Unsettled Settlers: Irish Catholics, Irish Catholicism, and British loyalty in Upper Canada, 1819-1840

by

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the role of Roman Catholicism in the process by which Irish Catholics integrated into Upper Canadian society in the first half of the nineteenth-century. For Upper Canadian Irish Catholics, Roman Catholicism was a "settling" force. In addition to providing familiar spiritual succor to individual migrants, religion provided order, organization, and focus to individual settlement and was the point upon which community-building efforts were frequently centred. But the Roman Catholicism of the Irish in Upper Canada was also "unsettling." It was perceived by the dominant Protestant society as a key element in the inappropriate cultural baggage with which Irish Catholic migrants travelled, it was a barrier to political power and social advancement, and was believed to be at the root of violence and anti-social behaviour attributed to the Irish in the period. Despite repeated demonstrations of loyalty and good intentions in perpetuating the British connection on the part of the province's Irish Catholic population, persistent and preexisting prejudices about Ireland and the politics,

motivations, and abilities of Roman Catholic Irish, meant that population persisted as an outlier in colonial society.

The local orientation and scope of Roman Catholicism amongst Irish settlers in Upper Canada challenges the transnational emphasis in the current historiography of Irish Roman Catholicism and offers an offers an additional model to the process by which the Irish came to dominate the English-speaking Roman Catholic Church. In Upper Canada, the extra-institutional migration of clergy and lay people, and the community-oriented religious practice at the mission and parish level was vital to the progress of Catholicism in the colony. Consequently the diocese of Kingston and the Upper Canadian context demonstrate the extent to which the influence of the Irish on the progress of Catholicism in the English-speaking settler world must include the local as well as transnational contexts.

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Introduction

In the immediate aftermath of the aborted Upper Canadian rebellion, speaking with "one voice" and calling themselves "dutiful and loyal subjects," the Irishmen of Toronto publicly pledged their "love and veneration" for the British Empire, their "fidelity and attachment" to the queen, and their commitment to defend Upper Canada from the "domestic traitor and foreign enemy." Their declaration of loyalty was by no means unusual in the politically turbulent 1830s, and it was one of a number of addresses made by Upper Canadian Irish communities in this period, but the Irish were the only Upper Canadian ethnic group to feel compelled to offer separate proofs of their devotion to the crown. In a decade marked by the rise of the Loyal Orange Institution in the province, and the spectre of sectarianism infusing colonial politics, the public assertion and demonstration of unanimity on the part of the Toronto Irish spoke to a concerted attempt to eliminate the most controversial and visible element of the Irish presence in Upper Canada. Presuming to speak for the entire Irish population of the province of Upper Canada, the Toronto Irishmen addressed the legacy of political and religious turmoil in Ireland that lingered over the Irish in Upper Canada by denying any connection to it. Their attachment to Ireland, the Toronto men argued, their "individual connection" to it, was "broken off, beyond all hope of renewal." Rather than regretting this disconnect, their "principal consolation and happiness" was that the "land of [their] adoption form[ed] a portion of your Majesty's Great Empire." They were grateful to be

among the "favored people" who under British rule were "secure in the enjoyment of rational liberty, equal laws and settled institutions."[1]

The stakes were high for the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada in the aftermath of the rebellion and their participation in the Toronto meeting sought to capitalize on the apparent lack of Irish and Catholic participation in the rebellion. Prior to the rebellion, a colonial memory of Irish history and extensive colonial press coverage of contemporary Irish politics cast doubt on the sincerity of Irish Catholic assertions of loyalty and devotion to the Crown. Any hint of Roman Catholic political agitation or violence, particularly in reference to the Orange Order, an increasingly visible and explicitly loyal, Protestant, and conservative organization, was presented in the colonial press as evidence of backwards looking "old world" baggage entirely inappropriate and irrelevant for Upper Canadian society. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada, Alexander Macdonell,[2] who was also influenced by the legacy of violence and disorder in Ireland, struggled to effectively integrate the Irish into his own narrative of Roman Catholic loyalty. His assertions in petitions for government financial assistance that a properly funded Upper Canadian Roman Catholic Church would *make* the province's Irish Catholics loyal and orderly settlers implied a skepticism about the

[1] *Chronicle and Gazette*, 4 April 1838.

[2] Alexander Macdonell was born in Glengarry Scotland 17 July 1762 and died in Dumfries, Scotland 14 January 1840. Macdonell (also frequently addressed and signed as McDonell) was educated at the Scots Colleges at Paris and in Spain before returning to Scotland for work as a missionary in the Highlands. Committed to advancing the fortunes of Scots Catholics within the British Empire, he convinced the government to employ his parishioners as a fencible regiment and himself as their chaplain. The regiment served in Ireland during the 1798 rebellion before it was disbanded in 1802. As a reward for their service, Macdonell secured grants of land in Glengarry County in Upper Canada and proceeded to British North America in the fall of 1804. Once there, he was quickly appointed as vicar general to Bishop Joseph Octave Plessis. When the Diocese of Kingston was created in 1826 Macdonell was appointed its Bishop. See J. E. Rea, "Alexander McDonell," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (hereafter DCB), vol. VII (1836-1850) and *Bishop Alexander MacDonell and the Politics of Upper Canada*, (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society Research Publication No. 4, 1974); Kathleen Toomey, *Alexander Macdonell: the Scottish years, 1762-1804* (Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1985).

motivations and potential of Irish Catholic newcomers to integrate into Upper Canadian society.

This dissertation examines the "settling" and "unsettling" role of Roman Catholicism in the process by which Irish Catholics integrated into Upper Canadian society. For Irish Catholic migrants, settlers, and workers in Upper Canada, the conditions of settlement, and the status of Roman Catholics, particularly those from Ireland, necessitated a focus on the new place and the local community. In addition to providing familiar spiritual succor to migrants, religion provided order, organization, and focus to an individual's migration and settlement and was the point upon which community-building efforts were frequently centred. But Catholicism was also "unsettling" in Upper Canada. It was perceived by the dominant Protestant society as a key element in that "backward" cultural baggage under which Irish Catholic migrants laboured, it was a barrier to political power and social advancement, and was seen as at the root of violence and anti-social behaviour attributed to the Irish in this period. Despite repeated demonstrations of loyalty and good intentions in perpetuating the British connection on the part of the province's Irish Catholic population, persistent and preexisting prejudices about Ireland and the politics, motivations, and abilities of Roman Catholic Irish specifically, meant that population persisted as an outlier in colonial society.

The paucity of reliable census data for Upper Canada before the 1850s makes it difficult to accurately estimate the extent of the Roman Catholic and Irish Roman Catholic population in the period of study. In the early 1830s, Bishop Macdonell embarked on an ambitious and frequently frustrating attempt to compile a census of the Roman Catholic population of Upper Canada. Macdonell believed that only with irrefutable proof of the significant portion Roman Catholics comprised of the colonial population would they be

accorded additional government support, and perhaps most importantly, a portion of the clergy reserves.[3] His efforts while laudable, were beset by clerical indifference, geographic barriers, mathematical errors, and questionable data analysis.[4] The bishop was certainly motivated to represent the Roman Catholic population as a significant portion of the provincial population as a whole, and his census returns, of which the 1834 to 1838 reports were submitted to the colonial government, depict a rapidly growing Roman Catholic

[3] Bishop J. Strachan completely omitted Roman Catholics from his "Ecclesiastical Chart" in the late 1820s. Rectifying this oversight was likely the impetus behind Macdonell's decade-long quest to compile an accurate representation of the Roman Catholic share of the colonial population. Rea, *Macdonell and the Politics,* 86.

[4] The accuracy of Bishop Macdonell's census is doubtful. Considerable problems with the collection and presentation of the data indicate any analysis should be carried out carefully and the data treated with some caution. In an estimate of the number of Roman Catholics, 36,000, in the province in 1828, Macdonell admitted to some of the issues that made taking an accurate count difficult: "there are several townships from which I could not procure returns…[and] the emigration of the current year might swell the number." Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Kingston (hereafter AAK), Bishop Alexander Macdonell Letter Book (hereafter MLB) 1820-29, Bishop Alexander Macdonell (hereafter BMD) to Bishop T. Weld, 26 November 1828. In many of the reports sent to the colonial government, the bishop often acknowledged the limitations of his census project, but always implied that his numbers were conservative estimates on the low side. The transiency of the population, Catholic and otherwise, he reported in 1834, made it next to impossible to count the numerous Catholics who were recent emigrants and had "not yet acquired permanent places of residence…moving about from one part of the province to another." Similarly, the 1835 census report included the caveat that "some thousands of Catholics have removed to the newly surveyed Townships whose numbers and places of residences could not be ascertained." Indeed newly settled areas did not appear in the bishop's census. Despite the Rev. Daniel Downey's report in 1834 that a substantial and rapidly increasing Roman Catholic population was constructing three log churches on the Huron tract, that area of the province was not included in Macdonell's census for that year. Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto (hereafter ARCAT), Bishop Alexander Macdonell papers (hereafter M) AB11.01, Rev. D. Downey to BMD, 29 April 1834. The Bishops relied on the overtaxed and underpaid clergy of his diocese to collect population information for their respective missions. The census reports privileged parishes with constructed churches and resident priests and consequently excluded those without. The census captured only those Roman Catholics with access to or in regular contact with a priest. Thus the increases in population reported by Macdonell reflect the increase in lay people with access to a church and priest, rather than the actual increase of Catholics in the province. Regrettably it is impossible to determine what methodology, if any, the priests of the diocese applied to counting their parishioners. It is entirely plausible that Macdonell estimated population numbers for missions with missing census returns. Additionally the few extant census reports completed by clergy, suggest the Bishop may have inflated the numbers reported to the provincial government.

population that was served by an increasing, but still insufficient, number of churches and priests.[5]

Though neither can be called accurate, Bishop Macdonell's censuses of the 1830s and the Upper Canadian census of 1842 are nevertheless illustrative of the relative proportion of colonial society Roman Catholics comprised. The 1842 census of Upper Canada reported a Roman Catholic population of 65,203. This is far lower than Bishop Macdonell's estimate that in 1838 the Roman Catholic population numbered 87,810.[6] Though he frequently asserted that Roman Catholics formed or would soon form the majority in the province, Bishop Macdonell's returns indicated that Roman Catholics made up approximately 15-20 per cent of the provincial population. The 1842 census is more conservative suggesting Roman Catholics comprised 13 per cent. Bishop Macdonell did not provide an ethnic breakdown of the population of his diocese, but did comment rather frequently that the Irish predominated.[7] In his letter to Lord Durham in 1838, he noted "the Catholics, who compose a great proportion of the population of Upper Canada are either Irish emigrants, Scots highlanders, or French Canadians."[8] The 1842 census similarly did not enumerate ethnicity, but Donald Akenson has suggested of the 65,203 Roman Catholics counted in that census, approximately

[5] Compiled in AAK, Letter Book 1833-68, including Statistics of Catholics of Upper Canada."
[6] Though the transiency of a portion of the population in this period must be assumed, and some parishes such as Niagara reported a declining population, the exodus of approximately 20,000 Roman Catholics in three years would certainly have attracted notice.
[7] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Bishop J.J. Lartigue, 25 April 1827; MLB 1834-39, BMD to Lord Clifford, 3 April 1838.
[8] *Appendix A. to Report on the Affairs of British North America from the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's High Commissioner,* 1839 http://eco.canadiana.ca.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/view/oocihm.27758.

44,000 were Irish.[9] J.K. Johnson made a more conservative estimate that the Irish portion of that Roman Catholic population of 1842 was just 26,000.[10]

The writing of this dissertation coincided fortuitously with a plethora of scholarship on the multi-faceted participation of the Irish within the British Empire and English-speaking settler world, and more particularly works that consider the role of religion in its many forms on the Irish engagement with Empire. Spurred by a body of work that considered Ireland as a British colony, and influenced by the turn toward transnational history in migration scholarship, as well as Donald Akenson's 1993 call to consider the Irish diaspora as a whole rather than in segments,[11] historians have increasingly considered the role of the Irish within the British Empire. Kevin Kenny's work early in this century is often cited as inspiring much of this scholarship. Though his edited volume *Ireland and British Empire* was concerned with the implications of Ireland as a colony, in its introduction Kenny called for future study of the Irish engagement with colonialism outside Ireland, as well as the connection between Irish emigration and colonialism, particularly as it related to Catholic migration.[12] A growing scholarship now considers the Irish as subjects, agents, and enthusiastic promoters, rather than simply victims of, the British Empire.[13] Within the Empire, Irish identities were hybrid, multi-

[9] Donald Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*, (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984) 24-26. The largely discredited 1842 census of Upper Canada put the total population of the province at 487 053 (http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/98-187-x/4064809-eng.htm)
[10] J.K. Johnson, *Becoming Prominent: Regional Leadership in Upper Canada, 1791-1841*, (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989) 144.
[11] Donald Akenson, *The Irish diaspora: a primer*, (Streetsville: PD Meany, 1993).
[12] Kevin Kenny ed. *Ireland and British Empire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 15.
[13] As Hilary Carey puts it, "the Irish were practical imperialists — cheap, adaptable, willing to travel, hold a gun, beat a drum, preach a sermon, and generally serve in many useful positions along the colonial frontier." Hilary Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801-1908*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 124-125; S. Kehoe and D. Tierney, "Like a Kind Mother": Imperial Concerns and Britain's Changing Perception of Rome, 1783-1815," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Historical Studies Occasional Paper*, vol 81 (2015): 11-31; S. Kehoe and M. Vance, "A Hiberno-British World," *Britain and the World* vol. 6 (2013): 149-151; B.

faceted, flexible, and adaptable.[14] Of particular relevance to this study is the subset of those works that consider the role of religion in facilitating the imperial lives and migrations of the Irish, as well as the symbiotic relationship between Church and Empire in the English-speaking settler world.[15] Drawing on a transnational framework, these works have looked at the various ways the global Irish community was constructed, maintained, and transmitted, not only by bodies, texts, and voluntary organizations, but through religion, and specifically for the purposes of this study, through Irish Catholicism and the Irish Roman Catholic Church.

The history of the Roman Catholic Church within the British Empire is ideally suited to the current trend toward transnational histories of migration. Recent works whether interrogating religion or not, all assume an engagement with, knowledge of, and interest in Ireland on the part of the Irish abroad. Kevin Kenny can again be credited with calling on historians of the Irish to consider the global context of their subjects' lives within the

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Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks: Migration, Social Communication and Exchange in Nineteenth Century India (2012);* M. Nie*, "*British Conceptions of Ireland and Irishness in the Nineteenth Century," *History Compass*, 2005; K. Jeffrey, *An Irish Empire? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, (Manchester University Press, 1996);

[14] Cian McMahon, The Global Dimensions of Irish Identity: Race, Nation and the Popular Press, 1840-1880 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), Kehoe and Vance, Colin Barr and Hilary Carey, ed. *Religion and Greater Ireland: Christianity and Irish Global Networks, 1750-1950* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 16 of which they say British empire "provided abundant scope for a more capacious view of British identity as well as new hybrid identities…that were facilitated by pre-existing loyalties of faith and confession…"

[15] Kehoe and Tierney, "Like a Kind Mother;" O. Rafferty*, "*The Catholic Church, Ireland, and the British Empire, 1800-1921, *Historical Research* (2011); Colin Barr, "Imperium in Imperio: Irish Episcopal Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century," *English Historical Review* CXXIII, no. 502 (2008): 611–650; Carey, *God's Empire*; Barr and Carey, ed. *Religion and Greater Ireland*; Anne Cunningham, *The Rome Connection: Australia, Ireland and the Empire*, 1865-1885 (2002); M. Sanderson, "Our Own Catholic Countrymen": Religion, Loyalism, and Subjecthood in Britain and its Empire, 1755-1829" PhD. Diss., Vanderbilt University, 2010.

peculiarities of local contexts.[16] The dramatic and virtually global spread of the Irish, and by extension of English-speaking Catholics in the nineteenth century, provides considerable scope for conceiving of Irish migrants as transnational operators. The extensive historiography of the Irish in Upper Canada has offered innovative approaches to the study of the Irish in settler communities, but has until recently ignored the connection its Irish subjects had to Ireland or a global Irish diaspora.[17]

The recent edited volume from Colin Barr and Hilary Carey, *Religion and Greater Ireland*, uses the concept of "Greater Ireland," the places to which nineteenth-century Irish migrated and the connections between those places, but also a "shared cultural space in which a sense of home and shared identity jostled with the varying challenges of the host societies and the inherited divisions of the Irish themselves."[18] Within Greater Ireland, Barr and Carey contend, the Irish Churches created religious networks of "undeniable veracity and tenacity," that drew on the permeable and flexible religious culture of the laity to create "communities of feeling" which, Barr and Carey argue, "have proven much more reliant than has the Empire

[16] Kevin Kenny, "Diaspora and Comparison: the Global Irish as a Case Study," *Journal of American History* 90 (2003) 134-62. Kenny advocated a two part approach, one that considered the diaspora as a whole but drew on comparison between locations.

[17] John Mannion, *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Department of Geography, 1974); Donald Akenson, Irish in Ontario (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984); Bruce Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988); Brian Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); Mark G. McGowan, *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto, 1887-1922* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999). Cecil Houston and William Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement*: *patterns, links, and letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990) was perhaps the first attempt in the historiography of the Irish to consider the transnational nature of Irish migration and settlement. More recent works in this vein include: William Jenkins, *Between raid and rebellion: the Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867-1916* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013); Patrick Mannion, "The Irish Diaspora in Comparative Perspective: St. John's Newfoundland, Halifax Nova Scotia, and Portland Maine, 1880-1923," PhD. Diss., University of Toronto, 2013.

[18] Barr and Carey, ed. *Religion and Greater Ireland,* 21.

itself."[19] The editors of *Greater Ireland* concede that the identification with Ireland fluctuated and endured in some places more than others.[20] While Barr and Carey consider the role of the Churches, in his recent study of the Young Irelander movement in the United States, Cian McMahon draws on the "globally integrated, yet uniquely Irish, popular press" to argue that his subjects were both "emigrants and immigrants," lived in communities that were "both global and local," and were capable of "simultaneous loyalty to their old and new worlds."[21]

The Irishmen of Toronto swore in 1838 that they were "broken off" from Ireland, and there is much to suggest this was more than just lip service to a province still reeling from rebellion. For Irish Catholics in Upper Canada, their Britishness and Roman Catholicism were twin points through which they engaged with colonial society. The Irish Catholic identification with these global institutions in Upper Canada was expressed in a local context first, before that of the transnational. In Upper Canada Irish Catholics were preoccupied with the politics of their new home, with issues that would facilitate or hinder their adaptation to the colony, and like everyone else in the colony, were concerned with making public demonstrations of loyalty. When Upper Canadian Irish Catholics drew on Ireland, whether in discussions of its contemporary politics or in their memories of Irish life and history, it was frequently as a cautionary tale and a reference point to navigate the politics of identity and belonging in Upper Canada.

Despite the ubiquity of religion in the history of Ireland, and in the lives of Irish migrants, religion is, as Colin Barr and Hilary Carey have noted, "one of the last variables to

[19] *Ibid.,* 13.
[20] *Ibid.,* 21.
[21] McMahon, *The Global Dimensions of Irish Identity,* 2.

be effectively integrated into the understanding of imperial networks and diasporas."[22] Until recently the historiographies of Irish religion and Irish migration have largely failed to intersect.[23] Religion has appeared, and continues to appear, as a subset of ethnic identity, a simple demographic category by which Irish divided and were divided at home and abroad. Similarly, Sheridan Gilley's thirty-year-old admonishment that historians of the Irish need to consider the spiritual as well as the secular functions of religion for their subjects has remained unheeded, largely because of the dearth of sources that address the spirituality or religiosity of the laity.[24] Conversely the plentiful sources and abundant scope for the imagination in the movements of missionaries across ecclesiastical and imperial networks within the British Empire has meant that the recent religious history of the Irish diaspora has taken an institutional focus.

The role of Cardinal Paul Cullen, in particular on the provisioning of Irish Roman Catholic clergy for the English-speaking settler world in the second half of the nineteenth-century, has understandably attracted historians interested in the religious nature of the Irish diaspora and the process by which a particular brand of Irish Catholicism was exported, and the English-speaking Roman Catholic was consequently made "Hibernian."[25] The importance of religion to Irish migrants and settlers, is generally assumed, but rarely interrogated by

[22] Barr and Carey, *Greater Ireland,* 15. Barr and Carey also argue that the history of settler Catholicism has largely failed to connect to the history of the diaspora.
[23] Exception is Sheridan Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Church and the nineteenth-century Irish Diaspora," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. xxxv (1984) 188-207.
[24] Gilley, "Irish Diaspora," 206.
[25] Colin Barr, "Imperium in Imperio; Carey, *God's Empire*; Barr and Carey, *Greater Ireland*; Kehoe and Tierney; Kehoe and Vance; Sarah Roddy, "Spiritual Imperialism and the Mission of the Irish Race: The Catholic Church and Emigration from Nineteenth-Century Ireland." *Irish Historical Studies* xxxviii, no. 152 (2013): 600–617.

historians of the diaspora.[26] The focus on Cullen has meant that earlier and alternative ways in which Irish religion was exported and established abroad as in Upper Canada has been ignored.[27] The assumed dominance of the Irish Church, through its clergy and its bishops, and the disinclination or inability to interrogate the character of personal devotion and religious practice of the Irish laity, has meant the Catholicism transplanted by Irish settlers abroad, has been assumed to be a straightforward transplantation of a static and "Irish" religion. Similarly, a focus on institutional sources has meant the priest and parish are often seen as straightforward manifestations of the institutional Church that exert control over the religious lives of Irish Catholics, provide leadership and structure in the new community, and a connection, albeit an abstract one, to Ireland.[28] The Upper-Canadian context suggests the local iteration of "Church," the priest and the parish, could operate separately or exist in isolation from the diocesan leadership, the broader Church, and Ireland.

The nature of Roman Catholicism in Upper Canada complicates the possibility that Catholicism was a globalizing force for Upper Canadian Irish Catholics. The Upper Canadian Irish Catholic laity solicited the presence of the institutional Church in its communities, and it is clear religion was a critical tool in the process of settlement of individuals, families, and to parish and community-building. Yet the extent to which their practice was distinctly "Irish,"

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[26] Cian McMahon for example notes that Roman Catholicism "fostered a strong sense of connectedness among the worldwide Irish," (7).

[27] As is discussed in Chapter 3, the exclusion of the laity from the religious history of Irish migration, particularly in the pre-Famine period is likely due to the historiography of Irish religion which has been largely premised on the assumption that the Irish were not practicing Catholics in that period. Historians who have pointed to the earlier process include: Sheridan Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Church and the nineteenth-century Irish Diaspora," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. xxxv (1984) 188-207; Donald MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011); Luca Codignola, "Conflict or Consensus? Catholics in Canada and the United States, 1780-1820" Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Historical Studies* vol. 55 (1988): 43-59.

[28] MacRaild, *Irish Diaspora in Britain*; O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*.

or connected them to a global Irish Catholic world cannot be substantiated from the source base upon which this study is based.

The isolation of the nascent diocese of Kingston and its bishop meant Roman Catholics in Upper Canada were not only cut off from Rome, but also from emerging ecclesiastical networks between Ireland and North America which laid the groundwork for the "hibernization" of the English-speaking Church in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Irish clergy, who ministered in the new and predominantly Irish parishes, were similarly isolated from the broader Irish Catholic world. Their migration was independent of the Irish Church, and once in the Diocese of Kingston, they operated, largely out of necessity, in isolation. The extent to which these priests were a conduit through which Irish Catholicism was transmitted is not clear-cut, but most certainly occurred at a local, parish level rather than in a global or diaspora context. Consequently the diocese of Kingston and the Upper Canadian context demonstrate the extent to which the influence of the Irish on the progress of Catholicism in the English-speaking settler world requires a local or micro-approach.

Chapter 1 uses the assisted emigration of Irish Catholics from Co. Cork in 1823 to illustrate the broader context of the reception and engagement of Irish Catholic migrants with Upper Canada society in the 1820s. These migrants confronted a local culture that was steeped in Protestantism and British loyalty, an intense microcosm of the broader colonial context. The scrutiny to which their identity, behaviour, allegiances, and culture was subjected in the Bathurst district was indicative of broader discussions at the colonial level about the suitability of Irish Catholics for Upper Canadian society. The "Ballygiblin riot" in which the assisted emigrants were implicated, suggested to local and colonial observers that Irish Catholic migration heralded the transplantation from Ireland of Roman Catholic

disloyalty and disorder. The accompanying rise of the Upper Canadian Orange Order in the period suggested to many that Irish migration had imported a problematic sectarian political culture. The chapter also introduces a key theme for this dissertation: the ramifications of Irish Catholic settlement for Bishop Macdonell's life-long Church-building project, and more specifically the amendments the Irish provoked in his narrative of Roman Catholic loyalty and obedience. After this discussion of how Irish Catholics were perceived, received, and expected to behave, adapt, and integrate to Upper Canadian society, the chapter concludes by considering the essential failure of the Society of the Friends of Ireland in Upper Canada. The inability of the North American offshoot of Daniel O'Connell's Emancipation campaign to make inroads in Upper Canada introduces the discussion that will continue through the rest of the chapters of this dissertation, namely how Irish Catholics chose to act in Upper Canada, how they went about the project of adapting and "settling" in Upper Canada, and the role religion and the Roman Catholic Church played in that process.

Chapter 2 focuses on the Irish clergy employed in the Diocese of Kingston during Bishop Macdonell's tenure. The circumstances of their migration and the conditions they found in Upper Canada illustrate the religious context within which Irish Catholics operated. The process by which Irish clergy made their way to Upper Canada reveals the extent to which Bishop Macdonell and the diocese of Kingston were on the periphery of the English-speaking Roman Catholic world and disconnected from the Church in Quebec, in Ireland, and implicitly in Rome. Irish migrant clergy moved easily between jurisdictions, adapted quickly to the limited infrastructure of the diocese, and were entirely comfortable operating outside the bishop's surveillance. Their independence and transiency was simultaneously a godsend and a thorn in the bishop's side. Misbehaving priests threatened the progress of Bishop

Macdonell's Church-building project, and also exposed the limits of Bishop Macdonell's influence and control over his diocese, his clergy, and his people. In nascent parishes of the diocese cut off from the broader Church, the local and immediate relationship between the priest and the laity was key to the priest's survival and consequently superseded that of the priest with his bishop. These conditions influenced the religion propagated, encouraged, and facilitated by the Irish clergy and determined the extent to which they exercised leadership, guidance, influence with the Irish Catholics laity, all key issues in the final three chapters of the dissertation.

Chapter 3 argues that the Catholicism practiced by Irish migrants and settlers in Upper Canada was communal in practice, local in orientation, subject to the environment, and not particularly Irish. Key elements of pre-famine Irish Catholicism did not make their way across the Atlantic and nor is their evidence to suggest Irish lay people or clergy conceived of their religious as definitively Irish. Instead, the conditions of the Upper Canadian Roman Catholic Church illustrated in Chapter 2 contributed to a religious practice that functioned in the local and immediate context of individual settlement and community-building. Upper Canadian Irish Catholics used their practice of Catholicism not to espouse a transnational ethno-religious identity nor to participate in the emerging global Irish Catholic world, but to enact strategies to establish and solidify local relationships crucial to their settlement in Upper Canada. Upper Canadian Irish Catholics were neither priest-ridden devotees in the thrall of the clergy, nor were they apostates in dire need of reintroduction to the religion of their ancestors. Many Upper Canadian Irish Catholics solicited the presence of the Roman Catholic Church in their communities and used their religious practice as a critical element of their migration and settlement.

Chapter 4 examines Irish Catholic leadership, and the role Irish laymen played in the construction of Roman Catholic parishes in Upper Canada before 1840. The colonial context, the transplanted religious culture of the Irish laity, and the implementation of the Canadian *fabrique* as the structure through which parishes were governed, necessitated and encouraged cooperation and power-sharing in the construction of Upper Canadian Roman Catholic parishes. In Upper Canada, Roman Catholic lay leadership and initiative operated for the most part within the Church-sanctioned, instituted, and nominally-controlled *fabrique* system; yet the dearth of financial resources and political power within the Upper Canadian Church meant the progress of parish and Church-building, and the functioning of the *fabrique* and parish, depended heavily on the interest, initiative, and zeal of the laity. While the Church saw itself as harnessing lay initiative through the *fabrique*, trustees, and church building and fundraising committees –these avenues offered Irish Catholic laymen considerable agency and control over the progress of their parish and the provincial Church as a whole. It was through the process of parish building, and the administration of early parishes that Irish Catholic men in particular found avenues for participation, to further their ambitions, and to begin to exert community and civic leadership at a local level.

Chapter 5 takes up the discussion of the place and status of Irish Catholics in Upper Canada began in Chapter 1 to consider the role of Irish Catholics in the turbulent colonial politics of the 1830s. Loyalty, violence, and transplanted political culture continued to dominate the ways in which Irish Catholics were received in colonial society, but in this decade were also fundamental to the Irish Catholic engagement with the emerging popular colonial political culture. The continued rise of the Orange Order and the implications of the state sponsorship of the Roman Catholic Church were key issues upon which Irish Catholic

political activism centred. This chapter also draws on Chapters 2 and 4 to illustrate the ways in which Irish Catholic political activism in the 1830s operated both in concert and in opposition to Bishop Macdonell's overtly Conservative agenda. Two key events, the 1832 anti-reform York riot and the 1836 election are examined to demonstrate the extent to which Upper Canadian Irish Catholic politics were fluid, neither entirely conservative nor radical. Drawing from the Irish Catholic-run Reform press, this chapter argues that Irish Catholic political participation in the 1830s, like their religious practice and community organizing, was grounded in a consideration for their place in the local and colonial community first, and indicated a commitment to their settlement in Upper Canada.

The sources used in this study, as in the recent historiography of transnational Irish religion, are by necessity Church, State, and elite-produced. Regrettably these sources leave much to be desired when it comes to the perspectives of the general Irish Catholic population, particularly of women and the illiterate. Newspapers, though in many respects representative of the views of the reading-public, are a problematic source. Any attempt to consider the nature and quality of religious practice of the laity is inevitably limited in Church-produced sources. The clergy rarely discussed the nuances of their faith and practice, let alone that of their parishioners. Their correspondence with their bishop was, as is discussed in Chapter 2, entirely consumed by material and practical concerns. Fully conscious of Sheridan Gilley's admonishment to consider the religion as more than just an "odd form of collective behaviour" which answers a "secular need,"[29] this dissertation mines these problematic sources for indications of the utility and meaning of Catholicism for its subjects. The bishop's papers and those of the provincial government, include countless petitions which, though

[29] Gilley, "Roman Catholic Church," 206.

written in the submissive language of the genre and period attest to the priorities and motivations of Upper Canadian Irish Roman Catholics. The sacramental registers of the nascent parishes of the diocese, as well as the remarkably thorough diary of the Rev. John MacDonald of Perth, illuminate the religious practice of the Irish laity and the role religion played in the "settlement" of the Irish Catholics in Upper Canada.

Chapter 1 "Little better than Banditti:" Irish Catholic Emigration and Settlement in 1820s Upper Canada

In May 1824 subscribers of the *Montreal Herald* read disturbing reports of riots in the Bathurst District of eastern Upper Canada. Recently arrived Irish Catholic immigrants, who called themselves "The Ballygiblins" were reported to have viciously and senselessly attacked a local tavern following the annual militia muster. They continued to terrorize the peaceable settlers of the area in the days that followed. The immigrants were said to meet all "authority with defiance." Only the vigilance and "judicious zeal" of an armed force of local volunteers was able to subdue the riotous Irish and ensure the side of civility and order had ultimately triumphed. A gun-fight at a depot at which the immigrants were known to congregate had resulted in 19 rioters arrested, two injured and one killed. Concluding the account, the *Herald* expressed the wish that the unhappy events of the Ballygiblin riot did not represent the transportation to Upper Canada of those "permanent political feelings incident to a great proportion of Irish Emigrants" and hoped that the events had been nothing more than a "momentary ebullition," that, following the intercession of the authorities, had been "quashed forever."[1]

The reports in the *Herald* as well as letters from local authorities to colonial officials made it clear that the predominantly British residents of the Bathurst District were united in their disdain for these Irish immigrants. A concerted campaign was mounted in the days following the incident to represent them as unsuited to the

[1] The preceding is drawn from three reports in the *Montreal Herald*, 5 May 1824, 12 May 1824, and 15 May 1824.

settlement, counter to prevailing values and codes of order, and tied irrationally and dangerously to patterns of behaviour that had apparently been transported from Ireland. Local businessman and magistrate William Marshall complained that the Irish Catholics were "little better than banditti."[2] In letters to the Lieutenant Governor other magistrates echoed Marshall's sentiments and enclosed depositions from witnesses describing the senseless violence and intimidation enacted by the immigrants. Their evidence indicated the scope and senselessness of the Irish brutality and the extent to which their presence was a disruption to the natural orderly progress of settlement. Magistrates feared for the effect of the Irish-led chaos on the industrious local farmer: "the peaceable inhabitant is in terror of his life, and at this busy season of the year when the farmer should be providing for his family, he is compelled to abandon his house and seek for refuge in the woods (as an outlaw) for the preservation of his life." The Irish would never be reconciled to the orderly workings of colonial life, they argued, and only a military force stationed in the vicinity could restore peace and confidence to the area's industrious farmers.[3]

The Irish Catholic immigrants in question had been sponsored by the British government in the summer of 1823 from County Cork in the south of Ireland in an assisted emigration program superintended by Upper Canadian Peter Robinson.[4] Robinson selected and transported approximately 550 primarily Catholic immigrants to

[2] Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Manuscript Group (hereafter MG) 11, Colonial Office (hereafter CO) 42/373, reel B- 153, W. Marshall to Lord Dalhousie, 5 May 1824.
[3] LAC, MG 11, CO 42/373, reel B- 305, Thom et al to Major G. Hillier, 4 May 1824; CO 42/200, reel B-153, Powell et al to Major G. Hillier, 4 May 1824.
[4] Peter Robinson was the brother of Attorney General John Beverley Robinson. The latter had apparently recommended his older brother for the job while in London in the spring of 1823.

the Bathurst District in the vicinity of Perth.[5] The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (1822-1828), Robert Wilmot Horton devised the 1823 assisted emigration program to determine if state-sponsored emigration might have a positive influence on poverty, unemployment and unrest in Ireland.[6] He chose the Blackwater district of north County Cork as a test case. Under the Insurrection Act since 1822 and long-plagued by the increasingly disruptive activities of a secret agrarian protest movement known as the "Rockites," the Blackwater, Horton believed, was the ideal place to implement an emigration scheme directed at the discontented Irish Catholic peasant.[7] Access and ownership of land was at the root of Rockite agitation and conversely behind the increasingly urgent calls from landlords in the region for government strategies to deal with troublesome and 'surplus' tenants. Consequently the offer of land, a 70-acre plot for every male over 18, was the cornerstone of the assistance program advertised throughout the Blackwater in the summer of 1823.[8] The program was repeated again in 1825 on a

[5] Wendy Cameron, "Robinson, Peter," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003) http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/robinson_peter_7E.html; Wendy Cameron, "Selecting Peter Robinson's Immigrants," *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, vol. IX, no. 17 (May 1976) 29-46; Gerard Moran, *Sending out Ireland's Poor: Assisted emigration to North America in the nineteenth century*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004).

[6] Helen Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America: The First Hundred Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961); Stanley C. Johnson, *A History of Emigration: From the United Kingdom to North America 1763-1912* (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd. 1966). For more on Horton's Irish emigration plan, see: Cameron, "Selecting," 30-31.

[7] James S. Donnelly Jr., *Captain Rock: The Irish Agrarian Rebellion of 1821-1824* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Paul E. W. Roberts, "Caravats and Shanavests: Whiteboyism and Faction Fighting in East Munster, 1802-11," in *Irish Peasants Violence and Political Unrest: 1780-1914* ed. Samuel Clark and James S. Donnelly, Jr. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin, 1983); Galen Broeker, *Rural Disorder and Police Reform in Ireland 1812-36* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

[8] Archives of Ontario (hereafter AO), Peter Robinson (hereafter PR) fonds, manuscript series (hereafter MS) 12, reel 1, Earl Kingston to P. Robinson, 19 December 1824; P. Robinson to R.W. Horton, undated report on emigration. The additional 30 acres of the standard 100 acre lot was reserved for a period of ten years for those immigrants who could prove themselves "industrious and prudent."

larger scale. That year, over 2000 Irish Catholics were transported from Co. Cork to the Newcastle district in the vicinity of what is now Peterborough, Ontario.

The 1823 and 1825 assisted emigration programs were the first and only state-sponsored programs to move Irish Catholics out of Ireland to British North America. Though an anomaly within the history of Irish Catholic migration, the migrations superintended by Peter Robinson were not anomalous within the broader history of British migration to Upper Canada. The Robinson program drew explicitly from previous assistance programs that had facilitated the movement of disbanded soldiers and unemployed workers from England and Scotland to Upper Canada following the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Assisted migration programs were premised on the belief that the removal of "surplus" populations from the British Isles would quiet growing agrarian discontent and free over-populated agricultural land for improvement.[9] Upper Canada, still largely undeveloped and vulnerable to American invasion, was seen as the best place for the migration and settlement of which government officials hoped, would prove brave and loyal British men.[10] Such men, Robert Wilmot Horton was certain would make "the redundant labour and curse of the mother country, the active labour and blessing of the colonies."[11]

The events of the so-called "Ballygiblin riot" and the assisted emigrants implicated in that event illuminate many of the key issues that accompanied the large-

[9] Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837*, (London: Pimlico, 1992) Chapter 8, discusses the economic and social impact on British society of the end of the Napoleonic wars. Estimates three quarters of a million men were discharged from the British military.
[10] J.M. Bumstead *The People's Clearance: the Highland Emigration to British North America 1770-1815* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982) 71-72.
[11] Quoted in Cowan, 86.

scale migration of Irish Catholics to Upper Canada in the 1820s.[12] Discussions at the Colonial Office, the coverage in the *Montreal Herald,* and evidence from local and colonial observers reveal expectations about the anti-social behaviour of Irish Catholic immigrants; assumptions about their suitability as settlers and as peaceful Upper Canadians; and apprehensions that the newcomers carried with them at worst a disposition for disloyalty bent on rebellion against the Crown, and at best an indifference to the British connection. While the process by which these assisted emigrants arrived and settled in Upper Canada was by no means typical, nor the riot in which they were engaged common, the reception they received in Upper Canada provides a concentrated and very public example of the ways in which Irish Catholics newcomers engaged with an Upper Canadian culture and society that prized loyalty, order, and Protestantism. The onset of large-scale Irish Catholic migration and settlement to Upper Canada coincided with a period of debate about who and what made an Upper Canadian. Intense scrutiny of the motivations, allegiance, and place of non-British residents, particularly Americans, in Upper Canada was at the root of the "Alien Question" and resulted in the so-called Naturalization bill of 1828.[13] It is within this context, in which competing definitions of loyalty and belonging dominated political discourse, that Irish Catholics encountered

[12] Laura J. Smith, "The Ballygiblins: British Emigration Policy, Irish Violence and Immigrant Reception in Upper Canada*," Ontario History*, vol. CVIII, no. 1 (Spring 2016) 1-23.

[13] The bill required men not born British subjects and residing in Upper Canada more than seven years to take an oath of allegiance thereby becoming British subjects. "The Act to Secure and Confer upon Certain Inhabitants of this Province the Civil and Political Rights of Natural Born British Subjects", The Statutes of the Province of Upper Canada (1792-1831): Together with such British Statutes and Ordinances of Quebec, and Proclamations, as relate to said province, (F.M. Hill, 1831) p. 477 https://books.google.ca/books?id=b7RKAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA1#v=onepage&q&f=false. See David Mills, *The Idea of Loyalty in Upper Canada, 1784-1850* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988); Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada: a developing colonial ideology* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987) for analysis.

similar, if less public, scrutiny about their loyalty and place in Upper Canadian society. As British subjects, Irish emigrants avoided the legal complications to which the bill was concerned, but it is clear that socially and culturally they occupied a liminal space. When subjected to Upper Canadian scrutiny, Irish Catholics were found to be wanting; if their religion could not be helped, the onus was on them as a group to prove themselves suitable settlers: loyal and orderly. The riot and the issues it raised and revealed are central to understanding the Upper Canadian reaction to Irish Catholic emigration in the 1820s. It also provides context for the examinations of the process by which Irish Catholics integrated into Upper Canadian society in the other chapters of this dissertation.

That the demographic structure of the province meant Protestantism was a fundamental aspect of the British identity, culture, and loyalty espoused in Upper Canada in this period hardly bears repeating, but as Denis McKim has noted, few historians of Upper Canadian politics have interrogated the profound influence of religion on colonial political culture.[14] The overt anti-Catholicism of mid-century Canada West was not explicit in the 1820s, but elements of the long heritage of anti-Catholicism from which Victorian Canadians drew underlined the political debates of the earlier period.[15] As Linda Colley has shown, the centrality of Protestantism, and the legacy of conflict with France, implanted a suspicion, if not outright disdain, for the Roman Catholic in British

[14] Denis McKim, "God and Government: Exploring the Religious Roots of Upper Canadian Political Culture." *Ontario History* CV, no. 1 (2013): 74-97"; John S. Moir, *The Church in the British Era: From the British Conquest to Confederation* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1972) Chapters 6 and 8 especially; William Westfall, *Two Worlds: the Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988) chapter 2; For the creation and character of that identity and culture and especially the place of Protestantism, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, Chapter 1.
[15] J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," *The Canadian Historical Review* 66, no. 4 (1985): 474–94; Terrence Murphy, "The English-speaking Colonies to 1854," in *The Concise History of Christianity in Canada*, ed. Terrence Murphy and Roberto Perin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 176-177.

society and culture.[16] In Upper Canada, there is nothing to suggest such prejudices about Roman Catholics had not infused colonial culture. In his seminal and controversial 1825 sermon, John Strachan called Roman Catholicism one of the "extravagant and dangerous extremes," the other the "Protestant Dissenters" on the spectrum of Upper Canadian religion.[17] Anti-Catholicism was frequently implicitly and occasionally explicit in the colonial press. Commenting in 1827 on the implications of the proposed Naturalization Bill and the chaos into which the province would inevitably descend, the Tory firebrand "Watkyn Miller," warned that the "red-hot Irish Papist," who "well accustomed to witness scenes of rebellion and bloodshed in his own country … would willingly see a little more of them here" for an "Irishman of that sort potatoes and buttermilk are not more natural and nourishing than treason and murder."[18] The disloyal and extremist character of Roman Catholicism and its Irish Catholic adherents was an assumption common in Upper Canada.

The Quebec Act of 1774 guaranteed Roman Catholics, in what was then the province of Quebec the full rights of British subjects, long before the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829 extended those rights to Roman Catholics in Britain; yet Roman Catholics persisted as outliers in colonial society; they were unable to claim a vital element in the formula of colonial loyalty: allegiance to the established church and for many observers consequently invited the association of inherent disloyalty.[19] Roman

[16] Colley writes that anti-Catholicism was a "powerful cement between the English, the Welsh, and the Scots, particularly lower down the social scale" (23).
[17] Qtd in Westfall, 21.
[18] *Gore Gazette*, 24 November 1827 (reprint from unspecified issue of *Farmers' Journal*).
[19] Colley notes that in the 18th century Roman Catholics were "like witches" scapegoats, "easy targets on which their neighbours could vent fear and anger. The slang adjective most commonly applied to Catholics was "outlandish", and this was meant quite literally. Catholics were not just strange, they were out of bounds. They did not belong, and were therefore suspect" (23); See

Catholics were largely excluded from the politico-religious debates of the day, and Bishop Alexander Macdonell struggled to add his voice and the perspective of Upper Canadian Roman Catholics to the debates over the established church and clergy reserves for example.[20] Certainly this was a function of demographics, but also indicated the outsider status the Church, and its people, held in the colony in this period. Macdonell was also cognizant of the strength in numbers provided by the Roman Catholic majority in Lower Canada, and the ambivalence with which it was treated by the British government. Advising Archbishop J.O. Plessis in 1821 on the suitability of a loyalty address to the King from the principal clergy and laity in Lower Canada, Macdonell wrote: "His Majesty's Ministers are not too politic not to respect the united voice of half a million of the most loyal subjects of the realm…Be assured my Lord, whatever they will grant the Catholics of Canada will be from fear and not from love."[21]

"Britishness" was a flexible category from which Upper Canadians of all political and religious stripes drew their legitimacy.[22] Thus it is not surprising that the terms by which Upper Canadians defined loyalty in the 1820s were multi-faceted and politically determined; Conservatives and Reformers differed in their definitions of loyalty, but were

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also: William Smyth, *Toronto, The Belfast of Canada: the Orange Order and the Shaping of Municipal Culture*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), in which he writes: "the Empire was Protestant; loyalty and Protestantism were synonymous, and Catholics were perceived as inherently disloyal… and Within this general imperial context, the specifics of Canada's developing social and political identity were guided by the dynamic juxtaposition of an inherited catholic French population, a predominantly Protestant British immigration, and a significant population of Irish Catholics, all united under a single imperial authority" (17).

[20] J.E. Rea, Bishop Alexander Macdonell and the politics of Upper Canada (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1974).

[21] Archives of the Archdiocese of Kingston (hereafter AAK), Bishop Alexander Macdonell Letter Books (hereafter MLB) 1820-29, Rev. A. Macdonell to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 17 November 1821.

[22] McKim, 90-91.

united in asserting its importance to colonial society.[23] On the balance sheet of Tory loyalty, Irish newcomers could claim the asset of the "birthright" of British subject-hood and the virtue of being not American. Indeed the encouragement of British migration in the 1820s, of which Irish Catholic emigration formed a significant part, was part of a broader Imperial policy, endorsed at the colonial level, to people the colony with British rather than American settlers. Irish Roman Catholics were not members of the established Church and could not, as a group, claim loyalist heritage, or the distinction of having demonstrated loyalty during the War of 1812 all fundamental aspects of Conservative loyalty in this period. Irish Catholics did a little better when put to the litmus test of Reformer loyalty. Reformers were also protective of the British connection and agreed that loyalty had to be demonstrated, but contested the primacy of birth or loyalist heritage in the Tory loyalty equation. For Reformers, loyalty could be acquired and demonstrated through the hard work of settlement, contributions to community building, and by demonstrating appropriate social values.[24]

Ironically, it was efforts made by Irish Catholics at York in the early 1820s to have the Orange Order banned in Upper Canada that produced discussions in the Legislative Assembly about the place of Irish Catholics in colonial society. The genesis of the anti-Orange activism at York is unknown, and the anti-Orangeism petitions of 1822, 1823, and 1824 spearheaded by merchant and Tipperary Catholic William Bergin, are regrettably not extant.[25] It is not known what arguments Bergin and his supporters

[23] Mills, 5-7; McKim, 91.
[24] Mills, 35; Errington, 167.
[25] Two petitions appear to have been submitted in February or March and in December 1823. See: *The Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada for the years 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824: Eleventh report of the Bureau of Archives for the province of Ontario ... 1914* (Toronto : A.T. Wilgress, 1915) Bergin's petitions are discussed on pages 321, 372, 385, 386, 547, 554, 620, 621.

used for curbing the growth of the Orange Order in the province.[26] There is little doubt Bergin and his supporters objected to the anti-Catholicism at the heart of Orangeism, and perhaps, in the later petitions, pointed to the suppression of the Order in Great Britain hoping to see similar measures taken in Upper Canada. Contemporaries noted that Roman Catholics had been offended and intimidated during the 1822 Twelfth of July procession in York and in 1823 a "respectable" Catholic was attacked by a mob of Orangemen for signing an anti-Orange petition.[27]

Bergin's petitions found some support within the Legislative Council from members unenthusiastic about the proliferation of Orange societies and the potential for sectarian disorder in the transplantation of "Irish politics" to Upper Canada.[28] One these was the member for York, Irish Protestant William Warren Baldwin who argued that

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http://eco.canadiana.ca.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/view/oocihm.9_70137_11; Wm. Perkins Bull, *From the Boyne to Brampton or John the Orangeman at Home and Abroad*, (Toronto: The Perkins Bull Foundation George J. McLeod Ltd., 1936) notes that another petition was submitted in early 1824 (67).

[26] In his fawning history of the Orange Order in Peel region, *From the Boyne to Brampton,* William Perkins Bull criticized the "vindictive phraseology" of the petition submitted to the legislature in 1823 and offers a few unsubstantiated quotes to illustrate. The petition blamed the "unthinking and inexperienced youth" of Ireland who were easily stirred by the "malignant poison of party spirit." Perkins Bull took exception to this: "the implication was that the Orangemen were at fault. This was an obvious absurdity … since an Orangeman swore fidelity to king and country "and even to protect a Catholic." It was the latter … who were taught from infancy "to persecute, and to hate those of all other religious persuasions under the broad and general title of Heretics," and it was they who were in every case "the first aggressors" (66). Perkins goes on to praise the Orangemen for their resiliency in the face of the "unfriendliness of the authorities" and inflates the degree to which the Orange Order were threatened by the "enemies" of Orangeism who in William Bergin had "strong leadership" (71).

[27] *Upper Canada Herald,* 17 June 1823. No details beyond assurances of peace and order during the 1822 York parade survive. Smyth, *Belfast,* 45; Perkins Bull, 58-9 The 1823 parade was also apparently peaceful, Perkins Bull quoted the *Weekly Register* that the parade had "nothing like disturbance, riot, outrage, or breach of the peace occurred; unless a body of from 3 to 400 persons going in procession to Church… and, afterwards dining together … can be considered disturbance, riot, and outrage" (67).

[28] Smyth, *Belfast*, 45, argues the Upper Canadian establishment saw in the Orange Order the potential "emergence of an unruly immigrant power bloc." Hereford Senior, *Orangeism: The Canadian Phase* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972) 9-10; *Upper Canada Herald* 17 June 1823. For more debates see: *Kingston Chronicle*, 30 May 1822, 4 April 1823, 30 May 1823, 6 June 1823, 11 June 1823, 18 June 1823.

allowing the Orange Order to proliferate in Upper Canada would import the "miseries" of Ireland and would awaken "animosities happily unknown to us." Baldwin, as did many of his fellow legislators, objected to the Order's claim to a loyalty function, which he argued was "unnecessary." The late war had shown that "the loyalty of all classes of people in this country was undoubted" and that there were "no different feelings" between the adherents to the various religions in the province. More recent emigrants needed to be shown that Upper Canada needed "no such institution to awake [its] loyalty."[29] The member for Kingston Christopher Hagerman cautioned against the "dangerous tendencies" of those who, "under the false assumption of religious zeal" would seek to perpetuate party distinctions, and wage "eternal warfare against all who professed the Roman Catholic religion." Highlighting examples of Orange violence already perpetuated in the Upper and Lower Canada, Hagerman argued for the necessity of legislative action and disagreed with critics who argued the province's legal system could effectively check any unlawful behaviour.[30] Robert Nichol agreed. It might be said, he argued, that magistrates had "already sufficient power" to restrain such organizations, but "they did not do so." Despite these arguments, legislation to ban Orange processions failed to pass the colonial legislature in June 1823 and again in January 1824.[31]

Resolutions passed by the Legislative Assembly in January 1824 made it clear where it stood on the proliferation of the Orange Order and the place of Irish Catholics in Upper Canadian society. Orangeism was a transplanted phenomena rooted in an old world context entirely unconnected to and inappropriate for Upper Canadian society; thus the government preferred to place the onus on Irish emigrants of both religious stripes to

[29] *Upper Canada Herald*, 17 June 1823.
[30] *Ibid*.
[31] *Upper Canada Herald*, 24 June 1823.

check the spread of the association. The resolutions noted that the existing laws were sufficient to deter and punish violence; that all subjects were equal regardless of religious affiliation; and the wish that "good sense and good feeling" would prevail between the petitioners and their "fellow Countrymen of whom they complain." Further, the House expressed a wish that those "political parties or distinctions alluded to in the petition…may be speedily forgotten."[32] Roman Catholics who objected to the Order were in the meantime, "conscious that they share every privilege of subjects, will learn to treat such associations with silent disregard."[33] Roman Catholic objections to the Orange Order regardless of form, be it through petition or fisticuffs, were to be discouraged.

Upper Canadian legislators indicated that Irish Catholics were as culpable as Orangemen, perhaps more so, for the discord and potential violence the Order brought to Upper Canada. During the 1823 debates on the "Orange Club Bill" Robert Nichol argued that failing to check the Orange Order was the equivalent of the government goading Roman Catholics to "defend themselves against the insults of their persecutors."[34] Critics of the bill argued that any legislation would encourage rather than discourage Orange-Green violence. Henry Ruttan, the member for Northumberland, argued that the bill would "lay the foundation stone of mischief" by encouraging the emigration from Ireland to Upper Canada, of "[Roman Catholics] who would extract party feelings here."[35] The Orange Order provoked Roman Catholics because the latter could not, Ruttan argued,

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[32] *The Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada for the years 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824: Eleventh report of the Bureau of Archives for the province of Ontario… 1914,* (Toronto: A.T. Wilgress, 1915) 620. http://eco.canadiana.ca.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/view/oocihm.9_70137_11; Senior, *Orangeism*, 10

[33] Perkins Bull, 67-68.

[34] *Upper Canada Herald*, 17 June 1823.

[35] *Upper Canada Herald*, 17 June 1823.

"bear the idea of being lorded over by those who differ with them in religious opinions." The solution was simple: if Orange processions were offensive Roman Catholics were simply to avoid them. It was Roman Catholics who encouraged the proliferation of the Orange Order and the violence that often accompanied them, for "if these processions were left to themselves, they would soon fall into discredit," Ruttan argued.[36] Discussions about the Orange Order in the early and mid-1820s at the colonial government level reveal more about perceptions and prejudices of Irish Catholics than of Irish Protestants.

Bishop Alexander Macdonell was fully conscious of the marginal position he and his flock occupied in Upper Canada and the British Empire as a whole. Macdonell perceived from early in his career that Roman Catholic fortunes within the Empire depended on continued assertions and demonstrations of service and loyalty.[37] In the midst of suspicion and anxiety about American influence in Upper Canada, Macdonell worked hard to depict Roman Catholics as immune. Catholicism was a natural barrier to republicanism as its hierarchical structures meant that Catholics were inclined to show obedience to the similarly hierarchical Empire.[38] For Scots Catholics, the "double barrier" of religion and language protected them from the "contagious politics of their democratic neighbours."[39] Religion implanted and reinforced the loyal principles they had inherited from their fathers, Macdonell insisted to imperial officials; yet that loyalty

[36] *Upper Canada Herald*, 17 June 1823..
[37] Accustomed to petitioning government for support as a priest in the Scottish highlands, as Chaplain of the Glengarry Fencibles in Ireland during the 1798 rebellion, and as superintendent of the large-scale emigration of Scots Catholics to Glengarry county in Upper Canada, Bishop Macdonell drew on this well-crafted narrative of Catholic loyalty to secure government funding for the diocese of Kingston. For the Macdonell's early career, see: Toomey, *Alexander Macdonell: the Scottish years*; and Rea, *Macdonell and the politics of Upper Canada,* for an overview of his tenure as Bishop of Kingston.
[38] Rea, 9; AAK, Bishop Macdonell Correspondence (hereafter MC), AI2C7, letter 1, Bishop Alexander Macdonell (hereafter BMD) to Sir. P. Maitland, 9 March 1826.
[39] AAK, MC, AI2C5, letter 8, BMD to Earl Bathurst, January 1817.

required sustenance. Adequate funding for Catholic clergy and schoolmasters would be "an additional tie" on the Scots' loyalty, Macdonell argued.[40] Only with adequate support could Catholic schools "arrest the rapid progress of this growing Evil and to rescue the minds of Catholic Children, at least, from the insidious arts of those active agents of our Enemies."[41] Such narratives were sufficiently convincing for the Colonial Office to assent in 1817 to Macdonell's request for salaries for himself, and three priests, who were to be paid one hundred pounds each per annum.[42]

The onset of mass-migration, both assisted and voluntary from Ireland by the early 1820s necessitated a revision to the bishop's narrative of Catholic loyalty. An increase in the Upper Canadian Catholic population was a mixed blessing: on the one hand it meant a broader lay base from which to establish and expand the Upper Canadian Church, but newly arrived Irish immigrants were poor and unlikely to contribute anything to the Church's coffers in the near future. The prospect of the transplantation of potentially disorderly paupers to his diocese was troubling, but the government

[40] AAK, MC, AI2C5, letter 8, BMD to Earl Bathurst, January 1817. Macdonell argued that funding for Catholic education was a critical tool against the infiltration of republicanism into Upper Canadian society, keeping Catholic boys away from the seminaries of the United States and France and girls from the Upper Canadian boarding schools that were run primarily by American women.

[41] AAK, MC, AI2C5, letter 8, BMD to Earl Bathurst, January 1817.

[42] Macdonell had understood also that three schoolmasters were to be supported at the same salary, yet when time came to draw the allowance for one priest and one schoolmaster the colonial government at first begged ignorance of any directive for Catholic schoolmasters and later claimed that it did not have the funds to support either clergy or teacher. AAK, MC, AI1C18, letters 2, 3 Henry Goulbourn to BMD, 25 January 1817; letter 4, same to same, 19 May 1817; AI1C3, letter 3g, same to same, 6 June 1817; letter 3h, D. Cameron to BMD, 10 November 1817; letter 4c, Unknown to BMD, 22 April 1818; AI1C18, letter 7, H. Goulbourn to BMD, 6 August 1818. Macdonell was dismayed when he discovered the funds were to come from the colonial treasury rather than directly from London. Colonial politics and the interference of the Anglican rector of York, John Strachan, meant that it was another seven years of appeals before the funds were finally paid. AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 2, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 10 May 1819; Bishop Macdonell attributed an "incessant secret influence undermining, counteracting [his] efforts and exertions to contribute moral and religious instructions to His Majesty's Catholic subjects of Upper Canada." AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W. O'Grady, 1 December 1830.

sponsorship of many of these settlers presented an opportunity. Sufficient funding for the religious superintendence of Irish Catholic emigrants who, he argued "require[d] more attention" than their co-religionists of other nationalities was critical to their successful integration into Upper Canadian society.[43] Unlike the Scots Catholics, the Irish Catholics would have to be *made* loyal through the "control and direction" of well-supported Catholic clergy and schoolteachers. The gratitude of Irish emigrants for access to their religion, Macdonell assured the Colonial Office would consequently secure their loyalty and "prove the strongest link in the whole chain of connection between this Colony and the parent Country."[44] Bishop Macdonell was anxious to stress the extent to which his Church was integral to the successful integration and to ensuring the loyalty and good behaviour of Irish Catholics newcomers, but as is discussed in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation, in reality his limited resources made promises of control and influence essentially baseless.

It was into this colonial context, where loyalty, Protestantism, and order were prioritized, and where the Orange Order was gaining traction under the watch of wary colonial officials, that the 1823 assisted emigrants were settled. As newcomers to the Bathurst district they confronted a local community that appeared to fully endorse this colonial culture, but had added, by virtue of the legacy of military service and assisted settlement of much of the existing population, the additional elements of service and deservedness to denote belonging. Perth and its surrounding townships were Protestant "strongholds," though there were small Roman Catholic populations and churches in the

[43] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Major G. Hillier, 29 March 1823.
[44] AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 11, BMD to Earl Bathurst, 19 February 1824.

vicinity of both Perth and Richmond.[45] Protestant and overtly anti-Catholic fraternal organizations were beginning to flourish in Perth by 1823. The first meeting of the Freemasons in Perth had been held in 1818[46] and Perth was also home to one of the first Orange Lodges in the colony.[47]

Military service and government assistance were fundamental to the local culture in the Bathurst district and important to the way in which the assisted Irish Catholics were received in the area. Disbanded military personnel of predominantly Scottish, Irish, and English stock were assisted to settle around the nascent town sites of Perth and Richmond following the end of the Napoleonic wars. For their loyalty and service, disbanded soldier settlers received according to their rank a grant of land, their passage, and rations for up to one year. They were required to pay for their own transportation to Upper Canada as well as for their own tools. Depots were established at Perth in Drummond Township and Richmond in Goulbourn Township to provide settlers with provisions and the rudimentary infrastructure necessary for the establishment of towns.[48] Irish and Scottish Protestant civilian immigrants also received varying levels of assistance to settle in Goulbourn, Huntley, March, and Nepean Townships starting in

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[45] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 18 September 1820; Andrew Haydon, *Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1925) 142. Rural conditions did limit the reach of religious authority. In Perth, Presbyterian Minister, William Bell was an indefatigable force for morality and order in the developing settlement, but complained bitterly about the unruliness and immorality of the settlers in the region. Robert Douglas Richmond, "There is a moral wilderness requiring cultivation: Religious and Social Regulation in Perth, Upper Canada, 1817-1827" MA Thesis, University of Guelph, 2007.

[46] J. Ross Robertson, *The History of Freemasonry in Canada from its introduction in 1749*, Vol. 1, (Toronto: George N. Morang and Company, Limited, 1900): 1138-40. James Fitzgibbon was coincidently, a mason. Ruth McKenzie, "Fitzgibbon, James," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* vol. 9, (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/fitzgibbon_james_9E.html.

[47] Senior, *Orangeism*; Cecil Houston and William J. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: A historical geography of the Orange Order in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980) 18.

[48] Cowan, Chapter 3; Johnson, 228. Privates received 100 acres, while field officers received 1200 acres.

1818.[49] Glaswegian textile workers had received partial assistance from the British government as well as help from local philanthropic societies to settle Ramsay, Dalhousie, Lanark, and North Sherbrooke Townships in 1820 and 1821.[50]

Despite their assistance the first year of settlement was difficult for the soldier-settlers. Their first harvest was marginal and consequently they lived in fear that government-supplied food would be cut off before they could provide for themselves. In March 1824, just a month before the militia muster, a petition to Lieutenant Governor Maitland from residents of the military settlements asked that the fees associated with land patent deeds be waived to enable them to acquire the franchise. It noted that the "circumstances from the expenses of converting the wilderness into cultivated fields and the many difficulties attendant on a new settlement render[ed] them unable to pay the usual fees for their deeds."[51] The textile workers from Glasgow had similar financial difficulties in the early years of settlement. Each settler had received 100 acres, a subsidy for the journey to the Bathurst District, and the cost of surveying potential settlement lots. In addition, each adult male was advanced three pounds once in the colony three months and an additional two pounds after six months, with which they were expected to pay the government for any provisions, implements, and seed.[52] Despite optimistic predictions from Governor Lord Dalhousie about their potential as producers and consumers of local

[49] Cowan 26, 63; Johnson 228; Elliott, chapter 4. In addition to the Talbot immigrants from North Tipperary who migrated in 1818 with varying degrees of government assistance, another Irish Protestant group had unsuccessfully petitioned the British government for assistance, but had migrated anyway between 1820 and 1822. A group of Scottish from Perthshire had settled the north-east side of Beckwith Township as part of a government assistance plan based on a ten-pound deposit in 1818.
[50] H.J.M. Johnston, British Emigration Policy 1815-1830: 'Shoveling out Paupers,' (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 54.
[51] AO, UC Sundries, C-4612 Petition of inhabitants of Rideau military settlement, 2 March 1824, p. 34742.
[52] Haydon, 86.

agriculture, in 1825 the former Glaswegians petitioned the Colonial Office to have their emigration-assistance debts forgiven. They cited the poor quality of land and considerable distance to markets as the reason for their inability "to turn any of the produce of their labour into money."[53] The burden of this debt hung over the Scottish settlers until 1836 when it was finally disallowed. Thus, despite the generous terms through which their settlement had been facilitated, for soldier-settler and former textile worker alike economic difficulties continued even after nearly ten years of settlement.

The assisted Irish Catholic migration of 1823 built on these previous assistance programs and was premised on similar assumptions about the effect migration or "removal" would have on "surplus" and "redundant" populations. For the Irish Catholic program, however, determining the subduing effects of migration and settlement on the discontented Irish peasantry was clear goal of the program. Colonial Office officials and Irish landlords betrayed only a superficial knowledge of Upper Canada and its population in this period,[54] but were convinced that the "wide-open" space of Upper Canada was the ideal place for an Irish Catholic peasant to settle both bodily and emotionally. County Cork landholders like the Earl of Kingston argued that changing nature of land use was making the peasant farmer obsolete. Such men, Kingston argued, who in Ireland had rented a few acres for basic subsistence, were better settled in Canada where they could "cultivate the waste lands…and be useful members of society." Left in Ireland, they were

[53] Haydon, 117-118; Cowan, 63.
[54] That said, the correspondence of John Beverley Robinson from London during this period suggests the Upper Canadian was called upon for some input, including the appointment of his brother Peter, as the emigration program took shape. See *Reports from the Select Committee on Emigration*, Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Select Committee on Emigration from United Kingston, 1826. Peter Robinson's testimony is found in the Appendix on pages 330-335; AO, UC Sundries, C-4609, J.B. Robinson to Major G. Hillier, 28 December 1822, pp. 30600-30607; same to same, 13 January 1823, pp. 30770-30777.

likely to turn into "bad subjects" who devoted their "time to Captain Rock and his associates."[55] Such sentiments reflected an elitist view of the disposition toward anti-social behaviour that was supposed to be both natural to the Irish character and nurtured by the Irish environment. Peter Robinson echoed these sentiments, arguing that securing land in Upper Canada would have a subduing effect on the Irish peasant. Even the most "fiery" Irish male, Robinson reasoned, no matter his "former conduct," would be tamed by the opportunity for a fresh start in Upper Canada.[56]

The Blackwater District of County Cork was chosen as a test case as it had been under the Insurrection Act since 1822 and was long-plagued by the increasingly disruptive activities of the secret agrarian protest movement known as the "Rockites" who were led by the mythical "Captain Rock."[57] Irish sources reveal no explicit evidence that any of the 1823 emigrants were Rockites, or that the assisted emigration scheme that year was used to transport troublemakers.[58] It is more probable that participants, particularly a group of Irish Palatines, emigrated out of fear of, rather than complicity

[55] AO, PR fonds, MS 12, Reel 1, Earl Kingston to P. Robinson, 19 December 1824.
[56] AO, PR fonds, MS 12, Reel 1, P. Robinson to R. W. Horton, undated report on emigration. As a broker between colonial and imperial priorities Peter Robinson struggled to reconcile Horton's instructions to select "redundant paupers" with his own instinct to choose those with agricultural experience and therefore a chance to do well in Upper Canada.
[57] Donnelly, *Captain Rock*; Paul E. W. Roberts, "Caravats and Shanavests: Whiteboyism and Faction Fighting in East Munster, 1802-11," in *Irish Peasants Violence and Political Unrest: 1780-1914* ed. Samuel Clark and James S. Donnelly, Jr. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin, 1983); Galen Broeker, *Rural Disorder and Police Reform in Ireland 1812-36* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).
[58] A survey of the police records for this period (State of the Country papers held at the National Archives of Ireland) proved inconclusive. Other immigrants such as the small group of Protestants who migrated with Robinson may have participated out of fear for their safety in the Blackwater district. The Teskey family, who were Irish Palatines, may have emigrated in reaction to the ongoing violence between Palatines and Rockites. See: Donnelly, *Captain Rock,* 278-279. Surviving reference letters from the 1825 scheme suggest fear of Rockite reprisals motivated a number of immigrants in that year as well.

with, the Rockites.[59] While he insisted that he had not let past behaviour negatively influence a potential emigrant's inclusion in the scheme, Robinson was nevertheless vague on the extent to which his emigrants could be implicated in Rockite violence. He admitted that he had allowed local magistrates to select from the list of willing emigrants those, that they were "most desirous to get rid of."[60] There is evidence that at least one Rockite was transported to Upper Canada during this period. John Dundon, a notorious Rockite leader turned informer, was provided with a gratuitous grant of 200 acres and provisions for one year for information that led to the arrest of 50 Rockites and the discovery of a substantial cache of weapons.[61] Dundon's migration was conducted in concert with, but separately from the larger assisted migration to the Bathurst district. Peter Robinson made it explicit that the Rockite was to be kept away from the assisted settlers for "the vicinity of the other settlers would hardly be safe for him."[62] For the most part, Colonial Officials and local landlords saw explicit participation in secret societies on the part of potential emigrants was largely irrelevant as the state of Irish rural society made every disorderly Irish peasant a potential Rockite. Robert Wilmot Horton insisted only "redundant paupers" be selected and local landlords, concerned with removing

[59] For more on Irish Palatines, see Carolyn A. Heald, *The Irish Palatines in Ontario: Religion, Ethnicity and Rural Migration* (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1994).
[60] *Ibid*.; LAC, MG 11, CO 384/12, reel B-885, P. Robinson to R. W. Horton, 9 June 1823.
[61] While in County Cork in the summer of 1823, Robinson brokered, separately from the larger assistance program, the migration and settlement of Dundon. Dundon's arrest and confession was a coup for beleaguered magistrates tasked with subduing the increasingly violent Rockites and when his information proved valuable, local officials lobbied for a provision that might double as protection for Dundon and his family, who it was noted, could no longer remain safely in Ireland. See: National Archives of Ireland, State of the Country papers, 2514/24, Finch to Arbuthnot, 19 July 1823. Under Wilmot Horton's direction, Robinson instructed the Upper Canadian government to grant Dundon 200 gratuitous acres and provisions for one year. Dundon's trial however delayed his departure and it was not until the following summer in the aftermath of the Ballygiblin riot that he embarked for Upper Canada in the company of the 71st regiment.
[62] AO, UC Sundries, C-4613, P. Robinson to Major G. Hillier, 12 June 1824, p. 35320; P. Robinson to Major G. Hillier, 1 August 1824, p. 35793; PR fonds, MS12, Reel 1, Major G. Hillier to P. Robinson, 24 October 1824, P. Robinson to R. W. Horton, 7 December 1824.

troublesome tenants, were nevertheless happy to provide reference letters for industrious tenants.[63] Nevertheless, it is not surprising that John Dundon was directed away from eastern Upper Canada and the settlers who were under such close scrutiny and stigma. The Colonial Office was engaged in a potentially large-scale and long-term project of assisted migration and settlement and it wished to avoid further scrutiny of the goals of its colonial emigration policy, particularly in the face of accusations that it was prioritizing the displacement of Irish violence over the safety of Upper Canadians. The settlement of John Dundon, an actual confessed agrarian rebel, had to be done carefully and quietly. It appears they were successful as no record of Dundon claiming his reward is extant.[64]

Upon arrival in Upper Canada, the 1823 assisted immigrants were met with perceptions and stereotypes about Irish Catholics that indicated a belief in their unsuitability as settlers and more importantly as Upper Canadians. The initial process of settlement highlighted the Irish emigrants' unfamiliarity and lack of facility with some of the basic skills required of settler life. Peter Robinson noted that the Irish men were "not sufficiently acquainted with the use of an axe to put up log buildings themselves." He employed local men to erect a temporary shelter at a central depot in Ramsay Township, to explore and survey potential lots for the immigrants, and construct a simple log home

[63] Lord Kingston had been sending his tenants to Upper Canada for some time. In 1822 for example, seven men presented letters of reference to Sir. Peregrine Maitland and requests from Kingston that they be given "good pieces of land" AO, UC Sundries, C-4608, Kingston to Maitland, 4 April 1822, pp. 28406-07; same to same, 4 May 1822, pp. 28631-32. Cameron, "Selecting," 30-31.

[64] AO, PR fonds, MS 12, Reel 1, Major G. Hillier to P. Robinson, 24 October 1824 indicated that Dundon had yet to arrive but was expected imminently. AO, Ontario Land Records Index, 1789-1920 offer a few misspelled, but inconclusive possibilities for Dundon in Tiny, Vespra, and Mariposa Townships.

once a lot was selected.[65] Notwithstanding the economic opportunity offered to locals, the newcomers' apparent lack of skill had implications for the reception and perception of the Irish in the Bathurst district. Unable to swing an axe, build their families adequate shelter, or procure necessary goods through their own means, the assisted Irish men contravened the basic requirements of settler manhood.[66] Local memory suggests that throughout their first winter, the Irish frequently traded their rations for alcohol.[67] While there is nothing to suggest this was true in the official record, the persistence of the memory suggests a local perception that the Irish were not only indifferent to their good fortune, but also ignorant to the critical importance of tools and food to their survival in the early settlement.

Irishmen's incompetence at the basic skills required of an Upper Canadian settler or worker was a common colonial refrain in this period, and one reproduced uncritically by historians.[68] Irish men were "awkward and unhandy," wrote John McTaggart in his 1829 *Three Years in Canada*. Used to spade and shovel work, they had little facility with

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[65] AO, Ontario Government Record Series, RG 1-163, MS 693, Reel 156, Records relating to Peter Robinson immigrants, "Abstract of disbursements made by the Hon. P. Robinson Superintendent of Emigration from the South of Ireland at Ramsay in the District of Bathurst Upper Canada from the 1st of September 1823 to the 17th August 1824,"1826…" 1826; PR fonds, MS 12, Reel 1, P. Robinson to R.W. Horton, undated report on emigration; LAC, MG 11, CO 42/200, Reel B-153, Sheriff J. Powell et al to Major G. Hillier, 4 May 1824.

[66] John Tosh argues that for nineteenth century English migrants migration and settlement promoted and required contemporary masculine qualities such as self-reliance and perseverance, and were also avenues toward securing adult masculine status, namely independence. See, John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain: Essays on gender, family and empire*, (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2005) 177, 181.

[67] Donald McKay, *Flight from Famine: the coming of the Irish to Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990) 73; Haydon, 141. Regrettably neither works provide a citation for these alleged transactions.

[68] Michael Cross writes that the 1823 Peter Robinson emigrants were: "easily discouraged by the difficulties of frontier agriculture." They were "indigent, ignorant of any but the most primitive agricultural techniques, they were largely unsuccessful as settlers." Michael Cross, "The Dark Druidical Groves: The Lumber Community and the Commercial Frontier in British North America, to 1854," PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1968, p. 251.

an axe, a basic skill fundamental to the task of settlement and employment in Upper Canada. Consequently, Irishmen took a "long time to learn the art of the hatchet," and when an Irishman "first commences hewing down trees, he often hews them down upon himself, and gets maimed or killed."[69] The Irish were also apparently hopeless workers. McTaggart, a Rideau canal engineer, attributed the "dreadful accidents" he witnessed on the canal works to the ignorance and carelessness of Irish emigrants who "take jobs …. because they thought there were good wages…never thinking that they did not understand the business," but instead ran "themselves into places where they either lost their lives, or got themselves so hurt as to become useless ever after."[70] The stereotype of Biddy, which gained popularity throughout North America by mid-century, was partly fixed on the widely held belief in the complete ineptitude of female Irish domestic servants.[71] In Upper Canada, Susanna Moodie speculated that the conditions of Irish life had left Irish working women unprepared for the demands made upon them in North American homes.[72] The fact of the matter was that many new emigrants, Irish or not, were unfamiliar with the process of clearing the forest and unable to afford to hire experienced Canadians to complete the task.[73] The same might be said of the Irish settler, who unaccustomed to farming more than a small garden plot of land cleared generations

[69] John McTaggart, *Three Years in Canada: An account of the actual state of the country in 1826-7-8*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1829) 240-243. Interestingly McTaggart suggests that Glaswegian settlers did not have similar trouble attempting to agriculture.
[70] McTaggart, 245, 248.
[71] Lorna R. McLean and Marilyn Barber. "In Search of Comfort and Independence: Irish Immigrant Domestic Servants Encounter the Courts, Jails and Asylums in Nineteenth-Century Ontario." *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, ethnic and racialized women in Canadian history*, edited by Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta, Frances Swyripa, 133–60. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Andrew Urban, "Irish Domestic Servants, 'Biddy' and Rebellion in the American Home, 1850-1900." *Gender and History* 21, no. 2 (2009): 263–86.
[72] Qtd in McLean and Barber, 137.
[73] Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: patterns, links, and letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1990) 132.

ago in Ireland, likely found the prospect of a plethora of uncleared acres a daunting prospect.

In the Bathurst district locals became convinced that the assisted Irish, despite their generous assistance packages, would become a drain on the already limited resources of the settlement. Images of pathetic Irish abounded in the colonial press and the thought that such helpless beings were about to become a drain on the already limited resources of the community must have provoked considerable distress in the region's "old" settlers. Colonial newspapers reported on widespread famine in the western counties of Ireland throughout the early 1820s.[74] Commenting on the influx of emigrants that summer from the "distressed districts of Ireland," the *Kingston Chronicle* predicted "we shall have poverty and disease among us during the ensuing winter."[75] That pitiful and helpless subjects of charity depicted in the press should be dumped in their vicinity was troubling. Locals were alarmed when the Irish newcomers drew on government stores of tools and food that had been used in the earlier settlement of the region. Local resources in the form of goods and services had to be quickly mobilized to provision the Irish sufficiently before the onset of winter.[76] William Marshall, Superintendent of the government stores at Perth, reported to colonial officials that the Irish immigrants were "utterly destitute" of goods such as blankets, clothing, and utensils, and other items it

[74] *Kingston Chronicle,* 26 July 1822, 23 August 1822, 20 November 1822; *Colonial Advocate,* 19 July 1827; *Gore Gazette*, 17 March 1827.
[75] *Kingston Chronicle,* 26 July 1822, qtd in Glenn J. Lockwood, "Eastern Upper Canadian Perceptions of Irish Immigrants: 1824-1868," PhD. Diss., University of Ottawa, 1987, p. 176.
[76] Local officials had some advance notice that Robinson planned to settle and provision approximately 600 ill-equipped Irish peasants in the district before their arrival in September 1823, but it is not clear the extent to which the plan was public knowledge. A notice in *the Kingston Chronicle* of 13 August 1823 advised that a large group of Irish Catholics were en route to the province, but failed to specify their destination.

would be "impossible" to "get on without."[77] By drawing on the supplies in the Perth stores, the immigrants unwittingly offended their new neighbours. Local residents viewed the stores as their right and reward and for some time had been treating them as an insurance supply against disaster.[78] The precarious nature of settlement life meant that access to basic supplies in the event of a fire or other unfortunate incident was crucial to survival and peace of mind in the Bathurst District. Local complaints about the Irish use of these goods were so virulent a year later that the Colonial Office had to reimburse the Perth stores.[79]

The terms under which the Irish had been assisted were a source of consternation amongst the other settlers in the Bathurst District. Whether accurate or not, many "old" settlers believed that the assisted Irish had received a better deal and as such resented the perceived comfort with which they had migrated and settled. In his report to colonial officials following the Ballygiblin riot, James Fitzgibbon noted that a "natural and increasing ill will" had developed toward the Irish, who it was believed had "received more of the bounty of the government."[80] This perception persisted in local imagination well into the next decade. When a group of Scottish settlers petitioned for relief from their debt in 1836, their petition made explicit reference to the Robinson settlers. The

[77] AO, UC Sundries, C- 4611, W. Marshall to Major G. Hillier, 6 October 1823, p. 32880-32882. Peter Robinson corroborated this image of the immigrants as improperly clothed and supplied in his testimony to a parliamentary select committee in 1826, as did the immigrants themselves in later letters to Ireland. AO, PR fonds, MS 12, Reel 1, P. Robinson to R. W. Horton, undated report on emigration, Catharine O'Brian letter 20 February 1824, and Michael Cronin letter, 26 October 1823; LAC, MG 11, CO 384/12, Reel B-885, John Mara to James Mara, 20 November 1823.

[78] AO, UC Sundries, C-4612, W. Morris to Major G. Hillier, 12 January 1824, pp. 34129; C-4613, W. Marshall to Major G. Hillier, 25 May 1824, pages 35253; same to same, 24 July 1824, p. 35672-35673.

[79] AO, UC Sundries, C-4613, P. Robinson to R. W. Horton, 7 October 1824, p. 36183; R. W. Horton to P. Robinson, 13 October 1824, p. 36215.

[80] LAC, MG11, CO 42/373, Reel B- 305, Col. James Fitzgibbon to Major. G. Hillier, 10 June 1824; AO, PR fonds, MS 12, Reel 1, P. Robinson to R. W. Horton, undated report on emigration,

assisted Irish, the petitioners argued, were thirteen years later more financially secure having, unlike the petitioners, no cash loans to repay;[81] yet there was more to the pre-riot interaction of the "new" and "old" settlers than mere accounting. In an 1826 testimony to a parliamentary committee on emigration, Peter Robinson noted that local jealousy of the terms under which the Irish had been assisted had been fuelled by a belief that the Irish Catholic immigrants "had done nothing to entitle themselves to any bounty from the government, further than keeping their own country disturbed."[82]

Upon arrival in Upper Canada the 1823 assisted emigrants were met with expectations and perceptions that Irish Catholics were violent or easily provoked into violence. Their reception in the Bathurst district was very clearly influenced by knowledge and prejudices of the context within which the Irish character had apparently developed. When faced with Irish Catholic men brandishing clubs in the aftermath of the militia muster, the existing settlers and colonial observers saw confirmation that the assisted Irish were Rockites or carried equally problematic political baggage; interpretations of the Ballygiblin riot drew on memories of the 1798 Irish rebellion present in the colonial population. The British origin and military experience of much of the existing population meant that many Bathurst district settlers were Irish, had served in Ireland, or at the very least, had extensive experience of the Irish. For those unfamiliar with Ireland, its history, and people, the colonial press was rife with depictions unlikely to contribute to a favourable first impression. The *Montreal Herald*'s reference to "the permanent political feelings" apparently "incident to a greater portion of the Irish Emigrants" in its first account of the Ballygiblin riot addressed an audience well

[81] Haydon, 120.
[82] *Reports from the Select Committee on Emigration*, Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Select Committee on Emigration from United Kingston, 1826, p. 332.

acquainted with the Irish context for which further elaboration was unnecessary.[83] The reports from Bathurst district magistrates and depositions from witnesses described scenes that betrayed experience, memory and prejudice of Ireland and its people. Clearly crafted to evoke sympathy and support for the "old" settlers of the region, as well as explain the death of one of the assisted emigrants by gunfire, the reports of the magistrates and depositions of witnesses also portrayed what Attorney General John Beverley Robinson later observed was "an actual terror of the very name of Irish Catholics."[84]

Had an Upper Canadian resident not already formed an opinion about the Irish Catholic peasant from personal experience, a stereotype of the Irish Catholic peasant as dangerous, lawless, and to a certain extent helpless was readily available in the colonial press. A survey of the *Kingston Chronicle* in first four years of the 1820s, reveals lurid tales of Irish murder, disdain for property and authority, melancholic accounts of famine and desperation, and numerous accounts of the hapless 'Paddy' and his female counterpart whose supposed wit was nothing but a verbal mask for bumbling ignorance.[85] In one short article titled "Ireland" in a July 1827 issue, the *Colonial Advocate* covered destitution, starvation, mob violence, theft, and executions for Whiteboyism.[86] The *Gore Gazette* similarly described "wretched creatures, whose faces indicate want and misery of every kind," in the same article as night "outrages" and police shootings.[87]

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[83] *Montreal Herald*, 5 May 1824.
[84] LAC, MG11, CO 384/ 12, Reel B-885, J. B. Robinson to P. Robinson, 12 July 1824.
[85] For example: *Kingston Chronicle*, "Irish Sailor" 22 March 1822; "Police" 5 September 1823; "Simplicity of Irish Justice" 12 September 1823.
[86] *Colonial Advocate*, 19 July 1827.
[87] *Gore Gazette*, 17 March 1827. See also: 1 December 1827 "Irish and Scotch Cleanliness Compared" in which Irish are called dirty and ugly and Scots not much better.

While at least one historian has argued that litanies of Irish violence made "no particular impression" on Upper Canadian readers, the clear references in the accounts and interpretations of the Ballygiblin riot to the Irish context suggests otherwise.[88] The *Montreal Herald*'s riot reports bear remarkable similarity to the descriptions of the Irish "banditti" in accounts of rural agitation suggesting the former paper drew deliberately on familiar tropes. In the colonial press, the Irish peasantry swore "unlawful oaths," and committed "nocturnal outrages and robberies of the most daring nature" in roving bands of hundreds whose attacks were orchestrated from remote bandit camps.[89] In the *Herald*'s accounts, the "Ballygiblins,"[90] apparently a self-coined moniker, behaved as those secret Irish agrarian factions so commonly described in the colonial press. They were "formidable and met all authority with defiance."[91] They "kept in a body" and when they had assembled at the "rioter's encampment" on the Sunday morning of the firefight it had been "evidently for the worst of purposes" rather than for mass as was later revealed.[92] Despite the reporter's stated wish otherwise, his descriptions made it difficult to disassociate their behaviour from the troubled context of rural Ireland and its discontented peasantry now apparently transplanting its strife to Upper Canada. How else might local readers have explained the senseless and lawless destruction of persons and property the Irish had left in their wake? Drawing on tropes of Irish violence familiar to

[88] Lockwood, 161, 191.
[89] For examples see: *Kingston Chronicle*, 8 Feb 1822, 19 April 1822, 8 August 1823.
[90] Newspaper reports suggest the immigrants self-identified as "the Ballygiblins." Ballygiblin was the name of an estate in the Blackwater district. While local histories suggest the majority of immigrants and/or rioters came from this town, passenger lists indicate only one emigrant gave Ballygiblin as his place of origin. Perhaps more likely is the theory that Ballygiblin was a name given to the emigrant depot at Shipman Mills for a temporary period. Location tickets issued to these settlers were often signed at "Ballygiblin."
[91] *Montreal Herald,* 15 May 1824.
[92] *Montreal Herald,* 12 May 1824. Fitzgibbons depositions revealed that the Irish had gathered for mass.

colonial readers, the correspondent crafted his account of the riot for a readership that would not only be disturbed by —but also expectant of— disorderly behaviour from a band of Irish Catholics.

Interpretations of the Ballygiblin riot drew explicitly from colonial memory of the Irish rebellion of 1798. Historians have assumed but not yet interrogated the influence of the eighteenth century rebellion on Upper Canadian politics.[93] The commemoration and memory of the event was and continues to be multi-faceted and contested making it difficult to pinpoint the extent to which the event had an influence on Upper Canadian society and culture.[94] Historians have noted the influence the rebellion and the politics of late eighteenth century Ireland on the early Upper Canadians Reformers;[95] similarly the Orange Order, an unequivocal success in Upper Canada, traced its origins to that period

[93] Thirty thousand people died in a failed attempt by the United Irishmen and their French allies to end British rule in Ireland. It is agreed that that the event must have had a significant effect on the British population of Upper Canada, for as William Smyth argues, "almost all" of Upper Canada's early setters "would have been the children or grandchildren of those who had lived through, or perhaps died, in that turbulent event," *Belfast* 18. For the influence of Bishop Macdonell's time in Ireland, see: Stewart Gill, "'The Sword in the Bishop's Hand' father William Peter McDonald, a Scottish Defender of the Catholic Faith in Upper Canada," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Study Sessions* 50 (1983): 437-452.

[94] The commemoration and memory of the 1798 rebellion were multi-faceted and contested. Peter Collins, *Who Fears to Speak of '98?: Commemoration and the Continuing Impact of the United Irishmen*, (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2004); Paul Bew, *Ireland: The Politics of Enmity, 1789-2*006 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Tom Dunne, *Rebellions: Memoir, Memory and 1798* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2010); D. Gleeson and B. Buttimer, "'We are Irish Everywhere': Immigrant Networks in Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia," *Immigrants and Minorities* vol. 23, no. 2-3 (2005): 183-206. Gleeson and Buttimer suggest the memory of 1798 promoted interdenominational cooperation amongst Irish in the US South.

[95] John Lepine, "The Irish Press in Upper Canada and the Reform Movement: 1828-1848," MA thesis, University of Toronto, 1946; Murray W. Nicolson, "Ecclesiastical Metropolitanism and the Evolution of the Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto." *Histoire Sociale - Social History* XV, no. 29 (1982): 129–56; Robert L. Fraser, "Baldwin, William Warren," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, (University of Toronto/Université Laval: 2003) http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/baldwin_william_warren_7E.html. Fraser suggests Baldwin left Ireland out of fear of French invasion/influence

in Irish history.[96] Petitions to the Upper Canadian Lieutenant Governor, decades after the event, indicate that service during the 1798 rebellion had been a significant experience for many Upper Canadians.[97] As will be discussed in Chapter 5, Bishop Alexander Macdonell "dined out" on his time in Ireland during the rebellion, using it as a base for his claims of loyalty and service to the British Empire, but found his reminiscences had the opposite than intended effect on Irish Upper Canadians.[98] For Irish Roman Catholics evoking the rebellion was a short-hand for the brutality of the civil and military authorities in the aftermath of the rebellion.[99] When it came to discussions of Irish

[96] Glenn Lockwood, "Eastern Upper Canadian Perceptions of Irish Immigrants: 1824-1868," PhD. Diss., University of Ottawa, 1987, p. 275 for references to 1798 in Orange discourse in early 1830s.

[97] In his request to be given a grant to the land on which he had been squatting for three years, James Moore, formerly of Co. Antrim, and currently of Camden Township, included references attesting to his religion (Protestant) as well as his service in the Broombidge yeomanry during the 1798 rebellion. AO, UC Sundries, C-4613, James Moore to Maitland, 19 June 1824, pp. 35374-35379. Thomas Wilson sent proof of his 14 year service in the yeomanry of Ireland to the Lieutenant Governor requesting to know if he qualified for a pension as a result. UC Sundries, C-6887, T. Wilson to Rowan, 30 July 1835, pp. 85299-85300. In her petition for support following the death of her husband and the destruction of her home by fire, Jane Dunn provided considerable and possibly tangential evidence of her family's past sacrifice to the British Empire: including a Church of England minister Uncle who had been killed during the Irish rebellion. UC Sundries, C-4613, J. Dunn to Maitland, 9 Oct 1824, pp. 36195. Seeking support in the wake of her husband's death in 1828, Anne Manning of Port Hope provided references to support her contention that the injuries her husband had sustained while serving in His Majesty's army in 1798 had been the cause of his recent decease.□ UC Sundries, C. Fotthergill to Maitland, 16 March 1824, pp. 48385; A. Manning to Maitland, 1828, pp. 48387-48389. Memory of the rebellion permeated generations as well: Andrew and Irvine Moore cited their father's service in the Irish rebellion in their request for land proximate to his Marlborough township lot. UC Sundries, A. Moore and I. Moore to Maitland, 4 May 1828. pp. 48912.

[98] Toomey, *Alexander Macdonell: The Scottish Years*, 126-129, offers an uncritical account of Macdonell's time in Ireland. Bishop Macdonell made reference to his time in Ireland in his 1838 address to the Irish Catholics, see: AAK, MC, AI4CL1, letter 8, Address of Bishop Macdonell to the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada, 1 December 1838; *Cobourg Star*, 22 June 1836; *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 29 June 1836; *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 19 April 1837; Murray W. Nicolson, "Ecclesiastical Metropolitanism."

