2 - "has" instead of had.
- p. 59 par 2 - line 2 - of life
- p. 63 Fn 1 - add "See also p. 44."
- p. 65 There is no answer in Saint Patrick's Archives
- p. 67 3rd last line - "Perhaps earlier than 1829....."
- p. 74 "... perhaps lack of interest ..."
- p. 80 Fn 2 - add "See p. 65."
- p. 102 line 6 - for several of its
- p. 104 line 2 - add to 75 "or more"
- p. 106 underline the names of the newspapers in the last 2 lines of quote
- p. 129 Davin's book was published in 1877, by Maclear

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis about the building of Saint Patrick's Church in Quebec City early in the nineteenth century is the fulfillment of a life long desire to contribute something new, true and basic to the history of the Irish in Quebec City. For many years it has been interesting to hear about the Irish. For a lesser number of years, it has been possible and fascinating to locate the documents, and challenging to find where more are available.

I was very fortunate in being given an invaluable document concerning Saint Patrick's Church -- the Minute Book of the Committee of Management 1831 to 1854 from which the core of my information is taken. It was given to me along with three slim manuscript notebooks by Rev. George Meyer, C.Ss.R., several years ago. The book is a large hardbound volume about two inches thick, fifteen inches by nine in length and width. Hand written in ink by different secretaries as the years progressed, it contains the Minutes of the Committee of Management of St. Patrick's Church, 1831 to 1854 -- and so it is titled on paper tabs gummed to its spine. A standard format of entry recording day and date, listing members present (and absent too, occasionally), followed by the minutes of the proceedings, was begun by the first secretaries, (E.B. O'Callaghan and G. Horan) and carefully adhered to all through the book. The Minutes are usually signed by Father Patrick McMahon, first pastor; only occasionally by a layman, since Father McMahon rarely missed a meeting. The minutes themselves, even in the opening pages, give no introduction about either the book

itself or the people using it -- as if that were unnecessary, given a previous volume and a well established group.

The discipline of the thesis demanded that a very specific topic be found; in addition I wanted to lay a base for further study of the Irish in Quebec and that demanded a precise theme, tangible, but rich in possibilities for further development. The very mass of information and the unevenness of its worth, as well as the variety of the areas that might serve as points of reference, added to the challenge. But out of that welter of information and tradition one question surfaced clearly, "Who were the people who built Saint Patrick's Church in the 1830s, and what was the significance of that event?"

The story itself had already been told by James O'Leary writing in 1895, only sixty years or so after the fact.<sup>1</sup> Father John Gallagher, C.Ss.R., told the same story in a Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report.<sup>2</sup> An article by Brother Memoriam Sheehy<sup>3</sup> for the same journal added a little to the background of information about immigration of the Irish to Quebec. My task was, by an examination of the documents, to find and explain the significance of that act of building by the Irish in the 1830s. In that the

<sup>1</sup>James O'Leary, History of the Irish Catholics of Quebec, St. Patrick's Church to the death of Father Patrick McMahon, (Quebec: Daily Telegraph Print, 1897).

<sup>2</sup>J.A. Gallagher, C.Ss.R., "Saint Patrick's Church, Quebec" C.C.H.A. Report, 1947-48, pp. 71-80.

<sup>3</sup>Memoriam Sheehy, "The Irish in Quebec", C.C.H.A. Report, 1943-44, pp. 35-47.

thesis was different from the above named works. This thesis stresses the importance of the early date -- that it was the immigrants from the 1820s and earlier, and not those of the late 1840s, who founded the Quebec community; the thesis also picks out individuals who rose to leadership in that early community, and it shows them despite all their differences, uniting in a work they all held dear.

In discovering the above from analysis of the documents I also soon found that two subsidiary themes began to strengthen long-sensed intuitions: namely, that the Irish immigrants were more than a mass of suffering humanity passing rudderless from one dim place to some equally foggy destination, to be bought and sold, used at a whim; secondly: that the relations between Irish and French Canadians in Quebec were very open, the forthrightness of both people, expressing their differences and finally accepting each other, lead to an understanding that has been a credit to them both.

Most of the time the Irish role in Canadian history has been, at worst, the portrayal of the "angry-mob-without", rumbling and grumbling in the wings, or at best, with a few exceptions, a mere walk-on role where neither actor nor author cared to emphasize any Irishness. That reticence or embarrassment was, I think, a result of the bad press and the ensuing caricatures, that the Irish, deservedly or undeservedly, received. Since it is my wish to try to paint a balanced picture of the people concerned, some biographical material had to be used, and it is hoped, in such a way as to put personalities on the scene and bring

some life to the faceless multitudes and thus blunt the edge of caricature.

Several authors have made inroads into the mountains of material to do just this: to explain the part of the Irish in the crowd scenes as well as in the individual roles. Most notable in the drama, close to Quebec are the stories of E.B. O'Callaghan<sup>1</sup>, of D'Arcy McGee<sup>2</sup>, and to a lesser extent that of Daniel Tracey<sup>3</sup>. Even the crowd scenes have not been totally misunderstood: the Irish workers on the Lachine Canal<sup>4</sup>, on the Piers of Quebec City<sup>5</sup>, or protesting Gavazzi<sup>6</sup> in both Montreal and Quebec were not completely unruly mobs (though they must have been frightening). They were men assembled to make a point heard before a deaf bureaucracy or a heedless populace.

<sup>1</sup>Jacques Monet, "E.B. O'Callaghan", Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. X, pp. 554-555, Toronto, 1969.  
Also, Dr. Margery Fitzpatrick, on E.B. O'Callaghan's 'Hidden Years' in Quebec City, work in progress.

<sup>2</sup>T.P. Slattery, The Assassination of D'Arcy McGee, (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1968).

<sup>3</sup>Emmett J. Mullaly, M.D., "Dr. Daniel Tracey, A Pioneer Worker for Responsible Government in Canada", C.C.H.A. Report 1934-35, pp. 33-45.

<sup>4</sup>H.C. Pentland, "The Lachine Strike of 1843", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 29, 1848, Toronto, pp. 255-277.

<sup>5</sup>J.I. Cooper, "The Quebec Shiplabourers' Benevolent Society", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 30, 1949, pp. 336-343.

<sup>6</sup>Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the conduct of police authorities on the occasion of the Riot at Chalmers' Church, on the 6th of June, 1853, together with minutes of the proceedings and evidence taken before the said commission.  
(Quebec: Printed by Rollo Campbell, No. 11, Garden Street, 1854  
Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée Nationale, Quebec, BC 286 10).

Of course, no mass canonization of a people has ever or can ever take place, but somewhere beyond the terrible stereotype of the Irish as holy scholars or rowdy mobsters lies the truth. In presenting a solid case for the truth: the existence of a large body of hard-working, usually law-abiding, normal citizens of Quebec who were Irishmen, and to bring the lives of a few of those men into sharper focus, I hope to correct some of the perspective of the past.

Part of one's intellectual baggage is the intuition that is fed and grows from hearing traditional beliefs repeated. Such is the case for the essentially good relations that exist between French Canadians and Irish (where the latter are still recognized as such!). It is not hard to credit a sampling such as the following: in 1829 in Quebec a new branch of the Society of Friends of Ireland in Quebec was founded<sup>1</sup>. The new society drew together an assortment of Irishmen and French Canadians: John Cannon, M.P. for Hampshire (now Portneuf), was the president; Rémi Vallières de St. Réal, M.P. was vice-president, and Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan was secretary. Next among the members were noted: the Very Reverend Jérôme Demers, Vicar General of Quebec; Reverend Mr. Parant; Reverend Mr. McMahon; Messers Poulin, Ferland, Painchaud, Louis Lagueux, Senior and Junior, both M.P.s, Amable Berthelot, Rémy Quirouet, Elzéar Bédard, Etienne Parent, Martin Chinic and others<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>It will be remembered that 1829 was the year of Daniel O'Connell's triumph, and of Catholic emancipation, two issues which the Montreal paper, the Vindicator had been keeping before the eyes of its Lower Canadian readers.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Montreal Vindicator, May 12, 1829. Several of those names will be found later in the thesis in different roles.

Analysis of this kind of report is risky in the light of the political roles played by many of the men above, but since politicians rarely in great numbers support unpopular causes, one might judge that the number of politicians willing to call themselves Friends of Ireland points to the Irish cause as a not unpopular one. I am not, by any means, unaware of expressed differences, and of non-complimentary opinions in the press and elsewhere, but the fact that these never prevented the Irish from establishing themselves comfortably in Quebec indicates just how weighty, widespread and well received such feelings were.

This thesis deals with the building of Saint Patrick's Church and so no attempt has been made to give details or tabulations of the numbers of Irish immigrants. Why they stayed in Quebec has not been explained, but how Quebec became an important stopping place for the Irish is explained. The extent of Irish settlement outside the city has only been hinted at, again to emphasize the variety among Irishmen, and to indicate that all the Irish did not gravitate to the cities. This thesis does not pretend to be a socio-economic study, nor a political history, nor to be definitive in any of the areas it touches: indeed, it is hoped that many questions have been raised, and that other researchers will further examine the role of the Irish in any one of countless areas: politics in Quebec City all through the 1800s; education - advanced and elementary; business -- the foundation of firms in Quebec, and so on.

The importance of the period chosen has been mentioned - 1827 to 1833 which marks the high point of this thesis - the actual years during which the church was planned and built, fifteen years before the famine

migrations. However, the desire of the Irish for a priest of their own goes back to 1817, when, already grouped together, they petitioned Bishop Flessis for a priest who could speak their language. The correspondence of the period indicates a basically unchanging stand on the part of the French authorities against an independent Irish Church. Such a stand did not in the long run prevent the Irish from achieving their basic aims: to have a church in which they could be themselves. The fact that it was years before the church was technically their own, 1856, did not change the actual fact - they remained an Irish congregation. Once their group unity and leadership were established, the Irish went on to do other things together. This thesis tells the story of their first achievement through three parts: the wish in its time and place; the people who built the church; and the growth of understanding between Irish and French through negotiations.

I could have done very little in my research without the assistance of those many helpful archivists and librarians in Quebec, Montreal and Ottawa whom I have been bothering for the last few years. To them, thank you. To fellow researchers who have generously shared their findings, and to those who have been interested and curious, thank you. My thanks to Dr. Jacques Monet who had to deal with too much ambition and too little composition, but whose ability to share his quick grasp of the overall picture helped me to see the whole forest instead of the trees. To my religious community, the Sisters of Charity of Halifax, thanks are due for affording me the opportunity to do this work and for the patience shown me during the long time it took to do it.

To my family, especially my mother, a vote of thanks for the right amount of impatience that brought this thesis to light sooner than it might have appeared. Their help has also been practical.

This work is dedicated to my father, Dermot O'Gallagher, who instilled in me a curiosity about the Irish in Quebec.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SETTING FOR THE WORK

## SAINT PATRICK'S CHURCH, QUEBEC

In Quebec City on Sunday, July 7, 1833 there took place the dedication ceremony of Saint Patrick's Church. The event was significant because it marked the beginning of an era. It underlined the existence of a new community in the City of Quebec. It showed that an immigrant group, Irish Catholics, had achieved a cohesiveness and had provided leadership among their fellow English-speaking Catholic immigrants, most of whom were Irish. The building of the church was the first of many institutions that the community would found to serve its many needs. In order to realize the full significance of the ceremony of that day, it is necessary to know who organized the building of the church, and why this whole affair was no ordinary step forward in the expansion of a City's Catholic population.

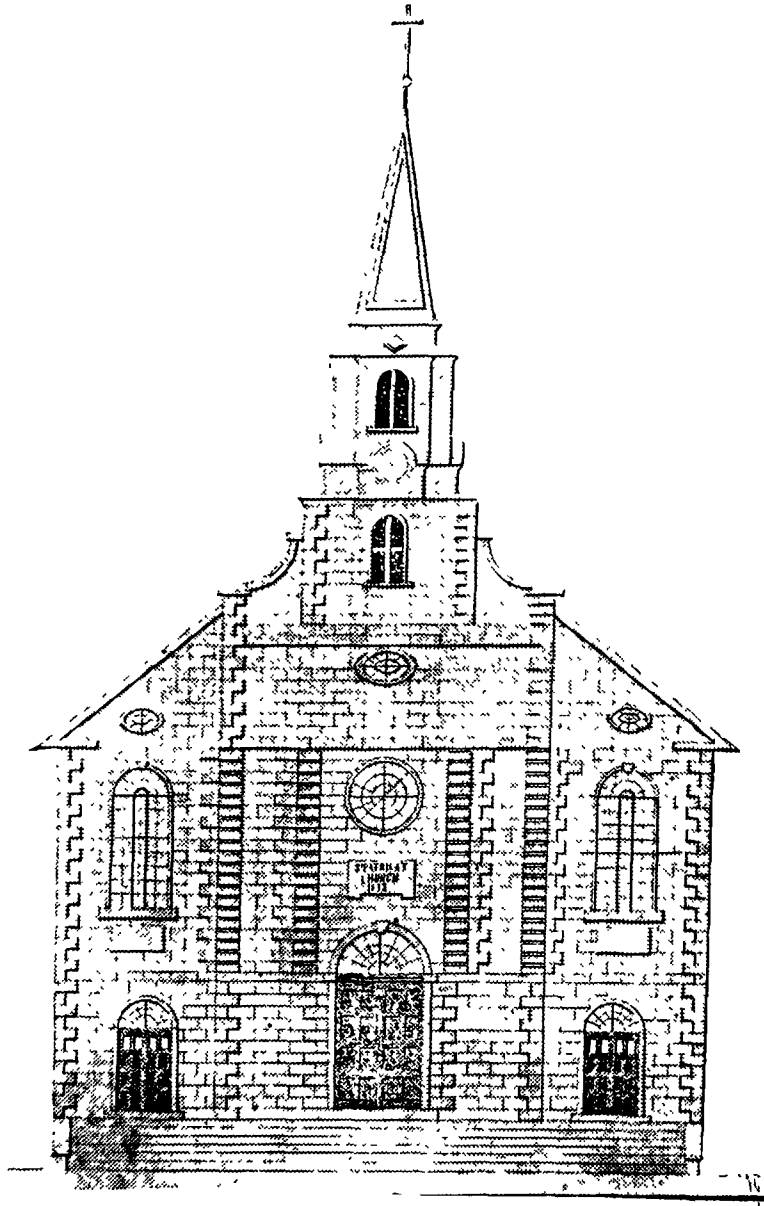
Who built Saint Patrick's? The Irish population of Quebec City did. By the beginning of the 1820s they had grown enough in numbers and in group awareness to desire a church of their own. They built the church, and in so doing, they also established themselves as a specific group of Catholics differing in language and culture from their French-Canadian brethren, having different needs, but expecting to have them filled at the one source: the Church and its Bishop.

Saint Patrick's in Quebec City was one of the first "ethnic parishes" in Canada. The Montreal Irish were soon to follow the example of Quebec in building their own Saint Patrick's<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Bishops' correspondence in AAQ and that between Quebec and Montreal Irish in Saint Patrick's Archives, Quebec.

FIGURE I



Saint Patrick's Church  
Quebec

Saint Patrick's Church stood on St. Hélène Street in Upper Town inside the walls of the old city, within a mile of the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Québec. Saint Patrick's was a large stone church, 140 feet long and 65 feet wide with a single central spire<sup>1</sup>.

The work of Thomas Baillargé, it was the first of many of his fine large churches around the province<sup>2</sup>.

The Irish had purchased land in July 1831 and broke ground for the building early in the fall<sup>3</sup>. Work progressed satisfactorily, for in November of 1831 the Secretary for the Irish Committee wrote to the authorities of Notre Dame de Québec that the "building was as far advanced as the season would permit". By the following summer (1832) the planners had designated June 11 as the day for the ceremonial laying of the cornerstone. The outbreak of cholera on June 8 disrupted both

<sup>1</sup> Popular hearsay has it that the architect was ordered not to let the spire surpass in height that of the Cathedral. (See Fig. I)

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Baillargé was born in Quebec in 1791. An architect, sculptor and painter, he was taught by his father, François Baillargé. He studied in Montreal and travelled in Europe. The churches at Lévis and at Deschambault were his. In Quebec City his churches of St. Roch, St. Jean Baptiste and the later Basilica were either destroyed by fire or substantially altered, thus leaving St. Patrick's for a long time as the only remaining sample of his work. Today (1976) only the facade and side walls remain, for Saint Patrick's too has fallen victim to fire, red tape and the city's need for parking space. Information concerning the architectural value of the Church has been kindly supplied by Professor Yves Laliberté of Laval University, Québec. With Luc Noppen collaborating, Professor Laliberté in March 1973 produced a careful study of St. Patrick's Church. Cf. L'Eglise Saint-Patrice de Québec, Yves Laliberté et Luc Noppen, Groupe de recherche en Art du Québec, Faculte des Lettres, Université Laval, mars 1973. (See App. I).

<sup>3</sup> Minute Book (See Introduction, page ii) October 9, 1831, Mr. Seymour's account for 18 shovels, etc., amounting to £ 3-6-0 was ordered to be paid.

the public and private life of the city with its tragedy. Accordingly the cornerstone was placed later that summer and without ceremony. The work advanced steadily so that within a year the dedication mentioned at the beginning of this chapter could take place.

At that time a deputation called upon the Bishop, Joseph Signay<sup>1</sup>. Consisting of Messrs. William Burke, William Downes, Michael Connolly, William Teed and Michael Quigley, with Father James Nelligan their curate, the delegation represented the many men who had been working for several years to see the accomplishment of their hopes. They reported later to the congregation that they

had waited upon His Lordship Bishop of Quebec on Friday evening last and that His Lordship had received them with great kindness and affability and replied to their request (concerning the immediate opening of the church to divine worship and its solemm dedication thereunto) that he was about to leave Town for a few weeks but that he would leave the necessary orders and authority with his coadjutor to have the Benediction of St. Patrick's Church performed at whatever time the Reverend Mr. McMahon thought it in a state of readiness and notified the desire of the Committee for that purpose<sup>2</sup>.

The Bishop's representative at the Dedication ceremony on July 7 was the Vicar General of the Diocese, the Very Reverend Jérôme

<sup>1</sup>Joseph Signay, 1778-1850 became Coadjutor of Diocese of Quebec in 1827 and administrator in 1832. His predecessor Panet died in February 1833 and Signay became bishop. He was named Archbishop in 1844. Cf. l'Abbé C. Tanguay, Répertoire générale du clergé Canadien (Quebec: C. Darveau, 1868), p. 153.

<sup>2</sup>Patrick McMahon, 1796-1851: Pastor of St. Patrick's from 1828 to 1851.

<sup>3</sup>Minute Book of Committee of Management, June 9, 1833, hereinafter called Minute Book.

Demers<sup>1</sup>. The Reverend Charles François Baillargeon<sup>2</sup> then parish priest of the Cathedral (1831-1850) later Archbishop of Quebec, sang the High Mass. The newspaper Le Canadien reported the event as follows:

Nous apprenons avec plaisir que la quête qui c'est faite hier à l'église St. Patrice a monté à plus 700 piastres. La cérémonie de la consécration de cette Eglise y avait attiré un concours considerable de monde ce qu'a du être pour nos co-religionnaires un témoignage bien flatteur de l'intérêt que l'on prend à leur entreprise. Messire le Grand Vicaire Demers a présidé à la cérémonie de la consécration. Monsieur le Curé de Québec a chanté la Messe et selon qu'on l'avait annoncé Messire McMahon a prononcé une exhortation analogue à l'occasion dans le cours de laquelle il a pris occasion de dire que la plus parfaite harmonie avait toujours régné entre sa congrégation et les autorités ecclésiastiques (sic) cela pour repousser des bruits que avaient couru au contraire<sup>3</sup>.

Father McMahon was well aware of the more than five years' discussion between the French parish authorities and the Irish parishioners that preceded this day. He wished to discount any rumour that might paint those years of discussion as more than simply a time of growing understanding between the two. He could see that nothing could be gained by emphasizing either the misunderstanding or the stubbornness of either party. In the end it had been the precipitate

<sup>1</sup>Jerome Demers, b. St. Nicholas 1774; ordained 1798; attached to the Grand Séminaire where he was alternately director, bursar and superior, and professor of philosophy. In 1825 he became Vicar General of the Diocese and in 1850 a member of the Bishop's Council. He died in 1853. Cf. C. Tanguay, Répertoire générale du clergé Canadien (Quebec: C. Darveau, 1868) p. 150.

<sup>2</sup>C.F. Baillargeon, 1798-1870 was ordained in 1822. He was curé of Quebec from 1831 to 1850 when he became coadjutor bishop of Quebec, then administrator in 1855. He became Bishop in 1867. Tanguay, (op. cit.) p. 187.

<sup>3</sup>Le Canadien, 8 juillet 1833.

action of the Irish, and in a compromise, its acceptance by the French which had ended the struggle. The Irish had already witnessed the self-sacrifice of the French clergy towards their people in 1832. The enormity of what an actual break with Diocesan authorities might mean had perhaps occurred to some of the Irish, and Father McMahon assured his listeners that the Irish were loyal children of the church.

The Canadien article continued:

L'edifice qui fut hier consacré au culte est une spacieux bâtiment qui suffira d'ici bien longtemps aux besoins des Catholiques parlant anglais et il est la preuve d'un zèle religieux vraiment extraordinaire, quand on réfléchit que cette edifice a été commencé il a environ dix-huit mois pendant lequel espace de temps cette ville a été pendant tout un été le théâtre d'un fléau épidémique qui a suspendu toutes les affaires et compromis beaucoup de fortunes<sup>1</sup>.

The Canadien writer seemed to consider the church a little large:

"spacieux bâtiment qui suffira d'ici bien longtemps aux besoins des Catholiques parlant anglais". There were then 116 pews available, but they soon proved to be insufficient<sup>2</sup>. From the time of its consecration

---

<sup>1</sup>Le Canadien, 8 juillet 1833.

<sup>2</sup>In 1845, the church was lengthened and a sacristy added under the direction of the Architect Frederick Hacker. When the 1876 extension, (under the Architect Ferdinand Peachey) was made, the original semicircular sanctuary restored the interior appearance of the Church to Baillargé's original idea. See page 99.

Frederick Hacker was an English architect, perhaps also a civil engineer who arrived in Quebec in 1832 and died there in 1846. He had practised in London, England. Houses designed by him are still standing in Quebec. His partners were Hughes, Fletcher and Stavely. Cf. Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology, p. 83. Ferdinand J. Peachey, architect, was a partner for a while of Charles Baillargé, nephew of Thomas. He is especially remembered for his work on the Grand Séminaire. Cf. APT., p. 91.

there would be three more years' work before the last touches were finished and the Architect Baillargé could call his church complete. However, within nine years (1845) the Committee was contracting again with builders to make an extension. The final alterations made in 1876 completed the church with which present-day residents of Quebec were familiar<sup>1</sup>.

Le Canadien writer also reported on the sale of pews in the manner of the French churches.

La vente des bancs à ce que nous apprenons a monté de 4 à 1500. Cette source revenu, jointe à la libéralité de la congrégation et du public hâtera la confection de ce bâtiment qui est déjà bien avancé<sup>2</sup>.

The purchase of pews remained the custom for many years.

There were many gifts made to the Church at the time of its consecration and completion, tokens of the growing prestige of the congregation as well as of the kindness of the donors.

#### DONATIONS

Were received, at the opening of the church from the following persons, namely: Six sets of vestments, one from His Lordship the Bishop, as well as a magnificent chalice, and rich altar front, one set from the Coadjutor Bishop, one from the Reverend Ladies of the Ursulines, one from Mrs. John Teed, one from a Mrs. O'Neill, one from a member of the Congregation; albs, etc., from the Curate of Quebec, cruets and basin, all of solid silver, from Mrs. A. Amyot, and a full length painting of the Crucifixion, from Mr. Bowman, an American artist.

<sup>1</sup>The church building fell victim to red tape and to the city's need for parking space. After years of enforced neglect and fruitless talks between the parish and both municipal and provincial authorities, a compromise was reached whereby the facade and the side walls were left standing; the interior was razed and paved for a parking lot (1973). The lot and ruins are under private ownership. See Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup>Le Canadien, 8 juillet 1833.

On the 23rd December 1834, the Honorables John Frazer, James Hastings Kerr, Edward Bowen, George Pemberton, and Messrs. Henry Lemesurier, J.B. Forsyth, G.B. Cullen, and Benjamin Cole, as a committee on the part of the Protestants of Quebec, presented the Reverend Mr. McMahon with £220 for the purchase of an organ. The organ arrived from England on 8th June, 1837, and was used for the first time, on Sunday, the 9th July, 1837.

On the 8th September, 1835, Lord Aylmer presented, for the use of the Church, two valuable and richly framed paintings, and in 1836, Mr. Joseph Legaré gave his life size painting of the Crucifixion<sup>1</sup>.

There were also gifts of money, occasionally from an anonymous benefactor, at other times from men like Sir John Caldwell, one time Receiver General of the Province, whose donation of £25 was acknowledged in the newspapers.

#### GEOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

In order to understand better the position of the Irish in this French city, it is necessary as well as interesting to examine the geographic setting, and useful to view the economic background of nineteenth century Quebec City. What drove the Irish out of Ireland is well known. What brought them to Quebec and kept them there will now be shown.

The City of Quebec, founded by Samuel de Champlain in 1608, was built around the base of a steep cliffed cape on the peninsula formed where the St. Charles River empties into the St. Lawrence. Its first dwellings were, during the French Regime, at the very base of the cliff, and necessarily close to the water, for the shore space was narrow.

---

<sup>1</sup>J. O'Leary, History of the Irish Catholics of Quebec, St. Patrick's Church to the Death of Reverend P. McMahon, (Quebec: Daily Telegraph Print, 1895) pp. 14-15. Joseph Legaré's painting is now in the Redemptorist Monastery at St. Anne de Beaupré (1975).

Very soon, however, a roadway was built to the upper part of the cape. The part of the city at water level was called Lower Town, and it was occupied by those people whose immediate interest concerned the port and the shipping therein. There were the stone buildings of the merchants containing both their dwelling apartments and their offices and shops, as well as the vaulted basements for the storage of incoming and outgoing goods. Taverns and boarding houses were a necessary part of the Lower Town's inventory of buildings, too. More than one writer of travels remarked on the generally grey appearance of the old City<sup>1</sup>. All the way up the steep road called Côte de la Montagne, leading to the Upper Town, stood more dwellings and shops.

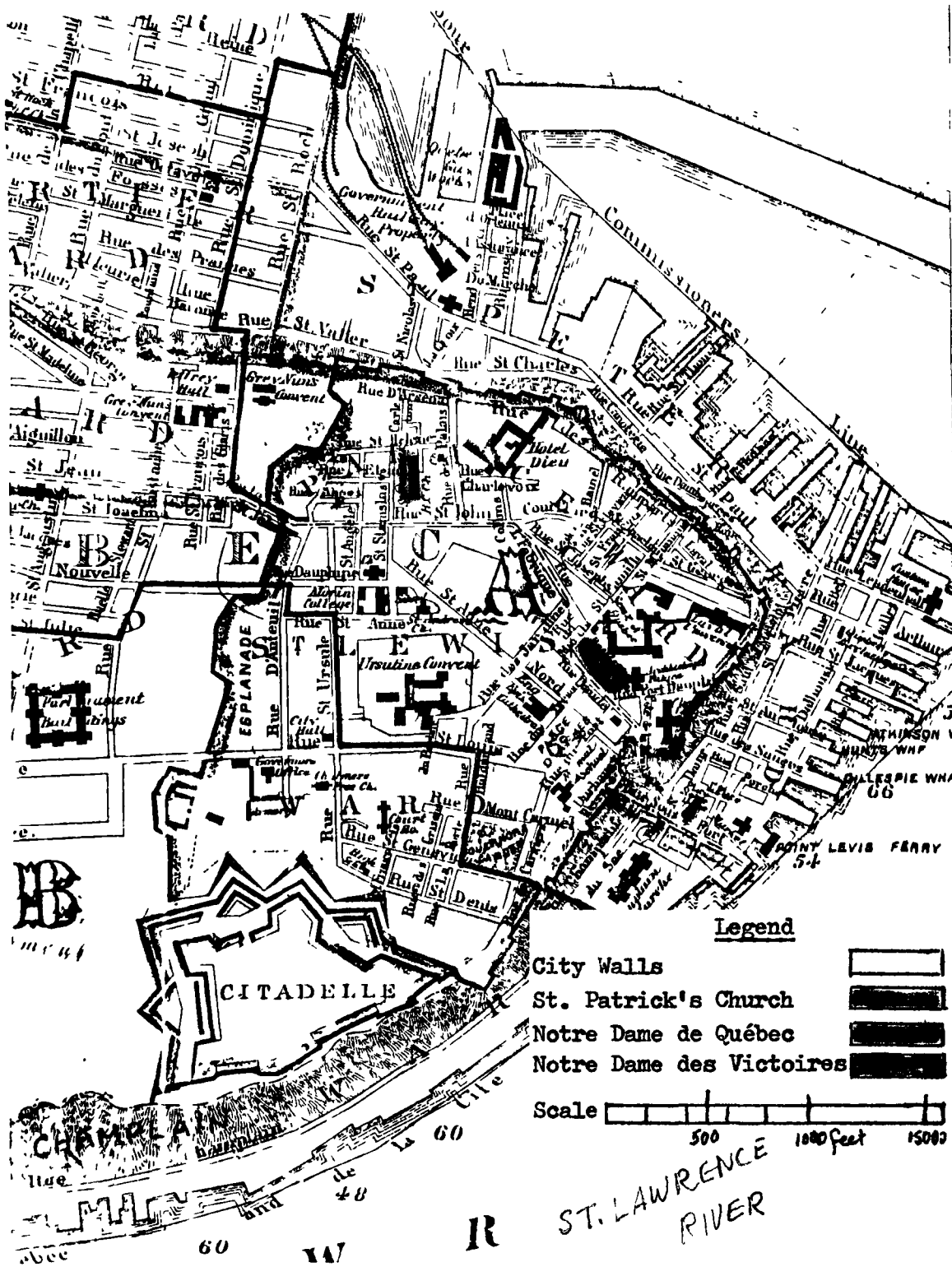
The Upper Town, or that part of the city on top of the Cape, was occupied by the buildings of the civil, military and ecclesiastical administration as well as by the fine dwellings of the wealthiest and most prominent citizens. This part of the city was in fact undergoing a period of embellishment during the nineteenth century when a body of British and Canadian craftsmen settled there and gave the city the architectural flavor that is evident even today in its buildings both restored and preserved<sup>2</sup>. Since the activities of the people dealt with in this thesis took place within the small area extending a limited mile or so from the city's Cathedral of Notre Dame de Québec in the

---

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Jeremy Cockloft, *Cursory Observations Made in Quebec Province of Lower Canada in the Year 1811*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin .

FIGURE II



Upper Town it is well to situate the action within this space or setting of "the Upper Town" and "the Lower Town", the city "within" and "without" the walls<sup>1</sup>.

The oldest administrative buildings and fine dwellings were found mainly "within the walls", that is, at the most easterly and high part of the peninsula. The Cape, or Cape Diamond, was the setting, too, for the Citadel, built under British auspices, elaborating the former French fortifications, completed in 1832, which, with its encompassing walls, gave Quebec its fortified appearance. The place was called Cape Diamond because there Jacques Cartier's men found quartz crystals which they called diamonds. The walls of the city marked the dividing line between Upper Town and the "suburbs", or La Banlieue, terms used on maps and in the census.

There were two parts to the Lower Town. One today called The Cove, comprised the section facing on the St. Lawrence River. (Champlain Ward on map, Figure II) In the nineteenth century as today, it served ocean as well as river traffic, and the presence of salt water seamen as well as river boat crews gave it a definite seaport flavor. Its inhabited portion expanded greatly with the growth of the timber trade early in the nineteenth century. When piers and mooring places on the beaches upriver were opened to receive the timber rafts, the principal Lower Town street (Rue Champlain on map, Figure II) was extended westward and dwellings large and small were built there. The other portion of the

---

<sup>1</sup>See Figure II, page 11.

Lower Town was that wider, flat portion spanning the St. Charles River (eventually called the St. Peter and St. Roch Ward - see Figure II) very heavily populated and more industrial in appearance than the Cove. There were breweries, sawmills, flour mills and open markets, and the shipbuilding industry in that area.

#### ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

As a seaport, Quebec City, at the head of deep water navigation in the nineteenth century became an important terminal for both ocean and river shipping. Not many ocean ships ventured up river from Quebec. For example, in 1824, only 55 out of 613 ships arriving from overseas attempted to go up river. The channel up-river was not yet dredged, and often the sailing vessels which did attempt to reach Montreal under tow, removed their masts and spars and floated them alongside. By thus lessening their displacement they were able to navigate the shallow channel to Montreal. Much of the activity in the port of Quebec, therefore, consisted in the trans-shipment of goods. Hence, the need for warehousing for outgoing Canadian and American wheat and flour, for barrel staves and other semi-processed lumber products. Hence the need too, for the many shallow draft ships that carried goods and passengers on the river to and from Montreal<sup>1</sup>. There seemed to be no shortage of work

---

<sup>1</sup>It was in this latter activity, of shipping freight, and towing, that the usefulness of steam was recognized, experimented with and exploited at Quebec very early in the nineteenth century. Such men as John Molson of Montreal, John Goudie and John Ryan of Quebec played their part in the development of steam navigation on the St. Lawrence between Quebec and Montreal. Cf. DCB, Vol. X, pp. 517-525 for Molson; forthcoming Vol. IX for John Ryan.

in the port.

As a city dependent upon world trade, Quebec went through the same booms and slumps that Europe and the rest of North America endured. European events in the nineteenth century brought about the most change in the face of Quebec: change in her industry and change in her population profile. The concurrence of events that effected these changes can be stated as follows: the military needs of the Napoleonic Wars forced Britain to buy timber from North America instead of from the Baltic which was cut off from Britain by Napoleon's blockade. The multiplication of ships on the Atlantic route made it possible later for thousands of people from the British Isles to emigrate to America.

Gradually the demand for North American timber overcame British prejudice of its quality, and timber shipments east across the Atlantic began to multiply. As the supply of timber increased the price per load decreased. Ocean freight rates which had been the heaviest factor in the high cost of North American timber, began falling between 1810 and 1815<sup>1</sup>. Ship owners soon found that their westbound ships could be cheaply adapted to the very easily handled "cargo" -- emigrants. Quebec City became the chief deep water loading port on the St. Lawrence for timber bound for Britain from both the Richelieu and the Ottawa Rivers, therefore it was Quebec that received the thousands of immigrants

---

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Douglass North, "Ocean Freight Rates and Economic Development, 1750-1913", Journal of Economic History, Vol. XVIII, 1958, pp. 537-555.

landing as paying passengers from the returning ships. These men and women found employment as both skilled and unskilled laborers in the timber trade and its subsidiary services in the port of Quebec. The fact that the work was seasonal, however, gave impetus to the immigrants' transient condition. Nevertheless, many immigrants remained. The work they found was in the newly organized timber trade -- the shipping, stowing, stevedoring and general man-handling of timber. The older wood industry in Quebec City was that of shipbuilding, but the French Canadians were solidly entrenched there as both management and labor<sup>1</sup>.

#### DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Besides simply increasing the amount of traffic and business in the port, the other effect of the British trend towards buying North American timber was the population change in Quebec and environs. Despite the transient nature of the immigrant presence, the city's population grew approximately four fold in a little under a hundred years, from 1759 to 1833<sup>2</sup>. Immigration had changed more than just the

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Narcisse Rosa, La Construction des Navires à Québec et ses environs (Québec: Imprimerie Léger Brousseau, 1897).

<sup>2</sup>Some very divergent estimates exist for the population of Quebec. According to some, the decade after 1759 showed that the seaport had a population of about five thousand. Others say eight thousand people with an additional seven thousand for the garrison. About seventy-five years later when it was incorporated as a city in 1833, Quebec had at least 32,956 inhabitants. By 1871 the census reported 59,699 people, garrison and sailors included, in Quebec East, West, and Centre, terms used then to describe an area not much larger than that first described for Quebec City.

Cf. Antonio Drolet, La Ville de Québec, Histoire Municipale II Régime Anglais jusqu'à l'incorporation 1759-1833, (Québec: La Société Historique de Québec, 1965) p. 15.

number of citizens however. By 1833, Quebec's more than thirty thousand people could no longer simply be categorized as 'so many French Canadians and so many English speaking soldiers'. The population profile had undergone several changes: first, after the army of 1759, had come the so-called British merchants composed of English, Scots and Americans; followed by a trickle of skilled and unskilled workers from the British Isles. Then came the beginning of the "Great Migration" after the Napoleonic Wars and this increased flow of immigrants from the British Isles proved to be composed mostly of Irish.

This period of immigration is not as popularly known as that of the so-called famine years of 1847-48-49. It is necessary and worthwhile to study it closely, since it is people from this earlier immigration period who founded the Irish community in Quebec and built the Church, the very topic of this thesis.

Quebec received so much of the Irish immigration because passage directly from the Irish ports to Quebec (or to St. John, N.B.) was cheaper than that either from Ireland to American ports, or from Britain to American ports<sup>1</sup>.

After 1815, Irish owned-shipping itself increased and there was

---

<sup>1</sup>Significant perhaps for Canada was the fact that many of the Irish landing here had not had prior experience as immigrants, for example, in Britain, where they would have learned defensive political techniques. Can such an experience be researched? Will a study someday indicate the difference in backgrounds of a majority of Irish immigrants in U.S.? Were the U.S. Irish, all second-time immigrants having come to the U.S. from British ports, contrasting the roles played by the Irish in American and Canadian politics?

a lively trade in timber and American goods. Irish merchants exported glass, linen, salt and provisions, and paying emigrants. Advertisements usually appeared in Irish newspapers in February or earlier, announcing passage from Londonderry, Belfast, Dublin and Newry<sup>1</sup>.

#### THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE TIMES

The Quebec newspapers for their part, gave daily shipping notices and reports of immigrant landings and here notice first began to be taken of the great number of Irish. In May of 1831, for example, the Quebec Gazette reported that "since the opening of navigation, 13,400 settlers had arrived, most as usual from Ireland, agricultural workers"<sup>2</sup>. In July of the same year, the total was up to 34,505<sup>3</sup> and in mid-October, the total had reached 47,708 immigrants landed from 856 vessels<sup>4</sup>. These examples are given to show the numbers of people who passed through the port in a given year (and 1831 was by no means the peak year), and that of those who passed through, a great number were Irish. In fact, there were more Irish among the immigrants from the British Isles than there were Scots or English or Welsh: the reports of the Emigration Officer, the daily reports in the newspapers and the census statistics in later years support the general impressions of contemporaries like John Neilson, the editor of the Quebec Gazette, that most of the immigrants were Irish.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. William Forbes Adams, Ireland and Irish Emigration of the New World from 1815 to the Famine, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932) pp. 1-65, and Appendices.

<sup>2</sup>The Quebec Gazette, May 27, 1831.

<sup>3</sup>op. cit., July 15, 1831.

<sup>4</sup>The Quebec Gazette, October 12, 1831.

## DIFFICULTIES OF THE RESEARCHER

Much as it would be desirable and useful at this point to tabulate the numbers of immigrants entering the port of Quebec and to calculate percentages of various kinds, it is beyond the scope of this paper<sup>1</sup>. Such a tabulation would doubtless be revealing but reading from other sources echoes better the tenor of the times in the impressions of contemporaries. In addition, contemporary writings reflect the impact that immigration made by its apparently endless ebb and flow. When one realizes that the authorities of that day -- port and emigration offices, colonial and imperial, recorded conflicting numbers at the very time of the events, then the difficulties of the present day researcher attempting to create a table of immigration statistics will be realized.

From contemporary comment and correspondence, some idea of the confusion of the events can be drawn. In a long letter in the Quebec Gazette, John Neilson indicated his impressions that most of the immigration was comprised of Irish.

The Irish may be found from Cape Chat, probably all the way to New Orleans; the Scotch are also widely disseminated but chiefly in Lower and Upper Canada. Numbers of Irish have remained in the towns of Quebec and Montreal, where many of them are thriving and their general conduct far from being exceptionable, leaves no doubt but that they will prove peaceable and useful citizens of their adopted country<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>For the reader who desires further information, the works of W.F. Adams, Helen I. Cowan and C. Woodham-Smith offer very rich tabulations of figures. See Bibliography.

<sup>2</sup>John Neilson, The Quebec Gazette, November 11, 1831.

The same year that Neilson made his observations, the rapid dispersal and unpredictable travelling of the immigrants elicited the following involved report from Governor Aylmer to Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary:

It would be extremely difficult if not impossible to ascertain the number of emigrants who actually settled in the Canadas; of those who arrive at Quebec many pass into the United States, some of whom return from thence, and establish themselves in Canada, others return from Canada to the United Kingdom and some of those who emigrate to the United States from the United Kingdom come to settle in Canada. Perhaps after making due allowance for the circumstances above stated, it might be considered as a reasonable approximation of the truth, that the number of emigrants who finally settle and form part of the resident population do not fall very short of the numbers who arrive at the port of Quebec<sup>1</sup>.

While the reports of immigrant landings dismay the researcher by their vagueness, the various enumerations of the nineteenth century frustrate anyone who attempts to trace a pattern of development, for there was no uniformity from census year to census year in the categories tabulated. For example, an enumeration made in 1831 of the population of Quebec City listed eight possibilities of religious affiliation as statistical categories, but it did not divide the population by country of origin<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, the 1844 enumeration did list country of origin and extended the list of religious

---

<sup>1</sup>Aylmer to Goderich, Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Reports Correspondence and Papers Relating to Emigration from the United Kingdom to the Colonies, 1828-38, Emigration, Vol. 19, (Irish University Press, Shannon, Ireland, 1969), p. 148.

<sup>2</sup>"Census and Statistical Returns for the Province of Lower Canada 1831", Journals of the House of Assembly Lower Canada Appendix 1831-32.

denominations to fifteen<sup>1</sup>. From the complicated and sometimes conflicting information, it has been calculated that the Irish Catholic population of Quebec City around 1830 was about seven thousand, out of a total population of about 32,000. This number of seven thousand has been taken from Antonio Drolet's three-volume history La Ville de Québec Histoire Municipale<sup>2</sup> in which he does not cite his sources. Incidentally in another context the Quebec Gazette for April 1, 1835 in an editorial concerning Father McMahon, then priest in charge of the Irish congregation, says of him "... he has the extremely arduous task of the care of near 6,000 souls of Irish Catholics, forming the congregation of Saint Patrick's Church..."<sup>3</sup>

#### COUNTRY SETTLEMENTS

Lest it be thought that Irish settlement in Quebec was solely urban, the following paragraphs will shed light on the existence of rural settlements of Irish. Part of the story of settlement of the area immediately north of Quebec is in the context of the settling of veterans of the Napoleonic Wars.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. "Recapitulation by Districts and Counties of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants of Lower Canada and of the other Statistical Information obtained in the year 1844, under the Provisional Act 7th Victoria, Cap. 24, intituled, 'An Act for taking the Census of the Inhabitants of Lower Canada and for obtaining certain statistical information therein mentioned'". (Montreal: Stewart, Derbishire and George Desbarats, 1846).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Antonio Drolet, La Ville de Québec Histoire Municipale II, Régime Anglais jusqu'a l'incorporation 1759-1833 (Québec: La Société Historique de Québec, 1965). Drolet is the only one who is brave enough to put down a real number. He does not cite any source. p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Quebec Gazette, April 1, 1835.

As early as 1816 demobilized British soldiers were given grants of land in Valcartier and in 1824 in Stoneham, north of Quebec City. Soon afterwards these settlers generally designated as British were surrounded by specifically Irish settlers of both Catholic and Protestant persuasion. Tribute was paid to their hardiness in the following:

Sur les Laurentides, terre pauvre ne pouvait essayer de s'accrocher que des gens ne craignant pas le dure, des Irlandais, des Français...une guirlande Irlandais vient festonner en ces années 1820-1830 le rebord méridional de la région. A Stoneham, à Valcartier, au lac Beauport, s'installent de petites colonies originaires d'Irlande; en 1820 ils débordent de Valcartier sur Fossambault où ils fondent Ste Catherine première paroisse dans les Laurentides (1832)<sup>1</sup> et glissent de là vers Saint Raymond<sup>2</sup>.

There were also Irish settlements south of Quebec along the Craig Road to the Eastern Townships and on the Kennebec Road. Emigrants in 1834 were advised of such settlements on the south shore. For example, of Frampton and St. Giles, it is said "Its population is principally Irish."<sup>3</sup> The names of other towns bespeak the origin of their founders; Ulster, Dublin, Coleraine and New Ireland<sup>4</sup> -- towns southwest of Quebec.

<sup>1</sup>Personal reminiscences: a statue of St. Patrick was one among the parish favorites gracing the south wall of St. Catherine's Church until its redecoration in 1969.

<sup>2</sup>Raoul Blanchard, Le Centre du Canada Français Province de Québec, (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin Limitée, 1948), p. 428.

<sup>3</sup>Adam Fergusson, (of Woodhill, Advocate) Practical notes made during a tour in Canada and a portion of the United States, MDCCCXXXI the Second Edition to which are now added Notes made during a second visit to Canada, MDCCCXXXIII (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & London: T. Cadell, Strand, MDCCCXXXIV), p. 355.

<sup>4</sup>op. cit. p. 356.

### SOME EARLY RECORDS OF THE IRISH IN QUEBEC

It is to the city of Quebec, however, that this thesis is confined and it is there that the earliest trace of their presence is documented. The celebration of St. Patrick's Day is usually marked by Irishmen wherever they find themselves, and Quebec is no exception. It is to this celebration that attention is drawn in order to point to their early presence in Quebec.

The earliest recorded celebration in Quebec City was by Irish Protestants and

took place in Quebec in 1765 and...mention (was) made of it in The Quebec Gazette: "The 17th of March that year fell on a Sunday and at the service held for Protestants in the Recollet Church which was attended by the Chief Justice, civil and military officers as well as the leading merchants of the town, a patriotic sermon suitable to the occasion was preached by Reverend Doctor Brooks. After Divine service, a large company partook of dinner at the "Sun" tavern which was located on St. John Street owned by Miles Prentice, where loyal and patriotic toasts were drunk. On the Monday evening following, the feast of St. Patrick was further celebrated by a ball given at the concert hall which was largely attended<sup>1</sup>.

Another very old reference to the celebration of St. Patrick's Day occurs in the diary of the Scot, William Lindsay, a businessman who came to Quebec about 1770. During the invasion of the Americans in 1775, he enlisted in the British Militia. His Journal was published in 1826 in the Canada Review and the entry for March 17, 1776, records that "this being St. Patrick's Day, the Governor (Sir Guy Carleton) requested the garrison to put off keeping it until the 17th of

---

<sup>1</sup>George Gale, Historic Tales of Old Quebec, (Quebec: The Telegraph Printing Company, 1920) p. 130 .

May when he promised they should be enabled to keep it properly."<sup>1</sup>

The first recorded Catholic celebration of St. Patrick's Day occurred in 1819 when successful efforts were made to have a High Mass celebrated in the Congregationalist Chapel on Esplanade Hill. A sermon was preached by Reverend Michael Dufresne<sup>2</sup>, curate of Notre Dame de Québec, who had taken an interest in the Irish immigrants then arriving in Quebec<sup>3</sup>.

#### A KEY DOCUMENT

The three references above are of but passing interest compared to the document dated 1817 in the Archdiocesan Archives of Quebec. This document, a petition to the Bishop, is extremely important, because it identified, at this early date, the Irish Catholics aware of themselves as a group and desirous of having a priest to minister to them in English. Moreover, it contains the names which appear again in 1827 when the Irish made their next move (as far as available documents show) to obtain suitable religious facilities for themselves.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Bulletin de Recherches Historiques, Vol. XLV, No. 8, August 1939.

<sup>2</sup>Michael Dufresne, born in Montreal in 1791, was ordained October 9, 1814; was curate at Quebec, 1819, serving at Notre Dame de Foye; 1822 pastor of St. Nicholas; in 1838 he was pastor of St. Gervais, and died there in 1843. Cf. Tanguay, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup>James M. O'Leary, History of the Irish Catholics of Quebec, St. Patrick's Church to the death of Rev. P. McMahon, (Quebec: Daily Telegraph Print, 1896) p. 7.

Addressed to the Bishop of Quebec in 1817<sup>1</sup> from a group of English speaking Catholics, the document reads as follows:

To His Lordship Joseph Octave Plessis, Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church in the Province of Lower Canada, etc., etc., The petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the City of Quebec doth respectfully represent: That they are desirous of having an English Roman Catholic Clergyman to reside amongst them, for the purpose of giving them Mass on Sundays, and Holidays, and to instruct them in their Christian duties. Wherefore your petitioners request that your Lordship will be pleased to nominate the Reverend Charles French now in the City of Quebec<sup>2</sup>, to officiate for your petitioners as a further encouragement for the Labours of the Reverend Charles French, promise to subscribe such sums as are specified and affixed hereunto and your Lordship's compliance with their request will make them in duty bound to pray...<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Joseph Octave Plessis was born in Montreal in 1763 and ordained in Quebec in 1786. He became coadjutor Bishop of Quebec in 1800, was consecrated in 1801, and was Bishop of Quebec from 1806 to 1825. Cf. Tanguay, op. cit. p. 135.