[99] Donnelly, *Captain Rock*, writes that Catholics found it hard to "forgive and forget" the brutal suppression following the rebellion, 19-20; In Upper Canada, Nicholson, "Ecclesiastical Metropolitanism," suggests that Irish Catholic newspaper editors like Charles Dunlevy and Francis Collins "remembered" Macdonell as Chaplain of the Glengarry Fencibles. The *Irish Vindicator* of Montreal scoffed at Macdonell's boasts of saving "rebels" from the bayonets of the

Catholics in Upper Canada, non-Catholic observers alluded to 1798 to emphasize the dangerous, lawless, and disloyal tendencies of the Catholics.[100] This was particularly clear in references made by interpreters of the Ballygiblin riot, so much so that later analyses invariably referred to the "long memories" of 1798 still festering amongst the Irish residents of the Bathurst District.[101] Indeed, decades later, at least one Bathurst district resident drew a comparison with the Ballygiblin riot and the 1798 rebellion. In an 1847 land petition, Evon Edward held up his father's fate: "piked and shot and left for dead" at the "hands of the Rebbals (sic)" in 1798, as well as his own role in putting down the "conspiracy" amongst the Peter Robinson Emigrants in 1824, as equally worthy examples of loyalty and service to the Crown.[102] Knowledge, experience, and memory of Ireland infused the local and colonial interpretations of the Ballygiblin riot and the implicated Irish Catholics newcomers.

In the aftermath of the Ballygiblin riot, in their representations and appeals to colonial officials, Bathurst district magistrates described widespread abject fear of the "lawless banditti" who threatened the destruction of life and property and had compelled

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yeomanry, and accused the Bishop of delivering them instead, to be "tortured" by the "regular" authority. For Bishop Macdonell's address to the Irish Roman Catholics of Upper Canada: *Cobourg Star*, 22 June 1836; For the *Irish Vindicator*'s reply see: *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 29 June 1836.

[100] M. Sanderson, "Our Own Catholic Countrymen": Religion, Loyalism, and Subjecthood in Britain and its Empire, 1755-1829," PhD. Diss., Vanderbilt University, 2010, p. 221-223.

[101] Larry Turner, *Perth: Tradition and Style in Eastern Ontario* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1992), 22. Turner writes "Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics with short fuses and long memories had strong opinions about the penal codes and the insurrections of 1798 in the old country and scores had to be settled in the new." Richard Reid, *The Upper Ottawa Valley to 1855*, (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990), xxxi.

[102] Reid, 39. Document B3, "Evon Edward Recalls the Murphy's Falls Riot, 13 May 1847, AO, Land Petitions." Reid cites this petition as evidence that Bathurst district residents "distorted reality with old world animosities."

settlers to abandon their homes.[103] "The peaceable inhabitant is in terror of his life," magistrates wrote, "at this busy season of the year when the farmer should be providing for his family, he is compelled to abandon his house and seek for refuge in the woods (as an outlaw) for the preservation of his life."[104] Depositions of witnesses reported scenes of property destruction by the Irish Catholics, but most damningly, a scene in which armed with "guns and bludgeons" they marched "rank and file" behind a green flag.[105] In their request for military assistance, the local magistrates went further; on the 26th of April, they reported "upwards of one hundred men of the same party assembled in a riotous mass and marched in seeming military order and appeared regularly to obey the commands of an individual…they marched with music and displayed a green flag."[106] The inhabitants of the region were terrified of the rampaging Irish Catholics. A Mr. Shipman had testified that upon sight of the armed force he was convinced that his house, mill, and family would be put to the torch.[107] Reporting the Irish to "set all law at defiance" and that they vowed to "submit to no jurisdiction but their own," local officials justified not only their own show of force, the armed party led by the deputy sheriff, but made their case that the Irish were a dire threat, not only to the Bathurst district, but to the entire colony.[108] "Nothing short of a party of regular troops stationed for some time in the neighbourhood" the magistrates argued, would "restore peace and confidence to the

[103] LAC, CO 42/373, Reel B-305, Thom et al to Major G. Hillier, 4 May 1824; CO 42/200, Reel B-153, Sheriff J. Powell et al to Major G. Hillier, 4 May 1824.
[104] LAC, CO 42/200, Reel B-153, Sheriff J. Powell et al to Major G. Hillier, 4 May 1824.
[105] Deposition of William Murphy included in CO 42/373, Reel B-305, Thom et al to Major G. Hillier, 4 May 1824.
[106] LAC, CO 42/200, Reel B-153, Sheriff J. Powell et al to Major G. Hillier, 4 May 1824.
[107] CO 42/373, Reel B-305, Thom et al to Major G. Hillier, 4 May 1824.
[108] CO 42/200, Reel B-153, Sheriff J. Powell et al to Major G. Hillier, 4 May 1824; LAC, MG 11, CO 42/373, reel B- 153, W. Marshall to Lord Dalhousie, 5 May 1824.

good and well-disposed inhabitants"[109] Lieutenant Governor Maitland was unmoved by these dramatic appeals. Questioning the magistrates' ability to treat all settlers without distinction Maitland reminded the magistrates to "investigate thoroughly every ground of complaint on either side" for all settlers regardless of their length of tenure in the province, were "entitled to the protection of the same laws."[110] Most notably Maitland cautioned the magistrates against alienating the newcomers from the civil law, noting that they were to be made to "secure in relying on those laws for protection." Noting that the initial violence had occurred at the militia muster, Maitland decreed the conflict to be of relevance to the Assistant Adjutant General of Militia Colonel James Fitzgibbon whom he dispatched to the Bathurst District to investigate the affair.

Colonel Fitzgibbon's report absolved the Irish immigrants of wrongdoing. He found that rather than an unwarranted attack by the Irish on loyal and orderly settlers, alcohol distributed with "a great want of discretion," had fuelled preexisting "religious and party disturbances" that had been irritated by jealousy over perceived unequal assistance terms.[111] Fitzgibbon was cognizant that his absolution would not quell local animosity toward the assisted Irish. In a letter penned to the immigrants not long after his departure from the Bathurst District, Fitzgibbon wrote:

> In the name of all that is good and generous I entreat of these people to forbear. As an Irishman I call upon them to prove that the violent passions alone do not occupy their breasts … The mischief already done in this district is very great … Let this season be employed by them to sow seed from which the food for their families may be obtained instead of sowing the seeds of hatred and revenge which ever abundantly produce poverty and crime…Let these poor

[109] CO 42/200, Reel B-153, Sheriff J. Powell et al to Major G. Hillier, 4 May 1824.
[110] LAC, CO 42/373, Reel B 305, Major G. Hillier to Sheriff J. Powell, 13 May 1824.
[111] LAC, MG11, CO 42/373, Reel B- 305, Col. J. Fitzgibbon to Major. G. Hillier, 10 June 1824; AO, PR papers, MS 12, Reel 1, P. Robinson to R. W. Horton, undated report on emigration.

> people therefore be left in peace with their families, and let the Irishman be the first to show the spirit of forgiveness.[112]

As had anti-Orangeism activists been entreated to show the Orange Order "silent disregard," here another group of Irish Catholic newcomers was called on to behave, to show themselves loyal and orderly settlers, despite provocation. The visibility of the violence and the pervasive fear of the Irish Catholics meant Fitzgibbon's report was not enough to prevent the continued condemnation of the Irish Catholics for their behaviour. Fitzgibbon hinted at this possibility when he noted the number of implicated members of the armed posse who, at the behest of the magistrates, had not been committed to appear at the Quarter sessions or later assizes.[113]

The proceedings of the Quarter sessions at Perth in June and the assizes in September made explicit the local contention that Irish Catholics, in particular young and male Irish Catholics, were out of place in the community. Fitzgibbon's report absolved the emigrants of wrongdoing, and colonial authorities were adamant that all participants regardless of religion be held to account for their behaviour, but that was not reflected in the judicial aftermath of the riot, where addressing local concerns and censuring the Irish Catholics took priority.[114] At the Quarter sessions in the immediate aftermath of the riot, two Irish Catholics "rioters" had been sentenced to six months imprisonment and fined

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[112] AO, UC Sundries, C- 4612, Col. J. Fitzgibbon to T. Baines, 4 June 1824, p. 35275-8.
[113] LAC, MG11, CO 42/373, Reel B-305, Col. J. Fitzgibbon to Major G. Hillier, 10 June 1824.
[114] LAC, CO 42-373 Reel B-305, Major G. Hillier to Sheriff J. Powell, 13 May 1824; In her study of the local context of the Upper Canadian legal system, Susan Lewthwaite argues that a "weakness of the formal mechanisms of the law and its administration," meant that local interests frequently undercut the authority of the magistrates, the colonial government and the law itself. Lewthwaite, "Violence, Law, and Community in Rural Upper Canada," in *Essays in the History of Canadian Law: Crime and Criminal Justice*, ed. Phillips, Jim et al (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 353–386.

three pounds each for assault and battery.[115] Sir Peregrine Maitland expressed doubts that an impartial jury could be found, and insisted that the deputy sheriff, an Orangeman, be kept out of the process. Maitland was also displeased to discover that members of the deputy sheriff's armed posse were not on the list of prisoners in the Perth jail, but instead had been released on bail not long after their arrest.[116] Of the eight riot participants tried at the assizes in August of 1824, four members of the armed posse were each tried and acquitted for "malicious shooting." Only the four Robinson Irish Catholics tried were convicted for "riot and house breaking."[117] The convicted men were sentenced to two months in prison and fined ten pounds.[118]

The discrepancy between the sentences at the Quarter sessions and the fall assizes was indicative of the different charges but also of the context in which the respective trials were held. The Quarter sessions had been presided over by the very magistrates who had participated in the campaign against the Irish Catholics. Relative to the fall assizes, the Quarter sessions were held in the immediate aftermath of the riot and

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[115] These men were Christopher Kelly and John Coghlan. Others had been "acquitted for lack of evidence and others committed to trial during the assizes in August." A true bill for perjury was found against one of the rioters and the "rogue" had responded by taking "leg bail." *Montreal Herald*, 19 June 1824.

[116] AO, UC Sundries, C-4613, Sheriff J. Powell to Major G. Hillier, 31 July 1824, p. 35749. Powell indicated that this had been the decision of the magistrates and entirely out of his hands

[117] AO, UC Sundries, C-4613, Calendar of Crown Prosecutions at the Courts of Assizes on the Eastern Circuit commencing the 9th of August and ending the 2nd October 1824, p. 36180. Eight riot participants were tried at the assizes. Captain Thomas Glendinning, John Fummerton who had shot from the tavern window, as well as James Ritchie, and John McGinnis who were presumably members of the armed party, which attacked the emigrant depot, were each tried and acquitted for "malicious shooting." Bartholomew Murphy, John French, Patrick Sullivan, and John Coghlan, all Robinson Irish Catholics, were tried and convicted of "riot and house breaking."

[118] *Montreal Herald*, "Domestic Intelligence," 8 September 1824. The *Montreal Herald* also noted that a John Lechy, presumably Robinson settler John Leahy, 25 formerly of Mitchelstown, Co. Cork had been indicted for perjury, but that his trial was traversed to the next assizes. Another man named Daniel Ryan (37 from Kanturk, Co. Cork) had also been indicted for perjury but had "absconded or did not appear."

consequently tensions and emotions were running high, hence the longer imprisonment sentence for what was a lesser crime. The presiding Justice for the fall assizes was explicit that the sentences there had been explicitly motivated and influenced by the local context. Justice William Campbell was pleased with the outcome of the trials noting that they had finished "much more satisfactorily than [he] had any reason to expect."[119] This positive outcome was largely due to the fact that the trials had not resulted in any convictions "of a serious nature" particularly for capital crimes. Members of the deputy sheriff's party he noted had "very narrowly escaped capital conviction;" for Campbell this was a positive not only because the lack of evidence meant the acquittal was appropriate, but likely because such a conviction for these men would have provoked trouble amongst the local population.[120] The deputy sheriff, Campbell noted, was "most to blame in that injudicious affair" but for whatever unstated reason the man had not been prosecuted.[121]

On the subject of the Irish immigrants' convictions, Campbell had more to say. He noted that four or five of the "most notorious characters and ringleaders" had fled the country when released on bail prior to the trials. The remaining four had been prosecuted according to the common law and had been indicted according to the Riot Act. "Fortunately and I think very properly" Campbell remarked, "from the nature of the facts proved against them, [they were] convicted of felony." If their conviction was easily arrived at, it was their sentencing that proved delicate. Campbell noted that it had been

[119] AO, UC Sundries, C-4613 Justice W. Campbell to Major G. Hillier, 31 August 1824, p. 36010-13.
[120] AO, UC Sundries, C-4613, Justice W. Campbell to Major G. Hillier, 20 September 1824, p. 36093-96.
[121] AO, UC Sundries, C-4613, Justice W. Campbell to Major G. Hillier, 31 August 1824, p. 36010-13.

imperative that the punishment be adapted both to the situation of the prisoners themselves but also to the "present state of the settlement" so that it might "best answer the ends of public justice." Campbell believed that whatever punishment he gave the Irish men had to ensure the immigrants were "duly impressed with a sense of the enormity of their conduct." Campbell knew the Irish immigrants could not afford the fine and that a period of imprisonment no matter its brief duration would be disastrous to any new settler; nevertheless he imposed the punishment of ten pounds with a two month incarceration and "farther until the fine be paid." The punishment he hoped would have the effect of "inducing a more orderly conduct and greater respect for the laws hereafter" on the part of the Irish but he hoped that "his Excellency's clemency" might induce the governor to remit the fines. This he believed would "have the further effect of attaching [the Irish] to His Majesty's government from a principle of gratitude for an act of grace so important to people in their situation."[122] Implicit here was the same assumption underlining that Bishop Macdonell's promise to make Irish Catholics loyal: Irish Catholics needed inducement to become attached to their government.

If Campbell had intended to immediately request the government remit the fines, why impose them at all? His suggestion that the punishments were necessary to censure the Irish for their anti-social behaviour seems to be only part of the picture. Likely Campbell was all too aware that an overly lenient sentence would have been poorly received in the Bathurst District by the population as a whole; nor was he willing to help the Irish men without some effort on their part. He asked that the Lieutenant Governor forgive the fines, but recommended that this be done only once the Irish Catholics themselves had made an appropriate petition to that effect. The petitions, he

[122] *Ibid.*

recommended, should be required to include the personal endorsement of the Perth magistrates.[123]

Whether Campbell intended this solution to ensure fairness and justice in a politically difficult situation or whether he perceived this the best way to promote reconciliation between the Irish and the magistrates is difficult to determine. Nevertheless the petitions were written and included the requisite endorsements by the magistrates.[124] In the first, the four men convicted at the fall assizes supplicated themselves at the mercy of the government. The four "acknowledge[d] the justness of the sentence," but directed the blame for the bulk of the riotous proceedings to "individuals who immediately afterwards quitted the country." The men asserted that the fine of ten pounds was impossible to pay as they were "very poor, and destitute of any means whatever of paying any part of the above fine." Well aware of the sentiments underlying the punishment and what constituted an appropriate apology, the four concluded that they "solemnly undertake and promise to become for the future, good, and peaceable settlers." Only one man, Patrick Sullivan could sign his name and the petition was amended with a recommendation from the sheriff and magistrates.[125] Perhaps hoping that a similar appeal would also work in their favour, the two men who had been convicted at the Quarter sessions submitted a very similar petition six days later. Using similar supplicant language and citing poverty, they promised that they were "deeply convinced of their improper conduct" and "faithfully" promised to become "for the future, good, and well-

[123] *Ibid*.
[124] AO, UC Sundries, C-4613, Petition of Patrick Sullivan et al., 18 September 1824, p. 36081-83; Petition of Christopher Kelly and John Coughlin, 24 September 1824, p. 36128-30.
[125] AO, UC Sundries, C-4613, Petition of Patrick Sullivan et al., 18 September 1824, p. 36081-83.

behaved settlers."[126] Campbell had all but secured the clemency of the colonial government, but having the Irish Catholic men supplicate themselves was a critical aspect of their punishment and rehabilitation particularly in the local context. Having the magistrates recommend the men was a ploy to reconcile the men to the local authorities, but by making it the steep fine that was remitted rather than the period of imprisonment meant that their punishment remained visible for the local population anxious that these "rioters" be punished.

The immediate aftermath of the Ballygiblin riot led to a reassessment at the colonial and imperial levels about the extent to which Irish Catholics, in particular young single male Irish Catholics, made good settler subjects. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor General, argued strongly against a continuation of assisted emigration from Ireland, arguing that it was a "most serious mischief done to the Canadas," that was a "waste of public monies" as Upper Canadian settlers would "never be reconciled to their Irish neighbours," and the majority of the Irish would simply "abandon the lands and become wandering beggars."[127] At the colonial level rumours persisted that, as Dalhousie had predicted, the majority of the assisted immigrants had abandoned their lands and absconded to the United States.[128] When pressed about the implications of riot for further

[126] AO, UC Sundries, C-4613, Petition of Christopher Kelly and John Coughlin, 24 September 1824, p. 36128-30.
[127] LAC, MG11, CO 42/200, Reel B 153, Lord Dalhousie to Earl Bathurst, 18 May 1824.
[128] LAC, MG11, CO 42/377, Reel B-308, "Return of Irish Immigrants settled in the District of Bathurst," 1826; AO, Ontario Government Record Series, RG 1-163, MS 693, Reel 156, Records relating to Peter Robinson immigrants, "Return of a portion of the Irish Immigrants located in the Bathurst District in 1823 and 1825 by Peter Robinson Esq and who are now entitled to receive their Deeds the lots having been Inspected by Francis K. Jessop in 1834." Like most settlers, the assisted Irish had supplemented their income with work elsewhere. Men with families too young to be productive farm labour sought supplemental income; work on the canals for example, was a temporary furlough that rarely represented an abandonment of one's land. The much-scrutinized assisted single men had been less likely to take land, let alone retain title to their land than those who had travelled with family members. Of the 83 single men who had travelled in 1823 only 52

Irish assisted emigration projects, Robinson and Horton were quick to scapegoat young, idle, hot-headed single men who had left the settlement.[129] When a second assisted emigration scheme from the Blackwater district was offered in 1825, an attempt was made to exclude single men.[130] Those Irish Catholic settlers were located in "new" and "empty" townships in a bid to prevent local backlash and conflicts with neighbours.[131] In reality the implicated men represented a cross-section of the emigrant group, with the youngest a sixteen-year-old who had emigrated with his siblings and the oldest a thirty-seven-year-old father of four. An 1826 survey of the Irish settlements dispelled the myth that the majority of the Irish had abandoned their lands, but did confirm the absence of all the men implicated in the Ballygiblin riot. Most had left the Bathurst District for work in Montreal or Kingston, and at least two had died.[132] The Irish Catholic men forever labeled "The Ballygiblins" did not or could not remain in the Bathurst District.

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had taken land. In 1826 thirty per cent of located single men retained title to their land. Three quarters of these men were also working away from their land.

[129] *Reports from the Select Committee on Emigration*, Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Select Committee on Emigration from United Kingston, 1826. Twentieth-century local histories also attribute the departure of a "rough-and-ready crowd of hotheads" for the peace that pervaded the region within a year. Garfield Ogilvie, *Once Upon a Country Lane* (Nepean: The House of Airlie, 1992) 44; MacKay, 45.

[130] Cameron, "Selecting," 36.

[131] Alan Brunger, "Geographical Propinquity among pre-famine Catholic Irish settlers in Upper Canada," *Journal of Historical Geography* vol 8, no. 3 (1982) 274. The assumption that these townships were "empty" is central to Brunger's argument. Emigrants settled in seven Townships in Newcastle district, Emily, Otonabee, Smith, Ops, Douro, Asphodel, and Ennismore. Lillian Gates disagrees and suggests Emily, Otonabee, and Smith Townships "had been open to settlement since 1819 ... a number of emigrants had already received 50-acre free grants." Lilian Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1968) 96.

[132] LAC, MG11, CO 42/377, Reel B-308, "Return of Irish Immigrants settled in the District of Bathurst," 1826. Cornelius Roche and Patrick Sullivan were each absent without leave and supposed to be in Montreal. Bartholomew Murphy and John French upon their release had gone to work in Kingston where both were reported to have drowned in October 1825. William Brown escaped charge or conviction and was by 1826 a boatman on the St. Lawrence River. Luke McGrath had eluded capture following the riot and was presumed to be working somewhere in the Canadas. John Coghlan who had been convicted at the Quarter sessions was reported in 1834 to be missing since 1826 when he had gone to Kingston for work leaving his wife and children in

The Ballygiblin riot was for many confirmation of the transplantation of Irish violence to Upper Canada. Local observers feared the dangerous influence of Irish Catholics and their "politics," and the influence of the Orange Order in the region and on the affray was largely ignored. Col. Fitzgibbon had noted the Orange leanings of the deputy sheriff and of many of the armed members of his posse. Aside from being a "man of overbearing and insolent conduct" deputy sheriff Alexander Matheson was "an orange man whose father it is said, was murdered by the Catholics in Ireland." Fitzgibbon also noted that of those militiamen deployed to engage the Irish Catholics at the immigrant depot, "too many orange men were chosen" and "no man of the deputy sheriff's party used violence on that day who was not an orange man."[133] Where locals feared the Irish Catholic immigrants brought with them problematic "old world" cultural baggage, the presence of the Orange order in the region suggests this had already happened. More than one historian incorrectly credited the riot as the call that "roused" Bathurst district settlers to form a formal Orange Order lodge in Perth.[134] The Perth Orange Lodge predated the riot, but it is clear that the events of April 1824 had the effect of increasing the Orangemen's public profile and the perceived utility of the association, in the vicinity of Perth if not in the rest of the province.

Ramsay Township. Carol Bennett, *Peter Robinson's Settlers, 1823-1825* (Renfrew: Juniper Books, 1987), 147.

[133] LAC, MG 11, CO 42/373, Reel B-305, James J. Fitzgibbon to Major G. Hillier, 10 June 1824. Alexander Matheson was master of the Perth Freemason lodge in 1818 and founder of the Orange Lodge in Perth. Senior, *Orangeism,* 10; Donald McKay, *Flight from Famine*, (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1990) 75; Johnson, "Colonel Fitzgibbon" 143; Pentland, 123.

[134] For "roused" comment, see Haydon 141; Jean McGill, *A Pioneer History of the County of Lanark*, (self-published, 1968), 94; H. Clare Pentland, *Labour and Capital in Canada, 1650-1860*, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1981) 124; Johnson, J.K. "Colonel James Fitzgibbon and the Suppression of Irish Riots in Upper Canada." *Ontario History* LVIII (1966): 142.

By 1826 the Perth lodge met monthly and was including in its membership those with "no connexion to Ireland."[135] So great was the growth in the area that Alexander Matheson, the Deputy Sheriff and Orangeman, solicited the notice of the Grand Lodge of Great Britain in 1826 requesting organization assistance.[136] The increased presence of the Order in Perth raised concerns about the potential for a violent reaction from the assisted Irish Catholics. In 1826 Col. Fitzgibbon addressed the Perth and Cavan Orangemen in a public letter entreating them to refrain from marching on the 12th of July to prevent violence and damage to the reputations of Irishmen in Upper Canada.[137] William Morris, magistrate and member of the Legislative Assembly for Carleton noted "evil exists in my neighbourhood." The growing Orange Lodge in Perth, Morris complained, was manifesting an "unpleasant feeling" amongst the Roman Catholics of the district, and though the dispute between the sects was "ridiculously absurd," it nevertheless called forth the "the worst passions of human nature," to which "disinterested persons have reason to look with apprehension."[138] It was with relief that Morris reported that the 1827 Twelfth of July parade had passed off relatively peacefully despite the "stormy feelings of indignation" with which local Roman Catholics viewed the spectacle.[139] Not all local officials saw the Orange Order as harmful to the district. The Sheriff acknowledged that the Order was "unnecessary" and seemed calculated only to "produce jealousy and bad feelings" but noted nevertheless that the "meetings and processions of Orange men here

[135] AO, UC Sundries, C-4615, W. Morris to Major G. Hillier, 13 August 1825, pp. 39065-68; C-6863, same to same, 25 July 1827.
[136] Perkins Bull, 72. Matheson reported that the Orangemen in Upper Canada numbered in the thousands.
[137] AO, UC Sundries, C-4617, "To the Orangemen of Cavan and Perth," 18 June 1826, pp. 41932-41935.
[138] AO, UC Sundries, C-4615, W. Morris to Major G. Hillier, 13 August 1825, pp. 39065-69.
[139] AO, UC Sundries, C-6863, W. Morris to Hillier, 25 July 1827, pp. 46277-46279.

has always been conducted with propriety and good order."[140] Perth Orangemen for their own part, argued for the legitimacy of their purpose, which was to prevent crime. Regrettably they did not elaborate on the source of the crime they wished to prevent.[141]

The second half of the 1820s was a period of remarkable growth in Upper Canada for the Orange Order particularly in the eastern half of the province. The Orange Order, William Smyth notes, offered Irish Protestants a vehicle through which they "negotiated and constructed their distinctive identities within the Canadian component of [the British] Empire."[142] It was remarkably well-suited for Upper Canada being, Smyth argues, "but an Irish manifestation" of the "general Protestant ethos of British colonial society" that "unambiguously proclaimed its belief in an imperial civilisation that had constructed an Empire on which the sun never set."[143] Thus, the Order's growth in the province was helped not only by the size of the Irish Protestant population and its geographic dispersal, but by purchase the Order's mentality found with Upper Canadians of non-Irish origin. In 1826, Alexander Matheson reported to the Grand Lodge of Great Britain that there were "many thousands of Orangemen at present in the Canadas" but that they required assistance from the British Lodge to organize.[144] In addition to Perth, Lodges were in the vicinity of Picton, Port Hope, and Cavan Township by 1827.[145] Reports that same

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[140] AO, UC Sundries, J.H. Powell to Major G. Hillier, 4 April 1827, pp. 45226-7.
[141] UC Sundries, C-6863, Petition of Loyal Orange Lodge of Perth, April 1827, pp. 45229-32. The Perth Orangemen swore they had "no quarrel" with their fellow Roman Catholic subjects and were "ready at all times to give the right hand of fellowship" and while they loved them as fellow Christians and men, they could not "admit them as masters."
[142] Smyth *Belfast* 22
[143] *Ibid*., 21.
[144] Perkins Bull, 72: Says Alexander Matheson "that many thousands of Orangemen at present in the Canadas, are without any regular lodge; the benefit that would result from a regular system to those provinces and to the rising generation would be in calculable."
[145] Senior, *Orangeism*, 8. The latter was in the vicinity of the settlement of the 1825 assisted emigrants.

year that upwards of 80 men had recently formed a second lodge in Kingston alarmed Bishop Macdonell and he was induced to wade into the issue, investigating the progress of Orangeism in the province and warning government officials about the evils of the Order.[146] Macdonell was also concerned by the extent to which the Order was steadily gaining traction with civil and military authorities in other areas. The participation of local militia officers in the Port Hope and Cavan Twelfth of July processions, and the continued visibility of deputy Sheriff Matheson as the head of the lodge at Perth, implied that the civil authority condoned the organization and its processions[147] he argued. A Twelfth of July riot in Kingston in 1827 which resulted in charges against only Catholic participants had the effect of giving Kingston's Orangemen confidence that the city's magistrates had a "decided partiality" for their purpose.[148] The Roman Catholics in that place complained bitterly that the town's magistrates were unwilling to take action against the Order and consequently it had grown in confidence and size.[149]

As had the Ballygiblin riot, the riot at Kingston encouraged the growth of Orangeism in the town, and furthering colonial fears about the transportation to Upper

[146] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Major G. Hillier, 12 April 1827; BMD to W. Morris, 21 April 1827; Major G. Hillier to BMD, 1 May 1827; BMD to Major G. Hillier, 26 October 1827; BMD to J.B. Robinson, 28 October 1827; UC Sundries, C-6864, BMD to Major. G. Hillier submitting petition of the Irish rioters, 17 September 1827, pp. 46611-46615. AAK, MC, AI1C19, letter 25, Sheriff of Bathurst district to BMD, 1 May 1827.

[147] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Major G. Hillier, 12 April 1827

[148] AO, UC Sundries, C-6864, BMD to Major G. Hillier submitting petition of the Irish rioters, 17 September 1827, pp. 46611-46615. In his appeal for clemency for the Kingston Roman Catholic rioters, for only Roman Catholics were arrested after that fracas, Bishop Macdonell opined that the Irishmen "richly deserv[ed] the punishment inflicted on them." Macdonell pointed to the unjustness of the jury being headed by an Orange foreman. Not surprisingly the convicted Catholics in question were compelled, in language characteristic of the colonial petition, to stress their obedience and loyalty to the crown: the rioters swore they were "impressed with a deep sense of the impropriety of offending the laws of our country," and of their "firm determination… of conducting ourselves in future worthy of Your Excellency's gracious interference."

[149] AO, UC Sundries, C-6864, W. Fraser to Major G. Hillier, 21 January 1828, pp. 47804-47808.

Canada of Irish violence.[150] The aftermath of the Kingston riot continued the condemnation of Irish Catholic disorder, and blame for the persistence of sectarian conflict in the province. The Twelfth of July magnified the "bad feelings" and "mortification" the Order produced in the province's Roman Catholics,[151] and produced anxiety in their neighbours. The Twelfth of July in 1827 had been greeted with "some apprehension" in Kingston. Workers had reportedly travelled into Kingston from nearby canal works for the day having heard, as one worker put it, "there was to be a little bit of a disturbance…it had been talked of by all hands for the last two or three weeks."[152] Concerned about impending violence, Kingston magistrates tried, and failed, to convince the Orangemen to refrain from marching.[153] When the Orangemen refused, the soldiers and constables who had assembled accompanied the procession, a decision which the *Kingston Chronicle* noted gave the procession the "injudicious" appearance of "being patronized by both the civil and military authorities, which was not at all the case as the former had forbidden it and the latter were of course not consulted."[154] By most accounts the Orange procession was interrupted by between 60 and 100 Roman Catholic men who had marched from the nearby canal works. They wore badges, it was reported "which bespoke a determination to oppose any meeting of the Orange party."[155] The Orangemen were "assailed with stones and such other weapons which had been hastily collected

[150] Senior, *Orangeism* argues that with the Ballygiblin riot, the 1827 Kingston riot "justified" the concerns colonial observers had about Irish violence in the colony (11).
[151] AO, UC Sundries, C-4615, W. Morris to Hillier, 13 August 1825, pp. 39065-39068; C-6862, W. Morris to Hillier, 14 February 1827, pp. 44593-44595; C-6862, Burke to Hillier, 14 February 1827, pp. 44617-44626; C-6863, Powell to Hillier, 4 April 1827, pp. 45226-45228; BMD to Hillier, 12 April 1827, pp. 45298-45304.
[152] *Upper Canada Herald*, 17 July 1827.
[153] *Ibid.*
[154] reprinted in *Ibid.*
[155] *Ibid*. Other witnesses claimed they wore green ribbons in their hats, of which one witness argued "had nothing to do with the riot" but was rather the fashion.

among these were pistols." Witnesses described escalating violence spurred on by Irish Catholic men who gathered and encouraged their countrymen to wreck havoc. Demonstrating that memories of Ireland were never far from Upper Canadian public consciousness, one witness described seeing one man brandishing a stick and "encouraging the rioters" to the extent that onlookers began to call him "Captain Rock."[156] After a fracas in which a constable was gravely wounded, Irish Catholics were arrested, the Orangemen regrouped and were redirected by authorities to their Lodge where they were "with some difficulty" encouraged to return to their respective homes. Troops were stationed at Market Square until tranquility had been restored helped in large part by the ordered closing of the town's public houses.

In the face of evident growth of the Orange Order and an apparent increase in Catholic violence in response, colonial observers amplified their condemnation of the transplantation of Irish grievances arguing that the perpetuation of old world conflicts in Upper Canada was both illogical and impractical. 'Orange and Green' violence had no relevance to the contemporary context and consequently subverted the public order and contributing nothing to the progress of settlement. In his letter ostensibly to the Orangemen of Perth and Cavan in 1826, Col. Fitzgibbon entreated all Irishmen to consider their reputation in the province: "let not our proverbial kind-heartedness be wanting towards each other, else it may become a mockery and a reproach to us." If the Irish of Upper Canada could not find accord, Fitzgibbon argued, "it will be said that it is because they are Irishmen."[157] Visiting the Irish settlement at Peterborough in 1826, Sir Peregrine Maitland reminded the predominantly Roman Catholic crowd of the "propriety

[156] *Ibid.*
[157] AO, UC Sundries, C-4617, "To the Orangemen of Cavan and Perth," 18 June 1826, pp. 41932-35.

of dropping…all associations which have their rise in difference of Religion, or in differences of any kind and that you will henceforth consider yourself one people."[158] "In a country like Canada," the *Upper Canada Herald* argued, where "Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics enjoy equal civil and religious privileges, it is … the height of folly and wickedness for either to be the means of keeping alive feelings which have a tendency to destroy their own happiness, subvert good order, and endanger the peace and safety of their neighbours."[159] The *Canadian Freeman,* edited by Irish Catholic Francis Collins, agreed. "It is lamentable," the *Freeman* argued, "to see these misguided individuals tearing open old wounds and reviving prejudices that ought for ever to be buried in oblivion."[160] Ever conscious of the position of the Irish Catholic in Upper Canada, and well aware that the onus was on Irish Catholics to prove themselves orderly and well-behaved and able to withstand the provocation of the Orange Order, Collins optimistically insisted that the violence in Kingston was not pervasive, but rather atypical. In the rest of the province "a spirit of conciliation between these two parties is rapidly gaining ground, and we hope that at no distant day, distinctions of this kind will be wholly unknown in this colony."[161] The parish priest of Kingston was less optimistic.

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[158] AAK, MC, AI5ED4, letter 19, Sir. P. Maitland answer to Irish immigrants, 1826. The following year Maitland apparently ordered the suppression of the Orange Order in the Bathurst district. The details of his order have yet to be recovered by the author.
[159] *Upper Canada Herald*, 17 July 1827.
[160] *Ibid.*
[161] *Ibid.* The *Upper Canada Herald* praised these sentiments and offered the hope that the "natives of Ireland" would use their "personal influence and endeavours to extinguish the mutual prejudices and party feelings which some of these two parties of our Irish population appear to have brought with them into this Province, where they are wholly inapplicable and inexcusable." The 7 August 1828 issue of the *Canadian Freeman* noted the apparent end of Orange parades in York. The Orangemen in York, the *Freeman* noted, had had the "good sense" to end their public processions. This action was "as much to the advantage of the Orangemen as the Catholic," the *Freeman* argued, for the processions "kept alive early prejudices — excited the worst of passions — created jealousies, heart burnings, and quarrels — to the mutual injury of both parties — the discredit of Christianity — the disgrace of their common country — and to the interruption of the

Writing on behalf of Kingston's Roman Catholics, the Rev. William Fraser noted that "such things may appear of no importance" to non-Catholics, but "not one" Upper Canadian Roman Catholic viewed the growth of the Orange Order as anything but a grievous insult. Returning responsibility for ensuring peace from the Irish Catholics to the government, particularly when it came to the Orange Order, the priest begged the Lieutenant-Governor to "put an end forever to party feelings and distinctions grounded upon religious differences."[162]

The Ballygiblin Riot forced Bishop Macdonell to acknowledge the uncertain loyalties of a fast growing segment of his diocese, and enabled him to position himself and his Church as critical agents in the integration of Irish Catholics to Upper Canada. Bishop Macdonell was in London when reports of the Ballygiblin riot reached the Colonial Office. Called to discuss the situation with Earl Bathurst and Robert Wilmot Horton, Macdonell seized the opportunity to amplify the warnings he had made the previous year about the dangers of Irish Catholics left without the civilizing influence of religion. As he would later recount, Macdonell made a pledge to the officials that "if fair play were given to the Irish Catholics and justice done to them, [he] would pledge [his] life, their conduct would be as loyal and as orderly, as that of any of His Majesty's subjects."[163] The bishop's pledge came with a condition. Reiterating his belief that religion was critical to order and loyalty, particularly when it came to Irish Catholics,

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public peace in this Province." Suspending the "useless" processions had had apparently remarkable effects: "prejudice has been allayed — party animosity fallen to the ground— the Christian feelings of benevolence has taken their place — and Orangemen and Catholics sit down together, in brotherly love, recognising each other by no distinction but that of friends and fellow countrymen."

[162] AO, UC Sundries, C-6864, W. Fraser to Major G. Hillier, 21 January 1828, pp. 47804-47808.

[163] AAK, MC, AI4CL1, letter 8, Address of Bishop Macdonell to the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada, 1 December 1838; MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Bishop T. Weld, 6 May 1827.

Macdonell demanded he be given the means to appoint additional clergy and schoolmasters who would oversee their moral and religious instruction. Similarly, he argued that the potential for Irish violence in Upper Canada would only be mitigated once the magistracy took steps to contain general prejudice in the colony against Catholics, particularly those from Ireland.[164]

As the summer of 1824 progressed, anxiety about the first emigration scheme diminished at the Colonial Office. Reports suggested that peace prevailed in the Bathurst District and the upcoming assizes would see the offending rioters put to justice; yet, continuing unrest in Ireland had amplified the calls from besieged landlords for an emigration on a larger-scale than that of 1823. Bishop Macdonell perceived that a good deal of money was about to be spent on another larger assisted emigration and argued that an allocation of funds had to be made to ensure these new emigrants had ample access to clergy and schoolmasters. The bishop stressed to Bathurst and Horton that the "influence of religion when judiciously exercised over the Irish Roman Catholics is the most effectual means of rendering them good Christians and loyal subjects."[165] He was careful to note too that loyalty and order could only be ensured if the number of clergy and teachers in the colony were proportionate to the number of Roman Catholics settled in the province. With adequate staff Macdonell was certain of his ability to ensure the "general good conduct *even* of the Irish" and with funds to support that staff he was certain he could maintain a "powerful control over them."[166] Irish priests had to be included in the next assisted emigration he argued. Such priests could provide leadership in administering the process of settlement, and help to "reconcile [the emigrants] to

[164] AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 17, BMD to unknown, 4 July 1824.
[165] AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 19, BMD to R.W. Horton, 23 August 1824.
[166] *Ibid.*, Emphasis added.

privation and difficulties."[167] The Colonial Office appears to have seriously considered Macdonell's proposals as the bishop was asked to supply Bathurst with the specific cost of supporting clergy and schoolteachers for Irish Catholic settlers in Upper Canada.[168] Macdonell was blunt: "I beg it to be distinctly understood that until I be sufficiently supplied with a sufficient number of proper clergymen and schoolmasters I could not become responsible for the conduct of the Irish Emigrants in Upper Canada."[169] To his disappointment, the Colonial Office launched a second assisted emigration of just over two thousand Irish Catholics in 1825 without clergy and without provisions for the appointment of clergy in Upper Canada. The Bishop was nevertheless obliged to ensure the new settlers had access to their Church, particularly if their behaviour depended on the good influence of a priest. While stationed at Cobourg, the new settlers were visited by Father Patrick Haran dispatched from Richmond, and later Father James Crowley was reassigned from York to serve as parish priest in the new settlement of Peterborough.[170] Connecting his Church so closely to the successful settlement of Irish Catholics in Upper Canada was a potentially dangerous proposition but one the bishop could hardly avoid. As members of his Church, the incoming Irish would be visible and potentially vocal in their adherence to Roman Catholicism, and their behaviour would implicate his Church.

Bishop Macdonell was not to be deterred and continued to stress the connection between Catholicism and loyalty when in 1826 he accompanied the Upper Canadian

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[167] Qtd in Rea, 77. Of course, including priests in the emigration would have undoubtedly relieved Macdonell's obligation to provide the new Irish settlements with clergy he did not have.
[168] Macdonell wrote that, with support from the laity, a priest could get by on £60 a year and a schoolteacher on 40, but noted that because Irish settlers were so poor it would be some time before they could provide such support to their priests and teachers. AAK, MC, AI2C6, unnumbered letter, BMD to Earl Bathurst, 28 October 1825.
[169] *Ibid*.
[170] AO, UC Sundries, C-4617, BMD to Hillier, 16 March 1826, pp. 41215-41218; Rev. P. Haran to Hillier, 17 April 1826, pp. 41501-41503.

Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland on a tour of the settlements of the 1823 and 1825 assisted Irish emigrants. In Peterborough the centre of the 1825 settlement, the recently arrived Irish emigrants greeted Maitland with an address that betrayed the hand of their bishop. Swearing gratitude, loyalty to the King and their readiness to defend the colony from its enemies, the Irish begged Maitland to relieve the "heavy grievance" under which they apparently laboured: the want of good priests and schoolteachers. The Lieutenant-Governor responded that the Irish had yet to prove their loyalty, but could begin to do so, by demonstrating peaceful and orderly conduct.[171]

In the aftermath of their trip, Macdonell was quick to remind the Lieutenant-Governor of the "loyal principles and good disposition of the Irish emigrants and of the Catholics in general" he had witnessed along their route. Reiterating his belief that Catholicism was a natural pairing with a monarchical government, Macdonell noted that the Roman Catholics were a quickly growing segment of the colonial population and might soon form the majority. But he warned, Catholics were loyal only if they knew their religion, for an "ignorant and wicked Catholics is of all others the worst subject."[172] Macdonell's efforts did not go unrewarded. At Maitland's behest, Earl Bathurst authorized the sum of £750 to be drawn annually from the Canada Company in order to

[171] AAK, MC, AI5ED4, letter 18, Address of Irish immigrants to Sir P. Maitland, 1826; AI5ED4, letter 19, Sir P. Maitland to Irish immigrants, 1826. The Irish swore that they stood ready to defend the colony from its enemies: "we when called upon to face and expel the common foe will to a man follow our Brave commanders not an Irish soul shall stay behind and if we have no other weapons in our hands mow them down with the Shillela(sic)."

[172] AAK, MC, AI2C7, letter 1, BMD to Sir P. Maitland, 9 March 1826. Maitland was impressed, and in correspondence with Earl Bathurst related his impressions of the Irish settlements. The progress of the assisted emigrants was excellent; the Irish settlers appeared to be grateful for the government's support, were experiencing agricultural success and most importantly were well behaved. Maitland did not dispute the worthiness of Macdonell's case but asked of Bathurst "from what quarter the desired income [was] to be obtained." LAC, CO 42, Vol. 377, F. 168, Sir P. Maitland to Earl Bathurst, 31 March 1826; Rea, 83.

pay the salaries of those Roman Catholic priests Bishop Macdonell had selected and for whose good conduct he could vouch.[173] Though no provision would be made for government support of Roman Catholic schoolteachers, Macdonell was free to use a portion of the monies set aside for priests' salaries to support select schoolteachers.[174]

The apparent unrest amongst the assisted emigrants in the Bathurst district had only heightened anxiety at the Colonial Office about the potential for large-scale Irish Catholic migration to transplant Irish Catholic political agitation abroad. The very recent meteoric rise of Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Association, which had been campaigning to repeal the remaining restrictions against Catholics in the United Kingdom, was of particular concern to Earl Bathurst.[175] Of course the religious rights of Upper and Lower Canadian Roman Catholics were protected by the Quebec Act, but nevertheless any encouragement to the spread of the popular political agitation to which the Catholic Association subscribed, was to be discouraged. As was his wont, Bishop Macdonell saw in the political situation in Ireland and the unease in government circles about the rise of the Catholic Association, an opportunity to advance the mission of the Church in Upper

[173] AAK, MC, AI1C3, letter not numbered, Earl Bathurst to BMD, 6 October 1826. The previous year the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury had agreed to forward Macdonell £3 400 with an additional £900 from the British Parliament to settle the personal debts he had incurred paying the salaries of priests in the colonies. AAK, MC, AI1C17, letter 1, A. Gordon to J.C. Herries, 20 July 1824; AI1C3, letter not numbered, Earl Bathurst to Bishop T. Weld, 4 April 1827.

[174] The government could not be convinced to fund Catholic schoolmasters or schools. Bathurst reasoned that the education system in Upper Canada was sufficiently established and acceptable to all other Christian denominations that there was no reason Catholic children could not be educated in public schoolhouses. See, AAK, MC, AI1C3, letter not numbered, Earl Bathurst to Bishop T. Weld, 4 April 1827; AAK, MC, AI1C3, letter not numbered, Major G. Hillier to BMD, 19 November 1827.

[175] While there is no record of Macdonell's personal reaction to the Association, he was a critic of O'Connell and an opponent of his methods. J.E. Rea has suggested that whatever his personal feelings toward the Catholic Association, Macdonell saw some utility in its presence and in the threat it seemingly posed to the order and stability of the Empire. Rea, "McDonell, Alexander," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003) http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mcdonell_alexander_7E.html.

Canada and to mitigate against any real or potential harm inflicted on his Church-building project by the rising Irish population of his diocese.

To that end, the bishop wrote a series of letters at the close of 1824 linking the needs of his Upper Canadian diocese with the potential rise of the Association in North America. While reporting ostensibly on the activities of Edward Fenwick the Bishop of Cincinnati, Macdonell implied strongly that without adequate government support for their clergy the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada were likely to turn to the Catholic Association for funds.[176] Fenwick, like Macdonell was on a transatlantic mission to raise funds for his new diocese on the Ohio frontier, and had been, Macdonell reported, in contact with the Catholic Association for financial support. Rather than do the same, Macdonell quite audaciously asked for Bathurst's contribution to the subscription he was raising for his Church in order to "preclude the necessity of any application from the Irish Catholics of [Upper Canada] to the Catholic Association of Ireland." Should Bathurst oblige him with a contribution, Macdonell promised to dissuade the colony's Irish Catholics from "entertaining any hopes or expectations from such a quarter."[177] Whether Macdonell believed the prospect of the Catholic Association's gaining a foothold in Upper Canada was a possibility is impossible to determine, but by raising the spectre of the Catholic Association gaining influence over the Irish Catholics of his diocese, he seized on government anxiety about the volatility of Irish Catholics whose loyalty to the Empire was a continual question mark and whose widespread migration was threatening to spread their agitation and disorder to the British North American colonies.

[176] AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 22, BMD to Earl Bathurst, 17 December 1824.
[177] *Ibid.*

Bathurst's response was quick. In a letter marked private, the Colonial Secretary pledged a personal contribution of fifty pounds to the Roman Catholic Church of Upper Canada and instructed Macdonell to apply to the Canada Company for further funds using Bathurst's name. These measures were taken, Bathurst wrote, in the understanding that "there [was] to be no application to be made to the Roman Catholic Association of Ireland."[178] Having received the desired response, Macdonell responded with effusive thanks assuring the Secretary that his subscription had already "had the desired effect."[179] Positioning himself as the guardian of Irish Catholics in Upper Canada he swore that "any application from the Catholics of Upper Canada to the Catholic Association of Ireland ought naturally to be made through me who have had the whole burden of providing for their religious establishments ever since I have been in the Province and I pledge my life that I will neither apply myself nor permit any others under my control to apply to such a quarter."[180]

Bishop Macdonell's letters to Bathurst certainly sought to capitalize on the secretary's fear that transplantation of the movement was possible, but it is not clear whether the Bishop shared that fear. The subject disappeared from his correspondence with Bathurst, but Macdonell raised the issue again with the Lieutenant-Governor Maitland in March 1826 after the tour of the Irish settlements. The Bishop reminded the Lieutenant-Governor that he had witnessed the loyalty of the Irish; yet without proper provisioning for clergy and schoolmasters the peaceful settlement of Catholics was never a sure thing. Macdonell warned Maitland that without his requested £300 to purchase religious and schoolbooks the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada might begin to acquire the

[178] AAK, MC, AI1C3, letter 7, Earl Bathurst to BMD, 20 December 1824.
[179] AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 23, BMD to Earl Bathurst, 27 December 1824.
[180] *Ibid.*

books and tracts apparently being printed and distributed widely by the Catholic Association. Macdonell thought it best that the colonial government act immediately to obtain more suitable texts – lest that militant body find its way into the territory.[181]

The spectre of Catholic agitation and agrarian disorder that accompanied the influx of Irish Catholic emigrants to the colony in the mid-1820s prompted Macdonell to modify his assertion that Catholics were naturally loyal subjects of the crown. By capitalizing on concerns in government circles that the Irish could be potentially disruptive to colonial society, Macdonell positioned himself and his clergy as critical agents in the successful integration of Irish Catholics into Upper Canadian society. His argument that only an adequately funded Roman Catholic Church could make the Irish loyal and orderly settlers not only established his position as guardian over this segment of the population, but also established the progress of his Church as critical to progress of the colony as a whole and to the Colonial Office's migration projects. While audacious, the Bishop's assurances of control over the Irish were also premised on his faith in the power of Catholicism and particularly its influence over the Irish. By securing funding on the strength of Catholicism, Macdonell implied that he would be able to continue to influence and control the behaviour of the colony's Irish Catholic population. As will be discussed in Chapter 2, securing reliable Irish clergy to support this endeavour proved problematic. Similarly, Chapters 4 and 5 will demonstrate that the Irish laity was not always compliant. Macdonell's claims of influence and control would have implications in the 1830s, a period in which Irish Catholics became an increasingly important and politically assertive demographic. The Bishop's public political activities put him in

[181] AAK, MC, box 2, AI2C7, letter 1, BMD to Sir. P. Maitland, 9 March 1826.

conflict with Irish Catholics who resented his attempts at political control and preferred to direct their own integration into Upper Canadian society.

Finally, the legacy of the Ballygiblin riot can be linked to the failure of the Society of the Friends of Ireland in Upper Canada. The lack of public support for Daniel O'Connell's emancipation campaign is indicative of the degree to which Irish Catholics in Upper Canada were conscious of the scrutiny to which their behaviour and politics was being subjected in the colony. The Society of the Friends of Ireland, which lent financial and moral support to the Catholic Association in Dublin, had more than thirty North American branches by the time news of the Roman Catholic Relief Act crossed the Atlantic in April 1829.[182] In British North America, branches were established in three of the largest cities — Halifax, Montreal, and Quebec.[183] By April 1829, these societies could claim close to 700 members, and nearly £200 in raised funds.[184] Only one branch of the Friends of Ireland, that of Bytown, was founded in Upper Canada and the society failed to make inroads in any other provincial town despite sizeable Irish Catholic populations in other towns such as York and Kingston. The failure of the Society of the

[182] Thomas F. Moriarty, "The Irish American Response to Catholic Emancipation," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 66, no. 3 (1980): 353-373.

[183] According to census returns for 1827 there were some 14,439 persons in Halifax, 39,500 persons in Montreal, and 30,954 in Quebec City. The Irish populations in each place are more difficult to determine. Terence Punch has suggested that most of the 3,627 Catholics in Halifax in 1827 were Irish or of Irish background, and Robert Grace has suggested that in the same year there were at least 3,000 persons of Irish birth in Montreal and perhaps as many as 5,000 in Quebec City. See Robert J. Grace, *The Irish in Quebec: an Introduction to the Historiography* (Québec: Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1993), 60, 64; and Terrence Punch, *Halifax: the Immigrant Generation, 1815-1859* (Halifax, St. Mary's University, 1981), 20. A branch was also founded at Trois Rivières and interestingly had a significant French Canadian membership. See S. Lynn, "Friends of Ireland: early O'Connellism in Lower Canada," *Irish Historical Studies* vol. 40 (2016) 43-65.

[184] The Halifax branch alone raised £100, the single largest sum and over half of the amount raised in British North America. See the *Morning Chronicle* (London) 27 December 1828. Also see the *Canadian Spectator* (Montreal) 27 September and 4 October 1828; *Quebec* Gazette (Neilson's *Gazette*) 29 September 1828; *Irish Vindicator* (Montreal) 6 January, 9 January, 20 March, 27 March, and 12 May 1829.

Friends of Ireland in Upper Canada is remarkably illustrative of the place of Irish Catholics in colonial society in the aftermath of the Ballygiblin riot. It is indicative of their engagement with the broader colonial culture of loyalty, and the demographics, status, organization, and affluence of the Irish Catholics in the communities in question in the second half of the 1820s. That the Friends of Ireland appeared only in Bytown demonstrates the extent to which on one point Upper Canadian Irish Catholics and their Bishop were of the same mind: there could be no public appearance of politics or behaviour on the part of Roman Catholics that might be perceived to be counter to the dominant provincial culture. The Ballygiblin riot had shone a spotlight on the conduct of Irish Catholic newcomers, and thus many Upper Canadian Irish Catholics were reluctant to publicly advocate for Daniel O'Connell's emancipation campaign lest they be accused of transplanting Irish "politics" and trouble to the province.

The minutes and resolutions of their first meeting reveal that the members of the Bytown Society of the Friends of Ireland had been watching closely the progress of the Catholic Association in Ireland and the Society elsewhere in North America. Prominent Bytown Irish Catholics had evidently been persuaded by the arguments from the president of the Montreal Society, Daniel Tracey and the corresponding secretary for the Quebec society, Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan. They publicly demonstrated clear empathy with their countrymen "at home" in the resolutions passed at the first meeting of the Society. When it appeared no other Upper Canadian communities "of longer standing" would come forward to host the colony's first branch of the society, the Bytown committee announced its support of emancipation: "our patience being at last exhausted and our thirst for joining in the common cause daily increasing," they declared in their

March 1829 address to the people of Upper Canada, "stimulated us to remain no longer timid or inactive spectators of the passing scene." Their first resolution asserted that "no people could possess more friendly disposition, more lively sentiments of condolence, more anxiety and heartfelt feeling for the degradation of our fellow man in Ireland, than we did and do feel."[185] Despite the silence in the rest of the province, the Irish Catholics of Bytown were willing to make a public show of support for Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association.

As a new settlement on the periphery of the province, Bytown was at first glance an unlikely candidate for a branch of the Society of the Friends of Ireland. At second glance it seems entirely logical that the society should have appeared there rather than anywhere else in Upper Canada. Established in 1826, Bytown's rapid growth in only a few years was on the strength of a growing lumber industry and the construction of the Rideau canal.[186] The recentness of settlement in Bytown, the mobility and seasonality of much of its population, and its geographic location meant that Bytown was on the periphery of Upper Canadian society and culture. A small group of Protestants dominated positions of power in the town, but they were entirely outnumbered by Irish and French Canadian merchants, artisans, and labourers.[187] The Orange Order did not have a strong presence in Bytown, though it was on the rise in the rural townships and towns to the

[185] In their March address the Bytown group stated that they had "waited some months to give [Kingston and York] precedence, as we were willing they should have that honor." LAC, Daniel O'Connor fonds 1824-1901, R6692-0-3-E, "Manuscript Volume containing Minutes of the Meetings of the Friends of Ireland in By Town, Upper Canada, 11 January, 1829 to 22 April, 1829"; *Irish Vindicator*, 17 March 1829 carried resolutions of a similar vein from the second meeting of the Bytown Society.
[186] Bruce Elliott, *The City beyond: a History of Nepean, birthplace of Canada's capital, 1792-1990* (Nepean: City of Nepean, 1991); Reid, xcix calls Bytown's growth "remarkable."
[187] Reid, c-ci. Reid notes that the 1851 census showed over 60% of Bytown's population was Roman Catholic.

south-west.[188] At a distance from Upper Canadian centres of commerce and government, Bytown was nevertheless connected by communication and commerce links to Lower Canada. News of political activism in Montreal, Quebec, and further afield travelled with commerce on the rafts and lumbermen between Bytown and the lower province. Certainly news of the emancipation society in Lower Canada reached Bytown quickly. The Montreal-based *Irish Vindicator*, owned by Daniel Tracey, was in circulation there by the end of 1828; Bytown was one of only two Upper Canadian towns, the other Kingston, with an agent for the paper at that time.[189]

The very recentness of settlement in Bytown meant social hierarchy was, to a certain extent, fluid, and opportunity, particularly for those with some capital was, thanks to the Rideau canal project, plentiful. The growing Irish segment of that population drew from both the temporary labourers who flocked to the canal works and sojourned between lumbering seasons, as well as an ambitious and enterprising merchant class.[190] In late 1828, Bishop Macdonell reported that he had mustered approximately one thousand Roman Catholics during a recent visit to Bytown.[191] Tempering this estimate somewhat, Bruce Elliott suggests there were fewer than 150 houses in Bytown in 1828 and the population as a whole was close to 1,000 in 1829.[192] Macdonell may not have been too far off in his estimates as the McCabe list, compiled in 1829 indicates that there were 653 Irish families, many of whom were temporary canal workers, in the vicinity of

[188] Politics in the 1830s and 40s in Bytown and its environs was characterized by conflict between rural Orangemen and urban reformer Roman Catholics, Reid, xxxix-xl.
[189] *Irish Vindicator*, 30 December 1828. Kingston also had an agent.
[190] BMD noted that virtually all the canal workers he had encountered in and near Bytown had been Irish Catholic emigrants. AAK, 1829-34, BMD to Weld, 20 December 1829.
[191] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Bishop T. Weld, 26 November 1828.
[192] Bruce Elliott, *The City beyond: a History of Nepean, birthplace of Canada's capital, 1792-1990* (Nepean: City of Nepean, 1991).

Bytown.[193] A riot on St. Patrick's Day in 1828 lends further credence to the large presence of Irish workers.[194] The Roman Catholic population of Bytown and its vicinity was sufficient enough that Bishop Macdonell transferred Co. Sligo native, the Rev. Patrick Haran, to Bytown from Richmond in early 1828.[195]

Bytown was home to a group of Irish Roman Catholic men, including Daniel O'Connor,[196] and his fellow merchants John Joyce and Charles Friel, surgeon J.A. Kennedy, and canal contractors John King and John Pennyfather,[197] who in only a few years had become sufficiently prosperous to direct their energies and ambitions to various community-building projects including the construction of the first Roman Catholic church in Bytown.[198] The church project was as much a public demonstration of religious

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[193] *The McCabe list: early Irish in the Ottawa Valley* (Toronto: Ontario Genealogical Society, 2002). The so-called McCabe list was a list of Rideau canal workers and their families looking for land.

[194] For contemporaries the riot which killed one, raised the spectre of growing sectarian and ethnic clashes in the village and environs; as well as calls for an increased presence of law and order in the infant village. Cross, esp. Ch. 4; *Chronicle and Gazette*, 30 August 1828 for account of assize trial following St. Patrick's day riot.

[195] ARCAT, M AD03.01, Rev. P. Haran to BMD, 23 April 1828. The Rev. Patrick Haran had been at Richmond since his arrival from Ireland in 1822 and had been compared to his clerical country men, so far exemplary. Removing Haran from Richmond indicated that the Bishop perceived a greater need and potential for his Church and the priest at Bytown than at Richmond.

[196] *Diary and other memoirs of Daniel O'Connor (and his family) one of the Pioneers of By-Town (Now City of Ottawa) who settled there in 1827 when it was wilderness*, http://data2.collectionscanada.gc.ca/080027/amicus-4392710.pdf Reflecting on his arrival in Bytown in 1827, Co. Tipperary native O'Connor wrote that he had left Ireland "in search of acquiring that degree of honour and respect in society which I thought I could never attain at home." After visiting a series of towns in the Canadas and New York state, O'Connor and his wife settled at Bytown: "I clearly saw," O'Connor wrote, "that the great expenditure of money in the building of the canal would likely make the place an important point for trade… by casting my lot in this part of Canada, I might do well and make a comfortable home."

[197] Also written Pennefeather, Pennyfeather, Pennefather. Pennyfather had the contract for the excavation of the first eight locks of the canal.

[198] Laura J. Smith, "Building Bytown's Catholic Church: Lay-Clerical Relations on the Upper Canadian Settlement Frontier" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, University of Waterloo, May 2012); AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Pennyfather, 13 May 1828, BMD to Burke, 13 May 1828, BMD to Weld, 28 November 1828; MLB 1829-34, BMD to Hillier, 14 October 1828, BMD to Weld, 20 December 1829; ARCAT, M AD03.01, Rev. P. Haran to BMD, 23 April 1828; Alexis, *Histoire*, 147-148.

identity as it was of civic presence and engagement. The church-building committee was a clear forerunner to the Friends of Ireland, with the ambitions, energies, and financial resources of the parish laity channeled from the building project into the political organization.[199] Bytown's Irish Roman Catholic leaders were organized, interested, and motivated to advance the progress of the settlement and community in Bytown. They aspired to civic offices and spearheaded petitions connected to the advancement and development of the village.[200] They were actively engaged in colonial politics, and though recent arrivals, these Irish Catholics conceived of themselves as active and engaged Upper Canadians and British subjects.[201] Thus it is within this context, and from this population, that Upper Canada's only iteration of the Society of the Friends of Ireland issued.

The only iteration of the Friends of Ireland in Upper Canada supports David Wilson's argument that Irish nationalism was a function of assimilation rather than alienation.[202] The Society of the Friends of Ireland enabled Bytown's Irish Catholic leaders to continue their civic and political engagement already ongoing and critical to

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[199] Brandon S. Corcoran and Laura J. Smith. "Bishop Macdonell and the Friends of Ireland: Mixing Politics and Religion in Upper Canada." *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Historical Studies* 79 (2013): 7–24.

[200] AO, UC Sundries, C-6865, vol. 88, J. Keays to Sir P. Maitland, 13 March 1828, pp. 48356-7, petition of the inhabitants of the Town of By, 23 March 1828, pp. 48488-9, J. Keays to Sir. P. Maitland, 3 May 1828, pp. 48894-6, same to same, 17 July 1828, pp. 49521, same to same, 8 October 1828, pp. 50103, BMD to Major G. Hillier, 14 October 1828, pp. 50160; Reid, "Document E 13, Memorial from Bytown Lessees Bytown." 9 July 1829, 227-230. Daniel O'Connor and other Roman Catholics put their names to petitions begging for a magistrate to be appointed to the village. James Keays was relentless in his quest for a civic appointment and succeeded in being appointed to a notary position in the summer of 1828.

[201] *British Independent Examiner*, 27 March 1829. O'Connor and Kennedy were amongst the signers of an address to the Lieutenant Governor Sir John Colborne in February 1829 expressing their support, both for the Reformers lately elected to the House of Assembly, and for the Lieutenant Governor himself. The Reformers, were the address argued, not "Anti-British or republican," but were "men worthy of the confidence of their constituents."

[202] David Wilson, "Introduction," in *Irish Nationalism in Canada*, ed. David Wilson (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009) 6.

their identities as British subjects, residents of Upper Canada, and as Irishmen (in that order).[203] Their cause was not a defensive one, but rather articulated an interest, and stake in, the progress of their community, their province, and the British Empire. In their public statements and the minutes of their meetings, these men added their voices to the political discourse with a confidence and authority that came from their success and prominence in an admittedly small, but exciting, enterprising, and growing British community. As British subjects they had the right to speak and be included in the public discourse. That said, it is clear the content of their minutes and statements had been composed with a clear consideration of the context within which they were communicated.

On the periphery of Upper Canada, both figuratively and literally, the men of the Bytown Society of the Friends of Ireland may have been less inclined than their fellow Upper Canadian Irish Catholics to consider the implications of public support for Daniel O'Connell; yet even their public statements on the subject reveal a conscious attempt to represent the group's cause as entirely appropriate for Upper Canadian and British subjects. The Bytown Irishmen made a concerted effort to promote their society and the cause of emancipation as one of general interest to any Christian with feeling, and consequently perfectly appropriate for loyal Upper Canadians. Resolutions adopted at the first meeting in January 1829 claimed the relief of the "oppressed in Ireland" and the establishment of a fund to "aid our Roman Catholic brethren" as the goals of the Society. Such language implied a general membership that was not exclusively Irish nor

[203] This is consistent with patterns found in studies of other Friends of Ireland branches. Lynn, 45. What is also consistent, though rarely discussed, is the implicit rather than explicit reference to a Roman Catholic identity. In the few addresses, resolutions, and minutes produced by the Bytown Society in the few short months of its existence, its members never claimed to be Roman Catholic, but rather used language that created a level of dissociation from an explicitly religious identity.

Catholic.[204] Their second meeting included a resolution to publish an address calling on all the "inhabitants of Upper Canada" rather than Irish solely, to advance the cause of "civil and religious liberty."[205] When he declined the offer of the chair of the Society at the first meeting, the Rev. Patrick Haran declined the position, citing "party feelings" that would inevitably arise if a priest were seen to lead the society.[206] The priest went further, arguing that the cause was not sectarian but rather was one of "humanity" and "civil and religious liberty," and thus the support of non-Irish and non-Catholics was key to its success.[207] Interestingly it was only at the Society's third meeting that the Bytown's Friends of Ireland felt emboldened to say "without fear of reproach" that they were Irishmen.[208]

The Bytown Friends of Ireland were confident that their political activism was appropriate for active and engaged British subjects. Emancipation for Ireland's Catholics, and the "restoration of rights" to all subjects within the Empire, would ensure the stability of the British Empire.[209] The rights and privileges of Roman Catholics in the Canadas under the Quebec Act had been noted by Catholic Association leaders and was a self-

[204] LAC, O'Connor fonds, "Minutes of the Meetings of the Friends of Ireland in By Town."
[205] *Irish Vindicator*, 17 March 1829.
[206] Haran did accept the position of corresponding secretary, a very public role that coordinated efforts with branches of Lower Canada and beyond.
[207] LAC, O'Connor fonds, "Minutes of the Meetings of the Friends of Ireland in By Town." Membership in the society was open to all denominations and classes and set at 6p a month or £5 annually. The report of 9 March 1829 of the Bytown Friends of Ireland, in *Irish Vindicator,* 17 March 1829. Records indicate that some non-Irish non-Catholics joined, including watchmaker and Englishman William Northgraves, as well as Captain Andrew Wilson a prominent early settler. Also the Rev. Henry Peasley of presumably Scottish descent and working on Lower Canadian side of the Ottawa River appears occasionally in the Bytown sacrament register. The minutes of the first Bytown meeting praised Dr. A.J. Christie who had apparently offered "manly and spirited" support for their efforts.
[208] LAC, O'Connor fonds, "Minutes of the Meetings of the Friends of Ireland in By Town."
[209] Ibid.

conscious element of the Friends of Ireland in Lower Canada.[210] The Bytown Friends of Ireland similarly acknowledged their privilege. They enjoyed the "inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty" and therefore felt they should not sit "in sullen silence" ignoring the "general cry for the freedom of those left behind us." Here they appealed directly to Upper Canadian Irish to establish other branches of the Society of the Friends of Ireland: "let it be no longer said that the Irish people of Upper Canada are the last to join in obtaining the rights and privileges of their Catholic countrymen."[211] The Bytown Friends reiterated the validity and legality of their cause frequently. The members of the Catholic Association in Ireland were "nobly and constitutionally struggling to regain an equal share of the privilege and blessings of the British constitution."[212] The efforts of the Montreal Society under Daniel Tracey were "laudable and constitutional" and Daniel O'Connor's conduct as Chair of the Society was praised for being "patriotic."[213]

Leaders of the Society in Lower Canada wasted considerable ink imploring their Upper Canadian countrymen to join their cause. In a series of public addresses Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan and Daniel Tracey, addressed their organization's lack of penetration in Upper Canada. The Quebec society had received some letters of support and contributions to the "rent" from Upper Canadians, but with the exception of the Irishmen of Bytown, there had "not been the slightest manifestation of feeling" from the Irishmen

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[210] Lynn, "The Friends of Ireland."
[211] LAC, O'Connor fonds, "Minutes of the Meetings of the Friends of Ireland in By Town."
[212] LAC, O'Connor fonds, "Minutes of the Meetings of the Friends of Ireland in By Town." Daniel Tracey made similar remarks in an address to the Irishmen of British North America when he emphasized the peaceful and orderly nature of Daniel O'Connell's "revolution, without violation of any law, without the oppression of any individual, without rapine, desolation or bloodshed." *Irish Vindicator,* 17 March 1829.
[213] *Irish Vindicator,* 17 March 1829. In the same issue Daniel Tracey made similar statements: the cause was "bold" and "manly," but perhaps most importantly it was "a peaceful and constitutional revolution" without "rapine, desolation, or bloodshed," and one which reflected glory and respectability on all Irishmen.

in Upper Canada.[214] The "coldness, indifference, and apathy" with which many Irishmen in the colonies treated Ireland's "struggle" was incomprehensible to the leaders of the Society in Lower Canada.[215] Emigration and settlement, Tracey argued, had put these Irishmen into a "long and profound slumber" from which they could no longer "hear the compulsive cries sent forth, by [their] struggling country."[216] The Irishman had grown complacent and forgotten the "calamities of former times," Tracey speculated, and now sat in "indolence, looking calmly at the desolation from which [he] fled and reckless of [his] country's fate since [he] escaped it."[217] O'Callaghan issued a personal appeal in December 1828: "Men of Kingston! — Men of York! Men of the Upper Province, why sleep they? … If they will not be *generous* let them be, at least, *just*."[218] That the men of the upper province would do neither bewildered the leaders of the Lower Canadian societies.

The members of the Bytown Friends of Ireland suspected something (or someone) was working against the expansion of the society into Upper Canada. At their first meeting, the president Daniel O'Connor claimed that the society faced strong opposition from "narrow minded and illiberal" people in Upper Canada. He suggested that the voice of sympathy so apparent in Lower Canada and in the United States had been thus far "stifled" in Upper Canada. The Bytown group speculated that Upper Canadian loyalty culture was to blame for discouraging their countrymen from coming forward to publicly support emancipation. Their March 1829 address asked: "why does the Irishman of Upper Canada look with apathy and indifference on the exertions that [we] are making all

[214] *Irish Vindicator*, 17 March 1829, 12 May 1829.
[215] *Irish Vindicator*, 17 March 1829.
[216] *Ibid*.
[217] *Ibid*.
[218] *Irish Vindicator*, 30 December 1828.

over the Globe to make Ireland as she ought to be — great, glorious and free; does he imagine that His Loyalty to his King and Country would be questioned?"[219] Were the Irish of Upper Canada "afraid of incurring the displeasure of those who would still cherish the hope of perpetuating his Country's disgrace?"[220] Daniel Tracey and others in Lower Canada continued this line of thought by pointing to the Orange Order as the primary culprit in producing a political climate hostile to the supporters of Catholic emancipation in Upper Canada; threats of intimidation and accusations of disloyalty, not a lack of interest or patriotism, kept the Irishmen of Kingston and York from coming forward, they argued. In his March 1829 "Address to the Irish inhabitants of the British Provinces," Tracey argued that the "Orange Assassins" and "Brunswick Bloodhounds" who questioned their loyalty to King and country at every opportunity forced liberal and patriotic Irishmen in Upper Canada into a "mute submission" on the question of emancipation. Like the Bytown men, Tracey questioned the motivations of the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada. Did they not realize their status and identity in the colony would be improved with the elevation of Ireland's status? "Or do the liberal and honest Irishmen of Upper Canada think that their enemies will love them the more, if they shall turn their backs upon their native land," Tracey asked, "or do they think to win the affections of the Orangeman and the Brunswicker if they do, they will be much disappointed."[221]

It is unlikely that Irish Catholics in the province were unaware of Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association if not from personal experience in Ireland or because they were well-covered topics in the colonial press. The *Irish Vindicator*

[219] LAC, O'Connor fonds, "Minutes of the Meetings of the Friends of Ireland in By Town."
[220] *Ibid.*
[221] *Irish Vindicator*, 17 March 1829.

provided considerable coverage to the progress of the Friends of Ireland in Lower Canada and elsewhere in North America, commenced publication in December 1828. Bytown and Kingston were the lone Upper Canadian communities with agents for the *Vindicator* suggesting circulation of the paper was limited in the critical period before the Relief Act to the eastern part of the province.[222] Extant newspapers suggest that for the most part coverage of O'Connell and his campaign was offered without comment, but it is clear that Upper Canadian Irish Catholics, no matter their opinion about the rights of Roman Catholics in Britain, would have be cognizant of the way in which O'Connell's political agitation was being received by government officials in Britain. In November 1828, the *Canadian Freeman* reprinted without comment a letter from the Duke of Newcastle on the Catholic question in which he accused the "Popish" Association and its "itinerant popish demagogues" of "roaming through the country spouting sedition and treason."[223] With the exception of printing the prospectus of the forthcoming *Irish Vindicator*, which itself provided no specificity about emancipation activism in Lower Canada, the *Canadian Freeman* provided no coverage or comment of the development of the Society of the Friends of Ireland.[224] It is unlikely Collins was unaware of these developments, but perhaps saw little relevance or value to his Upper Canadian readers, who it was clear, could provide no public support to the cause. The *Kingston Chronicle* provides the lone example of an Upper Canadian comment on emancipation activism in North America

[222] For agents: *Irish Vindicator*, 30 December 1828. Daniel O'Connor is agent in Bytown and James Lynch is agent in Kingston. In the 27 November 1828 issue of the *Canadian Freeman*, Francis Collins wrote: "from its complexion, tone, and temper [the *Vindicator]* bids fair to be a valuable work, and from the acknowledged spirit and liberality of the Irish population in the Canadas, we trust it will be well supported." Notice of the *Vindicator*'s publication was published in the *Kingston Chronicle* 27 December 1828.
[223] *Canadian Freeman*, 27 November 1828.
[224] Editor Francis Collins was preoccupied with legal trouble and devoted considerable space in his paper in the fall of 1828 to his trial and discussions of freedom of speech and the press.

which left little doubt about the way in which the editors of that paper treated the issue. The *Chronicle* reprinted an article from the British *Albion* in November 1828, which noted with "regret" that the "opposition" party in Lower Canada was attempting to introduce the "unfortunate controversy" of the Irish Catholic Question into that province. This was an unnecessary and unwise move, the *Albion* argued, as Canadians would now be identified with a "spirit of restlessness, disloyalty, and turbulence" endemic to the Irish. Reminding its readers of the privileges accorded Roman Catholics in the Canadas, the *Albion* asked "what do his Majesty's Catholic subjects in the Colonies complain of? Have they not equal rights and privileges with their Protestant fellow subjects? Are they not eligible to, and do they not enjoy places of honour and profit? … is not the Catholic in Lower Canada virtually the dominant religion?"[225]

With the *Kingston Chronicle*'s coverage of the support for emancipation in Lower Canada in mind, it is perhaps not surprising that Irish Catholics in Kingston were disinclined to publicly support O'Connell's emancipation campaign. Irish Catholics there were evidently interested in the cause, but the political climate of the town and province more broadly, made it impossible for them do so publicly.[226] In October 1828, the Montreal Society received a letter from Walter McCunniffe, a prominent Kingston Irish Catholic, indicating that the Irish in Kingston would soon join their countrymen in the

[225] *Kingston Chronicle* 29 November 1828.
[226] The 1834 census of Roman Catholics in Upper Canada indicated that there were approximately 4,100 Catholics in Kingston. The prevalence of migration and the transience of population in this period make it difficult to determine how many Catholics actually resided in that town in 1828-29. The ethnicity of the laity was not indicated, but see Chapter 4 for discussions of the ethnicity of parish leaders in Kingston in that period which indicate the parish was increasingly Irish in ethnicity. AAK, "Letter book 1833-68 Incl. Statistics of Catholics in Upper Canada," 17-18.

cause.[227] To Daniel Tracey's dismay there was no further correspondence from McCunniffe or anyone else in Kingston. The lack of a response and McCunniffe's failure to explain his inaction may be explained by his relationship to Bishop Macdonell. McCunniffe was a frequent correspondent with the bishop. He was superintendent of Macdonell's interests and properties in Kingston, and acted as a trustee of the church there with Macdonell and the vicar general, the Rev. William Peter MacDonald.[228] The bishop's influence with McCunniffe notwithstanding, it is unlikely any other Irish Catholic entertained thoughts of establishing a branch of the Friends of Ireland in that town. Merchant James Lynch was the Kingston agent for the *Irish Vindicator* in 1828 and his later tenure as church warden and antagonist of the bishop suggests he may have been a likely candidate for publicly supporting the Catholic Association in Kingston;[229] however, the atmosphere in that city and the place of Irish Catholics within the community explains why Lynch or McCunniffe failed to act. It is unlikely the Society of the Friends of Ireland would not have been welcomed in Kingston. As has been discussed, Kingston was the site of a Twelfth of July riot in 1827, and within a year the Orange Order was rapidly increasing its presence in the city and apparent influence.[230] Kingston's Irish Catholics struggled and would continue to struggle, to make inroads in

[227] Tracey had written to influential Irishmen across the colonies soliciting their support and asking them to form their own branches of the society. The contents of McCunniffe's letter are no longer extant, but discussion in the *Canadian Spectator*, 8 October 1828 suggest McCunniffe responded positively to Tracey's outreach.
[228] Nicholas Flood Davin, *The Irishman in Canada*, (Toronto: Maclear and Co, 1877) 365; Louis J. Flynn, *Built on A Rock: The story of the Roman Catholic Church in Kingston, 1826-1976*, (Kingston: Archdiocese of Kingston, 1976); Gill, "The Sword in the Bishop's Hand," 437-452.
[229] See Chapter 4 for more on James Lynch and churchwarden protests in Kingston in late 1820s. For lists of agents in Lower and Upper Canada, see *Irish Vindicator*, 30 December 1828.
[230] AO, UC Sundries, C-6864, Rev. W. Fraser to Major G. Hillier, 21 January 1828, pp. 47804-47808.

appointed and elected positions of civic power.[231] In 1830, Bishop Macdonell complained that the city's civic establishment was "exclusive and hostile" to Catholics, particularly those from Ireland.[232] Though McCunniffe's letter and the circulation of the *Vindicator* in the town suggests an interest in the rights of Irish Catholics in Britain, in such a climate it is not surprising that Kingston's Irish Catholics would have remained wary of publicly declaring their endorsement of Daniel O'Connell and Catholic emancipation.

Daniel Tracey marked York as a probable place for the expansion of the Society of the Friends of Ireland, but there is no extant evidence of public interest in the cause there. As has already been shown, Francis Collins' York-based *Canadian Freeman* gave no publicity to the Friends of Ireland. For many reasons it was an entirely unlikely an emancipation society would have developed in the provincial capital that was also home to the "family compact." As is noted in Chapters 4 and 5, the Irish Catholic population of York was growing but entirely lacking in capital, political power or status.[233] Like Kingston, the parish was run by a Scotsman; in the case of York, the Bishop's nephew the Rev. Angus Macdonell, was parish priest. Macdonell's administration of the parish was not up to the Bishop's specifications and it was rumoured to be out of favour with the parish.[234] By the end of 1828, Bishop Macdonell had sent the Rev. William O'Grady, a Corkman to York in the expectation that the priest would be a success in the

[231] See Chapter 5 for further discussion.
[232] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W. J. O'Grady, 30 November 1830; BMD to W. McCuniffe, 21 January 1831; Rea, 125, 215.
[233] The 1834 census of Catholics in Upper Canada noted 3240 Roman Catholics in the parish of Toronto, which included the town and its environs. AAK, "Letter book 1833-68 Incl. Statistics of Catholics in Upper Canada," 17-18. Anecdotally it was said that the majority of Roman Catholics in York were Irish, see: AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Alexander Macdonell, 8 December 1828; BMD to Rev. W. O'Grady, 29 January 1829.
[234] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to W. Bergin, 17 November 1827, same to same, 16 January 1828, BMD to Rev. A. Macdonell, 17 January 1828, same to same, 15 May 1828.

predominantly Irish and heavily indebted parish.[235] Despite O'Grady's apparent reputation for political activism, it would appear the priest had no inclination toward organizing or supporting an emancipation society in York.[236] Indeed it seems unlikely that the Bishop would have appointed the priest there, telling him "I am well aware that an Irish pastor of the proper cast can do everything with an Irish flock and there never was a fairer field nor a better opportunity for both to show themselves than what presents itself at the moment in York," had he suspected the priest would encourage the Society of the Friends of Ireland there.[237] As in Kingston, the most prominent Irish Catholic at York was a correspondent of the bishop's, a churchwarden, and as such, oversaw aspects of the affairs of the Church and the bishop in York. William Bergin was also the man behind the anti-Orangeism petitions submitted to the legislature between 1823 and 1825. Having argued publicly for the inappropriateness of that organization in Upper Canada, it is unlikely that only three years later, Bergin would initiate the installation of an Irish Catholic organization at York.

A close examination of the Ballygiblin riot and the implicated assisted Irish Catholic emigrants reveals ways in which Irish Catholic were perceived in Upper Canada. Questions about Irish Catholic loyalty, their suitability as settlers and Upper Canadians, infused the reception of the assisted Irish and reveals an implicit suspicion of the Roman Catholic in Upper Canadian society. A disdain for the transplantation of Irish cultural and political baggage and an emphasis on the Irish origins of so-called "Orange-Green" conflicts disassociated Upper Canadian causes of the violence and emphasized

[235] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Alexander Macdonell, 8 December 1828; BMD to Rev. W. O'Grady, 6 December 1828, same to same, 29 January 1829.
[236] See Chapters 2, 4 and 5 for further discussion of the Rev. W. O'Grady.
[237] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. W. O'Grady, 29 January 1829.

"Green" catalysts and perpetuated further the notion that Irish Catholics were irrational, violent, and backward. Thus a very clear onus was placed on Irish Catholics to prove themselves orderly and loyal, to prove their worth and abilities as workers and settlers. Anti-Orange protests whether in the streets or the legislature were simply evidence of the Irish Catholics' inability to settle. It is therefore hardly surprising that only Bytown, a peripheral village on the edge of both the colony and the diocese of Kingston, would make the sole public demonstration of support for Daniel O'Connell's emancipation campaign.

Where this chapter has traced the engagement of Irish Catholic newcomers with Upper Canadian society, subsequent chapters will trace their integration with that society, the process by which Irish Catholics built community, practiced their religion, and "settled" in Upper Canadian society.

Chapter 2 "We want neither political, nor speculating, nor fortune-hunting priests": Irish Roman Catholic clergy in Upper Canada, 1805-1841

Bishop Alexander Macdonell had conflicted feelings about the migrant Irish clergy he employed in the Diocese of Kingston during his tenure as bishop. On the one hand, Macdonell, like other North American bishops of the period, believed that only Irish clergy could minister to and control the rapidly increasing population of Irish Catholics in his diocese; on the other hand, Irish priests were a frequent disappointment revealed to be after a time insubordinate, intemperate, and incompetent amongst other faults. Irish migrant clergy were often unwilling to accept the hardships and deprivation of frontier missions, they were "restless" and prone to transiency, and perhaps most importantly, they were often resistant to their bishop's authority. Their lackluster performance convinced Macdonell that only Ireland's worst priests found their way to his doorstep. Such priests "followed" their lay countrymen, the bishop believed, only "after their bad character at home has rendered them unworthy of any trust or confidence and obliged their own bishop to dismiss them."[1] Even after they had been suspended or dismissed from the diocese, Irish migrant priests continued their problematic behaviour, "roaming the country" exerting a ruinous influence over the religion-starved people.[2] Yet for good or for ill, the rapidly increasing Irish population needed Irish priests, if not for their ability to speak English, but also for whatever cultural and spiritual advantage an Irish priest might exercise over an Irish flock. "I am well aware," Macdonell wrote to the

[1] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Major G. Hillier, 29 March 1823.
[2] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 17 November 1821; BMD to J. Baby, 27 December 1822; BMD to Major G. Hillier, 29 March 1823; MC, AI3C3, letter 29, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 24 October 1821.

Rev. William O'Grady in the early, congenial stages of their relationship, "that an Irish pastor of the proper cast can do everything with an Irish flock."[3]

This chapter uses the conflicted relationship between Bishop Alexander Macdonell and the approximately fifty Irish-born priests who operated within the territory of the diocese of Kingston between 1819 and 1840 as a lens through which to examine the conditions of Catholicism in Upper Canada. As migrants, Irish priests demonstrated a willingness to travel a great distance for employment. In Upper Canada, the ease with which they moved between territories and jurisdictions made them ideal itinerant missionaries; yet their mobility and the behaviours that accompanied it, often proved problematic for a bishop who depended on their services, but could offer little in the way of surveillance over their activities. Examining the circumstances of their migration, their fraught relationship with the bishop, and the conditions under which they ministered, reveals much about the religious context within which Irish Catholics practiced and settled. Migrant Irish clergy were painfully visible proof of the extent to which Catholicism in the nascent diocese remained "unsettled, unscripted, and unofficial."[4] For Bishop Macdonell his reliance on migrant Irish clergy exposed the limit of his surveillance, control, and authority over his clergy, and the underdeveloped infrastructure and resources of his diocese.

The Irish-born priests who arrived in the Diocese of Kingston migrated independently of the official Church channels that emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries to attempt to control the migration of clergy from Ireland to the

[3] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. W. O'Grady, 29 January 1829.
[4] Michael Pasquier, *Fathers on the Frontier: French Missionaries and the Roman Catholic Priesthood in the United States, 1789-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) 7.

English-speaking settler world. Not only did migration in this manner indicate motivations and ambitions at odds with the self-denial expected of a missionary in an under-resourced diocese, but it also revealed the disconnect and isolation of Bishop Macdonell, his diocese, and his priests from the broader Roman Catholic world. While scholars have focused attention on the ecclesiastical networks through which Irish clergy moved between Ireland and North America in particular, the independent migration of Irish clergy to Upper Canada suggests the "grassroots" contribution of independent clergy to the "hibernization" of the Roman Catholic Church must be considered.[5]

Despite the difficult and disappointing conditions they found in Upper Canada and their troubled relationship with their bishop, migrant Irish clergy were not wrong to perceive opportunity in Upper Canada. Readily educated, ordained, and often experienced, these men were a veritable god-send to a bishop who had no capacity to train his own priests, nor funds to recruit clergy from Lower Canada or elsewhere. Irish migrant priests spoke English, which as the population of English-speaking Catholics rose rapidly throughout the period, was a critical skill in a territory heretofore ministered to by Gaelic-speaking Scotsmen and French-Canadians.[6] Their demonstrated mobility and independence, honed in Ireland and demonstrated through their migration made them well-suited to the conditions of Catholicism in Upper Canada where isolated rural settlements, marginal religious infrastructure, and insufficient numbers of priests to service the increasing lay population were reminiscent of Ireland in the same period. Migrant Irish clergy operated at the parish level and worked with the laity to facilitate the

[5] Colin Barr, "Imperium in Imperio: Irish Episcopal Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century," *English Historical Review* CXXIII, no. 502 (2008): 611–650.
[6] AAK, MC, AI2C7, letter 4, BMD to Bishop B.C. Panet, 28 July 1826. Macdonell implored Panet to send English-speaking priests from his diocese to Kingston.

rapid growth of the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada. Between 1826 when the diocese of Kingston was first incepted, seven churches quickly grew to forty-two in 1840 the year of Macdonell's death. Consequently, despite Macdonell's assertion that "not one" of the many Irish priests he employed "had the propagation of the gospel as their principal object" it is clear the contribution of Irish migrant clergy to the construction of the Catholicism in Upper Canada cannot be discounted.[7]

Clerical migration was a subset of the large-scale movement of Irish to North America beginning in the late eighteenth-century, yet the historiography has largely ignored migrant priests.[8] Their ubiquity in frontier settlements and new parishes has meant paradoxically that Irish priests have gone unexamined, or are treated as mere cogs in the "Church" machinery constructing institutional Roman Catholicism in North America. Similarly, the historians of pre-Famine Irish Catholicism, so concerned with priest to people ratios have failed to consider the cause, let alone the effect of clerical migration (particularly extra-institutional clerical migration) in this period.[9]

As migrants, priests demonstrated motivations similar to those guiding their lay counterparts. Migration was a costly endeavour and clearly only those with funds could

[7] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Archbishop D. Murray, 29 October 1834.
[8] Pasquier estimates a quarter of the clergy who migrated to Kentucky in the antebellum period were Irish born (45).
[9] Emmet Larkin's work in particular depended on the poor priest to people ratios for that period to demonstrate the extent to which the Irish Church was dysfunctional and stagnant. Emmet J. Larkin, "The Rise and Fall of Stations in Ireland, 1750-1850," in *Chocs et Ruptures En Historie Religieuse: Fin XVIIIe-XIXe Siècles*, ed. Michel Lagree (Rennes: Presses Universitaires en Renne, 1998), 19–32; "Before the Devotional Revolution," in *Evangelicals and Catholics in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. James H Murphy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005); *The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850* (Washington D.C.: CUA Press, 2006). For other discussions of the pre-Famine context of Irish Catholicism see: S.J. Connolly, *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001); Sean J. Connolly, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Dundalgan Press, 1985); Desmond J. Keenan, *The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1983).

undertake the passage. Irish Church authorities were alarmed when priests, or men claiming to be priests, solicited lay contributions for their passage money.[10] The Rev. James Crowley claimed to be on a year-long sabbatical from his parish in the troubled Blackwater district of Co. Cork, when he arrived in Upper Canada in 1825 on a trip likely funded by lay contributions.[11] Once in North America, many supplemented their travel funds by performing sacraments whether they had faculties for the territory in which they ministered or not. When the Rev. James Salmon crossed paths with Bishop Macdonell in the fall of 1818, he was bound for Kentucky. He requested permission to exercise his clerical duties while travelling through Upper Canada to fund his journey.[12] Migrant Irish priests travelled in familial groups: of the Irish-born priests serving the diocese of Kingston, the Revs. Salmon, Haran, and O'Grady all migrated with, or in the wake of their brothers.[13] Others arrived with fellow priests, such as the Revs. Sweeny and Roddy, who failed to impress their superiors in Quebec in 1818.[14]

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[10] In 1825, the Dean of Limerick reported that a man claiming to be a Dublin priest, "who says he is going on the American missions," was collecting in Limerick. The Dean was suspicious and looked to Archbishop Murray in Dublin for confirmation that the man was legitimate. Archives of the Archdiocese of Dublin (hereafter AAD), Archbishop Daniel Murray papers, 30/9, letter 31, Dean Patrick McNamara to Archbishop Daniel Murray, 12 November 1825.

[11] ARCAT, M AB51.01, Rev. W. J. O'Grady to Rev. J. Crowley, 10 August 1828; AB01.08, J. Baby to BMD, 19 February 1825; AAK, MC, box 2, AI2C7, letter 1, BMD to Sir P. Maitland, 9 March 1826.

[12] Macdonell found Salmon's "conduct and deportment to all appearance very correct and proper" and in petitioning Plessis for permission to convey the requested faculties, betrayed his hope of convincing Salmon to stay in the province. Salmon, who seemed "endowed with a great share of diffidence than the generality of his countrymen," was much needed in Kingston where the increasing numbers of Irish Catholics were growing frustrated with the French Canadian pastor. Archives de l'Archdiocèse de Quèbec (hereafter AAQ), 320 CN, Haut-Canada (hereafter H-C), Vol. I-49, Rev. J. Salmon to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 14 October 1818; Vol. III-47, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 28 October 1818; Vol. III-47, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 28 October 1818.

[13] Other priests reported having family members in the province. AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to W. McCunniffe, 24 April 1820; BMD to Michael Burke, 3 July 1822; MC, AI3C3, letter 33, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 5 August 1822; AAQ 320 CN, H-C, Vol. III-68, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 6 July 1822; Murray W. Nicolson, "William O'Grady and the Catholic

The migration of priests in this period indicates that not all could find opportunity or employment in Ireland. The Rev. Crowley may have had a parish to return to in Ireland, but it is clear most Irish priests had made an overt break from Ireland and had perceived an opportunity to use their education and experience to secure permanent occupation and settlement in North America.[15] The migration of clergy complicates the consensus in the historiography that the Irish Church suffered from a shortage of priests in the pre-Famine period and consequently could not keep pace with the increasing lay population.[16] Certainly the departure of clergy from the country must have contributed to the shortage, but a shortage also suggests ample opportunity should have existed for priests to find employment in Ireland. While North American Bishops were inclined to believe only the immoral, incompetent, and unemployable clergy made their way to North America, the economics and demographics of pre-Famine Ireland must be considered. The rapid population growth for which the Church could not provision clergy, was precisely the segment of the population that could not provide young men for

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Church in Toronto prior to the Irish Famine." In *Catholics at the Gathering Place: Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841-1991,* ed. Mark G. McGowan and Brian Clarke, (Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1993) 23–40.

[14] AAK, MC, AI3C3, letter 26, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 19 June 1818; AI2C6, letter 7, BMD to Bishop Panet, 4 November 1819; MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 17 November 1821.

[15] The Rev. William O'Grady, for example, came to Upper Canada with considerable experience. Ordained in 1816, O'Grady had worked for the Bishop of Cork before departing Ireland for Brazil where he served as chaplain to Irish Catholic mercenaries. AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. A. MacDonald, 20 August 1832.

[16] Reasons for the shortage included: restrictions on the expansion of religious orders in the same period shrunk the numbers of regular clergy. War in Europe disrupted education in continental seminaries limiting the supply of priests for Ireland. Even with the opening of the National Seminary at Maynooth in 1795, the educational infrastructure in Ireland could not make up for the loss of the continental colleges. Connolly, *Priests and People*, 57-58; Larkin, *The Pastoral Role*, 4-5.

the priesthood, nor afford the support of the priests already ordained.[17] Thus, entirely competent priests may have found it expedient to seek employment elsewhere.

North American Bishops were aware of the clerical shortage in Ireland and it confirmed what they had long suspected: only Ireland's worst priests made their way across the Atlantic. Bishop B.J. Flaget of the Diocese of Bardstown Kentucky complained of the priests who came to his diocese "in crowds from Ireland equipped with wonderful testimonials," who proved themselves "nothing else but ravening wolves, who have most cruelly devoured our sheep."[18] Quebec Archbishop J.O. Plessis noted that "Irish adventurers out of favour with their prelates" were bringing "disgrace upon themselves and upon the Catholic religion by a scandalous life."[19] Bishop Ambrose Marechal of Baltimore argued the Irish clergy posed a greater threat to Catholicism in the United States than did Protestants.[20] Bishop Bernard Claude Panet was similarly skeptical of migrant Irish priests, and warned his Lower Canadian bishops "*il faut être sur ses gardes pour admettre des prêtres irlandais dans le diocese.*"[21] Bishop Macdonell was certain that such priests "followed" their lay countrymen after their "bad character" had been exposed in Ireland.[22] From Newfoundland, Bishop Louis O'Donel was "pestered"

[17] Connolly, *Priests and People*, 59.
[18] Qtd. in Pasquier 148.
[19] AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 8: p. 547, Archbishop J.O. Plessis de Bishop of Kilkenny, 13 September 1816; And for similar complaints about Irish priests see: vol.8: p. 548, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to T. Ewer, VG, 16 September 1816; vol. 10: page 285, Archbishop J.O. Plessis de Bishop A. McEachern, 20 octobre 1821; page 289, Archbishop J.O. Plessis de Rev. Morriset, 25 octobre 1821.
[20] Luca Codignola, "Conflict or Consensus? Catholics in Canada and in the United States, 1780-1820," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Historical Studies*, vol 55 (1988): 57-58.
[21] AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 13, p. 34, Bishop B.C. Panet to Bishop J.J. Lartigue, 26 October 1826.
[22] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Major G. Hillier, 29 March 1823.

by "strolling" priests, who arrived with insufficient credentials, broke the confessional seal when drunk, disregarded his authority, and died from misadventure.[23]

The bad behaviour of many of these migrant Irish priests was certainly troubling, but it is clear their transiency and independence was particularly problematic for Church leaders. These men were "vagabonds" Plessis opined.[24] The Bishop of Baltimore, John Carroll found migrant Irish priests refused to be placed in missions they thought would be difficult, and others simply returned to Ireland once the conditions of North America proved unsatisfactory or the Bishop too controlling.[25] In Newfoundland, the Rev. James Power lived at Bishop O'Donell's expense for months, before absconding to remote settlements where he used a reference from Archbishop Troy to convince lay people he had authority to minister to them.[26] Irish migrant priests moved easily across jurisdictions, displayed convincing markers of legitimacy, and counted on unreliable or non-existent communications networks to keep warnings about their activities from isolated laity and clergy. Many were fairly innocuous; their only offense, the ease with

[23] AAD, Troy Papers, 116/4, letter 33, Bishop L. O'Donel to Archbishop J.T. Troy, 10 November 1787; For more on Roman Catholic Church and Irish priests in Newfoundland in this period see: John E. FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture in Irish-Newfoundland Roman Catholicism, 1829-1850," PhD. Diss., University of Ottawa, 1997; Cyril Bryne, *Gentleman Bishops and Faction Fighters*, (St. John's: Jesperson Press, 1984).
[24] AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 10: page 285, Archbishop J.O. Plessis de Bishop A. McEachern, 20 octobre 1821.
[25] Carroll's fear that disgruntled priests would do damage to his ability to recruit more priests, proved true when one return migrant priest, a Mr. Smyth, published a pamphlet in Dublin. AAD, Troy papers, 116/4, letter 106, Bishop J. Carroll to Archbishop J.T. Troy, 24 February 1789; 116/4, letter 105, same to same, 2 July 1789. For more on Carroll's experience with migrant Irish priests: John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll, Bishop and First Archbishop of Baltimore*, (New York: 1888) 410; AAD, Troy papers, 116/6, Bishop J. Carroll to Archbishop J.T. Troy, 12 July 1794; AAD, Troy papers, 116/6, letter 92, Bishop J. Carroll to Archbishop J.T. Troy, 22 June 1795; AAD, Troy papers, 116/6, letter 93, Bishop J. Carroll to Archbishop J.T. Troy, 24 November 1795; 116/7, letter 169, Bishop J. Carroll to Archbishop J.T. Troy, undated 1799; 116/7, letter 172, Fr. Carr to Archbishop J.T. Troy, 5 November 1799.
[26] AAD, Troy Papers, 116/4, letter 33, Bishop L.J. O'Donell to Archbishop J.T. Troy, 10 November 1787

which they operated outside "official" Church surveillance. In 1822, an Irishman named Burgess appeared in York calling himself a priest. He performed sacraments and visited the sick.[27] Burgess claimed to be from the Archdiocese of Baltimore but at least one York Catholic was suspicious: "he does not seem to me to be a proper person to be allowed to remain here until he is better known. The very place (a dirty tavern …) where he puts up bespeaks nothing favourable," wrote James Baby to Bishop Alexander Macdonell.[28] Baby pressed the man to make himself known to the Bishop before continuing his "ministry;" instead Burgess quickly took his leave from York.

Performing sacraments for income, these men certainly capitalized on the lay demand for religion particularly surrounding rites of passage and milestones. The bishops and legitimate clergy bemoaned the fraud enacted on the laity by such men on the unsuspecting laity, but unspoken was an objection to lost income and influence in remote settlements. By the late 1820s, Bishop Macdonell had dismissed at least four Irish priests from employment in his diocese, for various offenses only to find they continued to minister, "roaming through the country to the no small injury of religion."[29] Starved of the comforts of religion on the frontier and ardently desiring the presence of a clergyman, lay Catholics were too easily duped by fraudulent priests, Bishops believed; yet their fees and hasty sojourn made it very possible that lay people were all too aware of a priest's dubious credentials and instead chose to ignore them. Bishop Macdonell refused to recognize marriages performed by suspended or fraudulent priests, but as discussed in

[27] ARCAT, M AB01.04, J. Baby to BMD, 23 December 1822.
[28] *Ibid*.
[29] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Major G. Hillier, 29 March 1823. For more complaints about Irish priests from Macdonell see: AAK, MC, AI3C3, letter 29, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 24 October 1821; BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 17 November 1821; BMD to J. Baby, 27 December 1822;

Chapter 3, these men found a ready market of lay people unconcerned about the Bishop's warnings or the priest's illegitimacy.

The "couple-beggar" tradition of Ireland and Scotland meant that laity was familiar and to a certain extent supportive of itinerant clergy who operated outside the confines of the Church's jurisdiction. In 1833 the vicar general the Very Rev. William P. MacDonald allowed a man named Managan to preach in Kingston. Managan "seemed to please his hearers,"[30] but Bishop Macdonell had already heard reports of Managan's questionable reputation and his dismissal from the diocese of New York and refused to consider employing Managan.[31] What became of Managan is not clear. Bishop Macdonell advised him to go to the Diocese of Boston, but a man with the same name appeared in Essex County in May of 1839 and attempted to pass himself off in Sandwich and Malden as a priest, though neither the laity nor the parish priest were fooled.[32] The Irish of Sandwich parish, fully cognizant of his fraudulence, allowed Managan and another Irish

[30] ARCAT, M AB25.07, Rev. E. Gordon to Rev. L. Dempsey, 18 September 1833. This priest's name is written multiple ways in the sources, including: Manigon, Mangan, Mingan, and Manegan

[31] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 19 September 1833; BMD to Rev. E. O'Reilly, 23 June 1834. Macdonell wrote to MacDonald that: "the documents which the Rev. Mr. Manigon (sic) has shown to you of his education &c &c &c may have appeared satisfactory but the reports which I have received of his conduct since he landed in Quebec not from one, nor from two, not from three, but from several both clergymen and laymen are such as to determine me to never permit him to enter upon the ministry nor to discharge any pastoral duty in this diocese and the sooner you get quit of him the better… I am sorry you had any thing to do with him for I fear he will give you some trouble before you get rid of him. Surely we ought to have been taught by this time by dearly bought experience to know the characters of these we employ in the ministry in this diocese."

[32] ARCAT, M AB55.06, Rev. A. Vervais to Bishop R. Gaulin (hereafter BRG), 11 May 1839; AB58.05, Rev. A. Yvelin to BRG, 20 May 1839; AB58.06, Rev. A. Yvelin to BRG, 23 June 1839. The resident pastor of Sandwich, the Rev. Augustin Vervais, reported that he had invited the man to dinner and through intense questioning on the subjects of theology and dogma, had been able to expose the man's "*inroguerie et sa fourberie.*"

priests to preach in their chapel in 1839 and 1841 respectively.[33] For North American Church leaders, the prevalence and success of "strolling" priests exposed the insufficiency of their resources and control, but also raised questions about the mobility and true intentions of Irish priests, legitimate and illegitimate, in North America.

"I know of no country but Ireland, which can supply our wants" wrote Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore to Archbishop John Thomas Troy of Dublin in 1791.[34] The ongoing migration of people out of Ireland to settler colonies necessitated the participation of the Irish Church in the provisioning of clergy for those locations; that this migration included priests was a further impetus for the Irish Church to intercede. North American Church leaders, many of Irish origin, sought Troy's intercession in controlling and supplementing the migration of clergy already underway, by establishing an ecclesiastical network through which reputable clergy might be transferred.[35] Colin Barr's work traces the macro-level process through which the English-speaking Roman Catholic world was "hibernized."[36] in the second half of the nineteenth-century, but it is

[33] See Chapter 3. ARCAT, M, BB13.05, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 10 November 1841; BB13.04, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 17 July 1841.
[34] AAD, Troy papers, 116/5, letter 62, Bishop J. Carroll to Dr. J.T. Troy, 24 August 1791.
[35] AAD, Troy papers, 116/4, letter 33, Bishop L. O'Donel to Dr. Troy, 10 November 1787; letter 63, Dr. Caulfield to Dr. Troy, 1 February 1788; letter 78, Bishop L.J. O'Donel to Troy, 17 November 1788. Thomas T. McAvoy, "The Irish Clergyman," in *A History of Irish Catholicism, Volume VI: The United States of America*, edited by P. Corish (Dublin: Gil and Macmillan Limited, 1970), 5 writes that the presence of Irish Bishops in North America was a draw to Irish clergy, ""showed that the care of the infant Church in English-speaking America was soon to be dependent in a great measure on immigrant Irish clergy."
[36] Barr, "Imperium in Imperio," 611–650; Hilary M. Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801-1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge university press, 2011); Hilary M. Carey, "Religious Nationalism and Clerical Emigrants to Australia, 1828-1900," in *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World*, ed. Kent Fedorowich and Andrew S. Thompson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 82–106.

clear that this process was already underway by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries.[37]

The Irish Church, led in this period by Troy, was increasingly sought by Rome and London to guide the progress of Catholicism within the English-speaking world.[38] In many respects, Rome was unable and unwilling to comprehend the requirements of its North American dioceses,[39] and increasingly solicited Troy's opinion and resources for vetting, appointing, and disciplining bishops and priests in North America.[40] With regard to the migration of Irish clergy, Propaganda Fide took a hands-off approach, instructing

[37] Pasquier argues the hibernization process began in United States by 1830s, (206). The extent to which this process was helped or hindered by the extra-institutional migration of clergy remains to be determined by historians.

[38] The Vicar Apostolic of the London district, the Right Reverend William Poynter, was tasked with the selection of chaplains for the British military, but found it next to impossible to find sufficient clergy from the severely underdeveloped English Church. He frequently looked to Ireland for English-speaking recruits. Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801-1908*, 119-121. The migration of Irish Catholics to Scotland in significant numbers during this period prompted requests to Troy from Bishop George Hay and other Scottish Church officials for Irish clergy and financial assistance. AAD, Troy papers, 28/1, misc. papers folder, John Farquharson to George Hay, 14 April 1796; George Hay to Dr. Troy, 17 April 1796; George Hay to Dr. Troy, 13 April 1798; 30/1, letter 78, Fr. James Catanach to Dr. Troy, 12 March 1812; letter 93, Fr. James Catanach to Dr. Troy, 1 September 1812.

[39] AAD, Troy papers, 116/5, letter 23, Carroll to Troy, 3 October 1790; 28/1, letter 255, Dr. Concannon to Dr. Troy, 8 May 1800.AAD, Troy papers, 116/7, letter 114, Mgr. Erskine to Troy, 24 February 1799; 28/1, letter 213, Cardinal Fontana to Dr. Troy, 28 August 1819; letter 223, Cardinal Fontana to Dr. Troy, 2 December 1820; letter 224, Cardinal Fontana to Troy, 24 March 1821; letter 225, Dr. Troy to Cardinal Fontana, September 1821; letter 234, Cardinal Fontana to Dr. Troy, 22 February 1822; letter 236, Cardinal Conslavi to Dr. Troy, 4 May 1822; letter 237, Cardinal Conslavi to Dr. Troy 23 July 1822; letter 301, Dr. John England to Dr. Troy, 14 May 1822; Codignola, "Conflict and Consensus;" Codignola, "The Policy of Rome towards the English-Speaking Catholics in British North America, 1750-1830," in *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1830*, ed. Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993) 100-125.

[40] When Bishop O'Donel squared off against the insubordinate Rev. Patrick Power, it was Troy who issued the priest a notice of suspension and excommunication at Propaganda Fide's behest. AAD, Troy papers, 116/4, letter 78, O'Donel to Troy, 17 November 1788; letter 75, Troy to Power, 21 January 1788; letter 76, Troy to Power, 4 March 1789; 116/5, letter 4, Cardinal Antonelli to Troy, 3 July 1790; letter 8, Cardinal Antonelli to Troy, 25 September 1790.

that all priests leaving Ireland were to carry a recommendation from Archbishop Troy.[41] This was clearly impossible to implement, and ecclesiastical correspondence makes clear that a recommendation from Troy was no guarantee of success in a frontier diocese.

The expectation that Ireland would provide the English-speaking Catholic world with priests was hindered by the aforementioned shortage of secular and regular priests. Archbishop Troy's correspondence corroborates the shortage; he blamed the French Revolution for closing continental colleges and limiting his ability to fully satisfy the requirements of North American Bishops.[42] Nevertheless, the Archbishop directed a number of priests to Bishop Carroll in the late eighteenth-century;[43] nor was he, as Archbishop Plessis and others had suspected, above sending troublesome or problematic priests with their exeats to North America.[44] In the aftermath of the 1798 rebellion, Troy and Dr. James Caulfield the Bishop of Ferns worked to secure a priest who had been run out of his parish in Wexford for collaborating with yeomanry, passage to North America.[45] North American Bishops with ties to Ireland recruited directly from that country. Newfoundland Bishop O'Donel and his successor Patrick Lambert made

[41] AAD, Troy papers, 116/5, letter 23, Bishop J. Carroll to Dr. J.T. Troy, 3 October 1790; letter 62, Bishop J. Carroll to Dr. J.T. Troy, 24 August 1791
[42] AAQ, 90 CM, Angleterre (hereafter A), vol. IV:8, Dr. J.T. Troy to Bishop J.O. Plessis, 1 February 1803; AAQ, TN I-34, Bishop P. Lambert to Bishop J.O. Plessis, 6 October 1810.
[43] AAD, Troy papers, 116/5, letter 22, Bishop J. Carroll to Dr. J.T. Troy, 23 July 1790; letter 62, 24 August 1791; letter 156, Bishop J. Carroll to Dr. J.T. Troy, 10 May 1793; 116/6, letter 92, Bishop J. Carroll to Dr. J.T. Troy, 22 June 1795; letter 130, Bishop J. Carroll to Dr. J.T. Troy, 25 May 1796.
[44] AAD, Troy papers, 116/4, letter 60, Dr. Troy to Dr. Moylan, Bishop of Cork, 13 December 1788; letter 62, Dr. Bellew, Bishop of Killala to Dr. Moylan, Bishop of Cork, 26 December 1788; 29/8, letter 28, Dr. Caulfield to Dr. J.T. Troy, 26 July 1800; letter 37, Dr. J. Caulfield to Dr. J.T. Troy, undated 1800.
[45] AAD, Troy papers, 29/8, letter 28, Dr. J. Caulfield to Dr. J.T. Troy, 26 July 1800; letter 37, Dr. J. Caulfield to Dr. J.T. Troy, undated 1800.

frequent trips to Ireland and recruited seminarians and ordained priests for St. John's.[46] The Archdiocese of Quebec, cut off from the Irish Ecclesiastical networks emerging in this period, received solicitations from Irish Bishops eager to find employment for "bright clergy" who could not be employed at home.[47]

By the early 1820s, beset by "crowds" of Irish priests with questionable motivations and abilities, Bishops Flaget of Bardstown and Marechal of Baltimore petitioned Propaganda Fide to intervene in the migration of Irish priests and require Irish Bishops to coordinate the migration of all Irish priests.[48] In an edict, Propaganda Fide required that all Irish bishops provide American bishops with "the truth concerning [the potential missionary's] piety, doctrine, moral integrity," and whether the priest had given "scandal to the faithful in his native country by indulging in any depraved habits."[49] It is not clear what effect this edict had on the migration of clergy from Ireland to North America. Certainly priests continued to migrate independently and there was confusion about how exeats should be issued for migrants.[50] By the 1830s, the Archbishop of Quebec was receiving exeats and references for migrating Irish priests from Irish Bishops suggesting a more concerted attempt on the part of the Irish Church to control and direct clerical migration, and perhaps also a concerted effort on the part of migrant priests to

[46] AAD, Troy papers, 29/12, Bishop P. Lambert to Dr. J.T. Troy, 15 October 1810; AAQ, TN I-37, Rev. T. Ewer to Bishop J.O. Plessis, 7 August 1811; TN I-38, Lambert to Bishop J.O. Plessis, 12 June 1812; TN I-41, Lambert to Bishop J.O. Plessis, 14 September 1812.
[47] AAQ, TN I-41, Bishop P. Lambert to Bishop J.O. Plessis, 14 September 1812; AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 8: p. 547, Bishop J.O. Plessis de Bishop of Kilkenny, 13 September 1816; AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol.8: p. 548, Bishop J.O. Plessis to Thomas Ewer, VG, 16 September 1816; A IV-28, Bishop J. Keating to Mgr Panet, 29 July 1831; Codignola, "Conflict or Consensus?"
[48] Pasquier, 148.
[49] Qtd. in *Ibid*.
[50] AAQ, 90 CM A, IV-23, G.D. Hogan to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 30 May 1828; AAD, Archbishop Murray papers, 30/9, letter 31, Dean Patrick McNamara to Dr. D. Murray, 12 November 1825; A IV-28, Bishop J. Keating of Ferns to Bishop B.C. Panet, 29 July 1831;

ensure they had sufficient documentation in place before attempting the journey to North America.[51] Yet in Upper Canada at least, it was difficult to verify the validity of a priest's credentials when he had them, and virtually impossible to solicit them when he did not; as will be discussed, Bishop Macdonell often had little choice but to ignore the edict.

The earlier settlement and establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in the Diocese of Quebec and its suffragan territories meant that the diocese did not participate in the nascent Irish ecclesiastical network described above.[52] Its existing educational infrastructure, established and entrenched religious tradition, and relative wealth meant that Diocesan leaders did not, even in the face of an increasing non-French Catholic population, see the necessity in establishing an official channel to move clergy between Dublin and Quebec.[53] Archbishop Plessis did not look to Archbishop Troy for guidance or assistance in clerical or other matters. Instead correspondence between Dublin and Quebec concerned the delicate task of administering a Catholic diocese within the confines of the British Empire with the Irish Archbishop drawing on his French-Canadian counterpart's expertise in that area.[54] When it came to the task of provisioning clergy to

[51] AAQ, 90 CM A, III-20a, Documents from Bishop W. O'Higgins of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise, 2 April 1832; A III-20b, Documents Bishop W. Kinsella of Ossory, 4 November 1831, A III-20c, Documents from Rev. J. Gorman of Kilkenny, 20 November 1831; A III-27A, Rev. W. Herron to Superior of Seminary of Montreal, 4 July 1834; A III-37, Documents from Bishop W. Crolly of Armagh, 1 August 1835; A III-42a, Documents from Bishop J. Cantwell of Meath, 7 February 1839; A III-42e, Documents from Archbishop of Tuam, 29 August 1839.

[52] For discussion of the relationship between the Diocese of Quebec and its suffragan territories see, James Lambert, "The Face of Upper Canadian Catholicism : Culture and Metropolitanism in the Establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Historical Studies* 54 (1987): 5–25.

[53] Codignola, "Conflict or Consensus?"

[54] An exception to this occurred when Plessis sought Troy's thoughts on the case of the Rev. Charles Ffrench. AAQ 90 CM, A, vol. IV:8, Dr. J.T. Troy to Bishop J.O. Plessis, 1 February 1803; vol. IV:10, Dr. J.T. Troy to Bishop J.O. Plessis, 28 May 1810; vol. IV:11, Dr. J.T. Troy to Bishop J.O. Plessis, 1 May 1811; 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 7: p. 213, Bishop J.O. Plessis to Dr. J.T. Troy, 5 November 1810. For more on Ffrench see: Desmond, Lawrence A, and Donna M

the growing non-French population under its jurisdiction, the Canadian Church charted its own course.

Quebec's seminaries produced a more than adequate supply of home-grown clergy for the traditional territory centred on the St. Lawrence river valley, but provisioning clergy beyond that territory was less easily accomplished. Quebec was reluctant to send French-Canadian clergy to its peripheral territories and showed only minimal interest in harnessing or encouraging the migration of Irish priests for its parishes in Lower Canada. Lower Canadian Church leaders often expressed sympathy toward the staffing woes of his suffragan bishops but insisted that the Church had neither priests nor financial resources to spare.[55] Quebec Church leaders were aware of the increasing numbers of non-French speakers in the peripheral territories and increasingly within the confines of the St. Lawrence valley. "Irish people overflow everywhere with their vices and poverty," wrote Plessis not unsympathetically to Alexander Macdonell in 1821, but Upper Canada was just one of many jurisdictions in desperate need of clergymen.[56] In the maritime colonies, Acadians had long complained of neglect from Quebec in this regard.[57] Bishop Macdonell complained often that Quebec was apathetic

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Norell. *The Case for Fr. Charles Dominic Ffrench (1775-1851)*. Vol. 92. (Yorkton, Saskatchewan: Laverdue & Associates Historians & Publishers, 2004).

[55] AAK, MC, box 3, AI3C3, letter 29, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 24 October 1821; letter 33, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 5 August 1822.

[56] AAK, MC, AI3C3, letter 29, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 24 October 1821.

[57] J.M. Bumsted, "The Scottish Catholic Church and Prince Edward Island, 1770-1810," in *Religion and Identity: The Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada*, ed. Terrence Murphy and Cyril J. Byrne (St. John's: Jesperson Press, 1987), 18–33; Ronnie Gilles LeBlanc, "Antoine Gagnon and the Mitre: A Model of Relations Between Canadien, Scottish, and Irish Clergy in the Early Maritime Church," in *Religion and Identity: The Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada*, ed. Terence Murphy and Cyril J. Bryne (St. John's: Jesperson Press, 1987), 98–113. The influx of Scottish Catholics to the maritime colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Irish Catholics to Newfoundland in the late eighteenth-century made the problem [lack of English-speaking priests] painfully clear. As we have seen bishops in

and indifferent to his diocese. It was as if the "the souls of Irishmen and Scotchmen and other inhabitants of these woods, were not purchased at the same price or their salvation of the same consequence with that of their more fortunate fellow Christians of the plains and cities."[58]

To service the non-French speaking Catholics in Lower Canadian parishes, the Church had the luxury of picking from the Canadian-raised sons of Irish immigrants and only those migrant clergy who showed the most promise.[59] Such promising clergy were frequently put through periods of probation and additional training in the diocesan seminaries and parishes where credentials and competencies were verified and the French language and peculiarities of Lower Canadian religious practice and culture were taught.[60] Insufficient or talentless clergy were dismissed or directed to the peripheral colonies or the United States.[61] In 1821 Archbishop Plessis sent Macdonell a warning that a "block-headed" Irishman named McGilligan who had failed philosophy and theology in a Lower Canadian seminary was bound for Upper Canada. Plessis refused to admit him to orders, but McGilligan, who was fit only to be a "tolerable school master," persisted in the belief that he should be a priest.[62] Bishop Macdonell later met the man and declared

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Halifax and Newfoundland responded by turning to Dublin to solve their staffing problems. Bishop Angus MacEachern in Prince Edward Island similarly enjoyed a fruitful relationship with the Scottish Church.

[58] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Bishop Panet, 16 December 1826.

[59] Marianna O Gallagher, "Irish Priests in the Diocese of Quebec in the Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Historical Studies* 50 (1983): 403–413.

[60] AAQ, vol. 8, p. 547, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to Bishop K. Marum, 13 September 1816 describes the typical trajectory of an Irish seminarian in Quebec: first admitted to clerical tonsure, spend twelve months in the seminary to learn French language, a second year to learn rubricks, ceremonies and discipline of the diocese before finally receiving holy orders.

[61] AAK, MC, AI3C3, letter 29, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 24 October 1821; MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 17 November 1821, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 5 August 1822.

[62] AAK, MC, AI3C3, letter 29, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 24 October 1821.

him "ignorant…and quite useless."[63] Undeterred McGilligan continued to Charleston where Bishop John England also found him to insufficient.[64] When Peter Sweeny and Edward Roddy arrived from Ireland to Quebec in 1819, Plessis judged the latter to be a "drunkard" and refused him employment.[65] Plessis' coadjutor, Bishop B.C. Panet was more sanguine about Roddy's abilities and sent the Irishman to Upper Canada, with the suggestion that Macdonell allow him to say mass and teach catechism, but only under supervision.[66] Bishop Macdonell declined to employ the priest until he had done "penance and atone[d] for the scandal he had occasioned to religion by his misconduct."[67] Roddy's friend, the Rev. Peter Sweeny made a better first impression and was dispatched to a Lower Canadian parish, where under the watch of another Irish priest, his abilities were judged.[68] Sweeny acquitted himself well enough; in a few short months he had learned French and the ceremonies used in the Quebec mass. He was sent to Upper Canada with a strong recommendation from Bishop Panet that he be given work amongst the Irish settlers of Upper Canada.[69]

The Diocese of Quebec did make a few limited attempts at recruiting Gaelic and English-speaking clergy for a few peripheral territories. In 1804 Bishop Pierre Denault recruited an Irish priest named Henry Francis Fitzsimmons from Lancaster, Pennsylvania

[63] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 17 November 1821.
[64] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 5 August 1822; In 1825 an Irishman named McGilligan presented himself to Flaget in Bardstown who reported he had a "sneaking and ignoble manner." Pasquier, 148-49 (fn 69).
[65] AAK, MC, AI3C3, letter 26, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 19 June 1818. Roddy was also called "Reddy" in some sources.
[66] AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 10: p. 29, Bishop B.C. Panet to BMD, 23 July 1819
[67] AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 7, BMD to Bishop B.C. Panet, 4 November 1819. Following his rejection by Macdonell, Roddy may have found his way to St. Louis where Bishop Flaget reported witnessing an Irish priest named Roddy make a number of errors during the celebration of mass in January of 1820. See: Pasquier, 149.
[68] AAK, MC, box 2, AI3C3, letter 26, Bishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 19 June 1819.
[69] AAK, MC, box 2, AI2C7, letter 2, Bishop B.C. Panet to BMD, 27 October 1819.

for the growing Scottish-Gaelic parish of St. Andrews West, Upper Canada.[70] Fitzsimmons was recruited on the understanding that he could speak Scots Gaelic, but when this proved untrue the St. Andrew's parish turned on their priest and lobbied for the importation of a priest from Scotland.[71] Quebec balked at the notion of funding the immigration of a priest from Scotland for the cash-strapped parish and thus, Fitzsimmons remained in the parish for four additional stormy years.[72] In the second decade of the nineteenth-century, Archbishop Plessis made a short-lived attempt at establishing his own clerical recruitment channel between Ireland and Quebec in response to rapid increase in the Scots Catholic populations of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia. Plessis had been advised that the diocese of Ossory in County Kilkenny had a surplus of seminarians who were eager to emigrate. He wrote to the president of the seminary there in the fall of 1812.[73] With no response Plessis had no indication that his letter had been received until the fall of 1815 when a young priest named Dunphy arrived from Kilkenny via St. John's with an incomplete exeat from the Bishop of Ossory, Kyran Marum.[74] Plessis' request for additional information on Dunphy opened up a limited correspondence with Marum, who reported a surplus of clergy for whom he was happy to give permission to enter Plessis' employ.[75] In addition to Dunphy, at least four other men arrived from Kilkenny within the

[70] AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 4: p. 153, Bishop Denault to Rev. Fitzsimmons, 21 April 1804.
[71] AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 4: p. 192, Bishop Denault to Rev. Fitzsimmons, 6 March 1805.
[72] AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 5, p. 165, Bishop Plessis to Rev. R. Macdonell, 14 August 1806; 320 CN, H-C, vol. III-21, Bishop Plessis to Rev. A. Macdonell, 19 November 1808.
[73] AAQ 30 CN, Terre Neuve, Vol. I:41, Mgr. Patrick Lambert to Mgr J.O. Plessis, 14 September 1812; AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 7: p. 437, Mgr. Plessis de Mansfield, 31 October 1812.
[74] AAQ, vol. H, folio 108, 109, Lettres démissoriales in favour of Mr. Martin Dumphy; TN I-44, Lambert to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 20 May 1815.
[75] AAQ, 90 CM, A, vol. IV:17, Bishop K. Marum to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 29 February 1816.

year.[76] Only one, a Rev. Dullard, appeared to meet Plessis' approval. The others were in poor physical and mental health or were found to be intellectually deficient.[77] Perhaps disappointed with the quality of the clergy coming from Ossory, but politely citing financial troubles, Plessis ended the arrangement in the fall of 1816. Plessis asked Marum to direct interested clergy to the Bishop of Newfoundland instead. He advised Rev. Thomas Ewer, vicar general in St. John's, to "fish in that plentiful spring" of Ossory.[78] Plessis appears to have made another attempt to recruit Irish priests from Ireland in the early 1820s through the Irish-born vicar general of New York with inconclusive results.[79]

"An Irish pastor of the proper cast can do everything with an Irish flock," Macdonell wrote to the Rev. William J. O'Grady upon the latter's appointment to York in 1829.[80] The perception that Irish people needed Irish priests was an early assumption on the part of Macdonell, and his superiors at Quebec. In 1822, he dispatched the Rev. John O'Meara to York certain that the Irish of that town would feel "more attached to him and will listen to him with a more willing ear than a Scotchman," and that O'Meara's "influence over them will have the very best effect."[81] The Rev. James Salmon was too ignorant and incompetent for the French Canadians of Kingston, but he was sufficiently

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[76] It is not clear if these men had been sent by Marum or came independently perhaps on the strength of Marum's report that Irish clergy were badly needed in Quebec.
[77] AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 8: p. 416, Archbishop J.O. Plessis de Bishop of Kilkenny, 12 December 1815; AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 8: p. 547, Archbishop J.O. Plessis de Bishop of Kilkenny, 13 September 1816.
[78] AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 8: p. 547, Archbishop J.O. Plessis de Bishop of Kilkenny, 13 September 1816; AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol.8: p. 548, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to Thomas Ewer, VG, 16 September 1816.
[79] AAQ, EU IV-25, Rev. J. Power to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 3 January 1821; vol. 10, p. 272, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to John Power, 27 September 1821. Power sent Plessis one of his own priests a young Irishman named Hannon and implied that he would send more if possible.
[80] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. W. O'Grady, 29 January 1829. Ironically O'Grady was perhaps the best example amongst countless others of the perils and limits of that influence.
[81] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to J. Baby, 27 December 1822.

suited to serve a remote settlement where, Archbishop Plessis noted, the Irish inhabitants were unlikely to be "scandalized by his ignorance."[82] The Rev. W.P. McDonagh was dispatched to Bytown in the mid-1830s to investigate the Rev. Timothy O'Meara; the non-Irish clergy who had attempted the task before him had been unable to convince the Irish laity to cooperate.[83] The Rev. O'Grady's appointment to York was in part due to the Rev. Angus Macdonell's inability to get along with his Irish parishioners.[84]

In Upper Canada, Bishop Alexander Macdonell's reliance on migrant Irish clergy was determined by the peculiarities and progress of Roman Catholicism in that territory. From his arrival in the colony, Macdonell oversaw an underdeveloped territory with a few scattered and isolated missions, limited financial resources, and no educational infrastructure for the education of clergy. The established populations of Canadian and Scots Catholics at the western and eastern extremities of the province produced limited, self-sustaining number of clergy for its missions. Despite frequent appeals to the seminary of Montreal and to Bishops Plessis and Lartigue, Macdonell had no access to Lower Canadian clergy.[85] Even if a Lower Canadian priest could be induced to consider a move to the upper province, Macdonell was unable to defray travelling expenses and until the government allowance for Catholic clergy was finally paid, he could offer little by way of guaranteed funding.[86] By the early 1820s, the influx of English-speakers to the

[82] AAK, MC, Box 2, AI2C6, letter 2, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 10 May 1819; Box 3, AI3C3, letter 26, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 19 June 1819.
[83] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 1 July 1835; Bishop A. Macdonell to Rev. P. McDonagh, 6 July 1835; BMD to Rev. P. Phelan, 6 July 1835.
[84] Nicolson, "William O'Grady" 26.
[85] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Rev. Roux, 16 February 1821; BMD to Rev. P. McMahon, 31 January 1829; MC, AI2C7, letter 4, BMD to Bishop B.C. Panet, 28 July 1826;
[86] AAK, Macdonell letter book, 1820-29, BMD to Bishop T. Weld, 29 March 1829.

diocese, the majority of whom were Irish, necessitated English-speaking clergy not readily available in the diocese of Kingston nor the seminaries of Quebec.

Unlike his counterparts in Baltimore, Halifax, and St. John's, Bishop Macdonell failed to establish a reliable channel through which pious clergy might be transferred from Europe. His limited funds meant that the few attempts he made to recruit directly from Ireland and Scotland were largely unsuccessful.[87] For the most part, Macdonell relied on the few Lower Canada-trained Irish priests directed his way by Church leaders there. Not all were happy to be appointed to the diocese of Kingston. After a year at the Seminary of Quebec, Co. Kildare native James Campion resisted orders to proceed to Upper Canada where he was to be ordained for that diocese.[88] Campion instead absconded to the Diocese of New York with another Irish priest, but eventually presented himself to the Bishop at St. Raphael's.[89] Macdonell made repeated entreaties to the Rev. Patrick McMahon, a well-respected Lower Canadian Irish priest, and his superiors in Quebec, but neither could be convinced the priest should be relocated to the Diocese of Kingston.[90] The Lower Canadian leadership "did not think" Macdonell was certain Scottish and Irish souls "worthy of looking after."[91] They were "not much disposed to

[87] AAK, MC, AI3C19, letter 1, M.W. Sullivan to Rev. A. Macdonell, 2 November 1803; MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Bishop R. McDonell, 20 October 1820; MLB 1834-39, BMD to J. Menzies, 26 July 1836.
[88] AAQ, vol 13, p. 39, Bishop B.C. Panet to Bishop J.J. Lartigue, 30 October 1826; p. 44, Bishop B.C. Panet to BMD, 2 November 1826.
[89] AAQ, vol. 13, p. 75, Bishop B.C. Panet to Bishop J.J. Lartigue, 9 December 1826; p. 106, Bishop B.C. Panet to BMD, 24 January 1827.
[90] Marianna O'Gallagher, "McMahon, Patrick," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mcmahon_patrick_8E.html; AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Bishop J.J. Lartigue, 25 April 1827, BMD to Rev. P. McMahon, 31 January 1829; MLB, 1829-34, same to same, 13 June 1832, same to same, 20 December 1833; same to same, 11 March 1834.
[91] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. P. McMahon, 31 January 1829.

part with any of their clergy that they find useful for themselves and those they would most readily part with would be the least useful to us," he noted.[92]

Efforts to recruit from Europe were minimal. Bishop Macdonell relied on his coadjutor Dr. Thomas Weld to do the bulk of his recruiting in Europe with inconclusive results.[93] In 1834 Macdonell renewed an acquaintance with the president of St. Patrick's College in Carlow, the Rev. Andrew Fitzgerald, but the relationship appears to have not produced any clergy for Upper Canada.[94] The Rev. William Patrick McDonagh was said to have been "sent" to Upper Canada by Oliver Kelly, the Archbishop of Tuam in 1833, but Macdonell's correspondence suggests he did not have a particular acquaintance with Kelly, nor that McDonagh was preceded or followed by additional clergy.[95] When Macdonell wrote to Archbishop Daniel Murray of Dublin in 1834, it was to introduce the bearer, the Rev. John Cullen, who was on a fundraising mission to Ireland in support of Catholic education in Upper Canada. Macdonell noted how dismally Irish clergy had performed in Upper Canada and consequently asked for a contribution in currency rather than in clergy for his diocese.[96] By the mid-1830s, Macdonell had given up on recruiting

[92] AAK, MLB 1830-34, BMD to Rev. W.J. William O'Grady, 1 December 1830.
[93] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Bishop T. Weld, 6 May 1827; BMD to Rev. P. Phelan, 23 October 1829. The success of Macdonell's reliance on Weld is inconclusive, as Weld was largely an absentee coadjutor who was promoted to Cardinal before ever making the journey to Upper Canada or it seems, delivering on Macdonell's hopes for priests, professors, books, and funds for Upper Canada. AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. Dr. Power, VG, New York, 20 May 1830. AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Bishop McEachern, 3 April 1827; BMD to Rev. T. Weld, 6 December 1827; BMD to Bishop T. Weld, 24 June 1828. MC, AI2C27, letter 4, Bishop B.C. Panet to BMD, 10 June 1828.
[94] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Very Rev. Andrew Fitzgerald, 6 November 1834. Macdonell writes that he had known Fitzgerald 32 years in 1834 when it is more likely 36 years if we are to assume they met while Macdonell was stationed in Ireland with the Glengarry Fencibles in 1798.
[95] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Archbishop O. Kelly, 16 February 1834; MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 29 September 1834.
[96] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Archbishop D. Murray, 29 October 1834.

directly from Ireland or Scotland[97] and instead focused his efforts on establishing a seminary to expand the training of priests in the diocese. Disappointed by his failed entreaties to Lower Canada, Scotland and Ireland, Macdonell knew that a Upper Canadian seminary was the only way to ensure a steady stream of reliable clergy for his diocese.[98]

Until such time as a diocesan seminary was established Macdonell trained a small number of young men in Glengarry County, and worked to prepare other young Irish and Scots boys for admittance to the seminaries of Lower Canada.[99] The Rev. Murtagh Lalor, a native of Queen's County, was one of those young Irish men educated by Macdonell for the priesthood. A "penniless" emigrant[100] upon arrival in North America, Lalor was reminded in 1831 what he, and other Irish-born, Upper Canadian-trained priests owed Bishop Macdonell. These men had come:

> With few exceptions to this country, poor and friendless without any prospect before them unless they submitted to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow and yet under the protection of a kind Providence they found an asylum in the house of Bishop McDonell (sic) where were fed and clothed and educated and … raised from a low grade in society to the rank of professional gentleman; an honour that some of them at least would have in vain aspired to in their native country.[101]

[97] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to John Menzies, 26 July 1836.
[98] The funding and construction of a seminary for Upper Canada consumed most of Macdonell's tenure. AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Archbishop D. Murray, 29 October 1834; BMD to John Menzies, 26 July 1836.
[99] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to John McDonald, Esq, 3 July 1820; BMD to Weld, 24 June 1828; BMD to Rev. Dr. Weld, 29 March 1829; BMD to Rev. Patrick Phelan, 23 October 1829; BMD to Rev. Mr. Roque, 23 October 1829.
[100] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 8 July 1831.
[101] ARCAT, M AB51.06, Rev. W. O'Grady to Rev. M. Lalor, 18 July 1831.

Like his fellow suffragan bishops, Bishop Macdonell placed a number of young men at the seminaries of Nicolet, Montreal, and St. Sulpice at his own expense.[102] He was also able to support the education of a few Upper Canadian boys at the Scottish College at Rome.[103] Training priests took time and even those ready for Holy Orders were not guaranteed missionaries for Upper Canada.[104] Often the investment proved a poor one. Illness or death could befall an ecclesiastic student,[105] a few returned to Ireland,[106] and Macdonell was frequently frustrated by the hesitancy displayed by seminarians he had sponsored to be ordained.[107] On the success of his Irish-born students he had placed in Quebec seminaries, Macdonell remarked that he had been "too often deceived and disappointed … after much lost time and great expences (sic) laid out on their education."[108]

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[102] While suffragan bishops scrambled to fund their own seminaries, places in Quebec institutions were offered to young men from suffragan dioceses, but the some or all of the expense was frequently placed on the home diocese. AAK, MC, AI3C3, letter 29, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 24 October 1821; AI3C10, letter 1, Rev. Mr. Roque to BMD, 25 November 1822; AI2C3, letter 33, Rev. Lesaulnier to BMD, 17 April 1827; MLB 1820-29, BMD to Bishop T. Weld, 24 June 1828; BMD to Rev. W. Fraser, 3 November 1828; BMD to Rev. Mr. Roque, 23 October 1829; BMD to Rev. P. Phelan, 23 October 1829; BMD to Mr. Hewson, 29 December 1828; BMD to Rev. Dr. Thomas Weld, 29 March 1829 MLB 1829-34, BMD to undisclosed, 13 August 1832; BMD to Bishop of Quebec, 18 September 1833; BMD to Rev. Bourget St. James, 20 January 1834; MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Superior of Seminary St. Sulpice, 28 August 1838; Rea, 20.

[103] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. A. McDonald, 20 April 1829; MLB 1834-39, BMD to Alexander Macdonell, 8 December 1837.

[104] AAK, MC, AI3C10, letter 1, Rev. Mr. Roque to BMD, 23 September 1822; AI3C10, letter 2, Rev. Mr. Roque to BMD, 25 November 1822; MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Bishop J. Signay, 8 February 1830.

[105] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Bishop J. Signay, 8 February 1830; 1834-39, BMD to J. Elmsley, 20 May 1835.

[106] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Bishop T. Weld, 29 March 1829.

[107] AAK, MC, box 3, AI3C3, letter 26, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 19 June 1819; letter 33, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 5 August 1822; MLB, 1820-29, same to same, 6 May 1821; same to same, 6 December 1821; BMD to Rev. Lesaulnier, 26 April 1827; BMD to Rev. Signay, 8 February 1830 AAQ 320 CN, Haut-Canada, Vol. III-68, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 6 July 1822.

[108] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. Bourget St. James, 20 January 1834; MLB 1834-1839, BMD to Bishop J.J. Lartigue, 1 February 1839

Bishop Macdonell also sought out Irish ecclesiastical students who, having begun their studies in Ireland, could be "finished" in the Canadas under his direction and surveillance. In 1827 Macdonell directed his coadjutor Bishop Weld to recruit from the seminaries at Carlow and Kilkenny arguing that young Irish men "pretty far advanced in their higher studies, would answer our purpose better and should be preferred to person's in Priest's orders…daily experience confirms me more and more of that opinion."[109] For Macdonell, a young seminarian was preferable as he was, in theory, still malleable and time spent in a Canadian seminary would introduce him to the standards and practices of the Quebec Church, expose any deficiencies in his education, provide sufficient opportunity to judge his abilities, and perhaps more importantly, weed out any questionable politics or vices.

The success of this strategy is dubious, as with the exception of the Rev. James Bennett who arrived in 1827, there is nothing to suggest that graduates or students of St. Patrick's Carlow or St. Kiernan's in Kilkenny found their way to Upper Canada before the second half of the nineteenth-century.[110] Bennett, a Carlow student, arrived in Upper Canada in the summer of 1827 bearing a reference from the president of that College, that called him a "promising candidate for the sacred ministry."[111] Like their older ordained brethren, Irish seminarians had been migrating from Ireland to North America prior to the

[109] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Bishop T. Weld, 6 May 1827; same to same, 6 December 1827.
[110] John McEvoy, *Carlow College: 1793-1993: The ordained students and teaching staff of St. Patrick's College, Carlow*, (St. Patrick's College, Carlow: The Carlovian Press, 1993) Appendix IV, Key to Dioceses of Destination of Carlow Priests, 283; AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Rev. A. Fitzgerald, 4 May 1827; MLB 1834-39, same to same, 6 November 1834. O'Gallagher notes that the Rev. McMahon a well-respected Irish priest in LC had been educated partly at Carlow. Macdonell actively pursued McMahon for a mission in Upper Canada and as such may have been motivated by his knowledge of that priest's abilities. AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Rev. P. McMahon, 31 January 1829.
[111] AAK, MLB 1820-29, Rev. A. Fitzgerald to BMD, 14 May 1827.

completion of their studies for some time. Many were choosing to finish their education in Quebec, but with the exception of two, Timothy O'Meara and James Campion, few sought employment in Upper Canada before 1827.[112] Even this strategy was not without its limitations: Campion who had emigrated as a seminarian from Kildare and ordained in Quebec was frequently reprimanded for having poor theology and using the wrong catechism.[113]

By the 1830s a number of the clergy in the diocese had been educated in this way and ordained for Upper Canada. Macdonell was pleased for the most part by the progress of these priests, telling the Archbishop of Dublin, "all those whom I have got educated in Canada myself and admitted to the priesthood mostly Irish youth, have proved themselves worthy of their vocation and efficient labourers in this portion of the Lord's vineyard. Thus convinced by the experience of thirty years that clergyman reared and raised in the province will make most efficient and best adapted pastors to the circumstances of the Catholic population of this Diocese."[114] The number of Irish clergy produced in this way was limited and until such time as Macdonell could begin to produce his own Upper Canadian Irish priests, he had to contend with the migrant clergy, with whom, as the 1820s wore on, the bishop's disappointments only seemed to mount.

The migrant Irish priests employed in the diocese of Kingston had been educated and ordained in Ireland or in continental seminaries before arriving in Upper Canada.[115] The quality of the education of received by priests in Ireland was frequently questioned in

[112] AAK, MC, AI2C7, letter 1, BMD to Sir P. Maitland, 9 March 1826.
[113] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Rev. W. O'Grady, 20 June 1829; ARCAT, M AB45.01b, Rev. W. O'Grady to Rev. J. Campion, 18 April 1830.
[114] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Dr. D. Murray, 29 October 1834.
[115] AAK, MC, box 2, AI2C7, letter 1, BMD to Sir P. Maitland, 9 March 1826.

this period.[116] Indeed, as we have seen, Archbishop Plessis put a stop to migration of seminarians from Co. Kilkenny in 1816 when too many of the arriving men proved incompetent. For his part, Bishop Macdonell expressed a disinclination to employ priests who had been educated at the National Irish Seminary St. Patrick's Maynooth or at the Irish College in Rome.[117] It is not clear what impressions Macdonell had already formed about students of any of these institutions and may have been influenced by, or subscribed to, contemporary prejudices surrounding the National Seminary. Maynooth, it was believed, offered a second-rate education that indoctrinated its students in radical politics, despite its founding as an English-speaking state-sanctioned institution.[118] One Scottish Church official was said to have complained that the Irish priests recruited for Scotland were "half-educated and wholly prejudiced sons of Maynooth."[119] S.J. Connolly rejects this assumption arguing instead that the rigour and isolation of Maynooth's curriculum likely produced a clerical generation with far more puritanical leanings than the previous generations of clergy educated on the continent.[120] Nevertheless, the migrant Irish priest in Upper Canada had been educated and trained abroad, was culturally different and essentially a foreigner whose competency, credentials, and commitment to his vocation were difficult to verify at a remove.

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[116] Donald MacRaild, *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750-1939* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) 77.
[117] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Bishop T. Weld, 6 May 1827; same to same, 6 December 1827. Instead he instructed his coadjutor Thomas Weld to recruit Irish students from the seminaries at Carlow and Kilkenny.
[118] Tuathaigh, 41-44, 50-51 for discussion of political context of founding of Maynooth and the education of priests in Ireland. At least three graduates of the National Seminary at Maynooth, Revs. Haran, Sweeny and James Crowley, were employed in Upper Canada before 1827. The unfortunate Rev. Sweeny notwithstanding, by 1827 Haran and Crowley had, to Macdonell's knowledge, been nothing but exemplary. AAK, MC, box 3, AI3C3, letter 26, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 19 June 1819; box 2, AI2C7 letter 1, BMD to Sir. P. Maitland, 9 March 1826.
[119] MacRaild, 77.
[120] S.J. Connolly, *Priests and People*, 65-67.

A priest's credentials were difficult to verify at a literal, and to some extent, figurative distance from the Irish Church. Bishop Alexander Macdonell's correspondence books suggest he did not pursue reference checks for the Irish priests he employed. Even if a migrant priest carried demessorials or exeats, formal permission from the priest's Irish Bishop to leave his jurisdiction and employment, these sources of authenticity and Church authority were unreliable in the colonial context. Macdonell acknowledged the fallacy in demanding a migrant priest's credentials and references when neither could be verified conclusively. He had few other avenues with which to evaluate a newly-arrived Irish priest and at a bare minimum refused to employ priests who did not produce an exeat.[121] Even that stipulation was frequently ignored and the Bishop was often willing to support a priest until his references could come from his superiors in Ireland.[122]

The scarcity of resources in Upper Canada hastened Macdonell's desire to see migrant priests situated and lessened his ability to evaluate their credentials or competency with any comprehensiveness. The Rev. Peter Polin was sufficiently persuasive that Macdonell appointed him to St. Catharines parish a full two years before his exeat arrived from the Diocese of Dromore in Co. Down.[123] Macdonell greeted those who arrived with plausible proof of education and permission to be in Upper Canada with considerable enthusiasm. When the Rev. Patrick Haran arrived in the summer of 1822, Macdonell was so anxious to get a priest to the heavily Irish Catholic settlement of Richmond (in close proximity to Perth which was reeling from the misbehaviour of the Rev. Sweeny) that he quickly assessed the man's papers as sufficient and dispatched him

[121] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Bishop T. Weld, 24 June 1828; BMD to Rev. P. Phelan, 15 November 1827; BMD to Bishop J.J. Lartigue, 14 November 1827.
[122] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Bishop J.J. Lartigue, 14 November 1827.
[123] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to BRG, 25 November 1835.

immediately to the mission.[124] The bishop had only a letter from the Rev. William O'Grady attesting to his desire to be employed in the diocese and a character reference from the bishop's nephew Angus Macdonell guiding the decision to award O'Grady faculties for York in the fall of 1828.[125] When a priest proved unsatisfactory or incompetent Macdonell called into question the veracity of the documents he had initially found satisfactory. When he and O'Grady disagreed in the mid-1830s, the bishop suggested O'Grady's references had misrepresented the circumstances surrounding his departure from Ireland.[126]

A migrant Irish priest's competency and the authenticity of his vocation could not be easily verified, nor evaluated with haste, but when a priest's incompetence was revealed after his appointment to a parish, it threatened to expose the Church and Macdonell to ridicule. That said, the scarcity of English-speaking priests, particularly before 1829, meant that Macdonell was often willing to overlook incompetency and intellectual deficiencies in favour of the cultural and linguistic assets of an Irish priest. One such priest was Rev. James Salmon who was posted to Kingston in the second decade of the nineteenth-century, but quickly proved a poor fit for the quickly growing Catholic community. He could not speak French and was said to be deficient even in English.[127] Most troubling however was the degree to which Salmon frequently exposed

[124] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Colonel Burke, 3 July 1822; BMD to the Catholics at Richmond, 11 July 1822.
[125] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. W. O'Grady, 19 September 1828. Faculties included the provision that O'Grady proceed to Glengarry immediately to meet the bishop in person. The priest was also to minister along the way.
[126] Nicolson, "William O'Grady," 25.
[127] Macdonell's assessment of Salmon was pragmatic. While the priest seemed to "be endowed with a greater share of diffidence than the generality of his countrymen" he had also "passed his meridian of life, his mind not very strong" and, Macdonell feared, "not very well instructed." AAQ, H-C III-47, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 28 October 1818.

his lack of education and general ignorance.[128] To Macdonell's mortification, Salmon unwisely engaged the town's Presbyterian minister in a public debate.[129] It was clear Salmon was not suitable for Kingston (an increasingly important and prominent town) which required a priest with "talent, prudence and active zeal" in all of which Salmon was apparently deficient.[130] Instead, Macdonell proposed sending him to one of the new military settlements at Perth or Richmond. Both had significant Irish Catholic populations and Salmon was most "fit to administer the rights (sic) of our Holy Religion to Irishmen than to any other description of people and in Country place than in town."[131] Bishop Plessis agreed. He recommended that Salmon be placed in a remote settlement where the predominantly Irish inhabitants would not be "scandalized by his ignorance."[132]

Complaints about the avarice of frontier missionaries, Irish and otherwise were common in the early missions of North America.[133] Irish priests had unrealistic expectations of the "worldly comforts" and "pecuniary prospects" awaiting them in North America. Bishop John Carroll wrote in 1789 to Archbishop Troy: "they will find themselves much disappointed. Labour, hardships of every kind, coarse living and particularly a great scarcity of wine (especially out of the towns) must be born (sic)."[134] Writing to Lower Canada in 1819, Alexander Macdonell made a similar warning: "no clergyman however need come to these missions that has his own ease or comfort in view; without he be fully determined to encounter every privation and difficulty in the

[128] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Bishop Dubois, 26 January 1828.
[129] AAK, MC, box 1, AI2C6, letter 2, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 10 May 1819.
[130] *Ibid.*
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] AAK, MC, box 1, AI3C3, letter 26, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 19 June 1819.
[133] Pasquier, 84.
[134] AAD, Troy papers, 116/4, letter 106, Bishop J. Carroll to Dr. J.T. Troy, 24 February 1789.

discharge of his duty … it is better for the interest of religion he should keep away."[135] How keenly a migrating priest heard and understood these warnings and the implications they held for his own prospects in North America is impossible to tell. Macdonell was perpetually frustrated that not all his priests were motivated by spiritual concerns, but instead were focused on the worldly, and displayed a displeasing independence and ambition that was often not directed at religion goals.[136] "The Irish clergymen" who had "frequently intruded themselves upon me in the province [were] actuated more by ambition and the desire of bettering their situation in life than by zeal for the interest of religion or the glory of God," he complained.[137] In a draft of a letter soliciting the services of the Rev. Patrick McMahon from Lower Canada, Macdonell noted the great need for "clergymen" in his diocese, only to cross the word out and replace it with the word "missionaries."[138] Macdonell had come to understand that in his poorly funded diocese the distinction mattered.

It is not clear what expectation of income carried an Irish migrant priest across the Atlantic. Whether he had left behind employment in Ireland, as had the Rev. James Crowley, or had left Ireland because of a lack of employment opportunities, the migrating priest may have had the expectation that his income would have been at least equal if not substantially better than that of his fellow priests who had remained behind in Ireland. Historians note that the incomes of parish priests in Ireland had actually improved in the

[135] AAK, MC, box 2, AI2C6, letter 7, BMD to Bishop of Saldae, 4 November 1819.
[136] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Major G. Hillier, 29 March 1823; BMD to J. Baby, 20 January 1829; In Australia, Irish priests showed a preference for migration to Eastern Australia where a gold rush meant more generous parishes. Ruth Schumann, "The Catholic Priesthood of South Australia, 1844-1915." *The Journal of Religious History* 16, no. 1 (June 1990): 51–73.
[137] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Bishop T. Weld, 22 August 1832.
[138] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. P. McMahon, 11 March 1834.

first quarter of the nineteenth-century.[139] Desmond Keenan puts the starting salary of a new priest in the first half of the nineteenth-century at about £50 per annum (on par, he says with that of a doctor or lawyer also beginning his career) and a parish priest's between £200 and £500.[140] S.J. Connolly is more conservative suggesting a lone parish priest (without the assistance and expense of a curate) in an average parish earned about £100 a year at the start of the century and could earn about £220 twenty-five years later. This cash income, Connolly notes, would have been supplemented with non-cash payments made in goods and services.[141] Vincent McNally argues that in the Diocese of Dublin at least, this potential salary was not sufficient for the sons of Dublin merchants to consider the priesthood as a possible career.[142] When the Rev. James Crowley received his first £100 portion of the government allowance for Roman Catholic clergy in 1827 he was dissatisfied and petitioned first the Lieutenant-Governor, then Bishop Macdonell for a greater share of the fund.[143] Crowley had left behind a position as a prominent and particularly prosperous parish priest in Cork and presumably a higher salary.[144] It is unlikely that many of the migrant Irish priests in Upper Canada would have been established parish priests before their migration, but it is clear many were dismayed by the inadequacy of their financial support in Upper Canada.

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[139] Connolly, *Priests and People*, 71-72.
[140] Keenan, 63.
[141] Connolly, *Priests and People*, 71-72.
[142] Vince McNally, "Who is Leading? Archbishop John Thomas Troy and the Priests and People in the Archdiocese of Dublin, 1787-1823," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Historical Studies* 61 (1995) 157.
[143] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Rev. J. Crowley, 12 November 1828. Crowley was so dismayed with the amount that he compiled reference letters attesting to his talents as a priest.
[144] ARCAT, M AB51.01, Rev. W. O'Grady to Rev. J. Crowley, 10 August 1828.

The income of clergy in the early years of the diocese of Kingston came from three sources: Bishop Macdonell's own pocket,[145] parish-level contributions and payments, and the government allowance for clergy that began in 1828. In 1835 Macdonell estimated that he had spent approximately £13,000 of his own money on the progress of Catholicism in Upper Canada. Support for clergy formed a significant part of these expenditures prior to the implementation of the government allowance, but Macdonell was frequently obliged to supplement clerical incomes long after the allowance was put into effect.

When new clergy were accepted into the diocese, Bishop Macdonell did his best to give them a sense of what income they could expect, but his estimates were frequently based more in wishful thinking than in reality. He predicted that a priest appointed to an established parish like Kingston and who made himself "agreeable to all parties" might command £100 a year, but that the laity in the new missions could barely contribute £40 a year to their pastor.[146] In 1826, he estimated that with £60 per annum from government funding, a priest in a new mission could get by, but with the optimistic expectation that with each passing year his parishioners would contribute more and more to his support.[147] In a bid to recruit a missionary from Lower Canada for Penetanguishene in 1831, Macdonell promised the candidates between £80 and £100.[148] Bishop Macdonell secured the Rev. Murtagh Lalor £50 per annum "besides maintenance" from the churchwardens of Kingston in 1830, but by the spring of 1831 the priest had yet to be paid and had to be

[145] AAK, Bishop Alexander Macdonell account book, 82-84.
[146] AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 7, BMD to Bishop Panet, 4 November 1819.
[147] AAK, MC, AI2C7, letter 1, BMD to Sir. P. Maitland, 9 March 1826.
[148] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. Joseph Quibbler, 21 September 1831.

included in the government allowance for clergy.[149] When Rev. Simon Walsh joined the diocese from New York in 1835, he was promised £75 a year.[150] Macdonell remained eternally optimistic that eventually his priests would have no need to draw on the government allowance for salary. When the Rev. Daniel Downey was accepted into the diocese of Kingston, his letter of employment made explicit that Downey's "principal motives for coming to this remote part of the Lord's vineyard were to contribute all in your power to the advancement of religion and the salvation of souls," and to assure him that despite the poverty of the diocese, he would receive the "necessaries of life." While he remained a vicar, Downey could expect £50 and his room and board, and £100 once he had the charge of his own mission.[151] When the priest was appointed to London, Macdonell expected the churchwardens there would pay the bulk of Downey's £100 salary.[152]

"I am paid in my own mission, but very poorly and with no great satisfaction," reported the Rev. James Campion from Dundas in 1828.[153] Tithes, fees, stipends, and other sources of income at the parish level were unreliable and inconsistent.[154] When the laity could not pay for sacraments, priests were instructed to accept penance in place of the fee.[155] This was cold comfort for clergy who relied almost exclusively on such fees for their income. The Rev. John Cassidy spent a particularly cold Christmas in Thorah

[149] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. M. Lalor, 31 March 1831.
[150] ARCAT, M CA14.03, Rev. E. Gordon to BMD, 12 January 1837.
[151] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. D. Downey, 1 October 1832. These amounts were specified to be in Halifax currency.
[152] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to the Churchwardens of London and St. Thomas, 24 September 1834
[153] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, Rev. J. Campion to BMD, 26 August 1828.
[154] In 1819, Macdonell reported that tithes in his own parish were subject to the scarcity of cash, the success of the harvest, and rarely amounted to more than £70 a year. AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 7, BMD to Bishop B.C. Panet, 4 November 1819.
[155] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. J. Cassidy, 28 August 1832.

Township where two masses and two baptisms netted him a mere half dollar. Cassidy believed that his fellow priests were accustomed to receiving upwards of forty dollars from offerings at Christmas time.[156] The Rev. John MacDonald's meticulous records indicate that he often baptized children of parents who gave "nothing to the church" in return.[157] In London, the Rev. Joseph Maria Burke was rarely able to charge the full rates for sacraments, and as a result was said to frequently go without breakfast.[158] His predecessor the Rev. Lawrence Dempsey had not been able to afford a winter coat while in London.[159] Lay indifference to a priest's poverty was also a frequent complaint. From Guelph, Rev. Cassidy was often robbed and found no parishioner willing to offer him reasonable room and board.[160] The Rev. Patrick O'Dwyer reported that the laity in Adjala was "lukewarm and indifferent" to offering him "the common necessaries of life" but did not "spare [him] day or night whenever they want my assistance." Unable to afford furniture, a housekeeper or a horse, O'Dwyer begged to be appointed to the first vacancy in a more affluent mission.[161] When he wrote to Macdonell in November 1835, the people at St. Catharines had contributed only £14 to the Rev. Edward Gordon's support

[156] ARCAT, M BB02.05, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 8 January 1841; BB02.06b, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 26 February 1840.
[157] AO, Ewan MacDonald fonds, Rev. John MacDonald papers, 1830s diary; St. John the Baptist, sacramental register. MacDonald also often received goods, such as food and clothing, from his female parishioners.
[158] ARCAT, M AB05.04, Rev. J.M. Burke to BRG, 19 June 1837; AB31.07, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 8 October 1837.
[159] ARCAT, M AB10.01, Rev. L. Dempsey to BMD, 20 November 1832.
[160] ARCAT, M CA08.06, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 12 October 1835; CA09.01, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 3 August 1836; CA10.03, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 26 December 1837; AB08.03, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 17 January 1838.
[161] ARCAT, M BB14.05, Rev. P. O'Dwyer to BRG, 6 February 1841. "I do not refuse labour," he argued, "but I would wish to be where I could form a choir to sing mass and vespers. They are too ignorant here."

thus far, entirely insufficient to cover regular £4 trips by stage coach to that mission from his home in Niagara-on-the-Lake.[162]

The government allowance for clergy was an important, highly problematic, and as will be shown in Chapter 5, controversial income source for diocesan priests. Amounting to £750 per annum, the allowance was the result of a decades-long fight to secure funding from the British government for Catholic clergy and teachers.[163] The first distribution occurred in December 1827 when it was split between nine priests, five received £100, three £67 and one £50.[164] The Rev. James Crowley was not the only priest disappointed with his share of the allowance. It was reported that clergy Irish and non-Irish alike had "grumbled" about the reduced "pittance" they had received suggesting they had expected more or had been receiving more from Macdonell's own resources.[165] To Macdonell's dismay, the Scots priests the Revs. Angus Macdonell and William Fraser bypassed the bishop to complain to Lieutenant Governor Sir John Colborne about the

[162] ARCAT, M CA14.01, Rev. E. Gordon to BMD, 12 November 1835.
[163] Rea, 71-84. Macdonell was initially promised salaries for three priests and four teachers in 1816 but subterfuge at provincial level resulted in salaries not paid til over 10 years later. The funds were to be drawn on the Canada Land Company and Macdonell was responsible for determining which clergy to pay and for their good conduct. Sir Peregrine Maitland balked at the notion of a separate fund for Catholic schoolteachers and consequently their salaries were also drawn from the original £750. Maitland argued that Catholic children were not barred from Public schools and the latter were not a danger to their religion, but allowed that a quarter of the clergy provision could be applied to schoolteachers if Macdonell wished. At the time, Bishop Macdonell also secured £3400 to offset the financial support he had provided to clergy to that point, but the money was lost when the bank in which it was deposited failed. See: AAK, Macdonell account book; MC, AI1C3, unnumbered letter, Extract from a dispatch to Sir P. Maitland from Lord Bathurst, 6 October 1826; AI1C19, letter 26, Major G. Hillier to BMD, 12 June 1827; AI1C19, letter 29, Major G. Hillier to BMD, 19 November 1827.
[164] AO, UC Sundries, reel C-6862, BMD to Major G. Hillier, 12 February 1827, p. 44533-44546; AAK, Bishop Alexander Macdonell account book, page 60. ARCAT, M AB01.13, J. Baby to BMD, 16 December 1827. The Hon. James Baby administered the first distribution and continued to receive and distribute the funds until the 1st of January 1829 when the task became Rev. W. O'Grady's (until 1 July 1831 when Macdonell took over the task).
[165] ARCAT, M AB01.13, J. Baby to BMD, 16 December 1827; AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. A. Macdonell, 10 December 1827.

insufficiency of their share.[166] Macdonell reprimanded the two and bemoaned that his "pastors should make a trade of their sacred professions and in place of being fishers of souls, they should turn out hunters of dollars."[167]

For clergy who frequently complained of parishioners who were either unwilling or unable to provide adequate support, the government allowance was an eagerly anticipated source of relief. The allowance, however, was not without its problems. Clergy questioned the fairness of proportioning out the money equally when some clergy had wealthier missions than others.[168] Others feared that the fund was not being shared equally and they were receiving less than others.[169] From year to year, the amount was unpredictable and its distribution erratic and problematic. Clergy complained when their allowance failed to arrive on time, and were annoyed when it was withheld unexpectedly or unwarrantedly. The provision of £750 did not change and therefore, as the clergy grew in number, each priest's portion subsequently decreased. The 1828 payment of £100, which Crowley and others had considered a pittance, was never again matched. Between 1832 and 1835, the average priest saw his portion of the government allowance decrease from £54 to £37. By 1838 the average priest was drawing approximately £32 a year.[170]

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[166] One of the few migrant Scots clergy in the diocese, the Rev. William Fraser, who had immigrated as a seminarian in 1818, was frequently accused of "feathering his own nest" and "making a fraudulent trade of [his] sacred profession." Fraser had migrated as a twenty year-old in 1818. Macdonell alluded to his having been kicked out of the seminary at Lismore for smuggling and distilling liquor. AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Bishop A. MacEachern, 3 April 1829; BMD to Rev. W. Fraser, 14 December 1827; BMD to Bishop A. MacEachern, 3 April 1829; MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W. Fraser, 10 July 1832. AAQ, H, p. 207, Lettres demissoriales en faveur de William Fraser from Mgr Angus, évêque de diocesarée et vicaire apostolique dans les montagnes d'Écosse, 27 January 1818.
[167] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to J Baby, 8 January 1828.
[168] ARCAT, M BB02.05, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 8 January 1841.
[169] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 1 April 1829.
[170] AAK, Bishop Alexander Macdonell account book, pgs. 111-113.

Macdonell blamed the decreases on the increased number of clergy drawing on the fund, and in 1828 the addition of schoolteachers to the distribution.[171]

The government allowance for clergy was used for other expenses besides clerical salaries. Debt obliged Macdonell to dip into the government allocation on occasion, further decreasing the fund and the biannual allocation to clergy.[172] Occasionally Macdonell supplemented a priest's allowance for expenses he may have incurred in a move to a new mission or if he was suffering from particular poverty.[173] The legal expenses incurred by clergy were an additional drain on the fund. £20 was allocated from the fund in January 1834 to cover the Rev. J. Cullen's legal costs when he became involved in a fist fight with one of his parishioners, £10 was paid to cover the expenses of a suit brought against the Rev. Daniel Downey, and £16 paid to bail the Rev. John Butler out of the Kingston jail.[174] When Bishop Remi Gaulin was appointed coadjutor his yearly salary of £100 was a further depletion on the fund.[175] In 1833, the expenses of the ecclesiastic students Macdonell had been supporting out of his own pocket were drawn from the fund.[176] When the former schoolteacher for York, John Butler, became a priest in

[171] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. J. Crowley, 18 March 1829; MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. L. Dempsey, 14 January 1833; BMD to Rev. P. Foley, 14 January 1833; BMD to Rev. J. Bennett, 15 January 1833.
[172] AAK, Bishop Alexander Macdonell account book, pg. 60. 400 pounds of first installment of 750 pounds used to pay a debt Macdonell had incurred with receiver general for clerical support in a previous year.
[173] AAK, Bishop Alexander Macdonell account book, p. 61. Rev. J. Cullen received extra 10 pounds to fund his move to Penetanguishene. In 1833, the Rev. Dempsey was given an extra 11 pounds out of consideration of the extreme poverty of his mission London and St. Thomas. The Rev. Foley given an extra 13 pounds in July 1833 because he was stationed in London.
[174] AAK, BMD account book, pgs. 62-63.
[175] *Ibid.*, 62.
[176] *Ibid.*, 83.

January 1833, Macdonell allocated him £20 from the funds, an increase on Butler's previous schoolmaster's salary of £10.[177]

The volume of Irish complaints about the material comforts of which they were deprived far outstripped those of their Scots and French-Canadian counterparts. This was not simply a function of their greater numbers, nor of their supposed avarice,[178] but rather the ethnicity of the priest had a direct bearing on his financial situation.[179] The correspondence of Scots clergy in this period is completely devoid of complaints about a lack of support or about poverty. Having been born and raised in the Scottish settlements of eastern Upper Canada, many of the Scots clergy in this period had the added security of family connections, inheritances, and property. The French-Canadian priests stationed in Essex County throughout this period also rarely discussed finances with their superiors.[180] For the most part, Scots and French-Canadian clergy were posted to well-

[177] *Ibid.*, 61, 62.
[178] ARCAT, M CA07.02, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 24 June 1834; AB08.02, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 18 January 1836; CA14.04, Rev. E. Gordon to BRG, 11 February 1837; AB05.07, Rev. J.M. Burke to BMD, 29 February 1838; CA13.02, Rev. T. Gibney to BMD, 11 January 1839; AB22.01, Rev. J. Fox to BMD, 25 February 1839; BB02.06b, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 26 February 1840; BB14.05, Rev. P. O'Dwyer to BRG, 6 February 1841; AAK, MLB, 1820-29, Rev. J. Campion to BMD, 26 August 1828.
[179] Non-Irish priests were not above occasional demonstrations of acquisitiveness though cases were relatively rare. In 1822, the curé at Kingston, Abbé Lamothe was accused by his fellow pastor William Fraser of "insatiable avarice" of an unspecified kind. AAQ 320 CN, H-C, Vol. III-68, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 6 July 1822; AAK, MC, AI3C3, letter 33, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 5 August 1822. One of the few migrant Scots clergy in the diocese, the Rev. William Fraser, who had immigrated as a seminarian in 1818, was frequently accused of "feathering his own nest" and "making a fraudulent trade of [his] sacred profession." AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Rev. W. Fraser, 14 December 1827; BMD to Bishop A. MacEachern, 3 April 1829; MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W. Fraser, 10 July 1832. Macdonell was similarly disgusted when Fraser and his nephew the Rev. Angus Macdonell bypassed the Bishop to complain to Sir. John Colborne about the insufficiency of their share of the government allowance for Roman Catholic clergy. Macdonell reprimanded the two. AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Bishop A. MacEachern, 3 April 1829. AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to J. Baby, 8 January 1828.
[180] Only the Rev. Jean-Baptiste Morin, stationed in Raleigh and River Thames, in the late 1830s, raised the spectre of poverty when widespread flooding in the region decimated the local

established and relatively wealthy parishes. They had the benefit of ministering in parishes with established *fabriques* and lay people with the means and long tradition of willingly paying their pastors a salary.[181]

Migrant Irish clergy did not have the benefit of family support and most were attempting to eke out a living alone. The Rev. John Cassidy, whose deprivation was often severe, noted that his isolation was to blame for his misfortune: "I had neither a trusty friend, relation or kin folk man or woman to depend on."[182] The majority of Irish priests were posted to new settlements populated with newly-settled Irish Catholics. Here the poverty of the laity had a direct and often detrimental bearing on the poverty of the priest.[183] Irish immigrants, Bishop Macdonell noted, were so poor upon arrival in Upper Canada, that it was many years before they could support a priest or schoolteacher independently.[184] The Irish laity also brought with them preferences for the ways in which they financially contributed to the parish, and consequently many resisted the tithe and pew rents.[185] There was no legal system of tithes for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland and therefore, the clergy depended on support from the laity usually in voluntary

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economy. ARCAT, M AB40.09, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 14 October 1837; AB41.06, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 9 February 1839.

[181] The largesse of French-Canadian priests was a source of jealousy for other Upper Canadian priests. See AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W.J. O'Grady, 1 December 1830; BMD to Rev. P. Foley, 12 June 1832; same to same, 14 June 1833; BMD to Cardinal Weld, 17 August 1833; MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. J. Moore, 18 August 1834.

[182] ARCAT, M CA09.01, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 3 August 1836.

[183] Paradoxically it was said in the Diocese of Kingston that the Irish were more generous than the Scots or French. AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 7, BMD to Bishop of Saldae, 4 November 1819; MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Cardinal Weld, 17 August 1833; ARCAT, M AA02.03, BMD to Rev. W. P. MacDonald, 6 November 1829.

[184] AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 2, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 10 May 1819; unnumbered letter, BMD to Earl Bathurst, 28 October 1825.

[185] In 1833 nine predominantly Irish laymen from St. Paul's at York petitioned the provincial government to implement a law forbidding the collection of tithes by the Roman Catholic Church. See Chapter 4 for more. AAK, MLB 1829-34, Petition to the legislature of Upper Canada from the Roman Catholics of York, 1833.

dues paid twice a year at Christmas and Easter, as well as fees for services performed.[186] Bishop Macdonell dwelled frequently on the apparent "abhorrence" felt by the Irish for tithes, whether to the established Church as had been required in Ireland, or to their own clergy as was expected in Upper Canada. Their distaste was so vehement, that Macdonell was reluctant to impose tithes for fear of provoking "discontentment and dissatisfaction" amongst the Irish of the diocese.[187]

Bishop Macdonell was of two minds when it came to Irish clergy who complained of poverty and neglect. While he was concerned that his priests receive support adequate to provide "the necessaries of life," he was also convinced that his clergy, particularly the Irish, prized comfort too highly above the good of religion. "I should be sorry that any of my clergy should be deprived of the necessaries of life," Macdonell wrote in 1828, "the ox while treading out the grain should not be muzzled. The labourer ought to be worthy of his hire and a catholic priest who has only his own four quarters to support ought to be content with little but of that little he ought not to be deprived."[188] Macdonell rarely placed a priest in a mission where some assurance of provisions for the priest had not been made. The priest's removal, should that support be not forthcoming, was a frequently invoked, and occasionally implemented, threat.[189]

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[186] Connolly, *Priests and People*, 230-231; Keenan, 199, 227. These fees were often a source of displeasure and dispute in nineteenth-century Ireland such that the perceived extortion by priests was a cause taken up by the rural agrarian protest movement the Whiteboys.
[187] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Bishop J.J. Lartigue, 7 April 1821; MLB 1834-39, Petition of Catholics of Upper Canada, 1838; Petition of Upper Canadian Catholics, 1 April 1839. The tithes paid to the Church of Ireland was a significant grievance in the early nineteenth-century, and Daniel O'Connell's movement to end the practice was well-covered in the Upper Canadian press.
[188] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Hon. J. Baby, 8 January 1828.
[189] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Catholics of Richmond, 11 July 1822; BMD to J. Baby, 27 December 1822; 1829-24, BMD to Catholics of Kingston Mills, 30 April 1831; BMD to Catholics of Ops Township, 13 December 1832; 1834-39, BMD to Churchwardens of Prescott, 24 September 1834.

Macdonell removed the Rev. Lawrence Dempsey from the London mission in 1833 because the priest's support from the parish was inadequate. Censuring the parish for letting the priest "starve," Macdonell wrote that he would not send another priest until the Catholics of London would promise to support one adequately. It was up to the laity to ensure the priest remained, for "I can send a priest to a mission," Macdonell wrote, "but I cannot compel him to remain if his basic needs are not met."[190] Conversely, Macdonell was cognizant that the laity's willingness to support a priest was a barometer of the latter's performance. When the "pious" members of the congregation in York no longer wished to support their pastor Angus Macdonell in 1828, Macdonell concluded that it was time to replace the priest.[191]

The case of the Rev. Patrick Foley, the missionary for River Thames (later London) in 1833, is indicative of Bishop Macdonell's response to complaints of poverty from Irish priests. Foley was appointed to River Thames after the laity of Prescott had refused to provide him with adequate support. Foley wrote to Macdonell in the early days of 1833 complaining of poverty and requesting a share of the tithes collected in the nearby French-Canadian mission of Sandwich. Macdonell refused citing diocesan rules on the collection of tithes. Quoting scripture and citing examples from the lives of saints, Macdonell questioned Foley's real motives in applying for employment in Upper Canada. Had Foley been prepared for the fatigue and privations that accompanied the "glorious and meritorious" work of a missionary when he had come from Ireland? Perhaps if he had exercised more prudence and economy with the funds he had received from Macdonell, his parishioners, and from the government allowance, he would be living

[190] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Hugh O'Beirne, 5 September 1833.
[191] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to J. Baby, 8 January 1828.

more comfortably. Macdonell closed the letter noting that he had advanced Foley some additional money, but had hopes that he would soon "hear of your being more reconciled to your situation and employing your time and attention to the spiritual welfare of your flock."[192]

Though he censured Foley for having expectations above his station, Bishop Macdonell was nevertheless concerned that his priest should have the "necessaries of life." Five months later, additional information about Foley's situation reached the bishop. It became apparent that the priest had not been paid for upwards of eight months and in consequence the bishop reprimanded the parish *fabrique* on that score. Macdonell noted that as good Catholics it was unlikely that they should wish their priest to starve; accordingly he demanded that the *fabrique* pay Foley $400 a year or he would find the priest a parish that would.[193] Macdonell subsequently apologized to Foley and pledged to ensure he would receive adequate support in the future;[194] yet the bishop continued to suspect Foley of prizing material wealth and comfort too highly. Foley, Macdonell reported to Cardinal Weld, knew little of economy and persisted in seeking money that would enable him "to live in the way he thinks he ought to live."[195]

Priests were often accused of land speculation or other suspicious activities concerning the sale of land intended for churches. Though Scots priests were not exempt from such misdeeds, Bishop Macdonell more often invoked Irish names when it came to misdeeds concerning land ownership. Speculation on land was a common practice for

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[192] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. P. Foley, 14 January 1833
[193] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to the Marquilliers and other Catholics in the mission of St. Peter's River Thames, 13 May 1833.
[194] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. P. Foley, 17 May 1833.
[195] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Cardinal T. Weld, 17 August 1833.

early Irish priests in Upper Canada.[196] The process by which land for a church was to be secured and administered was a frequently misunderstood and confusing process. Consequently there was ample opportunity for abuse whether intentional or not on the part of the local priest. One too many cases of misplaced, stolen, or sold deeds induced the bishop to refuse to give clergy trusteeship of parish property, preferring instead to put the titles to church property in his name and those of a few trusted laymen.[197]

In 1835 Macdonell suspended the Rev. James Campion's share of the government allowance. Despite Campion's begging the bishop "with tears in [his] eyes" for a greater share of the allowance, the bishop had learned that Campion's income was in excess of $200 a year.[198] Reports that the churches in Campion's charge in Prescott and Brockville were in poor condition were contrasted with other reports that the priest was building himself an "excellent house" in Prescott. Campion had made reportedly lucrative fundraising trips to Lower Canada and Ireland and had failed to report the money collected, ostensibly for the Upper Canadian Church, to the bishop.[199] An investigation by Bishop Gaulin revealed Campion's financial mishandling of the Prescott mission, problems with land deeds, plans to build new churches without the permission of the bishop, and issues surrounding the cost and consumption of altar wine.[200] Campion's

[196] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Rev. W. Fraser, 14 December 1827; Rev. J. Campion to BMD, 26 August 1828; ARCAT, M AA05.06, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 8 July 1835.
[197] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Captain Fowler, 14 December 1821; ARCAT, M AA05.06, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 8 July 1835. See Chapter 4 for more on land trusteeship in the Diocese of Kingston.
[198] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 29 January 1835; BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 15 January 1836.
[199] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 18 September 1834; BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 29 December 1834; BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 29 January 1835; BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 21 March 1835.
[200] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Churchwardens at Prescott, 20 November 1834; BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 11 August 1835; BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 24 August 1835.

faculties for the diocese of Kingston were suspended in March 1839 and he died three years later in a tavern in Lewiston, New York.[201]

Accusations made against the Rev. Patrick Haran of Bytown in 1828 reveal much about the financial misdeeds into which priests could be driven whether by circumstance, deceit, or ignorance.[202] In early 1828, Bishop Macdonell wrote to Haran requesting that he make a conveyance of the title of the house in which the priest resided from his name presumably to that of the Bishop. Haran responded that he did not object to the request in principle, but noted that he had become indebted to build the house. Haran was so deep in debt that he feared that as soon as he made conveyance of the house he "would have no mercy to expect from [his] creditors, [as] they would pounce upon [him] like man vultures."[203] Not long after this exchange Macdonell received unspecified complaints about the priest from the members of the Bytown church-building committee that were financial in nature.[204] The bishop ordered that all work on the church be suspended until he or a priest authorized by him had visited Bytown and investigated the affair. Collections could continue for the church-building project, but Haran had "by his conduct

[201] AAK, MC, A12C4, letter 1, Rev. W.P. MacDonald to Rev. Dollard, 22 March 1839. Besides the pursuit of wealth, Campion's other vice had been alcohol. When the Rev. Edward Gordon went to investigate he found that the priest had himself been the victim of fortune-hunters: "the person in whose house [Campion] died, gave him liquour in his sickness in order to hasten his approaching death and thereby secure his property. One man told me that he went to see Mr. Campion in company with Mr. McNally and that the latter at Mr. Campion's request, drew up his will, in which bequeathed his property in Prescott to his brother, and some trifle to the poor children of the town. He also told me that the man in whose house he died on hearing the will read and finding that he was not left anything, snatched the will and tore it in pieces and afterwards obliged Mr. Campion to make another in his favour." ARCAT, M BB04.02, Rev. E. Gordon to BRG, 2 March 1842.
[202] See Chapters 1 and 4 for more on Bytown in the late 1820s as well as: Corcoran and Smith, "Bishop Macdonell and the Friends of Ireland;" Smith, "Building Bytown's Catholic Church."
[203] ARCAT, M AD0301, Rev. P. Haran to BMD, 23 April 1828
[204] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, Rev. W. Fraser to Michael Burke, 13 May 1828; Rev. W. Fraser to Catholic Committee of Bytown, 13 May 1828.

has entirely forfeited [the Bishop's] good opinion and confidence" and was now forbidden "to receive or hold one farthing of the collections that may be raised for the building of the church."[205]

In a remarkable disclosure, Macdonell revealed to the committee details of Haran's apparent financial misdeeds while he had been parish priest in Richmond in the mid-1820s. Macdonell had obtained town lots in Richmond for a future church, schoolhouse and clerical residence. As was custom the deeds were to be put in the names of Macdonell, Haran and two elders of the parish. Since, though he did not specify when, Macdonell had discovered that Haran had had the deeds of some of those lots put solely in his name, "and even disposed of some of them for his own benefit."[206] Haran had also exceeded credit Macdonell had secured for him with a merchant in Montreal. The credit had been established to allow Haran to secure necessary items for a temporary chapel at the Rideau Canal. Macdonell had "been willing to believe that Mr. Haran was activated by pure and disinterested motives for the glory of god and advancement of religion," but Haran's refusal to make over a conveyance of the house in Bytown, and "many other circumstances besides those" Macdonell had already stated, meant that Macdonell could not "in conscience recommend Haran to the charitable beneficence of the people…nor countenance his proceeding at Bytown."[207] The limited clerical resources of the diocese, meant as was the case with the Rev. Campion and others, it was rare to see a priest removed from the diocese before multiple infractions were known. The Rev. Patrick

[205] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, Rev. W. Fraser to Michael Burke, 13 May 1828
[206] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, Rev. W. Fraser to Catholic Committee of Bytown, 13 May 1828.
[207] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to John Pennefather, 13 May 1828.

Haran was not removed from Bytown until his participation in the Society of the Friends of Ireland was public.[208]

Migrant Irish priests were a boon to Macdonell who desperately sought clergy, but the extent to which their mobility was self-directed and enacted outside Church control was a source of insecurity and anxiety for him as it was for his superiors in Quebec and his counterparts elsewhere in North America. Some priests carried their exeats and other proof of credentials, but their migration was conducted largely outside official Church channels. They had not been recruited for the Upper Canadian mission field, and with few exceptions, had not been deployed by an Irish Bishop. A clergyman's migration, particularly one that was not officially sanctioned, suggested an independence from Church authority that was troubling, and a fixation on material goals that were not in line with either the context of Catholicism in Upper Canada nor the bishop's goals for the Church. The tendency for Irish migrant priest to "roam" Macdonell's diocese, whether while in legitimate employment, or after having been denied or dismissed from employment, showed a blatant disregard for the authority of the Church leaders and exposed the degree to which the Bishop could exercise little control or surveillance over his priests. Away from the surveillance of the Bishop, Irish priests occasionally turned to the bottle, dabbled in politics, but more troubling for Macdonell was the extent to which the Irish priest refused to be tethered to his appointed mission and to the structures of the static and settled Church to which Macdonell aspired.

The migrant Irish priest's independence had been honed in Ireland and was demonstrated by his migration. The religious context from which he had come had

[208] See Chapter 1 for more on Society of the Friends of Ireland.

already prepared him for an itinerant existence with little or no interference from Church hierarchy as well as the challenges of a limited or non-existent Church infrastructure. As a result the migrant Irish priest was quickly and easily deployed to the new and remote settlements of Upper Canada. Like their illegitimate counterparts, many of the Irish priests in the diocese continued to demonstrate a tendency for mobility that was as much a product of their migrant status as it was a function of the religious context within which they ministered; in the absence of established networks of parishes and churches, the itinerant Irish priest was entirely well-suited to the underdeveloped and under-resourced conditions of the diocese in this period.