<sup>2</sup>Charles French, O.P. Tanguay says he was a curate in Quebec City, in 1812, served in the Miramichi from 1813 to 1816, went thence to Andover, Mass. where he died in 1850. Cf. Tanguay, op. cit. p. 175. The document cited bears no date in the text. The date 1817 is inked on the outside in a hand and ink different from those inside. If the phrase "now in the city" refers to his 1812 presence, then the document could be five years older than the "1817" indicates, and that would place an Irish congregation in Quebec city in 1812. Not impossible. Gordian Horan one of that petition, was married at NDQ in 1811.

<sup>3</sup>Address of some citizens of Quebec to the Bishop.  
A. A. Q. I-100 Later this document will be analyzed.

There follows a list of fifty three names pledging a total of one hundred thirty five pounds and ten shillings. Of the names, forty-two are Irish, eight English, two Scottish, and one French.

Note well that as early as 1817 when the "Great Migration" was hardly underway, the Irish were banding together. Not only did they naturally gravitate together but they were also recognized as a group by the Church, first when individuals like the aforementioned Father Michael Dufresne took an interest in them, or when Father Charles Felix Cazeau<sup>1</sup> requested the Ursuline nuns to open "a special class for Irish girls" which they did in 1820 for about sixty little girls<sup>2</sup>. These first contacts of the Irish with the French-Canadian clergy in the roles of preacher and educator no doubt could only strengthen the Irish in their devotion to the Church and its priests.

As the petition of 1817 showed, and as will be demonstrated in later chapters, when the Irish needed anything of an ecclesiastical nature, they addressed themselves to the Bishop. However, in Canada,

<sup>1</sup>Charles Felix Cazeau, 1807-1881, served as undersecretary to Bishop Plessis, secretary to Bishops Panet, Signay and Turgeon. He became Vicar General of Diocese of Quebec in 1850. Cf. Tanguay, op. cit. p. 186.

<sup>2</sup>Gale, op. cit., p. 172. The story of the Ursulines' accommodating the sixty little girls in the middle of a school term is related in detail in Rev. Mere Ste-Croix, Glimpses from the Monastery Scenes from the history of the Ursulines of Quebec during 200 years 1639-1839. Second Edition, (Quebec: Lib. Demers et Frère, 1897.)

when those needs were basically material ones (land for the building of a church), in addition to the ecclesiastical permission, they had to deal with a lay corporation within the local church, that of the Fabrique. Faced with this fact of Canadian life the Irish community gradually evolved its own 'corporation' or committee. The next chapter will give the necessary background on the Fabrique and will show the formation of the Irish laymen's committee.

#### SUMMARY

In summary then this chapter should dispel forever the popular notion that the Irish only began to arrive in Canada in 1847, for it has shown that within the first third of the nineteenth century there were in Quebec City a possible seven thousand Irish out of a total city population of some thirty-two thousand. This chapter has shown that by 1833 these Irish people had built an imposing church for themselves in the city. The next chapter will offer a full explanation of the structure and composition as well as the function of the "Fabrique" mentioned above, and of the "Committee of Management" which the Irish formed to conduct their dealings with the Fabrique.

CHAPTER TWO  
THE MEN AT WORK

THE FABRIQUE

## THE INSTITUTION OF "LA FABRIQUE"

The institution called "La Fabrique" is as old as New France. When the "English speaking citizens" in 1817 made their request to Bishop Plessis for a priest of their own, they were addressing the head of the largest diocese in North America, and eventually the head of its oldest parish, Notre Dame de Québec. That parish had been given the title in 1664, that is, raised from mission status; it could keep registers of births, deaths, and marriages and count upon having a priest with the title of curé. However, even before its canonical erection as a parish, or its promotion from being a mission, or from a subsidiary connection to a senior parish, Notre Dame de Québec's material goods were administered by the lay group called "la Fabrique"<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>1</sup>"Fabrique" has been variously translated as vestry or "the trustees". Since the word was not translated in most of the Irish correspondence, it will be used untranslated here. The law of the province of Quebec does not translate the term either. In its definitions, the present law, the Fabrique Act of 1965 reads thus:

9. A fabrique of a parish or chapelry, by the very fact of the canonical erection of such parish or chapelry, after coming into force of this act, shall be a corporation from the date of the publication in the Quebec Official Gazette...
13. A fabrique is an ecclesiastical corporation whose object is to acquire, possess, hold and administer property necessary for the practice of the Roman Catholic Religion in the parish or chapelry for which it is constituted.
14. A fabrique of a parish or chapelry shall consist of the persons who hold the offices of pastor of that parish or of ministering cleric of the chapelry, and of church wardens of such parish or chapelry.

Fabrique Act 9, 13, 14 Elizabeth II, Chap. 76 (Quebec: Roch Lefebvre, Queen's Printer, 1965), p. 5-6. The word "chapelry" is defined in the act as a territory erected as a chapelry for the purposes of the Roman Catholic Religion and the benefit of the faithful of such religion, p. 1 (desserte).

the administrative board or corporation. The "curé", or pastor, appointed by the Bishop always remained the spiritual leader of the parish, but the Fabrique took care of temporal affairs and material goods, an indication of the importance granted the laity in the administration of the parish even in those early days.

#### THE COMPOSITION OF "LA FABRIQUE"

The Fabrique usually consisted of three men<sup>1</sup> chosen in different ways according to local custom, who served for three years as marguilliers<sup>2</sup> or church wardens<sup>3</sup>. The composition of the Executive (bureau d'administration) of the Fabrique consisted originally of the Curé as ex officio member, serving as president, and three other men (elected by the paid-up pew holders in most parishes, but chosen by the Marguilliers themselves in the case of Quebec and Montreal). The current Marguilliers were called "marguilliers du banc", and their senior member who was serving his third year was termed "marguillier en charge"<sup>4</sup>. The latter was responsible for administering the money of the parish, paying debts and salaries and rendering an account of his administration annually to

<sup>1</sup>Four men were chosen for Quebec City's large parish. Women were excluded.

<sup>2</sup>The word is infrequently translated "gentlemen churchwardens" in the Irish correspondence hence "Marguillier" will be used without translation throughout this thesis.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Marcel Trudel, Initiation à la Nouvelle France, histoire et institutions, (Montreal: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968) p. 267 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

the Fabrique or to the parishioners before retiring "from the bench". On his annual visit, the Bishop, too, saw the report of the senior marguillier. Though the Fabrique according to law consisted of the three or four designated men, by custom, meetings of the Fabrique were attended by "les anciens marguilliers" who usually exercised some influence. Anciens Marguilliers were called to serve on sub-committees and so on, at the choice of the marguilliers du banc.

#### THE REVENUES

The revenues which the marguilliers administered came from rents of land; "quête de l'Enfant Jésus", a collection taken up by the parish priest on his parochial visit; the "tasse" or Sunday collection (so-called because it was taken up in a cup-like receptacle); offerings of the faithful, pew rents, and funeral payments. In addition, the Fabrique received one-third of the offerings made for High Masses. "La Dime" or the tithe was the personal property of parish priests. From these revenues, the marguilliers were expected to pay the ordinary running expenses of the church: the salary of the bedeau<sup>1</sup>; the expenses connected with divine worship: the cost of candles, hosts, wine, linen and vestments; such maintenance of the church as cleaning and heating. For major repairs or additions interior or exterior to the church or presbytery the Fabrique must obtain the consent of the Bishop of the Diocese, and then the approval and support of the parishioners.

---

<sup>1</sup>The French term Bedeau is another of the words adopted by the Irish and used more frequently than the English term beadle.

These latter paid for the repairs or improvements by pledges of hours of work or barrels of nails, loads of stone and wood: a "Corvée" or a "cotisation", a levy of money or goods. A body of responsible citizens and parishioners, recognized as such by law, the Fabrique had both power and position within the structure of the parish.

#### THE MEN

A full listing of the men who, as marguilliers, occupied the front pews of the Cathedral over the long years of its history is not available. In fact the few biographical notes that will be supplied in this chapter are merely hazarded. Should they indeed be the biographies of the men intended, they indicate a high level of civic involvement, besides interest in church affairs, on the part of several of the men in question.

#### THE BISHOPS OF QUEBEC

However, a list of the ecclesiastical dignitaries was readily available. During the period in which the Irish made application for a church of their own, the parish of Notre Dame de Québec to which they belonged usually had as pastor the coadjutor bishop of the diocese. The listing will indicate the closeness of the two offices:

TABLE OF ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT<sup>1</sup>

<u>Bishop of Quebec</u>	<u>Corresponding Coadjutors and Pastors</u>
Joseph Octave Plessis 1806-1825	B.C. Panet Coadjutor & Pastor: 1807-1825
Bernard Claude Panet 1825-1833	Joseph Signay Coadjutor: 1827-1833
Joseph Signay 1833-1850	P.F. Turgeon Coadjutor: 1834-1850
Pierre Flavien Turgeon 1850-1867	C.F. Baillargeon Parish Priest: 1831-1850
Charles François Baillargeon 1867-1870	

Most of the correspondence reported in this thesis came to the attention of or issued from Panet, or Baillargeon.

THE COMMITTEE

VAGUE ORIGINS

In contrast to the well established and legally defined Fabrique, the Irish of the early period were just beginning to find themselves as a group, much less had they organized anything resembling an ongoing secretariat to act as their spokesman. At the time of the 1817 request for a priest certainly some leader or leaders had arisen among them, were it only to circulate the petition for pledges and signatures, but as far as archives indicate there was no continuity of leadership. The Diocese and

---

<sup>1</sup>Tanguay, op. cit. various pages.

Parish of Quebec had gradually recognized the different group within the flock. By 1820 both French and Irish priests were specifically assigned to look after them.

The use of the term "Committee" by the Irish first appeared in January 1828 when a group of laymen with Father Hugh Paisley<sup>1</sup> at their head wrote to the Bishop to request a church of their own ... "a meeting of the Committee"<sup>2</sup>. In March of that year the term was elaborated to "Committee for the erection of a new Catholic Church"<sup>3</sup>. Finally, "Committee of Management" appeared in the Minute Book which was begun in 1831<sup>4</sup>. A further elaboration appeared in correspondence: "the Committee of Management of the Catholics of Quebec speaking the English language"<sup>5</sup>. Of more than passing interest is the expansion of the title.

---

<sup>1</sup>Hugh Paisley was born in 1795 in Scotland. He was ordained in Quebec on October 3, 1824 and was sent as curate to St. Roch's Parish, thence in 1825 to NDQ, then in 1828 as pastor to La Petite Nation; in 1831 he was posted to the mission at Drummondville. In 1832 he was made pastor at St. Catherine's in Portneuf County where there was a large Irish population. He tended the sick in the General Hospital in Quebec in 1847, contracted "the fever", died and was buried in the chapel of the hospital. Cf. Tanguay, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup>Committee to Bishop and Wardens, January 31, 1828, AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's No. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Committee to Bishop and Wardens, March 7, 1828, AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's No. 1 (no other number).

<sup>4</sup>Minute Book is described in Introduction.

<sup>5</sup>Minute Book, May 15, 1831.

The Irish, in the majority of the group seeking to build a church, were conscious of those among them who were fellow Catholics but not Irish: a few Scots, Father Hugh Paisley, and one Charles McDonald, and some English like the Sharples family. However, Episcopal correspondence generally used the term "les Irlandais" without distinction. The long, but accurate, designation of the people in question holds even to this day. As for the term itself, "Committee of Management", it was in current use in those days to designate the functioning executive group of a society or an association in contrast to a board of honorary officers<sup>1</sup>.

#### COMPOSITION OF THE COMMITTEE

The Committee of Management that emerged from the Irish congregation did not have the inherited methods of procedure for membership or action that the more experienced Fabrique had. The Committee had grown out of the immediate needs of the people and in the beginning it centralized, coordinated, and planned the activities that led to the building of the church. Very little time was available for internal planning from 1831 through 1832 when the Church was being built, hence,

---

<sup>1</sup>Cf. the city directories of Quebec. There are several of these books for the nineteenth century, for example: "The Quebec Almanack and British American Royal Kalendar" published by William Neilson; A.B. Cherrier's "The Quebec Directory"; T.H. Gleason's "The Quebec Directory for 1822" to name a few. They contained lists of merchants, traders, housekeepers; the names of associations with their current officers; government officers; laws, particularly those regarding trade, customs and excise information, calendar of tides, etc., etc.

it was not until 1833 that by-laws for membership and activities were introduced. Both these and the early structure of the Committee can be drawn from its Minutes. The Committee of Management was a large body: generally as many as eighteen and rarely fewer than fourteen attended the meetings, though seven constituted a quorum<sup>1</sup>. When the Minute Book was first begun, the weekly meetings were held "on Sunday after Vespers in the sacristy of the Lower Town Church"<sup>2</sup>.

#### PROCEDURE FOR MEMBERSHIP

In 1833 when it had achieved its goal of building the church, the Committee could devote time to internal organization. Accordingly, the following procedures were drawn up. Membership on the Committee of Management was by vote of paid-up pewholders. After a few years' experience, the following procedure was drawn up:

1. That it shall be the duty hereafter of the treasurer on the 24th day of December of each year, to furnish the Secretary with a written list of the names of the Pewholders.
2. That it shall be the duty hereafter of the Secretary to furnish each pewholder previous to the annual elections for Committee men, with a printed (underlined in ms) certified list containing the names of the six pewholders chosen by the Committee at the end of each year, to be submitted to the Congregation in order that two therefrom be added to the standing Committee.

<sup>1</sup>Minute Book, February 6, 1831.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. The "Lower Town Church" in question is Notre Dame des Victoires; see Map, Figure II, p.11.

3. That in giving his vote, each pewholder shall erase, drawing a pen across, four of the names contained in the said Certified List, leaving the names of the two persons untouched for whom he intends to vote at the said annual election<sup>1</sup>.

That the Irish intended to model their church organization on that of the French Canadian parish structure is evident from their resolutions when first they applied to the Bishop, in January 1828:

1. That it is the opinion of the Committee that in all matters Spiritual and temporal relative to the intended church, it is the intention of the petitioners applying for the same to place themselves under the guidance and superintendance (sic) of their Lordships the bishop and coadjutor bishop and the gentlemen church wardens of the Parish of Quebec.

...

2. That it is further expedient that the church wardens with the Parish Priest do appoint three lay persons of the Congregation to transact under their authority the temporal affairs of the said church conjointly with the officiating priest and that one of the said lay persons so appointed as above mentioned be removed and another person from the Congregation be appointed by the Parish priest and Church Wardens, to replace the person so removed and so on the succession every year according to the practice in the annual choice of Church Wardens for the Parish<sup>2</sup>.

However, all these requests coming from the Irish, request for a church, request for Bishop's appointment of laymen to handle their affairs, were to be answered in due time. Piece by piece parts of the

---

<sup>1</sup>Resolutions, AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's, 1, No. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Minutes of a meeting January 30, 1831, AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1, No. 9.

long range picture fell into place, but it would be a good many years before full parish status would be reached.

#### THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

The Committee worked frequently with the direct approval of the congregation, as can be judged from the following:

At a general meeting of the Irish Roman Catholics convened by public advertizement (sic) and held at Mr. Molloy's, Lower Town on Sunday last, 16 January, 1831 ...<sup>1</sup>

The Committee received the endorsement of the parishioners.

It was unanimously resolved that placing the utmost confidence in the Committee at present entrusted with the management of our affairs, we give them full power to take any further steps they may think proper ...<sup>2</sup>

This, in general, was the structure of the Committee (hereinafter, the term "Committee" will be used for the Irish) which undertook the building of the church, to be described in the third chapter. At this point, a closer look at some of the personalities on the committee is called for in order to see what kind of people these Irishmen were who wanted to build a church of their own. It would seem that the

---

<sup>1</sup>Resolutions, AAQ 61 CDSt. Patrick's, 1, No. 6.

<sup>2</sup>Minutes of a meeting January 30, 1831, AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's, 1, No. 9.

committee should be representative of the people, therefore a study of the members should in turn be a sampling of Quebec Irish society.

### THE MEN

#### JOHN CANNON AND GORDIAN HORAN

In 1827 Father Hugh Paisley, "vicaire" of Notre Dame de Québec, met with a group of sixteen Irishmen<sup>1</sup>, among whom were Gordian Horan and John Cannon, to take the first steps towards getting a building. John and Gordian were brothers-in-law, businessmen who had been in Quebec City a long time: both had been signatories of the 1817 petition to Bishop Plessis.

John Cannon's career is an interesting one among those of the early Irish in Quebec. Originally from Wexford, John's father Edward had brought his family to St. John's, Newfoundland in 1774, and there most of his children were born, including John in 1783. By 1798 Edward had moved to Quebec and established the contracting business that his son John inherited. By 1806 the Cannon firm had erected the Union Hotel (still standing on St. Anne Street, occupied by the Provincial Tourist Bureau) and had contracted for some of the work on the Anglican Cathedral and Morrin College. During the 1820s when both European and Canadian craftsmen were building in the Upper Town, John Cannon added his share to the architectural growth of the city<sup>2</sup>. In addition to his business

---

<sup>1</sup>St. Patrick's Parish Archives, October 1827. (See Chapter III).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. APT Bulletin, 1970, p. 78.

activities and public service as M.P. for Hampshire (Portneuf County today) 1824 - 1826 and 1827 - 1830<sup>1</sup>, John Cannon found time for the work of the Committee of Management. Besides this, he exhibited his benevolence and charity in other ways, such as when "wishing to further the good intentions of Simon Lawlor, acolyte ... to become a priest", he assigned to him before Notary Edward Glackmeyer in 1824, certain money and the rents of a house on Artillery Street<sup>2</sup>.

Typical of the Irish in the early days, John found a French-Canadian wife: Angèle Griault dite Larivière<sup>3</sup>. After her death he married Archange Baby<sup>4</sup> who survived him. Evidently John was able to inculcate a spirit of public service in his family, for among his descendants are many who devoted their careers to the law or politics or to the church. His own sons, James and Lawrence Ambrose were lawyers and his daughter Ellen married the lawyer Dennis Murray<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Joseph Desjardins, Guide Parlementaire, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup>Glackmeyer, No. 44, Titre Sacerdotale John Cannon en faveur de Simon Lawlor, 24 avril 1824.

<sup>3</sup>Registre N.D.Q., 9 février 1808.

<sup>4</sup>op.cit. 13 février 1827.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Robert Cannon, K.C., "Edward Cannon, 1739-1817" in Canadian Catholic Historical Association Annual Report, Vol. III, 1935-36, pp. 11-22.

A third son Edward George, a notary, served later on the Committee of Management of St. Patrick's. Despite the fact that John died bankrupt<sup>1</sup>, prominent members of all communities, Irish and French and English Protestant, besides his own family, testified their esteem by signing the register at his funeral in 1833: Dominick Daly, the provincial secretary; John Neilson, editor of the Quebec Gazette; Judge William King McCord; Judge Edward Bowen; François Defoy and H. Perrault<sup>2</sup>. In addition, the Church gave him the honor of burial in the St. Anne's Chapel of the Cathedral Crypt<sup>3</sup>.

John Cannon's brother-in-law, Gordian Horan, had married John's sister Eleanor at the Cathedral in 1811<sup>4</sup>. The Horan family came from Ennis in County Kildare<sup>5</sup>. With his brother Bernard, Gordian ran a dry goods business with stores in the Upper Town, on Buade Street, and in the Lower Town<sup>6</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>APT Bulletin, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup>Registre NDQ, 22 février 1833.

<sup>3</sup>Bulletin de Recherches Historiques, Vol. 20, 1914, p. 305.

<sup>4</sup>Registre NDQ, 28 janvier 1811.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>John Smith, The Quebec Directory or Stranger's Guide to the City for 1826.

Besides exhibiting a persevering interest in the parish life of his fellow Irishmen (he was Secretary-Treasurer of the Committee from 1827 to 1831) he was also active in civic affairs. In 1825, he was Vice-President of the Quebec Fire Society<sup>1</sup>. Besides that he was treasurer in 1829 of the newly founded Society of Friends of Ireland in Quebec<sup>2</sup>. When he died in 1831, just as the Committee of which he had been such an active member was in the process of buying land, his grateful fellow committee men noted his passing and commanded a memorial verse to be entered in the Minutes as follows:

What though this humble sheet no titles keep  
 Yet silent here the private virtues sleep  
 Truth, honor, justice here together ran  
 Quiet to the last with mind composed and even  
 Quiet withdrew as in a trance to Heaven<sup>3</sup>.

Gordian's daughter Frances Agnes married John Maguire, later Judge, also a later member of the Committee of Management. Maguire was the one whose excommunication for political activities was lifted by Bishop George Conroy in 1877<sup>4</sup>. Another daughter of Gordian's became

<sup>1</sup>Quebec Almanach for 1825.

<sup>2</sup>Montreal Vindicator, May 12, 1829.

<sup>3</sup>Minute Book, July 17, 1831.

<sup>4</sup>John Maguire supported the patriots in 1837 and followed LaFontaine in the post-rebellion period. He was involved in Quebec City municipal politics from 1846 to 1854. He was made a judge in 1852 and in 1873 he was a Judge of the Superior Court in Rimouski where in 1877 he condemned the Catholic priests of Bonaventure County for favoring the Conservative candidate, misusing their ecclesiastical power. He was excommunicated by Bishop J.P. François LaForce Langevin. Bishop George Conroy, Ablegate on special assignment to Canada lifted the excommunication in the fall of 1877. DCB Vol. X, pp. 536-7.

Sister Marie Jean of the General Hospital<sup>1</sup>.

Best known of Gordian Horan's three children was his son Edward John<sup>2</sup> who became third Bishop of Kingston, Canada West, in 1858. Gordian had not the joy of seeing the church built that he had worked for, nor the added honor of witnessing the consecration of his son Edward John as Bishop in its sanctuary.

---

<sup>1</sup> Marcel Trudel, "Les Communautés de femmes sous la régime militaire (1759-1764)", *La Société d'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique Sessions d'Etude*, (Ottawa: 1956), p. 38: "...intéressant ... le niveau social de ces religieuses ... en étudiant l'origine des religieuses, nous nous sommes trouvé en présence d'un fait resté jusqu'ici inaperçu: c'est l'Hôpital Général de Québec qui prend figure du couvent "chic" de la Nouvelle-France; c'est dans ce monastère que les filles des grandes familles se donnent rendez-vous pour se consacrer à Dieu ... à l'automne de 1760: Hôpital de Québec: 22 religieuses, 13 de grandes familles, 59.1 pourcentage aristocratique."

<sup>2</sup> Edward John Horan, third Bishop of Kingston, after a career as professor, director and assistant treasurer of the Seminaire de Québec, secretary of Laval University, principal of Laval Normal School, was made Bishop in 1858. Cf. J.E. Rea, "Edward John Horan". Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. X, 1871 to 1880, p. 360-361, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972). Rea writes of a "curious correspondence" carried on between Bishop Horan and Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan. The latter succeeded Horan as secretary of the Committee of Management of St. Patrick's. O'Callaghan and Horan Sr. were contemporaries in Quebec's Irish society, hence, it is not impossible that O'Callaghan met the younger Horan in the Horan home. Later both men, away from Quebec, may have corresponded about Quebec City Irish affairs. Rea does not note the topic of correspondence.

## FRENCH COLLEAGUES

At the time of the opening of negotiations between the Irishmen and the leaders of the French parish, some five men were named by the Fabrique of Notre Dame de Québec to meet and negotiate with the Irish. The document, a letter from the Marguilliers, gave surnames only, with one exception: Quirouet, Langevin, Brunet, Massue and Phillippe Panet<sup>1</sup>. The city directories gave some scant information under names like those: Chinic and Quirouet were commission merchants on Sault-au-Matelot Street<sup>2</sup> and one François Quirouet, M.P. for Orleans from 1820 to 1830<sup>3</sup>, was also listed as a Legislative Councillor, having his home at 4 Ste. Anne Street<sup>4</sup>. (Later a Chinic became an active member of the Fabrique).

The lawyer Louis Massue (1786-1869) had a home on Place d'Armes according to the 1847 directory and there was listed a Louis Massue and Co. Merchants on Fabrique Street in the same year<sup>5</sup>.

The Honorable Philippe Panet (1791-1855) was simply listed in the directories as a lawyer at 49 St. John Street, but his well known career extended all the way from a stint as Captain at the battle of

<sup>1</sup>Marguilliers of N.D.Q. to Committee, 1828, uncatalogued document, St. Patrick's Archives.

<sup>2</sup>John Smith, Quebec Directory, 1826.

<sup>3</sup>Desjardins, op. cit. p. 129.

<sup>4</sup>Lejeune, Dict. Général de biographie (Ottawa: Univ. d'Ottawa, 1951).

<sup>5</sup>Quebec Directory and City & Commercial Register, 1847-48, Alfred Hawkins, 1847.

Chateauguay to Member of the Special Council in 1838 (it is he who, along with Elzéar Bédard and Réal de St. Vallières, was suspended from the bench in 1838). He was also a politician, elected to the Legislature three times, a member of the Executive Council in 1831 and a judge in 1832.

One other name on the list, that of Langevin is possibly that of Jean Langevin, born in 1778, merchant, the father of Hector Louis and two priests, besides four other children. He was Assistant Secretary to Lord Gosford and later became "greffier correspondant des terres de la Couronne"<sup>1</sup>.