The difficult circumstances of the Upper Canadian mission frequently exposed what Macdonell believed were problematic vices and character traits that he believed migrant priests had imported from Ireland. The well-worn cliché of intemperance amongst Irish priests found some currency in the early diocese of Kingston with many early Irish clergy frequently accused of being, and found to be, intemperate.[209] In the late eighteenth century, Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore had warned Irish priests considering emigration to North America that "sobriety in drink is expected from clergymen to a great degree. That which in many parts of Europe would be esteemed no more than a cheerful and allowable enjoyment of a friendly company would be regarded here, in our clergy as an unbecoming excess."[210] Ignoring the difficult conditions of frontier missions that often prompted and promoted the consumption of alcohol by his Irish clergy, Macdonell

[209] ARCAT, M AB07.09, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 3 November 1834; AB05.04, Rev. J.M. Burke to BMD, 19 June 1837; BB07.02, Rev. W.P. MacDonald to BRG, 28 October 1841; BB05.02, Rev. C. Lee to BRG, 30 March 1841; BB06.07, Rev P. McDonagh to BRG, 26 April 1841; M BB15.14, Rev. J. O'Flynn to BRG, 23 April 1842; AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. J. Cassidy, 16 October 1834; BMD to Rev. A. Macdonell, 6 April 1835.
[210] AAD, Troy papers, 116/4, letter 106, Bishop J. Carroll to Dr. J.T. Troy, 24 February 1789.

posited that the vice had been transported from Ireland. It was rare for a priest's proclivity for the bottle to be discovered prior to his assignment to a mission. One of these rare cases was the Rev. Edward Roddy. Roddy's reputation as a "drunkard" had preceded him by the time he presented himself to Bishop Plessis in Quebec in the spring of 1819. Having "scandalized" all on board the ship that had brought him from Ireland as well as those he met in Quebec and Montreal, he was immediately refused employment by Plessis and later, Bishop Macdonell.[211]

More typical was the Irish priest whose troubles with alcohol were revealed after time spent in a mission away from the surveillance of his Bishop. Roddy had emigrated with the Rev. Peter Sweeny who made a better first impression and after a brief probationary period in a Lower Canada, was dispatched to Upper Canada with the recommendation that he be given work amongst Irish settlers.[212] Macdonell dispatched Sweeny to Perth, a recently established military settlement, where despite generous assistance from the diocesan coffers and local benefactors, the priest seemed perpetually poverty-stricken.[213] It was only after Sweeny abandoned Perth that the extent of his troubles became known: he had sold the parish's vestments in a tavern for alcohol, had given his pyx away to the town's children while in a state of drunkenness, and had somehow misplaced the deeds for the land upon which the Catholic Church was to be

[211] AAK, MC, AI3C3, letter 26, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD 19 June 1818; AI2C6, letter 7, BMD to Bishop B.C. Panet, 4 November 1819.
[212] AAK, MC, AI3C3, letter 26, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 19 June 1819; AI2C7, letter 2, Bishop B.C. Panet to BMD, 27 October 1819.
[213] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Rev. Peter Sweeny, 10 May 1820; BMD to Rev. P. Sweeny, 19 June 1820; BMD to Rev. P. Sweeny, 1 July 1820; BMD to Benjamin Delisle, Esq., 20 July 1820; AAQ, 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 10: p. 199, Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 13 April 1821.

built.[214] Macdonell was devastated. Sweeny, he reported to Plessis, had displayed "no bound, nor the least sense of shame, nor regard for his character." His intemperance was an unfortunate habit that must have been imported from Ireland. This had been "proved true of him as of others."[215]

Though intemperance was an undesirable trait in a priest, only rarely was it the cause of suspension from the diocese. Indeed, intemperance was frequently overlooked until other "crimes" made the priest's conduct too difficult to overlook. Despite reports of frequent public intoxication, and on one occasion that he had danced upon a hotel table until it had broken into pieces,[216] the Rev. James Campion remained employed in the diocese for at least nine years and was not suspended until March 1839 when his various financial misdeeds became too great to ignore.[217] In another case, the Rev. John Keegan fled the mission of Penetanguishene in 1835 after hitting a parishioner in a fit of drunkenness.[218] Bishop Macdonell gave the priest a second chance after the priest made a five-week spiritual retreat as penance. Macdonell was impressed that the priest "unlike others of his countrymen who had committed greater faults" had expressed an immediate

[214] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 17 November 1821; BMD to Douglass, 14 December 1821.
[215] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 17 November 1821.
[216] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Churchwardens of Prescott, 20 November 1834; ARCAT, M AB45.01a, Rev. W. O'Grady to BMD, 26 April 1830.
[217] ARCAT, M AB4503, Rev. W. O'Grady to BMD, 20 October 1830; AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to the Churchwardens of Prescott, 20 November 1834; BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 29 December 1834; Archibald MacDonald to Rev. J. Campion, 16 February 1836; MC, A12C4, letter 1, Rev. W.P. MacDonald to Rev. P. Dollard, 22 March 1839; ARCAT, M BB04.02, Rev. E. Gordon to BRG, 2 March 1842. The unfortunate Campion met his end in a Lewiston, New York tavern two years later, having drank himself to death.
[218] ARCAT, M AB26.02, Rev. J. Keegan to BMD, 14 March 1835; AC16.03, George Gordon, Churchwarden at Penetanguishene to BMD, 10 March 1835; AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. A. Macdonell, 6 April 1835.

wish for forgiveness.[219] Despite the Bishop's hopes that Keegan would redeem himself in Sandwich, and later in St. Thomas, accusations of intemperance and a propensity for physical violence continued to follow the priest.[220] "*Malheureux* Keegan" eventually found his way to Michigan where he taught school as a layman.[221] Macdonell removed the Rev. Daniel Downey from Bytown and suspended his faculties for the diocese, when in the summer of 1836, the priest spent a fortnight "entirely out of his head with drink."[222] While Macdonell was unwilling to let Downey continue in the diocese of Kingston, he downplayed the effect of the priest's alcoholism in a reference letter to the Bishop of New York. Downey, Macdonell wrote, "has been seen however but seldom in drink, but unfortunately the scandal was great on those occasions. In other respects, Mr. D. is an amiable good-natured person not deficient in talents and it is to be hoped that his past errors will serve as wholesome warning to him for the guidance of his future conduct."[223]

It is not surprising that many frontier clergy sought respite from the physical and social isolation of missionary life with alcohol in rural taverns and inns. Inns and taverns were often the sole source of accommodations in rural settlements and the company

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[219] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. P. Phelan, 9 May 1835; BMD to Rev. A. Macdonell, 7 May 1835; BMD to Rev. A. Macdonell, 10 May 1835.
[220] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. Angus Macdonell, 3 December 1835; Rev. J. Keegan to BMD, 10 December 1835; ARCAT, M AC20.12, Petition of St. Thomas Catholics to BMD, 24 April 1836.
[221] ARCAT, M AB36.03, Rev. A. Macdonell to Bishop Remi Gaulin, 23 March 1836.
[222] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. Dollard, 14 May 1836.
[223] ARCAT, M AA06.06, BMD to Rev. W. P. MacDonald, 6 October 1836; AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Bishop Dubois, 9 November 1836. Scandal continued to plague Downey, whose career as the parish priest in Staunton, Virginia ended when he was charged with the alcohol-fuelled murder of his housekeeper's boyfriend in 1858. "Circuit Court," Staunton Spectator, 1 June 1858 and "Trial of Rev. Daniel Downey," Staunton Spectator, 15 June, 1858. Retrieved from Virginia Centre for Digital History, *Valley of the Shadow*, http://vshadow.vcdh.virginia.edu/choosepart.html.

offered there would have gone a long way to mitigate the loneliness experienced by a recently arrived migrant priest. Regardless of their convenience or how short the stay, Bishop Macdonell objected to his priests lodging in a tavern or inn.[224] The implications for the priest's reputation and for Catholicism in general, particularly in settlements in which the Catholic population was the minority, were too grievous to be risked. "I shall never consent to trust the salvation of so many souls to the charge of a clergyman who will court popularity in the taverns," he wrote to Bishop Gaulin in 1835.[225] The tavern exposed the Irish priest to dangerous habits and to the company of those who might steer him from his vocation. When the Rev. Murtagh Lalor proposed moving from the presbytery in Bytown to a tavern, Macdonell threatened him with suspension if he so much as dined in a tavern. The tavern had provided disastrous for Irish clergy who had gone before Lalor, he explained. "Mr. Ruddy, Mr. Sweeny, Mr. Horan, and Mr. Boland[226] had much better education, more talents and stronger judgment than you and I dare say as much piety entering upon the sacred ministry yet by associating too much with their hearers and frequenting taverns they first became fond of company then fond of drink." These men had done damage to their own reputations and they had "become a scandal to their holy religion."[227]

In 1833, Macdonell ordered the Rev. James Bennett to vacate the Peterborough tavern he called home in favour of a private home. Not only did the tavern offer the

[224] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Rev. P. Haran, 20 November 1822; BMD to Rev. W. O'Grady, 6 December 1828; MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonald, 16 January 1830; BMD to Rev. M. Lalor, 26 July 1831; BMD to Rev. J. Bennett, 15 January 1833; BMD to Rev. Perry, 10 March 1834.
[225] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to BRG, 13 December 1835.
[226] "Boland" appears to be a misspelling of "Polin." Lalor had apparently expressed discomfort at living in a presbytery staffed by French-speaking domestics.
[227] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. M. Lalor, 26 July 1831.

"distraction of company so dangerous to [his] vocation," Macdonell cautioned that the expense of the accommodations at "a dollar and half-a-day is both inconsistent with your character as a missionary and unsuitable to your income."[228] The publicness of a tavern and a priest's inebriety in that space was scandalous not only to non-Catholics. In York, a migrant priest's residence in a "dirty" tavern, was immediately suspicious to the Honourable James Baby, a French-Canadian Roman Catholic and Member of the House of Assembly.[229]" The Rev. William J. O'Grady reported that the respectable Catholics of Niagara were horrified by the Rev. James Campion's "frequent ebriety (sic) in public taverns and in company with some of the most loose and profligate puppies in this entire district." In consequence, O'Grady reported, "his character which is now before the public is retrievably lost in Niagara."[230] The social world of the tavern was a place where propriety broke down, where the hierarchy that governed the relationship between laity and clergy could not be maintained, and the limits of Bishop Macdonell's control over his clergy were fully on display.

"What have those [Irish] priests to answer for," bemoaned the vicar general, the Very Rev. William P. MacDonald in 1839, "who, besides scandalizing their flock by their irregular conduct, train them to rebel against the lawful authority, and they induce them to break their connection with the Church of Christ."[231] The trope of the rebel Irish priest had gained currency in the British cultural imagination since the 1798 rebellion. A priest's political activities were considered particularly problematic in light of his apparent influence with the laity, yet despite a few isolated cases in Ireland and Australia, and a

[228] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. J. Bennett, 15 January 1833.
[229] ARCAT, M AB01.04, J. Baby to BMD, 23 December 1822.
[230] ARCAT, M AB45.01a, Rev. W. O'Grady to BMD, 25 April 1830.
[231] AAK, MC, A12C4, letter 1, Rev. W.P. MacDonald to Rev. Dollard, 22 March 1839

contemporary prejudice that Irish seminarians bred radical priests, nineteenth century Irish priests were generally conservative in their politics.[232]

In Upper Canada, Bishop Macdonell was perpetually vigilant for any demonstration of disloyalty from his clergy or laity. As we have seen in Chapter One, assertions of Catholic loyalty and submission were the foundation of Macdonell's petitions for government support and patronage. The Irish Catholic priest, Macdonell argued when petitioning the Home and colonial governments for funding, was vital to ensuring order and loyalty amongst newly arriving Irish Catholics.[233] Any hint of radical politics from his priests was supremely detrimental to his Church-building project. Financial misdemeanors were not sufficient to remove the Rev. Patrick Haran from Bytown in the late 1820s, but the priest was not long employed once his participation in the Bytown chapter of the Society of the Friends of Ireland was public.[234]

Potential recruits for the diocese whose politics were not easily verified were entreated to "leave their politics and party feelings" in Ireland, and it seems that the majority did so.[235] It was Irish schoolteachers, "with the wrongs of their country still rankling their hearts and their minds alienated from the British Government," who were far more likely than migrant Irish clergy to espouse radical politics.[236] Irish migrant priests in Upper Canada rarely challenged the political status quo. To Macdonell's very public relief, Upper Canadian Catholics and their Irish clergy were largely absent from

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[232] Patrick O'Farrell, *England and Ireland since 1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975). 137.
[233] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Viscount Sidmouth, 6 January 1823; AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 11, BMD to Lord Bathurst, 19 February 1827.
[234] See Chapter One.
[235] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Bishop Weld, 6 May 1827.
[236] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Bishop Weld, 26 November 1828.

the events of the Upper Canada rebellion.[237] Very few Catholics were arrested during the rebellion.[238] As for the clergy, unsubstantiated rumours circulated that the Rev. Joseph Maria Burke had been involved in the London area, and the priest at Gananoque, the Rev. John Fox came under the scrutiny of government authorities in November 1838.[239] The Rev. Fox was accused of spreading discontent in that region, but even Macdonell put little stock in the accusations writing that they stemmed from Fox having kept company with "obnoxious people."[240]

Bishop Macdonell was often annoyed by the tendency for legitimate Irish priests to minister outside the boundaries of their appointed missions. The Rev. Foley was frequently wandering beyond his jurisdiction in an effort to earn, as Macdonell put it, "what money he considers necessary to enable him to live in the way he thinks he ought to live."[241] Macdonell suspected these men had avaricious goals, but priests argued that

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[237] Bishop Macdonell's Address to Irish Catholics of Upper Canada; Dennis Carter-Edwards, "Promoting a 'Unity of Feeling': The Rebellions of 1837/1838 and the Peterborough Region," *Ontario History* CI, no. 2 (2009): 165–186.
[238] ARCAT, M AB36.10, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 7 February 1838; AB05.07, Rev J.M. Burke to BMD, 29 February 1838; AB19.01, Rev. H.H. Fitzpatrick to BMD, 11 June 1838.
[239] ARCAT, M AB36.10, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 7 February 1838; Macdonell had written the previous year to the Catholics of Gananoque warning them about the designs of the rebels, "who are inveterate enemies to yourselves and to your Holy Religion and would endeavour to seduce you from submission to … your country and from allegiance to your amiable and lovely young queen." AAK, MLB, 1834-39 BMD to Catholics of Gananoque, 6 December 1837.
[240] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to BRG, 26 November 1838. Fox was relocated to Dundas where his troubles continued but were of a more personal nature. He spent the remaining two years of his life fighting the accusation that he had fathered a child. He died in 1840 from a fall off his horse. Rather, it was a Belgian priest who proved most radical during the rebellion. Rev. John Lostrie of Malden was accused of encouraging the Canadians in his mission to rebel and was said to have told government soldiers that it was not a sin to rebel against the government. ARCAT, M AB36.08, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 28 December 1837; AB36.09, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 14 January 1838; AB36.10, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 7 February 1838; AB36.11, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 8 February 1838; AB36.12, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 21 February 1838; AB36.13, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 7 March 1838; AB36.14, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 14 September 1838; AB36.15, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 24 October 1838. AB36.17, Col. Townshend to Rev. A. Macdonell, 6 March 1838.
[241] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Cardinal Weld, 17 August 1833.

such travel was vital to their ability to make a decent income.[242] The Rev. John Cassidy, who had the charge of the vast Guelph/Dundas mission, responded indignantly to complaints that he was never in one place arguing that all the "travelling and flying" he did was absolutely necessary if he were to secure for himself a very basic subsistence.[243] The Rev. James Campion from Dundas was similarly defensive when called to account for his visits to missions outside his jurisdiction.[244]

Financial incentive was often used to convince Irish priests to keep to their jurisdictions. When word reached the Bishop that the Rev. James Crowley had been absent from his mission of Peterborough, Macdonell withheld the priest's allocation of the 1828 government allowance arguing that "constant residence" in one's mission was a requirement of the fund.[245] In some cases a priest was absent from his mission for so long that it was assumed he had abandoned it. The scarcity of priests meant that Macdonell frequently attempted to restore the priest to his post without inflicting significant penalties. A petition from the Catholics of Guelph asking for a replacement for their former pastor was Macdonell's first indication that the Rev. John Cullen had abandoned his parish. Cullen had been complaining about poor health and the stress of his mission and Macdonell had been unable to offer him any relief.[246] Rather than lose a good priest, Macdonell offered him the mission of Niagara.[247] The Rev. James Bennett abandoned his mission of Kingston in 1833 without permission and took up residence in the vicinity of

[242] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, Rev. J. Campion to BMD, 25 August 1828; ARCAT, M BB02.01, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 27 January 1840; BB02.06b, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 26 February 1840.
[243] ARCAT, M BB02.06b, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 26 February 1840.
[244] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, Rev. J. Campion to BMD, 25 August 1828.
[245] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to J. Baby, 5 November 1828; BMD to Rev. J. Crowley, 12 November 1828; BMD to P. Robinson, 13 November 1828.
[246] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to undisclosed, 17 January 1832; ARCAT, M AD01.10, Rev. J. Cullen to BMD, 19 March 1832.
[247] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Bishop Lartigue, 22 May 1832.

Port Hope. The priest had apparently made a collection of £200 for building a church in that place also without Macdonell's permission. Rather than assume the worst, Macdonell ordered Bennett to complete and deliver the collection and offered to let him return to Kingston without penalty.[248]

The ease with which Irish priests moved through the diocese raised the spectre of the ease with which they could also depart the diocese. Increasingly conscious of their value to their resource-strapped Bishop, Irish priests frequently threatened to return to Ireland or seek employment in a neighbouring diocese should their situations not improve.[249] The Rev. Cassidy, perpetually bereft, summed up the dissatisfaction felt by many Upper Canadian Irish priests: "there ought to be some encouragement to keep the priests from going home to Ireland as they have already done when they found this nipping and withering blast approaching them."[250] Calling himself a "martyr to the missionary causes" Cassidy requested his exeat from Bishop Gaulin in 1840 after a particularly poverty-stricken year.[251] When the Rev. Patrick McDonagh was reprimanded in 1834 for representing himself incorrectly as the vicar general, McDonagh retorted that if his work was not appreciated in the diocese of Kingston he would happily return to the Irish diocese of Tuam.[252] Macdonell responded begging McDonagh to remember the zeal that had led him to Upper Canada in the first place: "in leaving your native country, your

[248] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. J. Bennett, 18 September 1833.
[249] ARCAT, M AB10.01, Rev. L. Dempsey to BMD, 20 November 1832; AB29.06, Rev. P. McDonagh to BMD, 23 September 1834; AB56.03, Rev. S. Walsh to BRG, 17 July 1837; AB31.08, Rev. P. McDonagh to BMD, 14 September 1837; M AB33.04, Rev. P. McDonagh to BRG, 14 September 1837; BB02.02, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 14 May 1840; AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. S. Walsh, 4 June 1835.
[250] ARCAT, M CA10.01, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 29 March 1836
[251] ARCAT, M BB02.01, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 27 January 1840, BB02.05, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 8 January 1841.
[252] ARCAT, M AB29.06, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 23 September 1834.

family and friends, I am convinced your intention was to make the sacrifice perfect and entire and not by halves but to follow the example of your divine master not to see your own will, but the will of him that sent you."[253]

The scarcity of clergy, Irish and otherwise, meant Macdonell was understandably reluctant to extend any priest an exeat "without a very strong and cogent reason."[254] When his income proved unsatisfactory, the Rev. James Campion, newly appointed, wrote to Bishop Macdonell threatening to return to Ireland to accept one of the many job offers he claimed to have received from that place.[255] Macdonell called his bluff pointing out that any self-respecting Bishop would not have offered Campion a place when the priest had no exeat from his bishop in Upper Canada.[256] Despite persistent health problems that had plagued him since his youth, the Rev. John Cullen had proved himself an able clergyman in Guelph, London, and Bytown.[257] When he petitioned to return to Ireland for his health in 1834, Macdonell gave his permission.[258] Cullen used his time in Ireland to fundraise for the construction of the seminary in Upper Canada.[259] Irish priests often made good on their threat to return to Ireland when an unsatisfactory situation was not resolved. The Rev. John O'Meara returned to Ireland in 1820 without permission and a protracted battled ensued between him and the Diocese of Quebec. O'Meara claimed poor health prevented him from continuing his service and never returned to North

[253] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 29 September 1834.
[254] ARCAT, M AA05.01, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 23 January 1835.
[255] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, Rev. J. Campion to BMD, 25 August 1828.
[256] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 30 September 1828.
[257] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. Roux, 28 February 1830; ARCAT, M CB03.01, Petition of Catholics of Guelph to BMD, 26 December 1831.
[258] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Edward Duffy, 17 October 1834.
[259] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Archbishop D. Murray, 29 October 1834; BMD to Rev. Andrew Fitzgerald, 6 November 1834.

America.[260] The Rev. Simon Walsh stayed only two years in the diocese and returned to Ireland after finding the parishioners at St. Catharines too troublesome.[261] An unnamed Irish priest took a leave of absence in 1830 to return to Ireland with the expectation that he would return in a year accompanied by other Irish priests. Instead, after the year had expired and the priest reporting his intention to remain in Ireland, Macdonell was induced to appeal to the priest's conscience. Having taken an oath to serve the diocese, how could he consider taking a position in Ireland when Irish Catholics were arriving daily with "spiritual wants [that] claim the charitable aid of every pious clergyman but more particularly of every Irish clergyman?"[262]

In some cases a priest was so problematic that Macdonell was happy to provide him with an exeat. It was "better to want priests than to have bad ones" he reported to his coadjutor after giving two Irish priests their exeats in 1834.[263] One of those priests was the Rev. Patrick Foley, who complained of starvation in London. Foley was perpetually dissatisfied with his missions and in only two years had moved between four missions. Foley, Macdonell reported to Cardinal Weld, was of a "restless and unsettled disposition" who when faced with difficulty quickly abandoned his missions.[264] Rather than detain an unhappy priest against his will, Macdonell complied with his wishes and gave him

[260] AAQ, A, III-11, Rev. J. O'Meara to Bishop B.C. Panet, 4 February 1820; A, IV-25, Rev. J. O'Meara to Bishop B.C. Panet, 2 August 1827; Vol. 13, p. 313, Bishop B.C. Panet to Rev. J. O'Meara, 15 December 1827; p. 409, Bishop B.C. Panet to Rev. J. O'Meara, 9 June 1828; pg. 415, Bishop B.C. Panet to BMD, 10 June 1828; A, II-193 and A, IV-26, 27, various certificates attesting to John O'Meara's poor health and inability to travel to North America.
[261] ARCAT, M AB56.03, Rev. S. Walsh to BRG, 17 July 1837.
[262] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to unspecified, 4 August 1831.
[263] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to BRG, 6 March 1834.
[264] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Cardinal Weld, 26 March 1834.

permission to leave the diocese.[265] Foley decamped for the diocese of New York.[266] Not long after his departure it was revealed that his restlessness had been due, in part, to his involvement in a sordid love triangle.[267] Often a priest moved on when he found himself in trouble. The Reverends Timothy O'Meara and Daniel Downey continued their careers in the United States with mixed success after having been dismissed from the diocese of Kingston and the parish of Bytown.[268]

Bishop Macdonell's worst fears about Irish migrant priests were realized when upon suspension or dismissal from the diocese, they turned to itinerant ministry. No longer bound by parish and mission jurisdictions suspended priests could move easily between regions providing services to communities and families to whom the Church had neither the financial nor human resources to access. As early as 1823 Macdonell complained that at least four Irish priests who he had dismissed from service in the province were known to be "roaming through the country to the no small injury of religion."[269] One of those priests was the Rev. James Salmon who was dismissed from service in Kingston amidst questions about his qualifications and competence.[270] When his attempts to be reinstated in the Diocese of Kingston failed, Salmon began to perform marriages and baptisms first in York, then along the Welland Canal, and then in the St.

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[265] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 8 March 1834; BMD to Cardinal Weld, 26 March 1834.
[266] ARCAT, M AA04.04, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 9 April 1834.
[267] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. J. Quibbler, 10 April 1834; Macdonell to Rev. J. Quibbler, 22 April 1834.
[268] The Rev. Timothy O'Meara went to Chicago following his dismissal from Upper Canada, but was ultimately excommunicated after a dispute. ARCAT, Clerical Personnel files, Rev. Timothy John O'Meara. The Rev. Daniel Downey was also dismissed from Bytown. He found his way to Virginia where he lived out his days despite facing four trials and acquittals for the murder of his housekeeper's boyfriend. See note 222 this chapter.
[269] AAK, MLB, 1820-1829, BMD to Major G. Hillier, 29 March 1823.
[270] AAQ, HC, I-74, Rev. J. Salmon to Bishop Lartigue, 26 October 1823.

Lawrence border region.[271] In that area, Salmon moved easily between New York and Upper Canada, claiming faculties from the Bishop of New York while in the latter and faculties from Macdonell while in the former.[272] After Rev. Patrick Haran had been dismissed from Bytown in 1829, he continued to minister along the Ottawa River.[273] Border regions offered suspended priests the opportunity to bridge multiple jurisdictions and dioceses. In these places a priest could capitalize on confusion regarding his jurisdiction and legitimacy while taking advantage of the demand for his services. The Rev. Jean Baptiste Morin in the mission of River Thames complained that a priest without faculties for the diocese often crossed the Detroit River to say mass, marry and confess his parishioners usually while Morin was occupied in some other part of his mission.[274] Bishops Macdonell and Gaulin had little recourse when dealing with interdicted priests who insisted on performing sacraments. An unreliable communication network meant that warnings about the fraudulence of such priests usually failed to reach their intended audience in a timely manner.

The Rev. Peter Polin's tenure in Upper Canada was indicative of the mobility and independence so frequently exercised by Irish clergy in the early years of the Diocese of Kingston. Despite having no exeat from his bishop in Co. Down, Ireland, Polin was appointed to St. Catharines in 1833. Following a brief and lacklustre ministry there he

[271] AAQ, 210 A vol. 11, p. 370, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to Bishop Lartigue, 29 November 1823; AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Bishop Dubois, 26 January 1828; Rev. T. O'Meara to BMD, 14 October 1829.
[272] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Bishop Dubois, 26 January 1828; MLB 1829-1834, BMD to Rev. T. O'Meara, 20 November 1829.
[273] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. A. Macdonell, 18 August 1829; ARCAT, M AD07.02, Rev. Vinet to Rev. A. Macdonell, 3 August 1831. Priests who had faculties for the area expressed confusion as to whether Haran had permission to work in the area.
[274] ARCAT, M AB40.03, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 28 October 1836; Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 25 September 1837.

deserted the mission,[275] and in Bishop Macdonell's words, proceeded to wander the province "marrying un-christened Yankees to Catholics and performing other parts of the sacred ministry not with the view of promoting the glory of God and the good of religion but of scraping together the dollars." Polin was not interested in "the salvation of souls and the good of religion," lamented Macdonell.[276] Macdonell suspended the priest, but the suspension does not appear to have been adequately publicized to the diocese. When Polin surfaced in Bytown, the pastor, the Rev. John Cullen, allowed him to preach having heard nothing of his suspension.[277] After a brief foray to Philadelphia, where Macdonell speculated Polin had not "conducted himself properly," Polin resurfaced in Dundas in the summer of 1835 where he ingratiated himself with the laity and provided some much needed assistance to the parish priest, the Rev. John Cassidy.[278] Learning of Polin's location, Bishop Macdonell cautioned Cassidy with the details of Polin's suspension and a warning that to hear Polin say mass or to receive a sacrament from him was a sin.[279] The Rev. Cassidy was consequently confused when later that year, Macdonell's coadjutor Bishop Gaulin instructed him to share his mission with the suspended priest. Whether Gaulin was ignorant of the suspension is not clear, but in the meantime Cassidy had seen enough of Polin's "avaricious motives" and propensity to violate the jurisdictions of other

[275] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. P. Polin, 23 April 1834; BMD to Gentlemen of Niagara, 12 May 1834.
[276] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. J. Cullen, 16 July 1834; Bishop A. Macdonell to Rev. J. Cullen, 19 August 1834.
[277] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. J. Cullen, 16 July 1834.
[278] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. P. Polin, 6 January 1835; BMD to Rev. J. Cassidy, 11 August 1835; ARCAT, M CA08.04, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 28 July 1835; AB08.01, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 11 January 1836.
[279] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. J. Cassidy, 11 August 1835; ARCAT, M AB08.01, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 11 January 1836.

priests that he expressed discomfort at the thought of working alongside the man.[280] Cassidy resented the priest's popularity and ability to generate an income. Polin, Cassidy reported, had given a rousing St. Patrick's Day sermon that ignited "the spark in the Paddies of Dundas." Polin had collected all the money he could only to "fly off" the next morning.[281] Cassidy noted with some bitterness that unlike the apparently successful Polin, he, Cassidy had remained steadfast and poverty-stricken despite the temptation to "travel hence through America with one flaming sermon repeated in each of the missions… I could if I pleased, enrich myself with the mammon of iniquity as well as Mr. Polin."[282] Inexplicably, Polin's exeat arrived from Ireland and he was appointed again to St. Catharines and then to the Gore of Toronto.[283] The priest was audacious enough to request a share of the government allowance for the period in which he had been on the lam.[284] Polin was dead a year later leaving behind barely enough money to cover his medical and funeral bills.[285]

The occasional insubordination demonstrated by Irish priests was a function of their migration experience and perhaps more importantly of their life in Upper Canadian missions. At a remove from Church surveillance and assistance, the mission context required the ability to operate independently. The conditions mirrored those of Ireland, where a lack of Ecclesiastical oversight, and Church infrastructure, promoted a locally

[280] ARCAT, M AB07.12, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 25 August 1835; AB08.01, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 11 January 1836; CA10.01, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 29 March 1836.
[281] ARCAT, M AB08.01, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 11 January 1836; CA10.01, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 29 March 1836.
[282] ARCAT, M AB08.01, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 11 January 1836.
[283] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to BRG, 25 November 1835.
[284] ARCAT, M AD05.02, Rev. P. Polin to BMD, 8 January 1836; AD05.03, Rev. P. Polin to BMD, 20 January 1836; AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. P. Polin, 14 January 1836.
[285] ARCAT, M AB31.03, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 12 April 1837; AB23.03, Rev. T. Gibney to BRG, 18 April 1837.

oriented religion, in which the priest's authority and interests were more likely to be endorsed by the laity than those of the Bishop.[286] In Upper Canada, poor communications infrastructure meant it was difficult to implement Church regulations and the bishop's authority was consequently easy to ignore or resist. The Rev. Patrick Haran's participation in the Bytown chapter of the Society of the Friends of Ireland for example, was arguably facilitated as much by his independence and distance from the bishop as it was by his politics and ethnicity. In many cases, a priest's resistance represented his preference for and orientation to the local context of Church. At the parish level, a priest's relationship with the laity had a more immediate bearing on his day-to-day life than had his relationship with his superiors. In the absence of institutional Church structures or surveillance, the priest was at the centre of a lay-driven Catholicism focused on individual and communal goals that are the subject of Chapters 3 and 4.

Bishop Macdonell spent most of 1835 attempting to have the Rev. Timothy O'Meara removed from Bytown. Though the details of the case are frustratingly vague, it is clear that O'Meara's refusal to leave the parish was helped by his distance from the bishop and the inability of the bishop's designates to make inroads with Bytown's laity. Reports of trouble within the parish of Bytown and the poor conduct of O'Meara had reached Macdonell in early 1835.[287] Macdonell ordered the priest to report to Kingston

[286] Connolly, *Priests and People*, 81.

[287] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. T. O'Meara, 20 January 1835; BMD to Rev. T. O'Meara, 4 March 1835; BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 8 July 1835; ARCAT, M AB30.04, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 7 February 1835; Michael Cross in his dissertation and *Canadian Historical Review* article on the Shiner wars suggests O'Meara was removed because of sympathy to the Shiners. There is nothing in the extant correspondence to suggest that was the case. Reports of O'Meara's conduct begin before the initial events of the Shiner war and are never connected to the Shiners (who are discussed in the correspondence) in fact, Macdonell writes that Irish and Canadians were united in their refusal to assist Gaulin's investigation and McDonagh concluded that the conflict had been in place since the departure of Cullen from Bytown.

immediately, and the bishop expressed confidence that upon his arrival all would be quickly resolved.[288] O'Meara did not appear and try as he might Macdonell could not make sense of the dispute from afar. After months of trying to get a clear sense of what had transpired and his priest's role he dispatched Bishop Gaulin to Bytown.[289] Macdonell was surprised when Gaulin reported from Bytown that all was well particularly when the Rev. James Campion submitted a shocking account of the "wretched" O'Meara's continued "execrable conduct."[290] Macdonell ordered Gaulin back to Bytown this time with the Rev. James Moore who Macdonell hoped could more easily collect information amongst the Irish of Bytown.[291] Once again, Bishop Gaulin could not get to the bottom of the matter. Finding that no parishioner would testify against the priest, Gaulin failed to establish a canonical reason to remove the priest.[292] Macdonell fumed from a distance at his inability to remove the priest and subdue the parish.[293] Reports continued to arrive from Bytown suggesting O'Meara had "broken loose altogether and gone headlong to the Devil."[294] When O'Meara attempted to remove church wardens and take control of the parish finances neither of which were in his power,[295] Macdonell responded by dispatching the Rev. Patrick McDonagh with instructions to reinstate the church wardens and to exercise full faculties for the parish. McDonagh was to remain in Bytown as long as it took to remove the "present, unworthy, incumbent" and to restore the parish to order

[288] ARCAT, M AB30.04, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 7 February 1835.
[289] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. T. O'Meara, 4 March 1835.
[290] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to BRG, 9 March 1835; BMD to BRG, 18 March 1835; BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 21 March 1835; BMD to BRG, 27 March 1835.
[291] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to BRG, 27 March 1835.
[292] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 8 July 1835.
[293] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to BRG, 2 June 1835.
[294] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. A. Macdonell, 6 April 1835.
[295] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Catholics of Bytown, 10 August 1835.

and peace.[296] Inexplicably, it was close to seven months before the priest finally departed from Bytown.[297] The priest continued to make trouble in the diocese throughout the rest of the year particularly inciting disagreements between Macdonell and his vicar general MacDonald.[298] For O'Meara the physical distance at which he resided from his superiors enabled him to subvert their authority and the authority of their designates for a considerable period of time.

The strength of a migrant Irish priest's popularity with the laity, rather than his distance from the bishop, prompted and enabled him to resist the bishop's authority. The Rev. William O'Grady's long-drawn-out dispute with Bishop Macdonell began when the priest refused to comply with an order to relocate from York to Prescott.[299] O'Grady was a remarkably competent and enthusiastic priest who enjoyed considerable popularity amongst his flock and elite members of government. With the help of his supporters, O'Grady took possession of the parish church, St. Paul's, and blocked the bishop from the premises.[300] To Macdonell's utter mortification the O'Grady incident publicly exposed the extent to which he lacked control over his own clergy and severely damaged

[296] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 1 July 1835; Bishop A. Macdonell to Rev. P. McDonagh, 6 July 1835; BMD to Rev. P. Phelan, 6 July 1835.
[297] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 8 July 1835. O'Meara managed to outwit McDonagh and convince the priest to leave Bytown without having completed his assignment. Once again, Macdonell ordered McDonagh back to Bytown and was relieved when finally word came that, after close to seven months, O'Meara had been removed.
[298] ARCAT, M AA05.07, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 27 August 1835; AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 26 September 1835. Upon leaving the diocese of Kingston, O'Meara found his way to Illinois where he is credited as being the first priest to reside in Chicago. He was excommunicated there following a dispute with the Bishop.
[299] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W. O'Grady, 9 August 1832; The travails of O'Grady and Macdonell have been relatively well-documented by historians, though a comprehensive treatment is much-needed. See: Curtis Fahey, "O'GRADY, WILLIAM JOHN," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003) http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/o_grady_william_john_7E.html; Rea, *Bishop Alexander Macdonell*; Nicholson, "William O'Grady and the Catholic Church in Toronto Prior to the Irish Famine."
[300] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to the Bishop Lartigue, 13 March 1833.

his attempts to represent the clergy as integral to ensuring the orderly loyalty of the laity.[301]

While the extent to which the York congregation supported the priest's contention that the government had supremacy over the bishop is discussed in greater detail in Chapter four, and the priest's post-clerical career as a radical newspaper editor discussed in Chapter five, what is relevant here is the extent to which the break with O'Grady irrevocably destroyed Bishop Macdonell's already shaky trust in the Irish clergy of his diocese. In his correspondence with his counterparts and acquaintances in Europe, Macdonell used O'Grady's misdeeds as evidence of all that was wrong with the Irish clergy in Upper Canada. O'Grady migration from Ireland to Upper Canada via Brazil was now a suspicious trajectory of dubious intent, his credentials and references called into question, and his willful disregard for Macdonell's authority held up as the final proof that the Irish clergy were far too rebellious for missionary work.[302] In the aftermath, O'Grady became a bogeyman who threatened to derail any and all of Macdonell's efforts at a moment's notice.[303] When in the past, Macdonell had relied on O'Grady's ability to relate to his fellow Irish priests, the bishop now worried about O'Grady's influence over them particularly those who were most promising. In the early stages of O'Grady's revolt, Macdonell rushed to remove the Rev. Edward Gordon from the house the two priests shared in York.[304] The bishop worried that the young Gordon, who was an

[301] Rea, 103, 109.
[302] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. Angus McDonald, Rector of Scottish College, Rome, 20 August 1832; BMD to Cardinal Weld, 26 March 1834; MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Archbishop D. Murray, 29 October 1834; BMD to John Menzies, Edinburgh, 26 July 1836.
[303] Rea, *Bishop* Macdonell; ARCAT, M AB30.02, Rev. W. P. McDonagh to BMD, 23 February 1835.
[304] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. E. Gordon, 10 October 1832; same to same, 10 January 1833.

exemplary clergyman, might succumb to the destructive influence of O'Grady.[305] Macdonell worried that his Irish clergy would turn at a moment's notice as had O'Grady, or reveal themselves to have been in league with O'Grady from the start. Macdonell was distressed by rumours that linked the Rev. William Patrick McDonagh, O'Grady's replacement in Toronto, with the disgraced priest and his associates.[306] Though Macdonell believed McDonagh to be the "fittest" priest for Toronto and the best clergyman to have come to Upper Canada from Europe, he nevertheless called the priest to account for rumours that he was meeting clandestinely with the disgraced priest.[307] For his part, McDonagh angrily denied there was any truth to the allegations and threatened to return to Ireland if his superiors persisted in their suspicions of him.[308] The incident with O'Grady had a profoundly damaging effect on Macdonell's psyche and on his energy and enthusiasm for his Church-building project.

When in 1831 the Rev. Murtagh Lalor was accused of writing abusive anonymous letters to the vicar general, the Very Rev. William P. MacDonald, the Rev. William J.

[305] Reports that O'Grady was citing Gordon as the source of evidence that the bishop was inciting the Catholics of Upper Canada against the government naturally distressed the bishop considerably. AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. E. Gordon, 24 May 1833; same to same, 6 June 1834; same to same, 19 June 1834.; MLB 1834-39, BMD to Archbishop D. Murray, 29 October 1834.

[306] ARCAT, M AB29.07, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 27 October 1834; AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to J. Elmsley, 7 July 1834; BMD to J. Elmsley, 12 December 1836; BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 10 April 1837; BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 25 April 1837.

[307] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Archbishop O. Kelly, 16 February 1834; BMD to Rev. P. McDonagh, 10 November 1834; BMD to J. Elmsley, 20 September 1835; BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 10 April 1837; BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 25 April 1837.

[308] ARCAT, M AB29.07, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 27 October 1834; AB31.04, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 18 April 1837; AB31.05, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 20 April 1837; AB33.04, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BRG, 14 September 1837; AB31.08, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 14 September 1837.

O'Grady, still in favour, was tasked with reasoning with the disgruntled priest.[309] Speaking explicitly as one Irish priest to another, O'Grady reminded Lalor what he owed Bishop Macdonell and MacDonald for his education, occupation, and status in Upper Canada.[310] More importantly, and ironically considering O'Grady's fate a year later, O'Grady reminded Lalor that as an Irishman it was his duty to set a good example for his fellow countrymen and to work diligently to expunge the bad reputation of the Irish priests who had come before them. "Has it ever occurred to you," O'Grady asked, "that by your folly, you were in all probability doing irreparable injury to the other young Irishmen who may perhaps come to this country in the same low circumstances that you have; and who may aspire like you to the priesthood?" Reflecting that the Irish priests who had come before them "have not unfortunately been always remarkable for their propriety of conduct," O'Grady stressed that it was therefore incumbent on Lalor and the other Irish priests currently employed, "to be cautious, vigilant, and prudent, first to promote God's honour and glory and next with a view to wipe off the stigma that attaches to our beloved country." For O'Grady, their shared identity as Irish priests was important not only to Lalor's dispute with MacDonald, but was a fundamental part of their interaction with the laity, and also with the Upper Canadian Roman Catholic Church as a whole.

That the influx of Irish Catholics to the diocese in the early nineteenth-century was accompanied by a more modest immigration of priests was a godsend for the under-

[309] Lalor had been moved from the parish of Kingston, where he was popular with the Irish population, and moved to Bytown. Kingston's Irish Catholics reacted poorly to the move, and anonymous letters heaping abuse were sent to the parish priest MacDonald. Lalor was found to be their author.
[310] ARCAT, M AB51.06, Rev. W. O'Grady to Rev. M. Lalor, 18 July 1831.

resourced diocese. Experienced, ordained, and accustomed to the religious conditions that necessitated itinerant clergy and home-based practice, Irish priests were quickly and easily deployed to nascent parishes in which the Irish predominated. Yet in countless letters Bishop Alexander Macdonell bemoaned the damage Irish priests had done to the progress of religion in his diocese. He despaired of their materialism, transiency, and independence. He questioned their motives, their competency and credentials, and their commitment to God. The Bishop's assurances to the British Colonial Office and the colonial government that Irish Roman Catholics would be made loyal and orderly by a properly funded clergy and Church, was continually threatened by Irish clergy who were not submissive or dutiful, and over whose activities Bishop Macdonell had little control or surveillance. Macdonell's belief in the influence of an Irish priest was premised on more than just the Irish priest's ability to speak English, though certainly in the early days of the diocese, language was critical. Moreover it reflected an expectation, echoed by his superiors in Quebec, and elsewhere, that Irish clergy were uniquely positioned to employ considerable influence over their lay counterparts. This influence, if used properly by a priest properly committed to the Church, was critical, Bishop Macdonell believed, to the successful integration of Irish Roman Catholics into Upper Canadian society.

Lost in the clerical correspondence fixated on the negative aspects of an Irish priest's experience in Upper Canada is the nature of the Catholicism they disseminated and practiced. Where historians of other Roman Catholic communities have credited Irish priests with transplanting the innovations of a revitalizing Irish Church, Upper Canada offers no evidence of those voluntary societies or confraternities emblematic of the

emerging devotional revolution.[311] The case of the fraudulent priests in Essex County in the late 1830s certainly indicates that Irish Catholics in parishes with French-Canadian priests were eager to see and hear an Irish priest at their pulpits, but elsewhere it is difficult to assess whether a priest's ethnicity was critical to his ability to perform his duty to the satisfaction of his parishioners. Regrettably, the emphasis in the correspondence between the bishop and his Irish clergy on the negative aspects of the clerical-lay relationship colours any conclusions one might make about the attitude of the Irish laity toward their priests and the nature and quality of the religion they promoted. Any reflection on the part of an Upper Canadian Irish priest on his personal faith or that of his parishioners is not extant or more likely went uncommitted to paper. Yet it is clear from the ease with which they moved throughout the province, adapted to the difficult conditions and limited Church infrastructure, that Irish migrant clergy transported from Ireland to Upper Canada the aspects of Irish Catholicism best suited to the nascent Diocese. That it was also the religious practice Bishop Macdonell was most eager to discourage and eliminate did not bode well for the Irish clergy's ability to ingratiate themselves with their superior. The figurative and literal disconnect of the migrant Irish clergy from the bishop, and by extension the broader Church, also had implications for the nature of Catholicism promoted and practiced in the new and remote settlements of Upper Canada. Considering the religious context of Catholicism in Upper Canada through the lens of migrant Irish clergy reveals the extent to which the groundwork for the "hibernization" of Roman Catholic Church occurred at the parish level. Not only was

[311] Terrence Murphy, "Trusteeism in Atlantic Canada: the Struggle for Leadership among the Irish Catholics of Halifax, St. John's, and Saint John, 1780-1850" in *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1830,* ed. T. Murphy and G. Stortz (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993), 132.

the groundwork begun by the laity who migrated in massive numbers before the famine, the influence of the Irish on the progress of Catholicism beyond Ireland's shores must also be credited to the migrant clergy who operated on the ground.

Chapter 3 “We poor sinners”: Irish Catholicism, religious practice, and building community on the Upper Canadian frontier

On the 3rd of June 1826, James son of Alexander O’Neil and Margaret Houlihan was baptized at Assumption Roman Catholic church in Sandwich, Upper Canada. Jeremiah McCarthy stood as godfather. Three months later on the 10th of September, Daniel the son of Timothy Connell and Bridget Connor was baptized at Assumption; his godparents were Michael McCarthy and Mary Houlihan. Then on the first of October, Michael McCarthy returned to the church, this time with his wife Catharine Flinn and their daughter Fanny. Abraham Bannish and Margaret Houlihan stood as Fanny McCarthy’s godparents. Such were the first appearances of a small but significant Irish Catholic presence in the sacramental register of the predominantly French-Canadian parish. Between June and November of 1826, an interconnected group of friends and family appeared in the register for five infant baptisms, two infant burials, and one marriage. These events connected ten families, some already extended kin, others new neighbours, all recent arrivals to the lots along the Talbot Road in Sandwich and Maidstone Townships. Over the course of two subsequent decades, the Assumption register recorded the networks of family and friends from disparate regions of Ireland who through their participation in the sacraments of baptism and marriage, and in their presence at the funerals of friends and relatives, practiced Catholicism and in the process constructed a parish community.

With the exception of the sacramental record we know very little about the religious practice of the Irish Catholics of Sandwich or elsewhere in Upper Canada for

that matter. The Irish in French-Canadian Sandwich kept largely to themselves. They married each other, selected godparents from amongst their numbers, and accompanied each other's dead to the parish cemetery.[1] Language and geography separated the Irish from their French-Canadian co-religionists. They rarely married French-Canadians. They assumed no positions of leadership at Assumption, and no Irish names appear in the records of the *fabrique* at Assumption. The parish priest was likely uncomfortable with his inability to communicate with them in English,[2] but would have praised their devotion to their religion, as did other French clergy of the Irish in surrounding parishes.[3] We do not know how often the Irish made the 20 kilometer plus trip to Assumption church. Did they frequent Sunday mass or make the trip only when a child needed to be baptized or buried? They probably completed their Easter duty, the annual obligation to receive the Eucharist and make a confession during Lent, as did most of their countrymen in Upper Canada during this period. A church building and a resident priest, preferably an English-speaking one, were priorities for the Irish of Sandwich as they were for other nascent Roman Catholic communities. Within a decade of settlement, they had built their own chapel at Maidstone and on occasion allowed itinerant and potentially fraudulent Irish

[1] John Clarke, *The Ordinary People of Essex: Environment, Culture and Economy on the Frontier of Upper Canada* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010) 115. Clarke also finds that ethnicity determined business transactions, who one sold and bought land from in Essex County.
[2] ARCAT, M AB20.22, Rev. L.J. Fluet to BMD, 4 December 1827; M AB20.04, same to same, 31 August 1828.
[3] Morin praised the devotion" of the Irish of Raleigh Township. On Irish singing during high mass he said: "*on y a chante gré messe avec musique accompagnée de belles voix irlandaises."* ARCAT, M AB40.02, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 29 February 1836.

priests to say mass there.[4] It was likely with relief and joy that the Irish of Maidstone welcomed their own resident priest in 1846.[5]

What did Catholicism of the Irish look like in Sandwich, or in Upper Canada more broadly? As the example above indicates, and this chapter will elucidate, it was often communal in practice, local in orientation, subject to the environment, and not particularly Irish. This latter point, by virtue of the source base from which this dissertation is derived, must be argued implicitly. In the absence of lay-produced sources, there is nothing to suggest Upper Canadian Irish Catholics conceived of their religious practice as definitively Irish, nor did their clergy characterize the Irish laity's Catholicism as inherently Irish in form or content. Elements of Irish Catholic religious culture, such as an aversion to banns, casualness about elements of the sacrament of marriage, and a preference for baptism at home, appear in Upper Canada. Most certainly Irish Catholic migrants waked their dead as they would have done at "home," but the virtual silence on the subject in the clerical correspondence suggests the practice was of little matter to the Church. More importantly there is no evidence that the hallmarks of pre-Famine Irish Catholicism, what David W. Miller calls "landscape-based" religious practice— the pattern, the pilgrimage to remote sites of religious significance, the extreme penitential rituals centered on a holy well or saint's bed— were replicated in North America.[6] The station, which Emmet Larkin erroneously called a "uniquely Irish custom," was in frequent use in Upper Canada, but was a practical response to settlement conditions and

[4] ARCAT, M AB36.05, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 23 November 1836; AB55.06, Rev. A. Vervais to BRG, 11 May 1839; BB1304, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 17 July 1841; BB1305, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 10 November 1841.
[5] Rosemary Halford et al., *St. Mary's Parish, Maidstone, Ontario, 1846-1996* (Maidstone Ontario: St. Mary's Parish, 1996).
[6] The lone holy well in Ontario at Mt. St. Patrick dates from the second half of the nineteenth century and consequently was not considered in this study.

the state of Catholic infrastructure in the province, rather than a concerted attempt to replicate the customs of the "old country." It is clear that the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada operated first and foremost within a local religious context. Once in North America, Upper Canadian Irish Catholics used their practice of Catholicism not to espouse a transnational ethno-religious identity nor to participate in the emerging global Irish Catholic world, but to enact strategies to facilitate the building of community and to establish and solidify local relationships crucial to their successful settlement in their new homes.

This chapter, as does the dissertation as a whole, engages with a number of historiographical issues, concerned chiefly with the nature of Irish religion in the early nineteenth century. First, it dissents from historian Sheridan Gilley, who argues migration had an irrevocably harmful effect on the religious practice of Irish emigrants.[7] Second, it addresses the historiography of Irish Catholics and their practice of religion in diasporic communities, chiefly of North America. Much of this scholarship is beset by a paradox in which Irish Catholic emigrants are shown to have little interest in or knowledge of their religion, while simultaneously demonstrating a tenacious love of Catholicism and fervent wish to replicate and preserve the religion of their homeland in their new communities.[8]

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[7] Gilley argues that the dislocation of migration and the isolation of the American city caused the Irish peasant to be "lost" to his religion for a number of generations. The post-Famine Irish migrants who transported the Irish Catholicism of Emmet Larkin's "devotional revolution" to North America reintroduced the earlier arrivals to their religion. See: Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Nineteenth-Century Irish Diaspora," 191; and "Catholicism, Ireland and the Irish Diaspora." In *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities, 1815-1914*, ed. Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley, 250–259 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 253.

[8] Jay P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865*, (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992) is characteristic of these contradictions. Irish Catholics in New York city were "not hard pressed to preserve their religious traditions,"(6) were "Catholic in name and little more,"(57) were "not extraordinarily fervent in their religious practice…ignorant of basic Christian beliefs" (7-8) but nevertheless, "transplanted their church

The role of the Church in constructing or reconstructing the religious lives of these Irish emigrants is frequently overstated, and the role Irish Catholics played in the physical creation of parish communities in the first decades of the century goes ignored.[9]

The nature of Irish Catholicism in early nineteenth century Ireland, an area of plentiful and controversial scholarship, is of particular concern for this chapter. Ostensibly about the post-Famine period, Emmet Larkin's "devotional revolution" thesis and subsequent works, have sparked considerable scholarly output, and necessitated his subsequent focus on the nature of Irish Catholicism in the pre-Famine period. Larkin argued that under the guidance of Cardinal Paul Cullen, the post-Famine Irish Church was thoroughly Romanized, the quantity and quality of its clergy improved, and its people transformed into universally devout and practicing Catholics.[10] Focused on the laity's engagement with the official Church, Larkin drew on mass attendance statistics, priest-to-people ratios, and anecdotal evidence of the poor quality and quantity of sacred space and religious personnel to argue that the pre-Famine Church was wholly unable to

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and their religion to the United States…honoured their favourite religious heroes and fostered their particular devotions."(6) The parish church was "a familiar landmark; it provided a link to the old country"(46). The Irish historiography has little to say about Irish emigrants, but does suggest they brought little by way of religious baggage with them. Connolly, *Priests and People,* 107 includes account of a contemporary suggesting that the Irish in America fell away from the Church as they were unaccustomed to having the opportunity to practice their religion. Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution" 651, says of the Irish diaspora prior to 1860, that they were a generation of non-practicing Catholics "if indeed they were Catholics at all."

[9] Dolan, *The Immigrant Church*, 8, 57; Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Church," 203; Kevin Kenny, "Religion and immigration: the Irish Community in New York City, 1815 to 1840," *The Recorder: a Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, vol. 3 (Winter 1989) 7.

[10] Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland," 637-652; *The Historical Dimensions of Irish Catholicism*, (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1984); "The Rise and Fall of Stations," 19–32; *Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church in Pre-Famine Ireland*; "The Beginnings of the Devotional Revolution in Ireland: The Parish Mission Movement, 1825-1846," *New Hibernia Review* 18, no. 1 (2014): 91-92.

provide "adequate pastoral care" for the Catholic population, nor could it correct the long-term deterioration in religion practice evidenced in Irish Catholic society.[11]

In response, scholars such as David W. Miller, S.J. Connolly, Desmond Keenan, Michael Carroll and others have elaborated, refined, and challenged Larkin's assumptions and interpretations of the nature of religious practice and faith of Irish Catholics before 1845.[12] Larkin's critics point to alternative models of practice, faith, and religion in pre-Famine Catholicism. They argue that the absence or limits of institutional Catholicism in the period was not proof of the absence of religious practice, culture, or belief. But rather those "folk" religious practices deemed the last vestiges of a Gaelic pre-Christian past, or in other interpretations more recent popular adaptations, were all part of a vibrant

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[11] Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution," 637; *The Pastoral Role,* 4-5; "The Rise and Fall of Stations," 19-32. Stations, the practice of offering mass and confession in private homes, was of particular interest to Larkin, who saw it as simultaneously a symptom and a cure for the Church's inability to implement Tridentine Catholicism. They were made necessary by the shortage of sacred space, but as home-based practice, they were counter to the Council of Trent's emphasis on parish and Church-centered religion. Nevertheless the Church reluctantly sanctioned the practice as it provided a setting within which a cash-strapped clergy could collect an income and stations, though problematic, did allow the laity to practice "however attenuated in its form, their religion."

[12] In addition to Connolly and Larkin, other significant works on pre-Famine Irish Catholicism are: David W. Miller, "Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine," *Journal of Social History* 9, no. 1 (1975): 81–98; Keenan, *The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*; Patrick J. Corish, *The Irish Catholic Experience: A Historical Survey,* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1985); K. Whelan, "The Regional Impact of Catholicism, 1700-1850," In *Common Ground: Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland: Presented to T. Jones Hughes* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1988); Thomas G. McGrath, "The Tridentine Evolution of Modern Irish Catholicism, 1563-1962: A Re-Examination of the 'Devotional Revolution' Thesis." *Recusant History* 20 (1991): 512–523; Michael P. Carroll, "Rethinking Popular Catholicism in Pre-Famine Ireland," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 34, no. 3 (September 1995): 354–365; Lawrence J. Taylor, *Occasions of Faith: An Anthropology of Irish Catholics*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Michael Carroll, *Irish Pilgrimage: Holy Wells and Popular Catholic Devotion*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); David W. Miller, "Landscape and Religious Practice: A Study of Mass Attendance." *Eire-Ireland* 40, no. Summer 2005 (2005): 90–106; Gearoid O Crualaoich, "The 'Merry Wake.'" In *Irish Popular Culture, 1650-1850,* ed. James S Donnelly and Kerby Miller, 173–200, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1999); D. Ó Giolláin, "Revisiting the Holy Well," *Eire-Ireland* 40, no. 1–2 (2005): 11–41; D. Ó Giolláin, "The Pattern," In *Irish Popular Culture, 1650-1850*, ed. James S. Donnelly and Kerby Miller, 201–221 (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1999).

heritage: religious practices conceived and perpetuated in a particular context, and important for keeping Catholicism alive during a period in which the institutional Church was under flux in Ireland. Larkin's initial thesis sparked a deep and rich scholarship of early nineteenth century Irish Catholicism though recent critiques have pointed to the continued deficiencies of the historiography.[13]

Finally, other scholars have identified diasporic "devotional revolutions" in the second half of the nineteenth century which are premised heavily on a deficiency of Catholic practice, zeal, and initiative in early nineteenth century Ireland and consequently in the Irish Catholic migrants of the period.[14] At the root of this scholarship is a discussion of the failure or success of the early nineteenth-century Church, whether in Ireland or in the British world, to implement and enforce the regulations governing Roman Catholic practice of the sixteenth century Council of Trent. The extent to which lay practice conformed or deviated from Tridentine practice is frequently used to evaluate the extent of the Church's authority and influence and the success or failure of its Tridentine reform program. For example, the persistence in Ireland of those landscape-based rituals, which Miller notes were spontaneous, seasonal, and inaccessible, is frequently used to demonstrate the failure of the Irish Church to institute the orderly,

[13] McGrath, "The Tridentine Evolution of Modern Irish Catholicism," 512–523; John Newsinger, "The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland." *European History Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (1995): 247–267; Cara Delay, "The Devotional Revolution on the Local Level: Parish Life in Post-Famine Ireland," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 22, no. 3 (2004): 41–60; Timothy G. McMahon, "Religion and Popular Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland," *History Compass* 5, no. 3 (2007): 845–864.

[14] Colin Barr, "Imperium in Imperio: Irish Episcopal Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century," *English Historical Review* CXXIII, no. 502 (2008): 611–650; Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*; Ciara Breathnach, "Irish Catholic Identity in 1870s Otago, New Zealand," *Immigrants and Minorities* 31, no. 1 (March 2012): 1–26; Roddy, "Spiritual Imperialism and the Mission of the Irish Race," 600–617.

scheduled, and accessible Catholicism of Trent.[15] Historians of Irish Catholics in North America have applied the assumed failure of Tridentine Catholicism in Ireland to the religious practice of their subjects.[16] A lack of institutional familiarity on the part of the laity, and the persistence of "folk" religious practice and culture inherently incompatible with institutional Catholicism, they argue, made Irish Catholics a problematic flock for the North American Church. Coupled with the underdeveloped nature of the Church, in Upper Canada in particular, the first four decades of the nineteenth century were consequently a virtual religious wasteland.

How then did a group of people with apparently few religious convictions or habits at the root of their paradoxically strong religious identity interact with the Upper Canadian Roman Catholic Church, itself underdeveloped and allegedly insufficient? What follows is a discussion of the ways in which many Irish Catholics practiced their faith in Upper Canada. Drawn from admittedly church-centric sources, the focus here is necessarily focused on the laity's interaction with the institutional Church, the clergy, and the bishop. The absence of evidence of folk religion here is regrettable, but suggests that many aspects of Irish folk religion were not easily transported, too tied to place and context, or as some scholars have suggested, on the decline, and not persistent enough to be included in an emigrant's religious baggage. This is not to say that Irish Roman Catholics would not have drawn on their religious heritage or culture once in Upper Canada. For whatever it lacked in meeting canonical standards or requirements, the fact remains that Irish Catholics were remarkably well-prepared for the religious conditions of the Upper Canadian settlement frontier. The Upper Canadian context where Church

[15] Miller, "Landscape and Religious Practice," 97.
[16] Murray W. Nicolson, "Irish Tridentine Catholicism in Victorian Toronto : Vessel for Ethno-Religious." *CCHA, Study Sessions* 50 (1983): 415–436; Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism.*

resources were scarce, clergy itinerant, and religious practice frequently household-based, necessitated a style and iteration of Catholicism that would have been entirely familiar to a newly arrived Irish Catholic. Irish Catholics adapted easily to the conditions of their religion in Upper Canada, and similarly many aspects of Irish Catholic religious culture were easily transplanted in the new locale.

Bishop Macdonell and his clergy rarely corresponded about the nuances of lay, Irish and otherwise, piety or religious practice. Macdonell was certain of the extent to which his Church could have a significant and positive influence on the Irish Catholics of the province. He premised his arguments not only on his belief in the power of religion in the lives of the laity, but also on the assumed devotion of the Irish to their religion. In their petitions and their actions the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada created for themselves and their families opportunities to practice Catholicism, and solicited the presence of the institutional Church in their communities. They identified religious practice as important to their lives, and to the life-altering and ongoing project of migration and settlement. It is clear the laity welcomed the presence of priests in their midst, but exercised agency and resistance to moderate and control their relationship with the clergy and within the institutional Church structure. The Irish clergy of the province made little or no comment on the quality of Irish piety, but their French-Canadian counterparts noted a difference. The Irish were far more devout than their French-Canadian coreligionists, they argued. The Rev. Jean Baptiste Morin, in particular, praised the devotion of the Irish of his mission: "*quel respect pour leur prêtre," "leur piète, leur dévotion… de Dieu est un grand plaisir pour moi.*"[17] Macdonell and his clergy also noted

[17] ARCAT, M AB38.02, Rev. J.B. Morin to BMD, 6 June 1832; AB40.02, Rev. J.B. Morin to BMD, 29 February 1836; AB39.06, Rev. J.B. Morin to BMD, 12 September 1835.

the extent to which the Irish were loyal to their clergy and protective of their presence in their communities. The Irish it was said were more generous than their Scots counterparts.[18] When the Rev. Hugh Henry Fitzpatrick threatened to quit the parish of Adjala-Tecumseth in 1837, he reported that the parishioners were "terrified." They "are all Irish," he reported, and "dread as their life that they will be left without a priest."[19]

In petitions to Church and government officials, the laity confirmed this picture of their religious devotion. Using the submissive language of the genre,[20] the authors of these petitions usually spoke of the benefits religion for their community.[21] Petitions, such as one from Guelph in 1831, avowed the petitioners' devotion to Catholicism, "we shall, as we have always done, cling to the soul-saving truths…of Our Holy Religion."[22] They also echoed Bishop Macdonell's assertions that Catholicism enforced obedience and loyalty to the government. The Roman Catholics of Huntley Township who petitioned the Lieutenant Governor for funds for their church three times in two years, noted that a priest and church in their community would, "be the most effectual means to inspire us with the love of God and consequently with due obedience and subordination to the government that protects us."[23] A committee representing the Catholics of Yarmouth, Southwold and London argued that the presence of a priest in their midst

[18] ARCAT, M AA02.03, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 6 November 1829.
[19] ARCAT, M AB19.03, Rev. H.H. Fitzpatrick to BRG, 1 May 1837.
[20] J.K. Johnston, *In duty bound: men, women, and the state in Upper Canada, 1783-1841*, (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).
[21] ARCAT, M AC01.01, Petition of Roman Catholics of Albion Township, 30 November 1831; AC25.01, Petition of Tecumseth Roman Catholics, 15 April 1835; AC11.01, Petition of Medonte Township Catholics, 6 March 1839; AO, UC Sundries, C-6881, petition of Catholics of Huntley Township, 16 January 1834, p. 74950-74953.
[22] ARCAT, M CB03.01, Petition of Catholics of Guelph, 26 December 1831.
[23] AO, UC Sundries, C-6881, Petition of Catholics of Huntley Township, 16 January 1834, p. 74950-74953; C-6887, petition of Catholics of Huntley Township, 24 May 1834, p. 77262-22265; C-6891, petition of Catholics of Huntley Township, 19 October 1836, p. 93561-93563.

would not only benefit their own spiritual lives, but would encourage the settlement of other Irish Catholics to the region.[24] The legacy of Catholicism in Ireland, and the importance of their religion to their new lives in Upper Canada, was also addressed by petitioners. The Irish Catholics of Adelaide Township begged Bishop Macdonell to send them a priest, so that they could begin to enjoy the "spiritual comforts, which we (as out forefathers did) hold most sacred."[25] The Catholics of Guelph, claimed a "tenacious buoyancy" for Catholicism that matched the "adoration [for the religion] of our ancestors."[26]

By requesting priests, churches, or funding for both, these petitions demonstrate the extent to which Upper Canadian Irish Roman Catholics solicited the presence of the institutional Church in their communities. The Irish sought and valued the presence of a priest in their communities. Other petitions stressed the centrality of a priest and church to their ability to practice their religion. Begging the bishop for assistance in securing land for a church, the Irish Catholics of Raleigh Township swore that they wished "as much as possible to follow the forms and rituals of our Holy Church."[27] The Catholics of Thorah Township, who petitioned for visits from the missionary stationed at Penetanguishene, wanted to see "the blessing of the Gospel once more diffused amongst us."[28] In the aftermath of the cholera epidemic of 1832, the Roman Catholics of Dundas petitioned the Lieutenant Governor for the means to support a permanently resident priest. A priest was desperately required in the community to administer sacraments,

[24] ARCAT, M AC19.01, Catholics of London area to BMD, 6 September 1830. They reported that a scout for 20 families living in Utica, NY had arrived recently and stated that had their been a priest there those families would have relocated to the area.
[25] ARCAT, M AC09.05, Petition of Township of Adelaide Catholics, 28 October 1832.
[26] ARCAT, M CB03.01, Petition of Catholics of Guelph, 26 December 1831.
[27] ARCAT, M AC09.02, Petition of Roman Catholics of Raleigh Township, 26 February 1836.
[28] ARCAT, M AC26.02, Petition of Roman Catholics of Thorah Township, 11 December 1831.

particularly in cases of sickness, or "in times of pestilence." During the "late awful visitation" the petition noted many in their community had died "without receiving the consolation provided by our Holy Mother Church."[29]

In Upper Canada, religious and devotional texts were critical to the religious practice of Roman Catholics, particularly in the absence of institutional Church infrastructure or resources. In an early letter of instruction, Bishop J.O. Plessis encouraged the then Rev. Alexander Macdonell to go to York where he was to help the Catholics there organize regular gatherings where, in the absence of mass services, they might hear the reading of Catholic books.[30] Convinced of the "*profonde ignorance des peuples destitués de tout culte spirituel*" Plessis endeavoured to send Roman Catholic literature to the upper province, but complained that English-language texts were frequently too expensive.[31] Similarly, Bishop Macdonell saw religious texts as critical to the instruction and practice of the laity. In the early years of his tenure, Macdonell included provisions for the purchase of religious books in his requests for government funding.[32] He had witnessed the good effect access to religious texts could have on a population without regular clerical contact and endeavoured to distribute books where possible. In 1819, he noted "round the Bay of Quinte there are several hundred Catholics

[29] ARCAT, M AC04.02, Petition of Dundas Roman Catholics, no date.
[30] AAQ 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 5 Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 15 March 1807.
[31] AAQ 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 11, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to Rev. T. O'Meara, 16 January 1823.
[32] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Sir P. Maitland, 12 July 1820; MC, A12C7, letter 27, draft of petition for government funding and the purchase of religious books, no date. The bishop sought to increase, but also control the distribution of religious texts in his diocese and in particular noted that his surveillance was necessary to ensure inappropriately political religious texts were not imported from Ireland by Upper Canadian Roman Catholics themselves. AAK, MC, AI2C7, BMD to Sir P. Maitland, 9 March 1826. In a request for £300 for religious books for the Irish Catholics of his diocese, Macdonell warned Sir Peregrine Maitland that without appropriate funding to support such a purchase, the Irish Catholics of the province might be tempted to purchase religious tracts apparently being distributed by the Catholic Association.

besides many respectable Protestants who have acquired some knowledge of the Catholic Religion by means of Catholic books that I have been diffusing amongst them."[33] Bishop Macdonell believed that the lack of books in the diocese was an impediment to the progress of Catholic education and the formation of Roman Catholics as British subjects.[34] Maintaining a modicum of control over the religious texts brought into the diocese also enabled the bishop to combat the inconsistencies in public worship and the interpretation of Church doctrine that were rampant amongst the mixed population of the diocese. Accordingly Macdonell took a lead role in printing, procuring, and distributing catechisms and prayer books to Roman Catholics without means or in settlements too distant from York or Kingston. The bishop imported religious articles such as rosaries from Montreal and Quebec, but relied on friends in Scotland and his coadjutor Bishop Thomas Weld who was stationed in Rome to supply the diocese with English-language religious works.[35]

It is impossible to determine the extent to which devotional literature and religious texts featured in the religious practice of Upper Canadian Roman Catholics. The importance of literacy to the practice of popular religion in Protestant societies such as New England is known,[36] but the apparent de-emphasis on the study of the Bible, means

[33] AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 7, BMD to Bishop of Saldae, 4 November 1819.
[34] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Bishop Signay, 8 February 1830.
[35] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Dr. McKinnon, 16 September 1820; BMD to Civil Secretary's Office, 26 October 1827; BMD to J. Richardson, 8 November 1827; BMD to Bishop T. Weld, 6 December 1827; BMD to Bishop T. Weld, 6 May 1827; BMD to Rev. L.J. Fluet, 7 April 1829; MLB 1829-34, Bishop T. Weld to BMD, 11 August 1829. Macdonell was displeased when reports reached him that the Rev. James Campion had sold a large shipment of religious texts from the Ursuline convent in Cork. He demanded an account of the sales receipts. AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 15 January 1836, same to same, 16 February 1836, same to same, 9 November 1836.
[36] David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989) 21-71; Richard Gawthrop and Gerald

lay literacy figures less prominently in the study of Roman Catholicism. Literacy was improving by the early nineteenth-century in Ireland particularly amongst the youngest Catholics.[37] In 1820 Bishop Macdonell noted that the rising generation of Roman Catholics in his diocese were literate.[38] Harvey Graff's study of nineteenth century literacy in mid-century Canadian cities found that despite their predominance amongst the illiterate, the majority of Irish Catholics, approximately 70 per cent, were literate.[39] In early nineteenth-century Ireland there is evidence that religious books were read aloud before mass.[40] Travelling peddlers and storekeepers sold religious texts to those who could afford them, but the literacy rates of the laity, particularly of the very poor, meant the clergy were the main consumers.[41] In *Households of Faith* Ann Taves examines the rapid rise in the supply and demand for Roman Catholic devotional literature in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century.[42] Though concerned with the mass-market for Catholic texts in the second-half of the nineteenth-century, Taves' study

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Strauss. "Protestantism and Literacy in Early Modern Germany" *Past & Present*, no. 104. (Oxford University Press, Past and Present Society: 1984): 31–55.

[37] Connolly, *Priests and People*, 94. In 1841, 50 per cent of men born in 1741 to 1760 were illiterate, compared with 38 per cent of those born between 1811 and 1820 and 35 per cent of those born in the 1820s. Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford University Press, 1998) 70-71, 96, 128. Despite rampant illiteracy that persisted into the 1840s, Miller notes "increasing literacy" at the root of the changes in pre-Famine Irish society.

[38] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Sir P. Maitland, 12 July 1820.

[39] Harvey Graff, *The Literacy Myth: Literacy and Social Structure in the Nineteenth-Century Cit*y (New York: Academic Press, 1979) 58.

[40] Keenan, *The Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, 92.

[41] Connolly, *Priests and People*, 94. Instructional guides for writing and delivering sermons were popular, as the sermon was seen as the primary mode of religious education for the illiterate laity.

[42] Ann Taves, *Household of Faith: Roman Catholic Devotions in Mid-Nineteenth Century America*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986). A mass market for Roman Catholic literature had emerged by 1850 facilitated by technological advancements, the increase in the Irish Roman Catholic population, and the prevalence and popularity for English-speaking parish missions and devotional organizations. By the 1850s most literate American households owned at least one or as many as three books and adult women in particular drove demand for devotional texts.

demonstrates that a considerable variety of Catholic texts were already available by the 1820s to North American Roman Catholics.

Church-produced newspapers with primarily theological content were also available to Upper Canadian Roman Catholics. Prospectuses for such newspapers from throughout North America appeared from time-to-time in the Upper Canadian press.[43] It is likely however the Upper Canadian Roman Catholics had neither the means nor the interest to subscribe to Church organs. An attempt by Bishop Macdonell and his vicar general the Very Rev. William P. MacDonald in 1830 to publish their own diocesan newspaper *The Catholic* was a resounding failure. The theological content of *The Catholic* seemed to appeal only to priests who relied on its contents when instructing parishioners and drafting sermons.[44]

Upper Canadian Roman Catholics with means could purchase English-language religious texts imported from the United States and Ireland from merchants in York and Kingston.[45] An 1833 ad in *The Canadian Correspondent* promised Roman Catholic books at "LOW PRICES."[46] The York bookseller held 100 copies of *Path to Paradise* a popular prayer book published in Baltimore in the early 1830s and kept in print well into the 1870s.[47] Also on offer was "Butler's Catechism" a well-known and oft-published

[43] *The Canadian Correspondent*, 21 December 1833. One example was the *Shepherd of the Valley* a diocesan newspaper out of Missouri that promised to "expound, defend and disseminate the real tents of the Catholic Religion." It commanded an annual subscription of three dollars.
[44] Gill, "The Sword in the Bishop's Hand," 447-448.
[45] For examples see: *Canadian Freeman*, 4 September 1828, 27 December 1832; *The Canadian Correspondent*, 2 November 1833; *Kingston Chronicle and Gazette*, 30 December 1843.
[46] *The Canadian Correspondent*, 2 November 1833.
[47] Taves, 141; Rev. J. Wright, *Early Prayer Books of America*, (St. Paul, Minn. 1895), 23.

catechism compiled by James Butler, Archbishop of Cashel and Emly in 1775.[48] There were also 50 copies of "Doway Testaments" likely an edition of the Douay Bible, an English translation of the Bible published in Dublin and the United States in this period.[49] That this book was offered is curious. Bible reading was not common in Ireland and there is some evidence to suggest it was discouraged by the Irish Catholic clergy in Upper Canada.[50] Nevertheless, a healthy literacy and the distribution networks of colonial booksellers meant Roman Catholics may have chosen to supplement their private or public religious practice with a prayer book or used a catechism to instruct their children.

Lay demand for religious texts can be discerned from the frequent requests made by clergy in far-flung missions for catechisms, religious tracts, and other religious items.[51] The rough conditions of navigation and travel in the province made the distribution of religious goods difficult.[52] In Malden where the novena of St. Francis Xavier was popular with the predominantly French-Canadian population, the resident priest the Rev. Augustin Vervais sent to Montreal for pictures of the saint. He noted that it was cheaper to have the pictures shipped to Kingston and then passed along the

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[48] Connolly, *Priests and People*, 122. Copies of Butler's catechism are preserved by Google books here: http://tinyurl.com/hg5tnp2 and a version for the U.S. here: http://tinyurl.com/gqvxrju.
[49] For more on the Douay Bible see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Douay%E2%80%93Rheims_Bible. A version printed in Philadelphia in 1840 is found on Google books here: http://tinyurl.com/ho3d5e9 and comprehensive list of versions, showing the first North American printing in 1824 is here: http://www.douaybible.com/collection/CollectionList.htm.
[50] Keenan, 92; AAK, MLB, 1829-34, JJ. Anderson to Sir J. Colborne, 2 August 1833, in which Anderson complained that his method of teaching Roman Catholic children to read using the bible was objected to by the Rev. Lawrence Dempsey.
[51] ARCAT, M AB39.04, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 2 January 1835; AB07.10, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 10 March 1835; AB52.02, Rev. P. Schneider to BMD, 4 October 1836, AB05.03, Rev. M.J. Burke to BMD, 23 March 1837; BB05.03, Rev. C. Lee to BRG, 19 April 1841; AAK, MLB 1829-34, Rev. T. O'Meara to BMD, 14 October 1829; BMD to Mr. Bell, 11 September 1832.
[52] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. L.J. Fluet, 7 April 1829; AAK, MLB 1829-34, Rev. T. O'Meara to BMD, 14 October 1829.

network of clergy in the diocese until they reached Malden.[53] The priests and laity in the southwestern parishes of the diocese were particularly frustrated by the distance and time impeding their access to religious texts in both English and French. Priests in those missions made frequent requests for the books in both languages as they relied on these books to bridge the language difficulties between themselves and the laity.[54] From River Thames in 1835, the Rev. Jean Baptiste Morin reported "*j'aurois besoin de livres anglais*," including a copy of "*le petit Rituel de Québec*" in English and "*quelques douzaines de Catechismes anglais*" as the Irish of the mission "*n'entendent pas le français*."[55] The Rev. Michael Robert Mills sent ten dollars to Bishop Gaulin in 1839 for what he indicated were much-needed rosaries. He wrote again two months later to reiterate the need and to urge their swift delivery.[56]

In an effort to increase and control the supply of Catholic texts in the province, Bishop Macdonell had an English language catechism printed in the diocese in the late 1820s and early 1830s.[57] The bishop had the clergy sell and distribute these books throughout the diocese for three pence a copy. The clergy strenuously objected to Macdonell's method of deducting the price of the catechisms from their biannual government allowance. Their objections were founded primarily on the lukewarm

[53] ARCAT, M AB55.01, Rev. A. Vervais to BRG, 9 January 1839; AB55.10, Rev. A. Vervais to BRG, 7 December 1839.
[54] ARCAT, M AB20.02, Rev. L.J. Fluet to BMD, 4 December 1827; AB20.06, Rev. L.J. Fluet to BMD, 25 February 1829; AB38.02, Rev. J.B. Morin to BMD, 6 June 1835; AB39.06 Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 12 September 1835; BB12.03, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 14 April 1840; BB12.06, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 12 September 1840; BB13.01 Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 2 January 1841; BB13.06, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 3 January 1842.
[55] ARCAT, M AB38.02, Rev. J.B. Morin to BMD, 6 June 1835.
[56] ARCAT, M AB37.04, Rev. M.J. Mills to BRG, 6 May 1839; AB37.05, Rev. M.J. Mills to BRG, 2 July 1839.
[57] No copies appear to be extant of the text, and it is not clear who wrote the text. ARCAT, M AA02.03, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 6 November 1829; AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. T. O'Meara, 20 November 1829. Macdonell told O'Meara he was having 1000 copies of a catechism printed in Kingston.

reception given the texts in their missions and their inability to recuperate their lost income.[58] The Rev. John Cassidy received a 400 copy shipment in Guelph and though he had sent out parcels of a "couple of dozen each" throughout his mission he was not confident he would "get payment for them." The books were missing an account of the liturgy something Cassidy saw as vital to the marketability of the texts. "If I am to retain all these catechisms," he wrote, "it will be necessary for me to procure 400 impressions of the serving of mass sowed[sic] or attached one to each book."[59] Later when he learned the cost of the books would be deducted from his government allowance, Cassidy threatened to send the 380 copies he had on hand "packing to Kingston." In the end the Rev. Cassidy handed the remaining copies over to a layman who in turn promised to remit the proceeds of the sale to the bishop.[60] In the London mission, the Rev. Michael Robert Mills admitted to using coercion to induce his parishioners to purchase the catechisms. He managed to sell forty dollars worth by threatening to exclude from Easter confession the parents of children who were not catechized at home.[61] In the absence of other catechism texts, the bishop's book was their only choice.

The station, the practice of offering mass in a private home, was a common feature of Roman Catholic practice in Upper Canada where marriages and baptisms were also frequently conducted in private homes. For British North American bishops, station masses were a painful reminder of the inadequate infrastructure in new and remote

[58] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 4 June 1834; ARCAT, M AB11.02, Rev. D. Downey to BMD, 18 December 1834.
[59] ARCAT, M CA07.03, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 4 October 1834.
[60] ARCAT, M AB07.10, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 10 March 1835; AO, Rev. E. MacDonald fonds, MS 444, Reel 3, Series B-1-7, Rev. John MacDonald diary, 1836. In Perth, the Rev. John MacDonald also relied on lay people to sell the catechisms, including Mrs. Pat Tereney of Smith Falls who gave him the proceeds of her efforts in January 1836.
[61] ARCAT, M AB37.03, Rev. M.R. Mills to BRG, 12 March 1839.

settlements.[62] The Lower Canadian leadership discouraged the practice as "contrary to the common law of the diocese," but nevertheless conceded that mass could be said in a home in "some peculiar cases," or when a church was more than six miles away.[63] In later years, Archbishop Joseph Octave Plessis allowed that "*raisons pressantes*" might require mass to be said, or a child baptized in a private home.[64]

Historians of Irish Catholicism, Emmet Larkin in particular, used stations as evidence of both the insufficiency and innovation of Catholicism.[65] Necessitated by a dearth of religious personnel and infrastructure, the station was nevertheless integral to the process by which the Church consolidated and expanded religious practice in Ireland in the nineteenth-century. Station masses offered priests economic security in the form of a secure annual income of dues and other fees, emphasized the priest and the mass as central to the religious life of the people, and significantly enshrined the voluntary system which bound the clergy "more closely to their people but also freed them from any

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[62] Despite the Church's wishes otherwise, stations were used in new settlement areas of Lower Canada and in eighteenth-century Halifax. Mark G. McGowan, *Michael Power: The Struggle to Build the Catholic Church on the Canadian Frontier,* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005) 25, 63. Stations also used in other "frontier" Roman Catholic communities: Ruth Schumann, "The Catholic Priesthood of South Australia, 1844-1915," *The Journal of Religious History* 16, no. 1 (June 1990): 60-61; Breathnach, "Irish Catholic Identity," 1–26.

[63] AAQ 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 5, Bishop J.O. Plessis to Rev. A. Macdonell, 15 March 1807; AAK, MC, AI4CL2, letter 1, Pastoral Letter of Bishop Denaut, 25 April 1802.

[64] AAK 210 A, Registre des lettres, vol. 11, p. 105, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to Rev. T. O'Meara, 16 January 1823.

[65] Larkin "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland"; Miller "Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine," 81–98; Keenan, 99-100; Carroll, "Rethinking Popular Catholicism," 354–365; Larkin, "The Rise and Fall of Stations," 19–32. Connolly, *Priests and People*, 107; Larkin, "Before the Devotional Revolution"; Miller, "Landscape and Religious Practice," 90–106; Carroll, *Irish Pilgrimage,* 159-164; Larkin, *The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church*; McMahon, 845–864.

dependence on the British State," Larkin argues. [66] The station represented an accommodation between the customary and canonical systems of religious practice and facilitated widespread compliance with the annual mass obligation; conversely it also represented an "informal sanction of neglect of weekly church attendance."[67]

For Upper Canada, where in the first decade of Bishop Macdonell's tenure, only three churches existed, stations were a very necessary practice. For Irish Catholics newcomers it was probably a very familiar practice. The bishop gave his clergy permission to say mass in homes so long as the homes were "clean and decent" and sufficiently distant from a church. At stations the holy sacrifice of the mass was to be offered on a temporary altar that was "perfectly firm and solid, and not liable to shaking nor falling down." No children or dogs were to be allowed to "run about the house or come near the altar."[68] Diocesan regulations also allowed baptism in a private home only in "cases of necessity" and provided there was "no danger of irreverence to the holy mysteries."[69] In new or remote settlements, a very occasional mass in a private home was the only access many Upper Canadian Roman Catholics had to the ritual. In 1835, the Rev. William John Louis Wiriath estimated that at least 300 Huron Tract Roman Catholics, and an additional 200 in Waterloo and Wilmot Townships, attended mass only in private homes.[70] In 1837, the Rev. Michael Robert Mills reported that he had happened

[66] Larkin, "The Rise and Fall of Stations," 29. Larkin also argues that the Station system tied the agricultural bourgeoisie and merchant class, the "nation-forming class" in his parlance, more closely to the Church.
[67] Miller, "Landscape and Religious Practice," 90–106; Miller, "Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine," 90.
[68] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. L.J. Fluet, 26 May 1828.
[69] AAK, "Letter Book 1833-68, including Statistics of Catholics of Upper Canada," 12, 15; Dean Harris, *The Catholic Church in the Niagara Peninsula, 1626-1895* (Toronto: William Briggs) 113-114. includes a reimagining of a station given by the Rev. Edward Gordon.
[70] AAK, "Letter Book 1833-68, including Statistics of Catholics of Upper Canada," 39.

upon a settlement in the vicinity of Goderich consisting of nine Irish Catholic families: "they have no immediate pastor," he wrote "nor have they ever been visited by any priest till I gave there a station."[71]

Other Upper Canadian communities had regular access to a priest and a relatively frequent schedule for station masses. The parish priest at Perth, the Rev. John MacDonald, recorded his extensive and frequent tours of the surrounding townships and canal works throughout the 1830s.[72] In 1837, for example, he held stations, of between one and six days in length, in 11 different homes in Ramsay, Packenham, Lanark, and Beckwith Townships between January and July of that year.[73] The Rev. MacDonald recorded no stations during the late summer and early fall when agricultural activity in the townships was at its height.[74] Weather and travelling conditions determined not just whether a priest could make the trip, but more critically, whether the laity was interested or able to attend the station. Stations were held in homes proximate to a sufficient number of Roman Catholics, and also in the homes of those able and willing to host the priest and their neighbours adequately. In Ireland, a station mass conferred prestige on the host and his family, and enabled the "better class" of farmer to demonstrate his prosperity,

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[71] ARCAT, M A37.03, Rev. M.R. Mills to BMD, 12 March 1839; Mills had also in his travels encountered Roman Catholics in Wellington and Simcoe Townships who were similarly situated and he asked for permission to hold a station in those townships. He also reported giving stations in the vicinity of Beechville. AB09.03, Rev. M.R. Mills to BMD, 21 February 1839.
[72] AO, Rev. E. MacDonald fonds, MS 444, Reels 3, 4, various Rev. John MacDonald diaries.
[73] The Rev. MacDonald often held multi-day stations. For example, he began January 1837 with a 2 day station at the Tereney home in Lanark, followed by a 6 day station at the Corkery home in Ramsay.
[74] MacDonald also avoided visiting canallers on the Rideau works during the "sickly season" of July to October when mosquito-borne disease wrecked havoc on the labourer population. For environmental conditions on canal works see Peter Way, *Common Labor: Workers and the Digging of North American Canals, 1780-1860*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 152-3.

generosity, wealth, and perhaps less importantly, his piety.[75] It is difficult to determine the relative wealth of Upper Canadian Roman Catholics who hosted stations, but certainly the host would have had to provide at the very minimum sufficient space for the service and food and possibly accommodations for the priest and any attendees.[76] The Rev. MacDonald made repeat visits to the homes of parishioners who had hosted stations in previous years.[77] Not all who hosted repeated in subsequent years. Having hosted a station, it is conceivable that a family might have determined the requirements were beyond their capabilities or resolved to share the privilege with a neighbouring family who were also eager to publicly demonstrate their devotion to the priest and to the Church.[78] The Rev. MacDonald's schedule of stations enabled many of his parishioners to fulfill their annual mass obligation, and to receive the sacraments of baptism and marriage. Others were willing, and the extent of the priest's travels meant they were able, to exceed the minimum standard by attending multiple stations in one year.[79] It is impossible to determine what percentage of the parish population attended station masses. Attendance at a station was not recorded, and the priest's records noted only those who gave him cash or goods, and those who stood as a witness or godparent at a

[75] Carroll, Irish Pilgrimage, 161-3.
[76] A prolonged stay allowed the priest to recover from his travels, and enabled those in the vicinity to hear of the priest's presence and to attend one of the station days.
[77] In Lanark Township for example, John McCoy of the 12th concession had hosted in 1835, 1836, and 1837.
[78] In Lanark, Terrence Doyle of the 9th concession, hosted once in January 1835. Anthony Ryan's hosted the following year in a bid to ensure a station remained in the "neighbourhood." Patrick Quinn on the 9th concession and John Carberry on the 8th concession hosted in 1837 instead. Quinn, Carberry and Doyle, three of the "Seven Irishmen" are credited with founding the parish of Ferguson Falls. See: *The Parish of St. Patrick's Church Ferguson Falls, 1856, St. Columbkill's Church, McDonald's Corners, 1893, Sacred Heart Church, Lanark, 1903, Its Place in History*, (Perth, 1993) 6-7.
[79] For example John McCoy attended a station at his neighbour James Tereney's home on the 12th concession on the first of January 1837, and then hosted the last of four Lanark stations for the year on the 30th of March. In addition to hosting the station on the first of January, James Tereney attended a station a week later at Timothy O'Brien's home on the ninth concession.

marriage or baptism. Consequently the presence of many, particularly women and children, is obscured.

Cross-referencing the Rev. MacDonald's diary with the parish register for Perth provides insight into a typical Upper Canadian station mass and the spiritual and social utility the practice afforded Upper Canadian Irish Catholics. One such station was held on the seventh concession of Lanark Township on the second of February 1836 at the home of Anthony Ryan. MacDonald's records indicate that in addition to saying mass at Ryan's home he baptized four infants, and received donations from 14 individuals. Not including the baptized children, at least 20 people attended the station. Of those who gave donations to the priest, all but three lived within close proximity to Ryan's home on the seventh, eighth, or ninth concession.[80] As was the case for their Irish counterparts, the station mass was a critical source of financial support in the form of stipends and dues for the Upper Canadian priest.[81] The Rev. John MacDonald kept careful records of the cash and goods he received at stations; station masses were not only important to his financial health but they could be incredibly lucrative. Lay people's generosity at a station demonstrates the extent to which it was important to their religious practice. At Ryan's station the priest received six pounds for one day of work. Seventy per cent of the contributors gave the priest 10 or more shillings in cash.[82] These were considerable sums

[80] The outliers were Edward Mullan who lived on the tenth concession; John Closs was settled on the fourth concession; and Peter Commins who was from the twelfth concession of Drummond Township on the southern border of Lanark Township.
[81] Larkin, "The Rise and Fall of Stations" 24-25; Carroll, *Irish Pilgrimage,* 159; Delay, 51-52. It is not clear if Upper Canadian priests resisted the eradication of stations as did the Irish clergy who resented the cessation of the financial support stations represented.
[82] MacDonald's diary records multiple instances of women giving him goods such as clothing or food, but in virtually every case it was noted to have been a "gift" rather than a contribution. As was custom and common at most stations given by MacDonald during the 1830s, the godparents, rather than the parents of the baptized children, gave the priest donations. MacDonald's records

in a period in which a skilled worker commanded approximately 5 shillings a day and an established farmer might report an income of between forty and sixty pounds a year.[83]

The four baptisms conferred at Ryan's station are revelatory of the ways in which Upper Canadian Roman Catholics approached the practice of their religion in frontier settlements. The four infants baptized were drawn from two families. The first was one-day old Michael, the son of James Syllevan and Anna O'Donnell.[84] For the Syllevan family, who resided on the 8th concession, the birth of their son a day before the (likely) planned appearance of the priest at Ryan's on the adjacent 7th concession was fortuitous, but likely members of the family had already planned to attend. Members of the Syllevan family were regular participants at Lanark stations in the period of study.[85] For them the station mass was an integral part of their relatively regular religious practice. The second family bringing children to be baptized at Ryan's station were the Closs family who resided on the fourth concession. Brothers Charles (2), Patrick (16 months), and James (6 months) each received the sacrament at Ryan's station. Charles' mother Elizabeth was dead, and a Mary Horan was the mother of Patrick and James. A second marriage for their father John does not appear in the Perth register, nor does a burial for Elizabeth, but

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indicate that he had not set, or could not enforce, a standard rate for baptisms. For example: Michael Bennett, a tailor, stood as godfather to Charles Closs and gave MacDonald two shillings six pence. Michael Syllevan, a carpenter and godfather to his namesake gave the priest five shillings. James Hartney contributed a considerable amount of 15 shillings after standing as godfather to James Closs. Women who stood as godmothers did not contribute in their own name but rather through their husband or father.

[83] Peter Russell, *Attitudes to Social Structure and Mobility in Upper Canada 1815-1840*, (Queenston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990) 9. A donation to the priest in cash would have necessitated planning for most cash-poor rural residents.

[84] Rev. John MacDonald's spelling of Irish names was frequently incorrect, inconsistent and phonetic. Nevertheless I have chosen to maintain his spellings.

[85] It is not clear if the child's mother attended the station. As a nursing mother she would have been exempt from the obligation to attend mass, and nor would she have been able to be "churched" in such a short period of time. Anna O'Donnell attended a station in January 1837 on the 8th concession. Michael Syllevan, godfather to O'Donnell's child and likely her brother-in-law, attended the station at Terrence Doyle's home in 1835.

the baptisms of two other sons born to John and Elizabeth and baptized together, one at 5 years old and the other at 1 month, in May of 1824 suggests the Closs's interaction with the Church was infrequent and limited to sporadic and opportunistic baptisms. It would appear the Closs family had made a purposeful trip to the Ryan home having neglected to attend a station in at least the previous two years.

The relative quiet of the winter season when work was not taxing or consuming and travel relatively easy with a sleigh over snow, meant the station mass was as much a social event as a religious one. The winter social lives of Lower Canadians is well documented and there is little to suggest a winter station in Lanark Township would have been any less sociable.[86] The station provided a chance to renew acquaintances and meet relatives who were settled nearby but perhaps not close enough for regular contact. Most of the contributors at Ryan's station were close relations or neighbours. Some were very close neighbours. In three cases attendees shared a lot, or resided with another attendee.[87] The records of godparents at baptisms conducted at Ryan's as well as at other Lanark stations in this period indicate that relationships persisted beyond shared lots, but across concessions and between families. The surnames Quinn, Hartney, Burns, Syllevan and Connor repeat in MacDonald's sacrament and financial records for Lanark in this period.[88]

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[86] Allan Greer, *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes 1740-1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985) 33.

[87] Michael Syllevan resided with his brother James on lot 3 on the 8th concession. James O'Connor and James Hartney shared the lot 8 on the 8th concession. Michael Bennett boarded in Hartney's home. John and Patt Connor shared the first lot on the 9th concession where Cooper John Burns boarded.