All the addresses for businesses and residences given above for both French and Irish are within walking distance. It is quite likely that neighbourly discussions took place, and these could account for some of the silences in the correspondence. Like the Irish committee, the Fabrique reflected the spectrum of the city. There were men engaged in a variety of businesses and professions interested in all aspects of the lively city scene.

The first Irishmen named in this chapter, John Cannon and Gordian Horan, were enterprising businessmen who showed their interest in Irish affairs by, among other things, joining the Friends of Ireland in Quebec. However, neither lived long enough into the 1830s to have to take a stand for or against Papineau, so it is hard to determine what their politics might have been. If a man's children are any reflection of the father's politics, it is worth noting that John Cannon's

---

<sup>1</sup>Lejeune, op. cit. p. 60.

son Edward George and his son-in-law, William Downes, were both militia men in the Quebec Loyal Volunteers who served in 1837<sup>1</sup>.

O'CALLAGHAN, QUIGLEY, TEED AND CONNOLLY

In marked contrast to the mild existence of Cannon and Horan stand the more exciting lives of four other members of the Committee: Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, Michael Connolly, John Teed and Michael Quigley. All four names appeared on the opening page of the Minute Book<sup>2</sup>. To those who are familiar with the era of Louis-Joseph Papineau in Canadian politics, E.B. O'Callaghan is no stranger<sup>3</sup>. However, the fact that he lived and worked for almost ten years in Quebec City before he went to Montreal in 1833 is not quite as well known<sup>4</sup>. Connolly, Teed and Quigley were political associates of his during all his Canadian career and remained in his sphere of interest and often in his correspondence for years after his swift departure to the United States in 1837.

O'Callaghan was born in Mallow, County Cork, around 1796 and received his education in Dublin and in Paris, life in the latter city probably preparing him for an easy entry into French speaking Quebec some time around 1824 or 1825. Between that date and his departure for

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Hawkins Directory 1844-45.

<sup>2</sup>Minute Book, February 6, 1831.

<sup>3</sup>O'Callaghan was deputy for Yamaska from November 22, 1834 to March 27, 1838. Desjardins, Guide Parlementaire, p. 156.

<sup>4</sup>Research in progress by Dr. Margery Fitzpatrick into these hidden years of O'Callaghan's life.

Montreal in 1833, he managed to become involved, not only in medical work, as for instance with Doctor Painchaud in the setting up of a clinic for immigrants in the port, but also and it seems, much more, in politics and Irish affairs in Quebec. He must have been a man of boundless energy for no task seemed to be too small nor too big for him. His activities ranged from such minor things as selling tickets for St. Patrick's Day dinners all the way to being secretary of numerous associations; medical, political, national and religious. In 1829 he was secretary of the Friends of Ireland in Quebec, and what is important to this paper, secretary of the Committee of Management of St. Patrick's during the crucial years of its building the church and establishing itself as a central body of the Irish.

During his turn in that office, the questions submitted to the lawyers, the laws for the election of committee men and the refutation of schism seem to be the work of his hand. Despite the fact that he later stirred up controversy or jealousy around him<sup>1</sup>, his fellow members were so grateful for his work on the Committee that they offered him a silver snuff box as a token of their esteem<sup>2</sup> when in 1833 he left for Montreal to succeed Daniel Tracey (another Irish medical man-cum

<sup>1</sup>A manuscript notebook of the period in my possession accuses O'Callaghan of forever seeking patronage, of being a turncoat (for changing the name of the Vindicator - omitting the word Irish (but that was done in 1832)), of disloyalty to his Quebec friends and Father McMahon. Unfortunately the ms. has no sign of authorship - simply some indications where confirmation of the accusations might be found in newspapers.

<sup>2</sup>Minute Book, August 30, 1833.

political editor) founder-editor of the Montreal Vindicator, who had died of cholera in 1832<sup>1</sup>. After he left, however, O'Callaghan did not lose touch with his Quebec friends. In the 1833-37 period he was often in Quebec, and it seems he worked (with a degree of success) to keep the Irish in the reform camp. In 1836, for instance, he was honored guest at the St. Patrick's Day dinner at Mr. Murphy's Custom House Hotel, offered by the Irish Reformers of whom Michael Quigley was president<sup>2</sup>. The latter, along with Michael Connolly and John Teed, seems to have formed the core of the Irish adherents of Papineau in Quebec City before and after 1837. Each of these three men reflects some part of the life of the Irish in Quebec. Michael Quigley, Irish born but exact origins unknown, was a master mason and plasterer, and entered into partnership at various times with O'Leary or Sharpe or Murphy. The 1820s and 1830s were a period of construction in Quebec, and Quigley and his partners, as well as John Cannon, were among the Irish and English craftsmen who built and decorated homes in the Upper Town. Besides involvement in politics, devotion to church affairs played a large part in Michael Quigley's life. Not only did he spend time on the Committee of Management of St. Patrick's, but later he was the benefactor of the Irish community of St. Malachie in Dorchester County on the South Shore, where he donated two lots of land for the church, cemetery and for the school<sup>3</sup>. A few words from Histoire de....

---

<sup>1</sup>Emmett Mullally, M.D., "Daniel Tracey, A Pioneer for Responsible Government", CCHA Report, 1934-1935, pp. 33-45.

<sup>2</sup>MS notebook No. 2.

<sup>3</sup>L'Abbé Jules-Adrien Kirouac, Histoire de la Paroisse de St. Malachie, (Quebec: Laflamme et Proulx, 1909), p. 52.

Saint-Malachie treat a facet of Michael Quigley which rounds out an interesting life:

Michael Quigley était un homme droit, honnête, dévoué pour le bien de ses compatriotes. Il avait une certaine instruction, si l'on juge par ses correspondances avec le Rev. Me Dunn, curé de Frampton, et les nombreux mémoires par lui adressés à Mgr Signay premier Archevêque de Québec. Il arriva très souvent de 1847-1848, alors que le curé Dunn ne pouvait venir que rarement faire la mission à St. Malachie, que le brave M. Quigley rassembla tous les enfants Canadiens et irlandais dans la chapelle de la mission pour leur faire le catéchisme<sup>1</sup>.

At the time of the building of St. Patrick's however, Quigley was in Quebec and was involved with Irish affairs there. In the case of politics, Quigley joined Teed and Connolly in the Quebec City election campaigns during this lively period in Canada's story<sup>2</sup>. Quigley died in 1861 at the age of sixty-six, having given time, energy and resources to his church and to his new country. He was buried beneath the old chapel of St. Malachie, of which he had been a marguillier as well as the donor of the land. A white marble plaque over the family pew bore the simple words: "Michael Quigley, decedé le 14 septembre, 1861, agé de 66 ans".

From what can be learned of the life of John Teed, the youngest man of the trio, beyond the fact of his arrest in 1838 and the consequent activity

<sup>1</sup>Kirouac, op. cit. pp. 52-3. The present Quigley family of Quebec and St. Malachie, direct descendants of Michael are among the few Quebec families like Cannon, Maguire, Horan, O'Meara and Alleyn who can trace their Quebec presence to those who established St. Patrick's, in other words, the pre-famine Irish.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Quebec Gazette, election years.

surrounding it, there is enough to establish him as a fairly prosperous tailor, working on Champlain Street with several apprentices learning from him. His family managed to do more than eke out a living, it seems, for at the time of the dedication of St. Patrick's Church, his wife donated a set of vestments as a gift to the church<sup>1</sup>. His name is not Irish<sup>2</sup>, but his mother and his wife were; and he often stood as godfather to the children of his Irish friends<sup>3</sup>. Teed was the youngest<sup>4</sup> of the reform group under discussion, but the first to die. He indulged his taste for politics by hosting many reform meetings in his house on Champlain Street. He was arrested in November 1838 along with Michael Connolly, Pierre Chasseur, Doctor Rousseau and Alexandre Dumas<sup>5</sup>. During his imprisonment from November 1838 to June 1839, his wife applied to the courts for a writ of habeas corpus<sup>6</sup>, which right had been sus-

<sup>1</sup>O'Leary, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>McLysaght, Irish Families Their Names, Arms and Origins (Dublin: Hodges Figgis and Company Limited, 1957).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Registres de NDQ - various entries.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Registres de NDQ. His marriage entry (NDQ, May 8, 1821) states he is twenty years old.

<sup>5</sup>Aegidius Fauteux, Patriotes de 1837-1838 (Montreal: Les Editions des Dix, 1950), p. 180.

<sup>6</sup>Thomas Chapais, Cours d'Histoire du Canada, 1833-1841 (Quebec: Librairie Garneau, 1933) pp. 224-5. Chapais calls Teed an American, but I have found nothing to support that. He came to Quebec from Newfoundland.

Also, L.N. Carrier, Les Evénements de 1837-1838, (Quebec: Imprimerie de l'Evénement, 1877), p. 183.

pended by Colborne after the troubles of 1838. Judges Elzéar Bédard<sup>1</sup>, Phillipe Panet<sup>2</sup> and Rémi Vallières de St. Réal<sup>3</sup> decided to issue the writ (which in Teed's case was not delivered), and for their pains were suspended from the bench. Later Mrs. Teed applied to the Assembly for an indemnity claiming that her husband's health had been impaired by his imprisonment in the Citadel<sup>4</sup>. Perhaps she was correct, for Teed was only forty-five when he died.

The last member of the trio of Callaghan's friends was Michael Connolly. Born in Wexford in 1794, he came as a young man with his father and his brothers and sisters<sup>5</sup> to Quebec where he set up shop beginning as a shoemaker (with apprentices), and progressing through inn keeper, flour merchant, timber merchant, ship chandler, to wholesale and retail merchant. During the exciting 1820s and 30s when Quebec City was the scene of many meetings wooing the "Irish Electors of Lower Town" and the "Irish Electors of Upper Town", Connolly was actively engaged:

<sup>1</sup>One-time member of Friends of Ireland .

<sup>2</sup>Member of Fabrique NDQ among other things .

<sup>3</sup>One-time member of Friends of Ireland .

<sup>4</sup>Fauteux, op. cit.

<sup>5</sup>The Connollys farmed land in St. Foy. Records of the family are found in the Registres de Notre Dame de Foye.

two delegates from the meeting of Irish Electors (McIvory and Connolly) presented the subjoined resolutions ... that the present meeting highly approve of the conduct of Mr. Papineau and his learned colleagues in the last session of the house of Assembly<sup>1</sup>.

In 1837, it was written of him:

Il a été résolu unanimement que M. Connolly (sic) un honnête irlandais, réformiste jusque dans le bout de ses ongles, serait supporté par tous les électeurs de St. Roch et nous comptons cette élection comme certain<sup>2</sup>.

Like many an election prediction this too proved hollow, but Connolly, like many of the Irishmen of his time, was more successful in municipal politics; from 1843 to 1847 and again from 1853 to 1858 Michael Connolly was a city councillor as well as a Magistrate (in 1844 and 1845)<sup>3</sup>. His membership of the group seeking a church goes back to 1827 (page 66) and his name appeared regularly for several years in the Minute Book.

When Connolly died in 1884, at the age of 90, the Quebec Daily Telegraph praised him for his "Strong native judgment and sound common sense ... (and for) his share in procuring for Canadians the blessings of Responsible Government"<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Quebec Gazette, August 2, 1827.

<sup>2</sup>J.M. Lemaitre to Ludger Duvernay in Duvernay correspondence in Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal, Vol. 5, 1908, pp. 172-3.

<sup>3</sup>Almanachs.

<sup>4</sup>The Quebec Daily Telegraph, Dec. 9, 1884. Neither l'Evenment nor l'Electeur, two other large Quebec newspapers noted his passing. It is interesting to note at his funeral from St. Patrick's, the presence of two grandnephews, Sir Charles Fitzpatrick (at one time defender of Louis Riel, Attorney General of Canada and Lt. Gov. of Quebec) and Joseph Archer, father of Mme Pauline Archer Vanier, APT, p. 71.

In 1835 the close political connections among these men came to the fore when they were dismissed from the Committee evidently for their political allegiances. Without detailing every incident in the event, the story will be briefly chronicled here for the purpose of indicating that there were differences among the Irish congregation, many differences, but the men were able to submerge their differences when they had a great unifying cause to work for: namely, the building of the church. Once the church was built however, individual members felt free to differ with their fellows and the following took place:

Father McMahon, in a sermon on St. Patrick's day in 1835, paid tribute to the "public institutions of the Province, and of the respect and protection they afford to all religions"<sup>1</sup>. It appears that after this statement, the reaction in the newspapers to Father McMahon's words caused a split in the congregation. The upshot of it was a parish meeting "from which strangers and the female portion of the congregation were excluded"<sup>2</sup> in defence and support of Father McMahon, then later within the privacy of the Committee, the dismissal of John Teed, Michael Connolly and Michael Quigley (and one Peter Donahue) from any further meetings "for the peace and harmony of the committee"<sup>3</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>Notebook No. 2, MS author's possession, apparently quoting Quebec Gazette.

<sup>2</sup>Minute Book, April 14, 1835.

<sup>3</sup>Minute Book, April 14, 1835.

Those terse words are written in the Minute Book without further explanation. By January 12, 1836 Michael Quigley had been re-instated<sup>1</sup>. (He and his partner Sharpe were working on the church). It was not until 1844 however, that the dismissal of Teed and Connolly was rescinded<sup>2</sup>.

How did men like O'Callaghan, Connolly, Teed and Quigley become members of the Committee? Was it originally by election as the later rules of 1833 intended it to be? Was it by invitation of the Pastor? Was it by acclamation? Did a large meeting around the time of the 1827 letter allow a group of leaders to come to the top? If it were by any one of these methods (and the real way is hidden in the mists of lost papers or unrecorded acts) approval of the men by the congregation, or some of the men by parts of the congregation had to have some play, hence the committee must have represented a cross section of Irish interests at the time.

However, the Committee men did not hesitate to chastise their own, but one wonders if the power behind the chastisement might perhaps have come from Father McMahon, the Pastor. A good case could be built up for this type of strong action on the part of Patrick McMahon but based only on the parish tradition that he was a forceful outspoken person.

<sup>1</sup>Minute Book, January 12, 1836.

<sup>2</sup>Minute Book, June 14, 1844. There are tantalizing overtones to this story. Connolly wrote to O'Callaghan, February 9, 1844 "Teed is still Prime Minister at St. Patrick's" before any re-instatement. Connolly to O'Callaghan - O'Callaghan papers Volume I 64711 - Washington.

## FATHER PATRICK MCMAHON

Patrick McMahon was born in Abbeyleix in Ireland in 1796, came to Canada with his brothers and sisters, and was received in 1818 in the Seminary of St. Hyacinthe. There he completed the priestly studies he had begun at Carlow College in Ireland. He was ordained in Quebec City in 1822 and assigned to the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Québec<sup>1</sup>. In 1828 he became in fact the spiritual leader of the Irish part of the congregation which for some time had been noticeable in the parish. Not only was he designated by the parish and accepted by his congregation as a leader but he soon became their spokesman in various civic activities. Even if the times during which Father McMahon lived had been ordinary times his vocation would, as a matter of course, have imposed many demands upon him. But these were no ordinary times. This was no ordinary city. In his position, he could be no ordinary man. From a mere chronology of the events that befell Quebec during his years one can easily imagine the extra calls upon his generosity. His people lived everywhere in the city and were consequently victims of any calamities that occurred. Just as the period of the building of the church was getting underway (1832) Asiatic cholera spread from Europe

---

<sup>1</sup>There is a popular belief in Quebec that his being sent to St. John, N.B. from 1824 to 1828 was a punishment for something he said. Perhaps he was recalled as the strong man needed to keep the Irish in line? McMahon was not the only Irish priest available at the time.

into the port of Quebec and beyond. Again in 1834 a cholera epidemic attacked. In 1841 a disastrous rockfall from Cape Diamond claimed the lives of many of Father McMahon's parishioners on Champlain Street<sup>1</sup>. In the summer of 1845 more than a thousand homes were burned in two separate fires in the St. John's and St. Roch's suburbs of the city. If these were not enough, the heavy years of the so-called Famine Migration began in 1847 and ended in 1849 with yet another outbreak of the cholera. Father McMahon's concern was greater than the simple person-to-person ministry of the priest to his people. As pastor of the majority immigrant group he was often called upon to share in the direction of the assistance offered to the suffering, as for instance in the Quebec Emigrant Society of which he was an officer for many years. An association of benevolent business and professional men, it offered travel information as well as shelter, sometimes money and other necessities to the newly arrived immigrants. With Alexander Carlisle Buchanan, chief emigration agent at the port of Quebec, McMahon testified before a Special Committee of the Legislature on Emigration in 1832<sup>2</sup>.

Meanwhile, all the day to day activity of any busy church required his attention, too. The registers of Notre Dame de Québec are full of the many baptisms, marriages and funerals at which Father

---

<sup>1</sup>Les éboulements du Cap Diamant, B.R.H. XLIII (9) sept. 1936, pp. 541-6.

<sup>2</sup>Journals of the Legislative Assembly, January 25, 1832.

McMahon officiated for both French and Irish, even after 1833 when he was in fact pastor at St. Patrick's. The directories listed him as "Chapelain", and as far as can be determined from the petitions in the Minute Book the non-parish status of St. Patrick's required its priest to go to the cathedral for the solemnization of marriage or baptisms or for funerals, almost a half mile from Father McMahon's house<sup>1</sup>.

If he were as attentive to all other interests as he was to the above duties and to his attendance at the weekly Committee meetings, it is no wonder that he wore himself out before the age of fifty-five.

Both legend and fact indicate that he was not a mild-mannered man, but the fact remains that his leadership was accepted and followed. Despite his evidently outspoken ways, his parishioners prevailed in having him permanently as their pastor, despite attempts to displace him, in Quebec. And permanent his presence was. His name appears on nearly every minute of the Committee's book.

In the light of this evidence of a strong character it can be assumed that Father McMahon, with the weight of his own personality as well as the respected authority of the priest behind him was a force for unity among the Irish and the mainspring of the survival of the Irish spirit in Quebec. Of his almost thirty years of priesthood, all but

---

<sup>1</sup>Request for incorporation as a parish begins in the Minute Book on September 17, 1838, and this inconvenience of using Notre Dame de Québec instead of St. Patrick's church is hinted at.

four years were spent in Quebec. When he died in 1851 he was given a huge funeral from his house on St. Stanislaus Street around the corner from the church. A long procession wound its roundabout way through the city streets to St. Patrick's where he was buried under the floor near the pulpit. The Bishop, Charles Baillargeon, and his coadjutor officiated<sup>1</sup>.

Thus far the chapter, after explaining the institutions of the Fabrique and Committee, had also sketched the life style of a limited number of members of both. The contrast within the Committee was deliberately set forth to emphasize the types of background represented there. Against the wider spectrum of the whole Committee and wider still of the whole parish, the four most politically oriented men stood out. Later more men of varying political bent were members, but the dismissal of members as punishment never took place again. During the period touched by this thesis, unity in pursuit of a goal was uppermost in their minds.

However, the Committee and its building of the church were not the only areas where Irishmen achieved prominence. In other words there were a large number of Irish throughout the city who showed only fleeting interest in the management of the church affairs. Since many of their names appeared in the Registres of Notre Dame de Québec it is safely assumed that they were Catholics and entitled to membership in St. Patrick's Parish. There were countless grocers and shoe-

---

<sup>1</sup>O'Leary, *op. cit.* The name of St. Hélène Street was later changed to McMahon Street.

makers and tailors besides the Connolly, Burke and Teed of the Committee. For example, Brothers<sup>1</sup> and Chapman were shipping merchants; William Quinn was a culler of note who went on a Government mission to Europe to study European timber handling - later he became a City Councillor; Ormsby Burke became a doctor in the city. Hugh Maguire owned the Shamrock Inn on the Hay Market. These are cited as a small sampling of the Irish of the city and their involvement in it.

#### BUSINESS AND POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE CITY

One very interesting business association that grouped all the varieties of Quebec enterprises was the Quebec Mechanics' Institute founded in February 1830 for the betterment of labourers and craftsmen, with a library for that purpose<sup>2</sup>. (In 1832 E.B. O'Callaghan was corresponding secretary.) The Mechanics' Institute attracted the patronage of such men as Sir John Caldwell, himself no labourer, whom the 1832 almanach listed as president, assisted by John Neilson, William Sheppard, George Black and John Cannon, vice-presidents<sup>3</sup>. The Committee of Management of that institute in 1832, in contrast to the

<sup>1</sup>Brothers, a variant of Broderick, is listed in McLysaght as an Irish name. McLysaght, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

<sup>2</sup>Quebec Gazette, February 20, 1830.

<sup>3</sup>Quebec Almanach, 1832.

"establishment" presidents and vice-presidents, was a reflection of the national heterogeneity of the Quebec business community: Malouin, Frechette, Vallerand, Forde, Teed, Grant, Sharp, Quigly (sic), Hobbs, Burke, Ardouin, McKutcheon, Paradis, Nixon<sup>1</sup>.

The citing of the presence of St. Patrick's men in all walks of life should serve to reinforce the fact that there was great variety among them and that they seemed to have no tendency to live in either a geographic or a business ghetto.

In Quebec in the 1830s, in addition to the business associations and the purely political societies, there were also national societies with Canadian political colour to them, for example, the Irish Reformers and the St. Patrick's Society. No one could doubt where lay the sympathies of the former, but it is only upon examination of a list of officers in the militia units of 1837 in comparison with the membership list of the St. Patrick's Society that one realizes that that society was a Tory organization. Provincial Secretary Dominick Daly, for instance, Receiver General Henry John Caldwell, Judge Edward Bowen and A.C. Buchanan belonged to the St. Patrick's Society. Along with their names, one finds those of some of the St. Patrick's Parish men, all of whom at one time or another served on the Committee of Management: Charles Alleyn (later Mayor of Quebec), William Burke,

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid. The Ardouin brothers were jewelers, and one married John Teed's daughter. Of interest in the report of the founding of the Institute was one of the by-laws which stated that politics and religious discussion should be excluded - perhaps these were inflammatory subjects?

Charles Colfer, E.G. Cannon (son of John), William Downes (son-in-law of John Cannon). Almost the same grouping of names appears in the 1844 "return of the names of officers of Quebec Loyal Volunteers and Queen's Volunteers serving during the late rebellion". Listed among others were A.C. Buchanan, Edward Bowen, Charles Alleyn, E.G. Cannon and William Power (later Judge, and one of the signers of the 1827 petition for a church)<sup>1</sup>.

Associations themselves multiplied, and the same men appeared at functions of different societies: "The Quebec Constitutional Association" listed, among its prominent Irish Protestant names, those of other English and Scots who joined in a St. Patrick's Day dinner in 1835 presided over by Dominick Daly<sup>2</sup>. William Power was its vice-president and Patrick Lawlor and John Patrick O'Meara were present. These latter three had shared the work of the committee with O'Callaghan, Teed, Quigley and Connolly.

<sup>1</sup>Hawkins Directory, 1844-45.

<sup>2</sup>MS notebook in my possession.

## SUMMARY

In final summary then, this last part of the chapter marshalling the names of men in the business and political context illustrates that the Irish of Quebec were found in all parts of the city, in many levels of its business activity, and in all political camps<sup>1</sup>. Now it will be demonstrated, in Chapter Three how the small corps of these men, the Committee of Management, acted in concert in the pursuit of one desire that they shared in common - the building of St. Patrick's Church.

---

<sup>1</sup>Nothing has been said in the chapter concerning the priests of the parish: there were many young Canadian born men, sons of Irishmen, who became priests - but that was later than the beginning period with which this thesis deals (a period when the church was well served by young Irishmen who came to Canada either already in orders, or well on the way to ordination). Among St. Patrick's early priests were: E.J. Horan, Robson, Richardson, Colfer. Lawyers too made their appearance: Power (above), John Maguire, Charles Alleyn, John Bradley; doctors: Ormsby Burke, Coote, Ahearn, to name but a few.

CHAPTER THREE

THE COMMUNITY AT WORK

### NEGOTIATIONS OVER STATUS

The years 1827 to 1830 were those during which the Committee and the Fabrique began to understand each other's position. Their correspondence was quite frequent and there is evidence to support their having had verbal exchange or discussions<sup>1</sup>. In examining the correspondence and other documents, it will be seen in the first part of this chapter that the emphasis in the 1827-30 period was on the status of the separate group and its projected church. As 1830 came to an end, the emphasis began to swing towards the more practical search for land, and for a legal way for the Irish to achieve some area of control of their affairs. The second part of this chapter will concern that area of negotiating for control.