[88] For example Edward Mullan of the 10th concession closer to John McCoy's house the site of stations on the 31st of January and 1st of February, but chose to make the trip to Ryan's house on the 7th concession. Mullan may have chosen the latter station because of who would be in

A recurring trope in the amateur parish history is the extreme lengths early Roman Catholics went to in order to attend mass. Tales of multi-day trips on foot, by boat, or "floating bridge" are common but are not without an element of truth.[89] Writing to Archbishop John J. Lynch in 1888, Martin Curtin noted that before there was a church in Oshawa, he and other Roman Catholics "used to walk from here to Toronto nearly every Christmas to church and times we had to spare."[90] When the then Rev. Alexander Macdonell visited York in 1822, he reported that people had come from upwards of 50 miles to hear him say mass, have their children baptized, and to give confession.[91] Attendance at a weekly, preferably Sunday, mass was central to lay obligations under Tridentine Catholicism, but it is unlikely most Roman Catholics attended mass that frequently. Nevertheless access to regular or semi-regular mass services was important to Upper Canadian Roman Catholics. They built churches of varying levels of sophistication, and solicited the presence of a priest in their community, because they expected that in addition to sacraments, the priest would say mass regularly. Attendance at mass in the local church was central to one's practice and identity as a Roman Catholic, and as Olliver Hubert argues for the Lower Canadian context, one's appearance at mass was also critical to the *performance* of one's religious practice and identity. Mass in the parish church, whether it was held weekly, monthly, or intermittently was a

attendance. His attendance at other stations suggest he was friendly with Anna O'Donnell and the Syllevan brothers.

[89] For the "floating bridge" see: *The Parish of St. Patrick's Church Ferguson Falls*, 1856, 9.

[90] ARCAT, St. Gregory the Great parish records, M. Curtin to Archbishop Lynch, 1888. Distance between Oshawa and St. Paul's was approximately 50km.

[91] AAQ 320 CN, H-C, vol. III-67, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, May 1822.

communal event during which social status was on display and validated, and community surveillance of family unity, morals, and behaviour was enacted.[92]

When the laity's access to the church or to mass was limited or removed entirely they objected loudly.[93] Financial barriers to mass attendance were particularly controversial in the period of study. As is discussed in Chapter 4, the Irish laity often resisted pew rents. The right to enter and use the church was at the heart of much of the conflict in St. Paul's parish in Toronto during the turbulent 1830s. The O'Grady schism as discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, was sparked when Bishop Macdonell attempted to transfer the Rev. William J. O'Grady to another parish and a group of laymen occupied the church and reinstalled the priest and perhaps most importantly mass services.[94] When trouble arose three years later churchwarden John Elmsley insisted that Bishop Macdonell remove O'Grady's replacement the Rev. William Patrick McDonagh and close the church indefinitely.[95] Perhaps having learned a vital lesson about depriving the laypeople of Toronto of religious services, Bishop Macdonell refused to implement Elmsley's plan.[96] In 1836, in a bid to increase the number of people renting pews, Macdonell did allow Elmsley to implement a two-penny entrance fee for all non-pew holders.[97] Though Elmsley called the implementation of the toll a "complete success," he

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[92] Olliver Hubert, "Ritual Performance and Parish Sociability: French-Canadian Catholic Families at Mass from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century," in *Households of Faith: Family, Gender and Community in Canada, 1760-1969*, ed. Nancy Christie (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002) 40-41.
[93] ARCAT, M CA15.04, Rev. Edward Gordon to BRG, 15 December 1839.
[94] Nicolson, "William O'Grady," 23-40.
[95] ARCAT, M CC01.01, J. Elmsley to BMD, 6 February 1835. Until such time as "this benighted flock," Elmsley wrote, could be brought to a "sense of their deplorable situation."
[96] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to J. Elmsley, 18 February 1835.
[97] ARCAT, M AB32.04, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BRG, 8 January 1836; AB18.01, J. Elmsley to BMD, 18 January 1836; AB30.10, Rev. W. P. McDonagh to BMD, 22 January 1836; AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W. P. McDonagh, 27 January 1836.

reported "insolence," "calumny," and "abuse" at the church doors each Sunday.[98] Opposition to the tax was not surprising considering a meeting of pew holders the previous year had called for universal suffrage in the election of churchwardens and condemned any "distinction between rich and poor in the house of God."[99] The fee not only prevented the poor from hearing the word of God, it was considered so odious that the Rev. McDonagh reported dozens refusing to pay and simply going away without hearing mass.[100] McDonagh attempted to circumvent the fee by issuing tickets of exemption to those he knew could not afford to pay.[101] Others attempted to push past the toll collectors, and naturally scuffles ensued.[102]

Used to determine the extent to which lay people "practiced" Catholicism, mass attendance is a significant, though controversial, metric of religious practice particularly in the historiography of Irish Catholicism. Drawing primarily on David W. Miller's work on the subject, which estimated a national mass attendance rate of approximately 40 per cent, scholars of pre-Famine Irish Catholicism have concluded that the majority of Irish Catholics were unwilling or unable to meet the weekly mass obligation.[103] Jay Dolan

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[98] ARCAT, M AB18.04, J. Elmsley to BMD, 28 March 1836.
[99] ARCAT, M AB30.08, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 5 October 1835.
[100] ARCAT, M AB30.09, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 16 January 1836; AB18.01, J. Elmsley to BMD, 18 January 1836; AB30.10, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 22 January 1836; AB30.11, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 13 February 1836; AB30.11, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 13 February 1836; AB32.05, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BRG, 14 February 1836.
[101] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to J. Elmsley, 21 March 1836; BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 26 March 1836.
[102] Bishop Macdonell and Gaulin forbade McDonagh from interfering with the entrance toll which they believed was part of the "temporalities" of the parish and therefore outside McDonagh's faculties. ARCAT, M AB18.01, J. Elmsley to BMD, 18 January 1836; AB18.03, J. Elmsley to BMD, 11 March 1836.
[103] Miller, "Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine." Miller provides some context and regional variations to his data in his most recent work. He argued that mass attendance was affected by class of the attendees, availability of clergy, and distance the laity had to travel to church. See also: Miller, "Landscape and Religious practice," 93-96. Emmet Larkin and others used mass attendance to measure the success of Tridentine Catholicism's penetration of Irish Catholicism.

found similar patterns in New York City with what he interpreted as a "poor" mass attendance rate of between 40 and 60 per cent amongst Irish and German Roman Catholics at mid-century.[104]

Bishop Macdonell compiled data that reveal some insight into the frequency with which Upper Canadian Roman Catholics attended mass, the extent to which weekly or regular mass was a significant element of their religious practice, and the factors that influenced their completion of the obligation.[105] A summary of these data for 1834 and 1838 is compiled in Table 1.[106] The bishop asked his clergy to report how many lay people "generally" attended mass, but did not specify if priests were to include children in their estimates.[107] It is not clear what methodology the clergy used or their interpretation of what "generally" meant.

Larkin in particular used mass attendance to determine the extent to which pre-Famine Irish Catholics were "practicing Catholics." Critics of Larkin, Michael Carroll in particular, have argued that mass attendance and other Church-centered measures of religious devotion or practice, give too much importance to the laity's engagement with the institutional Church and ignore household or landscape based elements of religious practice.

[104] Dolan, *Immigrant Church*, 56-57. Jay Dolan attributed the mass attendance rate in his study, not to a lack of clergy or churches, but rather to "religious ignorance" and the weak or non-existent tradition of weekly mass in the religious cultures from which New York City Roman Catholics came.

[105] Macdonell collected mass attendance information in the 1830s as part of a decades long attempt to collect an accurate census of Irish Catholics in the province. As discussed in Chapter 4 the data do not stand up to close inspection. Transcription and mathematical errors indicate it should be treated with caution.

[106] Macdonell recorded the details of his censuses from 1805 to 1838 in AAK, "Letter Book 1833-68, including Statistics of Catholics of Upper Canada," 21-61. In some years returns were incomplete, excluded newly settled areas, and failed to take into account the transient recent immigrant population. AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Bishop T. Weld, 26 November 1828; ARCAT, M AB11.01, Rev. D. Downey to BMD, 29 April 1834. The clergy were annoyed by the task of counting their parishioners and frequently failed to complete the task accurately or at all. AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. Angus Macdonell, 17 January 1828; MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. J. Fluet, 5 March 1830; MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. James Moore, 11 November 1834; Circular to Priests of Diocese, 30 December 1836; BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 28 December 1837; BMD to Rev. J. Butler, 5 January 1838; ARCAT, M C10.02, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 26 December 1837; M CA09.07, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 1 March 1838.

[107] Children under the age of 12 were not required to attend mass

	1834	1838
Number of churches	30	48
Total population	55,496	87,810
Number of priests	22	30
Total number of Catholics attending mass	14,230	16,300
Reported total church capacity	18,740	26,620
Total mass attendance as percentage of population	25.6%	18.5%
Total church capacity as percentage of population	33.7%	30.3%
Average attendance rate	34%	16%
Average church capacity rate	85%	75%
Priests to people ratio	1:2312	1:2927

Table 1: Census data compiled by Bishop Macdonell, 1834 and 1838, see AAK, Letter book "1833-68, including Statistics of Catholics of Upper Canada."

A closer examination of Macdonell's data and other sources suggests factors identified in the Irish context were also present in Upper Canada, but it is clear that in Upper Canada, inconsistency in the offerings of mass, the underdeveloped church infrastructure, and difficult environmental conditions were all barriers to weekly, or even semi-regular mass attendance; the general decline in attendance between 1834 and 1838 must also be attributed to the laity's choice about whether or not to attend mass. More so than in Ireland or New York, the majority of Roman Catholics in Upper Canada did not "generally" attend mass, and between 1834 and 1838 the number of those who did, was declining.

The subjective nature of classifying mass attendance rates as "poor" or "good" means that any interpretation of an acceptable rate of mass attendance must rely on contemporary observations for evaluation. At face value Macdonell's numbers were dismal indeed. Of the 30 churches reporting attendance data in 1834, only five had an

attendance rate of 50 per cent or better.[108] The situation worsened in 1838, when no parish reported a mass attendance rate of 50 per cent or higher.[109] In 1834, six parishes reported mass attendance rates of 20 per cent or less.[110] St. Paul's parish in Toronto, for example, reported what might be assumed to be a poor mass attendance rate of 21 per cent in 1834.[111] Yet that same year, Bishop Macdonell noted with apparent satisfaction that of the St. Paul's laypeople: "a large proportion of them attend mass at seven o'clock in the morning and evening prayers at five in the evening every week day and vespers, Christian doctrine, and evening prayers every Sunday."[112] In light of the O'Grady affair at the start of the decade, the attendance at St. Paul's may have been a vast improvement. Interpretation of mass attendance was entirely a matter of context and perspective. The mass attendance rate in London parish was reported as one of the worst in the diocese (9 per cent in 1834 and 7 per cent in 1838), yet the Rev. Michael Robert Mills seemed satisfied with the practice of his parishioners: "they go to the Church tolerably regularly" he wrote in 1839.[113] Two years later his replacement, the Rev. Patrick O'Dwyer saw the parish's attendance differently: "I say Mass every morning only a few women attend! It would take St. Paul to bring them to a sense of their duty."[114]

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[108] The best rate of attendance was at the church in Loughborough Township where attendance at the newly-built church was 88 per cent. Without its own priest, but proximate to Kingston where in 1834 the Bishop Alexander Macdonell lived and was assisted by two priests, Loughborough likely saw relatively frequent services. AAK, MLB 1829-34, Catholics of Loughborough to BMD, 25 June 1831.
[109] The highest was River Thames with 35 per cent, and Toronto and Amherstburg with 33 per cent each.
[110] London and Richmond reported the worst rate with just nine per cent of the Catholic population of those parishes attending mass. Others with poor rates included: Perth (10 per cent), Kingston (16 per cent), Adjala (15 per cent) and Penetanguishene (15 per cent).
[111] AAK, Letter Book 1833-68, including Statistics of Catholics of Upper Canada.
[112] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 28 April 1834.
[113] ARCAT, M AB37.03, Rev. M.R. Mills to BRG, 12 March 1839.
[114] ARCAT, M BB14.11, Rev. O'Dwyer to BRG, 1 December 1841

Bishop Macdonell did not solicit information about the frequency of services offered in the parishes and missions of his diocese. The bishop expected his clergy to offer, where possible, weekly or even daily mass services,[115] but it is difficult to determine the extent to which weekly mass was the norm in Upper Canadian parishes. Certainly it depended on the permanent or regular residence of a priest. In rural and remote parishes, priests often split their time between two or more churches, and countless stations in vast mission territories of which the average size in 1834 was 496 square miles.[116] The Rev. John Cassidy, for example, spent much of his tenure in Upper Canada in charge of the Dundas mission that stretched between Dundas to the south and Guelph to the north.[117] Offering weekly services in such circumstances was impossible. The Rev. Edward Gordon split his time between Niagara-on-the-Lake and St. Catharines in the mid-1830s and said mass in the latter place every fourth Sunday.[118] Priests reported also that the infrequency of services in particularly poor and under-serviced locations contributed to, and was constrained by, soiled vestments, missing chalices, or damaged church buildings.[119]

Regrettably the simplistic data collected by the bishop (he did not ask priests to comment on the frequency of services in their parish for example) makes further analysis

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[115] ARCAT, M AC03.01, Regulations for the parish of Cornwall, 25 September 1835; CB09.03, Regulations for parish of Toronto, 1835. The bishop stipulated that Sunday mass was to begin at eleven am, followed by vespers at three in the afternoon and evening prayers.

[116] AAK, "Letter Book 1833-68, including Statistics of Catholics of Upper Canada," 21-61. Macdonell's census surveys also solicited information about the geographic size of a mission or parish and the annual income of the priest at each. By the late 1830s, the number of churches in the diocese outnumbered the number of priests which confirms reports from clergy that many had the charge of multiple churches.

[117] Cassidy conducted stations as far north as Erin and as far south as Stoney Creek.

[118] ARCAT, M CA14.01, Rev. Edward Gordon to BMD, 12 November 1835.

[119] ARCAT, M AC19.02, H. O'Beirne et al to BMD, 9 April 1832; AB05.02, Rev. J.M. Burke to BMD, 23 March 1837; AB33.02, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BRG, 28 March 1837; CA12.01, Rev. J. Fox to BRG, 19 March 1839; CA15.04, Rev. Edward Gordon to BRG, 15 December 1839; M BB14.05, Rev. Patrick O'Dwyer to BRG, 6 February 1841.

on demand and supply of mass services impossible. The number of opportunities a layperson had to attend mass likely had some bearing on the frequency with which one attended. A scarcity in supply of opportunities to attend mass could increase demand at a weekly, monthly, or even yearly mass. Conversely an oversupply of mass options might have lessened demand thereby worsening the overall mass attendance rate.[120] The Rev. Michael Robert Mills added a second Sunday mass in London in 1839 noting that the church in that place was too small to contain all that wished to attend.[121] Had the bishop collected data in 1839, any increase from the additional service to the overall attendance rate for the parish may have instead resulted in a decrease with the mass-going population of the parish split between two services.

London was not the only parish to report a church that was "too small for all who attend."[122] Macdonell's data indicates that the overwhelming majority of churches in the diocese were at, or close to, capacity. Thus dismal mass attendance rates can be partly explained by the fact that many parish churches were simply too small to contain even a quarter of the parish population.[123] A poor mass attendance rate was often indicative of a church that was at or near capacity. The average church in 1834 was 85 per cent full at a

[120] The parish of St. Catharines reported a mass attendance rate of 48 per cent in 1834, but the same year a deputation from the parish complained to Macdonell that the parish priest did not offer weekly mass, evening prayers, or vespers. Would more frequent services have enticed the other 52 per cent to attend mass, or would the affect have been to reduce the number of bodies in the pews at a typical weekly service? AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. P. Polin, 23 April 1834.
[121] ARCAT, M AB37.05, Rev. M.R. Mills to BRG, 2 July 1839.
[122] AAK, "Letter Book 1833-68," 21-61. Churches at Nepean, in Huntley Township, and at Richmond were explicitly noted to be "too small for all who attend," but the data suggests most diocesan churches were in a similar state.
[123] Few parishes had a consistent measurement between 1834 and 1838 that suggests a priest's report on the capacity of a church was likely a general estimate rather than an accurate count. In few cases, as in Belleville, a larger church had been built radically increasing the parish's capacity. Other churches, such as St. Paul's in Toronto, added large number of pews. AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to J. Elmsley, 18 February 1835; BMD to J. Elmsley, 20 September 1835; ARCAT, M AB16.05, J. Elmsley to BMD, 4 July 1834; AB30.09, Rev. P. McDonagh to BMD, 16 1836; AB 18.01, J. Elmsley to BMD, 18 January 1836.

typical mass. Sixteen parishes reported a capacity rate of 90 per cent or higher, and of those six reported a 100 per cent or more capacity rate. Richmond for example was at 100 per cent capacity, but those who crowded into the church amounted to only nine per cent of the parish population.[124] The knowledge that a local church would be over capacity on any given Sunday may have factored in an individual's or family's decision to attend mass, particularly if other factors, distance to the church, or inattention to the obligation as part of one's religious practice, were already at play. In a few select parishes, where a large church had been build with the expectation of future population growth, low capacity rates were the norm, but were also indicative of the extent to there was a limit to the number of people willing and able to attend mass even when space was not a factor.[125]

Despite a tenure that was marked by prolific church-building, Bishop Macdonell's census suggests the number of churches could not provide sufficient capacity for the rapidly increasing Roman Catholic population.[126] Between 1834 and 1838, 18 churches were added, an addition of a reported 7,880 spaces to the diocese's total church capacity; yet Macdonell reported the lay population had increased by 32,314.[127] The number of

[124] Other examples: Kingston had 93 per cent capacity and 16 per cent attendance. Penetanguishene 106 per cent capacity and 15 per cent attendance.
[125] Of the 35 parishes enumerated in 1834, only nine were reported to be three quarters or less full. The new church at Belleville was said to have room for 2000 people but had an attendance level of only 500; but compared to 1834 attendance was up. In that year approximately 225 people had filled the old 250 seat church. Only two diocesan churches had a capacity rate of 60 per cent or less. St. Raphael's in Glengarry Township had a capacity rate of 47 per cent and Toronto's St. Paul's had one of 50 per cent. Both were large churches, built with a view to anticipated rather than actual population. In the case of St. Raphael's there was some controversy over whether the church, a pet project of Bishop Macdonell's, was too large. AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W. Fraser, 10 July 1832.
[126] The number of churches in the diocese went from just five in 1817 to 48 by 1838.
[127] There is some doubt about the accuracy of the bishop's figures which show a rapid increase in the Roman Catholic population, particularly from 1830 to 1838 when his figures suggest the population increased three and a half times at a rate of 250 per cent. This increase is not in line

priests in the diocese was similarly not keeping pace with the population, nor with new churches. The diocese's dire need for priests was a continual complaint for Bishop Macdonell. In 1833 he argued that the diocese needed at least 100 more.[128] The ratio of priests to people stayed fairly consistent between 1000 and 1500 to one until 1830 when the population increase far outstripped that of the clergy (see figure 1). By 1838 there was one priest for every 2,927 Roman Catholics, a ratio that was remarkably similar to that of Ireland at roughly the same time.[129]

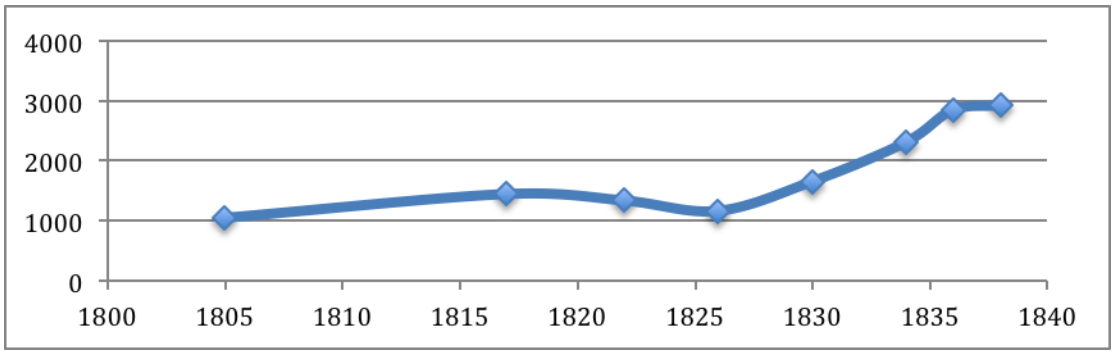

Figure 1 Ratio of priests to people in the Diocese of Kingston, 1805-1840. Source: AAK, Letter book 1833-68, including Statistics of Catholics of Upper Canada.

Historians of Irish religion have favoured people to priest ratios as one indicator of the infiltration of the Church into a given region; yet such measurements are of limited utility particularly for the Upper Canadian context without considerations of population distribution, and environmental or geographic conditions. With the average mission size

with the population growth of Upper Canada in general, which had an 87 per cent rate of increase during the same period. The 1842 census of Upper Canada reported a Roman Catholic population of 65,203, which Donald Akenson revised to 44,000. J.K. Johnson estimates the Irish portion of the Roman Catholic population was just 26,000. Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario*, 24-26; Johnson, *Becoming Prominent*, 144.

[128] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Lord Cliften, 3 April 1833; BMD to Rev. J. Urquart, 11 December 1835; BMD to Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 19 December 1836.

[129] Larkin, "Devotional Revolution," 626-627, noted that in 1840 there was 1 priest for every 3000 Irish Catholic.

in excess of 400 square miles in this period, the distance covered by a single missionary was often immense.

The bishop compiled these census data each year in a bid to demonstrate the Church's need for additional government funding and consequently this picture of insufficient church infrastructure was clearly conveyed and deliberately highlighted. Yet premising the insufficiency of church capacity on the assumption that all Roman Catholics would attend mass if given the infrastructure to do so was clearly faulty. Closer analysis of Macdonell's data indicate that while at the parish level stagnant church capacity levels failed to contain increases in parish population,[130] at the diocesan level, the increase in church capacity was more than adequate to service the declining portion of the population that did attend mass. In 1834 census 25 per cent of the total lay population were reported to attend mass, but by 1838 that number had dropped to 18.5 per cent; yet the total church capacity available to mass attendees had increased from 18,740 in 1834 to 26,630 in 1838. Thus 30 per cent of the lay population could be accommodated in the existing 1838 church capacity, which was more than enough for the estimated 18.5 per cent who composed the mass-going population that year to maintain their practice. In 1838 Macdonell reported to the government that an additional 32 churches were needed. Given the average capacity of an Upper Canadian church, this would have added space for an additional 16,000 Roman Catholics to the diocese infrastructure, or 48.5 per cent

[130] AAK, "Letter Book 1833-68." As population increased and church capacity remained unchanged, at the parish level the percentage of Roman Catholics attending mass dropped. Between 1834 and 1838, only four parishes reported an increase in attendance rates and for the most part the increases were negligible. With a 12 per cent rate increase, Toronto's St. Paul's was the most improved parish. Instead significant decreases in attendance rates, often of 30 per cent or more, were common. Seven parishes recorded significant mass attendance rate decreases of 30 per cent or more: Brockville (39 per cent), Bytown (35 per cent) Prescott, Picton, Gore of Toronto, St. Catharines (all 33 per cent) and Niagara (30 per cent).

of the estimated 1838 population.[131] Given only 18.5 per cent of the diocese population reportedly attended mass, Macdonell's request for 32 additional churches was ambitious indeed.

Closely tied to mass attendance in the Irish historiography, and seen as similarly indicative of the failure of Tridentine Catholicism, is the persistence of "Easter duty."[132] Meeting one's "Easter duty," that is making confession and receiving the Eucharist once a year, was the minimum requirement for a practicing Roman Catholic in this period, but one that the Church was hoping to replace with more regular mass attendance and consequently more frequent confession and Eucharist.[133] The clergy reported that given the opportunity, most Upper Canadian Roman Catholics made a confession and received the Eucharist during Lent.[134] Lay people were anxious to complete the obligation and were vocal when they felt they had not been given sufficient opportunity to do so. Usually a negligent or absent priest was blamed. In September 1831, Roman Catholics in communities on the periphery of Kingston, including Kingston Mills and Amherst Island, complained that the clergy at Kingston had yet to visit them long enough to let them

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[131] The average Upper Canadian Roman Catholic church held 500 people. AAK, "Letter Book 1833-68."

[132] Scholars of both Ireland and English-Canada have treated the persistence and widespread popularity of the Easter Duty in this period as indicative of the failure of Tridentine Catholicism to penetrate the religious practice of the laity, of a general lack of lay enthusiasm, ineffective diocesan regulations and insufficient clerical resources. Connolly, *Priests and People*, 104-105. Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution," 644.

[133] Irish Catholics in the United States and Ireland were similarly willing and able to complete the annual obligation. Connolly, 104-105, 130; Dolan, 62.

[134] Upper Canadian priests reported almost universal participation on the part of those who were eligible to receive the Eucharist and make a confession. ARCAT, M AB05.04, Rev. J.M. Burke to BMD, 19 June 1837; AB58.04, Rev. Yvelin to BRG, 22 February 1839, M AB58.06, Rev. Yvelin to BRG, 23 June 1839; BB18.09, Rev. A. Vervais to BRG, 14 May 1840; BB05.03, Rev. C. Lee to BRG, 19 April 1841. For Irish Roman Catholics, an annual confession may have been a novel concept. Connolly argues that confession was treated with some casualness except in times of grave sickness or imminent death. Confession provided the dying with a "wiping of the slate," and thus, for the Irish, "salvation by means of absolution became a matter more of timing than of repentance." Connolly, *Priests and People*, 139.

fulfill their Easter duty for the year.[135] At least one priest used the laity's desire for Easter Eucharist and confession to his advantage. The Rev. Mills threatened to exclude from Easter confession those parents who did not purchase Bishop Macdonell's catechisms (the cost of which had been deducted from Mills' government allowance) for their children; he quickly sold 40 copies.[136]

The apparent near universal participation indicates that Easter duty must be treated as an indicator of religious practice and interest on the part of the laity rather than an indicator of a lack of the same as is suggested in the historiography of religion in pre-Famine Ireland. Making one's Easter duty was an integral part of the religious practice of many Upper Canadian Roman Catholics, much more so, it seems, than weekly mass attendance. It was also an important part of one's participation in the religious community of the parish. Individual acts of piety, receiving the Eucharist and making one's confession were, as Christine Hudon has argued, visible acts completed under the gaze of the community.[137] In Upper Canada, as in Lower Canada, completing one's Easter Duty was a public demonstration of one's good character and demonstration of one's piety. In areas where conditions made travel for both missionary and lay person difficult, the additional masses, further resources and special status accorded the completion of confession or Eucharist during Lent captured the interest and participation of a substantial number of Upper Canadian Catholics. Within the context of rural, isolated, "pioneer" settlements, Easter duty provided the laity with a manageable concentration to their practice of Catholicism that was perfectly suited to the diocesan

[135] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 28 September 1831.
[136] ARCAT, M AB37.03, Rev. M.R. Mills to BRG, 12 March 1839.
[137] Christine Hudon, *Prêtres et Fidèles dans la Diocèse de Saint-Hyacinthe 1820-1875*, (Sillery: Septentrion, 1996) 363.

conditions. Annual Eucharist and confession was a standard that was met (not always easily, but rather with considerable resources and effort) by both Church and laity with enthusiasm and zeal.

The sacramental records of Upper Canadian Roman Catholic parishes are an invaluable resource for revealing the nature of lay religious practice in this period. Less abstract than mass attendance data, the records of baptisms, marriages, and burials reveal the engagement of actual individual Roman Catholics with their Church as members of families and parishes. Drawing on data samples drawn from the sacramental records for 5 parishes with considerable Irish Catholic populations,[138] what follows is a consideration of the ways in which Irish Catholics used the sacraments of baptism and marriage to further their goals for migration and settlement, to foster community building, and to demonstrate agency and choice in their interactions with the clergy and the Church.

As an experience shared by the vast majority of adults in this period, and therefore, the point at which most adult Catholics interacted with their Church, marriage reveals much about the ways in which Catholics interacted with their religion and Church in early Upper Canada. Despite the legal provisions that gave Catholics the legal right to contract marriages under the auspices of their Church, the administration of marriages within the framework of civil and religious law was rarely straightforward and frequently difficult. While the Upper Canadian clergy struggled to impose millennia-old Church

[138] Samples of records were drawn from the following parishes for the given time periods: Assumption parish in Sandwich (1825-1848); St. John the Baptist in Perth (1822-28, and 1836-38), the missionary register of Dundas (1827-1830), missionary register for Toronto-area Townships (1830-33) and St. Vincent-de-Paul at Niagara-on-the-Lake (1827-1841). These registers with the exception of the Dundas are available from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Saints: https://familysearch.org/search/catalog/1927566. A transcript of the Dundas mission register was given to the author by Michael Power who collected the data during research at the Archdiocese of Hamilton.

regulations on the marriages of their parishioners,[139] the limited infrastructure and resources of the Diocese of Kingston, as well as the environment which facilitated and restricted the movement of lay and clergy alike, afforded the laity the opportunity to test the limits of those rules, and to demand concessions where possible. Marriage happened often on their terms, reflected cultural preferences imported from Ireland, and occurred outside the structure preferred by the Catholic Church.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Lower Canadian Church struggled to counter a "secularization of marriage" and the laity's view that the ceremony was a simple formality that if not performed by a priest could later be remedied with a trip to confession and the priest's absolution.[140] French Canadians in Upper Canada demonstrated similar attitudes. The priest at Malden complained that his parishioners had no regard for the sacrament of Catholic marriage and instead believed that with a magistrate and two witnesses they were "legitimately married."[141] Bishop Macdonell was well aware that many Upper Canadian Catholics saw marriage as a "mere ceremony" or "at most a mutual agreement between the contracting parties." He instructed his clergy to promote the sacrament, and to warn lay people that they incurred the curse of God and inflicted "great injury" on their souls by neglecting the rite.[142]

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[139] Historians of marriage in nineteenth-century English Canada have depicted an orderly and consistent application of these millennia-old Roman Catholic marriage regulations by an authoritarian clergy upon a relatively submissive laity. Assuming an immediate and unchanging implementation of Catholicism in English Canada, Peter Ward has argued that in this context Catholic marriage law and its enforcement "drew nothing from the Canadian environment." Peter Ward, *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990) 24.

[140] *Ibid*, 384; Serge Gagnon, *Mariage dans le temps de Papineau* (Laval: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1993).

[141] ARCAT, M BB19.08, Rev. A. Vervais to BRG, 27 September 1841.

[142] AAK, MC, AI4CL1, letter 3, "Alexander to Catholic Clergy of Upper Canada," 1833.

Upper Canadian Irish Catholics in the province came from a religious culture where "no great emphasis" was placed on the sacramental aspects of marriage. The marriage ceremony in pre-Famine Ireland was typically informal, Desmond Keenan writes: with "no banns, no confession, no communion, no mass… the priest put on his stole, lighted the candles and proceeded with the ceremony." For Irish Catholics the ceremony rather than the sacrament mattered. So too did the presence of the priest, though the priest's standing with the Church was not as important.[143] Prioritizing the ceremony rather than the sacrament contributed to the flexibility with which Upper Canadian Irish Catholics approached marriage and particularly the selection of an officiant.[144]

In Upper Canada the application of English marriage law was complicated by two factors: the underdeveloped conditions of the colony itself, and the protection of Roman Catholicism in the Quebec Act (1774).[145] While devising colonial marriage law in 1793,

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[143] Keenan, 94-95; Corish, 179. The priest's standing with the Roman Catholic Church was of little matter, which accounts for the relative success of "couple beggars." In Upper Canada as in Ireland, the laity's casual attitude toward the sacramental elements of the rite, loopholes in both the civil and religious marriage law enabled suspended priests to make a trade of reduced rate marriage ceremonies that undercut the legitimate clergy. Keenan finds no evidence of couples being remarried after a couple beggar marriage. He suggests that no evidence of the "validation of invalid marriages" suggests that a clause in the decree that "the common and continued impossibility of getting a priest" was applied to validate these invalid marriages.

[144] Murray Nicolson, "The Catholic Church and the Irish in Victorian Toronto," PhD diss., University of Guelph, 1981, 38 suggests marriage was not a "stabilizing element" for the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada. Cites "wild" Irish weddings featuring "drunkenness, barbarity, and violence" which he argues mixed "easily" with the Charivari. No evidence of any of these elements of "wild" Irish weddings was discovered in the course of this study.

[145] English civil law under Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753 (26 Geo. II., cap. 33) stipulated that to be legally valid a marriage had to be contracted under a Church of England minister on the premises of an Anglican church after the publication of three banns or the purchase of a special license of exemption. A residence of at least three weeks in the parish was required of at least one of the contracting parties as was parental permission for those under twenty-one. The penalty for breach of this law was fourteen years transportation an indication of the government's belief that clandestine or runaway marriages were detrimental to the social and

Upper Canadian lawmakers not only were forced to recognize the validity of marriages contracted before military officers, magistrates and other civil officials in the absence of clergy prior to the erection of the colony, they were also required to acknowledge the continued dearth of Anglican clergy in the colony. Thus colonial law stipulated that in cases where a couple wishing to marry did not reside within eighteen miles of a minister of the Church of England, the couple could legally petition a Justice of the Peace to contract their marriage. The Justice was legally required to publicize the impending nuptials in a public place for three weeks and upon the conclusion of this period could solemnize the marriage before two or more witnesses according to the rite of the Church of England.[146] The protection of Roman Catholicism under the Quebec act, meant that Roman Catholic clergy were the exception to the rule preventing any clergy but Anglican from performing marriage ceremonies;[147] yet this exception was never explicitly mentioned in the colonial statutes and ambiguity about the applicability of civil marriage law to the colony's Catholics persisted well into the late nineteenth-century.[148]

Roman Catholic marriage regulations and civil law did not necessarily work in opposition in Upper Canada, for with the exception of where and by whom the marriage rite was performed, the two were virtually identical. Derived from the Council of Trent sessions on the Reform of Marriage (1563) and specifically the "Tametsi" decree that prohibited clandestine marriages, Roman Catholic marriage regulations stipulated that for a marriage to be considered valid by the Church it had to be first publicized in the parish

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economic order. John R. Gillis, *For Better, For Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the present*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) 140.

[146] *Statutes of Upper Canada*, Chapter V, No. III, 1793, pg. 39

[147] Acts in 1830 and 1859 extended the privilege to various dissenting clergy.

[148] "The Marriage Laws, No. 11" *The Upper Canada Law Journal*, Vol. 3 (October 1867) 253-4; "The Marriage Laws in Upper Canada," *The Canada Law Journal*, Vol. 3, no. 3, (1867) 49.

church of at least one member of the contracting couple on three consecutive Sundays. If no opposition existed the nuptial benediction could be given before two or more witnesses by the parish priest or some other authorized priest. Marriages that did not conform to any or all of these requirements were considered invalid by the Church.[149] An added complication, which provoked much confusion amongst the Upper Canadian clergy, and possibly the laity, was the stipulation from Rome that the marriage regulations apply only to those territories in which the decree had been officially published. Though the decree had been long published in Quebec and was therefore valid in the Diocese of Kingston, Upper Canadian clergy and laity expressed frequent uncertainty about its applicability there.[150] Clergy also expressed frequent confusion about the validity of marriages in which Catholics had been married by a Protestant minister or Justice of the Peace. If the minister had been of a legally approved denomination and the justice of the peace the only officiant within an 18-mile radius the marriage was legal according to colonial law and consequently the Church recognized it as valid. Such marriages were not performed again unless the couple wanted to receive the sacrament of matrimony.[151]

Paradoxically the legal context, limited Church resources, rough environment, and transiency of the population in early Upper Canada gave the laity considerable agency

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[149] Hudon, *Prêtres et Fidèles*, 382.

[150] To put an end to this confusion, in 1840 Bishop Remi Gaulin circulated an excerpt from the Council of Trent sessions on the Reform of Marriage to all the parishes in the colony with an order that it be read from the altar. AAK, Administration of Bishop Gaulin, Individual Correspondence (hereafter GC), Box 2, BI2CL1, letter 3, Bishop R. Gaulin Circular letter, 25 November 1840; Two years later it is clear that parishes adhered to the regulations, but missions did not; Michael Power, Bishop of newly created Diocese of Toronto, restated marriage regulations, and formally introduced the regulations as each new parish created. McGowan, *Michael Power*, 173, 280.

[151] AAK, MC, AI1C12, letter 2, BRG to Rev. P. Dollard, 28 July 1837. The Niagara register contains many examples of remarriages.

when it came to the choice of who would preside over their wedding ceremony. Catholics who had difficulty securing the services of a Catholic priest or who believed their union would be problematic to a priest, saw little reason to delay marriage, possibly indefinitely, when Protestant ministers and in their absence, magistrates, were readily available legal options.[152] Horrified by the frequency with which Catholics went to Protestant ministers for the marriage rite, Bishop Macdonell interpreted the problem as one of insufficient resources and difficult environmental conditions that would be remedied once there were sufficient clergy settled in throughout the province. In the meantime, he urged the clergy to "prevent [the practice] as much as possible," but in the absence of coercive methods, he could only recommend that priests "strongly represent" to their parishioners that by marrying outside the Church they "deprive themselves of the Sacrament, occasion great scandal to their fellow Catholics, and a serious injury to their holy religion."[153] Such arguments frequently fell on deaf ears, and the clergy expressed frustration when couples chose ministers for convenience rather than religious conviction.[154] Lay people often exploited the clergy's abhorrence for Protestant marriages by threatening to secure one if they were not granted permission for a Catholic ceremony.[155] Others threatened a Protestant marriage to avoid elements of the Catholic

[152] The Rev. John Cassidy the resident priest for the vast Guelph-Dundas mission reported that while he had been in Guelph, a "mixed" couple in Dundas had taken his absence as an opportunity to be married by a Protestant minister. ARCAT, M AB07.05, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 28 April 1833.
[153] AAK, MC, AI4CL1, letter 3, "Alexander to Catholic Clergy of Upper Canada," 1833, 16.
[154] While on a missionary trip to Thorah Township, Rev. Thomas Gibney reported that he had met a couple who had been called three times in the Methodist Church but had yet to marry. The woman was indifferent, but the man was eager to be married by a priest now that one was in the settlement. Gibney consented to marry the couple quickly "lest others be scandalized at seeing [them] getting married by a Methodist minister and a Catholic priest present" in the settlement. ARCAT, M AB23.02, Rev. Gibney to BRG, 27 February 1837.
[155] When the Rev. Jean-Baptiste Morin refused to marry a couple without the consent of the minor age groom's parents, the couple made good on a threat and eloped to Chatham where they

rite they viewed as troublesome or inconvenient.[156] When a young woman's parents pressed the Rev. Edward Gordon to allow their daughter to marry a rich Protestant in the parish church, Gordon reported to Gaulin that should the bishop refuse permission, the parents had warned that "they [would] be obliged, however reluctant to their feelings, to allow her to be married by a Protestant Minister."[157] The parents made good on that promise when Gaulin's response was not to their liking.[158] While some priests stuck to their guns and refused to marry couples with impediments, there is no doubt other clergy, as appalled by the lost income posed by Protestant marriages as they were by the religious implications of the same, overlooked impediments and performed quick marriages.[159]

Despite the rough environment and underdeveloped travel infrastructure, Upper Canadian Roman Catholics motivated to marry moved often and easily between jurisdictions and across borders where ministers and priests could not, and often would not, scrutinize a couple too closely.[160] When banns published in St. Raphael's revealed

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paid a Methodist minister three dollars to marry them. ARCAT, M AB40.02, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 29 February 1836.

[156] In the vast Rivière Tranche-Ste. Clair mission in what is now southwestern Ontario, the Rev. Morin complained that couples in his parish threatened to go to a Protestant minister when he insisted they receive the sacrament of First Eucharist prior to being wed in accordance with the Tridentine marriage regulations. ARCAT, M AB40.10, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 5 December 1837.

[157] ARCAT, M CA15.06, Rev. E. Gordon to BRG, 17 September 1840.

[158] ARCAT, M CA15.07, Rev. E. Gordon to BRG, 29 September 1840.

[159] The lost income was not insignificant. In 1829, Bishop Macdonell set the rate for a marriage at five and a half dollars. AAK, MC box 2, AI2C7, letter 14, BMD to the Catholics of Bytown, 11 August 1829," no date. Whether all priests were able to charge this much is unclear. During his tenure, Bishop Gaulin set the wedding rate at five dollars and stipulated that the missionary keep three of the five dollars with the rest going to parish funds. ARCAT, M AC0301, Instructions to the parish of Cornwall, September 1835. When Bishop Michael Power assumed the head of the newly created Diocese of Toronto in 1842, he found that many Upper Canadian priests had been marrying mixed couples without dispensations. McGowan, *Michael Power,* 175.

[160] Writing from Kitley Township in 1841, the Rev. Eugene O'Reilly alerted the parish priest in Kingston that two of his parishioners looking to circumvent the publication of banns and other

him to be a bigamist, with a wife still living in Ireland, a man named O'Connor left his parish with his second bride and applied instead to the Rev. William Fraser in Kingston.[161] As way stations for new emigrants and travellers passing through, border settlements provided couples with enough anonymity to complete their task.[162] The Rev. Augustin Vervais at Malden begged for authority to rule on marriage cases himself; the time it took to send a request and receive a response was far too long for impatient couples. Vervais could not compete with low-hassle marriages easily obtained by frustrated couples with a quick trip across the river to Detroit.[163] In Detroit, Malden's parishioners had their choice of celebrants. Vervais complained that the common refrain amongst his parishioners was: "if the priest does not want you to marry, go to Detroit, and you will be married."[164] Not only were magistrates willing to marry Canadian couples, but some Catholic priests in Detroit were willing to marry Vervais' parishioners:

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unstated requirements might shortly apply to be married there. O'Reilly asked that the couple be quickly returned to their parish where they would "make reparation for the scandal they have given to the Catholic religion in this part of the country and also for their disobedience." AAK, GC, Box 1, B1C25, letter 1, Rev. E. O'Reilly to Rev. P. Dollard, 12 June 1841.

[161] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W. Fraser, 3 April 1830. The reprimand Fraser received from Macdonell following the marriage cited not only the bigamy, but the blatant violation of another priest's jurisdiction as well as the violation of the Tridentine regulation that couples be married in their own parish. Bishop Macdonell believed that he had more than enough evidence to censure Rev. Fraser for willfully violating the Council of Trent, yet in many cases the clergy to which out-of-parish couples applied to be married were unaware they were violating another priest's jurisdiction.

[162] ARCAT, M CA15.05, Rev. E. Gordon to BRG, 31 March 1840. A pair of servants employed in the same house in Niagara were married by the priest at Lockport, New York. The couple had told the priest they were from Youngstown, New York and consequently that pastor had believed they were under his jurisdiction. When the Rev. Edward Gordon, the parish priest at Niagara confronted the couple, they gave the excuse that "they did not like to be called in church." The couple may have expected Gordon to object to their marriage given their shared workplace and residence. The Council of Trent explicitly forbade couples from sharing a residence prior to their marriage.

[163] ARCAT, M BB19.07, Rev. A. Vervais to BRG, 3 September 1841; BB19.08, Rev. A. Vervais to BRG, 27 September 1841; BB1902, Rev. A. Vervais to BRG, 24 January 1841.

[164] ARCAT, M BB18.11, Rev. A. Vervais to BRG, 25 May 1840.

"in Detroit they marry them" he complained, "I preach one doctrine; the priests of Detroit contradict me."[165]

The legal and religious ramifications of a convenient marriage often went unexamined by a hasty couple. In Prescott, the Rev. Timothy O'Meara found couples crossed the border to be married by magistrates, but were dismayed to find that their marriages were not legal in Upper Canada.[166] A marriage outside the Church meant also that the couple had not completed the sacrament of matrimony. In Lower Canada the unavoidable circumstances of a new settlement meant that in the early nineteenth-century the Church was relatively lenient on Catholics in such places who had been married by a minister or a magistrate. The couple had only to appear before a priest and renew their consent in his presence for their marriage to be considered valid in the eyes of the Church.[167]

Upper Canadian Roman Catholics on rare occasions chose to be remarried by a priest.[168] The choice to remarry in the Church was a concerted decision to connect one's marriage to one's religious identity and practice. It reflected a lay couple's determination to participate fully in a parish community, their acquiescence to pressure from the parish priest perhaps, or a concern about their respective fates in the afterlife. Only the Niagara parish register included clear cases of remarriage. One such remarriage involved Sophia

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[165] ARCAT, M BB18.12, Rev. A. Vervais to BRG, 16 June 1840.
[166] AAK, MLB 1829-34, Rev. T. O'Meara to BMD, 10 December 1829; BMD to Rev. T. O'Meara, 13 December 1829. In one case, the wife had since "eloped" with another man and the first husband was hoping to be married in the Church to another woman. The second case concerned a mixed couple of which the Catholic husband wished to know if he was in good standing with the Church. His Protestant bride had refused to be married by a priest.
[167] Hudon, *Prêtres et Fidèles*, 383. This changed as the Church consolidated its control in the second half of the century. By 1870s violators of the Tametsi decree were excommunicated.
[168] Though the consulted parish registers suggest this was relatively rare, at the parish register for Niagara in particular lists a number of marriages in which the priest recorded the details of the previous marriage, noting the officiant and date of the initial marriage.

Fitzgibbon and Robert Fitzgerald who had been married by a Church of England minister in 1825. The Rev. James Campion recorded their 1829 remarriage, Sophia's conversion, and her conditional baptism with the earlier baptism of the couple's daughter Mary suggesting that he viewed these events as related and contingent on each other.[169] A number of remarrying Niagara couples had been married in the United States by a magistrate and may have been seeking to address the dubious legality of their marriages in Upper Canada. One such couple in the Dundas mission register chose the witnesses from their first marriage to witness the remarriage.[170] For remarrying Niagara couples the previous marriage had occurred five or more years before suggesting the choice to approach a magistrate or minister might have been one made in some other location or circumstance perhaps during the course of a couple's migration.

A function of the transiency of Irish clergy in the period, the insufficiency of the diocese's clerical staff, and the bishop's inability to conduct adequate surveillance of his diocese, fraudulent and suspended priests capitalized on the absence of Church resources in this period, to operate throughout Upper Canada outside Bishop Macdonell's surveillance.[171] Known as "couple beggars" in Ireland, these illegitimate priests, exploited legal loopholes and social flexibility to marry for a fee, couples who for whatever reason (be it bigamy, mixed marriages, or parent's disapproval) preferred to marry clandestinely away from the public scrutiny of the parish.[172] Couple beggars could offer legal marriages in jurisdictions in which the regulations of the Council of Trent,

[169] Other remarriages in the Niagara register did not accompany the baptism of a child.
[170] Bridget Baker and Patrick McGowan had been married in the United States by a magistrate and were remarried in Dundas in 1827. In his register, the Rev. James Campion recorded that Baker and McGowan "desired to marry in the Catholic Church."
[171] See Chapter 2 for further discussion of suspended and fraudulent priests in Upper Canada.
[172] Connolly, *Priests and People*,

particularly those concerning marriages, had not been published. Confusion reigned as to where the regulations had been published and consequently the laity was unaware or unconcerned about the religious legality of their marriage. Couple beggars also exploited a belief on the part of the Irish Catholic peasantry that after receiving a full ordination, no individual, whether bishop or Pope could deprive a priest of his spiritual authority, and consequently his right of conferring the sacraments. Therefore, suspended priests, attributed with supernatural healing abilities, were also believed to possess spiritual authority above that of the bishop or pope.[173]

In Upper Canada, fraudulent and suspended priests operated within similar conditions found in Ireland. A general confusion about the legality of Roman Catholic marriage in Upper Canada, and the promulgation of the "Tametsi" decree, which prevented clandestine marriages, amongst the clergy suggests lay people might have been similarly confused or indifferent.[174] As has been discussed, the laity's willingness to disregard the sacrament of matrimony and to seek marriages from Protestant ministers, magistrates, and from priests in other jurisdictions, suggests a flexibility about the legality and validity of marriage that would not have ruled out a couple-beggar marriage. The scarcity of Roman Catholic clergy in the diocese meant there was certainly a demand for the services of suspended or fraudulent priests. Once he had been dismissed from service in Kingston in the early 1820s for incompetence, the Rev. James Salmon

[173] Lawrence J Taylor, *Occasions of Faith: An Anthropology of Irish Catholics*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995) 158-160.
[174] The extent to which Upper Canadian Roman Catholics were conscious of, or concerned by, such issues is difficult to determine. AAK, MLB 1829-34, Rev. T. O'Meara to BMD, 10 December 1829; ARCAT, M AB32.04, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BRG, 1 August 1836. AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. T. O'Meara, 13 December 1829; Certainly a similar irregularity in the application of the "Tametsi" decree existed in Ireland until 1827 when it was officially promulgated to the entire island. See Corish, 179.

performed marriages first in York, along the Welland Canal works, and later in the St. Lawrence border region.[175] The Rev. Patrick Haran was also said to have continued his ministerial activities in the Ottawa River region after his dismissal from Bytown in 1829.[176] Though Macdonell refused to recognize any marriages performed by interdicted priests, there was little the bishop could do to prevent their activities, which he saw as having "no small injury" to Catholicism.[177]

While Bishop Macdonell saw the continued presence of strolling priests in Upper Canada throughout the period of study as evidence of the desperation and ignorance of lay people on the margins of his diocese, the phenomenon suggests a transplantation to Upper Canada of the Irish cultural predisposition to favour priests out of favour with the Church. Given the ubiquity of such men in Ireland, it is unlikely "strolling priests" took many Irish Catholics in Upper Canada unawares. The Irish of Assumption parish demonstrated their willingness to allow priests with ambiguous credentials to minister in their midst. In 1839 and 1841, they allowed strolling Irish priests to minister in their community, much to the consternation of their French Canadian parish priest.[178] The man who arrived in 1841 had, like a previous visitor, no credentials, exeat, or written appointment from the Bishop of Upper Canada, but claimed to have been appointed to the parish. The *curé* at Sandwich, the Rev. J.B. Morin, and members of the *fabrique*

[175] AAQ, 210 A vol. 11, p. 370, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to Bishop J.J. Lartigue, 29 November 1823; AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Bishop Dubois, 26 January 1828; Rev. T. O'Meara to BMD, 14 October 1829; BMD to Bishop Dubois, 26 January 1828; AAK, MLB 1829-1834, BMD to Rev. T. O'Meara, 20 November 1829; AAQ, HC, I-74, Rev. J. Salmon to Bishop J.J. Lartigue, 26 October 1823; Bishop Macdonell claimed Salmon charged sixteen dollars a marriage and five for a baptism.
[176] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to John Pennefather, 13 May 1828; BMD to Colonel By, 2 May 1829; BMD to John Pennefather, 29 May 1829; BMD to Rev. P. Haran, 1 June 1829.
[177] AAK, MLB 1820-1829, BMD to Major G. Hillier, 29 March 1823.
[178] For further details on strolling priests in Assumption see Chapter 2.

refused to lend the Irish a chalice or suit of vestments for the priest, and this had sparked a violent confrontation at the door of the parish church. The Irish, long desiring an English-speaking priest, and well aware of his dubious credentials, nevertheless supported the man's pretensions to minister out of their chapel and attempted to take the items by force.[179] Evidently their desire to see an English-speaking priest in the parish surmounted any questions they may have had about his credentials or the validity of his appointment.

For many Upper Canadian Catholics, banns, the practice of announcing publicly on three consecutive Sundays a couple's intention to marry, was a particular point of negotiation with the Church. A cultural stigma transplanted from Ireland and the Britain treated the reading of banns for one's marriage as a shameful admission of poverty, and to a certain extent, a violation of one's privacy.[180] The aversion to banns was so strong that in the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Irish clergy stopped requiring them at all so long as the marriage was impediment-free.[181] These cultural aversions were transplanted to Upper Canada and persisted in rural parishes where demographic and environmental factors only strengthened the lay disinclination amongst English-speaking Roman Catholics toward banns. The parish register at Assumption

[179] ARCAT, M, BB13.04, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 17 July 1841; BB13.05, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 10 November 1841.

[180] Even for the poorest peasant to marry without a dispensation for the second and third banns was seen as an admission of poverty. Connolly, *Priests and People,* 192; Corish, 179. Such views were common to Roman Catholics and Protestants in other regions of the British Isles in the early modern and modern period as well. In eighteenth-century England and Wales, "the right of clandestine marriage," a marriage conducted in privacy without witnesses and away from community scrutiny, was seen as desirable and frequently necessary by all classes. The passage of Hardwicke's "Act for the Better Preventing of Clandestine Marriages" in 1753 made such marriages illegal. The law did allow those wishing to avoid the mandatory publications to purchase a special license and the aristocracy and upper-middle class did so as a matter of course. Despite the additional cost, which by the 1840s was equal to a month's wages, the working-class also displayed a preference for the privacy of the license. Gillis, 192-193.

[181] Connolly, Priests and People, 193.

suggests Upper Canada's French-Canadians did not demonstrate the same aversion. In Raleigh Township, near what is now Chatham, the Rev. Jean-Baptiste Morin was entirely perplexed by the resistance to banns demonstrated by the Irish of his bilingual parish.[182]

Church law allowed for the dispensation of all three banns in cases where the publication of an impending marriage might invite malicious opposition.[183] The sampled parish registers indicate that the dispensation for all three banns was relatively rare. In Niagara over a fourteen-year period only five weddings (2.5 percent of the total) were celebrated without banns.[184] In Perth, parish priest the Rev. John MacDonald rarely recorded weddings with anything less than three banns.[185] In that parish, the dispensation for all three banns was used only in cases where a cohabitating couple had been convinced to marry in the Church and presumably demanded the rite be completed in private.[186] Bishop Macdonell left the dispensation of one or two banns to the discretion of his clergy. He cautioned his priests to dispense with banns only "when the good of religion and urgent circumstances require[d] it" yet the frequency of one or two banns weddings during the period of study suggests that many lay people sought and were granted dispensations, and the clergy used their faculties to dispense with banns often and

[182] ARCAT, M BB13.01, Rev. JB Morin to BRG, 2 January 1841; BB13.02, Rev. JB Morin to BRG, 1 March 1841. Hudon, *Prêtres et Fidèles* does not indicate that dispensations for banns was a common practice in Ste. Hyacinthe.
[183] As part of his faculties Bishop Macdonell could authorize the dispensation of all three proclamations of banns should circumstances require. AAK, MC, AI2C3, Rev. P. Phelan to BMD, 24 December 1821; AAK, GC, BI2CL1, letter 3, Circular letter, 25 November 1840.
[184] In two cases the dispensations had been granted for the practical reason that the parish priest had been ill and thus unable to publish banns in compliance Diocesan regulations.
[185] 19 of 163 marriages celebrated in Perth between 1823 and 1838 by the Rev. Macdonald were completed without banns. Six of these couples had children or were expecting a child.
[186] For example: James Quickley and Mary Long's two children were baptized the same day as the wedding with the witnesses to the wedding standing as a godparent to each child.

freely.[187] Data samples from parish registers suggest that in approximately one-third of marriages between English-speaking, predominantly Irish Roman Catholics, only one or two banns were published. In Perth 27 per cent of marriages in the sample dispensed with one or two banns. In Niagara, where settlement was less permanent than in the Perth parish and many couples appeared to be newcomers, the rate was higher with 46 per cent of sampled marriages dispensed with one or two banns. Of the couples married by the missionary priest the Rev. Edward Gordon in the missions north of Toronto in the mid-1830s, 35 per cent dispensed with one or two banns.

Dispensing with banns could be a relatively costly venture and must have factored in many lay people's decision to seek the Catholic marriage rite. Diocese of Kingston regulations stipulated that a marriage should cost five dollars with each banns dispensation costing an additional two dollars.[188] In Lower Canada the cost of the incredibly rare dispensation of all three banns was an astronomical one hundred dollars. Bishop Macdonell noted that such a sum was out of the reach of the majority of Upper Canadian Catholics, "as the people here are poor only six dollars are required of them when they can pay…and when they cannot pay and they have the case is urgent it is given *gratis* and converted into work of penance."[189] Those who could afford the dispensation paid;[190] those who could not had plenty of other options in legal Protestant ministers or officiants. A couple in Niagara, for example, who expressed a distaste for

[187] AAK, MLB 1820-1829, BMD to Rev. L.J. Fluet, 26 May 1828. The number of requests for such dispensations from missionaries is much lower than the actual number of marriages recorded with only one or two banns in the parish registries.
[188] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. J. Cassidy, 28 August 1832; ARCAT, M AC03.01, Instructions for the Parish of Cornwall, September 1835.
[189] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. J. Cassidy, 28 August 1832.
[190] ARCAT, M CA05.04, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 24 August 1832. Clerical references to the "respectability" of a couple and the addition of "Esq." to the names of grooms or fathers of the bride attest to preference of the wealthy to marry with as little publication as possible.

being "called in church," but could not pay for a dispensation, instead went across the border to Lewiston.[191] A significant portion of couples sought dispensations despite the cost; their priests, many of whom were grossly underfunded, were more than willing to collect the required fees.

In the nascent Diocese of Kingston environment and demographics rendered banns both entirely necessary and largely ineffective. Banns exposed the extent to which the Upper Canadian context made the application of Church law difficult, and necessitated and promoted a flexibility of which Irish Catholic newcomers were more than happy to capitalize. The logistics of a rural parish made reading banns difficult. In many settlements it was rare for a priest to visit on three consecutive Sundays or weeks for that matter. To combat this, missionaries occasionally sought permission to publish banns on weekdays or at station houses in places where a parish church was non-existent.[192] Some parish registers suggest some clergy may have forgone the practice entirely. In theory banns provided the Church with a much-needed check on a couple's eligibility for marriage. This was particularly critical in settlements where the parish priest or visiting missionary was not intimately acquainted with the marital and family history of the parishioners; yet the transiency of the population meant a bride and groom were often recent arrivals and their history unknown to their neighbours or priest. Banns that did not reach beyond a parish church or station door could have little effect and for the couple represented an unnecessary delay. In the parish of Niagara, where couples were often recent arrivals from Ireland, the Rev. James Campion did not record banns but did note regularly in his register that a marrying couple had "solemnly declared and given

[191] ARCAT, M CA15.05, Rev. E. Gordon to BRG, 31 March 1840.
[192] ARCAT, M AB37 04, Rev. M.R. Mills to BRG, 6 May 1839.

a certificate of their not being married or contracted before with any other persons."[193] A banns proclamation invited public scrutiny that for some was unwelcome. The pre-marital conception of a child was a frequently cited reason for hastening the marriage process and for lessening the publicity surrounding the marriage.[194] Couples with "pretended" marriages or invalid marriage contracts were rarely convinced to remarry in the Church if banns publicizing the invalidity of their original union were required.[195]

The publicity of a banns proclamation was taken seriously by the laity and to renege once they had been read prompted considerable scandal. In Toronto in 1837, banns for a planned marriage prompted the would-be groom's cousin to claim he was the father of her child. The man agreed to marry his cousin but refused to allow their banns to be published arguing that it was not right for a man to be published twice with different women.[196] By the time it manifested itself in Upper Canada, the Irish aversion to banns was likely a deeply ingrained marriage custom many accepted uncritically. That said, the financial cost to dispense with banns required considerable resources that many would not have treated lightly. Clearly for some couples dispensing with banns may have been a

[193] Clearly concerned about his inability to judge the eligibility of a couple, Campion added the extra caveat: "not being able to discover any impediment to prevent them from being married" before finally noting that the sacrament had been conferred.
[194] ARCAT, M AB19.04, Rev. H.H. Fitzpatrick to BRG, 27 September 1839, CA07.01, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 17 February 1834.
[195] AAK, 1829-34 letter book, Rev. T. O'Meara to BMD, 30 November 1829. In such cases Bishop Macdonell acknowledged the deterrent created by the scandal of exposing a false marriage and allowed couples to remarry in the Church without the publicity of banns. In Perth, Simon Hogan and Ann Smith's daughter was baptized on their wedding day, a marriage for which no banns were published. The Rev. John MacDonald's notation in the baptismal register suggests the couple had been representing themselves as legally married and likely demanded their marriage be kept quiet: "baptized Catharine born three weeks ago of the pretended marriage of Simon Hogan and Ann Smith."
[196] ARCAT, M AB33.02, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BRG, 28 March 1837. In another Toronto case, a man who had impregnated two women, including the one with whom he lived, was willing to marry whichever woman the priest preferred, but was adamant that he would not allow his banns to be published out of fear the offspring of the marriage would be exposed as illegitimate. ARCAT, M AB32.04, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 1 August 1836.

conscious attempt to lessen clerical control over their union as well as the public scrutiny invited by the proclamations. Certainly banns imposed a delay to the completion of a marriage that couples may have seen as undesirable. For newcomers in particular, banns that publicized one's union to a community of strangers were entirely unnecessary. Influenced by environment, demographics, and religious culture, the decision to proceed or dispense with banns was also an opportunity to negotiate an aspect of one's participation and practice of Roman Catholicism.

Persistent migration over long distances, the ineffectuality of banns, and limited Church resources made it difficult for the clergy to confirm a couple's eligibility to marry within the Roman Catholic Church. The distance and dislocation of migration and settlement in this period meant that spouses were unwittingly misplaced and easily abandoned.[197] It is likely that the majority of separated spouses were never reconciled either by circumstance or design. When a bigamist was exposed, time and distance often worked in his or her favour.[198] The migratory patterns of the laity made it difficult for a priest to independently verify that an individual's first spouse had died. Bishop Macdonell advised his clergy that "strong positive proof" of a spouse's death was required, but naturally this was difficult to secure.[199] Enquiries to Ireland about the status

[197] Jane Errington has documented the many "information wanted" notices that were placed in the colonial press by abandoned spouses seeking information about their missing partners. Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Emigrant Worlds and Transatlantic Communities: Migration to Upper Canada in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007).

[198] *British Whig*, 3 November 1835 for an example of Leitrim man caught as a bigamist but acquitted because of no verifiable evidence.

[199] ARCAT, M CA05.04, Rev. J. Cassidy to BMD, 24 August 1832; AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. J. Cassidy, 28 August 1832. The Rev. John Cassidy inquired whether his parishioners should be required to "produce testimonials of the death of the former spouse." He complained that he was faced with many cases in which a "party has had no account of his or her spouse for a number of years" and demanded to know how many years was "fixed according to canonical rules" to legally assume that the first spouse was dead. Gagnon, *Mariage*, 115 includes an

of the other spouse were occasionally helpful, but the majority were not surprisingly, fruitless.[200]

A living spouse and a pre-existing marriage all but nullified a couple's chances of being married in the Catholic Church, but the outcome was far more serious when a pre-existing marriage was detected after the second marriage had been contracted. When banns published in St. Raphael's parish in 1830 revealed that a man named O'Connor had a wife already living in Ireland the parish priest there refused to administer the sacrament. Instead the couple approached the parish priest in Kingston, the Rev. William Fraser, and persuaded him to marry them privately. When Bishop Macdonell learned of the private marriage he suspended Fraser from his duties as parish priest in Kingston arguing that he was complicit in their bigamy. Macdonell fumed: "O'Connor must now be dragged before the public in hopes of bringing him and the unfortunate woman he has seduced to a sense of their miserable situation."[201]

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example of priest who refused to marry an Irish immigrant because he could not determine whether the man was "free" to marry.

[200] The Rev. William P. MacDonald solicited and received positive assurances from a bishop in Scotland that the man who had abandoned MacDonald's parishioner Anne Mooney twelve years previous was said by his relatives to be alive in the United States. ARCAT, M AB37.04, Rev. M.R. Mills to BRG, 6 May 1839; AE17.03, Archbishop P. Curtis to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 4 April 1832. The Rev. William Patrick McDonagh of Toronto required affidavits from parishioners as to the veracity of the death of a spouse. In one case the priest would not accept a letter notifying a parishioner that his estranged wife had died, but rather insisted the man travel to Cleveland to procure additional affidavits attesting to her death before he could remarry. ARCAT, M BB06.11, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BRG, 27 January 1842; BB06.12, Affidavit of James Durnan, 21 January 1842; BB06.13, Affidavit of Mary Anne Earnest, 19 January 1842; BB06.14, Affidavit of William Earnest, 19 January 1842; AB33.10, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BRG, 25 November 1839. In some cases, anticipating questions from the priest, the laity did the legwork themselves. When his marriage status was in doubt prior to his wedding, William Burke a resident of Kingston wrote to his former parish priest in Schenectady, New York. The pastor wrote to Rev. Patrick Dollard the pastor at Kingston attesting that Burke "was never married by me nor have I ever heard of him being by any other or in any other place." AAK, GC, Box 1, BI1C17, letter 1, Rev. P. McClosky to Rev. P. Dollard, 9 October 1841.

[201] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W. Fraser, 3 April 1830.

Often rumours of bigamy reached the parish priest through outside sources, or an admission was made by the culprit in a moment of spiritual or health crisis.[202] From the London mission, the Rev. Michael Robert Mills reported that a parishioner had abandoned his wife in Ireland upon learning of her pregnancy by another man. He had remarried in Canada and his wife, who was ignorant of his previous marriage, was now pregnant. Wracked with guilt, the man had confessed to Mills and asked him to try to determine if his first wife was "dead or alive." All inquiries to Ireland had gone unanswered.[203] Others attempted to conceal their bigamy. When the Rev. Dollard suspected a parishioner named Flynn, married with children in Kingston, of bigamy his inquiry to the parish priest in Clonmel, Co. Tipperary revealed some pre-emptive communication on the part of the bigamist. Flynn had written to caution his friends against supplying any information about his previous marriage lest the information trouble his Upper Canadian family or lead to legal difficulties. Undeterred by this request, the parish priest at Clonmel responded to Dollard confirming the rumours.[204]

With a transient population that had, in many cases, already covered vast distances and multiple residences before arriving at a priest's door, it is not surprising that bigamy proved to be a persistent problem in the earliest Catholic communities. Built-in safeguards to protect against such impediments such as the stipulation that couples be married in their parish of residence were frequently impossible to enforce. Similarly, the

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[202] Bigamists went largely undetected, but occasionally colonial clergy would learn of a previous marriage through rumour or in the confessional.
[203] ARCAT, M AB37.04, Rev. M.R. Mills to BRG, 6 Mary 1839.
[204] AAK, GC, Box 1, BI1C2, letter 1, Rev. J. Baldwin to Rev. P. Dollard, 24 November 1840. Flynn's first wife Bridget Cummins had borne Flynn two children and since Flynn's departure was living with another man as his wife. Despite there being no record of the marriage in the parish register, and evidence that the bride had given a pseudonym at her wedding, the priest could attest that there could no "doubt to the certainty and validity of this man's first marriage with Bridget Cummins whatever he may allege to the contrary."

lay aversion to banns meant that only rarely did their publication unearth a pre-existing marriage. Yet even when they did the relative ease with which one could procure a marriage from alternative sources meant that for some lay Catholics even bigamy was not an obstacle to a desired marriage.

The nature of settlement and the demographics of religion in Upper Canada meant that Roman Catholics, who worked and lived in proximity to Protestants, occasionally wanted to marry them. It is difficult to know the extent to which "mixed marriages" were common. Presumably "mixed marriages" were more prevalent in Upper Canada than in Ireland where they were discouraged by civil law, Church practice, and social stigma. That said, Irish Catholics may have transplanted to Upper Canada the prejudices that discouraged mixed marriages, or assumed mixed marriages were as difficult to procure in Upper Canada as they were in Ireland, where a fine of £500 was levied against Catholic priests who performed mixed marriages.[205] The volume of clerical correspondence on the subject suggests these marriages were common in Upper Canada, or at least the clergy believed they were.[206] On the ground, the clergy wrote frequently on the subject of mixed unions, asking for permission to marry such couples, or to complain that such couples

[205] The Irish Church permitted mixed marriages only if children from the union were raised as Roman Catholics. Additionally, a Roman Catholic who married a Protestant in his or her Church was expected to remarry before a Catholic priest or be excluded from the sacraments. Nevertheless, Irish law provided considerable discouragement for priests to celebrate mixed marriages. A fine of £500 was levied against any Catholic priest discovered to have married a mixed couple. Mixed marriages continued to be performed by couple beggars, and there is evidence that some parish priests did so in secret. Such discouragements and a cultural stigma against the practice likely limited the number of mixed unions in the early nineteenth century. Connolly, *Priests and People*, 190-191.

[206] This was also the case in Lower Canada where the clergy complained of a plethora of mixed marriages in the Eastern Townships where the Protestant population was largest. Hudon, *Prêtres et Fidèles*, 381. Gagnon, *Mariage*, 115. Upper Canadian clergy made similar arguments about the futility of preventing mixed unions when the laity was all but surrounded by Protestants. ARCAT, M AB40.10, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 5 December 1837; BB12.04, Rev. Yvelin to BRG, 23 May 1840; AAQ 320 CN, HC Vol. III-67, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, May 1822.

were going to alternative officiants.[207] Their complaints suggest many Roman Catholics were not swayed by the Church's disapproval and did not consider differences in their respective religions an impediment to their union.

The restrictions on the practice mean very few mixed marriages appear or are explicitly noted in the parish registers sampled for this study. No mixed marriages were recorded in the data samples for Perth or Sandwich. Only three appear in the Niagara register during the period studied, and all appear to have been conducted under extenuating circumstances.[208] It is possible that the clergy in the Diocese of Kingston married mixed couples but simply did not note the Protestant spouse's religion in the parish register. When Bishop Michael Power assumed the head of the newly created Diocese of Toronto in 1842, he found that many Upper Canadian priests had been marrying mixed couples without dispensations.[209]

The parish registers do capture marriages in which the Protestant spouse was willing to convert to Roman Catholicism in advance of the marriage. These conversions took the form of a public profession of Catholic faith and occasionally a baptism if the

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[207] ARCAT, M AB40.04, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 26 December 1836; AB23.02, Rev. T. Gibney to BRG, 27 February 1837; AB40.10, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 5 December 1837; CA24.02, Rev. P. Schneider to BRG, 8 February 1838; AB25.02, Rev. E. Gordon to BRG, 24 May 1838; AB3702, Rev. M.R. Mills to BRG, 26 October 1838; AB55.01, Rev. A. Vervais to BRG, 9 January 1839; AB41.06, Rev. J.B. Morin to BRG, 9 February 1839; AB37.04, Rev. M.R. Mills to BRG, 6 May 1839; BB19.02 Rev. A. Vervais to BRG, 24 January 1840; BB02.03, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 28 May 1840; CA15.06, Rev. E. Gordon to BRG, 17 September 1840.

[208] In May of 1838, from Niagara the Rev. Edward Gordon requested leave to marry a dying Catholic woman to her Protestant husband. Unbeknownst to their friends and family they had never been married, and now on her deathbed the woman earnestly desired to be married by the priest. ARCAT, M AB2502, Rev. E. Gordon to BRG, 24 May 1838; AB2503, Rev. E. Gordon to BRG, 29 May 1838. The woman's marital status was a source of anxiety for Gordon as not only had he to request the controversial dispensation for the mixed marriage (complicated by their cohabitation) but should the dispensation be refused by Bishop Gaulin, Gordon had a dilemma about what rites to administer to the woman in anticipation of her death. In a subsequent letter, Gordon reported that he had been relieved to receive Gaulin's permission to marry the couple as Gordon had made the difficult decision to marry them in advance of official assent.

[209] McGowan, *Michael Power*, 175.

convert had not already been baptized in another Christian faith. Marriages following or coinciding with the conversion of one of the contracting parties made up a small percentage of the marriages in the sample parish registers: 7.5 per cent of all marriages contracted amongst Anglophones in Sandwich, and only 2.3 per cent of all the marriages at Perth. The earliest register for the Dundas mission which covered a considerable portion of south-central Upper Canada, records only 25 marriages in three years, of which two were between a Catholic and a convert. In Niagara, a remarkable ten percent of marriages were preceded by the conversion of one of the partners. In the period of study, 29 individuals publicly "renounced the errors of Protestantism" and approximately three-quarters of the converts were baptized a few days in advance or on the same day as their marriage to a Catholic. Women were more likely to convert to Catholicism for their future husbands than were men for their future wives.[210] In the studied parishes, females accounted for two-thirds of newly wed converts. In Niagara, women converted in nearly 70 per cent of such marriages, in Perth in 75 per cent of the cases, and in Assumption the cases were split evenly 50-50. Both of the marriages in the Dundas register involved a female convert. While such conversions indicate a concerted decision and thoughtfulness about her faith and identity on the part of the female partner, it also suggests a determination on the part of the male to retain his Catholic identity and practice and to integrate both into his new marriage and future family life.[211]

[210] The Rev. Augustin Vervais noted the tendency in the Malden parish for Roman Catholic women to convert upon the occasion of their marriages to Protestant men. ARCAT, M BB18.15, Rev. A. Vervais to BRG, 27 July 1840.

[211] The Rev. Augustin Vervais touched on this impulse when he reported on the conversion of a woman who had been cohabitating but now wished to be married to a Roman Catholic. The woman "knew our religion" Vervais reported, and she and her now husband appeared to "want to do well." ARCAT, M BB19.02, Rev. A. Vervais to BRG, 24 January 1840.

Baptismal records from the period of study reveal more mixed unions as priests were very willing to baptized the offspring of mixed unions, regardless of where the parents had been married. In the relatively well-established parishes of Perth and Sandwich the data samples included no baptisms for mixed union children. This absence may be an indication of the refusal on the part of the parish priest or reveal something of the religious culture in either place. Sandwich, a predominantly Roman Catholic community, within which the Irish Catholic community maintained an insular existence, may have presented few opportunities for mixed marriages, or prevented them through social pressure. In Perth, where Protestantism was firmly entrenched, a similar cultural stigma against mixed marriages may have prevailed. The registers of Dundas and Niagara suggest that the effect of mixed marriages was not always the loss of resulting children to Catholicism as the Church feared. Baptismal records for both places demonstrate that children of mixed unions were brought to the Catholic Church for baptism. In Dundas mission, 27 baptisms approximately 11 per cent of the total completed in three years were recorded for children born to a mixed marriage. In Niagara, baptisms of children from mixed unions accounted for about five percent of the total baptisms recorded. Contrary to the sex breakdown of the conversion data, the baptismal records suggest most children of mixed unions baptized Roman Catholic had Roman Catholic mothers. In the Dundas mission, the sex breakdown of the Protestant parent was approximately 60-40 with the fathers in the majority. In Niagara the sex breakdown was more pronounced with 88 per cent of the children born to Protestant fathers. In Niagara the presence of a large labouring and military population may have contributed to the sex disparity amongst mixed marriages, if not to the mixed marriages themselves.

The Archdiocese of Quebec held fast to its refusal to condone such unions and only in the rarest of circumstances were Protestants allowed to be married in the Catholic Church with the appropriate permission from the bishop.[212] The Church's reluctance to permit mixed unions stemmed from a fear that the Catholic spouse and any subsequent children would be lost to the Church.[213] By the 1840s, the Archdiocese of Quebec, perhaps acknowledging the futility of willing the problem away, introduced an official dispensation for mixed marriages. Couples applying for the dispensation had to agree to baptize and raise their children in the Catholic faith. The Catholic spouse had to promise to do all in his or her power to induce their non-Catholic spouse to be baptized.[214] The sacramental registers for Upper Canada suggest these measures simply endorsed the strategies lay people in mixed relationships had been using in order to negotiate their religious lives as a couple and of their children. Decades before the Archdiocese of Quebec implemented the practice as official policy, some Upper Canadian clergy had the Protestant parent "sign away" his or her right to the religious education of the child. The parish register for St. John the Baptist parish, for example, includes an oath sworn by John Taylor at Perth in August 1839. Taylor vowed to "allow all my children both male and female if it pleases God to bless one with such, to be brought up and educated in the Catholic faith."[215] Clearly for Taylor, or perhaps more so for his future wife, the religious

[212] Bishops Macdonell and Gaulin were rarely swayed by inferences that the Protestant spouse would convert at a later date. Nor were they often persuaded by the "respectability" of the applicant couple or their ability or willingness to pay the required dispensation fees. ARCAT, M AA07.06, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 18 October 1837; AB37.02, Rev. M.R. Mills to BRG, 26 October 1838; BB02.03, Rev. J. Cassidy to BRG, 28 May 1840; CA15.06, Rev. E. Gordon to BRG, 17 September 1840; CA1507, same to same, 19 September 1840.
[213] Connolly, *Priests and People*, 190, McGowan, *Michael Power*, 174-5.
[214] Hudon, *Prêtres et Fidèles*, 381.
[215] Parish register, St. John the Baptist, Perth, UC, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials, 1833-39, vol. 4, Sworn statement of John Taylor, 19 August 1839.

upbringing of his children was of concern, though he was clearly uninterested in changing his own religious affiliation. The baptism of children from mixed marriages reveals a determination on the part of the Catholic parent, and in these parishes it was usually the mother, to raise her children in her faith, or at the very least to ensure sacramental protection in the dangerous and uncertain colonial settlement frontier. The data considered here also reflect a willingness on the father's part to let his wife take the lead in the family's religious practice, or conversely a refusal or indifference to his own part in that practice.

The nature of Upper Canadian settlement, environment, and population created barriers to lay access to, and clerical administration of, the Catholic marriage rite. These obstacles also represented an opportunity for some laity to exercise choice and agency when it came to the decision about to whom, where, and when to be married. This flexibility suited new arrivals to the province, but their transiency made aspects of marriage law, such as banns, difficult to impose. Marriage and baptism are the most visible points of contact between the institutional Church and the Upper Canadian Irish laity. The records reveal the ways in which these sacraments functioned not only in the religious lives of an individual or a family, but in the process by which newcomers settled and integrated themselves into a new community.

The religion practiced by Irish Roman Catholics in Upper Canada was grounded in the local and immediate context of their migration and settlement. Many of the hallmarks of Pre-Famine Irish Catholicism did not make the move to North America, but it is clear the religious conditions of Ireland facilitated the relatively easy Irish Catholic adaptation to the Diocese of Kingston. Despite the transnational scope of the Roman

Catholic Church and the Irish diaspora, the individual and local context of religious practice, and the absence of decisive transplanted forms of Irish Catholicism make it difficult to situate Upper Canadian Roman Catholics and their religious practice in a global Irish Catholic world. It is more likely any identification occurred at the individual level in the context of personal faith and practice, sources for which are regrettably not extant.

Chapter 4 "A parcel of bullies and a band of assassins": Irish Lay leadership and initiative in the Diocese of Kingston, 1805-1836

When he took office in 1834, Toronto churchwarden and recent convert John Elmsley was certain he was the solution to parochial discord at the parish of St. Paul's. "Some evil spirit is at work with them, and discord is the fruit of any attempt to unite them," Elmsley complained.[1] The extent of trouble at St. Paul's is difficult to surmise from extant correspondence, but it seems a general disinclination to support the parish financially in the aftermath of a recent conflict was rampant amongst the general congregation. Meetings of the laity, Elmsley reported, produced only "angry discussion and personal invectives," the entreaties of the priests were in vain, and the other churchwardens were entirely ineffective in promoting change.[2] Though he took to the office with aplomb, Elmsley had little time or respect for the office of churchwarden or for lay leadership in general and his solutions stressed the Bishop's authority at the expense of the laity's. With little sense of the irony of the situation he urged Bishop Alexander Macdonell to exercise the "full force" of his episcopal authority by enacting Elmsley's plan to remove the parish priest and shutter the church indefinitely.[3] The shock of such a strong measure, he believed, would surely "recall this benighted flock to a sense of their deplorable situation" and, he argued, set an example to other parishes throughout

[1] ARCAT, M AB16.02, J. Elmsley to BMD, 21 May 1834; CC01.01, J. Elmsley to BMD, 6 February 1835.
[2] ARCAT, M CC01.01, J. Elmsley to BMD, 6 February 1835; M CC01.03, J. Elmsley to BMD, 2 April 1835.
[3] *Ibid.;* AB17.02, J. Elmsley to BMD, 23 April 1835; AB 17.04, J. Elmsley to BMD, 14 May 1835.

the diocese.[4] Your action should be direct, he advised Macdonell; it should also be enacted without consideration of any lay committee, the churchwardens, or other lay authority: "the question is not now, what the people chuse to do, or to have done, but what you chuse to direct and order to be done," he insisted to the bishop.[5]

John Elmsley took a dim view of lay leadership in the Diocese of Kingston and in so doing betrayed his very recent introduction to the Upper Canadian Roman Catholic Church. Bishop Macdonell had a myriad of reasons for ignoring Elmsley's suggestion. Not only had the parish recently experienced a year-long lay occupation of the church and deeply damaging divisions from which the parish was evidently still emerging, but Elmsley's premise on the nature of lay and episcopal power in Upper Canada was entirely inconsistent with reality. Macdonell's life-long project to build the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada had depended, from its infancy, on cooperation between the Church and its laity. As such the Diocese of Kingston operated on a delicate balance of Church-directed structure and regulations and lay initiative and zeal. Macdonell could no more "chuse to direct and order" the people than the people could "chuse to do or to have done."

This chapter is about that delicate balance. It examines lay leadership, and the role played by laymen, particularly those of Irish origin, in the construction of Roman Catholic parishes in Upper Canada before 1840. With an emphasis on the Upper Canadian iteration of the *fabrique*, the council composed of three *marguilliers* or churchwardens and the parish priest, this chapter considers the ways in which Upper Canada offers a different model of parish-building, lay leadership, and lay-clerical

[4] ARCAT, M CC01.01, J. Elmsley to BMD, 6 February 1835.
[5] ARCAT, M AB17.04, J. Elmsley to BMD, 14 May 1835.

conflict than the American model described in the historiography of "trusteeism." Instead it argues that the colonial context, the influence of the Diocese of Quebec, and the transplanted ethnic culture of the immigrant laity necessitated and encouraged a degree of cooperation and power-sharing in the construction of Upper Canadian Roman Catholic parish. In Upper Canada, Roman Catholic lay leadership and initiative operated for the most part within the Church-sanctioned, instituted, and nominally-controlled *fabrique* system; yet the dearth of financial resources and political power within the Upper Canadian Church meant the progress of parish and church-building, and the functioning of the *fabrique* and parish, depended heavily on the interest, initiative, and zeal of the laity. While the Church saw itself as harnessing lay initiative through the *fabrique*, trustees, and church building and fundraising committees—these avenues offered the laity considerable agency and control over the progress of their parish and the provincial Church as a whole. It was through the process of parish building, and the administration of early parishes that Irish Catholic men in particular found avenues for participation to further their ambitions and to begin to exert community and civic leadership at a local level.

The Upper Canadian context necessitated lay-clerical power sharing, but it also lent itself to conflict. Ambitious laymen with definite ideas about how their parish and Church should operate clashed with a bishop who had similarly intractable views. The second half of this chapter will consider the infamous O'Grady affair that occurred in the York parish of St. Paul's in 1832 and 1833. The conflict pitted an activist laity supportive of the suspended Reverend William J. O'Grady against Bishop Alexander Macdonell. The laymen took physical control of the parish church ostensibly in support of the

embattled priest but instead used it as a platform to advocate for broad reform of Upper Canadian Catholicism and in particular the colonial government grant for clergy.

The historiography of Roman Catholic lay-clerical relations is dominated by material on 'trusteeism' or lay-clerical conflicts that arose out of the lay trustee system in the early nineteenth-century United States.[6] The work of Patrick Carey, David Gerber and others has discarded the old episcopal interpretation of lay trusteeism as rebellious and heretical and replaced it with a lay-centered approach that interprets the system as being part of a strategy to adapt European Catholicism to the context of the United States.[7] In this scholarship, trusteeism is interpreted as a function of an immigrant/settler generation of laity who in the absence of formal Church structure, resources, and authority initiated the construction of parishes throughout the eastern United States. This lay initiative operated within a social context and legal structure that encouraged voluntarism and enabled lay ownership of parish assets, and a political culture that lionized democracy and maintained the separation of church and state. Early Roman Catholic lay leaders

[6] For a definition of trusteeism see: Patrick Carey, *People, Priests, and Prelates: Ecclesiastical Democracy and the Tensions of Trusteeism*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987) 3-4; Carey, "The Laity's Understanding of the Trustee System, 1785-1855," *The Catholic Historical Review* 64, no. 3 (1978): 357-376.

[7] In addition to Carey's work other key texts on trusteeism include: David Gerber: "Modernity in the Service of Tradition: Catholic Lay Trustees at Buffalo's St. Louis Church and the Transformation of European Communal Traditions, 1829-1855," *Journal of Social History* 15, no. 4 (July 1982): 655-684; W. Barry Smith, "Issues of Church Governance from a Cross-Border Perspective: The Case of Lay Trusteeism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Buffalo, New York," *Historical Papers 1996*: Canadian Society of Church History (1996): 25-35. Terrence Murphy uses the trusteeism model to interpret similar conflicts in the British North American Maritimes, see: Murphy, "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism, 1781-1830," *Acadiensis* 13, no. 2 (1984): 29-49; "Trusteeism in Atlantic Canada: The Struggle for Leadership among the Irish Catholics of Halifax, St. John's and Saint John, 1780-1850," in *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930* ed. Gerald J. Stortz, 126-151 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); "Priests, People and Polity: Trusteeism in the First Catholic Congregation at Halifax, 1785-1801," in *Religion and Identity: The Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada*, ed. Terrence Murphy and Cyril J. Bryne, 68-80 (St. John's: Jesperson Press, 1987).

appropriated these American cultural elements as well as structures and systems borrowed from dominant Protestant congregations in order to present themselves and their religion as compatible with American society. Conflicts occurred when lay autonomy and in particular lay ownership of parish property were threatened by the inevitable expansion and consolidation of the institutional Church. Lay trustees resisted attempts by the bishops to wrest control of a parish and its assets.

The emphasis on conflict in the trusteeism literature and the depiction of a progression of power from the laity over the course of the century to the Episcopate ignores or downplays the degree to which church-building at a macro and micro level was a shared, joint project in which all players had a vested interest. This model leaves no room for cooperation and suggests power within the institutional Church could not be shared; it also fails to look beyond the hierarchical, authoritative structure of the Church to appreciate the ways in which power and leadership could come from the bottom without clashing with the power and leadership of the top as was the case in the Diocese of Kingston in the early nineteenth-century.

One cannot understand the development of lay-clerical relations in the church-building phase of Upper Canadian Catholicism without the long shadow of the Church in Quebec.[8] By virtue of its status as a suffragan territory of the Diocese of Quebec, Roman Catholic parishes in what would become the Diocese of Kingston were established according to the systems and structures of the parent diocese. Key to the functioning of a Quebec parish, and of particular relevance to the process by which parishes were founded in Upper Canada, was the *fabrique* or vestry. As the sole administrative body in a Lower

[8] Luca Codignola, "Roman Catholic Conservatism in a New North Atlantic World, 1760-1829," *William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 64, no. 4 (2013): 717-756.

Canadian community, the *fabrique* functioned as an early community or municipal council and as such it was often at the confluence of broader tensions between the social and the religious functions of the parish in Lower Canada.[9] The *fabrique* was composed of three elected lay *marguilliers* or churchwardens and the parish priest. With the parish priest, the churchwardens were to "*administerer conjointement*" the temporal affairs of the parish.[10] Churchwardens handled all the parish's finances: they collected pew rents and fees for sacraments, oversaw subscriptions and collections, and were responsible for ensuring the parish priest and sexton were paid. Churchwardens had no spiritual role within the parish and though they had significant responsibilities, and the position was one of prestige, they were subject to the authority of the parish priest and the bishop.

Unlike American trusteeism, which has been described as deriving from a grassroots lay initiative impulse, the Lower Canadian *fabrique* was a Church-instituted and controlled expression of lay leadership. It mandated lay participation in the administration of the parish but placed limits on lay initiative and control.[11] The members of the *fabrique* were, like the rest of the laity, subject to the authority of God represented at the local level by the curé and bishop. Though churchwardens were required to administer all financial aspects of the parish, those responsibilities did not extend to ownership of parish buildings or infrastructure. A parish church or presbytery belonged to God and decisions regarding said buildings were for the clergy. Though the laity did

[9] Allan Greer, *Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1993) 60; Christian Dessureault and Christine Hudon, "Conflits sociaux et élites locales au Bas-Canada: le clergé, les notables, la paysannerie et le controle de la fabrique," *The Canadian Historical Review* 80, no. 3 (1999): 413–439.
[10] AAQ 12 A, Registre des insinuation ecclésiastiques (hereafter RIE), vol. H: folio 126, Mgr. JO Plessis, "Établissment d'une paroisse Catholique à Kingston," 3 juin 1816.
[11] Greer, *Patriots and the People*, 60.

on occasion dispute the ownership and control of a parish building, laymen were not appointed trustees and as such had no legal basis for such claims.[12]

Lower Canadian Church officials stressed the importance of cooperation between the priest and the churchwardens, but left little doubt that the priest was in charge. Churchwardens were forbidden from meeting without the priest present, and the priest had the authority to veto a churchwarden decision if he saw fit. The priest was required to consult with the churchwardens on significant expenditures, but it was his prerogative to determine when and whether major repairs would be made to the church and other parish infrastructure. The permission of the bishop was required to complete these repairs or to begin construction on a new church.[13]

The process by which churchwardens were elected also reinforced the authority of the Church. Attempts in the early nineteenth-century to extend the franchise to all laymen in certain parishes incurred the censure of Bishop J.J. Lartigue who actively discouraged "democratic vestries."[14] Instead, electors were drawn from those who had held the churchwarden office previously (known as "elders") and held a minimum level of property. Consequently the electorate was restricted to an "exclusive club" or "compact group" of prosperous *habitants* who were loyal to the *curé*.[15] In the St. Hyacinthe region, for example, the churchwarden office was unofficially patrimonial and wardens were with each generation drawn from the same small networks of power and influence within

[12] Codignola, "Roman Catholic Conservatism," argues no evidence of trusteeism in Lower Canada, but makes the claim on the basis of Lower Canadian conservatism, and the preservation of hierarchy and authority. Greer disagrees and shows evidence of lay resistance to Church discipline and in particular to the use and control of parish infrastructure by the laity (58).
[13] AAK, MC, AI4CL2, letter 1, Pastoral Letter of Bishop P. Denaut, 25 April 1802.
[14] Greer, 66.
[15] Dessureault et Hudon, 415.

a parish.[16] Loyalty to the *curé* and to the Church was ensured in successive generations of churchwardens, and though challenges to that authority did occur, for the most part lay participation and initiative was conducted peacefully within parameters set by the Church. A series of legislative attempts by the urban *petite bourgeoisie* to reform the *fabrique* in the early 1830s which were strenuously blocked by the Church reveal how important the *fabrique* was to Lower Canadian society and how critical control over its function was to the Church.[17]

As the Upper Canadian vicar general and later as Bishop of the Diocese of Kingston, Alexander Macdonell imposed the Diocese of Quebec's rules and regulations on the Upper Canadian Church. While the French Canadian parishes of Sandwich and Malden on the Detroit River had been established in the eighteenth-century and were in conformity with Quebec diocesan rules, new Gaelic and English-speaking parishes were expected to also conform to diocesan rules and structures.[18] Macdonell found the *fabrique* system particularly conducive to the needs of the province's infant Catholic communities and found it enabled his own Church-building goals.[19] The *fabrique* system provided the basic structures of a parish, and in the churchwardens gave Macdonell contacts in each new parish that he hoped in his absence would be both trustworthy and

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[16] *Ibid*.

[17] Dessureault et Hudon provide a good summary of the historiography of the *fabrique* and of the disputes surrounding the *fabrique* bills of 1831 and 1833. They write that not until the 1840s was the *fabrique* reformed enough to be called "democratic." Greer argues that the battles over the election of churchwardens highlighted broader social tensions in Lower Canadian society and gave the peasantry important political experience which set the stage for their political engagement during the rebellion period (67).

[18] AAK, MC, AI4CL2, letter 1, Pastoral Letter of Bishop P. Denaut, 25 April 1802.

[19] A series of pastoral letters, and at least one episcopal visit, introduced Upper Canadian Catholics to the diocesan parameters under which new Upper Canadian parishes were expected to operate. AAQ 12 A, RIE, vol. H: folio 126, Mgr. JO Plessis, "Établissment d'une paroisse Catholique à Kingston," 3 juin 1816; AAK, MC, AI4CL2, letter 1, Pastoral Letter of Bishop P. Denaut, 25 April 1802.

zealous in directing church-building activities. The majority of new Upper Canadian Roman Catholics would have been unfamiliar with this system of parish governance and had to be introduced to the ways in which their leadership functioned and was sanctioned in the Diocese of Quebec. Yet the Church-imposed *fabrique* could function only with the acquiescence of the laity and thus it was shaped by their needs, priorities, and cultural attitudes.

Once transplanted from Lower Canada, the *fabrique* system was by necessity modified to suit Upper Canadian Roman Catholics. The modifications were made necessary by the environmental and financial limitations of early rural settlement; others were made to accommodate the transplanted religious culture of new Roman Catholics. As no similar system of lay administration existed in Ireland or Scotland, new non-French Canadian Roman Catholics had to be introduced to the way in which their leadership and participation would be solicited and permitted by the Church in Upper Canada. Consequently, lay churchwardens, unfamiliar with their new roles, often clashed with the clergy and bishops over their jurisdiction and responsibilities. When the Scottish churchwardens of St. Andrews West parish, for example, attempted to fire their Irish priest in the early part of the nineteenth century, Bishop Plessis blamed the trouble on the wardens' ignorance of their jurisdiction and the proper functioning of a *fabrique*.[20]

The Upper Canadian context made modifications to the Lower Canadian *fabrique* system necessary. The process by which churchwardens were elected had to be modified to reflect the absence of elders and the ethnic makeup of a new parish. In an 1816 visit to Kingston, Bishop Plessis oversaw the formal creation of a *fabrique* in that parish. With

[20] AAQ 210 A, Registre des lettres (hereafter RL), vol. 5: p. 86, Bishop J.O. Plessis to Churchwardens of St. Andrew's West, Cornwall, 9 March 1806.

no elders from which an electorate could be drawn, Plessis stipulated that churchwardens were to be elected from the male heads of households until such time as there were twelve former churchwardens who could form a body of electors. The ethnic makeup of the parish necessitated an additional revision to the regulations governing the election of churchwardens; Plessis stipulated that one churchwarden was to be drawn from each of the main ethnic groups in Kingston: Scottish, French-Canadian, and Irish.[21]

The responsibilities of the *fabrique* that ensured the financial health of the parish and its priest–the collection of a tithe and the auctioning of pews–were made difficult by the economic realities of early settlement life and cultural attitudes of Upper Canadian Catholics, particularly the Irish. The tithe was the sole source of revenue for the *fabrique* but outside the province's earliest, French-Canadian parishes, Sandwich and Malden, its implementation was difficult and inconsistent. French Canadian laymen were accustomed to paying tithes and did so willingly.[22] In the rest of the diocese, particularly in parishes where the majority were Irish, the laity's reluctance to pay the tithe was blamed on the economics of migration and settlement but also on transplanted religious culture. Recently arrived settlers were often too poor to contribute to the support of a clergyman, and thus implementing the tithe in new parishes was virtually impossible.[23]

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[21] AAQ 12 A, RIE, vol. H: folio 126, Mgr. JO Plessis, "Établissment d'une paroisse Catholique à Kingston," 3 juin 1816.

[22] The Lower Canadian clergy were supported by a system of tithes in which a 26th of all grain grown was collected by the churchwardens and given to the priest for his support. The priests of French-Upper Canadian parishes rarely complained about a lack of support from the laity, and their largesse was a source of jealousy for other priests. AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W.J. O'Grady, 1 December 1830; BMD to Rev. P. Foley, 12 June 1832; BMD to Rev. P. Foley, 14 June 1833; BMD to Cardinal T. Weld, 17 August 1833; MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. J. Moore, 18 August 1834.

[23] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 18 September 1820; BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 6 May 1821; MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. J. Urquhart, 11 December 1835; Petition of Catholics of Upper Canada, 1838; ARCAT, M AA02.03, BMD to Rev. W. P. MacDonald, 6 November 1829.

In Upper Canada, as in Lower Canada, the *fabrique* administered the annual auctioning of vacant pews and collected the associated fees and rent. Typically the funds were given directly to the parish priest and particularly in new and poor settlements, formed a significant portion of his income. The cash-poor economy of Upper Canada meant the collection of the pew rent there was often split into biannual installments. It is likely that new settlers, Irish or otherwise, found the requirements and costs associated with renting a pew prohibitive.[24] Pew rents were unheard of in Ireland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and once in North America, Irish Catholics often resisted the practice.[25] In Perth, the Reverend John MacDonald found the laity and churchwardens of his Irish parish were indifferent to his insistence that the pew rents be paid in full on the appointed day for the pew auction. The churchwardens paid him pew rents in a piecemeal and inconsistent fashion, and MacDonald was convinced that calculated shortfalls in the parish revenues could be attributed to pew rents that had yet to be paid.[26] In other places, the Irish laity used pew rents as a vehicle for protest.[27] In London, the Rev. Patrick O'Dwyer reported that his parishioners had decided en masse to

[24] AAQ 12 A, RIE, vol. H: folio 126, Mgr. JO Plessis, "Établissment d'une paroisse Catholique à Kingston," 3 juin 1816; AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 7, BMD to Bishop of Saldae, 4 November 1819. In addition to requiring a bond or surety, pews were not to be rented to women or to Protestants thereby effectively excluding Catholic women married to Protestants often a significant portion of the female population in many Upper Canadian parishes. Such women were often wealthy relative to most Catholic men and therefore not a demographic to alienate. If a Catholic woman was married to a Protestant they were to ask a Catholic friend to rent the pew on their behalf.

[25] The majority of places of Roman Catholic worship, particularly in rural areas, did not have pews. P.J. Corish, *The Irish-Catholic Experience:* 176; Keenan, 227; Kevin Whelan, "The Catholic Parish, the Catholic Chapel and Village Development in Ireland." *Irish Geography* 16, no. 1 (1983): 1–15; On Irish Catholics and pew rents in North America, see: Dolan, *The Immigrant Church.* In the United States, Bishop John England of Charleston, who is credited with transplanting Irish Catholicism to North America, condemned the practice for fostering inequality. Patrick Carey, "Voluntaryism: An Irish Catholic Tradition," *Church History* 48, no. 1 (1979) 58.

[26] AO, Ewan MacDonald fonds, Rev. John MacDonald journal, pg. 61, 68, 80, 114.

[27] See Greer, 63-64 for pew rents and auctions as sites of protest in 1830s Lower Canada.

ignore the pew rent, and consequently those that did attend mass chose to stand rather than sit in the pews.[28] A similar tactic was employed in Toronto in 1835. "The pews are empty," complained churchwarden John Elmsley. The aisles are crowded to suffocation and filled with men and women splendidly dressed. The ribbons alone on some of the bonnets would pay a quarter pew rent and yet these fine ladies and gentlemen prefer kneeling in the dust of the aisles … they won't pay a farthing to occupy a pew.[29] Elmsley's solution to the disinclination of Toronto's Catholics to rent pews was to institute a two-penny entrance fee for all those who did not hold pews.[30] The move was highly controversial not only with the predominantly Irish congregation, but with the other churchwardens who argued that the fee excluded the poor from hearing the word of God and, on a more practical level, was making them unpopular and consequently hurting their businesses.[31] Nevertheless Elmsley's tactic worked, and within weeks of the fee's implementation Toronto's pews were fully rented.[32]

John Elmsley's fellow churchwardens, Edward McElderry and John Lynch, were also at the forefront of a movement in the Toronto parish to extend the churchwarden franchise to all pew holders. Diocesan regulations stipulated that only those who had contributed five pounds or more to the parish could vote in a churchwarden election. This regulation, along with others governing the functioning of the *fabrique* had been inherited

[28] ARCAT, M BB14.10, Rev. P. O'Dwyer to BRG, 15 November 1841; BB14.11, Rev. P. O'Dwyer to BRG, 1 December 1841.
[29] ARCAT, M AB17.02, J. Elmsley to BMD, 23 April 1835.
[30] ARCAT, M AB32.04, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BRG, 8 January 1836; AB30.09, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 16 January 1836.
[31] ARCAT, M AB30.09, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 16 January 1836; AB30.10, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 22 January 1836; AB30.11, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 13 February 1836; AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to J. Elmsley, 2 March 1836.
[32] ARCAT, M AB18.01, J. Elmsley to BMD, 18 January 1836; AB30.10, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 22 January 1836; Murray Nicolson, "John Elmsley and the Rise of Irish Catholic Social Action in Victorian Toronto," CCHA, *Historical Studies*, 51(1984) 47-66.

from the Diocese of Quebec and formerly adopted in the Diocese of Kingston in the summer of 1833.[33] The ongoing O'Grady conflict at Toronto that summer had prompted Bishop Macdonell to tighten the rules governing the *fabrique* and lay leadership more generally. He insisted the minimum contribution level be firmly applied particularly in Toronto where the rule proved difficult to apply. Only two members of the committee appointed in late 1833 to elect the next churchwardens qualified, and Bishop Macdonell instructed the rest to make the minimum contribution as soon as possible.[34] The minimum contribution level continued to be a problem in the parish. At a meeting of the pew holders in October 1835, parish priest the Rev. William Patrick McDonagh noted that there were only five or six members of the parish qualified to vote for the churchwardens, and certainly not the twelve stipulated by the Diocesan regulations.[35] The regulation was unpopular with the majority of laymen in the parish: the "lower class of persons feel indignant that they should be looked on with contempt as not being eligible to vote – because they are not able to pay a sum that their means will not allow" the priest reported.[36] Consequently churchwardens McElderry and Lynch petitioned the bishop arguing that "the will of the congregation," was that "suffrage be made universal and no distinction between rich and poor in the house of God."[37] In response, Bishop Macdonell indicated that their proposal violated diocesan regulations but deferred the decision to

[33] AAK, "Letter Book 1833-68, including Statistics of Catholics of Upper Canada," Minutes of meeting of clergy held at Kingston 7 July 1833 and 12 July 1833. The clergy voted to formally adopt the Diocese of Quebec's rules governing the *fabrique*. In addition to the minimum contribution level of five pounds, churchwardens were required to have a minimum level of competency of £150.
[34] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Dr. J. King, 23 December 1833.
[35] ARCAT, M AB30.08, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 5 October 1835; AB32.03, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 11 October 1835.
[36] ARCAT, M AB30.08, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 5 October 1835.
[37] *Ibid*.; AC29.11, Resolutions of Churchwardens of Toronto, 12 December 1836.

Bishop Remi Gaulin to whom he had recently handed the administration of the diocese.[38] Gaulin, to the frustration of the Toronto wardens, similarly deferred to Macdonell's authority, and as late as December 1837 no decision had been made, despite assurances from the churchwardens and from the Rev. McDonagh that the measure "would give very general satisfaction" in the parish.[39]

The Upper Canadian context and the demands of the laity necessitated adjustments to the regulations and functions of the *fabrique,* resulting in a Church-imposed but lay-sanctioned system of parish administration. Similarly the needs of the laity and the Upper Canadian context resulted in a system of power-sharing that characterized the way in which Upper Canadian Roman Catholic parishes were constructed and administered. The *fabrique* and other avenues of parish lay leadership such as building or finance committees enabled the Upper Canadian Roman Catholic Church to harness lay initiative while offering laymen considerable agency and control over the progress of their parish and the provincial Church as a whole.

The initial process by which an Upper Canadian Roman Catholic parish was established usually involved a visit from Alexander Macdonell, or in a few cases from Bishop J.O. Plessis who toured the province in 1816. These visits frequently resulted in the appointment of churchwardens and the establishment of the *fabrique*, the appointment of trustees, as well as directions to institute fundraising measures toward securing land, a church building, and eventually a priest.[40] Yet a bishop's visit was rarely the first spark of

[38] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Churchwardens of Toronto, 30 December 1836.
[39] ARCAT, M AB31.09, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 27 December 1837.
[40] Plessis established a *fabrique* in Kingston in 1816 but it is not clear if churchwardens were elected or appointed. AAQ 210 A, RIL, vol. 5: p. 256, Bishop J.O. Plessis to Rev. A. Macdonell, 15 March 1807; AAQ 12 A, RIE, vol. H: folio 126, Bishop J.O. Plessis, "Établissment d'une paroisse Catholique à Kingston," 3 juin 1816.

organized Catholicism in a community. In most parishes, Macdonell found that newly settled laity had already begun to organize, often with the support of non-Catholics. As such their acceptance of the diocese's regulations and the formation of the *fabrique* was a conscious decision to align their burgeoning community with the institutional Church.

In 1807 Archbishop Plessis instructed the then Rev. Alexander Macdonell to organize the Roman Catholics of Kingston who he had heard were in the habit of attending the Anglican chapel as there was yet no Roman Catholic church in the town. "Assign them a house where they might meet on Sundays and holydays, perform together some prayers, hear the reading of Catholic books…they want also to be entertained in the intent of building a chapel," Plessis instructed Macdonell.[41] Yet upon arrival, Macdonell found that the Roman Catholics of Kingston were organized and had been for some time fundraising for a church and clergyman.[42]

On his first tour of townships to the north of York in 1829, the Rev. William O'Grady discovered that in Adjala Township a lay committee had been established to raise funds to support a priest and to determine "the most effectual and equitable mode of getting up a church." The lay committee had the confidence of the people, O'Grady reported to Macdonell, "whose [the committee's] decision they have expressed themselves satisfied to abide." A subscription had begun toward the support of a priest

[41] AAQ 210 A, RIL, vol. 5: p. 256, Bishop J.O. Plessis to Rev. A. Macdonell, 15 March 1807.
[42] AAQ 320 CN, H-C, vol. III-14, Rev. A. Macdonell to Bishop J.O. Plessis, 16 April 1807; H-C vol. III-18. Rev. A. Macdonell to Bishop J.O. Plessis, 21 October 1807. The Catholic population of the town consisted, Macdonell wrote to Plessis, "entirely of Catholic women married to protestant husbands, young boys, clerks to merchants and poor tradesmen and labourers who can give little or no assistance of a pecuniary nature." Of those who had signed a subscription for funding a church some years ago: "two thirds … are either dead or left the place without paying their subscription."

and amounted to at least £42, O'Grady reported.[43] A year later, a notice in the *Canadian Freeman* indicated that the Adjala committee had moved forward and was now soliciting proposals for contractors to build its church.[44]

As was discussed in Chapter 3, petitions from throughout the diocese indicated a concerted organization at the local level and attested to the lay desire for the trappings of the institutional Church in their communities.[45] These petitions were steeped in the submissive language characteristic of the genre. One sent from Dundas in which the bishop's "affectionate children professing the Roman Catholic Faith" requested a resident priest, was typical.[46] From Raleigh Township another asked for the bishop's assistance in securing land for the construction of a church and a burying ground, noting that it would make it "possible to follow the forms and rituals of our Holy Church."[47] In 1828 the predominantly French-speaking residents of the River Thames mission wrote to Bishop Macdonell to advise him that they had built a presbytery in the hopes that they might entice a priest to their community. The River Thames Roman Catholics noted that they were too distant from the church and priests at Sandwich and bewailed their abandonment to the influences of "Protestants and Indians." They also noted their poverty but willingness to support a priest should one be sent to their community.[48]

The early stages of parish building were often characterized by partnerships and power sharing between Macdonell, the laity, and interested non-Catholic parties. The example of the process by which St. Philips at Richmond was established as a parish in

[43] AAK, MLB 1829-34, Rev. W.J. O'Grady to BMD, 29 October 1829.
[44] *Canadian Freeman*, 22 July 1830.
[45] For examples: ARCAT, M AC09.05, Catholics of Adelaide Township to BMD, 28 October 1832; AC09.01, Petition of the Catholics of Goderich, 10 October 1835.
[46] ARCAT, M AC04.02, Petition of Roman Catholics of Dundas and vicinity, undated.
[47] ARCAT, M AC09.02, Petition of the Catholics of Raleigh, 29 February 1836.
[48] ARCAT, M AC18.06, Petition of Roman Catholics of River Thames to BMD, 1828.

the early 1820s illustrates this quite well. When Bishop Macdonell arrived in Richmond in 1820 he appointed churchwardens from the "principal" Catholics in the settlement but found that local Catholics were already organized. A subscription for the purpose of securing a resident priest had been started. The majority of Richmond's Roman Catholics were recently arrived disbanded soldiers, but the bulk of the subscribers were the settlement's Protestant half-pay officers suggesting the settlement's Catholics were a poor but persuasive group.[49] The Catholics of Richmond were also in the midst of preparing a petition to the Governor General Lord Dalhousie. Dalhousie had promised to appoint and support a Protestant clergyman for Richmond, and the Catholics, Macdonell reported to Bishop Plessis "conscious that they have never been behind them in performance of their duty to their King and Country in the hour of danger or on the day of battle" were convinced they should be entitled to the same.[50] Within a few months, Richmond's Catholics were clearing the town lot Macdonell had secured for the use of the parish and were intent on building a log house to serve as a chapel. They asked the Diocese of Quebec for vestments, a chalice, and a missal for the priest they hoped would be appointed to their mission soon. When Bishop Macdonell appointed the migrant Irish priest the Rev. Patrick Haran to Richmond in 1822 a log cabin was built for his accommodation.[51]

While the Church saw itself as harnessing lay initiative through the *fabrique*, trustees, and church building and fundraising committees, these avenues offered the laity considerable agency and control over the progress of their parish and the provincial

[49] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 18 September 1820; BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 6 May 1821. Macdonell noted that the disbanded soldiers and young settlers in the vicinity of Richmond were poor and "cannot do much."
[50] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 18 September 1820.
[51] AAQ 320 CN, H-C, vol. III: 64, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 6 May 1821.

Church as a whole. Early parish-building efforts, whether as churchwardens or in a lay-initiated fundraising efforts, enabled lay leaders to realize personal as well as community-building ambitions. Once homes had been constructed, land cleared, and businesses established, spearheading the establishment of a parish and the construction of a church building were critical to the process by which Roman Catholics settled in Upper Canada. Once implemented the *fabrique* system did not create lay leaders; instead it was the vehicle by which men already inclined to participate in parish life did so in their new homes. In Ireland, middle-class Roman Catholics had been from the beginning of the century taking an increasingly active role in parish life particularly in the realm of education and charity.[52] In Upper Canada these men were not familiar with the formal structures of the *fabrique*, but were comfortable with, and expectant of, the leadership role they would play in their nascent parish community.

In Bytown, where a Roman Catholic entrepreneurial merchant class took advantage of the town's growing presence in the colonial resource economy, the construction of a church was very clearly linked to the fortunes of the parish's laymen. Entrepreneurial laymen like merchant Daniel O'Connor and brewer Michael Bourke were recent arrivals capitalizing on the town's recent and rapid growth as a burgeoning centre of the timber trade. They incorporated religious participation into the larger process of settlement and community building.[53] The establishment of a Catholic community centered on a church building was the next step for laymen like O'Connor who aspired to

[52] For discussion of lay participation in parish life in nineteenth century Ireland, see P.J. Corish, *The Irish Catholic Experience: A Historical Survey*, (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1985) 170-174. It was this activism and initiative that was harnessed so effectively by Daniel O'Connell in the first half of the nineteenth century.

[53] See Chapters 1 and 2 for further discussion of Bytown's Roman Catholic community in the late 1820s.

wealth, respectability, and participation in civic and political life. A dispute between the lay church building committee and parish priest the Rev. Patrick Haran in 1828 splintered the building committee with Bourke and O'Connor forming a competing fundraising group separate to that of the priest. Bytown's Roman Catholics disagreed over their priest, but not over their goal of founding a church.[54]

The acquiescence, interest, and initiative of lay people resident in a settlement, were all critical to the functioning of the parish, the *fabrique* and the success of the bishop's broader Church-building efforts. Bishop Macdonell was delighted by lay efforts in Bytown and sided with the laymen against their priest. He ignored the Rev. Patrick Haran's complaints about the behaviour of Irishmen like Bourke and O'Connor and even appointed Bourke as lay trustee, against the priest's wishes, for the soon to be constructed Bytown church.[55] Macdonell perceived that the interest and enthusiasm of Bytown's laymen were far more valuable to the broader goal of founding a church in the town than the disgruntled priest.

Bishop Macdonell was careful to cultivate relationships with and encourage the leadership of Roman Catholics of prominence and wealth, particularly in significant settlements such as York and Kingston. James Baby, long the most prominent Roman Catholic in the colony and member of the colonial government, was Macdonell's primary correspondent in York and the driving force behind the construction of the parish church there.[56] Baby was one of the first churchwardens and trustees for land granted to the

[54] Brandon S. Corcoran and Laura J. Smith, "Bishop Macdonell and the Friends of Ireland: mixing politics and religion in Upper Canada," CCHA, *Historical Studies*, vol. 79 (2013) 7-24.
[55] ARCAT, M AD03.01, Rev. P. Haran to BMD, 23 April 1828.
[56] John Clarke, "Baby, James," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/baby_james_6E.html. ARCAT, M AB01.02, J. Baby to BMD, May 1822; AB01.04, J. Baby to BMD, 23 December 1822.

parish for a church. In Perth, retired half-pay Lieutenant and merchant Benjamin Delisle was appointed churchwarden around 1820.[57] Delisle was particularly active in securing funding for a church at Perth. He was helped in part by his father's stature as a prominent layman and churchwarden in Montreal,[58] and therefore Lower Canadian Church officials took a particular interest in the construction of a church in Perth.[59] In new settlements like Richmond and Hawkesbury where Catholics were poor and unknown to him, Macdonell was gratified to find lay enthusiasm and initiative but relied on the perspectives of non-Catholic authority figures to find the "most respectable" Catholics suitable to be churchwardens.[60] With only limited knowledge of a parish and its people, the choice of the initial churchwardens was difficult, but the limited term under which they would serve likely meant Macdonell did not dwell on the ramifications of his choice too closely. His continued correspondence with non-Catholics in both Hawkesbury and Richmond, even after the selection of churchwardens, suggests the bishop's general wariness of the abilities of those selected, at least for the initial stage of parish-building.

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[57] Benjamin Delisle was the most active Roman Catholic and primary point of contact in the region for the Church until his departure in 1829. Like many of the first residents of Perth and its vicinity, he was retired British military. After retiring at half-pay as a lieutenant from the Canadian Fencible regiment, Delisle received land grants in Beckwith, Drummond and Leeds Townships. He established himself as a merchant in Perth, ran unsuccessfully for the Legislative Assembly in 1820, and was appointed magistrate for the region in 1823. Ron W. Shaw, *First We Were Soldiers: the Long March to Perth*, (Victoria: Friesen Press, 2001) 129-130.

[58] Léon Lortie, "De Lisle, Jean-Guillaume," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/de_lisle_jean_guillaume_5E.html.

[59] The first church in Perth was funded through donations from Lower Canada despite the fact that Bishop Macdonell complained frequently about his inability to secure funding from Lower Canada and the lack of interest from that province in the progress of the Upper Canadian Church. AAK, MC, Box 2, AI2C3, letter 3, Rev. Mr. Lesaulnier to BMD, 15 May 1820; letter 5, same to same, 3 July 1820; letter 6, same to same, 16 July 1820; letter 9, same to same, 28 August 1820; Box 3, AI3C3, letter 28, Bishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 4 September 1820; MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. Sweeny, 10 May 1820; BMD to Fr. Anthony LaRoque, 20 July 1820; BMD to Rev. Mr. Lesaulnier, 20 July 1820.

[60] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 18 September 1820; same to same, 6 May 1821.

Trustee appointments, as with appointments of churchwardens to the *fabrique* were a Church-directed activity, but one that fostered lay initiative, encouraged lay leaders, and most importantly engaged those with means to contribute financially in the parish. The task of selecting and appointing trustees, who administered and held legal title to parish land, and later to buildings, was one the Bishop made with careful consideration. The Roman Catholic Church was not incorporated until mid-century, and as such it could not buy, sell, or hold land in its name in the period of study. In later years, there is evidence clergy began to recommend and appoint lay trustees. The reputation and trustworthiness of a trustee was more important than that of a churchwarden, and though the latter had financial duties, the former held legal title to the parish land, which was a responsibility of grave importance. After his first visit to York, Macdonell reported to Quebec that the Hon. James Baby and a Mr. McDonell had agreed to serve as treasurers and trustees for that parish, "possessing the confidence of both Catholics and Protestants expect much benefit from their cooperation and management in the business."[61] A list of trustees for various parishes[62] submitted to the provincial government in 1833 demonstrates that most trustees appended "Esq." to their names, indicating that they were magistrates, respectable, and likely had economic security. Other trustees on the list were merchants, men in the middle strata of society, who operated their own businesses and thus were independent.[63] The same list indicated that Bishop Macdonell was reluctant to appoint trustees in Guelph because he was not familiar enough with the parish to choose trustworthy individuals from among the

[61] AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 7, Rev. A. Macdonell to Bishop of Saldae, 4 November 1819. The Mr. Macdonell is presumably Alexander Macdonell.
[62] Peterborough, York, Niagara, and St. Raphael's.
[63] Russell, *Attitudes to Social Structure and Mobility in Upper Canada,* 7-9.

parishioners.[64] It is also possible that a dearth of "respectable" Catholics in Guelph may have given the bishop pause. Macdonell was convinced that an added benefit of choosing men with social prominence as trustees was critical to currying favour with the government and could lead to additional grants of land or other favours for a parish.[65]

Under Bishop Macdonell's direction, a parish's trustees were drawn from the clergy and the laity, and in some cases, included non-Catholics. As a rule, the bishop's name was included on deeds for parish land. The patent deeds for the land designated for a Roman Catholic church in York included the Rev. Dr. John Strachan, the principal Anglican minister in the province. A second deed included H. J. Boulton, an Anglican Solicitor and the Attorney General.[66] When the Huron donated land near Sandwich to the Church in 1830, Bishop Macdonell insisted it be deeded to the "Bishop of the Diocese and his successors in office," the parish priest in York, and prominent Sandwich laymen, Francis and Jean Baptiste Baby.[67] The inclusion of both clerical and lay trustees was a calculated effort on the part of the Bishop to ensure the security of Church property, as well as a shrewdly political move designed to include the most prominent Catholics in the progress of a parish. Similarly the inclusion of non-Catholics linked the progress of the parish to that of the broader community. Bishop Macdonell was also cognizant of the unreliable nature of the Upper Canadian clergy in the first decades of the diocese of Kingston, and therefore the inclusion of laymen as trustees was critical to the security of

[64] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Col. Rowan, 30 March 1833.
[65] AAK, MC, Box 2, AI2C6, letter 7, BMD to Bishop of Saldae, 4 November 1819.
[66] *Canadian Freeman*, 18 April 1833; Boulton was married to a Catholic woman, Nicolson, 24.
[67] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W.J. O'Grady, 1 December 1830. The parish priest of York was to be included only "for the time being." The Rev. William O'Grady was parish priest at York, and in addition to being Macdonell's trusted confidant and assistant, he was also at the time in Sandwich investigating the political and moral conduct of the parish priest. Presumably Macdonell did not want to include the local priest as a trustee for that reason.

Church assets. When the government donated 200 acres and park and town lots in both Perth and Richmond, the deeds were to be issued to the parish priest in each location. Macdonell asked that the land be put instead in the name of the Bishop of Upper Canada and two Catholic residents of each place, "because it might be found expedient to remove the clergyman."[68]

Bishop Macdonell's practice of appointing lay trustees was relatively controversial with the clergy of the Diocese of Kingston. His vicar general the Very Rev. William P. MacDonald was adamantly opposed to the appointment of lay trustees (and his exclusion from the trusteeship) for the new seminary at Kingston.[69] In Bytown, the Rev. Patrick Haran insisted that the Bishop's choice of lay trustee was a poor one. Michael Bourke the layman in question was a brewer and had recently been implicated in providing the fuel for a St. Patrick's Day riot.[70] The clergy also expressed similar discomfort with the leadership of parish churchwardens. The Rev. William Patrick McDonagh refused to allow a churchwarden election to take place in Toronto in 1835. McDonagh feared certain volatile individuals were likely to gain the office and the power and influence, he believed, came with the position. McDonagh also resisted lay demands to have him removed, arguing lay power was potentially destructive: "[his removal would] be the greatest triumph the laity could gain over your clergy and setting the worst precedent for a recurrence of similar proceedings in your diocese" he cautioned Bishop Macdonell.[71] Nevertheless it is clear that the cooperation of laymen in local positions of

[68] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Captain Fowler, 14 December 1821.
[69] ARCAT, M AA05.06, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 8 July 1835.
[70] ARCAT, M AD03.01, Rev. P. Haran to BMD, 23 April 1828.
[71] ARCAT, M AB30.06, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 29 September 1835; AB30.08, same to same, 5 October 1835.

leadership was critical to Bishop Macdonell's plans to establish and expand the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada.

It is perhaps not surprising then, that as in Bytown, the majority of churchwardens in the period of study were drawn from the class of Roman Catholics most able and willing to take an active interest in the progress of a given parish: prosperous and ambitious property and business owners. The socio-economic and occupational status of churchwardens was determined initially by Bishop Macdonell's influence, but subsequent elections were influenced by the nature of the Catholic community at both the local and provincial level. In Lower Canada in the same period, where parishes were primarily rural and the population largely agricultural, churchwardens were drawn from the wealthiest segment of the habitant population.[72] The *fabrique* bills of the early 1830s were unsuccessful attempts by the urban *petite bourgeoisie* to infiltrate the *fabrique*. Conversely in Halifax and the urban parishes of the eastern United States, where no corollary to the well-established Lower Canadian Church existed, churchwardens were generally drawn from the most prosperous members of the parish who in these cities were usually entrepreneurs or professionals.[73]

The lay leaders of the parish of Kingston reflected this reality as they clearly occupied the middle strata of colonial society as tradesmen or business owners.[74] The relatively complete records for the parish identify 33 individuals who served as

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[72] Dessureault and Hudon found by surveying death inventories that *fabrique* leaders had double the assets of other habitants. Churchwardens did better in all aspects of wealth measurement: consumption, production, and integration into networks of credit. Despite the rise of the professional and entrepreneurial classes in the developing villages and towns of the province, habitants continued to dominate the office well into mid-century (421-423).

[73] Murphy, "Trusteeism in Atlantic Canada," 126-127; Carey, *People, Priests and Prelates*, 43.

[74] Anthony Manahan, who was justice of the peace for Marmora Township, was an exception to the middling status of the Kingston wardens. J.K. Johnson, "Anthony Manahan and the status of Irish Catholics in Upper Canada," *Historic Kingston*, vol. 31 (January 1983) 34.

churchwarden for the period of 1831 to 1848 were identified.[75] The occupations for 25 of these men were drawn from a parish census and local newspapers and tabulated in Table 2.[76] Only two Kingston churchwardens were identified as labourers, and none were identified as engaged in agriculture. The leadership of the parish was firmly town-based throughout the period. Petitions from Catholics on the periphery of Kingston confirm that the parish church was physically inaccessible to those not resident in town, and occupational data confirm that parish positions of power were similarly inaccessible to rural residents.[77]

Occupation	**Number**
Storekeeper/merchant	9
Tradesperson	8 (including two duplicates)
Innkeeper	5 (including one duplicate)
Clerk	4 (including one duplicate)
Appointed civil/judicial	2
Labourer	2
Architect	1
Military	1

Table 2 – Kingston churchwarden occupations (1831-1848)

Complete data for churchwardens in rural parishes are difficult to find. Only occasionally did a churchwarden from a rural parish correspond with Bishop Macdonell.

[75] AAK, Kingston churchwarden registry and record book, 1832; Ontario genealogical society, Kingston Branch, Census of the Catholic population of the Mission of Kingston Canada taken in the months of May and June of the year 1844 by His Lordship the Right Rev'd Bishop Phelan and the Rev'd Patrick Dollard, 1844.

[76] In the case of four additional churchwardens, duplicate names in the census made it difficult to pinpoint the correct occupation for those individuals. For example, it is impossible to determine which James O'Reilly, whether the hatter or the blacksmith, was churchwarden in 1841. Other duplicates in addition to O'Reilly: Michael Harrington, one a shoemaker and the other a clerk. J. McDonell, one a clerk and the other a forwarder. J. Daley, one a tailor and the other an innkeeper.

[77] AAK, MC, AI5ED1, letter 6, list of Catholics in Kingston Mills, 1837; letter 8, List of Catholics in neighbourhood of Brewer's Mills, 3 April 1837; letter 10, list of Catholics residing in the township of Bedford, 28 October 1837; letter 11, list of Catholics in Glenburny, 1837; letter 12, subscription for the support of clergy in Kingston Mills, February 1838.

Early church builders are easier to identify as they frequently forwarded petitions to Macdonell or to the colonial government. These petitioners represented the local lay leadership at the time; it is not unreasonable to expect that laymen involved in the initial process of establishing a parish, building a church, and securing a priest, would have been members of the *fabrique* once it was established in their parish. Not surprisingly early church builders and church wardens of rural parishes were often engaged in some form of agriculture, but it is clear that many were, like their urban counterparts, businessmen and merchants. In Tecumseth and Adjala Townships, those who undertook the work of the initial fundraising and construction of a church building worked land as farmers but also owned mills or general stores.[78]

The demographics of the lay leadership of St. John the Baptist parish in Perth changed over time. An analysis of Perth's churchwardens demonstrates the rise of the Irish within the lay leadership of the parish, and the extent to which length of tenure and success in settlement was a factor in the assumption of parish leadership. St. John the Baptist parish was one of the first parishes established during Bishop Macdonell's tenure. With nearby Richmond, Perth was established as a market town for surrounding townships initially settled by disbanded military personnel at the end of the Napoleonic wars. The region saw also an influx of non-military Irish settlers in the early 1820s through individual migrations, and the large-scale assisted emigration superintended by Peter Robinson. The parish's early lay leadership was drawn from the ranks of former military personnel settled in the region. Of the eight Perth churchwardens identified as

[78] AAK, MLB 1829-34, Rev. W. O'Grady to BMD, 29 October 1829; ARCAT, M AC25.01, Tecumseth trustees to BMD, 15 April 1835; *Canadian Freeman*, 22 July 1830; Andrew Hunter, *A History of Simcoe County*, vol. II The Pioneers, (Barrie: County Council, 1909); St. James Colgan parish history: http://www.stjamescolgan.ca/our-churchs/st-james/st-james-history.

having served before 1827, seven had received their land for military service.[79] The relatively diverse ethnic makeup of the British military was reflected in the early Perth churchwardens: three were Scottish, two French-Canadian, and one each Irish and English. It is difficult to determine the socio-economic status of the disbanded military wardens, beyond the fact that each had received land for their service. Those who had held the highest ranks were by far the most prosperous and prominent of the identified wardens. Perhaps not surprisingly they were also the only Perth churchwardens to correspond directly with Bishop Macdonell. Benjamin Delisle, the tireless fundraiser with ties to the Lower Canadian Church, had been a Lieutenant in the Canadian Fencible regiment.[80] Anthony Leslie was a former Captain in the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencible regiment. Like Delisle, in addition to his grant in Lansdowne Township, Leslie sought and received appointments in the local militia and as a justice of the peace.[81] In 1827, in a move that foreshadowed the coming changes to the churchwarden office in Perth, three non-military churchwardens were elected. The churchwarden in charge, John

[79] Lists of churchwardens derived primarily from: AAK, MLB 1820-29, Rev. J. MacDonald to BMD, 9 May 1827; AO, Ewan MacDonald fonds, John MacDonald Diary, 1835-36. A list of Perth military settlers, their land grants, and former regiments has been compiled by the Perth Historical Society here: http://perthhs.org/documents/perth-settlers-1812-1814-veterans.pdf. The lone churchwarden to have not served in the military was a relatively recent Irish immigrant named Michael McCabe. McCabe is said to have arrived in Canada in 1820. He was churchwarden in 1823 and churchwarden in charge in 1824. A biography of Michael McCabe and family is here: http://www.genealogy.com/ftm/s/n/y/Mary-C-Snyder-OR/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-1094.html. The details are supported in the 1851 census for Canada West, Lanark County, Bathurst Township, part 1, page 63.

[80] In addition to land in Drummond Township, Delisle established the second store in Perth, which included a distillery, ran unsuccessfully for the Legislative Assembly in 1820, and was appointed militia captain in 1821 and magistrate in 1823. Shaw, *First We Were Soldiers*, 129; Howard M. Brown, *Lanark Legacy: Nineteenth-Century Glimpses of an Ontario County* (Renfrew: General House Publishing House, 1984) 210.

[81] Shaw, 238-239. Leslie was also the agent for the Commercial Bank of the Midland district and married Anthony Manahan's niece. *Chronicle and Gazette*, 11 January 1840.

Doran, was an Irish merchant in Perth, while the other two were an Irishman named Patrick Dowdall, and a Scot named Angus McKinnon, both were farmers.[82]

By 1835, the office of Perth churchwarden was held entirely by the Irish who were overwhelmingly farmers. Only three churchwardens elected in the second half of the 1830s resided in Perth itself: brothers William and Michael Flanagan,[83] and John Doran.[84] The rest were scattered throughout the adjacent townships. Unlike their disbanded military predecessors, most of the Irish churchwardens were not engaged in business, nor were they resident in town. No churchwarden was noted to be working on the various canal works visited by the Rev. John MacDonald, suggesting they were firmly established on their lands and did not require the additional income some new settlers sought on the canal works.[85] The Irish churchwardens appear to have been relatively early arrivals to the region. Michael McCabe, churchwarden in 1823, 1824, 1835 and 1836 was said to have arrived in Perth from Ireland in 1820. John Doran, churchwarden in 1827 and 1835 had apparently emigrated from Ireland "very young."[86] The 1851 census suggests Patrick Dowdall was in Canada as early as 1823. It is notable that despite more than a decade in the region and their relative success in settling, no

[82] *Perth Courier*, "Death in Pembroke of Rev. Father P.S. Dowdall," 22 April 1927, "Some first merchants," 3 August 1934; LAC, 1851 Census of Canada West, Lanark County, Drummond Township, Part 2, p. 43, line 10.
[83] William's occupation is not known, but Michael was a carpenter. AO, Ewan MacDonald fonds, Rev. John MacDonald papers, 1836 tithe list.
[84] John Doran was a merchant, and in the mid-1840s appointed as a magistrate in Perth. Brown, *Lanark Legacy*, 273; Reid, *Upper Ottawa Valley* 46; *Perth Courier*, "Some first merchants," 3 August 1934.
[85] AO, Ewan MacDonald fonds, Rev. John MacDonald papers, 1836 diary.
[86] A biography of John Doran can be found here: http://www.accessgenealogy.com/canada/biography-of-john-doran.htm

members of the infamous Peter Robinson assisted emigration group appear in the churchwarden records.[87]

The local context determined who was prosperous and invested in the progress of a community, and the changing demographics of each parish led to a change over time in the ethnic makeup of each parish as the Irish came to dominate the leadership of many Upper Canadian parishes by the mid-1830s. Petitions and correspondence from "new" settlements just beginning to build parish infrastructure in the 1830s indicate that, with very few exceptions, the parish leadership in these places was firmly Irish. In older, long-established, parishes, such as Toronto, Kingston, and Perth, there is a clear shift in the ethnicity or origins of churchwardens, from French-Canadian and Scottish, to Irish by the mid-1830s. These shifts indicate a change in demography, as Irish migration increased the number of Catholics in the province, and ensured the Irish were the dominant ethnicity. The result was that they held a proportionate share of leadership positions in most parishes.

As in Perth, the shift to Irish leadership in Kingston demonstrates the increased prosperity and assertiveness about the direction of a parish and a community that came with decades of successful settlement.[88] The first *fabriques* in Kingston were, by order of Archbishop Plessis, composed of one of each from the French-Canadian, Scottish, and

[87] See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the 1823-assisted emigration program, which transported approximately 600 Irish Roman Catholics from the southwest of Ireland to the Bathurst district, specifically the vicinity of Cork. The names and biographies of these settlers have been compiled in Bennett, *Peter Robinson's Settlers*.

[88] In Kingston for example, a number of Irish Catholic churchwardens were active in the campaign to bring a branch of the Bank of Upper Canada to that town. *Kingston Chronicle*, 11 December 1830.

Irish Catholic segments of the parish.[89] Such measures were meant to acknowledge and ensure the diversity of the parish was reflected in its lay leadership. Yet as in Perth, the ethnic makeup of the Kingston lay leadership changed over time and therefore, Plessis' directive was no longer adhered to by the 1830s. By 1831 the Irish held a virtual monopoly on the churchwarden office of that parish. In Kingston, ethnic divisions and tensions were frequent elements of the encounter between the laity, the clergy, and the bishop. As the leaders of the laity, and indicative of the changing ethnic shape of the parish, the churchwardens were at the centre of that encounter.

The earliest records of parish leadership in Kingston reveal a dominant group of French-Canadians with a few Scots. At an 1807 meeting with the Rev. Alexander Macdonell, the principal laymen of the parish attending were three Scottish and five French Canadians; from the latter group three churchwardens were elected.[90] This was indicative of the general ethnic makeup of the parish. An 1813 petition to beg the Rev. Remi Gaulin to stay in the parish, included thirty names, twenty-one of which were clearly French Canadian males, six women with generally Scottish names, and three Irish men.[91] A list of subscribers toward the construction of a Catholic schoolhouse in 1835 confirms that the dominant French Canadians had been entirely supplanted by the Irish by the mid-1830s.[92]

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[89] AAQ, 12 A, RIE, vol. H: folio 126, Mgr J.O. Plessis, "Établishment d'une paroisse Catholique à Kingston," 3 juin 1816.
[90] AAQ 320 CN, HC vol. I-18, "At a meeting of the Catholics of the Town of Kingston…," 26 July 1807.
[91] AAK, MC, AI5ED1, letter 1, Petition for a Clergyman Resident in Kingston, 16 January 1813. Women rarely appeared on subscription lists. Their inclusion here may reflect Macdonell's 1807 observation that the Catholic population of Kingston was composed partly of "Catholic women married to Protestant husbands."
[92] AAK, MC, AI5ED1, letter 1, Petition for a resident clergyman in Kingston, Upper Canada, 26 January 1813; letter 5a, list of subscribers toward the Catholic School House in Kingston, 1835.

Changes over time in the ethnic makeup of Kingston's lay leadership are revealed in numerous conflicts surrounding the appointment of priests during the period of study. It was clear, Macdonell wrote in 1819, that any Kingston-bound priest, "ought to know the French language and something of the Canadian character," but the changing demographics of the parish meant also that he "ought also to be master of the English language."[93] Macdonell struggled to find the ideal individual, and attempted to appoint two priests one English-speaking and the other French-speaking, or later as the requirement for French declined, to appoint multi-lingual priests of Scots and Irish origin. Neither solution seemed to satisfy the interested lay parties. A French-Canadian boycott of the parish in 1818 was sparked by departure of the Rev. Perinault, which left the parish in the hands of the incompetent and non-French-speaking Irishman, the Rev. James Salmon.[94] Placating the financially and numerically strong French-Canadian population of the parish was a significant factor throughout the 'teens' and 'twenties.' The scarcity of French-Canadian clergy in the province meant that Bishop Macdonell frequently appointed multi-lingual Scots priests to Kingston with mixed results.[95] Though he had completed his seminary education in Quebec, the Scotsman the Rev. William Fraser's French was found wanting by Kingston's French Canadian lay leadership in 1822. They lobbied successfully to have the Rev. Lamothe appointed from Perth, but the two priests

[93] AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 2, Rev. A. Macdonell to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 10 May 1819.
[94] See Chapter 2 for more on the Rev. Salmon and his time in Kingston. AAQ 320 CN, H-C, vol. III-47, Rev. A. Macdonell to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 28 October 1818; AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 2, Rev. A. Macdonell to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 10 May 1819; AI2C6, letter 7, Rev. A. Macdonell to Bishop B.C. Panet, 4 November 1819; MLB 1820-29, BMD to W. McCunniffe, 24 April 1820.
[95] AAQ 210 A, RL, vol. 10: p. 199 Archbishop J.O. Plessis to BMD, 13 April 1821; 320 CN, H-C vol. III-64, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 6 May 1821.

were perpetually in conflict, and Lamothe resigned his position by the end of that year.[96] The Rev. Fraser remained at Kingston and his poor French kept him at odds with the French Canadian churchwardens who continued to lobby for a French-speaking priest, going so far as to refuse to pay Fraser's salary in 1823.[97]

As the Irish came to dominate Kingston's lay leadership by the late 1820s, their leaders were no less vocal when it came to the appointment of clergy to the parish, than their French-Canadian predecessors. Data for the period of 1831 to 1848 suggest the Irish held a virtual monopoly over the office of churchwarden. Of the 31 churchwardens for whom ethnic data exist, 24 were identified as Irish. The remaining seven were split four to three between Canadians and Scots. The Irish dominated other areas of parish leadership as well. A committee struck in the early 1840s to oversee the reconstruction of the parish church was also controlled by Irishmen.[98]

The Reverend Murtagh Lalor was appointed as curate in Kingston to the Very Reverend William P. MacDonald in the summer of 1830.[99] Lalor was evidently well-loved by the Irish in parish but was perpetually at odds with his superior MacDonald, who argued that the younger priest devoted too much time outside his supervision

[96] AAQ 320 CN, H-C vol. III-68, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 16 July 1822; 210 A, RL, vol. 10, p. 435, Archbishop J.O. Plessis to Rev. W. Fraser, 6 August 1822; 320 CN, H-C vol. I-58, Rev. Lamothe to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 15 August 1822; vol. I-63, same to same, 5 December 1822; vol. I-64, Rev. W. Fraser to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 9 December 1822.
[97] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to the Churchwardens of Kingston, 9 April 1823; BMD to Rev. W. Fraser, 9 April 1823; AAQ 320 CN, H-C vol. III-110, Rev. A. Manseau to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, 11 September 1823; vol. III-116, same to same, 1 March 1824.
[98] AAK, Churchwarden registry and record book, 1832
[99] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. M. Lalor, 31 March 1831. Macdonell had secured Lalor 50 pounds a year "besides maintenance" from the churchwardens when he visited in the summer of 1830, but had by spring 1831 had to include Lalor in the government allowance for clergy as that payment was not forthcoming from the churchwardens.

ministering to the Irish workers on the canal works.[100] The following year, Lalor was ordered to Bytown, and though Bishop Macdonell insisted the move was a well-deserved promotion for the young priest, the Irish of Kingston and its vicinity, led by churchwardens James Lynch and Matthew Rourke, blamed the Scots MacDonald for Lalor's removal.[101] They declared their opposition to Lalor's removal and refused to support MacDonald or any other priest who might replace Lalor.[102] Bishop Macdonell was disgusted at the Irish churchwardens and their presumption to interfere with his "exercise of his sacred duty," and insisted MacDonald reprimand the churchwardens. Lalor's replacement, another young Irish priest, was ordered to Peterborough instead: "let the Catholics of Kingston find their way to heaven the best way they can," the bishop declared.[103] Likely with Macdonell's interference, churchwardens Rourke and Lynch were replaced the following year with two of the bishop's closest confidants in the parish: Walter McCuniffe and Anthony Manahan.[104] Rourke promptly regained the office in 1833 (Lynch had died the previous year)[105] suggesting the 1832 wardens were a momentary change to parish leadership. Indeed there is some evidence that the

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[100] *Ibid.*

[101] AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. M. Lalor, 23 June 1831; BMD to Rev. M. Lalor, 26 July 1831; BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 8 July 1831. For his part, Lalor complied with Macdonell's order, but before leaving Kingston he made an inflammatory speech against MacDonald to his Irish supporters in a tavern. Bishop Macdonell was horrified by the reports accusing the priest of "inflaming national prejudice against your Scots superiors" and displaying none of the behaviours appropriate to a humble missionary. Once in Bytown, Lalor wrote the Bishop an "insolent and disrespectful" letter expressing his dissatisfaction with his new appointment. Macdonell accused the priest of revealing himself to be nothing but a "proud and selfish firebrand" whose vocation Macdonell now supposed was a fraud.

[102] AAK, MLB 1829-34, Catholics of Loughborough to BMD, 25 June 1831; John Lynch et al to BMD, 27 June 1831.

[103] ARCAT, M AA02.05, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 8 July 1831; AB51.06, Rev. W. O'Grady to Rev. M. Lalor, 18 July 1831; AA02.06, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 27 December 1831.

[104] AAK, Churchwarden registry and record book, 1832

[105] *Kingston Chronicle*, 31 March 1832.

churchwardens of Kingston continued to challenge the Bishop's authority, when the following year, Macdonell congratulated the aforementioned McCuniffe and Manahan for convincing the editor of the *Kingston Spectator* to not print a letter of protest from the parish churchwardens.[106] Issues in Kingston between the lay leadership, the clergy, and the bishop were indicative of broader trends in the process by which the lay leadership, particularly of the Irish, engaged with the Church. The rise of the Irish in positions of parish leadership was indicative of a demographic shift in the diocese as a whole.

In Upper Canada in the 1830s, the churchwarden office offered Irish Catholics positions of leadership, but their leadership rarely extended beyond the local parish context. Many were not yet sufficiently prosperous to seek additional work or responsibility beyond the confines of the family or immediate neighbourhood, but also their religion, ethnicity, and relatively late arrival to Upper Canada meant that Irish Catholics had limited access to colonial and imperial networks of power; consequently they were largely excluded from civil and military appointments and were underrepresented in colonial positions of power and wealth. Irish Catholics, J.K. Johnson argues in his study of regional leadership in Upper Canada, "started from a position of the greatest disadvantage."[107] The exclusion of Irish Catholics from positions of political

[106] ARCAT, M AA03.09, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 17 August 1833.
[107] Johnson, *Becoming Prominent*, 112-117. Johnson finds that Irish Catholics were surpassed or equaled by every other national-denominational group, including native-born Quakers and Lutherans who amounted to a quarter of the Irish Catholic population. Roman Catholics of other origins were more successful, though Johnson finds that Scottish Roman Catholics held more appointments in the colony's earlier years but their prominence was declining by the 1830s. For Catholics aspiring to elected or appointed offices this meant the number of Catholics in a position to assist with advancing their careers was dwindling. It also meant that the prominence of the Catholic population with which the Bishop enjoyed the most influence, that of the Scottish, was declining rather than gaining prominence on the colonial stage. Irish Protestants, though composing a larger portion of the population were also underrepresented. Johnson notes that

power was clearest at election time when Irish Catholics were largely absent from lists of candidates throughout the pre-rebellion period.[108] At a local level, Irish Catholics sought and were occasionally granted civil and military positions.[109] Although qualified Irish Catholics did exist, Johnson argues, that demographic "politically…did not rise as quickly as others." Citing prejudice, Johnson notes that Irish Catholics "were not often candidates for offices, which is also to say that they were not encouraged by other members of their society to become candidates.[110] Additional factors such as the timing of migration and settlement, socio-economic status, and an inability to adapt to or capitalize on the provincial patronage machinery worked to exclude Roman Catholics, particularly Irish Catholics from the highest status offices. Like other prominent Upper Canadians, Bishop Macdonell worked to parlay his overt support of the government, and later his position on the Legislative Council, into valuable patronage appointments for worthy Catholics. He argued from early on that the peace and security of the province depended on Catholics, particularly Irish Catholics, being given a fair share of civil and military offices.[111] Yet for various reasons, Macdonell's track record was relatively poor

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when it came to amassing political power, "being Irish in Upper Canada, regardless of denomination, does not seem to have been a good thing."

[108] The former Rev. William O'Grady was unsuccessful as the reform candidate in Kingston in 1834, and the first Irish Catholics, John Kearns and Anthony Manahan, were not elected to the House until 1836. Manahan began to gain some provincial prominence in the aftermath of the rebellion, but a mixture of bad luck and incompetence checked his rise to prominence by the early 1840s. Johnson, "Manahan and the status of Irish Catholics," 32-44.

[109] Some examples include: William Bergin, a prominent Irish Catholic merchant and churchwarden who ran for alderman in the first City of Toronto elections. Owen McMahon, the sheriff of the Prince Edward district likely benefitted from his brother, Edward's position as chief clerk in the Lieutenant Governor's office. Anti-Orange activist Patrick McGuire was magistrate of the Newcastle district in 1830.

[110] Johnson, *Becoming Prominent*, 118.

[111] AAK, MC, AI2C6, letter 17, BMD to unknown, 4 July 1824.

when it came to translating his personal political success into gains for prominent Catholics, Irish or otherwise.[112]

The O'Grady conflict in Toronto in the early 1830s was an episode of considerable nuance and complexity. The suspension of the Rev. William J. O'Grady has already been discussed in Chapter 2. Here, the aspects of the episode that relate to lay leadership and activism will be assessed, including the "occupation" of the church, petitions made to government by the churchwardens, and the subsequent civil trial brought against the churchwardens and the congregation by the trustees of the land on which the church stood. The St. Paul's schism highlights issues of ethnicity, class, politics, and the rights of the laity within the institutional structure of the Roman Catholic

[112] Bishop Macdonell was more likely to promote a fellow Scots Catholic, than an Irish one, and perhaps with good reason; the Bishop was only occasionally successful when it came to forwarding an Irish Catholic for an appointment. AAK, MC, AI1C19, letter 17, Major G. Hillier to BMD, 4 September 1822; letter 18, Major G. Hillier to BMD, 27 March 1823; MLB 1834-39, BMD to J. Elmsley, 3 August 1836; BMD to Mrs. Moore, 19 September 1837; BMD to A. Manahan, 13 January 1838; BMD to A. Macdonell (Inch), 23 February 1835; BMD to J. Joseph, 24 March 1837. Anthony Manahan's attempt to secure the position of Chief Emigrant Agent in 1832 was unsuccessful despite having Macdonell's backing. Manahan blamed anti-Catholic bias on the part of government officials for his disappointment. Johnson, "Manahan and the status of Irish Catholics," 34-35; ARCAT, M CD06.01, BMD to Rev. William P. MacDonald, 12 April 1832. Walter McCunniffe was passed over for a justice of the peace position in 1830. Macdonell pressed his case further with Lieutenant Governor Colborne insisting that McCuniffe had all the necessary qualifications to be a magistrate, but more importantly his "sway and influence" over his countrymen would do much to end the "jealousy and distrust which at present prevails so generally amongst Catholics of Kingston." Rea speculates that it was Solicitor General and MP for Kingston, Christopher Hagerman, who opposed McCunniffe's appointment as magistrate (125). Nevertheless Hagerman put the merchant's name forward in 1833 for the position of commissioner in the Court of Requests. Though McCuniffe was not "possessed of much learning" Hagerman wrote, he was sufficiently propertied, influential and "well informed and discreet" to hold the office. Qtd in S.F. Wise, "Kingston Elections," 223; Macdonell was certain that the magistracy in Kingston was "exclusive and hostile" to Catholics particularly Irish Catholics and for unstated reasons, McCuniffe specifically. Apparently the existing magistrates had threatened to resign should McCuniffe be appointed. See: AAK, MLB, 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W. J. O'Grady, 30 November 1830; BMD to W. McCuniffe, 21 January 1831; Rea, 125, 215.

Church. It also demonstrates the extent to which the leadership and activism of St. Paul's laity were influenced by the Upper Canadian context.

The volatility of Toronto's St. Paul's Parish in the 1830s, and in particular the suspension of the parish priest, is a relatively notorious event in the historiography of Upper Canadian Catholicism. When Bishop Macdonell attempted to suspend his vicar general the Very Rev. William J. O'Grady and remove him from St. Paul's parish in the summer of 1832, the parish split between those supportive of the priest and those intent on deposing the priest and repelling any challenge to the bishop's ecclesiastical authority. Laymen seized the keys to the parish church, took control of the building, and reinstalled O'Grady as parish priest.[113] Laymen James King, Peter McDougall Jr., and Richard Feehan were installed as churchwardens.[114] The battle of wills between the priest, the bishop, and the laity played out in the colonial press, in petitions to the provincial and imperial governments, and in raucous public meetings for over a year. The incident was of profound embarrassment to the bishop and had significant ramifications on the progress of Catholicism in Toronto and Upper Canada for at least a decade.

In January 1833, the *Canadian Freeman* called the occupation of the church "Hoganism," and certainly aspects of the episode resonated with the trustee conflicts of 1820s Philadelphia;[115] yet though the Rev. O'Grady was in many ways a remarkably similar character to that of the Rev. William Hogan, the York example was strikingly

[113] The Rev. William O'Grady continued to say mass in the church despite the Bishop's repeated requests for him to resign his position. The Bishop, assisted by the Rev. Daniel Downey, conducted a competing operation from the Bishop's house. St. Paul's register for 1833 indicates Downey baptized and married Catholics though in relatively small numbers. Registers for any sacraments bestowed by O'Grady are not extant.
[114] The *Canadian Freeman* account of the meeting suggests they were appointed by O'Grady and his "premier James King." An undated transcription of the *Freeman's* coverage of the events of summer 1832 can be found in the Rev John MacDonald papers at the Archives of Ontario.
[115] *Canadian Freeman*, "Hoganism in York," 17 January 1833.

different from that of the 1820s Philadelphia schism.[116] In York, it was not the occupiers of the church who claimed a right of lay patronage or their due as "founding fathers," but rather it was the bishop and his supporters who claimed rights as church builders and evoked trustee privilege in the civil case to regain control of the church. The legality of land transfer and ownership in the colony came to have significant relevance for what was ostensibly a dispute over clerical appointments and dismissals. Similarly, while the press interpreted the lay occupation of the church as simple devotion to the priest and defiance of the bishop, it is clear that the laity had a more complex agenda influenced by the particular conditions within which Catholicism operated in Upper Canada.[117] The laity was particularly dissatisfied with the government allowance for clergy and charged that the allowance put the bishop and his clergy in politically compromising positions. The conflict at St. Paul's also demonstrates the extent to which lay leadership and activism, particularly that of the Irish laity, was a contentious matter within the diocese of Kingston. Despite their ubiquity in Toronto and other Upper Canadian parishes, classist prejudices, connotations of political radicalism, violence, and "old world" cultural baggage continued to consign Irish Catholic lay leaders to the margins of diocesan society.

The O'Grady schism was interpreted in the contemporary press and in subsequent historiography as a contest between the non-Irish elites (the "Catholic Compact") loyal to the bishop and the government, against the majority laity who were disreputable,

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[116] Rodney Hessinger, "A Base and Unmanly Conspiracy," Catholicism and the Hogan Schism in the Gendered Religious Marketplace of Philadelphia," *Journal of the Early Republic* 31 (Fall 2011): 357-396; Dale B. Light, *Rome and the New Republic: Conflict and Community in Philadelphia Catholicism between the Revolution and the Civil War* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996).

[117] The political aspects of these conditions in the 1830s are discussed in Chapter 5.

disorderly, lower class, and ardent reformers. Though the essentials are generally accurate, the nature of lay leadership in the parish and its relationship to the clergy and episcopacy were far more complicated. The binaries imposed in class analyses of the parish ignore the fluidity of political affiliation in Upper Canada in this period, conflate ethnicity with class, and consequently downplay a significant body of middle-class Irish Catholic men who played roles in parish life. Unlike Kingston or Perth, where over time Irishmen gradually ascended into positions of leadership, parish records for Toronto indicate that middle-class Irishmen were ubiquitous as churchwardens, pew holders, and committee members throughout the first two decades of parish life. With prominent non-Irish elite lay leaders, Irish merchants, clerks, and professionals dedicated time and money to their parish. With that time and money came a desire to determine the course and progress of the parish. This desire sometimes put them at odds with their bishop, their priest, or their fellow Irish and non-Irish laymen.

An emphasis on class in the historiography of this schism, while valuable in exposing the general political dynamics at work in Toronto's Catholic community, implicitly replicates classist interpretations offered by the bishop and the contemporary press friendly to his cause. The *Canadian Freeman* and Bishop Macdonell dismissed the activism of the laity as nothing more than the volatile radicalism and rebellion expected of poor Irish. The historiography similarly fixates on the "rebellion" and radicalism of the laity and fails to expose motivations beyond blind devotion to the priest and willful defiance of constituted authority.[118] Similarly an emphasis and fixation on the

[118] The seminal article on O'Grady is: Nicolson, "William O'Grady and the Catholic Church in Toronto, 23–40; Curtis Fahey offers a similar interpretation in: "O'Grady, William John," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/o_grady_william_john_7E.html.

machinations and influence of O'Grady over his "countrymen" belied an implicit refusal on the part of the Bishop and his contemporaries to acknowledge the agency or agenda of the laity as separate from that of the priest. While the bishop and the priest battled it out over who or what had the authority to suspend and dismiss priests in Upper Canada, the lay occupiers of St. Paul's were advocating for reform of the Upper Canadian Roman Catholic Church and of religion in the colony more generally. Echoing many of the criticisms leveled at Bishop Macdonell by the Reform *Colonial Advocate* the previous year during the anti-grievances movement, St. Paul's laity called for an investigation into the bishop's political activities and his handling of government funds intended for the support of the colony's Catholic clergy, and they condemned the political implications of a "pensioned clergy."[119]

Though complete or accurate census data for the period of study do not exist, contemporaries were unanimous in noting that St. Paul's at York was, from the start, primarily an Irish parish.[120] The ethnic makeup of the parish influenced the appointment of priests there, as Macdonell believed fervently that, no matter questions about politics, competence, or character, an Irish priest was an absolute necessity in an "Irish" parish.[121] Such was his thinking when in 1828 he quickly replaced his nephew the Rev. Angus

[119] See Chapter 5.
[120] AAQ 320 CN, H-C vol. III-67, BMD to Archbishop J.O. Plessis, May 1822; AAK, 1833 letter book, census data for 1834. The number of Catholics in York rose from an estimated 1000 in 1822, to just over 3000 by the mid-1830s. Built in 1822, St. Paul's church could hold 1,500, and an 1834 census suggested between 700 and 800 people attended regularly.
[121] The first priest appointed to York in 1822 was the Rev. John O'Meara, of whom Macdonell reasoned "his countrymen will feel more attached to him and will listen to him with a more willing ear than a scotchman [sic] and that his influence over them will have the very best effect." AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to J. Baby, 27 December 1822. The early and acrimonious departures of O'Meara and his successor Corkman the Rev. James Crowley were followed by a short and unsuccessful sojourn by the Bishop's nephew the Rev. Angus Macdonell. O'Grady replaced Macdonell in 1829.

Macdonell with the recently arrived William J. O'Grady. The latter's abilities and charisma made the Bishop believe at first that, in the words of the *Canadian Freeman*, "an angel had descended from heaven."[122] Non-Irish members of the parish, who were few in number, objected to the appointment, but Macdonell was convinced O'Grady would do well at St. Paul's.[123] To O'Grady, the bishop wrote: "I am well aware that an Irish pastor of the proper cast can do everything with an Irish flock and there never was a fairer field nor a better opportunity for both to show themselves than what presents itself at the moment in York."[124]

Despite a plethora of petitions, public meetings, and protests, a lack of extant records relegate Toronto's "Irish flock" to the nameless, faceless masses. The records for St. Paul's from 1828 to 1836 did however reveal the names and identities of the laymen in positions of parish leadership: the churchwardens, members of lay committees, and those with the means to rent a pew or subscribe to a building fund and thereby determine the progress and health of the parish. Some of these men were also involved in contentious episodes, including on both sides of the O'Grady schism.

An analysis of city directories, colonial newspapers, churchwarden records, two pew rent lists, and three subscription lists for this period reveals the frequency with which a key group of laymen devoted money and their time to their parish.[125] It also reveals the

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[122] AO, Ewan MacDonald fonds, Rev. John MacDonald papers, undated transcription of *Canadian Freeman*, circa August 1832.
[123] The Honourable Alexander Macdonell Esq. reported to the Bishop that he, the Honourable James Baby, Peter McDougall, Mrs. Sherwood, and Mrs. Boulton, were the only members of the parish not Irish. AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Alexander Macdonell Esq., 8 December 1828.
[124] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. W.J. O'Grady, 29 January 1829.
[125] The following records were used for analysis: ARCAT, M AC32.02, 1828 subscription list; AC32.03, 1829 subscription list; AC32.01, AC32.04, 1829-30 pew rent lists; AC32.09, 1832 subscription list, AC32.07, 1834 pew rents. Three women appeared on four lists, and an additional eight appeared on three. Most of these women appeared on subscription lists rather

ethnic and occupational makeup of this group of laymen. Not surprisingly, men who served as churchwardens appear most frequently in the sample.[126] Other laymen like carter Michael Hartney, who appears on all five sampled lists, may have not had the inclination or the social prominence to stand for election for the parish *fabrique*, but his willingness to contribute to parish funds suggests he was an active and engaged member of the parish. Hartney was the lone tradesman amongst those men appearing most frequently; most were, like the parish churchwardens, professionals or merchants. The laymen on both sides of the O'Grady schism were also drawn from the professional and merchant classes. Though contemporaries and historians represented the so-called "pretend" wardens as more representative of the majority Irish laity than their predecessors, their occupations and resultant socio-economic status was entirely consistent with their predecessors and successors.[127] Lawyer James King had already served as churchwarden two years previously. Peter McDougall was the son of a founding member of the parish and a lawyer in his own right. Richard Feehan had recently purchased the Steamboat Inn.[128]

Approximately seventy per cent of the parish lay leadership was of Irish origin. At St. Paul's in the 1820s and 30s, Irishmen of middling status —merchants predominantly—shared leadership positions with non-Irish men of wealth and

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than pew rent lists, though a select few including Mrs. Sherwood and Mrs. Boulton, the wives of prominent Family Compact members, held pews in their own names.

[126] Most churchwardens appeared on four of the five lists sampled.

[127] Nicolson in particular insisted the "pretend" wardens were part of the parish's "grassroots" and connected to the "lower classes."

[128] The hotel was at the centre of the controversial political meetings of Bishop Macdonell and other conservative Roman Catholics in the spring of 1832 discussed in Chapter 5.

prominence.[129] Irishmen were appointed to positions of leadership, active in parish life, and were vocal about the progress of the parish and community. Despite the representation in the press of an "Irish lay rebellion," it is clear that Irishmen were on both sides of the O'Grady conflict. The data indicate that the laymen who were associated with the conflict and credited with the occupation of the church in 1832-3, were as engaged, interested, and invested in parish life —and had been since 1828— as those who made public statements of support for the bishop. Richard Feehan who was presumably of Irish origin appeared on all subscription lists and pew rent lists between 1828 and 1834. His fellow "pretend" warden James King, a native of Galway, appeared on four of the five.[130] Maurice Malone and Patrick Handy two of the more notorious of the pro-O'Grady faction appeared on four and three lists respectively, offering a considerable challenge to assertions that neither were "serious" Catholics.[131] The laymen who were publicly supportive of the bishop had similar degrees of parish participation. Merchant William Bergin and the Hon. Alexander Macdonell appeared on all five lists. Editor Francis Collins, his brother, merchant John Collins, and government clerk Edmond Barnett appeared on four of the five lists.

[129] As in Kingston, Toronto's churchwardens were merchants and professionals. Relatively complete churchwarden data is available for 20 of 24 churchwardens identified to have served in Toronto between 1826 and 1842. There were also a significant number of churchwardens who were engaged in professional work (bank clerk, newspaper editor, and civil servant). Three men, Family Compact members James Baby, John Elmsley, and Alexander Macdonell were members of the House of Assembly, and sufficiently wealthy, established, and prominent to have used the "Esq." suffix or the Honorable prefix.

[130] An unfortunate lack of distinction between the Peters McDougall Sr. and Jr. makes it difficult to determine which one was the contributor on four different occasions.

[131] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Sir J. Colborne 10 December 1833.

Similarly the equation of Irish and reform and non-Irish and conservative offered in the historiography is not supported by the sources.[132] Politics in this period were contingent on context and voters offered no consistency in their affiliation.[133] Consider that with the exception of James King, every major player on both sides of the occupation of the church signed the loyalty address to Sir John Colborne in the spring of 1832.[134] Even the Rev. William J. O'Grady, who is assumed to have shown his radical political stripes from early in his tenure in Toronto, provided the initial meeting place for the Roman Catholic meeting and was said to have drafted the declaration.[135] Others, including "pretend warden" Peter McDougall Jr., were identified with the conservative rioters who interrupted a reform rally with violence in March 1832. McDougall Jr. and James King were, as the *Canadian Freeman* noted, "old types rioters." Both were said to have been part of the Tory mob that destroyed William Lyon Mackenzie's printing press in 1826.[136] Though King was for all intents and purposes a devout reformer by the end of 1833, his early foray into conservative politics is evidence of the flexibility with which Upper Canadians approached politics.

Conversely, despite the Bishop's clear political affiliation, his support was not entirely composed of Family Compact Tories. The men who were credited with turning

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[132] The politics of Irish Catholics in 1830s Upper Canada is discussed further in Chapter 5. Franklin A. Walker, "The Political Opinion of Upper Canadian Catholics." *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report* 22 (1955): 75–86; Nicolson, "William O'Grady and the Catholic Church."

[133] Gerald Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841*, (Toronto: McClelland and Steward Ltd., 1963) 196.

[134] *Canadian Freeman*, 10 January 1833. The *Freeman* also suggested that Rev. O'Grady had also not signed the address and like King, "refused to take a stand in one side or the other."

[135] *Canadian Freeman*, 2 May 1833.

[136] *Canadian Freeman*, "Hoganism in York," 17 January 1833; Paul Romney, "From the Types Riot to the Rebellion: Elite Ideology, Anti-Legal Sentiment, Political Violence, and the Rule of Law in Upper Canada," *Ontario History*, Vol. LXXIX, no. 2 (1987) n. 19.

the Bishop's opinion against the priest, merchant William Bergin and editor Francis Collins, were not only Irish, but also each associated with reform politics.[137] A member of Nicolson's "Catholic Compact," Galway-man Dr. John King, brother of James, was one of the few publicly identified supporters of the bishop. Dr. King's politics were never clear-cut, and the bishop worried about the brother's influence.[138] Macdonell's anxieties were well founded, as King played a central role in William Lyon Mackenzie's successful mayoralty campaign of 1834.[139]

What did the "pretend" wardens, or "schismatics" as they were known in the press, espouse? What was at the root of their dispute with the bishop and takeover of the church? Fortunately the laymen were prolific writers of petitions and public addresses, and so their motives were available for public consumption. The first public address of McDougall, King, Feehan and "405 others,"[140] published in the Upper Canadian press in January 1833, expressed clear and unmitigated support for the priest. Though their very action of occupying the church suggested a belief in their right to control the building, they made no such claims explicitly in the text. Similarly their opposition to O'Grady's suspension, praise of his character, and vitriol at the "miscreants" (the former churchwardens)[141] whose "envy and maliciousness" they blamed for the priest's

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[137] Bergin was at one time a supporter of William Lyon Mackenzie and an agent for the *Colonial Advocate*: Senior, "Ogle Gowan, Orangeism and the Immigrant Question," *Ontario History*, vol. LXVI, no. 4 (1974) 200; Duncan Koerber, "The Role of the Agent in Partisan Communication networks of Upper Canadian Newspapers, *Journal of Canadian Studies,* 2011, 10-11.

[138] The fact that Dr. King refused to testify against the Rev. O'Grady during the July 1832 "mock trial" may have given the Bishop pause.

[139] They fell out not long after, and apparently nearly fought a duel over their disagreement. See: William Canniff, *The Medical Profession in Upper Canada, 1753-1850,* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1894) 459-460.

[140] *Canadian Freeman*, "Hoganism in York," 17 January 1833.

[141] The 1832 churchwardens were merchant William Bergin, government clerk Edmond Barnett, and merchant John McDermott. *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor*, March 1833.

suspension, suggested an endorsement of the congregation's right to determine the hiring and firing of clergy that was common in the diocese of Kingston during this period. Despite the explicit challenge to the bishop's authority in their occupation of the church, the address made no discussion of the bishop, neither denying his authority nor acknowledging it. Instead the address noted that the Catholic Church in Canada was "possessed of privileges founded on solemn treaty;" these privileges, the address argued, "cannot be arbitrarily deprived by any individual or individuals." The bishop's action in attempting to remove the priest represented an attack on those privileges the address implied, and "we, the members of the York Congregation" were determined "at any risk" to maintain those privileges.[142]

While the so-called "pretend" wardens and the laity were ostensibly supportive of the embattled parish priest, the content of their respective public declarations suggest divergent agendas. In public statements the Reverend O'Grady dwelled almost entirely on his dispute with the bishop and the legality of the bishop's authority over him; the churchwardens made occasional statements of support but instead fixated on macro-level issues of Church corruption and finances and the state of Upper Canadian Catholicism. While O'Grady appealed to alternative authorities in order to secure his job, the laymen of St. Paul's built on that initial reference to the "privileges founded on solemn treaty" to assert what they believed were their rights as Catholics in Upper Canada.

An April 1833 public meeting illustrates this very well. O'Grady began his speech suggesting the present conflict concerned "our civil and religious liberties" and entreated his listeners to "resist every effort of despotism," yet the priest referred only to his own

[142] *Canadian Freeman*, "Hoganism in York," 17 January 1833.

persecution.[143] Resolutions offered by the laymen following O'Grady's speech offered support to the priest, praised his character and service, but quickly diverged to broader statements on the rights of the laity ("it is the duty of said congregation by all Christian and constitutional means to repel all invasions of their reasonable rights") and got to the heart of the laity's political agenda, namely the state-sponsorship of Roman Catholic clergy in Upper Canada. The present conflict had arisen, the laymen asserted, "in a great degree from the clergy being pensioners of the State." The influence the government had over the clergy was "corrupt" and was "repugnant to the principles of the Constitution and the spirit of the Christian religion," they argued. All Christians regardless of denominations were motivated to preserve the "purity of religion from the defilements of executive support and corrupting preferences."[144]

As will be discussed in Chapter 5 the state sponsorship of clergy had been a key issue in the appeals in William Lyon Mackenzie's *Colonial Advocate*'s to Irish Catholics during anti-grievances movement in spring of 1832. The April 1833 public resolutions and other petitions sent to the provincial and imperial governments throughout the year indicate that the St. Paul's laity viewed the government allowance for clergy as a source of corruption and political interference. The issue quickly supplanted O'Grady's claims against the Bishop and even the validity of the lay possession of the church as the central plank upon which the lay rebellion centered. In petitions to the Lieutenant Governor in January and July 1833, and to the King in June 1833, the churchwardens called the state pension the "prevailing abuse" and "evil" in the colony, and complained that it had made

[143] *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor*, 26 April 1833.
[144] *Ibid.*

the bishop and his clergy "political partisans."[145] The St. Paul's lay rebellion culminated in late 1833 with a petition to the provincial legislature signed by nine lay leaders and 800 others.[146] Calling for the cessation of all state interference in Catholicism, the petition condemned any law that allowed the government to interfere with the appointment of priests and bishops or gave the King supremacy in the religious affairs of his Catholic subjects, a contravention of the Quebec Act, the petition argued. The petition was an overt break with the Rev. William O'Grady who had made the Crown's supremacy over the Roman Catholic Church in British North America a central argument in his resistance to Bishop Macdonell's authority and ability to suspend his clergy.[147]

Despite the repeated attempts on the part of the St. Paul's laymen to frame the discussion around the state sponsorship of clergy, the bishop, his supporters, and the

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[145] See Chapter 5 for closer examination of these petitions. AO, UC Sundries, C-6877, Memorial of the Wardens of the Catholic Church of York, 29 January 1833, p. 69253-69255; C-6879, Petition from Roman Catholic Church at York to His Majesty the King, 20 June 1833, p. 71951-71958; Petition of Churchwardens of Roman Catholic Church at York, 9 July 1833, p. 72179-72182. Bishop Macdonell had, the petition alleged, reserved a portion of the allowance "under the pretence (sic) of paying school masters" but instead had applied the sums to the "private purposes of the individual under whose control it appears to have been placed." The wardens indicated that they were prepared to support this allegation with the testimony of "competent witnesses." When the Lieutenant Governor ignored the request, the laymen threatened to take the issue to the Secretary of State for the colonies.

[146] The petition is undated and appears in Macdonell's letter book after a letter dated 29 November 1833. The petition was put before the House of Assembly on 3 December 1833. *Journal of House of Assembly Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, from the nineteenth day of November 1833 to the sixth day of March, 1834 ... : being the fourth session of the eleventh provincial Parliament* (Toronto: R. Stanton, 1834), 30 http://eco.canadiana.ca.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/view/oocihm.9_00941_10; AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Sir John Colborne, 10 December 1833. Nine laymen: Joseph MacDougal, Peter MacDougal, James King, Cornelius Keller, Paddy Handy, Charles Donne, Patrick McKinnon, Maurice Malone, and Thomas Ryan. The 800 names are not extant. It is probable these names represented a significant portion of the parish. In 1830, the parish at York was said to contain 1,275 people. See: AAK, "1833-68 letter book, including Statistics of Catholics of Upper Canada," census data for 1830. The next census that of 1834 listed the parish population at 3,240 but this number also included eight surrounding townships. The *Colonial Advocate*, 25 April 1833 believed O'Grady had the support of "at least four-fifths" of the parish.

[147] ARCAT, M AB50.01a, Copy of Rev. W.J. O'Grady's petition to Sir. J. Colborne, 4 January 1833.

press continued to fixate on O'Grady's defiance and the continued occupation of the church.[148] Bishop Macdonell failed to give the laymen's calls for reform any attention and persisted in the belief that O'Grady was the source of all conflict and dissent. In a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor's secretary on the subject of the petitions calling for an inquiry into his distribution of the government allowance, Bishop Macdonell attributed the petitions to the priest.[149] A letter from "A Catholic" printed in the *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor* assumed the opposition to the government allowance for clergy had also come from O'Grady: "he has charged upon the administration, a corrupt influence with the Catholic Clergy, upon account of the Government bounty, accorded from a paternal desire to afford the Irish population the consolations of their holy religion and of which bounty he himself has been a chief participator!!"[150]

The fixation on O'Grady and refusal to acknowledge the laity's active and vocal participation in the conflict was premised on both classist and prejudiced notions of the laity in general and the Irish specifically, and, as Macdonell had opined in 1828 to O'Grady, the potential influence an Irish priest could extend over an Irish flock. The continued focus on O'Grady downplayed the extent of the lay rebellion and kept the bulk of the churchwardens' protest out of the press. Representing the occupation of the church

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[148] One exception was a letter from "A Catholic" printed in the *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor* following the April 1833 meeting at the Church. "A Catholic" took umbrage with the resolution condemning the state sponsorship of clergy but interpreted it as evidence of the Rev. O'Grady's "utter destitution of principle" rather than an indicator of the laity's opinion. O'Grady was "disgustingly ungrateful" for the government "pittance," which was the sole support for most of the province's clergy, and from which the priest had been paid "nearly double the amount of any other priest." *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor*, "For the Patriot," 26 April 1833. In another letter to the *Patriot* reprinted in the *Freeman*, "A Catholic" also noted that Bishop Macdonell had secured the government "bounty" solely from a "paternal desire to afford the Irish population the consolations of their holy religion." *Canadian Freeman*, 2 May 1833.

[149] AAK, "1833-68 letter book, including Statistics of Catholics of Upper Canada," BMD to Col. Rowan, 7 June 1834.

[150] From the *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor*, in *Canadian Freeman*, 2 May 1833.

as the work of a misbehaving priest and a few of his close cronies who had political rather than religious motives accorded the laymen's political agenda less significance and lessened the extent of the bishop's embarrassment. The *Colonial Advocate,* inclined to support O'Grady despite past differences, reported that the priest was supported by "at least four-fifths of the Catholic parish of York and by the good will of more than two-thirds of the Protestant inhabitants"[151] In contrast, the *Canadian Freeman* refused to accept the extent of lay rebellion. The January 1833 address of support had claimed for the priest the support of more than 400 "bullies," though the number was probably closer to 100 the *Freeman* argued.[152] Similarly, the Bishop insisted to Sir John Colborne that in the 800 names on the petition submitted to the colonial government late in 1833, "the names of a single score of real Catholics are not to be found;" instead the petition represented the work of about 20 discontented Catholics he argued.[153] Not surprisingly, commentators from both sides claimed the most "respectable" laity for their preferred side. *The Canadian Correspondent* claimed an April 1833 public meeting in support of O'Grady had been attended by "many of the wealthiest and most intelligent of our fellow

[151] *Colonial Advocate*, 25 April 1833. Newspaper editors disposed to support the Bishop dismissed reports of Protestants in attendance at O'Grady's meetings. Any respectable Protestants attended O'Grady's meetings out of "curiosity." And the overtly political tone of the April meeting had served to gradually deplete the audience until the "Correspondent Editors formed the nucleus of the smallest imaginable assemblage." "No Protestant has taken side with the former but a Mackenzie-ite and a well-known religious bigot – Indeed it is evident that no man but a gross bigot would at all interfere in the domestic quarrels of a Church to which he did not belong." *Canadian Freeman*, 18 April 1833; *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor*, 26 April 1833.
[152] *Colonial Advocate*, "Hoganism in York," 17 January 1833. In an undated *Canadian Freeman* transcription, Collins reported that the meeting to expel the churchwardens and install the "pretend" wardens had been attended only by O'Grady, "his artizans (sic)," and "his premier Mr. Lawyer King." AO, Rev. Ewan MacDonald fonds, Rev. John MacDonald papers, undated transcription.
[153] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Sir J. Colborne, 10 December 1833.

citizens" including a significant number of Protestants.[154] In contrast, the *Canadian Freeman* reported that a pro-O'Grady meeting in August 1832 had been attended entirely by a "mob" of "ruffians."[155] The resolutions taken at the April 1833 meeting were nothing more than the "blarney of Munster Catholics and Ulster Protestants."[156]

While the bishop was loath to admit the majority of St. Paul's laymen were behind O'Grady and the churchwardens, repeated references to the priest's disdain for the "common" layman suggested Macdonell believed a campaign to win back the hearts and minds of the laity was necessary. He made every attempt to alienate the priest from the lower classes. Bishop Macdonell reported that O'Grady had once told him that he "paid no regard to what the common people said, so long as he could keep on good terms with a few respectable members of the community."[157] The *Canadian Freeman* made much of the Rev. O'Grady's rapid rise to social prominence upon his arrival in York in 1828 so as to alienate the priest from his more humble followers. An "accomplished courtier," the priest had "secured the favour of our little Colonial Court," he dined frequently with the Lieutenant Governor and most of the government officials at York, and generally lived a life entirely divorced from that of the common Catholics. He was "very attentive to the rich," received a large income, and "lived upon the fat of the earth," and the Rev.

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[154] An entirely biased source, as it was owned by James King and later edited by William O'Grady. Comments from the *Correspondent* reprinted in the *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor*, 26 April 1833. The *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor* scoffed at these claims and suggested any Protestants in attendance had been motivated by curiosity and once aware of the political maneuverings at work in the meeting they "gradually dropped off till the *Correspondent* Editors formed the nucleus of the smallest imaginable assemblage."

[155] *Canadian Freeman*, 23 August 1832.

[156] *Canadian Freeman*, 25 April 1833.

[157] ARCAT, M AB50.01, Documents connected with the Suspension of the Very Rev. Wm. J. O'Grady, BMD's reply to Mr. O'Grady's Petition, 6th January 1833.

O'Grady neglected the poor, the *Freeman* charged.[158] Both the bishop and the *Freeman* used O'Grady's apparent failure to build a Catholic school at York as evidence that the priest held the welfare of the city's poor Catholic children in contempt.[159]

With the Rev. O'Grady's contempt for the poor noted, the devotion of the "masses" to the priest was attributed to ignorance and ethnic pride rather than reason, intellect, or religious devotion. Speaking publicly in the spring of 1833, Bishop Macdonell absolved the bulk of the parishioners who followed O'Grady. Most of them were "of the lower order, and consequently ignorant," and the Bishop did not blame them for being led astray "by the audacious presumption and wily subtlety of Mr. O'Grady."[160] When the bishop threatened excommunication for any member of the parish hearing O'Grady say mass or receiving sacraments from the priest, the *Canadian Freeman* noted that the action would lop off the "rotten branches" and separate "the scabby sheep from the fold."[161] The Irish of the parish had been particularly prone to O'Grady's persuasion, Macdonell reported in a letter to Sir John Colborne printed in the press. In addition to his other crimes, the priest was guilty of "exciting the lower class of his countrymen to hatred and rancor against all those who do not join his faction."[162] The Bishop and the press made clear comparisons between the "well-disposed" respectable parishioners who

[158] *Canadian Freeman,* undated transcription from summer 1832 in AO, Ewan MacDonald fonds, Rev. John MacDonald papers; *Canadian Freeman,* 16 May 1833.
[159] *Canadian Freeman,* undated transcription from summer 1832 in AO, Ewan MacDonald fonds, Rev. John MacDonald papers.
[160] *Canadian Freeman*, 2 May 1833. Also: AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Sir J. Colborne: "used every means to seduce his countrymen and create schism in the congregation, he however succeeded only with a few ignorant and profligate and even these have almost to a man returned to a sense of their duty and now look with horror upon their seducers." 10 December 1833.
[161] *Canadian Freeman*, 2 May 1833.
[162] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Sir J. Colborne, 8 January 1833

had from early on refused to accept O'Grady's ministry, and the volatile lower class "bullies" who followed O'Grady blindly.[163]

According to the bishop, the occupation of the church was evidence of the command O'Grady and his "faction" held over the ignorant laity. The priest and the masses were in physical possession of the church, but had no right to that possession for neither had contributed anything to the construction of the church, the bishop argued.[164] A declaration of prominent laymen supportive of the bishop, including Dr. John King and Francis Collins, echoed these sentiments in February of 1833: the "pretended" churchwardens who had taken "forcible" possession of the church had deprived the Bishop "and the respectable parishioners *who erected the edifice*, of their proper and legitimate accommodations for Divine Worship."[165] The Rev. O'Grady and the churchwardens were endeavouring to "deprive the congregation of the church which they built," the *Canadian Freeman* argued.[166] Arguments such as these indicated that those in possession of the church could not claim the right of lay patronage, nor by extension, could they claim any degree of longevity or legitimacy in the parish.

The claims to respectability, longevity, and legitimacy made by the bishop's supporters were contrasted with the violence through which the church had apparently

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[163] *Canadian Freeman*, undated transcription from summer 1832 in AO, Ewan MacDonald fonds, Rev. John MacDonald papers; *Colonial Advocate*, "Hoganism in York," 17 January 1833; 7 March 1833; 2 May 1833.
[164] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Sir J. Colborne, 8 January 1833.
[165] ARCAT, M AB50.02a, documents related to the suspension of Rev. William J. O'Grady, 10 February 1833. Emphasis mine.
[166] *Canadian Freeman*, "Church Affairs Again," 20 June 1833. In public statements, the Rev. O'Grady attempted to counter the suggestion that the lay people did not have a right possess or control the church. He questioned the Macdonell's motives in trying to "seize" the church, and "take possession of this church as if it were his own property." *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor*, 26 April 1833. A notice appeared in *The Canadian Correspondent* in 28 September 1833 forbidding trespassing on church or glebe lands. Issued by Patrick Handy "tenant in possession."

been seized. After at least one other attempt, O'Grady and his supporters, as the bishop told it, had "intruded into the Church by violence" and had "dragged … the Rev. D. Downey in the most brutal and ruffian like manner from the altar during divine service while Mr. O'Grady was by his inflammatory harangues exciting the mob to outrage and riot."[167] Indeed, the churchwardens and a number of other laymen were indicted, but then acquitted for riot in the spring of 1833.[168] Despite this, the *Canadian Freeman* dwelled on the violence of the laity in its discussion of the "forcible" possession of the church by the "well-organized band of bullies."[169] Peter McDougall, the *Freeman* complained, "carries the keys of Heaven (the Church) with 400 bullies at his back … to drub us into Church and drub us out of it, just as they may think fit and perhaps to knock out our brains for God's sake, and the good of religion!!!"" The violence of the occupation and its infringement on the access to religious functions delegitimized the laity's cause.[170] McDougall et al noted this in their first public statement of support for O'Grady. The previous churchwardens were not only attempting to "ruin" O'Grady, they "stigmatize us as a parcel of bullies and a band of assassins."[171]

The issue of the possession of the church came to a head in a civil suit filed by Bishop Macdonell in his capacity as trustee of the land on which St. Paul's stood. The case was a long, drawn out affair made complicated by the fact that one of the trustees in

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[167] AAK, "1833-68 letter book, including Statistics of Catholics of Upper Canada," BMD to Col. Rowan, 7 June 1834; *Canadian Freeman*, 23 August 1832.
[168] Appendix to Journal House of Assembly, Sess 1837-8, "detailed accounts of William A. Campbell, Clerk of Assize, Home District, 1833, 297-298; *Canadian Freeman*, "Hoganism in York," 17 January 1833; 25 April 1833.
[169] *Canadian Freeman*, 7 March 1833.
[170] As will be discussed in Chapter 5, this condemnation of violence was *Canadian Freeman* was contrary to the praise the newspaper had heaped upon the Irishmen who had beaten William L. Mackenzie in various incidents in early 1832.
[171] *Canadian Freeman*, "Hoganism in York," 17 January 1833.

whose name the suit had been filed, James Baby, was deceased. The defense brought in witnesses to testify that Baby, before his death in February 1833, had supported the so-called "pretend wardens" and would not have consented to the suit against them being taken in his name.[172] The judge countered that the deceased trustee's opinion on the case had "no weight" and similarly his deceased status "could not affect proceedings – because this action could be sustained if the whole three Trustees were dead."[173] Put simply the plaintiffs argued that the trustees held legal title to the property and the churchwardens were trespassing. The defense countered that the current title was void, and as no third party could claim title, the churchwardens as representatives of the congregation for whom the land was granted, had a right to the possession of the land and church.