#### THE FIRST REQUEST

The first record of the Irish request for a church of their own is a "letter to the Lord Bishop and Wardens of Quebec, October, 1827". Its elegant language puts forth quite forcefully reasons to support its request:

The necessity we labour under of having a place of worship where we will have more leisure to perform our religious duties, and which will disembarass the parish church of a great number who are considered to incommode the congregation, has induced us to present an address to His Lordship the Right Reverend Bishop of Quebec to that effect. The

---

<sup>1</sup>Horan MS.

same reasons now induce us to address ourselves with confidence to you soliciting your permission authority and assistance (punc. sic.) for the purpose of making a collection and the other necessary arrangements to build a church for the English, Irish, and Scotch Catholics of this city, under such restrictions and conditions as His Lordship and you in your wisdom may think fit.

We have the honour to be  
Gentlemen  
Your most humble servants

Rev. Mr. Paisley President  
John Cannon Esquire Vice President  
G. Horan Secretary Treasurer<sup>1</sup>

The Bishop, reminding his readers that the church could only be a branch church, wrote to the Curé and Marguilliers of Notre Dame de Québec as follows concerning the petition:

Plusieurs messieurs Irlandais Catholiques de la Ville de Québec désirant bâtir une Eglise particulière dans cette ville ou quelqu'un de ses faubourgs, dans laquelle ils puissent les Dimanches et fêtes assister au service divin plus commodément, et à une heure plus convenable, et y entendre la prédication de la parole divine avec ceux de leur nation Irlandaise, et même Ecossaise de la Religion Catholique Romaine, nous ayant présenté une requête, afin d'obtenir notre approbation pour cet objet. Nous, Bernard Claude Panet Evêque de Québec soussigné croyons devoir référer à Sa Grandeur Monseigneur le Coadjuteur de Québec et Curé de cette ville, et à Messieurs les Marguilliers de la paroisse de Québec, pour délibérer sur la dite requête, et se concerter avec les pétitionnaires ou les personnes de leur Comité pour régler ce qui concerne cet établissement, qui ne peut pas faire une paroisse séparée de celle de Québec, mais seulement une succursale<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>St. Patrick's Parish Archives, October 1827 (These archives are not in good order.) Fourteen names followed under the word Present, though the document gives no other indication of the calling of a meeting nor where it was held: W. McAvoy, Wm. Downes, M. Connolly, Robt Gillard, Jn. Byrne, J.B. Wood, Fra. McCabe, W. Coote, Patrick Daly, W. Walsh, Wm. Burke, Thos. Murphy, Robt. Blackiston, Chas. Colford.

<sup>2</sup>Bernard Claude Panet à Messieurs les Marguilliers de la Fabrique, October 27, 1827, AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 No. 1.

Bishop Panet seems to have been sympathetic to the needs of his Irish people but the law prevented him from complying totally with their request<sup>1</sup>. These two documents set forth the initial move of the Committee and the direction of the Fabrique's response.

There may be an element of tension in the words of the first letter "which will disembarass the parish church of a great number who are considered to incommode the congregation". What were these em-barassments was not specified but they may refer to the situation arising out of the Irish attending a Mass set aside for them (1827) on Sunday morning at eight o'clock<sup>2</sup>. The Solemn High Mass for the parish followed at nine. It is easy to conjecture the movements of two throngs of Mass-goers in and out of church. Horan's euphemistic phrase "incommode the congregation" might reflect remarks overheard or directed at the Irish. The Bishop's letter to the Marguilliers seemed to pick up the root word commode in his phrase "assister plus commodément". It also echoed correctly the need for "more leisure to perform our religious duties".

There is no answer in the archives, but there must have been at least a verbal acknowledgement of the Irish request, for in January following, the Irish met, this time in a large public meeting, about their proposed church and passed a series of resolutions<sup>3</sup> intended to

<sup>1</sup>Panet to Cannon, January 31, 1831, St. Patrick's Archives.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. John A. Gallagher, C.Ss.R., "St. Patrick's Church, Quebec", Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report, 1947-48, pp. 71-80.

<sup>3</sup>Resolutions January 31, 1828 AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 No. 2 .

clarify relations between themselves and the parent church. The reply to these resolutions did not come from the Marguilliers until the month of March. Then, the Fabrique named five of their number: Quirouet, Langevin, Brunet, Massue and Phillipe Panet, to correspond with the Irish "respecting their erection of the intended Church"<sup>1</sup>, and for its part, the Committee named five men to meet the Marguilliers: Cannon, Gillard, Cogley, Burke and Horan<sup>2</sup>.

#### IRISH PLANS AND FRENCH INTERIM SOLUTIONS

The Irish went forward then with their plans believing they had the collaboration of the Marguilliers. While they were so doing, the Bishop was drafting an interim plan to handle the Irish as a congregation with or without erecting a new church<sup>3</sup>. Entitled "Réglemens (sic.)

<sup>1</sup>Meeting of the Committee for the erection of a new Catholic Church, March 27, 1828 AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 (number not mentioned).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. Cannon and Horan have been detailed in Chapter Three because they were prominent in the Committee for a long time. Robert Gillard (sometimes spelled Jellard) was an English architect; Cogley - the name appears as such once or twice, but later on Michael Quigley is given prominence and I believe Cogley refers to him.

<sup>3</sup>The draft in the archdiocesan archives apparently was a working document which was applied piece-meal during that summer. James O'Leary's History of St. Patrick's says that McMahon was in Quebec in 1828 and that Notre-Dame des Victoires was used in 1828. Certainly, in the Notre-Dame de Quebec Registre des Mariages, Father Patrick McMahon signed as the officiating clergyman for three weddings on July 1, 1828.

proposés par l'Evêque de Québec à Monseigneur le Coadjuteur Curé Actuel de Québec et à Messrs les Marguilliers de la fabrique de cette ville par rapport à la desserte des personnes ci bas désignés"<sup>1</sup>, it began with a statement that all Irish, Scots or others professing the Catholic faith and residing in the whole extent of the parish were to be regarded as parishioners entitled to all the spiritual assistance the priests could give. The Bishop realized that many of his clergy did not understand the 'language of the Irish', "pour leur administrer, et leur annoncer la parole de Dieu ... qu'ils aient un prêtre de leur langue uniquement occupé à leur rendre ces services"<sup>2</sup>. It named Father Patrick McMahon to say Mass for them on Sunday (in the Cathedral) in Article 1, stating that the regulations would remain in vigour until "les Paroissiens confiés aux soins particuliers de M. Patrick McMahon se soient bâti pour eux mêmes une église" in Article 7<sup>3</sup>, and then concluded with the recognition of a fact that, since, at a meeting between Fabrique and Committee on January 25, 1829, it had been agreed that the Irish could use Notre-Dame des Victoires on Sundays that arrangement would continue<sup>4</sup>. Early in 1829 the congregation began to use Notre-Dame des Victoires Church and continued this until 1833. Though the document making that change was issued over Panet's signature on January 31, 1829, the matter

---

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Réglemens proposées par l'Eveque de Québec...January 31, 1829. AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 No. 3. Internal evidence supports that January 31, 1829 date. However, the title penned on the document in a different script and different ink reads "Projet d'arrangement, concernant M. McMahon 1828 Lu en assemblée de Fabrique Dimanche 22 juin 1828".

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

discussed in it, especially Father McMahon's recall from St. John N.B. to work in Quebec had been implemented during the year 1828<sup>1</sup>. In fact many of the articles seem to be in answer to the resolutions drawn up by the Irish Committee in their meeting of the previous January 31, 1828. At that time they had planned how their church and its organization would fit into the structure of the parent parish. There were six resolutions dealing with loyalty to the bishop; retention of revenues by the Irish; naming of trustees for the Irish by the Bishop; duties and rights of the priest with regard to baptism, marriage and burial. The first resolution stated that the Irish had every intention of "placing themselves under the guidance and superintendance of their Lordships the Bishop and Coadjutor Bishop and the Gentlemen Church Wardens of the Parish of Quebec"<sup>2</sup>, but over and above that, they resolved

2. That it is expedient that all the revenues, Donations and other Perquisites accruing (sic.) to or arising from the said intended Church be permitted to be expended for the use of the said church<sup>3</sup>.

This idea was hardly attractive to the Fabrique who were accustomed to administering the revenues of the whole Parish. The Irish portion of the Notre Dame de Québec Parish was large and the withdrawal or separation of a sizeable number of people whose baptisms, marriages and funerals brought

<sup>1</sup>Notre-Dame de Québec Registre des Mariages, Father McMahon signed as the officiating clergyman for three weddings on July 1, 1828.

<sup>2</sup>Resolutions, January 31, 1828, AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 No. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

in some revenue could not but distress the Marguilliers<sup>1</sup>. In his reply to the Irish, the Bishop indicated his plans on the handling of money: Article 2 of the "Réglemens proposés ..." dealt directly with revenues. It is easy to surmise that those drawing up the "Réglemens Proposés.." had before them the Irish second resolution (above) of January 31, 1828.

The Bishop's proposal reads as follows:

2. Tout le casuel provenant des mariages grandes Messes et sepultures que le dit M. Patrick McMahon recevra excepté la rétribution de ses Messes appartiendra à M. le Curé de Québec et à la Fabrique qui fournira la luminaire, le vin, linges et ornements nécessaire ... Le dit Patrick McMahon n'aura aucune part aux dîmes, ni aux oblations, ou quêtes faites dans la dite église (Notre-Dame des Victoires) excepté les quêtes qu'il y fera, ou fera faire pendant les Messes qu'il dira pour eux qui sont de sa desserte et les aumônes qu'il en recevra<sup>2</sup>.

In resolution No. 4, of the Committee,

4. That it is expedient that the Priest to officiate in the said intended church should be permitted and authorized to publish the banns of marriage, to baptize and perform the rites of burial therein<sup>3</sup>

the Irish sought approbation for what appeared to be an obvious parish activity, the reading of banns and solemnizing of baptisms and burials.

They realized that these activities were the significant ones indicative

<sup>1</sup> Figures for this period are not available from the Archives of Notre Dame de Québec. Visual evidence however, is available to the casual observer of the shelves in the Judicial Archives of Quebec, where the Registers of Births, Marriages and Deaths are kept. The Notre Dame de Québec Registers for the years up to 1854 (when St. Patrick's received its own registers) are three inches thick. After that a slim volume for each year serves the purpose for Notre Dame de Québec. The St. Patrick's Registers for the years immediately after 1854 are the thick ones on the shelves.

<sup>2</sup> Réglemens proposés...

<sup>3</sup> Resolutions of the Committee, January 31, 1828, AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 No. 2.

of parish standing and that this, parish status, was what they desired immediately<sup>1</sup>. The article from the Bishop that answered that request was as follows:

2. Il y publiera aussi les bans de mariage des Catholiques Irlandais et autres et donnera un certificat de cette publication à M. le Curé de Québec quoique ces mêmes bans soient publiés en même temps à la grande Messe de la paroisse<sup>2</sup>.

The Cathedral was still to be considered the Parish Church and the High Mass the only official parish celebration.

The Committee's resolutions continued with a further request

5. That their Lordships the Bishop and Coadjutor Bishop and the Gentlemen Churchwardens of the Parish be respectfully requested to sign the Petition to His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief on the same subject, should the same meet their approbation and approval<sup>3</sup>.

The "Petition to His Excellency" was a request in 1828 to the Governor Sir George Kempt for a donation of land. The Irish were here hopefully imitating the Scottish Presbyterians who had successfully petitioned for land to build St. Andrew's Church during Sir James Craig's term of office.

<sup>1</sup>The future was to show that here lay the seeds for more than twenty more years of dispute. The parish was incorporated in 1856. It was granted its own registers on February 6, 1853 by the Fabrique of the Archdiocese. Up till that time, baptisms, marriages and burials had taken place in the Cathedral, about half a mile from St. Patrick's Church, and were recorded in the Registres de Notre-Dame de Québec.

<sup>2</sup>Projet d'arrangement concernant M. McMahon 1828 AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 No. 3. This "projet" bears the date 1828 in three places on its title page, yet within, it uses the date 1829 in two places.

<sup>3</sup>Resolutions of the Committee, January 31, 1828.

A deputation from the Committee waited upon His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec with the Petition for his signature, but His Lordship thought fit to decline signing it<sup>1</sup>.

Subsequently the petition was dropped.

Elements of a change of attitude began to appear in the resolutions of the Marguilliers. Those communicated to the Irish Committee under the date of March 16, 1828 had stated "Eglise succursale que les dits Irlandais et autres se proposent de bâtir en cette ville pour l'usage de la Fabrique."<sup>2</sup> while those of May 18, 1828 approved the plan of the Irish "de bâtir une église succursale pour leur usage particulier"<sup>3</sup>. The Fabrique itself had not made up its mind.

Thus matters stood, if we can judge from the documents, until September 1830 when the Secretary of the Irish Committee, Gordian Horan, wrote to Pierre Pelletier<sup>4</sup>, Warden-in-Charge of the Fabrique :

Quebec 5th Sept. 1830

Sir:

At a request of our Committee, I beg leave to inform you that they desire to know the result of the last general meeting of the Wardens, with regard to our contemplated church. Should it not be considered too troublesome: we would feel much obliged by an immediate answer, as in case you have not resolved on assisting us, we intend immediately to unite our

<sup>1</sup>Horan MS.

<sup>2</sup>Report of a meeting of Marguilliers. March 16, 1828, uncatalogued MS, St. Patrick's Archives.

<sup>3</sup>Resolution of les Marguilliers, May 18, 1828, uncatalogued manuscript, St. Patrick's Parish Archives.

<sup>4</sup>Pierre Pelletier may be one of two mentioned in John Smith's Almanach; one had a shop at 19 Sous le Fort Street and the other was a sawyer at 42 Sault au Matelot (1826).

efforts in doing something for ourselves. Permit me furthermore to request that you would be kind enough to inform us in case you have determined to cooperate with us in forwarding our prospects, what pecuniary assistance we may expect from you.

I am Sir  
with respect  
yr very obt servant

Gordian Horan Secty  
to the Irish R. Catholics

To Pierre Pelletier  
Warden-in-Charge<sup>1</sup>

The circumstances surrounding the writing of the above letter can be deduced from the report issued in January 1831 authorized by the Committee. Gordian Horan, the Secretary, wrote:

having been publicly called upon (as Secretary to the Committee embodied for the purpose of putting a subscription on foot for the building of a church for the Catholics of this city using the English language for a report of the proceedings of that Committee<sup>2</sup>

In the course of assembling the letters and other communications from the Fabrique and making copies of them (September 2, 1830)<sup>3</sup> the secretary of the Committee, Horan, could see that almost nothing had happened since 1829, apart from the collection among the Irish<sup>4</sup>. Evidently, he must have felt he should re-animate the discussion, hence

---

<sup>1</sup>Horan to Pelletier AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 No. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Horan Manuscript (The opening paragraph in the manuscript is not a sentence.)

<sup>3</sup>Uncatalogued MS, St. Patrick's Parish Archives.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Minute Book, February 27, 1831.

his letter with its questions. When the Marguilliers answered, a month later, that their meeting had not been well enough attended to deal with so important a matter as that of the Irish church, Horan wrote:

From the rec't of the above letter nothing apparently has been done -- except what might have taken place between individuals of the committee and some of the wardens as also from His Lordship the Coadjutor -- there were prospects held out by these Gentlemen that the Lower Town Church would be disposed of and that the proceeds should be invested in purchasing a lot whereon to build a Church of a proper size to contain the Irish congregation -- how far these promises have been realised (sic) the public are well aware<sup>1</sup>.

Two things call for comment: that the Fabrique actually considered the sale of Notre-Dame des Victoires Church to realize revenue for a new church. The sale, needless to say, never materialized though for more than a year it seemed to have remained a possibility. The second matter is the use of the word unite; when Horan said in the letter to Pelletier that the Irish would "unite our efforts in doing something for ourselves", he was reflecting on the divisive effect the Bishop's refusal to sign the petition to Governor Kempt had had on the committee and on the congregation. He wrote, concerning this matter:

This refusal, so unexpected and so contrary to everything Irish Catholics were accustomed to meet with from their Prelates in their native land produced a very bad effect -- to this may be added -- a sort of disunion amongst the congregation as to the Cite (sic) on which the Church should be built -- These two circumstances produced a most fatal effect on the proceedings of the committee and had nearly paralysed them, in their efforts<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Horan MS.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

## THE REQUEST REPEATED

One senses from the report that the Irish were beginning to read opposition or lack of serious interest in the slowness of the Marguilliers' answers.

However, they remained convinced of the overall reasonableness of their request and of the eventual achievement of their aims. They repeated their previous expressions of loyalty to the Bishop and went fearlessly on with their work. The Irish seemed to look upon the constant refusal of the Fabrique as stemming from the normal reluctance of any parent group to allow a break-away by any of its members. Consequently they determined to wear down that resistance in two ways - by an independent advance so far in planning and execution that the Fabrique could not prevent them from finishing something they had started, and second, by simply repeating their request in so many ways to the Fabrique that they would be forced to give in eventually. In the third year of negotiations, on September 19, 1830, they said:

the present committee (Irish) do not think it necessary to repeal their intentions as to the building of a church for the sole use of the Irish and other Catholics using the English language, in the city and its vicinity<sup>1</sup>.

However, lest the Bishop really fear a break more serious or radical than the creation of a new parish, the Irish assured him:

The committee wish it to be explicitly understood that the

---

<sup>1</sup>Horan MS.

property of the intended church shall be considered as that of the Fabrique and that all power and authority shall be vested in the church wardens of the said fabrique in the same manner as they now exercise it in the temporal affairs of the parish church<sup>1</sup>.

When, later on the term schisme was used regarding them, the Irish were indignant and said so, but they were probably not surprised<sup>2</sup>.

The written material has many apparent gaps in it, but there is witness, especially in Horan's long report, that negotiations other than those conducted by letter did in fact take place. Horan himself, in two places mentioned casual meetings. The correspondence and reports described above certainly do not spell out the details of the negotiations, but give only highlights, which in their turn can be explained with only partial satisfaction. In one place, Horan says

early in September (1830) a communication was made to the Committee from the Coadjutor Bishop and Wardens of the Fabrique through the Reverend Mr. McMahon, the purport of which was that they wished us to persevere in our intentions to build a church<sup>3</sup>.

A similar message was carried in a letter to John Cannon of the Committee from Mgr. Panet approving the project of the Church, but only in very vague terms<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Committee, September 19, 1830, AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 No. 5.

<sup>2</sup>See the following chapter.

<sup>3</sup>Horan MS.

<sup>4</sup>Panet to Cannon, January 31, 1831, St. Patrick's Archives.

Despite the occasional missing piece among the documents, one can follow the years' work. While difficulties arose in one form or another and some changes of position took place, one theme repeated by the clergy proved in the long run to be true. The Bishop's Secretary, Cazeau, wrote to E.B. O'Callaghan, new secretary of the Committee, that the Bishop desired

de concourir avec les Catholiques (de langue anglaise)<sup>1</sup>  
en toutes ce qui pourra interesser leur bien spirituel<sup>1</sup>

a sentiment that could often be found animating courageous and selfless action on the part of French Canadian clergy.

In summary thus far, for the period 1827 to 1830, the exchange of letters and reports reveals that the Cathedral, the parish church, was especially crowded on Sunday mornings; that the Irish felt that building a new church for them would solve the problem of overcrowding as well as fill a need for the Irish to have access to sermons and other services in their own language and with their own people. Of that new church, said the Irish, the property would belong to the Fabrique of Notre-Dame de Québec, but any income of the church would accrue to the Committee, and the Church in addition would be for the sole use of the English-speaking congregation. The replies from the Fabrique indicated their growing comprehension of the situation, but their response to it was not satisfactory to the Irish, as Horan remarked in his lengthy report:

---

<sup>1</sup>Cazeau to O'Callaghan, April 8, 1831, St. Patrick's Archives.

In a chapel of ease or secursal (sic) registers cannot be kept, according to the laws of this country -- consequently such a building on such a footing would never suit the ideas and wishes of the Irish congregation<sup>1</sup>.

#### NEGOTIATIONS OVER LAND

So, in 1831, while the Fabrique and the Committee continued to argue the details of status and relationship, sub-committees from both groups began to look for a place to build the church. Either by mutual agreement, or because of some misunderstanding, both Fabrique and Committee men were looking for land and reporting their findings to their respective bodies and eventually the groups to each other.

#### WORK BY SUB-COMMITTEES

After the refusal of the Bishop to endorse the Irish request for a government donation of land, the Committee had

appointed a special committee from their body to examine the different lots in the City and its vicinity to ascertain their particular advantages and the terms on which they might be obtained, and on the answers received from the proprietors (as) they were severally examined<sup>2</sup>.

By January 1831, the special Committee (Irish) had examined and reported on several lots<sup>3</sup>, one in particular, that of Colonel Voyer, being the favored choice of the Committee. The latter, in a deputation presented themselves to the Bishop for his approval and

---

<sup>1</sup>Horan MS, 1831.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

requested him to give permission to the Committee to purchase the lot in his name and his successors - (wrote Horan). To this His Lordship replied - as a chapel of ease (or secursal (sic) you may do so<sup>1</sup> - otherwise address yourselves to the Church Wardens<sup>1</sup>.

#### THE BISHOP'S PROBLEM

Here lay the heart of the whole problem -- the Bishop could give his consent for the beginning of a new place of worship but the creation of a unit independent as to revenues (signified by the holding of registers among other things) could only be granted by the lay administrators, the Fabrique. It was independence of administration the Irish were looking for as Horan added in his own footnote.

However, at this point, after almost four years of negotiating, the Irish seemed to give in to the idea of an "église succursale". Perhaps any building larger than the small church of Notre-Dame des Victoires, under any conditions would be better.

January 1831 was a time of much activity. The Committee took the initiative again after another period of silence. It commissioned a delegation to call upon the Bishop to ascertain if he and/or his Coadjutor would accept in trust the 'lot of ground' they intended to purchase<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Horan MS, 1831

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

## THE MARGUILLIERS' PROBLEM

The reply came from the Fabrique dated January 23, 1831. It was a repetition but on more solid grounds, of their previously implied refusal. The Fabrique restated their good will towards their Irish parishioners however:

Résolu 1<sup>e</sup> Que les Marguilliers de cette Paroisse sont encore, comme ils l'ont toujours été disposés à procurer par tels moyens qui peuvent être légalement en leur pouvoir, un lieu de culte où les Catholiques parlant la langue anglaise puissent entendre la parole divine dans leur langue et y vaquer plus commodément qu'à présent à leurs devoirs religieux<sup>1</sup>.

After such a pre-amble one would expect a warm second resolution showing how the Fabrique intended to help their parishioners enjoy the practice of their religion, but such was not the case. They chose instead to use the legal implications of the situation to escape from an onerous option. The second resolution read:

Que les Marguilliers, etc., ne se sentent pas autorisés à donner aux Catholiques Irlandais, Anglais et Eccossais, aucune aide pécuniaire pour la bâtisse d'une Eglise à leur usage exclusif, sur les fonds de la Fabrique de Québec, ces fonds n'étant applicables qu'à l'usage de tous les Paroissiens en général et indistinctivement<sup>2</sup>.

However, the Marguilliers went on to say in the next resolution, the promised sale of the land and church in the Lower Town (which the Irish were then using), hinted at once before<sup>3</sup>, would yield enough to build another church in the city, large enough to

<sup>1</sup>Résolutions passées et adoptées dans une Assemblée de Fabrique le 23 janvier 1831 AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 No. 7

<sup>2</sup>Résolutions passées, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Réglemens (sic.) proposées par l'Evêque de Québec, jan. 31, 1829.

répondre aux besoins spirituels tant des Catholiques <sup>1</sup>  
parlant la langue anglaise que des autres Paroissiens<sup>1</sup>

It was at this time that the Bishop wrote to John Cannon in reply to the resolutions issued over the latter's name on January 16, 1831<sup>2</sup>. The Bishop reaffirmed his interest, but indicated that everything was in the hands of the Marguilliers<sup>3</sup>.

#### THE TURNING POINT - A GENERAL MEETING OF THE IRISH

The turning point away from negotiations with the Fabrique and into action by the Irish occurred at a second general parish meeting in January 1831. After the Wardens' resolutions of January 23 and the bishop's letter of January 29 were read to the Assembly (of the Irish Catholics on January 30 at Mr. Molloy's in Lower Town), the assembled throng voted a new set of resolutions to send to the Bishop:

<sup>1</sup>Ibid. 23 janvier 1831.

<sup>2</sup>Panet to Cannon, January 31, 1831, St. Patrick's Archives.

<sup>3</sup>Was the Bishop avoiding a Diocesan duty by putting everything in the hands of the Marguilliers of the Parish? Francis G. Morissey's article "La Situation Juridique de l'Eglise Catholique du Bas Canada de 1791 a 1840" in La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique Sessions d'Etude, 1972, p. 65 ff. details the thought and legislation of that interesting period in church-state relations. 1831 was to see the enactment of a law that gave the power to erect parishes without involving the government. No doubt the discussion in the Assembly would be followed avidly by the ecclesiastical authorities, and the indecisiveness of the French discussions could be accounted for in the light of the changing legal situation which also seemed to excuse the Marguilliers from working too fast.

1st...we...perceive that there is no prospect of receiving assistance in our undertaking from any source except our own public spirit, unanimity and industry.

2nd...it is indispensably necessary, as soon as legal authority shall be had, to proceed to the purchase of a lot of ground on which to erect a church for the use of the Congregation of Catholics of this City speaking the English Language<sup>1</sup>.

That they felt that their actions might be blocked, they had indicated above in the phrase "as soon as legal authority shall be had".

But they sincerely hoped that

3rd...in the prosecution of our purposes we may not experience any impediment from either His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec or from the Wardens of the Parish<sup>2</sup>.

They also decided to consult their own lawyers and chose two prominent members of the Quebec Bar, Andrew Stuart and Henry Black<sup>3</sup>, to whom they sent the following questions in February:

<sup>1</sup>Minutes of an assembly of Irish Catholics, January 30, 1831, AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1, No. 9

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>There were a few Irish lawyers at that early period (Green, Maguire and Power, for example) but the committee chose two English lawyers, possibly to forestall the accusation of a conflict of interest from the Fabrique or others. Andrew Stuart, 1785-1840, was a politician, Solicitor-General from 1838 to 1840; received before the bar in 1807 he had defended Judge Bédard in 1810. In 1814 he was elected deputy from Lower Town Quebec, a seat he held for six years. He represented Upper Town from 1830 to 1834. He at first espoused the popular party but later broke with Papineau and became a strong adversary of his in the Assembly+. Stuart's partner in law, Henry Black, 1798-1873, was also interested in politics and stood for Quebec City in 1841, as a member of the "partie bureaucrate". He preferred law to politics and as Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court of Quebec, he was for thirty years an incontestated authority on Maritime Law. He received the Order of the Bath, and from Harvard a Doctorate Honoris Causa<sup>++</sup>.

<sup>+</sup> Cf. Lejeune, Dict. Général, p. 667.

<sup>++</sup> Cf. DCB Vol. X, pp. 68-69.

1. What are the proper steps to be taken in purchasing a lot of ground on which to build the church to ensure that the property shall be holden perpetually in trust for the use of the Irish congregation?
2. Can a certain number of members of their own Body be trustees, the Bishop and Marguilliers having refused?
3. What notarial acts are necessary to give legality to their purchase and tenure with the full understanding in case of the demise of the original trustees, that the property can descend for the use and purposes of the original founders and of the congregation which may come after them?
4. Can the Wardens of the Parish (Marguilliers) have any legal claim on, or over, the Revenues of the said intended Church?
5. Can the Congregation by their Committee of Management in conjunction with the pastor have authority and sole control over, and disposal of, all funds, monies and revenues arising from said church independent of said Marguilliers?<sup>1</sup>

It was not until April that the lawyers replied:

Upon the First query: The object stated in this query would be attained by a Deed in proper form vesting the Lands in Trustees subject to the Trusts.

Upon the Second: Undoubtedly they may.

Upon the Third: The objects stated in this query could be attained by the trust Deed mentioned in the answer to the first Query, which trust deed would of course contain the proper clauses providing for supplying the vacancies occasioned by death, etc. This instrument would necessarily be extremely "special" (quotation marks, sic).

Upon the Fourth query: This query and the following one touch a subject of such extent and importance that to enable us to give full answers to them as they merit would require more consideration than we have had it in our power to give them<sup>2</sup>.

Signed: A. Stuart  
H. Black

<sup>1</sup>Minute Book, February 6, 1831.

<sup>2</sup>Minute Book, April 3, 1831.

Immediately upon reading the lawyers' answers, the Committee proceeded to draw up the resolutions to be submitted to another congregational assembly convened as was customary at Mr. Molloy's<sup>1</sup>. The tenor of the questions showed that the Irish were going their own way. They had asked what steps must be taken in purchasing a lot of ground to ensure that the property should be held perpetually in trust for them. Stuart and Black's reply that a "Deed in proper form resting the land in trustees subject to the Trusts"<sup>2</sup> encouraged the committee to continue its forward thrust. They did not, however, break off connections with the Bishop and Marguilliers, but having taken definite action towards the building of the church continued to work towards a clarification of the relationship that was to exist between the Irish congregation and the Bishop and Marguilliers. They again stated their intention of having the Bishop of Quebec and the Curé of Quebec, their pastor McMahon, along with eight members of their congregation to be trustees of the new enterprise<sup>3</sup>. Stuart and Black's reply received on April 3, had very evidently influenced this move. The forecast of a refusal on the part of the Bishop, however, seems to have dictated one question, "Can a certain number of members of their own body be trustees, the Bishop and Marquilliers having refused?" The lawyers had answered, "Undoubtedly they may."

<sup>1</sup>Minute Book, April 4, 1831 - a clipping from a newspaper containing the announcement of the meeting was pasted in the Minute Book.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Minute Book, April 4, 1831.

The naming of a limited number of trustees from the parent body, these both clergy, showed where the Irish expected sympathy and help, but it also showed that they expected, by loading the council of trustees transparently in their own favor, to control their own affairs.

#### THE MARGUILLIERS' MEETING

With this evidence of activity and initiative on the part of the Irish before them<sup>1</sup> the Marguilliers met on April 17 and formulated in their turn resolutions which enabled them to answer promptly the Committee's questions. At that meeting they had acknowledged that the "accroissement rapide des Catholiques surtout de ceux parlant la langue anglaise de cette paroisse"<sup>2</sup> now rendered necessary the building of a branch church (Eglise succursale) - "un projet louable"<sup>3</sup>. They also resolved

2. qu'il sera bâti sous le plus court délai possible, et suivant que les Moyens de la Fabrique le permettaient avec l'aide des contributions des Catholiques parlant la langue anglaise et du public en général, une Eglise succursale comme susedit pour répondre aux besoins de tous les Catholiques de cette paroisse tant ceux parlant la langue anglaise que tous autres<sup>4</sup>.

Somehow the warmth of the expressions "un projet louable" and "bâti sous le plus court delai possible" was lost in the insistence that

<sup>1</sup>The public meeting announced in the newspapers no doubt attracted some of the marguilliers.

<sup>2</sup>Résolutions des Marguilliers 17 avril, 1831, AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick 1-17.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

if the Fabrique built a church it would be for everybody but with the help of contributions from the English speaking Catholics especially. Had the Irish been as aware of the first sentiments as they were made aware of the others in the Fabrique's communication, perhaps they would not have written quite so defensively in May.

#### THE QUESTIONS

However, with a choice of matters emotional or matters of business before them, they chose first to turn their attention to business, and early in May, in reply to the Marguilliers' resolutions they directed the following clear questions:

1. Is the congregation of Catholics speaking the English language by their own committee to have control over the revenues arising from the proposed church?
2. If not, what share is this congregation to have in the internal regulations or administration of the affairs of the intended church?
3. Will the Marguilliers for themselves and successors promise that the Catholics of this Parish speaking the English language enjoy forever the undisturbed use of the proposed church and graveyard?
4. Will the Marguilliers consent that registers be kept in the proposed church for marriages baptisms and burials?
5. Is this congregation to pay any fees to the Fabrique or curé for the use of the proposed church and its furniture for the celebration of divine services on the festival of St. Patrick, St. George, and St. Andrew?
6. Are the monies to be collected from the congregation on Sundays and Holydays to be at the disposal of the Committee of Management as at present they are in the Lower Town Church?

These questions sent under date of May 1, 1831<sup>1</sup>, were answered by May 9 and duly recorded and commented upon in the Minute Book by May 15.

#### THE ANSWERS

Réponse des Marguilliers

Dated May 9, 1831

Réponses des Marguilliers de la Fabrique de Québec aux questions des Catholiques parlant la langue Anglaise.

A la Première question

Comme l'église et cimetière proposés ne doivent ni ne peuvent être qu'en aide de l'Eglise paroissiale cette Eglise ne saurait être succursale sans être dépendante des Curé et marguilliers sous l'autorité episcopale; elle sera donc entièrement sous leur surintendance.

A la second

Il n'est pas question de former une congregation à part et séparée de l'Eglise Paroissiale; cette Eglise proposée sera donc commune à Tous les Catholiques comme le temple principale est accessible à tous les fidèles c'est le surcroit de population qui nécessite l'érection, de cette nouvelle Eglise. La Fabrique en l'entreprenant n'a pas en vue de créer une division ni de la préparer; c'est pour cette raison qu'elle s'en réserve la régie entière, comme elle a celle de l'Eglise de la basse ville.

A la troisième question

Les marguilliers ne peuvent pas plus garantir aux Catholiques parlant la langue Anglaise le jouissance perpetuelle et exclusive de l'Eglise et cimetière proposés qu'ils ne peuvent les exclure de l'Eglise paroissiale, accessible à tous les fidèles parceque ce serait établir un empire dans un empire, un schisme.

A la quatrième question

Si l'autorité le permet la Fabrique n'objecte pas à ce que les prêtres

<sup>1</sup>Minute Book, May 1, 1831.

tiennent dans cette Eglise succursale des registres de Mariages, Baptêmes et Sepultures mais les prêtres en seront sous le surintendance du curé de la Paroisse et les registres seront comme ceux de la paroisse tenus pour les Catholiques des environs sans distinction de langage.

A la cinquième question

Non, ce sont des fêtes nationales.

A la sixième question

Oui

Quebec le 9 mai 1831<sup>1</sup>

The Marguilliers answered with a directness that left the Irish with no doubt that the Fabrique did not like the idea of a church distinctively Irish (or English) nor would they relinquish their basic ownership and control of the Church in question.

So anxious were the Irish, however, to get the building of the church started that, said they,

Although the said answers do not entirely meet their expectations, yet rather than (that) the Congregation should remain much longer in the state of sufferance which they actually endure, they have resolved not to oppose any further obstacle to the erection of the contemplated church, with the hope that the Marguilliers will now prosecute that work to a speedy completion<sup>2</sup>

Their "not opposing any obstacle" however did not mean that they surrendered completely to the Fabrique's mode of operation. The Committee voted, ten days later, (John Cannon dissenting) that they

<sup>1</sup>AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 No. 15.

<sup>2</sup>Minute Book, May 15, 1831.

then did not consider themselves or the congregation as such,

bound to pay the sums which they have hitherto respectively subscribed towards the erection of a church for their own exclusive use<sup>1</sup>.

The same chilly attitude was conveyed according to directions in the Minute Book

That our sub-committee ... express how much this assembly are surprised at the Catholics of this City speaking the English language being called upon for any sum as a Body when the Marguilliers by their answers, dated 14<sup>th</sup> May 1831 refuse to acknowledge the said Catholics as a congregation or to allow them any share in the internal regulations of the proposed Church<sup>2</sup>.

The decision above was in addition to the indignant reply they phrased in answers to the Marguilliers' statement:

Les marguilliers ne peuvent pas plus garantir aux Catholiques parlant la langue Anglaise la jouissance perpetuelle et exclusive de l'Eglise et cimetièrre proposés qu'il ne peuvent les exclure de l'Eglise paroissiale, accessible à tous les fidèles parceque ce serait établir un empire dans un empire, un schisme<sup>3</sup>.

The response ordered was as follows:

I am likewise directed to express the regret the Committee feel at the ungrounded imputation of schism, conveyed in Answer No. 3 which they cannot but consider an unjustifiable reflection on the religious principles of the Catholics of this City speaking the English language<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>op.cit. May 25, 1831, referring to Resolution No. 2, p. 84. The discrepancy in dates arises from the one copy (fn. 2, p. being deposited in the Archdiocesan Archives; the St. Patrick's copy dated May 14<sup>th</sup> has been lost...

<sup>2</sup>Minute Book, May 14, 1831.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

Previous examples of the Irish insistence on expressions of loyalty to the Bishop have been cited as signs of a defensiveness on the part of the Irish vis-a-vis this new departure of theirs which the Diocese of Quebec had never witnessed before. But here, exactly what they feared was happening. Because they asked for something completely new and different, they were judged schismatic<sup>1</sup>.

#### DEALINGS OVER LAND

Crowded into the same period with the displays of opinion were the various dealings over lots of land.

All the lots under consideration by both Fabrique and Committee were in the Upper Town within a mile or so of where the Church eventually stood.

<sup>1</sup>Minute Book, May 15, 1831<sup>+</sup>. On February 19, 1831 the Bishop of Montreal had written to the Bishop of Quebec "Je vois dans le Vindicator du 11 de ce mois, que vos Irlandais (sic) de Québec ont passé le 30 janvier des Résolutions, tendant à acheter un terrain pour y bâtir une Eglise à leur usage exclusif; et a lointan (illegible) il semble que tout ceci se fait contre votre volonté et les plans des Marguilliers de Québec. Je voudrai savoir au juste ce qui en est; afin de retarder, dans l'occasion, l'esprit d'indépendance de ces étrangers, qui m'ont l'air de vouloir faire un peuple à part des autres Catholiques du Diocèse et donc les têtes chaudes pourroient (sic) mener bien vite à quelque schisme funeste." Bishop Lartique was bitterly outspoken on more than one occasion against the Irish. Archives of Diocese of Montréal IV 41.

<sup>+</sup>Perhaps they may not have known it, but the accusation of schism was bruited in their direction from Montreal, as well as from Quebec itself.

<sup>2</sup>Horan to Fabrique AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 No. 5.

The chronology of the possibilities follows:

First: In 1830, the Committee had under consideration Philippe Panet's lot on the corner of St. Anne and the Esplanade. It was considered the most respectable. (Philippe Panet was a Marguillier of Notre-Dame de Québec in 1828)<sup>1</sup>.

Second: In September 1830, Colonel Voyer's lot was offered to the Committee for £1000. The lot lay near St. John's Gate (where the Palais Montcalm stands in 1976). Both the Fabrique and the Committee had it under consideration at one time or another. The lot was large enough to include a graveyard, but its "nearness to the fortifications" was the one mark against it<sup>2</sup>.

Third: Mr. Irvin's lot at Hope Gate. This property had come to the attention of the Committee. It was mentioned but once<sup>3</sup>.

Fourth: The Massue and Laterrière lots on St. Oliver and Glacis Streets were considered very seriously by the Fabrique. In fact, on April 29, 1831 (Notre-Dame de Québec archives, Carton 7, No. 310 and 316) the Fabrique had voted six to one for the purchase of that lot above two others. On May 12, 1831, a ceiling of £1800 for the purchase

<sup>1</sup>Horan to Fabrique AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 No. 5.

<sup>2</sup>AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 No. 5.

<sup>3</sup>AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1 No. 5.

of land for the English church was set, and the Fabrique, on June 1 hearing Massue and Laterrière's price of £2000 dropped the proceedings. The May 1, 1831 Minutes of the Committee reported that Dr. O'Callaghan and the sub-committee had had three conferences with the "deputies from the Marguilliers" and at the last, agreed (with Mr. Cannon dissent) to the unanimous wish of the deputed Wardens, and chose ... Massue and Laterrière. On June 5, the Minute Book reported the Fabrique's refusal to buy the latter.

Fifth: Dame Drapeau's lot on St. Geneviève Hill was announced at the June 12 meeting of the Fabrique as available for £1000, but a letter from E.B. O'Callaghan, Secretary of the Committee, on June 16 announced disapproval by the Committee of that lot<sup>1</sup>. The Fabrique at this time named a committee which soon stopped looking for land when they realized that the Committee were doing the same thing.

Sixth: Miss Dumoulin offered a piece of land on St. George Street<sup>2</sup>.

Seventh: July 6, 1831, Mr. Mailhot offered "the circus" for sale. This was a lot adjoining Mrs. Cannon's lot.

Eighth: Mr. Peter Burnet offered his lot in a letter to the Committee on July 6, 1831. The Graves and Cannon lot had been brought to the attention of the Committee on July 3, 1831 by MacMahon, Burke and Quigley.

<sup>1</sup>NDQ Archives, Carton 7, 16 juin 1831 No. 318

<sup>2</sup>Minute Book, July 3, 1831.

### THE PURCHASE OF LAND

The meeting of the committee of July 6 authorized purchase of Cannon and Burnet's land and named Bishop Claude Panet, McMahon, Cannon, Burke, Coote, Horan, William O'Brien, Stillings and Byrne to be Trustees.

The Cannon lot cost £1200, Mr. Burnet's was bought at 2/6 per foot. Unfortunately the Minute Book specifies no more.

### TRUSTEES?

With this act of purchase, the Committee took another independent step. Continuing with their plan of having the Bishop and Marguilliers as Trustees of the lots purchased, they showed that intention at the same meeting (July 6, 1831) by naming the trustees as follows:

That the Right Rev'd Bernard Claude Panet, the Rev'd<sup>1</sup> Mr. P. McMahon, Messrs. Cannon, Burke, Coote, Horan, Wm. O'Brien, Stillings and Byrne (Champlain Street) be Trustees of the said property...<sup>2</sup>

The necessary paper work was to be carried out before Notary W.F. Scott, but before the deeds<sup>3</sup> were handed over, Father McMahon on October 27, 1831

reported that he had waited upon His Lordship the Bishop and asked him if he would consent to sign the Deeds as one of the Trustees, and that His Lordship decidedly refused to do so<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Horan's death was recorded in the Minute Book eleven days later.

<sup>2</sup>Minute Book, July 6, 1831.

<sup>3</sup>Archives judiciaires de Québec, Greffe du Notaire W.F. Scott, Vente de Peter Burnet à la Congregation du 13 Nov. 1831.

<sup>4</sup>Minute Book, October 27, 1831.

The Irish had consistently sought to have their cake: a church dependent to some extent in money matters upon the general funds of the large parish<sup>1</sup>; and eat it too: the use of the church to be designated for English-speaking Catholics, complete control of the church's revenues, and immediate status as a parish with its own registers. The next few years were to show that even without immediate parish status, and certainly not financial independence, they were yet able to maintain an ethnic distinctiveness which did not diminish.

#### FINANCING

Despite the fact that the Committee had been the one to purchase the land, and the Bishop had refused to accept it in trust (as if doing so were to acknowledge the existence of a separate fabrique<sup>2</sup>) and the Committee took on the obligation of building the church, lines of communication never completely broke down between Fabrique and Committee so that eventually money was loaned and borrowed to mutual satisfaction as two entries from the Minute Book will illustrate.

There were other different aspects of financing the Church. This thesis cannot supply the details of the financing because the books have been lost, but a few points will be offered to illustrate the tenuous state of parish financing.

---

<sup>1</sup>O'Callaghan's "pecuniary aid" p. 96 to follow.

<sup>2</sup>The mention of schism, however, never came up again seriously between the Marguilliers and Committee.

The letter of Paisley, Cannon and Horan of October 1827 had requested that the Irish be allowed to take up a collection for the building of a new church<sup>1</sup>. That this had begun immediately was witnessed by an entry in the Minute Book

Ordered: That the secretary write to the Rev'd Mr. Paisley<sup>2</sup> requesting him to take up a note of hand which this Committee hold of his for £14.13.7 which money Mr. Paisley received as a Collection in 1828 for building a church<sup>3</sup>.

No papers or minutes record Mr. Paisley's having complied, but neither do they note his refusal.

Later on the Committee agreed to make their need for funds known to the Congregation from the pulpit:

Mr. McAvoy moved, seconded by Mr. Burke, That the members of this Committee be authorized to receive from the well disposed among the congregation any sums they may be inclined to contribute to the Church funds, said sums to be at the disposal of the Committee, and that the clergyman be requested to acquaint the Congregation with the tenor of this resolve. Which motion being put it was agreed to<sup>4</sup>.

The Committee was becoming more aware of the intricacies of financing. The easy going ways of the past and their disadvantages began to show up. The Minute Book recorded the agreement of the members to revenue reports and to payment of various accounts, in meager words. Other cash books and ledgers must have been in use, but even at that early

<sup>1</sup>October 27, Paisley et al to Bishop, St. Patrick's Archives.

<sup>2</sup>Rev'd Mr. Paisley was by this time pastor at Montebelle.

<sup>3</sup>Minute Book, February 27, 1831.

<sup>4</sup>op. cit. May 1, 1831.

period, records seemed to get lost, for example:

It was then moved by Mr. Teed, seconded by Mr. Quigley and resolved, That the books containing the names of persons who subscribed in 1829 and 1830 to the erection of the then proposed church be given up to our Secretary to be by him kept until further orders from this committee. <sup>+</sup>

<sup>+</sup> This Book I never got. E.B. O'C.<sup>1</sup>

It appears that subsequently slightly better care was taken of lists of subscribers. The Minute Book has three pages (of quality inferior to its principal pages) bound in with the Minutes of the Building Committee. These pages in five columns listed one hundred eighty four donors, thirty six of whom were women, who in August and September (most likely 1831) donated £324.7.10<sup>2</sup>.

Various manuscripts in St. Patrick's Archives mention means to be devised for collecting throughout the city. They suggested raising contributions by dividing the city into collection districts: the "Coves, and the uptown" for example; they also considered canvassing the Regiments, boarding houses "when sailors come in", and collecting from the workers every week "when the wood rafts come in"<sup>3</sup>.

In 1830, the estimated cost of building the church was set at around £10,900. In January 1831, when little over £2000 had been subscribed, the committee had gone forward steadily with its plan to

<sup>1</sup>op. cit. May 15, 1831.

<sup>2</sup>This manuscript is deserving of close study for several of the names appear on the 1817 Petition to Bishop Plessis. There are Irish, English, Scottish and French names on the list of subscribers to the Building Committee.

<sup>3</sup>St. Patrick's Archives uncatalogued MS.

purchase land which took almost that whole amount. In October 1831, when the Committee chose to open an account in the Quebec Bank, the Treasurer could report only £375.0.0 deposited<sup>1</sup>.

#### REMINDERS TO THE MARGUILLIERS

The Minute Book also records at this time pitiful Sunday collections usually amounting to little over two pounds, while the money was beginning to be spent not only for Father McMahon's expenses, as previously, but for the daily and weekly costs of laborers and tools and building materials<sup>2</sup>. It is no wonder then that the Committee had applied for money of the Fabrique as early as November of 1831. One wonders whether to apply the term trust or crust to the Secretary O'Callaghan's letter:

The Committee of Management of the Congregation of

---

<sup>1</sup>Minute Book, October 9 and 11, 1831, also, "From the present number of subscribers and the sums subscribed by them, the Committee can at present show a list of about £2550 - this sum to be paid by three installments (sic) of one third the amount subscribed each year for three years."

Horan to Fabrique, September 19, 1830 AAQ 61 CD St.Patrick's 1 No. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Minute Book records -

	<u>Wages</u>		<u>Expenses</u>	
Sept. 19, 1831 -	8.15.6	Oct. 9	18 shovels	3.6.0
25	17.18.4½		carpentry	2.9.3
Oct. 2	17.15.4			
9	17. 1.3			
23	23. 6.10½			
30	25.10.9			

#### Sunday Collections

May 8	2.4.10½	May 29	2.1.0
15	2.4.11½	June 12	2.6.6½
22	2.5.3	19	2.7.4½

etc.

May 1 Annual rent: £ 130 (Pastor's home)

Catholics speaking the English Language having been most actively and I have the pleasure of informing you, most successfully engaged since I had last the honor of addressing you, in realizing funds for the completion of St. Patrick's Church; (the construction of which is now as far advanced as the season would permit)<sup>1</sup>. They have directed me to request that you will at as early a date as possible, have the goodness to call the attention of the Marguilliers of this parish to the circumstances and lay before them the expectation the Committee entertain of receiving a pecuniary aid from the Fabrique to enable them to prosecute with all possible economy, their undertaking which they have commenced<sup>2</sup>.

They must have been much more successful at maintaining a steady revenue than the presently available records show.

The funds which the Committee have already realized, a good part of which remain unexpended, have with a small exception been generously contributed solely by the Congregation of Catholics speaking the English Language. They therefore hope that the Fabrique will not be backward on so worthy an occasion, but by a liberal assistance which on the part of the Committee I have the honor respectfully to demand, continue to support that character which they have heretofore gained to being the first in upholding and promoting the interests of the Roman Catholics entrusted to their care<sup>3</sup>.

The reply of the Marguilliers was quite terse:

Cette assemblée ne se sent pas autorisée à donner aux Catholiques parlant le langue anglaise aucune aide pécuniaire pour la bâtisse de l'Eglise de St. Patrice sur les fonds de la Fabrique de Québec, ces fonds n'étant applicables qu'à l'usage de tous les paroissiens

<sup>1</sup>This is the first time the name of St. Patrick's was used. Evidently, it needed no discussion or formal resolution to decide on a name!

<sup>2</sup>Secretary E.B. O'Callaghan to the Marguilliers, November 10, 1831, St. Patrick's Archives.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. O'Callaghan to Marguilliers, November 10, 1831.

en general et indistinctement<sup>1</sup>.

Yet Horan's manuscript written in 1831 states that the Wardens had promised £500 in 1830.

The Reverend Mr. McMahon was given also to understand by the Coadjutor Bishop that the Wardens were disposed to assist our body in the sum of £500 yearly for three years<sup>2</sup>.