The case highlighted the ongoing debate about who or what constituted the "congregation" of York. Both sides claimed to represent the congregation and therefore laid claim to the land, which had been granted by the Crown for the use of the Roman Catholic congregation of York. Evoking the argument made most frequently in the press, the plaintiffs argued that those who had "paid most for the construction of the church (particularly the bishop) are the ones actually being deprived of the use of it by the defendants." The defendants insisted that the church was open to all, but the plaintiffs countered that that was not the case: "the door had been shut in the bishop's face, and entrance expressly denied him."[174] The trustees had not been given the property in question for "their own use and benefit," the defense argued, but rather for the "sole use and benefit" of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of York, who were now in peaceable

[172] *Canadian Freeman*, 18 April 1833.
[173] *Canadian Freeman*, 25 April 1833.
[174] *Ibid*.

possession of the church and adjacent property and therefore in conformity with the intention of the initial government grant.[175]

The inconsistencies and illegality of the three patent deeds that existed for the same tract of government-granted land was a key aspect of the defense case. The first had been issued in 1807 and a second likely around the time of the church construction in the early 1820s.[176] The third deed for which the current trustees (Bishop Macdonell, Alexander Macdonell Esq., and James Baby Esq.) held title had not been registered properly with the Crown and thus it should be considered null and void, Marshall S. Bidwell argued for the defense. As the original deed "was surrendered to the Crown without having been recorded" the plaintiffs had no title to the property and as no third party could show title to the land, the Crown retained possession of the title. As the "duly elected" representatives of the congregation, the churchwardens were entitled to the occupation of the church.[177]

The implications of the case to all property holders in the colony, and in particular those who had received land through government grant was frequently noted in the court. The Chief Justice cautioned that the defense's argument that the title should return to the Crown would have the effect of dispossessing the congregation entirely.[178] The counsel for the plaintiffs agreed suggesting the defense's tactic to deny all claim to the property was "suicidal."[179] The defense noted that the actions of the plaintiffs was a warning to all congregations who had received land in the same manner, for it suggested trustees might

[175] *Canadian Freeman*, 18 April 1833.
[176] Edith Firth, *The Town of York, 1815-1834. A Further Collection of Documents of Early Toronto* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1966) 205.
[177] *Canadian Freeman*, 18 April 1833.
[178] *Ibid.*
[179] *Canadian Freeman*, 25 April 1833.

appropriate the grant "to their own use and benefit." The defendants were therefore not acting in self-interest, but rather they were attempting to protect the rights and privileges of the congregation as well as those of other congregations in the province "similarly situated."[180] In his final address to the jury, the Chief Justice asked it to access the case on the legality of the current patent deed, but warned that their verdict would have significant ramifications to lands granted in this way, to other denominations. Their verdict if made in favour of the defense, might "render all property insecure."[181] The jury agreed with the Justice and returned a verdict in favour of the plaintiffs with notably, one shilling in damages.[182]

In their occupation of St. Paul's the York lay leaders and their supporters had revealed themselves to be —contrary to the assertions of the bishop and the *Canadian Freeman*— motivated by more than defiance, anger, and blind devotion to the Rev. O'Grady; instead, their addresses demonstrated a clear concern with the progress of the parish and of the Upper Canadian Roman Catholic Church more broadly. Their protest sought to highlight and remedy what they believed was corruption within their Church. Indeed, the continued functioning of the parish and the appointment of churchwardens, despite its explicit opposition to the bishop suggests a continued interest in, and devotion to, the structure of the Roman Catholic Church. Within months of the return of the church to the bishop's possession all members of the "schismatic faction," with the exception of

[180] *Canadian Freeman*, 18 April 1833.
[181] *Canadian Freeman*, 25 April 1833.
[182] *Canadian Freeman*, 18 April 1833. Despite the verdict Bishop Macdonell did not regain possession of the church before November 1833. AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 12 December 1833; BMD to BRG, 18 December 1833; BMD to Bishop I. Bourget, 28 December 1833.

Patrick Handy and Maurice Malone had "made their submission," of repentance.[183] Nevertheless, lay leadership in the parish continued fraught in the years following the schism and Bishop Macdonell spent the rest of his days convinced the Rev. William J. O'Grady would return to foment dissent amongst the Irish of the diocese.

The O'Grady conflict had the immediate effect of irrevocably harming Bishop Macdonell's perspective on lay leadership, particularly that of the Irish. It also reinforced his misguided belief in the power and influence of an Irish priest over an Irish 'flock.'[184] In St. Paul's the result was that the Irish lay leadership of the parish was continually under scrutiny, though not to the extent of O'Grady's successor, the Rev. William Patrick McDonagh who spent the rest of the decade defending his methods, denying his connections to radical politics, and threatening to return to Ireland. In the aftermath of the O'Grady schism, Bishop Macdonell attempted to more strictly enforce diocesan regulations governing the *fabrique* and lay leadership at the parish level. A meeting of the diocesan clergy and a very select group of laymen in the summer of 1833 formally adopted the Lower Canadian regulations governing the *fabrique* for the Diocese of Kingston.[185] At St. Paul's he attempted to appoint loyal laymen, led by Dr. John King to

[183] James King renounced the Church in 1835, the news to which Bishop Macdonell expressed relief. Richard Feehan continued to play an active role in the lay leadership of the parish. It is not clear what became of Peter McDougall Jr. AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Dr. J. King, 23 December 1833; MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 30 January 1835.

[184] Bishop Macdonell persisted in the belief that the Irish parish of St. Paul's needed an Irish priest, but pinned his hopes on the Rev. Patrick McMahon who a Lower Canadian priest of Irish origin to subdue the "unruly" Irish of Toronto. AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to J. Elmsley, 24 June 1835; BMD to J. Elmsley, 3 July 1835; BMD to J. Elmsley, 31 July 1835; BMD to J. Elmsley, 25 August 1835. John Elmsley was also convinced of the Rev. W. Patrick McDonagh's influence over the Irish of Toronto. Elmsley called repeatedly for McDonagh's removal and predicted that McDonagh would likely call a "mob of hotheaded Irishmen" to put him "in the lake." ARCAT, M AB16.02, J. Elmsley to BMD, 21 May 1834.

[185] These regulations were in place in Toronto by 1831, and re-applied in 1835 with much controversy. ARCAT, M CB09.03, Regulations of the Catholic mission of Toronto regarding elections etc., 1831; AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Dr. J. King, 23 December 1833; AC30.03,

choose the next group of churchwardens and procure a new, legal deed to the church land.[186] The task proved near impossible as few in the parish met the property and contribution levels stipulated in the diocesan regulations. "After attempting in vain to get the Church affairs arranged and settled," King "at last came to the determination to throw them up and have nothing more to do with them."[187]

It is no wonder then that Bishop Macdonell greeted the conversion of Family Compact stalwart and member of the Executive and Legislative Councils, John Elmsley in the spring of 1834 as "miraculous."[188] The Bishop appointed Elmsley as churchwarden and tasked him with putting the parish back on "respectable footing."[189] Surely sent from God to heal the disunited parish, Elmsley was wealthy, prominent, would not be easily influenced by a corrupt Irish priest, nor would he lead the Irishmen of the parish into

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Resolutions passed at a meeting of the Catholic congregation of Toronto on Sunday September 27 1835; AB30.08, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to Bishop A. Macdonell, 5 October 1835. By 1835, meetings held in Kingston and Cornwall, chaired by Bishops Macdonell and Gaulin respectively, officially adopted the Lower Canadian regulations for those parishes. AAK, Churchwarden registry and record book, 1832; ARCAT, M AC03.01, Regulations for the parish of St. Columba, Cornwall, 25 September 1835.

[186] ARCAT, M AB29.01, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 24 October 1833; AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Dr. J. King, 23 December 1833; MLB 1834-39, BMD to J. Elmsley, 24 June 1835. The schism had irrevocably damaged the Bishop's confidence in even the most loyal of his supporters. Separating friend from foe was difficult in the post-schism St. Paul's and Macdonell struggled with how to ensure only responsible loyal laymen assumed positions of leadership. Quite remarkably one of the individuals considered for the committee was Richard Feehan, the hotelier who had served as a "pretend" warden. Rather than forbid the man's participation entirely, Macdonell expected "satisfactory proofs of his repentance and submission" before Feehan could be admitted to the committee

[187] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to J. Elmsley, 24 June 1835. Macdonell insisted that the members of this committee conform to the Diocesan rules that required all churchwardens contribute five pounds or more to the parish. Notably Dr. King and Alexander Macdonell were the only laymen considered for the committee who had done so. The others, Macdonell wrote, were to pay the amount immediately, and receipts attesting to their compliance were to be presented to the Bishop before he would "countenance any act of theirs."

[188] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to J. Elmsley, 2 March 1836; Henri Pilon, "Elmsley, John (1801-63)," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* vol. 9, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/elmsley_john_1801_63_9E.html.

[189] ARCAT, M AB16.02, J. Elmsley to BMD, 21 May 1834.

radicalism or open rebellion. Indeed, Elmsley was entirely dismissive of the Irish lay and clerical leadership of Toronto and preferred to maintain absolute control over the *fabrique* himself. His attempts to limit lay power through the very office through which the Church sanctioned lay power and agency were a colossal failure. By the end of his tenure as churchwarden, the parish led by the other churchwardens, both of whom were Irish, was advocating for universal suffrage with the extension to all pew holders, voting rights for the *fabrique*.

Upper Canada and the example of the Diocese of Kingston suggest a middle ground between historiographical narratives of Church-directed growth and grassroots lay initiative. Though nominally Church-instituted and controlled, the *fabrique* offered the laity of the Diocese of Kingston an avenue through which to exercise agency and control over the direction of their parish and Church more broadly. For Bishop Macdonell the *fabrique* provided a ready-made organizational structure through which the tasks of early parish development could proceed. For the Irish laity in particular the *fabrique* and other arenas of participation in parish life offered a platform upon which one's goals for migration and settlement and life in Upper Canada could be enhanced and expanded. In Toronto at least, this also meant an increased visibility and participation in the politics of the province.

Chapter 5 "Divisions and heart burnings:" Irish Catholics and popular colonial politics, 1830-1837

In the spring of 1837, *The Correspondent and Advocate* ran an excerpt of a speech by Daniel O'Connell in which he suggested discord was endemic amongst the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada. Speaking against a proposed state pension for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, O'Connell pointed to the example of the "divisions and heart burnings amongst the Catholics of Upper Canada flowing from the principle of a State Church."[1] Bishop Alexander Macdonell was shocked by the statement and immediately scrambled to have a contact in London disabuse O'Connell of the notion no doubt gleaned from "tainted and poluted (sic) channels."[2] Macdonell then turned to Colonel Connell James Baldwin[3] for reassurance that O'Connell had been misinformed. O'Connell was probably referring to the 1832 conflict at St. Paul's in Toronto, Macdonell speculated; the bishop wondered had he misunderstood the purpose of that parish rebellion as more than lay support for the suspended Rev. O'Grady? He entreated Baldwin to put his mind at ease.

In his response to his bishop's inquires about the truth of O'Connell's statements, Baldwin carefully, and boldly, laid the reality (as he saw it) of Irish Catholic politics in Upper Canada at Macdonell's feet. Baldwin described disillusionment amongst Irish Catholics with the political activities of the bishop and his clergy, and their unease with the issue of state-sponsored religion. O'Connell had not been referring only to the St. Paul's conflict, Baldwin

[1] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 15 March 1837. This edition also included a declaration by the Archbishop of Dublin, Daniel Murray against the prospect of a state pension, as well as an editorial in which O'Grady endorsed Murray's view.
[2] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Dr. T. Rolph, 18 March 1837. Macdonell speculated to Rolph that O'Connell had his information from O'Grady and Mackenzie.
[3] Ronald J. Stagg, "Baldwin, Connell James," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/baldwin_connell_james_9E.html.

assured Macdonell, but rather was alluding to the general state of Catholicism in the province. Though he did not know O'Connell's source, Baldwin could attest that O'Connell was "borne out in his assertion by facts" for there was no Catholic community "so dissatisfied or divided amongst themselves as that of Upper Canada."[4]

Referring to the anti-grievances riot at York in 1832, the St. Paul's conflict of 1832-33, and the recent so-called "loyalty" election of 1836, Baldwin effectively blamed the bishop's political activities and his dependence on the government purse for the "divisions and heart burnings" to which O'Connell referred. The government's financial support and its probable influence over their Church and bishop was a source of consternation for Irish Roman Catholics in Upper Canada, Baldwin maintained. In fact, many Roman Catholics had been disturbed by the Rev. William J. O'Grady's strategy to insist that the Crown had supremacy over the Church in Upper Canada.[5] The events of the 1832 York riot, when a pro-government mob "chiefly composed of Catholics" paraded an effigy of William Lyon Mackenzie outside the bishop's home, had elicited "much bitter feelings" on the part of Roman Catholics uneasy with Macdonell's connection with government and his apparent endorsement of the anti-reform mob. The bishop had played a "conspicuous part" in the most recent election with public political addresses to the province's Catholics and an apparent alliance with the Orange Order to elect conservative candidates. Macdonell had used his influence in every way possible including over the Catholic clergy who, Baldwin implied, had rallied with their bishop to the government side. This had not only alienated Catholics with Reform sensibilities, but all Catholics. "As far as my experience goes," Baldwin wrote, "I find this connection tends greatly to diminish the confidence of Catholics in their clergy and many go so far as to say that they never will bend

[4] AAK, MLB 1834-39, Col. C.J. Baldwin to BMD, 7 April 1837.
[5] See Chapter 4 for discussion of the St. Paul's conflict and the Rev. William J. O'Grady's dispute with the Bishop.

their knee to a priest pensioned by a protestant government." How could the bishop not see that Irish Catholics would object to their clergy dependent on, and supportive of, a government that had thus far failed to address and appeared to support the Orange Order? Catholics were consequently "heartsore" to see their clergy "whom we were accustomed to look up to as friends and protectors, linked with and dependent on such a government."

Col. Baldwin's letter appeared to be confirmation of what Bishop Macdonell had long suspected: Irish Catholics were incompatible with the political side of his life's work, the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada; yet the reality was far more complicated. In the politically turbulent 1830s, Upper Canadian Irish Catholics as individuals and as a perceived unified community straddled the political spectrum between Reformer and Tory. As Roman Catholics it was assumed they supported "officialdom" and deferred in matters political to their bishop; as Irish their support for the British connection was a continual question mark, and their devotion to Daniel O'Connell entirely assumed. For both sides of the colony's political divide, Upper Canadian Irish Catholics were a potentially lucrative base of support. This chapter considers the political activities and opinions of Irish Catholics in the turbulent 1830s. The focus on two events, the 1832 pro-government initiative and York riot and the 1836 "loyalty" election to illustrate the extent to which Irish Catholics charted their own course when it came to politics.

This chapter also connects to the first chapter of this dissertation in which the political implications of the influx of Irish Catholics into Upper Canada in the 1820s were considered. By the 1830s, while immigration from Ireland continued, Upper Canadian Irish Catholics were sufficiently settled to offer their political opinions publicly, and to be thinking, active, political participants in the emerging colonial popular political culture. Yet interpretations of their

political participation continued to be seen through the lens of Ireland. The legacy of Irish politics and violence influenced the ways in which Upper Canadians interpreted Irish Catholic political activism in this period, especially when that activism turned violent. For the Irish, the Reform press in particular facilitated a transatlantic political connection between Ireland and Upper Canada. As Mary Haslam has suggested for Lower Canada, it is clear that "discourses on Ireland and the Irish had a direct impact on the questioning of colonial structures" in Upper Canada as well.[6] The history of sectarianism in Ireland, as well as the politics of contemporary Ireland, particularly with regard to religion, and the status of the Roman Catholic Church within the British Empire, were invoked to draw clear parallels to the Upper Canadian context. Yet it is clear Irish Catholic political activism in Upper Canada was not on behalf of Ireland, but rather centered on Upper Canada. For Irish Catholics in Upper Canada, Ireland was a reference point, or a cautionary tale, through which they negotiated their place in their new home.

Criticism of his political activities was nothing new for Bishop Macdonell. His dispute with the Rev. William O'Grady, his appointment to the legislative council in 1830 with Archdeacon Strachan, and his very public involvement in politics in the 1830s only increased the bishop's notoriety as a "symbolic High Tory."[7] He failed to appreciate the criticism leveled at him and Strachan by radical reformers who railed against "political priests."[8] For Bishop Macdonell, only those who opposed the status quo engaged in politics; support for the government was never "politics."[9] Instead, Macdonell behaved as any loyal subject should, by

[6] Mary Haslam, "Ireland and Quebec 1822-1839: Rapprochement and Ambiguity," *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, vol. 33, no. 1, (Spring 2007): 75.
[7] Rea, *Bishop Alexander Macdonell*, 143, 159, 173.
[8] The reform-dominated House of Assembly demanded that Macdonell and Strachan resign in February 1836 arguing that the men were "neglecting their high and spiritual functions and care of souls…devoting their time and talents to political strife and secular measures…" Rea, *Bishop Alexander Macdonell*, 166-7.
[9] *Ibid*., 169.

buttressing the established order. He saw his appointment to the legislative council as a mark of honour conferred on him for service and loyalty. Similarly, he refused to entertain criticism that his politics were incompatible with his spiritual role. While he conceded that "property and politics were not the best foundation and auxiliaries of religion," the infant position of the Church in Upper Canada did not afford Macdonell the luxury of such principles: "a man without a command of some means or of some influence cannot promote the cause of religion in this country except he be gifted with the power of working miracles."[10]

In 1837 Col. Baldwin informed Bishop Macdonell that his blatant attempts at influencing the politics of the Irish Catholics of his diocese had failed. It is hardly surprising given the arguments put forth in the previous chapters of this dissertation, that Bishop Macdonell's influence over political thought of Upper Canadian Catholics was limited. Though he frequently asserted the power of Catholicism to make Irish Catholics orderly and loyal, Macdonell's influence was curtailed by physical, ethnic, and cultural differences. Nevertheless as the leader of the Upper Canadian Roman Catholic Church, it was assumed by his contemporaries that he had significant influence over the Catholic segment of the province's population.[11] Lieutenant Governor John Colborne seemed convinced when he appointed Macdonell to the legislative council in 1830 with the misguided expectation that his appointment would be well received by Upper Canadian Catholics.[12] As will be discussed in this chapter, a belief in Macdonell's ability to deliver the Catholic vote induced Ogle Gowan and the Orange Order to solicit the bishop's favour throughout the 1830s and particularly during the 1836 election. The contemporary press made similar assumptions, depicting any political

[10] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W. Fraser, 10 July 1832.
[11] See Chapter 1 for further discussion of Bishop Macdonell's Roman Catholic loyalty narrative.
[12] Rea, *Bishop Alexander Macdonell,* 163.

behaviour on the part of the Irish Catholics as attributed to their loyalty or obedience to their bishop rather than their own politics.

In the aftermath of the 1832 York riot the *Upper Canada Herald* praised the Irish Catholics for their continued support of their "worthy and amiable" bishop[13]. In contrast, the *Colonial Advocate* explained the anti-reform activities of Irish Catholics as evidence of their submission to the "power of the priesthood."[14] Similarly, in 1834 a *Canadian Correspondent* editorial on the Conservative victory in Northumberland County suggested Irish Catholic settlers in that region had ignored their reform principles out of a sense of misguided "deep obligation" to the candidate, Alexander Macdonell Esq., and his clansman the Roman Catholic bishop.[15] While some historians have made similar assumptions about the degree to which bishop Macdonell influenced Irish Catholic politics,[16] others such as Murray W. Nicolson disagree. Nicolson's work on the Irish Catholic community of Toronto argued that the bishop's influence over his Irish flock was neither complete, nor extensive. Instead the Irish Catholics of Toronto were alienated from their bishop whose politics bore little relation to their own.[17] Paul Romney's analysis of the Toronto poll books for the 1836 provincial election supports this view. Romney finds that the bishop's public support for Conservative candidates failed to sway the

[13] *Upper Canada Herald*, 4 April 1832.
[14] *Colonial Advocate* 28 March 1832.
[15] *The Canadian Correspondent*, "Northumberland Election," 18 October 1834.
[16] The limited historiography of this partnership is focused on the role of the Ogle Gowan and the Orange Order with the Bishop and his Roman Catholics relegated to supporting players. The source of these assumptions is the oft-cited article by William Kerr on the alliance. Kerr argues, with little evidence, that Bishop Macdonell was responsible for making the Irish loyal and exercised considerable sway over their politics and voting behaviour. William Kerr, "When Orange and Green United, 1832-1839: the alliance of Macdonell and Gowan," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, vol. 34 (1942) 34-42; Senior, *Orangeism;* Senior, "Ogle Gowan, Orangeism and the Immigrant Question," 193-210.
[17] Nicolson, "Ecclesiastical Metropolitanism," 129-56; "William O'Grady and the Catholic Church in Toronto," 23–40.

Irish Catholic voters of Toronto. The bishop's "impotence" with Toronto's Catholic voters was "striking" Romney argues.[18]

The clergy, particularly the Irish, was another potential source of political leadership for Roman Catholics in 1830s Upper Canada. Chapter 2 discussed the place of the Irish clergy in the diocese and its parishes and touched on the lack of evidence to support the notion that these men had imported radical politics from Ireland. In Chapter 1, the discussion of the Friends of Ireland highlighted the role of the Rev. Patrick Haran in the progress of that society in Bytown, but the short-lived nature not only of the Emancipation movement in Upper Canada, and of the priest's career, make it difficult to accord him any more than minimal significance to local community. In his letter, Col. Baldwin implied that the clergy had publicly supported the Conservatives in the 1836 election at Macdonell's behest, a fact which he believed all Catholics regardless of their political stripes resented.

It is clear some priests attempted to guide the political views of their laymen and with mixed results. The French-Canadian priests at Malden and Sandwich were accused of meddling in the 1830 election in their constituency and found condemnation and support from the laymen in equal measure.[19] During the 1836 election, the Scottish the Rev. John MacDonald parish priest of Perth was accused by a parishioner of threatening to exclude laymen from Church rites if they did not vote for the Reform candidate. Calling the priest a "rank radical," Bishop Macdonell threatened to cut off funding for the parish, should the MacDonald not show himself

[18] Paul Romney, "On the eve of the Rebellion: Nationality, Religion and Class in the Toronto Election of 1836," in *Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J.M.S. Careless*, ed. D. Keane and Colin Read, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990) 213

[19] ARCAT, M AB03.01, F. Baby to Rev. W. J. O'Grady, 29 October 1830; AB20.14, Rev. L.J. Fluet to BMD, 13 January 1831; AC02.05, Petition of parishioners of Amherstburg, 26 February 1831; AB21.10, Opposition petition of parishioners of Amherstburg, 26 February 1831; AB09.10, Rev. Crevier to BMD, 5 May 1831; AC23.14, Petition of freeholders of western district, no date.

a "good loyal subject."[20] At least one other priest resented the bishop's interference in the political lives of the clergy. Though he claimed no fondness for politics, the Rev. William P. McDonagh refused to submit to the bishop's political influence: "I submit with all humility to your spiritual jurisdiction," he wrote in April 1837, but "I claim for myself as well as your Lordship a full and perfect right to form my own opinion on politics and deny the authority of any man to impose upon me his own."[21] The extent to which Catholics, Irish or otherwise, in this period took political guidance from their priest is inconclusive. Bishop Macdonell certainly hoped his clergy would steer the diocese's laity toward conservative candidates, but the priest with the most potential to exercise influence was unlikely to do so.

The small scope of the franchise amongst Irish Catholics, the absence of visible leadership at a local or provincial level, and the limited Irish Catholic press, make it difficult to measure or assess the nature of the Irish Catholic 'vote' in this period. The nature of politics in Upper Canada in the 1830s also complicates the picture. Before 1836, politics were local in orientation with provincial concerns or party allegiances largely absent from electoral contests. One's vote was cast for an individual on the basis of local concerns rather than for a particular party or on the strength of a provincial issue. The Upper Canadian electorate was widely dispersed, poorly informed, and indecisive with contests swinging like a pendulum between Reform and Conservative with each subsequent election.[22] Party allegiances were not yet entrenched, and politics were fluid, as the 1832 election in Lanark highlights. That year, Orangemen supported the Scottish Presbyterian Reformer and Roman Catholics voted for the Conservative Orangeman.[23] Unlike Lower Canada, religion and ethnicity were not significant

[20] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. J. MacDonald, 8 November 1836.
[21] ARCAT, M AB31.05, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 20 April 1837.
[22] Craig, *Upper Canada*, 196.
[23] Reid, *Upper Ottawa Valley*, quoting from Journals of William Bell, cix.

factors in provincial politics in Upper Canada. No political party could claim the allegiances of Catholics over Protestants, and nor were the issues of the day framed in reference to ethnic terms. Consequently, the few analyses of voting behaviour in the colonial period focus on class or political allegiances and pay little attention to the role ethnicity or religion played in the politics;[24] yet as we shall see in the anti-grievance movement of 1832, and in the 'loyalty election' of 1836, Irish Catholic political activism was apparent.

While no concrete numbers exist for how many Irish Catholics held the franchise in the 1830s, their overrepresentation in unskilled labouring positions in urban areas, and their recent arrival status in agricultural regions meant many failed to meet the property requirements for voting.[25] The assisted emigrants who settled the Bathurst district in 1823 provide an example of the progress and barriers experienced by new settlers, albeit considerably privileged settlers, in securing title to their land. Though each household had constructed a dwelling house and cleared an average of eight acres after only two years of settlement, most did not receive the patent title to their land until 1834.[26] While settlers may have found it relatively easy to fulfill the required settlement duties within the first years of settlement, finding the cash to pay the various patent and legal fees associated with acquiring title was difficult in a predominantly

[24] Sean T. Cadigan's examination of the 1836 election implies that class trumped religion or ethnicity when it came to guiding the political behaviour and allegiances of the "lower orders." See, "Paternalism and Politics: Sir Francis Bond Head and the Orange Order, and the Election of 1836," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. LXXII no. 3 (1991) 319-347; In his study of elections in Kingston during this period, S.F. Wise finds no discernable Irish Catholic or other ethnic group voting bloc. See "Tory Factionalism: Kingston elections and Upper Canada politics, 1820-36," *Ontario History*, vol. 57 (1965) 205-25.

[25] Requirements were such that only adult males who were British subjects and owned property worth £5 or paid £10 or more in property annually could vote.

[26] AO, RG 1-C-1-3 vol 160, Irish Immigrants 1823-1825 item #9, MS 693, reel 156, "Return of a portion of the Irish Immigrants located in the Bathurst District in 1823 and 1825 by Peter Robinson Esq and who are now entitled to their deeds the lots having been inspected by Francis K. Jessop in 1834" and "Return of Emigrants from the South of Ireland Located by the Hon. P. Robinson in 1823 who will become entitled to their patent deeds for their respective locations."

barter economy.[27] Yet as Carol Wilton has argued, the extent of the franchise in this period was made largely irrelevant by the rise of popular political culture.[28] The franchise in this period was "wide" and it would seem sufficiently inclusive for, as W.L. Morton points out, electoral reform specifically related to the franchise was never part of the reform platform in this period.[29] Instead the emerging political culture encouraged the participation, whether in petitions, processions, or riot, of a broad section of the population.

The extent to which the Rev. William J. O'Grady drew his countrymen to the reform movement, whether through his activism within reform initiatives such as the Constitutional Reform Society or the Toronto Political Union, or through his newspapers, is difficult to discern.[30] Influenced by Macdonell's campaign to denigrate O'Grady's time as priest, historians have read his political activism backwards assuming that O'Grady was a reformer from the

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[27] David Wood suggests the average man working full-time could clear approximately 1 to 1.5 acres of land a year, *Making Ontario: agricultural colonization and landscape re-creation before the railway*, (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000) 85. The settlement duties and patent fees required to acquire title to land were controversial and revised three times between 1829 and 1832. Essentially government struggled to find ideal balance between duties that were achievable by genuine settlers but onerous enough to discourage speculators and absenteeism. See: Lillian Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, 129-132; Colin Read, "Land Records of Old Ontario," *Histoire Sociale/Social History,* 30 (1997) 131.

[28] Carol Wilton, *Popular Politics and Political Culture in Upper Canada, 1800-1850* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000).

[29] W.L. Morton, "The Extension of the Franchise in Canada: A Study in Democratic Nationalism," *Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association* 22 no. 1 (1943): 72-81.

[30] Rea argues that O'Grady was a serious threat to Bishop Macdonell's ability to assimilate Irish Catholics into Upper Canadian society. O'Grady, he writes, was "someone who could mislead the Irish into dangerous paths… His star-crossed career in Upper Canada [shook] the Bishop's influence over his flock, and involve[d] [Macdonell] more deeply in the politics of the province." See, *Bishop Macdonell,* 92. Curtis Fahey, "O'Grady," argues that determining why (not if) O'Grady, and presumably his newspapers, had influence with the Catholics of the province "is not an easy task." He suggests that in York, at least, the Irish Catholic community was receptive to O'Grady's politics for it was "united by its history, poverty, and lack of political power, was doggedly ethnocentric and, in keeping with its traditions, reformist in politics." Presumably referring to his post-clerical life, Fahey argues that O'Grady was a "brilliant demagogue," who tapped into Macdonell's unpopularity with the Irish of York and used it "to his own purposes." Nicholson in "William O'Grady and the Catholic Church," 23 argues, that as pastor of Toronto, O'Grady had a significant influence on the "reform-minded" lower and middle class Irish of York who were "repulsed by Macdonell's loyalty to Britain and the Family Compact" and were "frustrated by their exclusion from social and political power in York."

start, and consequently influenced his parishioners while parish priest in Toronto.[31] This assumption is difficult to substantiate. Bishop Macdonell was certainly convinced of O'Grady the editor's influence over the province's Catholics. In a public letter to Sir Francis Bond Head in 1836, Macdonell complained of the "mischievous endeavours" of O'Grady "to alienate the minds" of the Irish Catholics of the colony with "his revolutionary and rebellious harangues and writings."[32] Yet when it came to disassociating himself from O'Grady in the fall of 1832, Macdonell chose to expose allegations of immoral conduct rather than point to inappropriate political leanings.[33] It was only later when O'Grady was fully enmeshed in the reform movement that Macdonell chose to suggest publicly that the priest had always been a radical.[34] It is unlikely that as parish priest in York, O'Grady would have been able to, nor attempted to, ingratiate himself successfully with the Lieutenant Governor and other government elite had he been active in radical politics.[35] While O'Grady's recorded non-vote in the 1830 provincial election may have been a sign of prudence rather than political leanings, it is notable that the

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[31] Edith Firth, *The Town of York, 1793-1815: a collection of documents of early Toronto* (Toronto: Champlain Society for the Government of Ontario, 1962) lix suggests O'Grady was involved in politics from his arrival in Toronto and was "the kind of man who made enemies easily…" Rea, *Bishop Macdonell*, 100-101 is more conservative. He suggests that O'Grady's desire to participate in a Reform initiative to have prayers said in the House of Assembly was evidence of reform-leanings and suggests that the priest may have had "early" contact with Mackenzie and other reformers though he offers no evidence in support. Nicolson "William O'Grady," echoes Rea's suggestion that O'Grady was meeting with reform politicians as early as spring 1829, 26.

[32] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to J. Joseph, 7 March 1836.

[33] Rea, *Bishop Macdonell*, 103-104. Rea suggests that Macdonell was mortified to have his dispute with O'Grady made public and even more so by the dispute to take on "political overtones." The Bishop was apparently conscious of speculation about the problematic politics of York's Catholics in the aftermath of the York riots the previous spring, and feared calling further attention to his inability to command the political allegiances of his flock.

[34] When O'Grady took charge of the reform *The Canadian Correspondent* Macdonell reported the news implying that O'Grady's involvement with reform was a new development: AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Bishop of Telmesse, 10 March 1834, BMD to Rev. P. McMahon, 11 March 1834. In MLB 1834-39, BMD to Weld, 22 December 1834, Macdonell noted that O'Grady was living with his sister-in-law, "who was the principal cause of his suspension."

[35] AAK, MLB 1820-29, BMD to Rev. W.J. O'Grady, 26 October 1829; ARCAT, M AB44.12, Rev. W.J. O'Grady to BMD, 16 November 1829, AB45.05, Rev. W.J. O'Grady to BMD, 29 November 1830.

priest's active participation in the pro-government movements of the spring of 1832 drew derisive criticism from Mackenzie and the *Colonial Advocate*.[36] O'Grady began to edit *The Canadian Correspondent* in the fall of 1832 when it was clear his relationship with Macdonell was no longer salvageable.[37] Whether he had always harboured reform tendencies or was spurred to that camp by his dispute with the Tory bishop, by the mid-1830s, William O'Grady was the most visible Irish Catholic reformer and his newspaper was an influential Reform broadsheet.

In the absence of decisive leadership in Toronto and in the province, historians have cited Irish Catholic newspaper editors Francis Collins, (*Canadian Freeman* 1825-1833),[38] William J. O'Grady (*The Canadian Correspondent,* 1832-4 and *The Correspondent and Advocate,* 1834-37)[39] and Charles Dunlevy (*Mirror,* 1837-65)[40] as the de-facto leaders of Upper Canadian Irish Catholics.[41] By virtue of their ethno-religious identity, and occasionally because of the content of their newspapers, these men were assumed to represent the province's

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[36] The voting list for 1830 reproduced in Firth, 126. Referring to O'Grady's time in Brazil, the *Colonial Advocate* of 8 March 1832 called him "Rev. Dom Pedro" and accused the priest and his brother of supporting the government out of self-interest. They had profited off the backs of the poor by receiving excessive gifts of repossessed land from the Lieutenant Governor. The 15 March 1832 edition suggested O'Grady was following "too closely in the footsteps of his spiritual guide," when it accused the priest of lying from the altar when he denied having received gifts from the government or being involved with politics.

[37] Upon hearing of his former protégé's change in career, Macdonell was dismissive and predicted O'Grady's downfall; his enemies could not have found a "more effectual method of ruining him than that, which he has adopted himself." AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Walter McCunniffe, 25 March 1833.

[38] H. P. Gundy, "Collins, Francis," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/collins_francis_6E.html.

[39] Fahey, "O'Grady."

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Joseph Lepine, "The Irish Press in Upper Canada and the Reform Movement: 1828-1848," (Master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1946); Franklin Walker, "The Political Opinion of Upper Canadian Catholics," Canadian Catholic Historical Association *Report,* 22 (1955) 75-86; Walker, *Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada*, (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd. 1955); Curtis Fahey, "Irish Catholics and the Political Culture of Upper Canada: The Case of Toronto Mirror, 1837-1865," in *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*, eds. R. O'Driscoll and L. Reynolds, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988) 811-827.

Irish Catholics. Drawing primarily on the *Mirror*, historians have concluded that Upper Canadian Irish Catholics were liberal democrats who advocated moderate reform without force or separation from Britain.[42] Upper Canadian Irish Catholics, they argue, looked to Daniel O'Connell for political guidance, as they had evidently transplanted his politics to Upper Canada with little change or refinement for the new context.[43] In his work on the Irish Catholic community of Toronto, Murray Nicolson presents an alternative view. He blames the absence of a unified Irish Catholic press, and no "common political philosophy," for the lack of unity within the Irish Catholic population, at least in Toronto. Implying that politics and religion could not be separated in this period, Nicolson singles out the *Canadian Freeman* in particular for "shifting political views" that divided the Irish population between those who were loyal to the Tory bishop, and the "reform-minded Irish who demanded constitutional change."[44] Such confusion points to a more complicated reality in which neither side of this historiographical debate can be called correct.

That Irish Catholic editors dominated the Toronto-based Reform press in the 1830s is remarkable, but by conflating the ethno-religious identity of the editor with that of his newspaper, historians have incorrectly presumed the existence of a definitive Irish Catholic

[42] Walker "The Political Opinion"; Fahey "Irish Catholics and the Political culture."
[43] Walker, "The Political Opinion," 84; Walker, *Catholic Education and Politics*, 34. The assertion that Daniel O'Connell was a significant figure in the political lives of Upper Canadian Irish Catholics deserves further interrogation. Walker argued that the province's Irish Catholics had learned their politics at O'Connell's feet; yet there is much to suggest that O'Connell's influence was not so explicit. The O'Connellite society the Friends of Ireland failed to make significant inroads in Upper Canada though it was popular in Lower Canada and the United States. Though Bishop Macdonell used the spectre of the transplantation of O'Connell's political influence over the province's Catholics to solicit additional funding from the Colonial Office in 1824, in later years he betrayed no concern with the degree to which the latter's politics had penetrated the province or influenced Irish Catholics there. It is perhaps more likely that O'Connell's influence was felt in the abstract political ideology of individuals rather than in concretely in the community as a whole.
[44] Murray Nicolson, "The Catholic Church and the Irish in Victorian Toronto," (PhD thesis, University of Guelph, 1980) 31. Nicolson is not wrong; the *Canadian Freeman* was unequivocal in its loyalty to Bishop Macdonell and its advocacy for reform of government. But his criticism implies that two sentiments (loyalty to Church, and desire for reform of government) could not coexist.

press and more importantly of a cohesive Irish Catholic political viewpoint. Leaving aside problems with determining circulation, readership and influence, the reality is that of those newspapers listed above, the *Mirror* was the first and only one to self-identify as an Irish Catholic newspaper.[45] Relying on the *Mirror* to determine Irish Catholic political thought in the turbulent 1830s is problematic. Dunlevy's paper was not established until late 1837 and consequently it must be read primarily as a product of the post-rebellion period, rather than representative of reform thought, Irish Catholic or otherwise, of the pre-rebellion 1830s. Even its initial issues in the days and weeks before the rebellion were already advocating a moderated reform response to the increasingly radical politics of the day.[46]

Regrettably neither the *Canadian Freeman* nor either iteration of *The Correspondent* has received significant academic attention.[47] It is not out of the realm of possibility that a sizeable portion of their circulation was drawn from the province's Irish Catholics, though the extent of their readership is impossible to determine.[48] Joseph Lepine estimates that by 1834, the *Correspondent* had 1,400 subscribers and distribution agents throughout British North America and the northern United States.[49] Circulation numbers while unreliable in their own right, tell only part of the story. It is likely a copy of a newspaper might be passed between multiple readers, and read aloud to countless more listeners. The longevity of these newspapers must be compared to the failure of Bishop Macdonell's foray into the newspaper business with *The Catholic.* Edited by the Very Rev. William P. MacDonald, *The Catholic* had two short-

[45] Lepine, 16. Notes that *Mirror* first self-identified as Irish and Catholic as late as 1847.
[46] Fahey "Irish Catholics and the Political culture."
[47] Rev. Brother Alfred, F.S.C., LL.D., "Francis Collins: First Catholic Journalist in Upper Canada," Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Report* 6 (1938-39) 51-66; Lepine, "The Irish Press;" Fahey, "O'Grady;" Gundy, "Collins."
[48] Lepine, 7 notes that the *Freeman* claimed 300-400 subscribers in 1827. He assumes the majority of its readers were the York Irish.
[49] The newspaper business was lucrative for O'Grady. He retired comfortably in 1837 with a reported nest egg of £3000. Lepine, 13-14.

lived iterations in 1830 and 1839. The repeated failures of *The Catholic* suggests the laity had no appetite for a strictly religious newspaper, nor one run by the Church and consequently spent their newspaper budget elsewhere.[50] In comparison, the relative success of Irish-run reform newspapers, and their discussion of issues of relevance to Irish Catholics at home and abroad, implies they attracted a considerable portion of the Irish Catholic reading public.

Neither the *Freeman* nor the two iterations of the *Correspondent* explicitly self-identified as "Irish Catholic."[51] Though Irish Catholic merchants regularly advertised in these newspapers, advertisers and agents were not exclusively Irish or Catholic. The content was varied and like most British North American newspapers of this period, Irish and otherwise, both newspapers carried news of Ireland as well as accounts of Daniel O'Connell. It is clear that both O'Grady and Collins were concerned first and foremost with Upper Canadian politics and those references to the Irish context and to O'Connell's activities were used primarily for their relevance to the Upper Canadian political climate. When it came to discussing the participation of Irish Catholics in Upper Canadian politics, O'Grady and Collins often made direct reference to their own ethno-religious identities and consequently shed some light on the Irish and Catholic political perspective and why the reform movement might have appealed to an Upper Canadian Irish Catholic reader.

For much of its eight year run, Francis Collins' *Canadian Freeman* promoted moderate reform, freedom of the press, and was unflinching in its criticism of the Tory elite, as well as

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[50] Gill, "The Sword in the Bishop's Hand," 447-448. Gill suggests *The Catholic* failed to command a sufficient readership beyond the clergy. Murray Nicolson, "The Catholic Church and the Irish in Victorian Toronto," argues that the problem lay in content; *The Catholic* was "Tory in politics and lacking in Irish content," (31).

[51] Historians have characterized Collins as an ardent O'Connellite, but if true, that did not translate onto the pages of the *Freeman*. Senior, "Ogle Gowan," calls Collins an "O'Connell journalist." Certainly, Lower Canadian Irish Emancipationists considered the *Canadian Freeman* insufficiently Irish and unsympathetic to O'Connell when they established the *Vindicator* in Montreal in 1828.

'republicans' Egerton Ryerson and William L. Mackenzie. In a prolonged and complicated court case, that exposed the hypocrisy surrounding the investigation and prosecution of the 1826 Types riot and in the justice system more generally, Collins was convicted of libel against John Beverley Robinson and sentenced to prison in 1828;[52] yet despite their shared occupation and distrust for the colonial elite, Collins had little affection for William L. Mackenzie and his anti-Catholic sentiments.[53] Mackenzie, Collins argued, "vow[ed] discord and stir[red] up religious prejudice in every corner of the colony, for selfish ends."[54] Collins was unremitting in his condemnation of hypocrisy and sectarianism, and was disdainful of Irishmen who perpetuated divisions, arguing that their "common country" and goals for settlement in Upper Canada should be unifying. Reporting on the St. Patrick's Day dinner of 1831, Collins noted that the York Irishmen who encircled the dinner invitations with "Orange and Green," had been "either afraid or ashamed" to toast Daniel O'Connell who alone "possessed the head to unite the colours."[55] Collins was eternally optimistic that the Orange Order, which was a stain on the reputation of all Irishmen, would eventually fade away.[56] Orange processions in particular were counter to the goals of Irishmen in coming to Upper Canada. They gave offence, created divisions, and revived the "memory of old religious animosities, which all know ought to be

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[52] Paul Romney, "From the Types Riot to the Rebellion: Elite Ideology, Anti-legal Sentiment, Political Violence and the Rule of Law in Upper Canada," *Ontario History*, LXXIX (1987) 113-144; Gundy, "Collins, Francis."

[53] Gundy, "Collins, Francis;" For example of criticism during grievances and expulsion crisis see, *Canadian Freeman*, 9 February 1832, 1 March 1832, 8 March 1832, "Mayor's Court," 17 July 1834.

[54] *Canadian Freeman*, 7 August 1828.

[55] *Canadian Freeman*, "St. Patrick's Day," 24 March 1831. Collins was amused that the "patriotic gentlemen" had had the "liberality" to have the dinner cards printed, not by one of the two Irish printers in York, but by a Scotchman.

[56] In 1828, the *Freeman* prematurely reported on the end of Orange processions, which besides being "useless" had been to the "mutual injury to both parties — the disgrace of Christianity — the disgrace of their common country." Instead, Collins reported Orangemen and Catholics could now "sit down together, in brotherly love, recognising each other by no distinction but that of friends and fellow country." *Canadian Freeman*, 7 August 1828.

forever to be buried in oblivion."[57] Collins was an active and prominent Catholic in York, which was often revealed in the pages of his newspaper. He spoke publicly on behalf of the town's Catholic population, defending their conduct, and arguing for their rights as British subjects.[58] His paper included news of the Roman Catholic parish of York and further afield as well as other "Catholic" content that betrayed his religious allegiance.[59] The *Freeman* was a frequent defender of Bishop Macdonell, particularly against the accusations of William L. Mackenzie and the Rev. William J. O'Grady, but it was by no means a mouthpiece for the Roman Catholic Church: "the Freeman has nothing to do with priest or bishop in the editorial management of his paper," Collins wrote in October 1831.[60]

Bridging the period between the termination of the *Canadian Freeman* with the death of Francis Collins in 1833 and the establishment of the *Mirror* in 1837, O'Grady's *Correspondent,* once it had merged with the *Colonial Advocate* in 1834, was the sole Toronto-based reform newspaper during the three politically turbulent years before the rebellion. Curtis Fahey has called O'Grady's editorial tone "feisty and passionately radical."[61] The former priest had a sophisticated political philosophy that drew from a "bubbling cauldron of liberal ideas" which distinguished him from his former Bishop and from his fellow reformers and gave O'Grady's

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[57] *Canadian Freeman*, 17 July 1834.
[58] *Canadian Freeman*, 1 March 1832.The *Freeman* ran an account of a meeting of the British Constitutional Society following the York riots of March 1832, in which Collins's speech defending the conduct of his "countrymen" at that event and later speaking as a Catholic while defending Lower Canada was reprinted. *Canadian Freeman*, 6 April 1832.
[59] *Canadian Freeman*, "Dan'l O'Connell Jnr" 22 March 1832, and all of the coverage of the O'Grady conflict in 1832-1833; *Colonial Advocate*, 28 March 1832 called the *Canadian Freeman* the "catholic newspaper."
[60] For examples of support for Macdonell see: *Canadian Freeman*, "Arthur O'Spallagawn," 7 June 1832, 7 February 1833, 18 April 1833, 2 May 1833. Collins was not blindly loyal to Macdonell and later publically criticized Macdonell's favourite John Elmsley's tenure as lay vicar/treasurer. ARCAT, AB29.02, Rev. W. P. McDonagh to BMD, 21 May 1834; AAK, 1829-34 letter book, BMD to Dr. J. King, 24 June 1834. For quote: Lepine, 8.
[61] Fahey, "O'Grady," *DCB*; Lepine, 10 suggests O'Grady's editorials went from "neutrality to political partisanship of reform" by mid-1833.

politics a "cutting, revolutionary edge."[62] The *Correspondent* stood for radical reform. It argued that the "people alone are the true source of legitimate power" and that loyalty to the government could only be secured once the rights of the people were secure.[63] Not surprisingly, Bishop Macdonell thought the *Correspondent* nothing but a "vile democratic newspaper," the "vehicle of the most scurrilous abuse and detraction."[64]

The *Correspondent* often addressed an Irish Catholic audience and drew on content featuring Daniel O'Connell that was clearly designed to connect the concerns of Irish Catholics with the platform of the Upper Canadian reform movement. In the pages of the *Correspondent*, Irish Catholics saw the colonial government's funding of their clergy connected to the movement against state-sponsored pensions for the Catholic clergy in Ireland;[65] the alarmingly rapid rise of the Upper Canadian Orange Order linked to disturbing accounts of Orange violence in Ireland;[66] and a general support for Daniel O'Connell's agitation for Catholic rights throughout the British Empire.[67] William O'Grady's bitter dispute with Bishop Macdonell carried over into the newspaper and revealed itself in passively sarcastic jabs at the prelate's friends, activities, and politics.[68] O'Grady's *Correspondent* assumed a certain level of equal frustration with the bishop on the part of its readers. Reporting on the impending elevation of the Rev. Remi Gaulin to the bishopric and his appointment as coadjutor to Macdonell, the

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[62] Fahey, "O'Grady."
[63] *The Canadian Correspondent*, 16 August 1834.
[64] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. P. McMahon, 11 March 1834; BMD to Sir J. Colborne, 10 December 1833.
[65] *The Canadian Correspondent*, "Catholic Rights in Canada," 23 November 1833, "Church and State," 22 February 1834, 19 April 1834, 26 April 1834, "Tithes in Ireland" and "Church and State debates in Upper Canada," 28 June 1834, 12 July 1834, 19 July 1834; *The Correspondent and Advocate*, "Abolition of Tithes," 20 November 1834, 19 February 1835, 22 June 1836, 19 April 1837.
[66] *The Canadian Correspondent*, 17 May 1834.
[67] *The Canadian Correspondent*, 8 February 1834, 19 April 1834, 4 October 1834; *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 19 April 1837.
[68] *The Canadian Correspondent*, 28 September 1833, 23 November 1833, 19 April 1834, 21 June 1834; *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 6 July 1836.

Canadian Correspondent noted that Gaulin's expected residence in Toronto would "give general satisfaction to the Roman Catholic people of York who have been hitherto a prey to the malice of a few unprincipled individuals."[69]

In the absence of rigorous studies on either editor or the reform press in this period, it is difficult to discern the extent to which Francis Collins and William O'Grady allowed their ethno-religious identities to influence the political content of their newspapers. Similarly it is difficult to determine the extent of their influence over their Irish Catholic readers. Nevertheless, the pages of the *Canadian Freeman* and *The Canadian Correspondent* and *The Correspondent and Advocate* contain extensive accounts and analysis of two significant events to the political activism of Bishop Macdonell and the province's Irish Catholics. In addition to the *Colonial Advocate* edited by William Lyon Mackenize which made a concerted effort to connect with the Irish Catholic reader in 1832, Collins's and O'Grady's newspapers form a significant evidence base in the discussions that follow of the 1832 pro-government movement in York and the 1836 election and its aftermath.

The events of the spring of 1832 reveal the complicated nature of Upper Canadian politics and the Irish Catholic engagement with those politics. The anti-reform petitions and subsequent York riot established Roman Catholics, Irish in particular, as politically active, and demonstrated their potential value as supporters, particularly to Reform. The mobilization of Roman Catholics to object to and counter William Lyon Mackenzie's popular grievances demonstrations in the spring of 1832, was Bishop Alexander Macdonell's first real foray into public politics and was one of which he was particularly proud. Carol Wilton credits Macdonell with initiating pro-government popular politics in 1832.[70] Set in the context of the increasingly

[69] *The Canadian Correspondent*, 12 October 1833.
[70] Wilton, *Popular Politics*, 118.

public and popular character of Upper Canadian politics, the events of the spring of 1832 marked the first explicit and visible instance of political participation on the part of Roman Catholics as a body. It also marked Roman Catholic participation in, and endorsement of popular violence that was emerging as a Conservative tactic, spearheaded by the Orange Order, to limit Reform's public visibility.[71] This activism suggests a vehement opposition to Mackenzie's politics and methods and a concerted attempt to publicly declare and demonstrate Roman Catholic loyalty to the government, but accounts in the colonial press indicate Catholics, Irish in particular, were not as united behind the colonial government as their bishop hoped. Instead, a moderate reform faction, led by the *Canadian Freeman* editor Francis Collins was attempting to carefully convey a desire for change within the context of loyalty to government and opposition to Mackenzie. Such was the extent of the dissension within Roman Catholic ranks conveyed in the *Canadian Freeman*, and yet, as the *Colonial Advocate* was quick to note, a discontented and perhaps more radical faction also existed within the Irish Catholic and pro-government faction.

The coverage of the turbulence of the spring of 1832 in the pages of these newspapers reveals a battle waged for the political allegiance of the town's Irish Catholic population. For the *Colonial Advocate* and the *Canadian Freeman* the political events of the 1832 became less about the actual political crisis, Mackenzie's expulsion and his grievances petition, and instead introduced public discontent with Macdonell's leadership, his political activities, and finally, the implications of the state-sponsorship of Roman Catholic clergy. The violence on the 23rd of March highlighted the political participation of Irish Catholics and led to a discussion of the validity of that participation.

[71] *Kingston Chronicle*, 31 March 1832 for account of reform meeting disrupted by violent Conservatives.

In a series of meetings and addresses, Bishop Macdonell and leading York Roman Catholics promoted an anti-reform platform that asserted support for Lieutenant Governor John Colborne and condemned the increasingly popular political agitation of Mackenzie and the reform movement.[72] Resolutions drafted and adopted over a series of meetings and then presented to the Lieutenant Governor expressed gratitude for the blessings of civil and religious liberty and affection for the King, and avowed support for the "paternal care" with which Colborne was guiding the province. The fourth resolution noted that the colonial government was not free of imperfection, but that the petitioners were grateful to live in freedom, and therefore they did not seek any changes to the colonial constitution. The final resolution argued that Mackenzie's grievances were meant to check emigration to the colony, an act that would retard the prosperity of the colony.[73] These resolutions preceded and inspired similar declarations of support from communities throughout the province.[74] The process by which the resolutions were adopted and made public was by no means peaceful, with scuffles breaking out at each public meeting held by the Roman Catholics. The political turmoil came to a head on the 23 March 1832 when pro-government supporters rioted during a public reform meeting.

The news in late February 1832 that leading Roman Catholics had met with a view to mobilizing York's Catholic population in support of the Lieutenant Governor and the colonial

[72] On the context for this political turmoil and the rise of popular political consciousness in Upper Canada at this time see Wilton's chapters on the expulsion crisis and the pro-government response: Wilton, 85-143; For the climax of the crisis see: F.H. Armstrong, "The York Riots of March 23, 1832," *Ontario History* 55, no. 2 (June 1963) 61-72.
[73] *Canadian Freeman*, 22 March 1832.
[74] This movement also led to the formation of the British Constitutional Society. Wilton, 118; *Upper Canada Herald*, 28 March 1832 for declarations of loyalty and support of Colborne from Brockville, Perth, Toronto, and Otonobee Township. *Kingston Chronicle*, 24 March 1832 carried a declaration from the Johnstown District and Lennox and Addington Counties.

government provoked controversy in the town's reform press.[75] The *Colonial Advocate* was alarmed by the meetings of the "private caucus" on "secret political business."[76] Predicting that Bishop Macdonell was about to sell the Catholics of the province to his "bosom crony," Lieutenant Governor John Colborne, in gratitude for his yearly pension, the *Advocate* warned that "the curse of Ireland," the persistent and long-standing intermingling of religion and politics in that country was "fast coming upon us." Under Macdonell's hypocritical guidance, Upper Canadian Catholics were to be "set up in party strife against all others" and held up as the "true Simon Pures," the pinnacle of integrity and loyalty.[77] Irish Catholics, the *Advocate* implored, must not allow themselves to be "made tools of government."[78]

Francis Collins, editor of the *Canadian Freeman*, was one of the attendees of that initial private meeting and a signatory to the handbills advertising the larger public meeting. It is not surprising that the *Freeman* treated the Catholic political meetings with far less alarm than did the *Colonial Advocate*. Acknowledging a discomfort with the "interference of religious bodies in political matters," the *Freeman* expressed some trepidation about the implications of a Catholic-only political meeting. But the editor reasoned that the dominance of the Methodists in the radical reform movement and the religious divisions fomented by Mackenzie's appeals to "Protestant Dissenters" necessitated a response along religious lines. "Perhaps it is not amiss," Collins argued, "to let them know that there are other religious bodies in this colony and their

[75] A private meeting at the Rev. William J. O'Grady's home in late February 1832 was a precursor to a larger public meeting. In handbills distributed throughout the city, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the city were invited to make a declaration of support for the Lieutenant Governor expressly counter to the grievances petitions being circulated by William L. Mackenzie and his supporters. *Canadian Freeman,* 1 March 1832; *Colonial Advocate,* 23 February 1832. The notice was signed by J. Baby, A. McDonell, M. McNamara, Edward Barnett, and Francis Collins.
[76] *Colonial Advocate*, 23 February 1832
[77] *Colonial Advocate*, 23 February 1832.
[78] *Colonial Advocate*, 1 March 1832.

superiors in numerical strength too, who differ with them in political sentiment."[79] Seeing in Mackenzie's condemnation of the Catholic meeting an effort to silence Catholics and deny them their right to express political opinions, Collins asked:

> have not the Catholics as good a right to give their opinion on the state of the colony, and to send agents home with petitions and addresses too, as the Ryersonian Methodists? "No, no," says Mackenzie… it would be disgraceful in (sic) the Catholics to express an opinion at all – it "would be setting one sect up in party strife against all others!" Aye, aye, little mountebank, frighten the Catholics with this sort of talk, if you can- but you are mistaken- Catholic meetings will take place from Glengarry to Amherstburgh and without pitting themselves against "all other sects," they will give your faction such a knock on the head as it never before received.[80]

Appealing to Catholics as a body, Francis Collins emphasized religion without ethnic distinction and implied that the initiative was representative of, and critical to, the unity of the Roman Catholic population as a whole. Uncomfortable with the public nature of the bishop's involvement in the political movement, Collins declined to examine the bishop's role in the pro-government initiative and consequently conveyed an almost leaderless unanimity amongst York's Catholics.[81]

Contrary to the *Canadian Freeman*'s narrative of Catholic unity without ethnic distinction, the *Colonial Advocate*, often under the guise of a columnist named "Daniel O'Connell Jnr," interpreted the Roman Catholic meetings and the pro-government impetus behind them as having particular relevance to York's Irish Catholics. In direct appeals to that community, the *Colonial Advocate* drew on the contemporary and historical Irish context to expose class and ethnic divisions with the town's Catholic community, and to predict the dire

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[79] *Canadian Freeman*, 23 February 1832, 1 March 1832.
[80] *Canadian Freeman*, 1 March 1832.
[81] Bishop Macdonell's leadership was assumed by the *Colonial Advocate* but never made explicit in the *Freeman*. Armstrong notes that the pro-government mob at the 23 March riot cheered lustily outside Macdonell's residence suggesting he was a leader of their movement. Only in the aftermath did Macdonell take credit for having "united" the town's Catholics in support of the Lieutenant Governor. AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W. Fraser, 13 July 1832.

consequences that would inevitably flow from the introduction of religion into colonial politics. The *Colonial Advocate* spilled considerable ink condemning Bishop Macdonell's public politics, his ties to the government, and particularly his state pension.[82] All were held up as evidence of the corruption, inequality, and injustice the Irish knew all too well in Ireland. A "thorough-bred party politician," Macdonell was attempting to sell the province's Irish Catholics to an executive faction that was no different than the "ould tories who have persecuted [Irish Catholics] for two hundred years."[83] Support for the bishop and his Tory cronies was support for the "accursed" system of church establishment which, the *Advocate* predicted, would "divide your country into the protestant oppressor and the catholic trodden on." So too would it bolster the political power of Doctor Strachan and his Church, binding the "chain about your children's necks" that Daniel O'Connell had been trying to break for thirty years.[84] Referencing the sectarian conflict endemic in Irish politics to raise the spectre of similar sectarian violence wrecking havoc in Upper Canada, the *Advocate* reminded its Irish Catholic readers that religious dissension, "the giant evil of Ireland," bred political and moral weaknesses, which gave strength to their enemies, but was also "the prolific parent of monstrous crime, unchristian hatred, violent strife, bloodshed and murder."[85] Such emotional appeals to the Irish context and the Irish memory of British rule in Ireland continued colonial

[82] *Colonial Advocate*, 8 March, 15 March 1832. Though Bishop Macdonell bore the brunt of the *Advocate*'s criticism, it did not spare the lay leaders of the pro-government faction who were just as guilty of manipulative self-interestedness as their Bishop. Of those who had spearheaded the initial campaign for a Roman Catholic address, most had government appointments, or like Bishop Macdonell and the Rev. O'Grady, benefitted from a government pension. In short biographies of each man who had signed the initial request for a meeting the *Advocate* highlighted the particular interest each had in maintaining the current governmental status quo. Alexander Macdonell, for example, had been an opponent of the status quo until given "the wink and sh[own] the golden calf;" he was made Inspector of Licences as a "reward for his servility." Rev. O'Grady, who had been active "hunt[ing] up voters for the sycophantic address," had recently been given a 10 acre farm by Colborne, with whom he dined once or twice a week.

[83] *Colonial Advocate*, 15 March 1832, 22 March 1832.

[84] *Colonial Advocate*, 22 March 1832.

[85] *Colonial Advocate*, 28 March 1832.

sentiments discussed in Chapter 1 that Irish Catholics had a special responsibility to guard against the importation of sectarian violence in Upper Canada.

The *Colonial Advocate* was happy to contribute to the unease in Irish circles on the issues of state sponsorship of clergy and the bishop's government pension. As a "bosom crony" of the Lieutenant Governor, who drew his yearly pension "out of the pockets of the people," Bishop Macdonell was neglecting the spiritual wants of his people and his political entanglements had caused him to forget his proper purpose. Instead, the bishop was "engendering party spirit … by inducing you to petition as Roman Catholics and thereby making [y]our Holy Religion … subservient to political and party purposes, and to the worse pretensions of deep and designing politicians."[86] Mackenzie repeatedly reminded his readers that the bishops and priests of Ireland had refused the financial support of the British government.[87] "What do you suppose would be thought of an Irish Bishop if he put aside his mitre and crosier to go about the country to get up a sycophantic address to the Lord Lieutenant?" "Daniel O'Connell Jnr" asked, "why he would be hissed and booted out of society, and lose his mitre into the bargain." Rather than allow "every man to pay his own priest," the government pension for Roman Catholic clergy made the province's priests the "subservient tools of the bigoted Governor and his selfish Government" who, in their prejudiced prosecutions of Roman Catholics and support for the Orange Order, had done nothing to deserve Irish Catholic support.[88] The stakes were high, "O'Connell Jnr" warned. Allowing themselves to be dictated to in this way, Upper Canada's Irish Catholics would invoke the scorn

[86] *Colonial Advocate,* 23 February 1832, 8 March 1832.
[87] *Colonial Advocate*, 23 February 1832, 8 March 1832.
[88] *Colonial Advocate,* 8 March 1832. The corruption of the clergy was continued in the 22 March 1832 issue: "our clergy do not depend upon us for wealth, and honour and distinction, they depend upon Sir John Colborne and Doctor Strachan who pay them out of our pockets; therefore they do whatever the Governor for the time being bids them. Some of them would praise Robespierre if he were in power here and could pay them well for it."

of their coreligionists in Lower Canada, and so too would "all true Milesians mourn the degenerated Irish of York. O'Connell would disown you. Your names would be mentioned with contempt and disdain in every corner of Ireland. Process-servers, Castle parasites, and pensioned sycophants alone would make common cause with you."[89]

In response to the *Colonial Advocate*, the *Canadian Freeman* refused to engage in discussions of the Irish precedent and instead focused on the immediate context of Upper Canada. It denied accusations that the Catholics were spreading religious animosity by meeting as a separate body from other pro-government residents of York and instead pointed to similar initiatives on the part of non-Catholic inhabitants of the city as evidence of the rightness of their actions. A recent meeting of the 'sundry' inhabitants of York had collected 1,000 signatures and that group was "determined to go hand in hand with the Roman Catholics in putting down … the factious proceedings of as vile a set of hypocrites as ever disgraced the human character." The Catholics expected to collect a similar number of signatures and both groups were to present their addresses to the Lieutenant Governor together: "this harmony of political sentiment will confound the factious and teach such snakes in the grass as 'Dan'l O'Connell junior,' that when the Catholics met as a body, they did so with other views than that of creating religious animosity, and that their dissenting brethren understood well their meaning."[90] Any practicing Catholic would have quickly determined that 'Daniel O'Connell Jnr' was unfamiliar with the religion and a "foul, hypocritical, and unprincipled" "assassin of the vilest character." In his libels of the bishop, the priests, and the Lieutenant Governor the columnist had revealed

[89] *Colonial Advocate*, 8 March 1832.
[90] *Canadian Freeman*, 15 March 1832.

his "cloven foot" and, the *Freeman* predicted, only driven more Catholics to sign the declaration of support for the government.[91]

The *Freeman* acknowledged the issue of the government pensions, but ultimately ignored accusations of a conflict of interest by raising the spectre of the much-dreaded republicanism. Bishop Macdonell had "rendered very essential services to his country" for his pension, and the £750 divided amongst all the priests and schoolmasters in the colony was "paltry" compared to the vast sums the 'Ryersonian Methodist' priests were receiving from their United States Conference. "When Mackenzie speaks about Bishop Macdonell's pension from his own government," the *Freeman* asked, "why does he not tell us that the Ryersonian priests who are assisting him to agitate and disturb the peace of this colony are pensioned by a foreign power?"[92] In ordinary circumstances religion and politics should be separate, the *Freeman* acknowledged, but these were no ordinary times: "the clouds of uncalled for and unprincipled disaffection lower over the face of the country, so as to threaten anarchy, confusion and the shedding of blood." Only the "holy arm of religion" could counter this radical reform menace, and the *Freeman* praised the "open manly manner" in which Macdonell had endeavoured to "check the growth of factious proceedings in the colony."[93]

For all the bluster and rhetoric surrounding the pro-government Roman Catholic initiative in the *Advocate* and *Freeman* it is in the accounts of the meetings held on the 6th and 12th of March to draft and adopt resolutions that were a closer approximation of Irish Catholic political sentiment. The Roman Catholic movement included dissenting voices. The two public meetings of Roman Catholic inhabitants of York were raucous affairs disrupted, the *Canadian Freeman* reported, by William L. Mackenzie and his supporters, but also, according to the

[91] *Canadian Freeman*, 22 March 1832.
[92] *Canadian Freeman*, 1 March 1832.
[93] *Canadian Freeman*, 22 March 1832.

Colonial Advocate, by Irish Catholic men who objected to the methods and purpose of the meetings. Auctioneer Patrick Handy[94] and teamster Maurice Malone[95] led the faction that advocated reform of government and expressed dissent against the bishop's methods, all the while supporting the declaration of support for the Lieutenant Governor. Their message found some currency with a considerable portion of the Roman Catholics in attendance.

The first meeting on the 6th of March was adjourned preemptively when William L. Mackenzie and some supporters refused to leave the meeting and order could not be kept, the *Canadian Freeman* reported. A few Catholics had contributed to this disorder as well, the *Freeman* acknowledged briefly, but these men were nothing more than "Catholic bigots" who had been "old carders at home" and were now "tools of the saddle bag faction."[96] Not surprisingly the *Colonial Advocate* had more to say on the subject of dissenting Roman Catholics. Patrick Handy and Maurice Malone had interrupted Francis Collins's opening address, the *Advocate* reported, to object to the validity of the meeting and the political views to be espoused in a communal address. When given a chance to speak at length, Handy argued that his experience of Ireland led him to abhor any mixture of politics and religion: "Irishmen had seen enough of the defects of stirring up one denomination against another, before they crossed the Atlantic and he believed the government would not be able to pit them against each other in Canada." Handy was, he vowed, "as loyal to the King as the any man in Canada," but he was against "meddling with religious party work" and argued that the meeting should be open to Protestants.[97] Handy proposed that the meeting be adjourned and likely to the bishop's chagrin,

[94] Handy was in York from as early as May 1829 after apparently living and working at his trade in Liverpool and Dublin; see advertisement for his business: *Canadian Freeman,* 25 June 1829. Handy lived for a time in Niagara, leading the *Canadian Freeman* to call him the "Niagara Nuisance."
[95] Wilton, 119.
[96] *Canadian Freeman,* 8 March 1832.
[97] *Colonial Advocate,* 8 March 1832.

two thirds of those assembled agreed. The *Colonial Advocate* was rapturous in its praise for these dissenting Catholic voices. They had "fought the good fight and laid prostrate your bitterest foes," and continuing in this vein with a pointed dig at its reform competitor, would soon "prove [them]selves worthy of the name of Freeman."[98]

The second meeting was convened six days later. In its account the *Canadian Freeman* emphasized the unity of the Catholics in the face of the external disruption posed yet again by Mackenzie and his "contemptible mob." Finding the room they had rented for the meeting at the Union Hotel already occupied by Mackenzie et al, the Catholics decamped to Bishop Macdonell's house. There the resolutions read at the first meeting, which had approved of Colborne's conduct and views and condemned Mackenzie's misrepresentations were adopted and an address was drafted, approved unanimously, and signed by 100 Roman Catholic men on the spot.[99]

The *Freeman* had strong words of condemnation for the behaviour of Mackenzie and supporters at the second meeting. Why had they not come forward to "speak like men at once, and say that ... they came forward designedly to insult Bishop McDonell (sic) and the Catholics of York, and to provoke them to violence, and to the shedding of blood, if possible?" Mackenzie and his faction were guilty of "miserable subterfuge" and "foul conduct" and were "deserving of a kicking."[100] Following the departure of the bishop to his home, some Irish

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[98] *Colonial Advocate*, 15 March 1832.

[99] *Canadian Freeman*, 15 March 1832, 22 March 1832. The resolutions passed at the meeting included: an expression of gratitude to government and the King for "blessings of civil and religious liberty, " an assertion that Colborne was "pursuing a just and liberal course" in guiding the prosperity of the country with "paternal care." The resolutions also acknowledged that the colonial government was not perfect but that the signers were grateful to live in freedom and liberty. The final resolution argued that Mackenzie's grievances petition had the ultimate aim of limiting emigration to the colony and therefore would slow the prosperity of the colony.

[100] Here the *Freeman* introduced a thread that would continue in its commentary of Roman Catholic political action in the coming weeks, that of Irish violence as justified political participation.

youths remained at the hotel and proceeded to attack "Little Mac" who "ran for his life." Barely concealing its glee, the *Freeman* noted that Mackenzie had reason to fear the town's Irish Catholics: "we do not like to encourage violence or riot – but if Mackenzie and his faction think to maintain a system of intimidation and mob-law, in this way, then, we say, meet then with their own weapons, and put them down at once – and the next time they come in contact with the Patlanders we would advise them to put iron caps on their heads."[101] Thus, despite the machinations of Mackenzie and his supporters, and with the now justified violence of Irish Catholic men, the loyal, pro-government Catholics had prevailed.

The *Colonial Advocate*'s account of the second meeting drew on Mackenzie's observations and reports from other colonial newspapers. Again the *Advocate* highlighted the dissenting views of Patrick Handy and others. The *Advocate* made special mention of tension with the Roman Catholic community in the days leading up to the second meeting. Certain "liberal Catholics" circulated a handbill to connect the current political crisis to the legacy of Ireland.[102] A second handbill from 'Daniel O'Connell Jnr' had also addressed the Irish population of the town and entreated them to attend the second meeting and to "prove to the world that it's no use whatever to attempt to make Bishop-strode and Priest-ridden slaves, and blindfolded fools of true hearted Irishmen."[103] Clearly aware of the volatility of the situation and specifically the mood amongst the Irish of York, Bishop Macdonell made a violent denunciation of Mackenzie from the pulpit in which he equated the reform leader with the devil. Speaking directly to Irish Catholics, he noted that the authors of the handbills were likely in the congregation and "wished to knock him in the head," but that should the rest of their

[101] *Canadian Freeman,* 15 March 1832.
[102] *Colonial Advocate,* 15 March 1832.
[103] *Colonial Advocate,* 22 March 1832.

countrymen demonstrate their loyalty to the government, as "supporters of good order, and the administration of justice," they would all be rewarded with "great favours."[104]

According to the *Colonial Advocate,* Irish Catholics were the leading contributors to the rowdy atmosphere at the second meeting. Patrick Handy again led the dissenting faction, but his objections were apparently short-lived. Raising a flag that paid tribute to Daniel O'Connell, Handy declared "he would be for brotherly love and union as far as his voice would go," but his colours were quickly torn down, and a scuffle broke out as a result. Alarmed by the violence, the bishop, with Mr. Collins and other followers left for the bishop's house. There Macdonell apparently prevented additional discussion or voting on the tabled resolutions and though this provoked "considerable murmuring among the Catholics," nevertheless the 100 men in attendance signed.[105] Patrick Handy, despite his vocal objections to the methods of the Roman Catholic meeting, was in attendance at the bishop's house, and though Macdonell called him a "very troublesome mischievous man," Handy was presumably amongst the 100 who signed the resolution.[106]

The *Colonial Advocate* was dismayed by the apparent collapse of dissent amongst the Irish Catholics. Having only two weeks previously anticipated the widespread rejection of the bishop's agenda and leadership on the part of that community, the only explanation was the manipulative power of the bishop and the passivity of the lay Catholics generally: "when left to themselves they negative (sic) the party address they had been called to support at the court house; but when Fathers O'Grady and McDonell had threatened them with the terrors of their religion they quailed before them."[107] Patrick Handy and prominent merchant William Bergin

[104] *Colonial Advocate,* 15 March 1832.
[105] *Colonial Advocate,* 22 March 1832.
[106] *Colonial Advocate,* 15 March 1832.
[107] *Colonial Advocate* 28 March 1832.

were singled out as the most glaring examples of the susceptibility of Irish Catholics to clerical manipulation. Handy had signed the address he had so vocally disapproved of, but Bergin's support of the address was particularly perplexing. The prominent merchant and church warden had been active in grievances activities the previous year, and had apparently vehemently opposed the separate Roman Catholic meetings earlier that month. Yet at the eleventh hour Bergin had condemned the grievances movement and had exerted force on members of the parish to sign the Roman Catholic resolution.[108]

This period of political turmoil reached its climax in a riot on the 23rd of March.[109] In response to the Roman Catholic meetings, and what he called a "scheme set on foot to divide the province into parties and mix up politics and religion," William L. Mackenzie and his supporters called a public meeting at which "all inhabitants, without party distinctions" were invited to discuss "the several matters which now agitate our public mind."[110] Tensions were already running high. A group had attempted to burn Bishop Macdonell in effigy in the York market square, and the *Colonial Advocate* implored its readers to use the planned public meeting instead to vent their frustrations.[111] At a reform meeting in Hamilton the week before Mackenzie had been "roughly handled" and he claimed nearly murdered by, the *Canadian Freeman* gleefully confirmed, "a son of the Emerald Isle."[112] Handbills circulating the city in

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[108] *Colonial Advocate* 28 March 1832.
[109] Drawing on various newspaper reports, Armstrong, "The York Riots," provides an overview of the events of that day.
[110] *Colonial Advocate,* 15 March 1832. The *Canadian Freeman* anticipated the meeting of Mackenzie's "saddlebag faction" in its 22 March edition. Reminding its readers that the colony was in a state of prosperity, but Mackenzie's faction threatened that prosperity, for "nothing but an overturning of the constitution will suit their purposes." The *Freeman* conceded that there were problems within the province but advised caution and moderation in reforming the corrupt and problematic institutions. *Canadian Freeman,* 22 March 1832.
[111] *Colonial Advocate,* 15 March 1832.
[112] *Upper Canada Herald,* 28 March 1832; *Colonial Advocate,* 22 March 1832; *Canadian Freeman,* 22 March 1832.

advance of the meeting called on all the loyal inhabitants of the city to put down the "demagogues."[113]

The gathering on the 23rd at the Court House proceeded without incident until Mackenzie ascended atop a wagon to give a speech. He was interrupted by, the *Chronicle* reported, a few "potatoe-faced (sic) broad shouldered Hibernians" who seized the wagon and "triumphantly and ridiculously wheeled the cargo through the town, the orators tumbling out at every jolt, amidst "abundant salutes" of those detestable missiles made use of in pillories in Ireland and vulgarly denominated "rotten eggs.""[114] Led by the Sheriff, 1,200 "friends of the Constitution" then marched in "perfect order" to the Court House where they gave three cheers for the King and another three for the Lieutenant Governor. Another group carried Mackenzie in effigy to the office of the *Colonial Advocate* where it was "decently burnt."[115] In the *Colonial Advocate*'s version the disorderly crowd had first presented the effigy outside Bishop Macdonell's residence where the crowd gave him three cheers before burning the "representative of the editor … for a heretic."[116] At the *Colonial Advocate* office, the *Kingston Chronicle* reported, the loyal crowd was greeted by a tri-coloured flag (a "rascally rag") hung from the window, the *Chronicle* suspected, by the "knavish little agitator, for the purpose doubtless of adding fresh fuel to the existing excitement." A group rushed the office to seize the flag, and a gun was discharged from one of the windows, sparking a general attack on the office. Only the interference of Col. James Fitzgibbon, who offered the "agitator a safe and secure asylum in His Majesty's jail," but was convinced to release Mackenzie to his friends

[113] Armstrong, "The York Riots," 63.
[114] *Kingston Chronicle,* 31 March 1832.
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] *Colonial Advocate,* 28 March 1832. Not surprisingly this account stressed the violence of the pro-government crowd which had thrown "stones, brickbats and other missiles" and cursed Mackenzie and his supporters as "d----d heretics."

who offered their protection, ended the fracas.[117] Conservative newspapers were pleased with the outcome of the riot. The "MacKenzieites were beaten three to one," the *Upper Canada Herald* crowed.[118] Mackenzie's "attempt at political pre-eminence" had instead "terminated the popularity and seditious influence of the imaginary patriot" the *Chronicle* gushed. "Never was there a more successful overthrow than that day presented" the *Chronicle* opined, it had been a "proud and glorious one for the friends of the King and Constitution."[119]

The presence of Irish Catholics at the York riot provoked much commentary in the colonial newspapers about the violence of the political participation of that group. In an analysis of politics of Irish Catholics in the second half of the nineteenth-century, Michael Cottrell argues that in the previous decades, Irish Catholic political participation did not extend "beyond cracking skulls at election time."[120] Carol Wilton argues that the 1832 Roman Catholic pro-government initiative refutes Cottrell's assertion, but she overlooks the riot as a significant element of the Irish contribution to that initiative as well as the Irish Catholic contribution to the general trend of Conservative political violence in the period.[121] In his studies of electoral politics in the pre-rebellion period, including a profile of Daniel Sullivan who was notorious for anti-Tory street violence in York, Paul Romney does not dismiss the effect or significance of Irish-instigated political violence, but argues that brawling enabled lower-class disenfranchised

[117] *Kingston Chronicle*, 31 March 1832.
[118] *Upper Canada Herald*, 28 March 1832.
[119] *Kingston Chronicle*, 31 March 1832.
[120] Michael Cottrell, "Irish Catholic Politics in Ontario," in *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), 791–810; Cottrell, "Political Leadership and Party Allegiance Among Irish Catholics in Victorian Toronto," in *Catholics at the Gathering Place: Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto*, eds. Mark G. McGowan and Brian P. Clarke (Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1993) 53-68.
[121] Wilton, 118-120.

Irish to "project themselves into the political process that affected their lives."[122] In this period, in the absence of visible leadership or clear allegiances, the Irish Catholic contribution to provincial politics was often demonstrated most visibly in brawls in the streets or at polling stations.[123]

The *Colonial Advocate* was dismayed by the large Irish presence on the pro-government side that it dismissed as the work of ignorance, poverty, priestly coercion, and alcohol. Despite his appeals to Irish Catholic interests in previous issues of the *Advocate*, William L. Mackenzie vented his anger by disparaging his pro-government opponents as unrepresentative of the "quiet and peaceable inhabitants of York." The violence had been perpetuated by nearly 200 "vagrant" Irish Catholics who throwing "stones, brickbats, and other missiles [and] … curs[ed] the d—d heretics." They had been encouraged to violence by whisky provided to them at the Strachan and Macdonell-led soup kitchen; others had been paid a dollar for the day.[124] This was not the first time, nor would it be the last, the *Colonial Advocate* that suggested pro-government Irish Catholics had been coerced by their poverty and dependence on the soup kitchen rather than political opinion.[125] Dependent beggars were unable to express independent political thought, Mackenzie opined, therefore the blame for the Irish Catholic violence had to be put on the

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[122] Romney, "A Struggle for Authority," 29; Romney, "SULLIVAN, DANIEL," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003) http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/sullivan_daniel_11E.html.

[123] Election violence was a common and frequently effective tool at the colonial polling station. Orange election violence, sanctioned by the Lieutenant Governor, and ensuring a Conservative victory in 1836 was particularly effective. See: Senior, *Orangeism*, 30; Cadigan.

[124] The *Colonial Advocate* 28 March 1832, suggested that the crowd had also included a few members of government, and the "residue" of the Catholic committee, as well as "nearly all the vagrants about the town (some of them actually hired for the day at a dollar a head)… nearly all the negroes in the town, they having been persuaded that the intention of the reformers was to introduce slavery!"

[125] *Colonial Advocate*, 8 March, 15 March, 12 April 1832. The *Courier of Upper Canada* disputed at least one of these claims as "too silly trash to refute" noting that the soup kitchen did not currently service any adult males "in health" reprinted in the *Upper Canada Herald*, 4 April 1832. The *Canadian Freeman* refuted the notion that the majority of the rioters were homeless, and asked why Mackenzie would admit to being beat up by "Irish beggars," 5 April 1832.

shoulders of the "pensioned priesthood."[126] The clergy were making "bad use of the religious prejudices of the catholics" for their own political ends. But such actions perpetuated a "fear of catholics," Mackenzie warned, and "bad consequences" would naturally result "unless the villains who pull the wires behind the scenes can be discovered and their wings clipped."[127] Invoking the long-standing colonial fear that Irish Catholics represented disorder and violence, Mackenzie discounted the political activism of the Irish as the work of desperation and submission.[128]

The Irish Catholic violence for the pro-government side was praised elsewhere in the press. The *Courier of Upper Canada* saw in the York riot proof that the Irish could not be seduced "from their allegiance to their sovereign," nor prejudiced "against their worthy and amiable Bishop."[129] The *Canadian Freeman* was positively ecstatic with the Irish showing at the York riot and continued to imply that any violence on their part was a critical, albeit harmless, part of Irish Catholic political participation. The Irish have always "delighted…in a piece of harmless frolick (sic)" the *Freeman* enthused, "but since we parted the native sod-since the last time we visited Donnybrook fair (nearly twenty years ago) we never saw the buoyancy of Irish vigor, in sportive playfulness until Friday last, which convinces us, that with all Paddy's tameness in a foreign land, he still retains a little of the old marrow in his bones." The Irish

[126] *Colonial Advocate,* 5 April 1832.
[127] *Colonial Advocate,* 5 April 1832.
[128] In addition to reports of similar violence at other pro-government rallies throughout the province, the *Colonial Advocate* reprinted accounts of the York riot from other Upper Canadian newspapers that supported this view. *Colonial Advocate,* 28 March, 12 April 1832. The *Courier of Upper Canada* had noted that the behaviour of the Irish, regardless of the rightness of the sentiments behind that behaviour, was problematic for the rest of the provincial population. The *Kingston Chronicle* alluded to the York riots and the dangerous effects of "party distinctions," while reporting that the inhabitants of that town had met as a body, regardless of religious persuasion. Both reprinted in the *Colonial Advocate*, 5 April 1832.
[129] *Courier of Upper Canada*, "The Great Meeting," 28 March 1832 reprinted in the *Upper Canada Herald,* 4 April 1832. Mackenzie had confirmed his disdain for Roman Catholics with his "inflammatory" Daniel O'Connell Jr handbills and columns and now by "representing these very Catholics as low vagabonds and "pauper Soup Kitcheners!"

violence on 23rd was reactive and remarkably, meant to ensure peace. The Irish met their well-armed reform foes with their "naked hands" and did all they could to "save bloodshed." Their actions were sanctioned, the *Freeman* argued, by the 90 per cent of the population who did not support Mackenzie and objected to his holding a public meeting. Predicting that this triumph marked the end of Mackenzie's agitation and "tyrannical violence," the *Freeman* suggested St. Patrick's Day be henceforth celebrated on the 23rd of March.[130] What the *Advocate* was certain was the transplantation of political and social violence from Ireland, the *Freeman* saw a natural and justified response to reform agitation on the part of loyal men. Collins continued to promote the Irish as justified political rioters. At the public dinner held to celebrate the York riot, the *Freeman*'s editor led a toast to "Paddy's right arm, strong but merciful," which received three cheers from those assembled.[131]

Francis Collins hoped that the 'victory' of the pro-government forces on the 23rd of March marked the end of Mackenzie and his "saddlebag faction," and therefore the end of his complicity with the town's Tories. Despite his newspaper's avowed support for the Bishop and the pro-government initiative, in the aftermath of the York riot Collins articulated a desire for change within the context of loyalty to the government that was at odds with his Bishop's views. The *Colonial Advocate* had expressed some surprise at Collins' role in the pro-government initiative. That Collins, an out-spoken reformer who had been incarcerated for libeling a government official, but also, the *Advocate* contended, for being a Roman Catholic, should support the status quo was strange.[132] Though in the pages of the *Freeman*, Francis Collins had expressed some reservations about mixing religion with politics, it is clear that the

[130] *Canadian Freeman*, 29 March 1832.
[131] *Canadian Freeman*, 5 April 1832.
[132] *Colonial Advocate*, 8 March 1832; For details of libel case and incarceration see: Gundy, "Collins, Francis."

Canadian Freeman's analysis of the Roman Catholic pro-government initiative was generally positive and supportive. It highlighted the unity of the Catholic community behind the initiative and pointed to the support it received from the broader York community. Though men like Patrick Handy expressed public opposition to the Catholic initiative it appears Collins supported the resolutions as they stood. After the riot on the 23rd of March, however, Collins reasserted his reform leanings, and in assessing the impact of the riot on provincial politics, distinguished himself from Mackenzie: "we are neither afraid nor ashamed to call ourselves Whigs, and radical reformers too – we wish to see the cause of reform prospering in all quarters of the globe – but we wish to go coolly and constitutionally to work – and to apply gentle medicines in gentle cases." Acknowledging that a great many aspects of the political status quo were in need of remedy, Collins argued that Mackenzie's brand of reform was far too disruptive and extreme to be effective:

> There are many little things in the colonial government that might be amended – but if any man say there is a pressure of grievances, from the formation of our constitution, or the maladministration of the present Executive, such as ought to call farmers from the plough and mechanics from their work to agitate the land at the nod of such a contemptible demagogue as Mackenzie, he is a liar and the truth is not in him.[133]

Francis Collins continued his reassertion of his politics at the public banquet held to celebrate the pro-government 'victory' on the 23rd of March. Collins' account of the banquet suggests the pro-government unity of the previous weeks was beginning to falter: here "Catholic and Protestant — Whig and Tory — sat down together, in cordial unanimity, at least upon two great points—first, to crush the spirit of disaffection and factious agitation in the colony — and secondly, to bury into oblivion the mischievous recollections of religious or national prejudice." After a series of toasts to the King and Lieutenant-Governor, to Bishop Macdonell and other leading Tories, Sherriff Jarvis made a comment about the nature of politics

[133] *Canadian Freeman*, 29 March 1832.

in Lower Canada, to which Collins objected. The newspaper editor rose to opine the solidarity of Upper Canadian Catholics with their coreligionists in Lower Canada: "we, as Catholics, [know] well that we are much indebted to the Lower Canadians for guaranteeing our right of religious liberty, at the mouth of the cannon in Quebec." Acknowledging that he then deviated from etiquette in his comments, Collins nevertheless continued, professing himself a "Whig," and advocating for the political cause of Lower Canadians: "we said that whatever they did, it was done constitutionally by their representatives in Parliament, and not by paltry demagogues and mob meetings such as agitated this colony—that they had shown no disaffection towards the government."[134] His speech, Collins reported, was frequently interrupted by "our sedate Tory friends" who called for the Chair to intervene: "when we saw that an advocate for Lower Canada had no chance for indulgence, we proposed a toast, the British North American Colonies, which was also deemed out of order." Collins wisely chose to sit and be silent with this last objection, though he devoted the rest of his column explaining his view of the political situation in Lower Canada.

The events of the spring of 1832 were the first significant contribution of Roman Catholics to Upper Canada's emerging popular politics, and the first public demonstration of Irish activism since the anti-Orange protests of the mid-1820s.[135] Though the bishop's role was deliberately downplayed in the *Freeman*, Macdonell, proud of the outcome, congratulated himself on joining the "disunited and distracted" Catholic community of York in frustrating the "designs of the rebels and preserv[ing] the peace of the country."[136] The York riot also confirmed the extent to which the legacy of political violence in Ireland lingered and was an

[134] *Canadian Freeman*, 5 April 1832.
[135] See Chapter 1.
[136] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Rev. W. Fraser, 10 July 1832. After Mackenzie's third expulsion from the House of Assembly, he mounted a "grievances" petition to the King that detailed his dissatisfaction with Colborne's governance and the state of the colony. Wilton, 86-93 for expulsion crisis.

expected, and in some quarters, encouraged element of Irish political participation in Upper Canada. The ambivalence of Irish Catholic political allegiances was also revealed. In the largely anti-reform demonstration on the part of Irish Catholic men, it is clear that Mackenzie's attempts in the *Colonial Advocate* to convince them that the true issue was Macdonell's compromised leadership had failed. That is not to say that York's Irish Catholics were united behind their bishop, but rather concerns about the bishop's methods and interests could be put aside and the broader political issues of the day dealt with without the added complications of the other issues raised in the *Advocate*. It would not be long before a dispute between the bishop and parish priest the Rev. O'Grady gave York's Irish Catholics an opportunity to address the bishop's politics and the government allowance for clergy.

The lay occupation of St. Paul's Church that began in late summer 1832 was clearly influenced by the political climate of the anti-grievances movement and York riot. The details of the conflict are discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but it is relevant to note here that the political agenda of the lay occupiers was remarkably similar to those issues preoccupying reformers and raised by the *Colonial Advocate* in its addresses to Irish Catholics in early 1832. While historians have ascribed reform politics to the laymen of St. Paul's, it is important to remember that many of the lay occupiers had signed the 1832 pro-government resolutions. Similarly Irishmen who were publicly reformers, such as William Bergin and Francis Collins, opposed the lay occupation and sided with Bishop Macdonell.

In the lay occupiers' petitions and resolutions, the implications of the bishop's overt political activism and the state-sponsorship of clergy were front and centre. In petitions to the Lieutenant Governor in January and July 1833, and to the King in June 1833, the leaders of the lay occupation indicated that they had been commissioned by the congregation at St. Paul's to

investigate the state of religion in Canada. Their investigations led them to allege that Bishop Macdonell had misappropriated the government funds meant to support the Catholic clergy, and they called for an immediate inquiry.[137] The bishop's behaviour was only the tip of iceberg, for the state pension itself was, the St. Paul's laymen alleged, the "prevailing abuse" and "evil" in the colony. It had irrevocably harmed Catholicism by introducing "pecuniary and political seducements" amongst the clergy of whom Bishop Macdonell was a primary example. His appointment to the legislative council in 1830 had led him astray and contrary to his station as a Christian bishop he now manifested "too much the feelings of a political partisan." Macdonell was too fond the laymen noted, of delivering from consecrated altars, "political exhortations against Mr. McKenzie…calling him by the epithet "a little red-headed rascal,"" and ""a devil incarnate."[138]

The courts having decided against the lay occupiers of the Church and in favour of the bishop and the trustees, in late 1833 the St. Paul's laymen made one last petition to the provincial Legislature.[139] The petition condemned any law that allowed the government to interfere with the appointment of priests and bishops or gave the King supremacy in the

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[137] AO, UC Sundries, C-6877, Memorial of the Wardens of the Catholic Church of York, 29 January 1833, p. 69253-69255; C-6879, Petition from Roman Catholic Church at York to His Majesty the King, 20 June 1833, p. 71951-71958; Petition of Churchwardens of Roman Catholic Church at York, 9 July 1833, p. 72179-72182. Macdonell had, the petition alleged, reserved a portion of the allowance "under the pretence (sic) of paying school masters" but instead had applied the sums to the "private purposes of the individual under whose control it appears to have been placed." The wardens indicated that they were prepared to support this allegation with the testimony of "competent witnesses." When the Lieutenant Governor ignored the request, the laymen threatened to take the issue to the Secretary of State for the colonies.

[138] AO, UC Sundries, C-6879, Petition from Roman Catholic Church at York to His Majesty the King, 20 June 1833, p. 71951-71958.