The question of the sum of £500 came up again in 1834 when final arrangements were made, not without another acrimonious letter<sup>3</sup> and a letter from Father McMahon to Antonio Parant, Marguillier-en-charge on March 6, 1834<sup>4</sup>.

Two entries from the Minute Book show the final satisfactory outcome. Reverend Mr. McMahon received a letter from

Antonio Parant<sup>5</sup>, Esq., Marguillier in charge of the Fabrique communicating a resolution of this Fabrique offering to grant a loan of five hundred pounds to St. Patrick's Church; to be repaid in nine years without interest whereupon it was resolved that the said loan of five hundred pounds be accepted by the committee to be repaid subject to the terms and conditions herein stated<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Buteau of the Fabrique to O'Callaghan of the Committee, November 13, 1831, St. Patrick's Archives.

<sup>2</sup>Horan MS.

<sup>3</sup>Minute Book, September 2, 1834.

<sup>4</sup>St. Patrick's Archives.

<sup>5</sup>A.A. Parant was a Notary Public with his office at 9 St. Joseph Street, Cf. John Smith Almanach.

<sup>6</sup>Minute Book, September 2, 1834.

Within two weeks the Treasurer reported that the "notarial obligation for the loan from the Fabrique was signed and completed"<sup>1</sup> and that the amount of five hundred pounds had been received from Mr. Roy and deposited in the Quebec Bank<sup>2</sup>. At the same time the committee resolved to convey their thanks to the Reverend Curé and the gentlemen marguilliers for the loan and the generous terms on which it had been granted. The Committee began paying back this particular loan with a first one hundred pounds on September 10, 1839. By 1844 the Treasurer could report that the debt had been completely discharged<sup>3</sup>.

At this point, it is hard to determine what changed the fortunes of the parish. The church was in fact enlarged in 1845, and one of the reasons given for this expense was that it was serving as parish church for the soldiers of the garrison<sup>4</sup>. Perhaps regular stipends and dues and collections from these as well as from the growing civilian congregation had begun to stabilize the finances<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Minute Book, September 16, 1834.

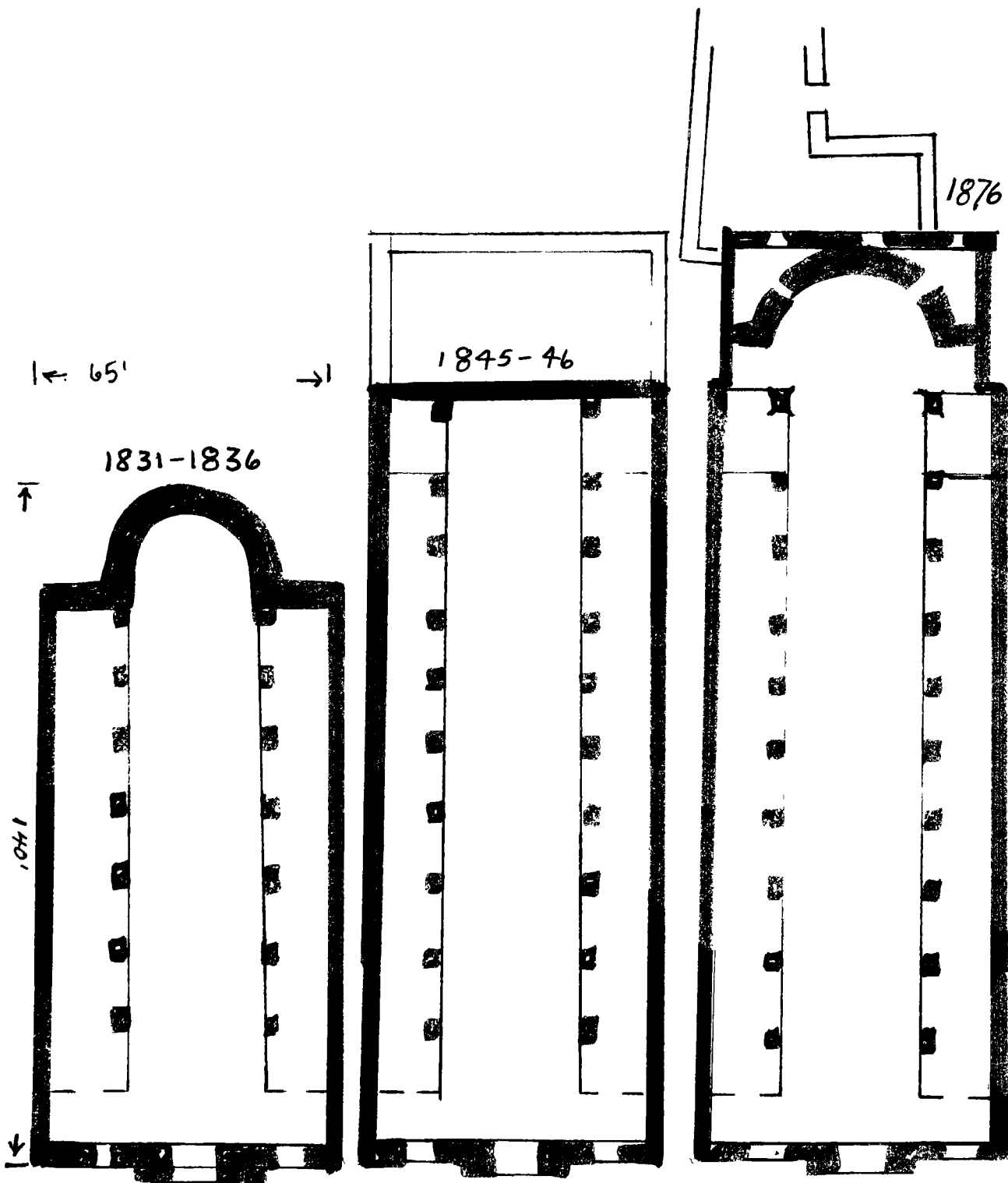
<sup>2</sup>Minute Book, September 16, 1834.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., September 16, 1844. Note the date in the preceding entry.

<sup>4</sup>The old church stood across the street from the Artillery Park, with its great barracks, an historic site, presently being reconstructed by the Federal Government.

<sup>5</sup>Fig. III shows floor plan of enlargements.

FIGURE III



Successive changes in St. Patrick's Church.

## SUMMARY

It is hard to sum up this welter of repetitious resolutions in a few words. The chapter illustrates at length the growth of understanding between the two groups. First the Irish asked for a church of their own and the French Fabrique explained how that was done in this country, that is, by a process of years as a branch church under the control of the mother parish before full parish status was granted. The relationship of the Fabrique and the Committee is very interesting: on the one hand the Fabrique said a number of different things: they denied that the Irish could have a church for themselves at all; they acknowledged that it was "un projet louable"; they said they could not use money intended for the use of the whole parish to build a church for the use of a particular group in the parish and then they went on to say they would build a church for everybody but with special help from the Irish - all this in the name of the law. On the other hand, the Irish asked for a church repeatedly explaining that they were loyal Catholics, that they did not intend to be other than submissive to the Bishop, but that they wanted a church, of their own. In the midst of this the church was actually started by the Irish. Both parties gave in a little - the Irish took 'succursale' status (the only thing they could do and remain loyal to the Bishop) for the several years required, and the Fabrique let it be an Irish church. Both parties put a good face on it and the solemn ceremony of dedication was carried out by the Bishop's representative, the Vicar-General Jérôme Demers, and by the Pastor of the parish of Notre-Dame de Québec, Charles F. Baillargeon, on Sunday, July 7, 1833.

**CONCLUSION**

## CONCLUSION

This assembly of facts and a few figures has been presented as a basic contribution to the history of the Irish in Quebec. That history really began back some time in the yet undetermined past, but it reached a significant point early in the nineteenth century with the building of Saint Patrick's Church. The first chapter underlined the significance of that event by pointing out the number of Irish who were already established in the City by 1830: about seven thousand out of a total population of approximately some thirty two thousand. Some early successful businessmen among them had approached the Bishop of Quebec with their desire for a church of their own.

In the second chapter, the Bishop's men, that is, the Fabrique or the corporation of the parish of Notre-Dame de Québec to which the Irish belonged, were portrayed in their legal role of managers of the material goods and material expansion of the parish. In response to the existence of the Fabrique, the Irish created their own Committee of Management. Some biographical material for several members of the Corporation was given for the purpose of establishing the Irishmen as ordinary citizens of Quebec, involved in gaining a livelihood in an environment to which many had been strangers but a short time before. These Irishmen requested a church of their own from the Fabrique. As it happened, the exact way they wanted it at first was not granted. However, the fact that it was named St. Patrick's, and that an Irishman, Father Patrick McMahon was made its priest, virtually guaranteed in 1833

what the granting of registers did in 1856, the creation of an Irish parish.

Even had the church not been explicitly designated for the Irish but for the use of all parishioners (as the Fabrique had once said it must be) it probably would have become an "Irish church" anyway. The concentration of the Irish population living fairly close to the church, as well as usage and compatibility would probably have dictated the outcome.

The purpose of the second chapter was to indicate through the biographies of several of the main managers how their differences were submerged in the unity of the committee and its work of building. This chapter is long and detailed but is a necessary part of the whole picture of individuals with their particular backgrounds.

In the third chapter, the negotiations carried on between the marguilliers and the committee men were followed. The exchange of correspondence showed the details of the work as well as the nuances of growing understanding between the two groups. The church was finally dedicated on July 7, 1833, as the opening chapter announced. Father McMahon dictated the spirit that he wanted between the two communities, "... la plus parfaite harmonie ... toujours ... entre la congrégation et les autorités ecclésiastiques"<sup>1</sup>. In so doing, Father McMahon

---

<sup>1</sup>Le Canadien, 8 juillet 1833.

forecast the peaceful, sturdy self-assurance that would characterize the Irish community as it flourished in the city for the next 75 years. On that note, the committee entered on a new era of responsibility: the maintenance of the church to the level of the people's needs. The overall result of the building of the church was first and foremost the consolidation of the Irish in Quebec City. Their community had found leadership not only in its priest, but also in the committee which year after year attracted good men to it. Its leadership role grew. At the very outset the people recognized its leadership and applied to it in a variety of needs.

In reading the formal, carefully recorded notes in the Minute Book one can piece together the work that the Committee of Management did. Their "raison d'être" was to build the Church but they became the focal point of a great deal of activity for the English speaking Catholics, the majority Irish, of the city. They were recognized as the leaders of those whom the French Canadians labelled "les Irlandais" to distinguish them from other English speaking people - the Protestants.

A most outstanding example of leadership occurred in 1831 when the Committee felt obliged to speak in defence of the Irish and at a public meeting the people requested the Committee to do just that.

That occasion was the month of March 1831 when the Committee was looking for land for the church. The slur of schism had been thrown at the Irish, not just in the private correspondence between the Bishop of Montreal and the Bishop of Quebec, and between the Marguilliers and the

Committeemen, but now in the press.

Both La Minerve of Montreal and the Gazette of Quebec became vehicles for the item. At the request of the Committee of St. Patrick's, the Gazette printed a letter first published in the Montreal Minerve from one signing himself "L'Impartial" and along with it, the reply of the Quebeckers.

"L'Impartial" had written on March 31, 1831:

"N'a-t-on pas vu, dans quelques résolutions passées à Québec le 30 janvier dernier, des Irlandais, se disant Catholiques, vouloir bâtir une église dans cette ville sans l'intervention de l'Evêque, et de choisir pour cela à eux-mêmes un terrain qu'il a seul de droit de leur indiquer? Comme si des étrangers, parce qu'ils sont d'outre mer devaient en arrivant ici, bouleverser nos usages et coutumes au lieu de s'y conformer"<sup>1</sup>.

The reply that was published along with "L'Impartial's" letter in the Gazette had been moved and accepted at a general meeting of the Irish in April under the guidance of the Committee of Management, and the results were entered in the Minute Book as follows:

The Secretary from the Gen'l Meeting (April 4) of the Congregation reported the following resolution - "That we have read a paragraph from a communication signed "L'Impartial" and inserted in the Montreal Minerve of the 31st ult. which imputes to the Irish Catholics of Quebec intentions and principles which they abhor. We therefore request the Committee of Management publicly to contradict and disavow the same in our name."

Whereupon the paragraph referred to was read and it was unanimously resolved: That we deeply regret that any individual wantonly traduce the principles of the Irish

---

<sup>1</sup>Quebec Gazette, April 14, 1831, from La Minerve.

Catholics of this city and glaringly misinterpret their wishes to promote the glory of God by raising a House of Worship wherein they may conveniently perform their religious duties: That in every step which they have hitherto taken, they have as in duty bound submitted themselves to the spiritual jurisdictions of His Lordship the Bishop of this Diocese and therefore that the assertion and insinuations contained in the foregoing extract are false and unfounded and on the part of the Irish Catholics of Quebec we fling them back in the face of the author and declare them a gross and unwarranted calumny on our character as Catholics and as citizens. Ordered that the foregoing resolution be published in the french and english languages (sic) in the Quebec Gazette and Mercury and in the Montreal Minerve and Vindicator<sup>1</sup>.

The Gazette entry was signed by E.B. O'Callaghan, Secretary, and by Father Patrick McMahon.

The newspaper exchange on that topic did not go beyond those letters. "L'Impartial"'s letter voiced the traditional relationship of Bishop and French people, and of people and Fabrique and it expressed the fear that the structure was being shaken by the Irishmen.

The only thing that was really different in the creation of this church from that of other French Canadian Churches, was that the foot-dragging of a bureaucracy (in this case the Fabrique) brought about a show-down situation when the Irish, after four years of honest negotiations and more years than that of inconvenience, refused to be put off any longer and made public their intention of building their own church. That occurred in the general meeting of January 30, 1831, at which time

---

<sup>1</sup>Minute Book, April 10, 1831.

they stated their impatience and their intention of getting what they wanted. Well might "L'Impartial", unaware of the whole background, fear that the Irish intended to "bouleverser (nos) usages et coutumes" which in reality they had no mind to do. In fact, they had to cling to these "usages et coutumes" for financial support, and they wanted to cling to them for religion's sake. Out of the compromise between Fabrique and Committee, there had come a new creation - the so-called "national Parish", and in pioneering this effort in Quebec in spite of themselves, the Irish and the French very early discovered a now familiar Canadian institution.

There are several other examples of a central position held by the Committee in the parish and in the community, some of them very humble.

Such simple things as charitable donations to individuals were recorded in the Minute Book, for example

Committee was ordered to pay - for Julia Quinn's passage to Cork.

Moved by Dr. O'Callaghan and seconded by Mr. Quigley that the sum of four pounds paid (in 1829) out of the Church funds for Julia Quinn's passage to Cork be refunded to our Treasurer after the first of May next out of the weekly collections from the Congregation<sup>1</sup>.

On the other hand, another matter that the Committee was prompt to consider in the care of its people (besides care of their religious

---

<sup>1</sup>Minute Book, February 27, 1831.

needs) was attention to the newly arrived immigrants, mostly their own people who swarmed the docks in the summer time (at the beginning, when the book was started, in 1831-1832, the Irish were at Notre-Dame des Victoires within view of the docks).

The Rev'd Mr. McMahon called the attention of the Committee to the distressed state of the Emigrants at present in town and it was agreed to make a general collection from door to door, on tomorrow, to raise funds for their relief, and the city and suburbs were accordingly divided into Wards and two collectors were appointed from among the members of the Committee to each Ward<sup>1</sup>.

The Minute Book showed that Doctor Joseph Painchaud, in his work at the Emigrant Hospital and later at the Emigrant and Marine Hospital consulted the committee:

Read a letter from Doctor Painchaud, Surgeon in Charge of the Emigrant Hospital, requesting the Committee to inspect the Establishment in order to give their opinion on certain additional buildings which he had thrown up for the accomodation of the Sick Emigrants whose numbers were so great that they could not be lodged in the Main Building. Agreeably to the request the Committee moved to proceed<sup>2</sup> tomorrow evening at 7 o'clock to the Emigrant Hospital<sup>2</sup>.

Later they heard from Dr. Painchaud again. The brief report in the Minute Book hints at a larger collaboration than the words tell. Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan was working in the port clinic with the benevolent Dr. Painchaud at this time.

<sup>1</sup>Minute Book, June 5, 1831.

<sup>2</sup>Minute Book, June 19, 1831.

Read a letter from Doctor Painchaud thanking Committee for visiting the Hospital and requesting certain members to be appointed to audit his accounts<sup>1</sup>.

Also, Father McMahon, as a member of the Quebec Emigrant Society, frequently preached benefit sermons at which collections were taken up for the Society. For years, the collection on St. Patrick's Day went to the Emigrant Society and was so recorded by the Committee (except in 1832, when it was agreed that the collection that year should go into the building fund - the new church was progressing).

The Committee also considered education and the care of orphans. These matters were dealt with very briefly, but one is left with the impression that the Committee felt these matters to be within their scope.

Resolved that a sub-committee of 5 members be appointed to enquire (sic) into the practicability of establishing a school in Pres-de-Ville for the children, belonging to this Congregation who reside in that part of the Lower Town (McMahon, Teed, Connolly, Byrne)<sup>2</sup>.

The five members soon made their report on school matters.

Dr. O'Callaghan reported that the inhabitants of Pres-de-Ville are generally desirous of having a school established in that district. Mr. McMahon was requested to address the Congregation next Sunday on the subject to induce them to come forward to

<sup>1</sup>Ibid. June 26, 1831. An interesting account of Dr. Joseph Painchaud can be found in Sylvio Leblond's article "Dr. Jos Painchaud et sa famille" in La Société d'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique Sessions d'Etude 1956, pp. 53-59.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. March 12, 1833.

establish the said school<sup>1</sup>.

The care of the children, their education and the shelter of the orphaned among them was also touched upon by the Committee.

5 August, 1834

Resolved that the sum of one hundred dollars be deposited with M. le Curé to meet the wants of the orphans of the congregation and the Rev'd Mr. McMahon, Messrs. Burke and O'Meara convey the same to his reverence and make with him any further arrangements that may be thought necessary for the welfare of the said orphans<sup>2</sup>.

The preceding pages have shown the Committee's main work accomplished and its leadership position established both in the parish and in the City. The spirit that had animated the emerging Irish in 1817 in their desire for a priest, and in 1819 in celebrating Saint Patrick's Day, had been caught by the Committee and made manifest in the Church building. That spirit was to continue in Quebec in the ensuing years through the efforts of the committee and its successors. The method they happened upon and to which they gave three months of preparation every year was the celebration of the feast of their patron saint. The Committee co-ordinated the wishes of the people and every year organized the great public portion of the March 17 festivities: the Saint Patrick's Day Parade.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid. March 19, 1833. Like all Quebec projects, it, too, moved slowly. It was only in 1842 that the Christian Brothers (F.S.C.) came to Quebec and opened a school for French and Irish boys on Champlain Street.

<sup>2</sup>Minute Book, August 5, 1834. It would be twenty years before the parish would be able to establish St. Brigid's Home which cared for the aged and orphans. A study is in progress on this.

In the Quebec Irish community some societies held dinners, or put on dramatics, but the Saint Patrick's Day Parade as organized by the Committee became the great public annual occasion when the Irish reminded the city of their existence. They could reflect upon their Irish Catholic background in the Sermon of the day given at the High Mass which was the culminating point of the parade. That High Mass was attended not only by the Irish societies but by the "sister societies" of St. Jean Baptiste, St. George's, St. Andrew's and the Caledonian, for they all marched behind their respective banners to parade into the church together. On many occasions, besides simply parading, the Irish stopped at the Mayor's residence and at those of the society presidents to present a special speech honoring the land that had become their home, and the peace and harmony that dwelt therein. No matter the level nor the subject of their bickering during the year, the leaders of all the societies, in their speeches, and the toastmasters at the evening's dinners, chose to select and salute only the positive and actual long run peace and harmony that actually did exist. St. Patrick's Day seemed to become an annual assessment of their position in the city, a chance to glorify the far past, without forgetting the misery that had made them leave Ireland. Close to significant events themselves, they reflected publicly on their comfortable status in the city.

It seems that any group similar to the Committee of Management could have performed the task of building and running a church, but the Committee of Management of the 1830s took on more than the material

maintenance of a church, they took a growing tradition into their hands, and over the years, fostered and moulded it, so that the celebration of the annual feast became the vehicle for the preservation of pride in their Irish heritage. The Committee found itself playing a wider role than simply that of parish management. It is a tribute to the Committee men of those early days that the Irish could preserve their independence and their particular flavour without in any way tearing loose from the very fabric of the French City to which they belonged.

APPENDIX I

Pour publication immédiat

L'ÉGLISE SAINT-PATRICE DE QUÉBEC

---

Un rapport portant sur la restauration de l'église Saint-Patrice de Québec vient d'être soumis à la Commission des Biens culturels.

Les auteurs du rapport, MM. Yves LALIBERTE et Luc NOPPEN, du Groupe de recherche en art du Québec de l'Université Laval, précisent que ce monument ravagé à deux occasions par l'incendie, est menacé de destruction si aucune décision n'est prise quant à sa restauration.

Remarquable au plan architectural, l'ancienne église des catholiques irlandais de Québec mérite en cela la mise en oeuvre de moyens destinés à sa sauvegarde. En effet:

- Saint-Patrice a été construite de 1831 à 1836, selon les plans de l'architecte Thomas BAILLAIRGE;
- Saint-Patrice est la seule église de Baillairgé qui subsistait dans son ensemble à Québec, avant les récents sinistres (Saint-Roch, Saint-Jean-Baptiste et la basilique de Québec ayant été détruites ou modifiées.);
- Saint-Patrice est l'église catholique la plus ancienne de la ville de Québec, si on accepte que Notre-Dame-des-Victoires (1688) fut une chapelle desserte de Notre-Dame de Québec jusque vers 1900;

- Saint-Patrice est la première église des catholiques irlandais de Québec;

- Saint-Patrice est un monument de grande valeur architecturale. En fait, elle a été l'origine de la construction, par Thomas Baillairgé:

1. des églises monumentales (Deschambault, Notre-Dame de Lévis, Saint-Roch de Québec (détruite), etc...
2. d'un nouveau type de façade à une seule tour surmontée d'un clocher central, architecture très populaire par la suite au XIX siècle...
3. de la conception d'un nouveau type d'intérieur d'église à partir de la combinaison d'influences de Notre-Dame et de la cathédrale anglicane de Québec.

-Saint-Patrice a été construite avant et par le même architecte que Deschambault, Sainte-Luce de Rimouski, Notre-Dame de Lévis et la cathédrale de Québec (façade), tous indiscutablement considérés comme des monuments historiques;

-Saint-Patrice a su garder, malgré des transformations opérées au chœur de l'église en 1846 et 1876, un caractère homogène qui altère peu l'état originel.

Le Groupe de recherche en art du Québec, par la nature des recherches entreprises, sera appelé à produire d'autres documents de ce type, plus que jamais essentiels pour informer adéquatement les pouvoirs publics concernés et susciter un regain d'intérêt pour la conservation du patrimoine culturel auprès du public en général.

-30-

Pour renseignements: Andrée Lemieux  
Attaché à l'information

## APPENDIX II

# Les jours de l'église St. Patrick seraient comptés

Par Vianney DUCHESNE

La Commission des biens culturels du Québec s'apprêterait à autoriser la démolition de l'historique église St. Patrick, dans le Vieux-Québec, alors que pour d'autres, il serait encore possible de "sauver" ce monument.

En effet, "Le Soleil" a appris que le nouvel organisme gouvernemental, dont la mission est de préserver le patrimoine culturel du Québec, a été saisi d'une requête pour la démolition de la première église irlandaise à Québec. Cette demande a été faite par les propriétaires de l'église eux-mêmes, dont les intérêts sont regroupés sous le nom de "Les Hôtels du Vieux-Québec Inc." et qui sont propriétaires aussi de l'hôtel Victoria.

On se rappellera qu'après avoir été durement touchée par le feu à trois reprises, l'église a été acquise par des hommes d'affaires pour en faire un terrain de stationnement à l'intention des clients de l'hôtel Victoria. La ville de Québec s'est alors immédiatement opposée à la démolition de l'édifice, souhaitant plutôt qu'on lui trouve une nouvelle vocation pour assurer sa survie et sa rentabilité.

La Commission des biens culturels dont le président est M. Georges-Émile Lapalme, n'a pas encore pris de décision finale. Cependant, le seul fait qu'elle ait demandé aux requérants de présenter un projet de "remplacement" en inquiète plusieurs. Chose certaine, les membres de la Commission ont envisagé la possibilité d'autoriser la démolition.

Le secrétaire de cet organisme, M. Roland Boulanger, a précisé que la Commission attend de connaître le projet de remplacement des promoteurs, avant d'autoriser la démolition. Il a ajouté que le projet pourra peut-être coïncider avec ce qui reste de l'édifice, tout en spécifiant qu'il faudra décider ce qu'il y a lieu de conserver ou de faire construire sur l'emplacement.

Refusant de dire quand la Commission prendra une décision, il a dit qu'il faut se demander dans quelle mesure la population irlandaise, — et celle de la région de Québec — est intéressée à la conservation de ce monument. Il devait ajouter: "La Commission serait d'avis pour conserver quelque chose afin de l'intégrer comme étant partie de l'ancien monument".

Pour sa part, M. Boulanger croit que certaines choses pourraient être préservées et mises en valeur. Mais, d'autre part, il a émis l'opinion que les murs sont dans un état lamentable.

## AUTRE SON DE CLOCHE

Au service des monuments, sites et arrondissements historiques, nous avons entendu un autre son de cloche. Alors que c'est ce service qui doit présenter un rapport à la Commission,

on souhaite la conservation de l'église. "Nous sommes absolument contre la démolition, nous a dit un porte-parole. Notre point de vue n'a pas changé. Il faut la conserver. En fonction de l'îlot de l'Arsenal, il serait triste que ce monument disparaisse."

Ce service a reçu une demande de la Commission des biens culturels à l'effet de rencontrer les propriétaires de l'église pour savoir ce qu'ils veulent en faire. Le service des monuments, sites et arrondissements historiques a déjà présenté un projet à ce sujet. Il s'agissait de reconstruire le toit de l'église, sans clocher, et d'en faire une rallonge à l'hôtellerie de l'Armée du Salut. Cet organisme était favorable au projet, et les plans de

la charpente étaient déjà prêts. Des pressions auraient bloqué le projet.

La ville de Québec aurait déjà fait préparer également une esquisse pour convertir l'église en hôtellerie. Cela permettrait de sauver le corps du bâtiment.

Selon notre interlocuteur, si l'on veut conserver le Vieux-Québec, on ne peut faire de concession. Il a précisé que c'est là une question de principe.

L'histoire des requêtes en démolition peut se résumer ainsi, au Service des permis de la ville de Québec: le 25 février 1969, la "Congregation of Catholics of Quebec speaking English language", présentait une première requête qui était refusée dès le lendemain, par la Commission des monuments historiques.

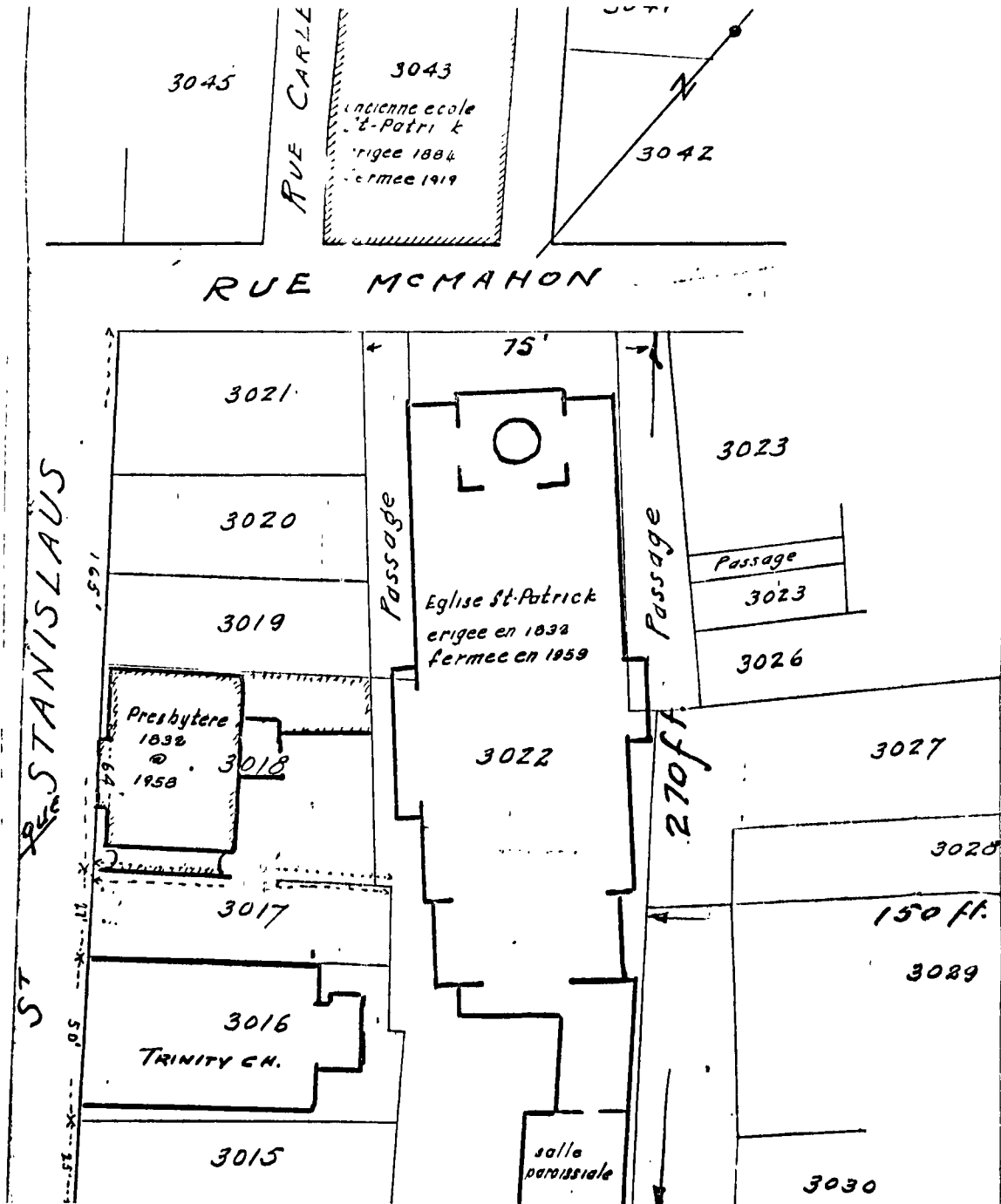
En février 1970, la ville de Québec ordonnait elle-même la démolition du clocher parce qu'il représentait un danger public à la suite du dernier incendie. Le 7 février 1972, les Hôtels du Vieux-Québec Inc., demandaient de nouveau l'autorisation de démolir. Requête refusée, le 21 mars, par la Commission des sites et monuments historiques.

Le 19 octobre, une lettre parvenant de l'étude des notaires Baillargeon, Carrier, Laforce et Aubé demandait la révision de la décision du 21 mars. Notons aussi que, selon M. Boulanger, un notaire aurait expédié un avis juridique à la ville de Québec, concernant le danger public que représente l'église. Il a cependant refusé de divulguer le nom de ce notaire.

LE SOLEIL

QUEBEC, JEUDI 4 JANVIER 1973

APPENDIX III

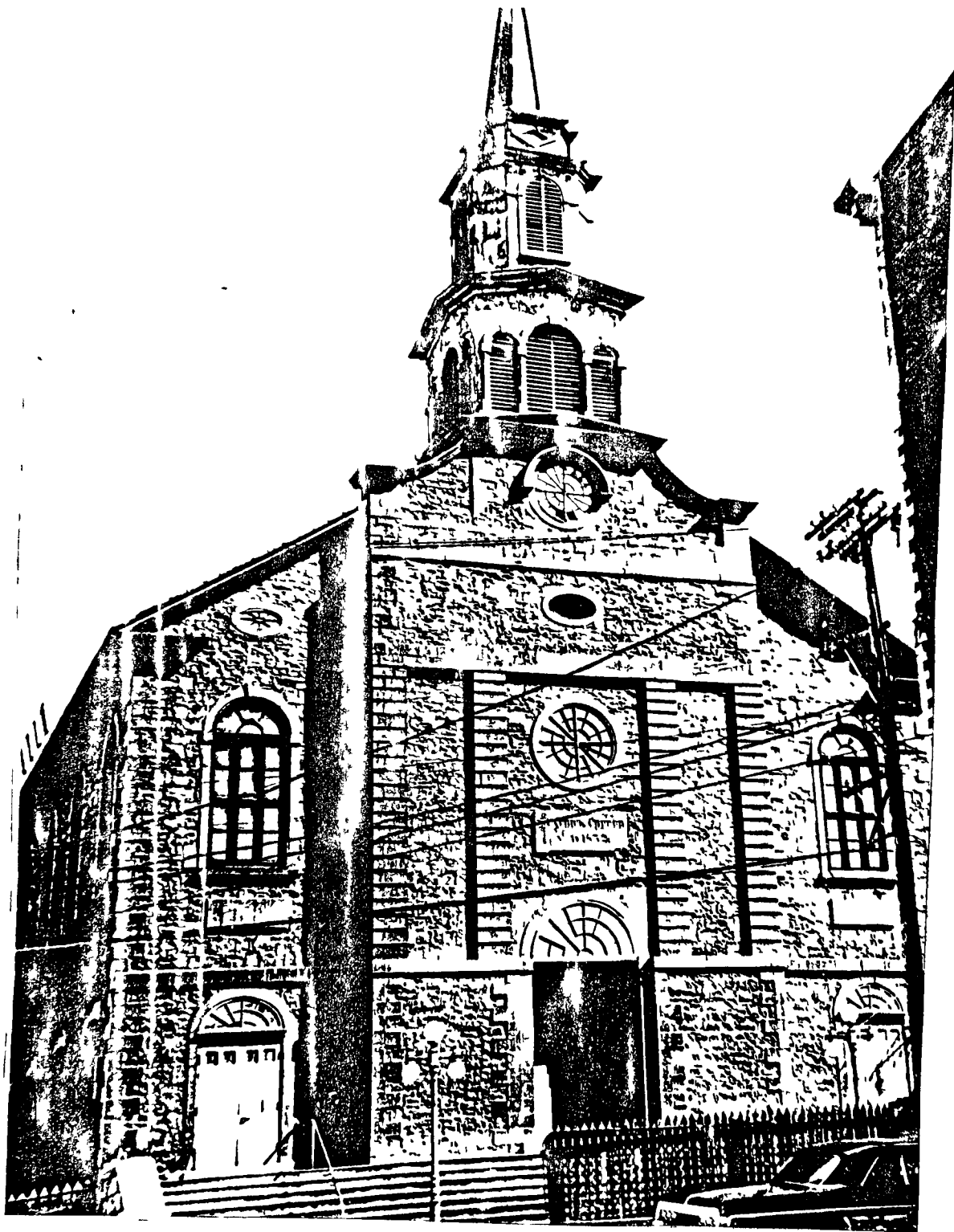


PLAN SHOWING CADASTRAL LOT NUMBER FOR ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH.

APPENDIX IV

THE CHURCH FACADE IN ITS HEYDAY.

APPENDIX V



THE CHURCH PRIOR TO PARTIAL DEMOLITION.

APPENDIX VI

ADDRESSES

## ADDRESSES

The Directory of 1826 is the earliest place where addresses are available. Apparently this service was not utilized immediately by everyone. I have here given addresses from 1826 and 1844 directories. They are of interest when used with the map.

Thomas Baillargé (Architect)	2 St. François
Charles Alleyne (Lawyer) (Committee)	5 du Parloir
Henry Black (Lawyer)	1 St. Anne
Edward Bowen (Judge)	Mont Carmel, then 41 St. Lewis
A.C. Buchanan (Emigration)	6 St. Denis
François Buteau (Marguillier)	18 Sous-le-Fort
Sir John Caldwell	Seigneurie de Lauzon - Receiver General
E.G. Cannon, N.P.	62 St. Lewis
John Cannon (1829)	1 Buade
L.A. Cannon (Lawyer)	2 Buade
Andrew William Cochrane	34 St. Lewis (Clerk of Prerogative Court in 1825 - rose to other positions in administration)
C. Colford (Committee)	Diamond Harbor
William Green (Committee)	2 St. Oliver - dry goods - near the Palace Gate, without; Clerk of the Peace (1826), Lawyer (1829)

Horan and Cullen Dry Goods	17 Fabrique
Gordian Horan (Committee)	8 Fabrique
Robert Gellard (Carpenter) (Committee)	18 St. Famille
John Maguire (Lawyer) (Committee)	61 St. Lewis
Louis Massue (Marguillier)	Place d'Armes
Michael McAvoy (Tailor) (Committee)	21 Sous-le-Fort
Father Patrick McMahon (Pastor)	4 St. Stanislas
Miller & Burke (Michael Burke)	6 Buade (Michael Burke married Hulda Miller)
Thomas Murphy (Plasterer - sometime partner of Quigley)	23 St. Stanislas
John Neilson (Printer - Editor)	24 St. Stanislas
John Patrick O'Meara (Committee)	2 St. Stanislas (snow from the roof of the church fell on his property and he claimed recompense)
Phillippe Panet (Marguillier)	49 St. John
François Quirouet (Marguillier)	4 St. Anne
William Stillings (Committee)	6 St. John
John Teed (Tailor) (Committee)	18 St. Peter Street (1826) 338 Champlain and 4 Mountain (1844)
Vallières de St. Réal (Judge)	3 St. Anne

APPENDIX VII

IRISH QUEBECKERS  
IN  
FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL  
POLITICS

## MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND PROVINCIAL MEMBERS

<u>Dates</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Provincial</u>	<u>Federal</u>
1860-1867	Quebec West	Charles Alleyn	
1867-1877	Quebec West	John Hearn	Thomas McGreevy 1867-1891; 1895-18
1877-1878	Quebec West	Richard Alleyn (brother of Charles)	
1878-1881	Quebec West	Arthur Murphy	
1881-1886	Quebec West	Felix Carbray	
1886-1891	Quebec West	Owen Murphy	John Hearn 1892-189
1892-1900	Quebec West	Felix Carbray	
1900 -	Quebec West	John Gabriel Hearn	William Power - 190
1875-1900	Quebec East	Joseph Shehyn	
1890-1896	County of Quebec	Charles Fitzpatrick	
1896 -	County of Quebec		Charles Fitzpatrick Solicitor General

## NOTES ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

When one's mind is attuned to finding Irishmen everywhere, almost any book will yield bits of information to be pieced together to give a whole picture. In light of this I find it difficult to limit the bibliography because so many books have given leads as well as enjoyment. However, the bibliography is limited to those directly quoted, or cited, or specifically intended by their authors to convey a part of the Irish story.

The Minute Book of the Committee of Management was described in the Introduction. St. Patrick's Church Archives are rich to the researcher, but have not been catalogued. The Archdiocesan Archives of Quebec yield their information in short order. The Archives of the Parish of Notre Dame de Québec are not open. Much remains to be listed and catalogued in the way of leads and sources whose reference to the Irish is more than passing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

APT Bulletin - Bulletin of the Association of Preservation Technology

BRH - Bulletin de Recherches Historiques

CCHA - Canadian Catholic Historical Association

DCB - Dictionary of Canadian Biography

NDQ - Notre-Dame de Québec

MANUSCRIPTS

Archives de l'Archdiocèse de Québec. Correspondence of the Bishops, Marguilliers, and other related documents concerning St. Patrick's, AAQ 61 CD St. Patrick's 1.

Archives de Notre-Dame de Québec. Very little available for the researcher.

Archives of St. Patrick's Parish. There are a great many uncatalogued letters and other manuscripts.  
Most valuable for this thesis was the "Minute Book of the Committee of Management", 1831-1854.  
Three other notebooks indicate the work of some unknown would-be historian who listed newspaper entries that covered Irish participation in city affairs.

Archives Judiciaires District de Québec.  
Greffes des Notaires.  
Registres des Paroisses de Notre-Dame de Québec, and St. Patrick's Church.  
Registry of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials of the Metropolitan Church 1808 and ff.

National Library, Washington. The O'Callaghan Correspondence.

PRINTED PRIMARY

ALMANACHS AND DIRECTORIES

Almanach Ecclésiastique et civil de Québec pour 1846. Québec, J.B. Fréchette, père: Imp. Librairie, No. 13 rue de la Montagne.

- Almanach Metropolitain de Québec pour 1849 contenant la liste du Clergé de tous les diocèses de l'Amérique britannique du nord avec divers détails sur leurs établissements religieux. Québec: 1848, l'Imprimerie d'Augustin Côté et cie.
- Cherrier, A.B. The History of the Quebec Directory since its first issue in 1844 up to the present day. Québec: 1879, printed by Dawson & Company.
- Gleason, T.H. The Quebec Directory for 1822, containing an alphabetical list of the merchants, traders and housekeepers, etc. Québec: 1822, Neilson and Cowan, No. 3 Mountain Street.
- Hawkins, Alfred. The Quebec Directory and Strangers' Guide to the City and Environs. Québec: 1844-45, 1847-48, Printed for Alfred Hawkins by W. Cowan & Son.
- Mackay, Hugh. The directory for the city and suburbs of Quebec collected by Hugh Mackay. Québec: 1790, William Moore (Parliamentary Québec).
- Mackay, Robert S. MacKay's Quebec Directory for 1848-49 containing first an alphabetical directory of the citizens generally and secondly a classified directory in which the names of the principal professions and business persons are arranged under their proper headings; third, a directory to the assurance companies, banks and public offices, literary' national, religious and benevolent institutions, etc. in the city with an alphabetical guide to the streets. Québec: published by the editor for sale at the principal book stores. Price: seven shillings and sixpence.
- The Quebec Almanack and British American Royal Calendar for the year 1825. Québec: 1833-36-37-38-39-40-41, Neilson and Cowan, 3 Mountain Street.
- Smith, John. The Quebec Directory or Strangers' Guide to the City for 1826, comprising alphabetical list of merchants, traders and housekeepers. Québec: 1826, T. Cary and Co. Freemasons' Hall.
- Stanley, G. The Quebec Pocket Almanach and General Register for 1849 published and sold by G. Stanley, 4 St. Anne Street.

#### NEWSPAPERS

- Le Canadien. In the newspaper division of La Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée Nationale de Québec, 1830-1833.

The Quebec Gazette. 1820 - 1833 - Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée Nationale.

The Irish Vindicator and Montreal Advertiser. 1828 - 1837 - On microfilm in the above mentioned library.

The Quebec Daily Telegraph. 1884.

#### GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Fabrique Act 9, 13, 14 Elizabeth II. Quebec: 1956, Roch Lefebvre, Queen's Printer.

Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada. 1815 - 1835.

Recapitulation by Districts and Counties of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants of Lower Canada and of the other Statistical Information obtained in the year 1844, under the Provisional Act 7th Victoria, Cap. 24, entitled 'An Act for taking the Census of the Inhabitants of Lower Canada and for obtaining certain statistical information therein mentioned'.

Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the conduct of police authorities on the occasion of the Riot at Chalmers' Church on the 6th of June, 1853, together with minutes of the proceedings and evidence taken before the said commission. Quebec: Printed by Rollo Campbell, No. 11 Garden Street, 1854, Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée Nationale, Quebec, BC 286 10.

#### REPORTS

Reports Correspondence and Papers Relating to Emigration from the United Kingdom to the Colonies, 1828-38, Emigration, Vol. 19, Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1969.

#### PAMPHLETS

O'Leary, James. History of the Irish Catholics of Quebec St. Patrick's Church to the death of Rev. P. McMahon. Quebec: Daily Telegraph Print, 1895.

#### PERIODICALS

Annual Report of Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1934-35, 1943-44, 1947-48.

Bulletin de Recherches Historiques, Levis, 1914, 1936, 1939.

Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology, Vol. II, 1970.

Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal, Vol. 5, 1908.

Canadian Historical Review, 1948 - 1949.

Journal of Economic History, 1958.

La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique Session d'Etude,  
1956 and 1972.

#### MAGAZINE ARTICLES

Cannon, Robert, K.C. "Edward Cannon, 1739 - 1814", Canadian Catholic  
Historical Association Report 1935-36, Volume 3, pp. 11-22.

Trudel, Marcel. "Les communautés de femmes sous le régime militaire  
(1759-1764)", CCHA 1956, pp. 33-52, La Société Canadienne  
de l'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique Session d'Etude 1956.

#### ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. X, 1871-1880. Ed. Marc  
LaTerreur, Gen. Ed. Frances G. Halpenny, Dir. Adj. André  
Vachon, University of Toronto Press, 1972.

LeJeune, L., O.M.I. Dictionnaire Général de biographie, histoire,  
littérature, agriculture, commerce, industrie et des arts,  
sciences, moeurs, costumes, institutions. Université  
d'Ottawa, Canada, 1931.

Magnan, Hormisdas. Dictionnaire Historique et Géographique des  
paroisses, missions et municipalités de la Province de  
Québec. Arthabaska: L'Imprimerie d'Arthabaska, Inc. P.Q.  
1925.

Tanguay, l'Abbé C. Répertoire générale du clergé canadien. Québec:  
C. Darveau Imprimeur-Editeur, 1868.

#### THESES

Cross, Dorothy Suzanne. The Irish in Montreal 1867-1896, Master of  
Arts Thesis, McGill University, August 1969.

Lyne, Daniel C. The Irish in the Province of Canada 1850 to 1867,  
McGill Ph. D. Thesis, 1960.

Rivet, Monique. Les Irlandais à Québec. These présenté à l'Institut  
de géographie du l'Université Laval en vue de l'obtention de  
la Maitrise ès Art (Géographie) Québec, mars 1969.

Aubry, François. Indicators of Economic Growth for Lower Canada 1750-  
1850, M.A. Thesis, University of Ottawa.

## PRINTED SECONDARY

- Adams, William Forbes. Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine. New Haven: Yale University Press 1932, Yale Historical Publications Miscellany Volume XXIII.
- Blanchard, Raoul. Le centre du Canada Français Province de Québec. Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1948.
- Chapais, Thomas. Cours d'Histoire du Canada, Vol. 3, 1815 - 1833. Quebec: Librairie Garneau Limitée, 1921.
- Cockloft, Jeremy the Elder, M.A.P.C. Cursory observations made in Quebec Province of Lower Canada in the year 1811. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Cowan, Helen I. British Emigration to British North America: the first hundred years. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1961.
- Davin, Nicholas Flood. The Irishman in Canada. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Toronto Maclean and Company, 1977. With an introduction by Daniel C. Lyne, Irish University Press, Ireland. 1969 reprint of an old book.
- Desjardins, Joseph. Guide Parlementaire Historique de la Province de Québec 1792 à 1902 par Joseph Desjardins de la Bibliothèque Législative de Québec. Quebec: 1902.
- Drolet, Antonio. La Ville de Québec Histoire Municipale II Régime Anglais jusqu'à l'incorporation 1759-1833. Quebec: La Société Historique de Québec, 1965.
- Fauteux, Aegidius. Patriotes de 1837-38. Montreal: Les Cahiers des dix, 1850.
- Fergusson, Adam (of Woodhill, Advocate). Practical notes made during a tour in Canada and a portion of the United States MDCCCXXXI. The second edition to which are now added Notes made during a second visit to Canada MDCCCXXXIII. William Blackwood, Edinburgh, and T. Cadell, Strand, London MDCCCXXXIV.
- Gale, George. Historic Tales of Old Quebec. Quebec: The Telegraph Printing Company, 1920.
- Gamache, J. Charles. Histoire de Saint-Roch de Québec et de ses institutions 1829-1929. Quebec: Imprimerie Charrier & Dugal Ltée, 1929.

- Guérin, Thomas. *The Gael in New France*. Montreal, 1946. Bibliographical footnotes.
- Hopkins, H.W., Civil Engineer. *Atlas of the City and County of Quebec from Actual surveys based upon the Cadastral Plans deposited in the office of the Department of Crown Lands by and under the supervision of H.W. Hopkins*. Provincial Surveying and Publishing Company, Walter S. MacCormac, Manager, 1879. No place of publication noted. Beautiful detailed hand-colored maps.
- Jordan, John A. *The Grosse-Isle Tragedy and the monument to the Irish fever victims of 1847, 15th August, 1909, dedication, etc., from the Quebec Telegraph Printing Company, 1909.*
- Kirouac, l'Abbé Jules-Adrien. *Histoire de la paroisse de Saint Malachie*. Quebec: Typ Laflamme et Proulx, 1909.
- Laliberté, Yves et Luc Noppen. *L'Eglise Saint Patrice de Québec*. Groupe de recherche et Art du Québec. Quebec: Faculté des Lettres, Université Laval, March 1973.
- MacLysaght, Edward, D. Litt., M.R.I.A. *Irish Families Their Names, Arms and Origins*. Dublin: Hodges Figgis and Co., Ltd. 1957.
- Rosa, Narcisse. *La Construction des Navires à Québec et ses environs. Grèves et naufrages*. Quebec: Imprimerie Leger Brousseau, 1897.
- Slattery, T.P. *The Assassination of D'Arcy McGee*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1968.
- Ste-Croix, Rev. Mère. *Glimpses from the Monastery. Scenes from the history of the Ursulines of Quebec during 200 years, 1639-1839*. Second edition. Quebec: Printed by L.J. Demers et Frère, 30 de la Fabrique, 1897.
- Trudel, Marcel. *Initiation à la Nouvelle France: Histoire et institutions*. Montreal: Holt, Rinehart and Wilson, 1968.
- Woodham-Smith, Cecily. *The Great Hunger, Ireland 1845 to 1849*. New York: Harper and Row, 1962.