[139] The petition was signed by 9 leaders and 800 laymen. The petition was put before the House of Assembly on 3 December 1833. Journal of House of Assembly Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, from the nineteenth day of November 1833 to the sixth day of March, 1834 ... : being the fourth session of the eleventh provincial Parliament (Toronto: R. Stanton, 1834), 30. http://eco.canadiana.ca.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/view/oocihm.9_00941_10. The nine laymen were: Joseph MacDougal, Peter MacDougal, James King, Cornelius Keller, Paddy Handy, Charles Donne, Patrick McKinnon, Maurice Malone, and Thomas Ryan. The 800 names are not extant.

religious affairs of his Catholic subjects. Such laws were "inconsistent" the petition argued, with the "free exercise" of their religion guaranteed under the Quebec Act. Citing the "bloodshed" and "wretchedness and misery" of Ireland, the petition asked the legislature to pass a law abolishing and outlawing any tithes payable to the Roman Catholic clergy in Upper Canada.[140] It would appear the Lieutenant Governor forwarded the petition to Bishop Macdonell, who immediately dismissed the petition as the work of the Rev. O'Grady and the 800 signatures as not belonging to "real" Catholics.[141] Persisting in this opinion enabled the bishop to ignore the lay demands as unrepresentative of the true opinion of the congregation, and to continue to fixate on the priest as the source of the activism at St. Paul's. The politics of the ensuing years would prove the bishop's folly.

The period between the 1832 York riot and the 1836 "loyalty election" was no less politically fraught and turbulent. It was during this period that Bishop Macdonell faced considerable scrutiny and censure from William L. Mackenzie and the Reformers for the government's financial support of his Church, as well as his continued presence on the legislative council. His appointment to the council in 1830 with Archdeacon Strachan, and his very public involvement in politics by 1832, had only increased the bishop's notoriety as a "symbolic High Tory."[142] He refused to resign his position on the legislative council to "gratify the vindictive malice of a few unprincipled radicals."[143]

To the bishop's mortification, his political interests and activities, as well as his conflict with the Rev. William J. O'Grady, now styled Dr. O'Grady, received much publicity in 1835

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[140] AAK, MLB 1829-34, petition to the Upper Canadian Legislature from the Roman Catholics of York, 1833.
[141] AAK, MLB 1829-34, BMD to Sir J. Colborne, 10 December 1833.
[142] Rea, *Bishop Alexander Macdonell*, 143, 159, 173.
[143] AAK MLB 1834-39, BMD to J. Joseph, 7 March 1836; ARCAT, M CC01.06, J. Elmsley to BMD, 18 April 1836.

during William L. Mackenzie's "grievances trials."[144] Emboldened by the Reform House of Assembly, Mackenzie launched a series of "trials" in which he examined witnesses and evidence in an attempt to expose the extent of government corruption and excess. Bishop Macdonell's pension and the government sponsorship of clergy, as well as the bishop's alleged mishandling of those funds, was held up as a particular example of all that was wrong with the government.[145] The dense report produced in the aftermath of the trials, included details of the bishop's finances.[146] Dr. William O'Grady was a star witness and provided from his own records much of the material used to condemn the bishop's political and financial activities. O'Grady reiterated his opposition to government financial support of clergy, arguing that where clergy were connected to the state, religion was consequently "carelessly and improperly discharged…such a connexion had a direct and infallible tendency to demoralization…it made men, in their political creed, hypocrites." On whether clergy should hold seats in government, O'Grady said "I conceive that they are incompatible with the discharge of their respective functions."[147] Most distressingly for the bishop, O'Grady insisted that Macdonell had mishandled the government allowance for clergy, using examples of priests being forced to provide receipts for money they had not received for schoolmaster roles they had not fulfilled. O'Grady also accused the bishop of applying large amounts of the government allowance to his own debts. To a question about Macdonell exercising political influence over the clergy, O'Grady provided examples of the "strange and incoherent medley of politics and Christianity"

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[144] Craig, 223-5; *The Correspondent and Advocate,* 7 May and 15 May 1835.
[145] AO, UC Sundries, C-6882, Rev. W. O'Grady to Col. Rowan, 19 May 1834, p. 77152-77154.
[146] *The seventh report from the Select Committee of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada on Grievances; to whom were referred Lord Viscount Goderich's dispatch to His Excellency Sir John Colborne, of the 8th November 1832*. https://archive.org/details/seventhreportfro00onta; AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Sir J. Colborne, 16 February 1835; BMD to BRG, 9 March 1835; ARCAT, M CC01.02, J. Elmsley to BMD, 14 February 1835.
[147] *The seventh report*, 17.

that characterized the bishop's sermons.[148] The bishop's nephew the Rev. Angus Macdonell was also a witness.[149] The Rev. Macdonell, who with the Rev. William Fraser had authored a letter of complaint about the insufficiency of the government allowance,[150] was also questioned about the Bishop's alleged misappropriation of the government allowance. Angus denied their letter of complaint had implied or suggested the bishop was misappropriating the funds,[151] but to the question about whether a clergyman ought to hold a government seat, the nephew departed from the uncle: "I am decidedly of the opinion that no clergyman of any denomination should hold a seat either in the Legislative or Executive Councils."[152]

Two noteworthy elections provide insight into the degree to which Irish Catholics were increasingly active politically, and their vote, when possible, increasingly sought after. The scope and nature of the Irish Catholic vote was particularly apparent in the first city election in Toronto in 1834. The city extended the municipal franchise to unskilled and semi-skilled workers, of which Irish Catholics formed a sizeable portion. Consequently they were a visible and sought-after segment of the electorate when candidates courted the labourer vote. The Irish labouring electorate of the city was credited with William L. Mackenzie's election as the city's first mayor and interestingly, the return of a reform-dominated house that same year. "The Irish of the City have nobly done their duty," reported the *Canadian Correspondent* in March 1834, "they cheerfully ranked in the cause of Reform."[153] The election was also a clear repudiation of Bishop Macdonell's influence over the city's Irish Catholic voters. Without additional studies

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[148] *Ibid*., 32.
[149] ARCAT, M AB30.02, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 23 February 1835.
[150] AAK, MLB, 1820-29, BMD to Bishop A. MacEahern, 3 April 1829.
[151] *The seventh report*, 49.
[152] *Ibid*., 50.
[153] *The Canadian Correspondent*, 29 March 1834 Qtd in Paul Romney, "A Struggle for Authority," 21. Acknowledging the significance of the Irish Catholic vote in that city, in the aftermath of the election, the Conservative press frequently highlighted Mackenzie's anti-Irish Catholic biases, and perceived actions against that segment of the population in a bid to alienate Irish Catholic voters from the mayor.

of local election results it is difficult to determine if the significance accorded the Irish Catholic vote in Toronto was an isolated case. As Chapter 4 demonstrated, Bishop Macdonell had a particularly fraught relationship with the Toronto Irish Catholic community. It is not surprising that his political influence would be negligible there and would continue to be as the decade progressed.

The 1834 provincial election in Kingston provides a different picture of Irish Catholic political activity in the period and of the bishop's influence. This election was according to S.F. Wise a "false dawn" for two-party politics and the fortunes of the Reform party in that part of the province.[154] The Tory incumbent, Christopher Hagerman, faced off against the last-minute addition of Dr. William J. O'Grady. A staunchly Tory constituency, Kingston had never seen a Reform candidate on the hustings, and even O'Grady acknowledged the unlikelihood that he could "slay Goliath."[155] Kingston was also home by then to Bishop Macdonell, whose correspondence, despite the inducement of that particular Reform candidate, is surprisingly quiet on the subject.

In Kingston, as in Toronto, the political fortunes of the Irish were on the rise. Kingston's Irishmen were targeted early in handbills. One circulated in February 1834 signed "Erin Go Bragh," called Hagerman the "faithful friend" of the Kingston electorate and accused the reformers of denigrating Irish immigrants as "paupers" who should be subject to additional scrutiny upon entering the province.[156] In response, "A True Son of Erin," addressed the "Irishmen of Kingston" and condemned "Erin Go Bragh" for dictating to Irishmen for whom they ought to vote: "I call upon you Irishmen, to come forward and support a liberal

[154] Wise, "Tory Factionalism," 218.
[155] *British Whig,* 3 October 1834.
[156] *Chronicle and Gazette,* 22 February 1834.

candidate."[157] The importance of Kingston's Irish voters particularly to Reform was made clear by the considerable column inches devoted to various allegations of anti-Irish prejudice on the part of Hagerman.[158] A six-year old allegation in which he reportedly told a Perth court room that the province's Irishmen were the "disgrace of the country" garnered considerable discussion particularly in the anti-Hagerman *British Whig*.[159] From Bytown, reformer James Johnston, possibly the original source of the story, argued that it was "proof that Mr. Hagerman's love of the Irish is pure fudge."[160]

Prominent Kingston Irish Catholic merchant Walter McCunniffe, "a true specimen of Hibernian frankness and determination," according to the *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor*, though not a candidate, received considerable attention in the press for his presumed "extensive influence" with the Irish Catholics of the area.[161] McCunniffe was an ardent supporter of Hagerman a fact, the *Whig* argued, that did nothing but "injury" to his countrymen.[162] *The Patriot and Farmer's Monitor* disagreed, arguing that Hagerman was "long most deservedly" a "favourite" of Kingston's Irish; McCunniffe's ardent support illustrated Hagerman's zealous devotion to Irish interests.[163] A letter from "Hibernicus" in a June issue of the *Whig* warned that McCuniffe planned to "lead every Irishman to the hustings by the nose to vote for a Church & State candidate," but the writer was certain the plan would not succeed:

> for Irishmen are not to be driven like sheep to the hustings…as has been customary in their native land, no they know their rights, and will assert them, by supporting the

[157] *British Whig*, 28 February 1834.
[158] *British Whig*, 30 September 1834 reviews at least three of these allegations.
[159] *British Whig*, 4 April 1834; *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor*, 11 April 1834; *British Whig*, 18 April 1834; *Chronicle and Gazette*, 19 April 1834; *British Whig*, 18 May 1834, 6 June 1834, 10 June 1834, 24 June 1834, 1 August 1834.
[160] *British Whig*, 6 June 1834.
[161] *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor*, 11 April 1834; British Whig, 18 April 1834.
[162] *British Whig*, 4 April 1834, 18 April 1834. McCunniffe was called on to verify or refute the accusations against Hagerman.
[163] *Patriot and Farmer's Monitor*, 11 April 1834.

> friend of liberal and enlightened measures for the improvement and prosperity of their adopted country.[164]

Despite these entreaties, McCunniffe persisted in his support for Hagerman, and seconded his nomination on election day. McCunniffe's very public support for Hagerman must be contrasted with the virtual silence from Bishop Macdonell. Perhaps the visibility of McCunniffe, a former churchwarden and close associate of the Bishop, on Hagerman's side was enough for Kingston's Roman Catholics to know which candidate had the Bishop's support.

The selection of Dr. O'Grady as the Reform candidate in September 1834 increased references and appeals to Kingston's Irish and Catholic voters. The conservative press was incredulous that a priest, active or not, could be a candidate in that city. The *Chronicle and Gazette* wrote: "an Excommunicated Priest a Candidate for the Representation of the Town of Kingston, in the Provincial Parliament!!! Even while recording this fact, we can scarcely think it possible."[165] His presence on the ballot was "a moral and political insult to the Electors of Kingston and we are sure will be treated with indignation by every man who loves his country and respects either morality and religion."[166] The *Cobourg Star* took it one step further accusing O'Grady of "skulking" around Kingston hoping to try "his sophistry among the Catholics; but it's 'NO GO.' The 'Gentleman in Black,' can neither hide his tail nor hood."[167] The *Toronto Recorder* was pleased Hagerman was to be given some opposition, but was sorry the Reformers could "find no other tool … than a discarded priest!"[168]

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[164] *British Whig*, 10 June 1834.
[165] Kingston *Chronicle and Gazette and Weekly Commercial Advertiser*, 27 September 1834. For his part, O'Grady railed against the *Chronicle* in his speech to the Friends of Constitutional Reform, for perpetuating the myth that he was excommunicated. *British Whig*, 30 September 1834.
[166] *Kingston Chronicle and Gazette and Weekly Commercial Advertiser*, 27 September 1834.
[167] *Cobourg Star*, 24 September 1834.
[168] *Toronto Recorder*, qtd in *Correspondent*, 8 October 1834

O'Grady frequently invoked his own Irishness in a deliberate attempt to engage with Irish voters. Dr. O'Grady had his own anecdote designed to distance Irish voters from the Conservative candidate. While speaking to the Kingston Friends of Constitutional Reform society, O'Grady alleged that Hagerman had argued that Daniel O'Connell deserved to be hanged for his politics.[169] The anecdote provoked a "general burst of indignation" at the meeting and "three distinct rounds of applause for DANIEL O'CONNELL."[170] Referring implicitly to Hagerman's American ancestry,[171] O'Grady frequently reminded voters, that as a "true born" Irishman, he was what Kingston's loyal voters had been "crying out aloud for, a British-born subject to represent them."[172]

As expected Hagerman won the election handily. As an outsider in parochial and Conservative Kingston, O'Grady had no chance to win. Only 37 Kingston men were, as Wise puts it, "brave enough to step forward in the sight of their townsmen" to vote for O'Grady."[173] O'Grady's concession speech entreated the city's Reformers not to be "dispirited at the result of the struggle." Referring again to the Great Liberator, O'Grady noted that "O'Connell began with comparatively less number…defeat taught him the art of war, and behold him at present, after having achieved victory after victory, seated as the avowed leader in the House of Commons!"[174] The toasts at a dinner for the losing candidate that evening continued to invoke Irish themes, appealing to the Irish voters who had not voted for reform that day. O'Connell

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[169] Wise, "Tory Factionalism," 221. *British Whig*, 30 September 1834.
[170] O'Grady drew on the anecdote again during his speech on the hustings and the story provoked the same round of cheers. *British Whig*, 3 October 1834.
[171] http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hagerman_christopher_alexander_7E.html. Hagerman was Upper Canadian born to American parents.
[172] *British Whig*, 3 October 1834. O'Grady again reiterated his loyalty as an "Irishman and a British born subject" on election day and said that he was "friendly to the connexion between this country and the parent state." To the suggestion that he run as the Reform candidate, O'Grady promised to meet Hagerman on the hustings "like a true Irishman." *British Whig*, 30 September 1834.
[173] Wise, "Tory Factionalism," 222.
[174] *British Whig*, 3 October 1834.

was again praised with a toast to the "great Reformer of Ireland."[175] Later a toast to "unanimity among Irishmen" to which was "drank with thunders of applause."[176] There is little doubt the bishop was pleased with the outcome of the election. O'Grady, he wrote to Cardinal Weld in December 1834, had "mounted the hustings and harangued the rabble, but only obtained the votes of some half dozen of unprincipled Catholics and a few miserable Methodists."[177]

In Bytown the turbulence of the mid-1830s was marked by the so-called "Shiners' War." The violence between French Canadian and Irish lumbermen and raftsmen exposed the insufficiency of the local judicial system and perpetuated the prejudice that labouring Irish Catholics were disreputable and violent. Michael Cross's now woefully outdated article on the Shiners' War offered an economic explanation for the violence, and dismissed the Irish as "unkempt," "semi-savages" in the thrall of their "King" lumberman Peter Aylen.[178] Beneath the apparently irrational orgy of violence, Cross found an economic crisis in which Irish and French battled for access to work. In more recent work, Richard Reid has refuted Cross's ethnic reaction to economic stress explanation for the violence, and has instead pointed to the political context of the violence.[179] Reid argues that the Shiners' War was indicative of the multi-facetted polarization of Bytown in the period. The Bytown violence was "a clash of established social groups representing conservative and reform interests, with the latter using Catholic lumber

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[175] *British Whig* 3 October 1834. The toast came after toasts to the people "the true source of all legitimate power," and the King "the chief magistrate of the people."
[176] *British Whig*, 3 October 1834.
[177] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Cardinal T. Weld, 22 December 1834.
[178] Michael Cross, "The Shiners' War: Social Violence in the Ottawa Valley in the 1830s" *Canadian Historical Review*, (March 1973) 1-26.
[179] Reid, *The Upper Ottawa Valley*, xxxviii argues that Cross's interpretation of the Shiners war as unemployed Irish canal workers vs. French Canadian lumberman, as faulty. He argues that the Rideau canal was completed by 1831 and most Irish canal workers had made the transition to farming by 1835, and "because only a minority of workers recorded on the Rideau canal had been Irish, the numbers of Irish ex-canal workers available for timbering was limited." Reid argues also that timber economy was booming in the mid 1830s and therefore ample employment for Irish and French Canadians alike.

workers and the former Orange bully boys" drawn from the rural townships proximate to the town.[180] That the violence ended with the rebellion is further proof, Reid argues, as each side clamoured to demonstrate their loyalty to the Crown.[181]

A political explanation for the disorder in Bytown better fits the picture of mid-1830s Bytown in Bishop Macdonell's correspondence. It certainly provides a more plausible explanation for why Bishop Macdonell appointed his vicar general to the region from August 1835 to July 1836. References to the Bytown congregation indicate it was a "distracted and divided" parish in the mid-1830s with Irish and French Catholics at loggerheads over the financial support of the Irish-born priest, the Rev. Timothy O'Meara.[182] While the divisions between Irish and French in the Roman Catholic parish were part of the broader context of disorder and violence in the region during this period, it is clear difficulties in the parish were separate from the raftsmen's violence. There is nothing to suggest, as Michael Cross has done, that O'Meara had been implicated in the Shiners' violence. It is true that his removal in the summer of 1835 coincided with the height of raftsmen's violence in Bytown, but his misconduct preceded the Shiners' War.[183]

Bishop Macdonell's correspondence indicates that the O'Meara case, the divisions amongst the laity, and the raftsmen's violence were separate, but all threatened the reputation of the bishop and of Roman Catholics more generally. The potential political implications of

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[180] *Ibid*, xxxviii.
[181] *Ibid*., xxxix. "The rebellion of 1837 while generating rumours and fears in the Bathurst District, offered another manifestation of the region's pro-British character, for both reformers and tories volunteered for hastily raised, but very loyal, militia."
[182] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. T. O'Meara, 20 January 1835.
[183] O'Meara's removal from Bytown is discussed in Chapter 2. AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. J. Cullen, 9 September 1834; BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 8 July 1835. Writing in the aftermath of the O'Meara affair, Bishop Macdonell noted that the priest had been the "cause of the disturbance and of the scandal which had existed in [Bytown] ever since the departure of the Rev. John Cullen" in September 1834. AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev J. Campion, 21 March 1835; BMD to BRG, 27 March 1835; BMD to Rev. A. Macdonell, 6 April 1835; BMD to Rev. A. Macdonell, 6 April 1835.

Roman Catholic workers supporting Reform interests publicly were an added impetus for the bishop to intervene, though his correspondence is not explicit on that point. Macdonell dispatched the Rev. William P. McDonagh to Bytown to remove the "scandalous priest" and asked him to stay upon later hearing of the "riotous conduct" of the raftsmen.[184] For unknown reasons McDonagh did not remain and instead the bishop dispatched his vicar general, the very Rev. William P. MacDonald who, he assured the Bytown churchwardens, could speak both English and French "equally well"[185] and was thus well-placed to engage the raftsmen, but also serve the parish.

The vicar general's language skills aside, his stature within the diocese, and perhaps his ethnicity, meant he could command respect and authority separate from ethnic conflicts within the parish itself, but also within the broader Bytown setting.[186] MacDonald's appointment to and tenure in Bytown was indicative of the ways in which Bishop Macdonell viewed his clergy as integral to the preservation of order and the submission to authority. While the initial intrusion into the parish had not been due to raftsmen conflicts, nevertheless the bishop perceived an opportunity and a duty for his clergy to provide assistance in subduing the raftsmen and repairing the reputation of Irish Catholics in the town. It is likely the bishop saw little reason to separate the Bytown parish from the broader setting; the parish priest at Bytown had a responsibility to ensure all Roman Catholics were orderly whether they attended mass

[184] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. P. Phelan, 6 July 1835. Reasoning that as an Irishman, McDonagh was well-placed to deal with the disorderly men, Bishop Macdonell hoped that McDonagh would now remain in Bytown to bring the raftsmen into submission. Perhaps McDonagh did not wish to remain, or failed to receive Macdonell's instructions to do so, for he returned to his parish in Toronto almost immediately.
[185] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Catholics of Bytown, 10 August 1835.
[186] For more on the Rev. W. P. MacDonald see: Gill, "The Sword in the Bishop's Hand" 437-452.

regularly or not.[187] Thus, the very Rev. MacDonald and his successor, the Rev. J. Cannon, set about making the Roman Catholic congregation of Bytown an exemplar of order; they each took an active role in the community response to the raftsmen violence.

In the fall of 1835, MacDonald chaired meetings of the "inhabitant householders" of Bytown the aim of which was to arm householders and protect their property.[188] A reference to the Lieutenant Governor in correspondence between the bishop and vicar general suggests the latter operated at the behest, or at least with the approval, of Sir John Colborne.[189] Though a more thorough examination of the political dimensions of the community response to the Shiners is necessary, it is noteworthy that the members of the "Bytown Association for the Preservation of Peace" which resulted from MacDonald's meetings, were overwhelmingly Scottish, and held government appointments.[190] The bishop was pleased with MacDonald's activities in Bytown, and wrote in July 1836 to congratulate the priest on his success bringing both the "Shiners into order" as well as establishing "peace and concord among the congregation of Bytown."[191] It is not clear what had prompted the bishop's letter and the premature congratulations, but perhaps the election of Conservative Thomas McKay for the riding the previous month was proof enough for Macdonell that kudos were due. A farewell address from principal laymen of Bytown to MacDonald confirmed at least part of the bishop's

[187] Cross, "The Shiners' War," 10; Despite Cross's assumption that these men were "deeply Catholic," there is little to suggest the raftsmen were members of the Bytown congregation. Peter Aylen's daughters were baptized in the Bytown Roman Catholic Church. Few references to religion suggest the "Shiners" were, as was often the picture of Irish Catholics in this period, paradoxically derisive of and submissive to, religion and religious authority. In June 1835, Magistrate G.W. Baker reported that "half-drunken Irish raftsmen" had stoned a group of Canadians making their way to Church: AO, UC Sundries, C-6886, G.W. Baker to Col. Rowan, 15 June 1835, p. 84409-84412.
[188] *Bathurst Courier*, 13 November 1835; AO, UC Sundries, C-6887, Resolutions of a meeting of inhabitant householders, Bytown, 20 October 1835, p. 86611-12.
[189] ARCAT, M AA06.01, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 16 January 1836.
[190] *Bathurst Courier*, 13 November 1835.
[191] AAK, MLB 1834-1839, BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 20 July 1836.

praise. Expressing thanks for "blessed effects of your ministry" and the "unwearied zeal" with which MacDonald had approached his time as pastor of the parish was signed by French and Irish alike.[192] The Rev. J. Cannon who replaced MacDonald in the fall of 1836, continued to figure in public efforts to subdue violence. Cannon was praised by the *Bytown Gazette* for using his authority and influence to ensure a peaceful St. Patrick's Day in 1837.[193] Such praise for the priest's actions all but confirmed to readers that those responsible for violence were Roman Catholics and implied strongly that Bytown's Roman Catholic congregation and the disorderly raftsmen were one and the same. In a public letter, the Rev. Cannon attempted to redirect attention from the Roman Catholic population of the town, asking that magistrates be mindful that those who committed a crime should be "punished according to law, and treated as they deserve without distinction of name, country, or religion."[194]

When the Reform-led parliament was dissolved in May 1836, Lieutenant Governor Sir Francis Bond Head elevated the stakes of the ensuing election by suggesting that a vote for anyone but a government-backed candidate was tantamount to treason. Loyalty to the crown and the preservation of the British connection became central issues in the so-called "loyalty election."[195] While historians disagree as to the extent to which Bond Head actively courted and encouraged the political activism of the Orange Order, it is clear that the Orange Order played a

[192] ARCAT, M AE19.03, Address of the parishioners of Bytown, 13 August 1836.
[193] *Bytown Gazette*, 23 March 1837, 6 April 1837; Michael Cross, "Shiner War," 21. Cross notes that the Shiners waited until March 24th to make a reprisal attack on James Johnston. He credits Cannon as well as the swearing in of considerable number of constables for the lack of violence on the 17th. The priest had delivered an address to his congregation on the importance of abstaining from violence on the day which the Gazette implied would have been heard by and persuaded the violent raftsmen.
[194] *Bytown Gazette*, 6 April 1837.
[195] S. F. Wise, "HEAD, Sir FRANCIS BOND," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003) http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/head_francis_bond_10E.html; Cadigan, "Paternalism and Politics," 319-347; Mills, *The Idea of Loyalty*, 80-106.

critical role in delivering a Conservative victory.[196] With Bond Head's sanction, the Orange Order appealed to the rough culture of the lower orders, connected recently enfranchised settlers to the Conservative platform, and physically intimidated Reform voters at the polls. A remarkable element of the Orange-Conservative strategy was the Orange-Green alliance, an apparent cooperation between the province's Orangemen and their traditional foes, the Roman Catholics.[197] Ogle Gowan, deputy Grand master of the Orange Lodge of Upper Canada, had spent much of the decade advocating a united immigrant party within which Catholics and Protestants could find common cause. His political agenda which combined immigrant rights and loyalty to the crown found truck with non-Orange Tories who were attempting to create a popular and inclusive conservative organization.[198] The Orange Order courted favour with Roman Catholics appealing to their concerns about anti-immigrant nativism that had plagued the Reformers since 1832 when they had refused to support Colborne's Orange-supported initiative to create immigrant aid societies.[199]

Bishop Macdonell's public political activism reached new heights during the 1836 election. Convinced that only a return to a Conservative-dominated House of Assembly would save the province from ruin, Macdonell worked tirelessly to demonstrate Catholic loyalty and to ensure the province's Roman Catholics backed only Conservative candidates. The bishop had

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[196] Cadigan "Paternalism and Politics;" Senior, *Canadian Phase*, 26-30; Jessica Harland-Jacobs, " "Maintaining the connexion": Orangeism in the British North Atlantic World, 1795-1844," *Atlantic Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, April 2008, 27-49.

[197] Donald Akenson calls the Orange-Green alliance the "goddamndest alliance in Canadian history," *The Orangeman: the life and times of Ogle Gowan*, (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1986) 183. Post-election, Ogle Gowan would discount the Catholic contribution by suggesting that Catholics were too few in number to have made a significant contribution to the Conservative victory: *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 2 August 1837.

[198] Senior, *Orangeism*, 20-22; "Immigrant question," and "Gowan, Ogle Robert," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed July 28, 2014, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/gowan_ogle_robert_10E.html.

[199] Senior, *Orangeism*, 22.

passed the day-to-day administration of the diocese to his coadjutor Bishop Remi Gaulin and was concentrating on legacy projects such as the funding and construction of a diocesan seminary. Convinced that the stipend for Roman Catholic clergy was nearing its end, he was also looking to secure additional funding for clergy. Macdonell actively lobbied for a share of the clergy reserves as well as the Jesuit estates.

News that Roman Catholics were attending reform meetings was both mortifying personally, and potentially detrimental to the bishop's political agenda.[200] Developments in his home county of Glengarry and the reform leanings of Glengarry Catholics like his cousin Col. Chisholm were particularly vexing. When he learned that members of the Glengarry Catholic community had refused to sign a loyalty petition he reacted with anger.[201] In public letters addressed to communities reported to be in the thrall of reform, Macdonell touted the material and spiritual benefits of support for the government. Reform was intrinsically anti-religion. The "demagogues" of Lower Canada who wanted to destroy the Catholic Church were proof of that, he argued.[202] The material ramifications of anti-government politics would be borne not just by the Church but also by individual Catholics. Similarly the "wicked councils of evil-minded persons" would ultimately injure materially the "poor" Irish Catholics of Toronto Gore who were reported to be attending secret political meetings.[203] For Macdonell, intent on preserving

[200] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 3 February 1836; BMD to John McGillvray Esq, 28 January 1836.
[201] Rea, *Bishop Macdonell,* 151-152; AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. J. Campion, 15 January 1836; BMD to Rev. J. Bennett, 28 May 1836. Macdonell was particularly upset about the favours he had given Col. Chisholm over the years and was affronted when his "radical cousin" was one of the first to sign the petition to have the Bishop and Bishop Strachan removed from the Legislative Council. Their opposition to the loyalty petition was proof that Glengarry Catholics had been "deceived and deluded by evil-minded persons." AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to John McGillvray Esq, 28 January 1836.
[202] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to John McGillvray Esq, 28 January 1836.
[203] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, Bishop A. Macdonell to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 3 February 1836.

his reputation for loyalty and leaving his diocese on sound financial footing, the stakes of the 1836 election were high.

Most remarkably the bishop's electioneering in 1836 involved very public exchanges of compliments and praise with the Orange Order and its representatives. As part of its strategy to deliver the election for Conservative candidates, the Orange Order led by Ogle Gowan courted the bishop's notice, and through him it was assumed, the colony's Roman Catholics. In public addresses and letters to Orange-sympathetic newspapers, the Order issued public declarations of admiration and praise for the bishop's loyalty. Bishop Macdonell returned these compliments with similarly public expressions of affection for Protestant and Orange Upper Canadians. There is nothing to suggest this, what historians have called the "Orange-Green" alliance, was ever a formal arrangement, but rather was implied by these exchanges of good-will.[204] The Orange Order had been publicly commending the bishop's loyalty as early as 1832, but it was not until 1836 that Macdonell chose to respond.[205]

In a March 1836 letter to Sir Francis Bond Head, later published in the *Kingston Chronicle*, Bishop Macdonell defended his position in the Legislative Council recently under attack from Mackenzie. Macdonell detailed his service and the loyalty of his flock, and refused to relinquish the "mark of honour conferred upon me by my sovereign to gratify malice of a few unprincipled radicals."[206] The letter drew praise from many quarters including the Orange Order which used the occasion to insist on its best intentions toward its Roman Catholic neighbours. The Order had "always held out the right hand of fellowship and goodwill to their Roman

[204] Kerr, "When Orange and Green United," 34-42 gives a synopsis of these exchanges.
[205] Bishop Macdonell's correspondence books suggest he had no contact with Ogle Gowan or other prominent Orangemen, and rarely discussed the activities of the Orange Lodge. A survey of colonial newspapers revealed no direct response on his part to the various Orange declarations of friendship before 1836.
[206] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to J. Joseph, 7 March 1836; *Kingston Chronicle and Gazette*, 7 May 1836; 28 May 1836.

Catholic fellow-subjects and had never meant or intended that the Orange Society should given them the smallest uneasiness, much less wound their feelings, religious or political."[207] In Bishop Macdonell's next public letter, an "Address to the Catholic and Protestant Freeholders of the Counties of Stormont and Glengarry" published in the Toronto *Patriot* and other colonial newspapers, Macdonell avowed his affection for the province's Protestants and noted the frequency with which Protestants had supported his efforts to promote the public good. The Bishop had "received from Orangemen unequivocal and substantial proofs of disinterested friendship and generosity of heart."[208] Similar sentiments were exchanged between the Bishop and Protestant and Orange organizations in the lead-up to the election.[209]

The history of anti-Orange political activism amongst Upper Canadian Irish Catholics suggests any encouragement of the association by their spiritual leader would not have been appreciated.[210] Though he had so far absented himself from participation in anti-Orange activism, Macdonell would have been fully aware of the legacy of Orange-Catholic animosity and its iterations in Upper Canada.[211] Nevertheless, caught up in the frenzied high stakes of the

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[207] *Upper Canada Courier*, 4 June 1836, cited in Kerr.

[208] "Address to the Catholic and Protestant Freeholders of the Counties of Stormont and Glengarry" *Patriot*, 17 June 1836; *Cobourg Star*, 22 June 1836; Rea, 170-172.

[209] Macdonell's address drew praise in the Tory colonial press and from various Protestants and Orangemen, *Cobourg Star*, 22 June 1836, 13 July 1836. The Protestants of the city of Toronto showered the bishop with "sentiments of unfeigned respect," and avowed that in the upcoming election, Catholic and Protestant would work "side by side and hand in hand [to] achieve victory over a revolutionary faction." Macdonell thanked them for their "kind and friendly address" and expanded at length on the lessons for Catholics and Protestants in the parable of the Good Samaritan. He noted that the friendship of Protestants in Toronto had seen him through the "difficult and embarrassing circumstances" of the O'Grady conflict.

[210] See Chapter 1 for discussion of 1820s anti-Orange activism on the part of Irish Catholics

[211] Bishop Macdonell declined to participate in these anti-Orange activities, but the 1827 riot at a Kingston Orange procession was the lone exception. The bishop petitioned for clemency for the Catholic rioters and warned government officials about the progress and evils of the Orange Order. Perhaps worried about a reprisal of Orange-Catholic violence in the Bathurst district around this time, the bishop also wrote to local authorities in Perth soliciting information about the progress of Orangeism in that place. He was apparently aware of Patrick McGuire's efforts to have Orange activities in Newcastle district suppressed, but he did not correspond with the government on the subject. AAK, MLB, 1820-29,

election and warmed with enthusiasm for what he likely believed was a remarkably ecumenical development, the bishop was certain the election had witnessed a change in Upper Canadian Irish hearts which "when the powerful motive of excitement is removed," exhibit "benevolence and warm affection towards his fellow countrymen." Indeed, the Bishop enthused, he knew of "no cause of difference or misunderstanding between Catholics and Orangemen" and asserted that the Irish of the province could now stand "shoulder to shoulder and standing forward in defence of the British Constitution and British liberty."[212]

Signals of Irish Catholic displeasure with the Orange Order and its overtures to Catholics were readily available to the bishop. When Orange Grand Secretary Col. John Covert advocated a common cause between Orangemen and Roman Catholics in the *Cobourg Star*, "An Upper Canadian" objected strongly in the *Courier*.[213] The writer did not divulge his ethnicity or religion, but did betray an intimate knowledge of Orange history and activities in Ireland, and alluded to a familiarity with service in the British military. Arguing that all aspects of the Orange procession, its choice of date, display, and activity completely contradicted Covert's assertion that the Orangemen had no hostile or aggressive intents, the writer exposed the hypocrisy of the Orange Order's overtures toward Catholics. "Is it now reasonable or right to say" the writer wondered, "to the Catholic Irish who are as loyal as any other portion of the inhabitants of Upper Canada—it is true that we obtained a splendid victory over you at the Battle of the Boyne, and it is also true we meet at the anniversary of that day to exalt in our

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BMD to Major G. Hillier, 12 April 1827; Major G. Hillier to BMD, 1 May 1827; BMD to Major G. Hillier, 26 October 1827; BMD to J.B. Robinson, 28 October 1827; BMD to William Morris, 21 April 1827; MC, AI1C19, letter 25, Sheriff of Bathurst district to BMD, 1 May 1827.

[212] *Cobourg Star*, 6 July 1836.

[213] *Cobourg Star*, 21 August 1833.

success and in your misfortunes, *nevertheless we should not be divided, but should act together*."[214]

Irish-run reform newspapers, though far from unbiased observers of the bishop's activities, not surprisingly railed against the bishop and his "friendship" with Ogle Gowan and the Orange Order. Reform editors expounded at length on the implications of what the Montreal *Vindicator* called a "strange coalition." "We live in strange times," the *Vindicator* noted, "when we see a Catholic Bishop, in company with the Orange Purplemen, appealing to Catholics to exert themselves in opposition to those principles of Civil and Religious Liberty for which Catholic Maryland, Catholic Ireland, Catholic Belgium, have so honorably distinguished themselves."[215] Similarly, a commentator in *The Correspondent and Advocate* expressed disgust at the warm language Macdonell's Glengarry address offered to the Orange Order and was incredulous at the bishop's support for Ogle Gowan who was a "petty despot, the bitter enemy of the Religion [the Bishop] professes."[216] Non-Irish, non-Catholic observers also found the relationship strange. James Grant of Martintown wrote to the *Correspondent*, "I am not a little astonished that Bishop McDonnell should associate himself with Orangemen who are sworn enemies of his church."[217] In a similar vein the *London True Sun* called the relationship a "strange affair."[218]

Affirmations of respect for the Orange Order aside, Bishop Macdonell's public support for the Conservatives during the election also drew criticism from the province's Reform press. The bishop's "Address to the Freeholders of Glengarry and Stormont," was particularly

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[214] *The Courier of Upper Canada*, "Communications," 7 September 1833. Covert responded in the 18 September 1833 issue.
[215] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 29 June 1836.
[216] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 22 June 1836.
[217] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 27 July 1836.
[218] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 14 September 1836.

criticized for its overtly political content. The address had reminded the Glengarry Catholics of the gratitude they owed the government and warned them of the dangers a Reform government posed for their religion. The bishop suggested that the Reformers Glengarry had sent to the last Assembly were no better than those of the same political stripe who had "assail[ed] him like hellhounds, with every possible abuse, indignity and insult." He entreated his audience to elect men of:

> sound and loyal principles, who have the real good of the country at heart, who will not allow themselves to be duped or misled by wicked hypocritical radicals, who are endeavouring to drive the province into rebellion and to cut off every connection between Canada and Great Britain, your mother country, and to subject you to the domination of Yankee rulers and Lynch Law.[219]

Reform commentators were quick to object to the bishop's presumption to dictate to his flock and argued that Macdonell had overstepped his authority as spiritual leader of the colony's Roman Catholics. The *Vindicator* called it an "electioneering address" that was "extraordinary and ill-advised." Macdonell's extensive account of the services he had rendered the Catholics of Glengarry and Stormont were, in the *Vindicator*'s opinion, not enough to induce them to follow his directives:

> It does not follow that the Electors of Stormont and Glengarry are to deliver themselves now, bound hand and foot to the Molloch of Toryism to gratify his Lordship; or to permit themselves to be driven to the polls there to vote their own political slavery and destruction; there to forge chains for themselves and their children. The political privileges which they have to exercise are their own, not Bishop McDonnell's.[220]

The editor of *The Correspondent and Advocate* hoped that the "freeholders of Glengarry and Stormont cannot be trepanned by so silly a production."[221] Bishop Macdonell had clearly overstepped his bounds as spiritual leader by involving himself in the political lives of his

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[219] "Address to the Catholic and Protestant Freeholders of the Counties of Stormont and Glengarry" *Patriot*, 17 June 1836.
[220] Reprinted in *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 29 June 1836.
[221] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 22 June 1836.

people. Writing from Prescott to *The Correspondent and Advocate*, "Aliqus" noted that Macdonell had done a poor job of masking his political purpose with religious concerns: "if religion were more in his heart than it is on his lips," the Bishop would not be penning "political pastorals" that insulted the intelligence of those to whom they were addressed, nor acting as the "venal whipper-in of a corrupt and ex-crated administration." Aliqus was disgusted that Macdonell would heap insults on Glengarry's Reform MHAs, "gentlemen of unimpeachable character and well-known loyalty, conscientious and zealous members of [Catholicism], merely because they dared to think and act in the legislative capacity in opposition to the views of Sir FB Head."[222] The *Vindicator* agreed, noting that Macdonell's abusive language was unbecoming of a man of his ecclesiastical stature: "we lament sincerely, for the sake of that Church of which Bishop McDonnell is a dignitary, to find his Lordship calling any class of his fellow Christians 'hell hounds' … We believe his Lordship's divine master, who preached the gospel of peace never used such language to any of God's creatures."[223]

The bishop's close ties with the government which were made uncomfortably clear by his overt electioneering in 1836 only supported the case being made in the Reform press for the discontinuation of government funding for all religious denominations. Bishop Macdonell had warned the Glengarry and Stormont Catholics that a Reform parliament would strip the Roman Catholic Church of its funding, and both Alquis and the *Vindicator* asserted their support for such a measure. "What can be more unjust," Alquis asked, "than to appropriate the public revenues to the support of any particular modification of religion…or more unnatural than to connect religion with the state, whereby its freedom becomes immediately extinguished by the

[222] *Ibid.*
[223] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 29 June 1836.

cold breath of worldly policy."[224] The *Vindicator* noted that the bishop's invocation of the "domination of Yankee rulers" that would inevitably follow a Reform victory was a hollow threat. The "people rule in Yankee land," the *Vindicator* reminded its readers, and better still Church and State were kept separate: "there are no everlasting Salaries there; no rectories; no church-and-state; every person pays his own parson on the O'Connell principle."[225] Bishop Macdonell's public political activism had only highlighted for Irish Catholic readers of the Reform press, the extent to which the dependence of their Church on government support was problematic.

As had the *Colonial Advocate* in 1832, in 1836, the reform press drew on the Irish context, pointing to its relevance to Upper Canadian politics and more specifically to issues of concern to Upper Canadian Irish Catholics. Bishop Macdonell's tenuous relationship with the Irish of his diocese was exploited in a bid to further alienate the two. In the Glengarry address Macdonell had referenced his time in Ireland during the 1798 rebellion and his efforts to save "rebels" from the bayonets of the yeomanry and instead deliver them to trial. In an appeal to the "Irishmen of Upper Canada" reprinted in *The Correspondent and Advocate* the *Vindicator* scoffed at the bishop's boast noting that the "authority" to which the Bishop had apparently delivered these rebels "tortured the souls out of [their] bodies… No wonder [Bishop Macdonell] is in such good favour with Orangemen."[226]

Bishop Macdonell had insisted on the incompatibility of religion and reform, and the reform press, conscious that Macdonell's spiritual authority might still carry some weight with Irish Catholic voters, worked to dissuade Irish Catholic readers of the notion. The *Vindicator*

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[224] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 22 June 1836.
[225] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 29 June 1836.
[226] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 29 June 1836. See Chapter 1 for more discussion of memory of 1798 in Upper Canada.

highlighted other Roman Catholic leaders who were apparently supporters of reform or radical politics including Archbishop John MacHale of Tuam, Archbishop John England of Charleston and Bishop M.A. Fleming of Newfoundland. MacHale, the *Vindicator* reported, had preached that it was a "mortal sin to vote for a Tory" regardless of the candidate's religion. Bishop Fleming and the clergy of Newfoundland had supported a Presbyterian Reformer over an Irish Catholic Tory in a recent election.[227] Reform editors frequently invoked the respectability and legitimacy of Daniel O'Connell as a reformer of authority and good character to connect the cause of Reform in Upper Canada with that of Ireland. O'Connell had reportedly said of the politics of the Upper Canadian Irish: "I blush for the folly of my Countrymen; they are a set of miscreants if understanding the nature of the contest they continue in the Tory path." O'Connell's close relationship with the leadership of both the Irish Roman Catholic Church and the Churches of England and Ireland was a further indication that radicals were not the "implacable enemies of religion" as Macdonell contended. The choice was clear, the *Vindicator* wrote on the eve of the 1836 election: "for the honour of his country, and of his countrymen, we hope that they will avoid the seductions of the enemy. Let their watchword be "O'Connell and Reform forever." They must either vote for his principles, or for those of Ogle Gowan."[228]

While no full-scale analysis of the effectiveness of the "Orange-Green" alliance exists, the victory of Conservative candidates throughout the province has been credited, at least in part, to the apparent coalition between the Bishop and the Orange Order. Gerald Craig estimates that between one-third and one-half of the Reform defeats in 1836 were due to the so-called "Orange-Green alliance."[229] Historians have explained the apparent willingness of Roman Catholics to vote for Orange candidates as evidence of Bishop Macdonell's influence, rather

[227] *Ibid.*
[228] *Ibid.*
[229] Craig, 238.

than the Conservatives' successful appeal to settler and working classes and consequently, to a significant portion of the Catholic population.[230] To show their appreciation for the Roman Catholic contribution to the Conservative victory, the Orange Order cancelled that year's Twelfth of July processions and drank toasts in honour of the bishop.[231] Bishop Macdonell was pleased with the election result, but was not so sanguine as to believe that Upper Canada was suddenly a haven for Catholics and its government eager to reward their loyalty. In a letter to John Elmsley, Macdonell noted rather remarkably that though Catholics had more grievances than the radicals, "religion and honor" had prevented them from challenging the lawful authority. Nevertheless, he expected "impartial justice" from Sir Francis Bond Head and intended to challenge him on his government's treatment of Catholics in the next assembly.[232]

In the aftermath of the Conservative victory, the reform press continued to address the issues that had been raised by Bishop Macdonell's politicking. The *Correspondent and Advocate* railed against state-funded priests and included extensive coverage of the issue as it played out in Ireland.[233] It called for a stop to "bribes to clergy," arguing that depending on their flocks, would keep the clergy "honest."[234] It also paid particular attention to the debates in Britain surrounding the legality of the Orange Order and its activities in Ireland.[235] It reminded readers of the Orange-enacted violence of the past election, noted with displeasure the rising

[230] Kerr, "Orange and Green Alliance" is oft-cited source and thus his assumptions about the influence of Macdonell have been repeated without interrogation in subsequent treatments of the alliance. He credited Macdonell's Scottish character, which was free of the "traditional passions" of the Irish for the alliance and for establishing "the tradition of attachment to Great Britain among Roman Catholic Irishmen in Canada which distinguishes them so much from their co-religionists in the United States" (42).
[231] Craig, 239.
[232] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to J. Elmsley, 10 July 1836.
[233] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, "Fruits of Tithes," 8 June 1836, 27 July 1836, "From the Constitution…" 3 August 1836, "Tithes in Ireland-Horrid Case," 14 September 1836, 28 September 1836, "State provision for the clergy," "Church and State Union," and "to the Electors of the County of Limerick," 15 March 1837.
[234] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 22 June 1836.
[235] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 5 October 1836, 13 July 1836, 8 February 1837.

fortunes of the Upper Canadian Orange Order and Ogle Gowan, and criticized Sir Francis Bond Head for refusing to implement Britain laws banning Orange processions.[236] Bishop Macdonell did not escape criticism for his share of responsibility for the proliferation of the Orange system in Upper Canada.[237] Prefacing a report of an assault on the Rev. Thomas Gibney by an Orangemen to whose dying wife the priest had been called to attend, the editor argued that the bishop was a "friend and apologist" for the Orangeman who had committed a "sacrilegious indignity" against a Catholic priest as he exercised his sacred functions. The Irish who had willingly followed Macdonell's directives had also a share in blame. The "Irishmen deserve it all," concluded *The Correspondent and Advocate* editor, for they had "blindly suffered themselves in many instances to be duped and misled…under the guise of religion" thereby furthering their "degradation and misfortunes."[238] Echoing these sentiments, the *Hamilton Express* noted that the Bishop had been complicit in the proliferation of a system that had been a "curse" in Ireland by forming a coalition with "those whose aim has ever been the extermination of the religion, which he preaches." The Bishop had been "seduced by flatteries from "high places"" and had consequently urged his flock to "accept that red right hand still reeking with the blood of thousands."[239]

By the spring of 1837, Bishop Macdonell was increasingly uneasy about the implications of his public support of the Orange Order. A series of letters on the dangers of Orangeism written by Col. Connell J. Baldwin appeared in *The Correspondent and Advocate* in the spring of 1837[240] and may have contributed to the Bishop's unease. Introducing the letters

[236] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 14 September 1836, 8 February 1837, 28 February 1837, 22 March 1837, 14 June 1837.
[237] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 14 September 1836.
[238] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 28 September 1836.
[239] *Hamilton Express*, "Orangeism" reprinted in *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 3 August 1836.
[240] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 8 February, 22 February, 1 March, 15 March 1837.

as "very apropos," the editor cheekily speculated they would "doubtless elicit another letter from the 'excellent Bishop' to his Orange brethren instructing them how they are to demean themselves."[241] Ostensibly addressing the "insult and intimidation" he had encountered following a 12th of July procession outside his home in the Gore of Toronto,[242] Baldwin also addressed the broader issue of the proliferation and propagation of Orangeism in Upper Canada.[243] Orangeism was more than an internal ethnic dispute, Baldwin argued; it was a dangerous "system" that threatened the security and prosperity of all Upper Canadians regardless of denomination. Baldwin was troubled by the membership of civil, legal, and judicial authorities within the Order: "I ask, whether in such a state of society there exists that security for person or property … whether any person becoming obnoxious to this blood-stained faction can consider his life or his property secure?"[244] Baldwin also questioned the inactivity of the government regarding the growth of the Order.[245] A petition of 5,000 signatures had been presented at the previous session of the House of Assembly begging for anti-

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[241] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 8 February 1837.

[242] The procession in question had marched from one extremity of his property along the 6th line of Gore to the other. The Orangemen played "party and offensive tunes" and fired a shot toward the Catholic church on Baldwin's land. The road had been chosen deliberately, Baldwin argued, as it was home not only to a church, to himself a public opponent of the Order, but the greatest body of Roman Catholics living in Etobicoke. One of the leaders of the procession claimed to have attempted, but failed to prevent the procession and Baldwin noted of this that no "stronger argument be used to shew the mischievous tendency of that system, than that the Orange body cannot be controlled by their leaders, when they wish to prevent insult or outrage." *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 8 February, 1 March, 15 March 1837.

[243] In its introduction (8 February 1837) to the first of these four letters, the editor attested to Baldwin's impeccable character and record of military service. The editor quoted Sir John Colborne who noted of Baldwin, "a braver officer never served His Majesty." Yet *The Correspondent and Advocate* contended, "this gallant officer because of his religion is insulted by Irish Orangemen in Upper Canada,—by men who pretend to exclusive loyalty, and who also pretend to live in amity with their Catholic fellow subjects." Baldwin, the editor contended, had elicited the attention of the Orangemen by virtue of his being a cousin of Daniel O'Connell, brother to a radical MP for Cork, and for having voted for Mackenzie in the previous election.

[244] He noted that the procession outside of his home had been armed and was led by a local magistrate, "the constituted guardian of good order and peace for the declared purpose of insulting and intimidating." *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 8 February 1837.

[245] *Ibid*.

Orangeism legislation, but the machinations of unnamed members had prevented legislation from being tabled.[246] The government's inaction would necessitate the creation of a self-defence movement of Catholics and Protestants to defy the Orange Order, Baldwin predicted with a hint of sarcasm: "the country will be split in two great factions and the security of the government compromised; —a happy prospect and very likely to induce emigrants to settle here!"[247]

Col. Baldwin was particularly alarmed by the Order's aggressive recruiting and active political engagement in the most recent election which, he argued, had been aimed at positioning the Order as an "*imperium in imperio*" from which they would "dictate to the government and to the people."[248] On the bishop's involvement in the election, Baldwin noted that Macdonell and a few unnamed influential Catholics had "lent themselves to the Orange party." He wondered if the bishop and his friends were satisfied with their reward. They were now "generally despised" and held in contempt by the Orangemen who were known to toast "Bishop McDonnell(sic) and to Hell with the Pope."[249] Referring obliquely to the bishop, Baldwin noted that a person of "influence" had recently said that Catholics and Orangemen lived in the "greatest harmony." To that Baldwin was blunt: "Sir, they must be ignorant of the state of the country, or they have been guilty of the most cool, unblushing, deliberate falsehood that ever dropped from the lip or pen of man—and if they made fifty other assertions tho (sic) founded on truth, this one falsehood would be sufficient to deprive them of credence."[250]

Apparently chastened, the bishop composed and circulated a petition calling for the disbanding of the Orange Order. He expressed a hope that his petition would have more effect

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[246] *Ibid.*
[247] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 22 February 1837.
[248] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 8 February 1837, 1 March, and 15 March 1837.
[249] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 8 Feb 1837.
[250] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 8 February 1837.

than the previous attempts made by Irish Catholics, but more importantly wished that the petition would put to rest any suggestions that he had been "encouraging Orangemen."[251] The petition mixed the usual assurances of Catholic loyalty and readiness to defend the colony and empire with explicit reminders of the demonstrated support of the Upper Canadian Catholic population for the government.[252] It noted that despite the fact the King had banned the Order from Britain and its colonies, active recruitment was underway in Upper Canada amongst all classes. Orangeism, the petition attested, was the "firebrand of discord and dissension, not only suffered to exist, but [was] even encouraged in the Country." The result, should this continue, would certainly be dire: "mortal feuds, and hostilities between your Petitioners and their fellow subjects" would "inevitably lead to quarrels, bloodshed, and murders as it has done, and continues to do in unfortunate Ireland." Bishop Macdonell made an odd decision to circulate the petition amongst the laity and clergy anonymously. This may have been a ploy to keep the visibility of his involvement to a minimum, but had the effect of temporarily creating confusion about the source and intent of the petition. Bishop Macdonell was surprised to encounter resistance to the petition. Discussions about the petition in his correspondence and the press reveal much about how Upper Canadian Irish Catholics viewed their Bishop's politics in the aftermath of the 1836 election.

Col. Connell J. Baldwin was one of the first recipients of the petition. Without knowing who had authored the text, Baldwin forwarded the petition and his remarks on the same to *The Correspondent and Advocate*. Baldwin could not account for the petition's existence. He noted

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[251] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Col. C.J. Baldwin, 27 March 1837. Bishop Macdonell's correspondence from this period reveals little about the genesis or impetus for the petition beyond his desire to assuage Irish Catholic feelings. Similar language and sentiments in Anthony Manahan's memorial to Lord Durham written a year later suggests Manahan may have had a hand in Macdonell's petition or at the very least had been influenced by its content.

[252] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, Petition of the Catholics of Upper Canada, nd; A copy was also printed in *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 5 April 1837.

that he and others had recently made a deputation to the Lieutenant Governor on the same subject and he wondered why this "excellent and greatly required petition" had not been circulated sooner. That said, Baldwin took exception to the third clause, which argued rather circuitously that the petitioners: "have never been found in the number of those who basked in the sunshine of power and afterwards proved ungrateful to their benefactors, when divested of power, by depreciating their merits in order to pay their court to the rising sun." Such sentiments were "quite uncalled for and highly objectionable," Baldwin argued. Baldwin felt that his very public campaigning for Reform in the previous election meant that the expectation that he would sign such a document, was "in very bad taste."[253] The Colonel's interest in the suppression of the Orange system was well-known and as such his response to the petition was key to its fortunes.[254] His public refusal to support the petition meant Bishop Macdonell's anti-Orange initiative was not off to an auspicious start.

It was before Baldwin's criticism of Macdonell's anti-Orangeism petition was published in the *Correspondent* that the bishop read with alarm Daniel O'Connell's comments about the "divisions and heart burnings" of Upper Canadian Roman Catholics.[255] It was in his frantic letter to Baldwin on the subject that Macdonell revealed himself to be the author of the Orangeism petition. Baldwin's frank response startled the Bishop, but Macdonell refused to entertain any thought that what Baldwin related had been true. The statements in Baldwin's letter, that Irish Catholics in the province were disturbed by the Bishop's political activism, by the implications of a government funded clergy, and by his public praise support of the Orange Order, were "not founded on fact," the Bishop insisted, but rather had been "received from hearsay or from incorrect and erroneous sources, some greatly misrepresented and some

[253] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 5 April 1837.
[254] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 8 February, 22 February, 1 March, 15 March 1837.
[255] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 15 March 1837.

misconstrued and distorted." On the subject of the petition against Orangeism, Macdonell told Baldwin icily: "I shall be able to procure a sufficient number of signatures to it without troubling you and your friends."[256]

Col. Baldwin's refusal to circulate or endorse the petition was a serious blow to Macdonell's petition, but equally distressing was the response to the petition from the Rev. William P. McDonagh, the parish priest at Toronto. Like Baldwin, McDonagh took exception to the third clause, saying that it seemed "calculated to give offence." While he agreed that the "vile orange system which inevitably must tend in the ruination of this country unless immediate steps be taken to stop its progress," he was reluctant to endorse the petition which he believed stigmatized "a formidable body of political opportunity."[257] Rather remarkably considering his political record, Macdonell disagreed with the priest writing: "the conscientious part of the priesthood in this diocese, have no great reason to feel either grateful or thankful for any tenderness or delicacy shown to them by the political adversaries whose feelings you are so anxious to spare for they have not been very sparing of their obloquy themselves." He noted that though the priest and "his friends" objected to the third clause, all those who had read it in Kingston agreed that it was "established upon the firm and solid rock of truth and that it ought not to be struck out."[258] Assuming the priest would sign the petition, Bishop Macdonell ordered the Rev. McDonagh to collect as many signatures as possible before returning it to the bishop.

Col. Baldwin's letter continued to haunt the bishop. He inferred from it that Irish Catholics objected to clergy who were not of their political creed, and saw in Baldwin's words the spectre of radicalism infiltrating the Catholic population. Consequently he instructed McDonagh to avoid soliciting the signatures of "those who have shown themselves enemies of

[256] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Col. C.J. Baldwin, 17 April 1837.
[257] ARCAT, M AB31.02, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 24 March 1837.
[258] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 10 April 1837.

the gover't and constitution of the country."[259] The priest's less than enthusiastic response to the petition had also raised questions about his political loyalties, and in a misguided screed the bishop accused McDonagh of plotting and conspiring against the government during "nightly and clandestine visits to Mr. O'Grady."[260] Col. Baldwin's letter had revealed the true issue at the heart of Irish Catholic discord: state-sponsored religion. To the Rev. McDonagh, Macdonell blamed the "wild and foolish ideas of many of our ignorant people" for the deprivation and difficulty faced by the province's clergy. The clergy barely subsisted on what they received now including the minimal government allowance; yet when that government allowance was suspended, which Macdonell fully expected it would be, he hoped that Col. Baldwin and "his friends the reformers" would use their apparently extensive influence with the people "to make ample remuneration to their pastors for depriving them of the small appropriation granted by gover't." He was particularly distressed by Baldwin's assertion that the Irish Catholics would "never bend a knee" to a priest paid by the government. Macdonell insisted to McDonagh that his quest for funding from the clergy reserves and Jesuit estates was the best remedy for "an evil that would diminish the confidence of the Catholic in his pastor."[261]

While Bishop Macdonell had refused to believe that Col. Baldwin's assessment of the political climate amongst Irish Catholics was anything more than hearsay, his letters to McDonagh betrayed a deep paranoia that Baldwin had been right. Macdonell was likely

[259] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 17 April 1837.
[260] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 10 April 1837; ARCAT, M AB31.04, Rev. W.P. McDonagh to BMD, 18 April 1837. McDonagh categorically denied any part in treasonous activities and angrily denounced the spirit upon which the accusations had been made. He included a signed statement by lawyers William H. Draper and Robert Baldwin Sullivan to certify that the priest had never "plotted or conspired" against the government." His visits to the O'Grady residence had been to administer the sacrament to O'Grady's nephew who was sick and having no understanding of his religion needed extensive instruction before it was given. Macdonell accepted McDonagh's explanation but did not apologize, see: AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 25 April 1837.
[261] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Rev. W.P. McDonagh, 17 April 1837.

therefore, horrified to read a letter in the *Correspondent and Advocate* ostensibly from a member of the Toronto congregation confirming most of Baldwin's observations. Writing from Toronto, "J.O.N" described the apparent discomfort of the "excellent and esteemed" Rev. McDonagh as he read Bishop Macdonell's anti-Orange petition from the pulpit on the 16th of April 1837. J.O.N. predicted that the Orange Order will soon "learn how ungratefully their friendship to the author of it, which on a late political occasion hypocritically extolled, has been requited." While reading the petition the Rev. McDonagh "seemed to feel as if he was not in the proper discharge of his clerical duties" reading "such a document" from "so sacred a place and on so solemn an occasion." The laity, "stricken with amazement," had expressed empathy for their pastor, who they assumed "had the commands of his Bishop." Murmurs of "it is not his fault!" and "he dare not disobey the mandate of a man for whom resentment never dies!" went through the congregation as McDonagh enacted what J.O.N. described as a "*mélange* of politics and prayer." Following Mass, the majority of the Irish congregation had refused to sign the petition and J.O.N. cited their memory of 1798, the Chaplain of the Glengarry Fencibles, and the struggle that had united laity and clergy together to rid Ireland of the "tyranny and oppression" of the Church and State connection. Apparently, expressing the sentiments of the majority of the Toronto congregation, J.O.N. continued, the clergy of Ireland were "unblemished" and had refused countless times to become the "mercenary instruments of enslaving the Catholic population." It would be a "happy day" once the sacred altars of Upper Canada were also free from the "desecration of pensioned toryism" and its "Ecclesiastical dignitaries not as the venal subalterns of a corrupt executive but as the zealous disinterested Ministers of Him whose kingdom is not of this world!" Until then, Sir, the Catholic religion in

this country must drop its head and present a mournful contrast to the prosperous condition in Ireland where it is not contaminated by State bribery!"[262]

Despite Bishop Macdonell's fears about the power of O'Grady and his doubts about the politics of clergy like the Rev. W.P. McDonagh who he worried was "agitating the lower classes" of Toronto,[263] the loyalty of the Irish was not the first Roman Catholic loyalty questioned during the rebellion period. Events in Lower Canada cast a shadow over the French Canadian Catholics of Essex county and the Scots Catholics at the opposite end of the province in Glengarry county.[264] Reports from the eastern parts of the province that the Catholic Highlanders living in close proximity to Lower Canada were susceptible to the negative influences of radicalism were also alarming.[265] In November 1837, Assistant Quarter Master General in the Canadas George Phillpotts reported that he had heard rumours that the Roman Catholics in the vicinity of Cornwall would not take up arms against their coreligionists from Lower Canada. He also reported that 50,000 Irish Catholics were ready to advance on the region (from unknown quarters) to assist the Lower Canadian rebels when required.[266] Such fears proved to be unfounded. That region remained largely peaceful, and despite a lack of arms, the Glengarry militia expressed a willingness to march, and in the aftermath of the failed rebellion in Upper Canada, were dispatched to Lower Canada.[267]

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[262] *The Correspondent and Advocate*, 19 April 1837.
[263] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to BRG, 12 January 1838.
[264] Colin Read and Ronald J. Stagg, *Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada*, (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985) lxvii, lxxxi, 254-260; Elenor Senior, "The Glengarry Highlanders and the Suppression of the Rebellions in Lower Canada, 1837-38" *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, LVI (1978) 143-159.
[265] Read and Stagg, lxvii, 254-260; Senior, "Glengarry Highlanders" 143-159.
[266] Read and Stagg, 254-55.
[267] Senior, "Glengarry Highlanders," 143-159; Read and Stagg, 258-9. In a bid to appear useful but also to prove that his Glengarry Catholics were loyal, Bishop Macdonell busied himself in late 1837 with facilitating the formation of an additional Glengarry corps and lobbying the government for more support for the Glengarry militia. AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Sir. F. Bond Head, 13 December 1837; BMD to Rev. J. Bennett, 21 December 1837, Col. Bonnycastle to BMD, 27 December 1837, BMD to

When rebels from the London district threatened Sandwich, the Rev. Angus Macdonell complained that the Canadians were indifferent to the notion of defending the settlement from the rebel onslaught.[268] From neighbouring Malden, came reports that the parish priest there, the Reverend John Lostrie, a Belgian, was encouraging his parishioners to revolt, telling them it was not a sin to rebel against the government.[269] Ultimately the threat in Malden proved inconsequential and Catholics in the region demonstrated their loyalty by attempting to burn the Reverend Lostrie in effigy.[270] In late 1837, Macdonell circulated throughout the diocese a controversial pastoral letter from the Bishop of Montreal, Jean Jacques Lartigue that condemned the rebellion in Lower Canada.[271] From Sandwich, the Rev. Angus Macdonell reported that he was afraid to read the letter from the pulpit as Macdonell had instructed, so worried was he that its contents might spark political dissension within the French Canadian parish.[272]

Bishop Lartigue's pastoral was read at St. Paul's in Toronto to a mixed reception. The Irish of Toronto were unmoved by Lartigue's letter, the *Mirror* reported, likely to Bishop Macdonell's horror. The *Mirror* reported that "many heavy brows were exhibited" as the predominantly Irish congregation listened to the pastoral in silence. Bishop Lartigue and the rest of the clergy were made "self-interested" by their share of the government purse, and therefore, the Irish of Toronto at least, "will take very little heed of this part of the doctrine," the *Mirror*

Col. Macdonell, 27 December 1837, BMD to Sir J. Colborne, 8 January 1838, BMD to Col. Macdonell, 8 January 1838.

[268] ARCAT, M AB36.07, Rev. Angus Macdonell to BRG, 14 November 1837. For more on Lartigue's pastoral letter and the reaction in Lower Canada see: Greer, *Patriots and the People*, 232-237; Fernand Ouellet, "Le Mandement de Mgr Lartigue de 1837 et la réaction libérale," in *Constitutionalism and Nationalism in Lower Canada* ed. Ramsay Cook (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969) 67-74.

[269] ARCAT, M AB36.08, Rev. Angus Macdonell to BRG, 28 December 1837; AB36.09, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 14 January 1838; AB36.10, Rev. Angus Macdonell to BRG, 7 February 1838; AB36.11, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 8 February 1838.

[270] A year later, the new pastor at Sandwich, the Reverend Joseph Yvelin could testify wholeheartedly to the loyalty of the French Canadians in Sandwich. ARCAT, M AB36.12, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 21 February 1838; AB58.02, Rev. J. Yvelin to BRG, 23 December 1838.

[271] Ouellet, "Le Mandement de Mgr Lartigue," 67-74.

[272] ARCAT, M AB36.07, Rev. A. Macdonell to BRG, 14 November 1837.

surmised. On the eve of a crisis "let them exhort us to virtue, charity, and prayer," the *Mirror* argued, "but let them allow us the free privilege of enjoying our constitutional rights."[273] The same issue carried a letter from "Erin" who rhapsodized at length about the extent to which sectarianism had been a tool of the "English tyrants" to keep the Irish suppressed, and called on the Irish of Upper Canada to unite "around the friends of equal rights and liberal institutions" and show the province's Tories that "you are fit for civil and religious liberty." Confusion about the political motivations of the Irish also reigned in Hamilton where a meeting of Irishmen sympathetic to the radical cause met on the first of December, only to be publicly denounced a week later by another group of Irish for misrepresenting *all* Irishmen as discontented. The second more "full" meeting unanimously passed expressions of "ardent and unquenchable devotion" to the queen and government as well as "abhorrence" at the radical politics on display throughout the province. To be sure they were widely dispersed, the loyal Irish sentiments were published in the local newspaper.[274]

Reports also reached Bishop Macdonell of rampant disaffection in Kingston and the surrounding townships. He was particularly shocked by reports that the Catholics in Loughborough Township had threatened to murder the families of any Protestants who attended militia meetings.[275] Macdonell entreated local magistrates to administer the oath of allegiance.[276] Nearby Gananoque was also of concern. In early December, as Mackenzie and his supporters marched on Toronto, Macdonell wrote to the Catholics of Gananoque to warn them

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[273] *Mirror*, 25 November 1837.
[274] *Chronicle and Gazette*, 14 February 1838. References to these meetings were contained in a letter written by the Irishmen of Hamilton to Bond Head on the occasion of his resignation. AO, UC Sundries, C-6897, Irish inhabitants of Hamilton to Sir F. Bond Head, 3 February 1838, p. 103756-103758.
[275] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to Hugh McGregor, 21 December 1837; *British Whig*, 28 February 1838.
[276] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to John Cartright, 11 December 1837, BMD to Sir F. Bond Head, 13 December 1837.

against "wicked and rebellious incendiaries" who are "inveterate enemies to yourselves and to your Holy Religion." Drawing on the example of the recent battle of Saint Charles in which the Canadian rebels had suffered heavy casualties, Macdonell warned of the dangers of radicalism. The "infatuated" Canadians now mired in misery and destruction had had no reason to rebel, the Bishop reasoned. Canadians were "the most comfortable and happy people on the face of the earth;" religious freedoms and protections meant they had little financial obligation to the Church, access to education for their children, and the ability to build and embellish "splendid and magnificent" churches in every parish. Despite this enviable status the Canadians had "allowed vile and wicked rebels to poison their minds against the mild and paternal government of Great Britain and involved themselves and their families in troubles and misfortunes that will infallibly bring ruin and desolation on their province." Assuring the Catholics of Gananoque he had no "doubt or suspicion" about their loyalty, he was nevertheless anxious to see that they "should given no room to the enemies of your religion to misrepresent your conduct or cast any reflection upon you as true and faithful subjects."[277]

The rise of popular political participation in the 1830s was a boon for Upper Canadians Irish Catholics. In the course of a decade they moved from new immigrants of 1820s to active, politically engaged settlers willing to articulate a nuanced view of their place in a colonial society as well as their version of Catholic loyalty. Irish Catholics were visible as activists rather than just the subject of political and cultural scrutiny and suspicion. Despite repeated demonstrations of loyalty and motivations to do well in Upper Canada, the persistence of sectarian divisions and the visibility of Irish violence continued to raise questions about the suitability of the Irish to Upper Canadian society. In the chaos of the rebellion period these questions turned to an actual fear that, as R.B. Sullivan put it, "rebellion should have come

[277] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to the Catholics of Gananoque, 6 December 1837.

amongst [the Irish] like midnight assassins," for "if one half be true and loyal, dissension and hatred will give [the rebels] the other half."[278] It is little wonder then that Bishop Macdonell greeted the news that the province's Irish Catholics had not participated in the aborted rebellion in December 1837 with relief.

[278] *Chronicle and Gazette*, 4 April 1838.

Conclusion

Upon learning of the Upper Canadian rebellion, Robert Wilmot Horton, former Under-Secretary of State for War and Colonies, and architect of the 1823 and 1825 Irish Catholic assisted emigration programs, wrote to Sir Francis Bond Head to ask "whether the emigrants known in Canada as Robinson's emigrants, were or were not at [that time], in the exercise of that loyalty which they professed in the year 1826?" The profession of loyalty made by the emigrants in 1826 had been assumed, Horton explained to Bond Head, to be false by those who believed assisted Irish emigration was a "senseless and dangerous project," and that put to the test the loyalty and gratitude expressed by the Irish emigrants would be "found miserably wanting." Bond Head's reply must have given Horton considerable relief: "on receiving intelligence that Toronto had been attacked by a band of rebels, the settlers to whom you have alluded were among those who at once marched from the Newcastle district, in the depth of winter, nearly 100 miles to support the government."[1]

More than a decade of good behaviour and settlement had done little to remove the stigma and suspicion of disloyalty and disorder from Upper Canadian Irish Catholics. As Mackenzie and his supporters marched on Toronto in December 1837, Bishop Alexander Macdonell had entreated the Roman Catholics of Gananoque to give "no room to the enemies of your religion to misrepresent your conduct or cast any reflection upon

[1] Horton's letter to Head is reprinted in: Wilmot Horton, *Ireland and Canada, supported by Local evidence* (London, 1839, Dominion archives) 75-78, https://archive.org/details/cihm_21752 Horton referred to the declaration the assisted emigrants had made to Earl Bathurst in 1826 in which they expressed their gratitude for their migration assistance, but also their pleasure at living under the government of "our illustrious sovereign" to whom they pledged their "unfeigned loyalty and attachment."

you as true and faithful subjects."[2] But it is clear that the rumours and expectations that Upper Canadian Irish Catholics would join the rebels were pervasive and persisted into the opening months of 1838. Within a week of the battle at Montgomery's tavern, the *Mirror* was defending the conduct of the province's Roman Catholic clergy in the ongoing crisis: "the clergy of our religion have always…recommended submission to the higher powers, and a respectful obedience to the laws of the land…there is not one of them even suspected, and very few of their hearers who paid attention to their instructions, concurred in the work of devastation, confusion, or blood."[3] The *Mirror* was also compelled to remind its readers that "in Canada the Catholics have no such grievances (as in Ireland) on account of their religion, the nation does not hold them in degradation."[4] In response to an unspecified accusation of disloyalty, or perhaps still conscious of the lingering legacy of the Ballygiblin riot, the Roman Catholics of Perth and its neighbouring townships were the first to publicly assert their loyalty. Their declaration to the Lieutenant Governor was submitted in late December while the crisis still on going. Expressing "deep regret" that their loyalty had been questioned, 227 Perth Catholics declared that "we love and venerate our Young Queen and Her Government; and that we are ready to join with her other Loyal Subjects to put down any Rebellious attempts that may be made to sever the connexion of this Colony from Great Britain and Ireland."[5]

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[2] AAK, MLB, 1834-39, BMD to the Catholics of Gananoque, 6 December 1837.
[3] *Mirror*, 16 December 1837.
[4] *Mirror*, 30 December 1837. The sentence continued: "they are qualified to fill any office of trust and honour, and sometimes are appointed."
[5] Qtd in Read and Stagg, 263-265. Bishop Macdonell was naturally delighted with this declaration and praised the Catholic magistrate who had spearheaded the initiative. AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Captain Leslie, 17 February 1838.

Statements of loyalty were submitted to the Lieutenant Governor from all quarters of the province, but Irish Upper Canadians, Catholic and Protestant, were the only distinct ethnic or religious group to make separate public declarations of loyalty in this period.[6] February 1838 saw a flurry of activity from the province's Irishmen and Roman Catholics. Sir Francis Bond Head had resigned and many addresses offered thanks for his actions during the previous crisis. The Roman Catholics of the Bathurst district expressed their loyalty to the departing Lieutenant Governor, to which Bond Head responded that he had never heard the loyalty of the province's "brave and devoted Catholics" questioned, and had always placed the "firmest reliance on the warm and steady loyalty" of Upper Canadian Catholics.[7] 240 Irishmen of Hamilton issued a letter of farewell and thanks to Bond Head and expressed their "firm resolution only to support those principles which your Excellency so unflinchingly maintained." The address was also an explicit attempt to distance themselves from a group of Irish who had apparently met in Hamilton in early December 1837 to express their support for Mackenzie.[8] To the Hamilton Irish, Bond Head remarked that he would forever remember the conduct of the Irish population of the province, "their correct and steady conduct in the field as well as their loyalty at home."[9] The fact that, in the immediate aftermath of the rebellion, Irishmen of all

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[6] LAC, UC Sundries, C-6894, Loyal address from Kingston, 2 November 1837, p. 98598, Loyal address of sundry inhabitants of Bytown and vicinity, 7 November 1837, p. 98674, C-6895, Loyal address from Fitzroy Harbour, 15 December 1837, p. 99231-2; C-6897, Address of inhabitants of Equesquising, 2 February 1838, p. 103715-103723; *Chronicle and Gazette*, 10 February 1838.
[7] *Chronicle and Gazette*, 10 February 1838.
[8] As was characteristic of theses addresses which usually detailed the lengths they had gone to in December to defend the colony, the Irishmen of Hamilton alerted by the "scream of rebellion," had "prepared to take the field, and with our muskets on our shoulders, resolved to lose our lives if necessary in the defence of the glorious banner of Great Britain." AO, UC Sundries, C-6897, Address of Irish inhabitants of Hamilton to Sir Francis Bond Head, 3 February 1838, p. 103756-103758.
[9] *Chronicle and Gazette*, 14 February 1838.

religious stripes felt compelled to make public declarations of loyalty, suggests the light of suspicion was being shone on all Irishmen, as well as Roman Catholics. For Irishmen and Roman Catholics across the province, it was imperative to remind their fellow Upper Canadians that they had not been amongst the rebels, but had instead supported the government in suppressing the rebellion.

The largest, most public, declaration of Irish loyalty was made in February 1838 when upwards of 500 Irishmen met in Toronto to make a joint address of loyalty to the queen. In the address and the speeches given to support the address, Upper Canadian Irish, speaking with "one voice," made testaments of loyalty and attachment to the Crown that were common in loyalty addresses in this period, reminded their fellow Upper Canadians that the province's Irish had been on the right side of the rebellion, and pledged their readiness to defend the colony again.[10] The colonial press heaped praise on the eloquence and power of the speakers and devoted considerable ink to reprinting the speeches and the content of the address produced by the meeting.[11] The address was circulated throughout the province[12] and provoked auxiliary meetings in Kingston,[13] Belleville,[14] and Prince Edward County,[15] in which the Toronto address was approved, and local Irishmen reiterated their loyalty and devotion to the queen and government.

[10] The address was reprinted in *Chronicle and Gazette*, 4 April 1838.
[11] *Chronicle and Gazette*, 24 February 1838, 4 April 1838; *Bytown Gazette* 7 March, 28 March 1838; *British Whig*, 3 March 1838.
[12] *Chronicle and Gazette*, 2 May 1838. An ad details the men in the Kingston region holding copies of the address for signatures.
[13] *Chronicle and Gazette*, 4 April 1838; *British Whig*, 7 April 1838, *Bytown Gazette*, 11 April 1838.
[14] *Bytown Gazette*, 11 April 1838.
[15] *Chronicle and Gazette*, 14 April 1838. The speeches from Toronto and Kingston, as well as the Irish address from Toronto were reprinted in this issue. The quotes that follow are from that issue.

These public discussions of Irish loyalty were notable for their non-sectarian inclusion and a decided attempt to rehabilitate the politics of the Irish in Ireland.

Most notably, the "Irish Address" as it came to be known, and the speeches made to support the address, stressed the necessity of unanimity amongst Upper Canadian Irish and denied the ongoing influence of Ireland on that community. The Toronto Irishmen expressed a detachment from Ireland, avowing that their collective and individual connections to Ireland had been "broken off, beyond all hope of renewal." In Upper Canada, they were gratified to be among the favoured people who enjoyed "rational liberty, equal laws, and settled institutions" of the British Empire. Their disconnection from Ireland did not, however, prevent them from stating confidently that the Irish in Ireland were similarly loyal, that the queen was "justly revered and beloved" in Ireland, and that the Irish of Ireland would come to the Empire's defence when required. Speeches made that day reiterated these sentiments, but went further to suggest that the loyalty they expressed was not new, but rather was a legacy they had inherited in Ireland and, which had flourished under the freedoms they enjoyed in Upper Canada. In his speech, John McCullough argued that 4,000 miles from the "green fields of their youth" the Irish of Upper Canada were articulating not only their "unalterable attachment" to their queen, but also to the "institutions of their ancestors" and to "the laws of their fathers."

At the Kingston meeting, the chair, Dr. James Sampson, noted that the Toronto "Irish Address" would demonstrate to the Crown that "Irishmen of all creeds can be contended under a good government" and indicate to the Irish "at home" that the Irishmen of Upper Canada were "happy and united." McCullough went further noting

that the Irishmen in Upper Canada demonstrated that: "Irishmen when removed from the tender mercies of indulgent absentee landlords, from the fatherly care of resident agents, from the bland courtesies of the mild and proverbially gentlemanlike tax gatherers, and from the various other pleasant accompaniments of Irish misery, are orderly, prosperous, happy in the glorious privilege of being independent." This statement earned a round of cheers from the assembled Irishmen.

The extent to which sectarianism damaged the prospects and reputation of the Irish at home and abroad dominated the speeches at both the Toronto and Kingston meetings. The predominately Protestant speakers called for "unanimity" arguing that "division" and "discord" were at the root of the Irishman's degraded status in Upper Canada. In Toronto Alderman and Orangeman Alexander Dixon argued that unanimity would make Upper Canada's Irishmen powerful and respected, as "disunion, has ever made us weak and unregarded, and has proved to be our greatest curse." Speaker after speaker reiterated the need to cast aside old prejudices, "the foul fiend of party spirit, the devil of partisanship," and sectarian divisions, to find common ground in their loyalty to the queen.

Anthony Manahan, the only Roman Catholic to have his speeches (in both Toronto and Kingston) reprinted, agreed.[16] He told the Kingston meeting that Protestant and Catholic must unite to elevate the Irish character, which was "at present not properly appreciated to a position or stand of equality with that of other nations." Though he claimed to have as "firmly attached and as staunch friends among the Orangemen as among the Catholics," Manahan was also the only speaker to refer explicitly to his own

[16] Dr. John King also spoke at the Toronto meeting but the details of his speech were not included in the *Chronicle and Gazette*, 4 April 1838.

religious identity and directly on the subject of Irish sectarianism. He was certain that the province's Irish Catholics would be "rejoiced to find all causes of disunion and disaffection, between them and their fellow countrymen forever removed." To demonstrate his good faith, Manahan offered a handshake of "friendship and fellowship" to William Gwynne the Master of the Toronto Orange Lodge. The demonstration was the manifestation of the spirit of reconciliation and unity guiding the movement and was surely the "harbinger of peace and concord amongst Irishmen," Manahan proclaimed. These calls for unanimity were also repeated in the Irish-Catholic-edited *Mirror*, which called on Reform-minded Irish to "let your watchword be — unanimity and obedience to the law."[17] In the aftermath of the rebellion, the Toronto addresses and speeches there and in Kingston indicated that Irish Upper Canadians were eager to demonstrate their commitment to Upper Canadian society and the perpetuation of the British connection.

Bishop Macdonell was delighted when the rebellion failed to gain traction and Catholics, along with most Upper Canadians, proved indifferent to the radical call to arms. With an element of relief and self-satisfied triumph, he boasted that despite the machinations of the radical reformers, Catholics could not be seduced to turn on their queen.[18] He quickly looked to capitalize on their apparent lack of participation, arguing that the demonstrated loyalty of Upper Canadian Catholics should be reflected in patronage appointments and strengthened his Church's claims on the proceeds of the

[17] *Mirror*, 25 November 1837, 30 June 1838.
[18] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to Lord Clifford, 3 April 1838. O'Grady was not a participant in Mackenzie's rebellion and some sources suggest he reported the intended insurrection to government officials.

clergy reserves.[19] When reports that a few Catholics had been implicated in the western district, he was undeterred and instead instructed Anthony Manahan, with whom he was drafting a petition to the government, to merely refrain from making direct claims to Catholic abstention.[20]

In contrast to the "Irish address" which sought to diminish the spectre of Irish violence in Upper Canada, Bishop Macdonell's petitions and other public letters penned in the aftermath of the rebellion continued to fixate on the potential for disorder posed by the Irish Catholic population of the province, and the position of the Roman Catholic Church and its bishop as critical to ensuring Irish Catholic loyalty and order. While the Irish of Toronto were penning their address to the queen, the Roman Catholic bishop was making a petition to the provincial government for a share of the clergy reserves for the Roman Catholic Church. In the petition, Macdonell made the case that a share of the revenue from the reserves was necessary to support his Church, due primarily to the poverty of the Roman Catholics of the province. Not only could the laity of his diocese not afford to support their clergy with tithes, Macdonell noted, the Irish of the diocese had an "utter abhorrence" for the practice owing to the "obnoxious and oppressive tributes" they had been required to pay to the Established Church in Ireland. The clergy of the diocese were consequently apprehensive to enforce their right to collect tithes for fear that it would "excite discontent and disaffection among their hearers." Having invoked the spectre of Irish violence, Bishop Macdonell nevertheless concluded his

[19] AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to John Menzies, 3 February 1837; BMD to Rev. W.P. MacDonald, 28 December 1837; BMD to Lord Clifford, 3 April 1838; BMD to Lord Durham, 14 June 1838; BMD to A. Manahan, 13 January 1838; BMD to A. Manahan, 24 January 1838; Petition of Catholics of UC, no date; BMD to Lord Durham, 14 June 1838.
[20] ARCAT, M AB05.07, Rev. J.M. Burke to BMD, 29 February 1838; AB05.08, Rev. J.M. Burke to BMD, 31 July 1838; AAK, MLB 1834-39, BMD to A. Manahan, 24 February 1838.

petition by assuring the provincial government that the province's Roman Catholics possessed "unshaken loyalty" and reminding them that the Catholics had not been among the "ranks of the rebels" in the late uprising.[21]

The arrival of the new Governor General, John George Lambton, the first Earl of Durham, in May 1838 provided a new audience for Bishop Macdonell's narrative of Catholic loyalty and Irish control. While it is clear Macdonell continued to demonstrate himself disconnected from the laity, particularly the Irish, Macdonell's letters to Durham suggest he had finally come to perceive that the rise of the Orange Order was a central grievance for the Irish of his diocese, but persisted in presenting the Irish Catholics of the province as a potential powder keg of disorder.[22] In his letter to Durham in June 1838, which was later reprinted in Durham's infamous report, Bishop Macdonell credited the "successful" "exhortations" of the Catholic clergy for ensuring that no Catholics had been implicated in the rebellion.[23] While he was certain the clergy reserves were the primary bone of contention in the province, he noted that the Irish Catholics of the province, who had a "mortal hatred" of Orangeism, were particularly troubled by the rapid spread of the Order in the province. Upper Canadian Irish Catholics were consequently convinced that "justice and fair play" was difficult to achieve in Canada, and they were "predisposed to receive every unfavourable impression which the exaggerated misrepresentations of the

[21] AAK, MLB 1834-39, Petition of the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada to the House of Assembly, February 1838.
[22] The bishop with leading clergy and laity made a loyalty address to Durham in June 1838 on the occasion of the latter's visit to Upper Canada. The address was supportive of Durham's mission, overly positive, and made only vague references to "whatever may be found deficient or wrong" in the colony. *Chronicle and Gazette*, 25 June 1838. In contrast, a deputation of Roman Catholics met Durham in Toronto to draw the Governor General's attention to the persistence of Orange processions in the province. *Mirror*, 21 July 1838. Durham reportedly told the Toronto group that Orange processions were illegal and he would do all in his power to ensure they were eradicated.
[23] Durham included this in his report, p. 43.

disaffected, who are most anxious to win them over to their party, choose to make upon them."[24]

In December 1838, Bishop Macdonell published a public letter to the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada.[25] The bishop was incredibly proud of the letter, and distributed it widely. In the context of the plethora of Irish Roman Catholic loyalty addresses that had come before, the bishop's letter was a strange epilogue which reveals much about his view of the Irish members of his diocese and his disconnect from them. Reiterating what was by now cliché, the loyalty of the Irish and their disinclination for revolt during the late rebellion, Bishop Macdonell congratulated the province's Irish Catholics for withstanding the "attempts and industry of the Radicals, disaffected, and the whole host of the enemies of the revered constitution of your country, and of your Holy Religion, to alienate your minds from the government, and make you Rebels."[26] Yet publicly stating that Irish loyalty was unquestioned belied the central premise of his piece: to publicly contradict assumptions that Irish Catholics were not loyal, obedient, and deserving Upper Canadian subjects. Drawing a parallel between the 1837 rebellion to that of 1798 in Ireland, Macdonell congratulated the Upper Canadian Irish on their prudence compared to that of their "simple-hearted" countrymen who in 1798 had "allowed themselves to be deluded by cunning and designing men." Despite the fact that the address implied otherwise, the bishop declared that he had never doubted the ability of the Irish to demonstrate "loyalty and general good conduct." He had never wavered

[24] *Appendix A. to Report on the Affairs of British North America from the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's High Commissioner*, 1839, p. 54. http://eco.canadiana.ca.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/view/oocihm.27758.
[25] He also published a letter to the Roman Catholics of Glengarry.
[26] AAK, MC, AI4CL1, letter 8, The Address of Bishop Macdonell to the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada, 1 December 1838.

from this belief, even when the assisted Irish Catholic emigrants brought to Upper Canada by the British government in 1823 had been reported as "riotous, mutinous, and what not." At the time, Macdonell related, he had assured the Colonial Office that "if fair play were given to the [Upper Canadian] Irish Catholics, and justice done to them, I would pledge my life, their conduct would be as loyal and as orderly, as that of any of His Majesty's subjects." The bishop was gratified to see that in the fifteen years since his pledge, he had "had no cause to regret the confidence [he] placed in your honour and your loyalty." Referring to the election of 1836, which Col. Baldwin had warned him was a particular sore point for Irish Catholics, the bishop nevertheless praised the Irish Catholics of the province for helping to elect Conservatives keeping out the "avowed enemies" of the constitution who had since become "rebels" and "proscribed traitors" of their country.[27]

As the chaos of the rebellion period subsided, it is clear Irish Catholics looked to move forward, to capitalize on their clearly demonstrated commitment to Upper Canada. Durham's report had presented Bishop Macdonell's letter with one from Anthony Manahan the Irish Catholic member of the House of Assembly, which addressed the status of the Irish Catholic population directly. Manahan was a correspondent and occasional collaborator with Macdonell in this period, but Manahan's participation in the Toronto and Kingston meetings that year and his letter to Durham suggest he was more

[27] Other Upper Canadians had shown their loyalty was conditional, premised only on continued rewards from the government, but not Irish Catholics, and here the bishop revealed the political purpose behind the address. Irish loyalty was not conditional, praised Macdonell, and was not dampened in the case of the protracted "struggle" for the clergy reserves, in which Catholic loyalty continued to disregarded and unrewarded. After a discussion of the 1798 Irish rebellion as a Protestant rebellion, and considerable ink spent on what he saw as the unjustifiable Lower Canadian rebellion, Bishop Macdonell then turned to the testimonies of "Protestant Gentlemen, who had the best opportunities of knowing the Irish character, and whose veracity if beyond suspicion."

cognizant of the concerns of the Irish Catholic population than was the bishop. To Durham Manahan stressed the loyalty of the Irish Catholic population and their response in the late rebellion, before noting that the devotion they felt for their new home was tempered by the "keenly felt" knowledge that, as in Ireland, they had been effectively excluded from "any office of profit or emolument" in Upper Canada. The Irish Catholics of the province wanted only to "feel and to know that [their] integrity and talent are to be taken into account with his Protestant brother."[28]

The furtherance of Irish Catholic fortunes in the province was intimately tied to the evident spread of the Orange Order, particularly amongst people in positions of local and colonial authority, and Upper Canadian Irish Catholics continued to agitate for the elimination of the organization. Perhaps out of concern for his own position in the provincial government, Manahan had chosen to ignore Orangeism in his letter to Durham. Similarly a letter from the "Roman Catholics of Upper Canada" issued to Durham on the occasion of his visit to the colony in June 1838, and signed by Bishop Macdonell, several clergy, and a few leading laymen, was overly positive, and made only vague references to "whatever may be found deficient or wrong" in the colony.[29] In contrast, at the same time a deputation of local Irish Catholics met the Governor General in Toronto to complain about the persistence of Orange processions in the province.[30] The Irish Catholics of Richmond were similarly unwilling to be silent as the Orange Order grew. Writing to the Lieutenant Governor, Sir George Arthur, in October 1838, their petition pulled no punches, complaining of the grave insult they felt in the

[28] *Appendix A. to Report on the Affairs of British North America from the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's High Commissioner,* 1839, 56-57.
[29] *Chronicle and Gazette*, 25 June 1838.
[30] *Mirror*, 21 July 1838. Durham reportedly told the Toronto group that Orange processions were illegal and he would do all in his power to ensure they were eradicated.

persistence of the "bloody institution," and warning that the Order would be the "constant cause of murder and bloodshed" should its rise go unchecked. Richmond's Irish Catholics had left "the land of their nativity" with the understanding that they would "enjoy the free exercise of their religion" undisturbed by the Orange Order. Yet despite the "uncompromising loyalty" of the province's Irish Catholics, the Order had been permitted to "exist in full force."[31]

Col. Connell Baldwin issued his own letter to the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada in May 1839. Baldwin was responding to reports that Ogle Gowan had said of the rebellion: "if the saving of this province were left to the loyalty and bravery of the Irish Roman Catholics, it would be lost."[32] Calling Gowan's statement "wanton wicked, unjustifiable, and unprovoked" Baldwin noted his longtime and ongoing "hostility" and "deep regret" at the introduction of Orangeism into Upper Canada, but he was nevertheless certain that "ninety nine out of every hundred Orangemen" would repudiate the "unblushing and infamous aspersions" cast upon the Irish Catholics of the province by the "vile, atrocious, and abominable article in question."[33] Gowan had two motives, Baldwin surmised. The first was to coerce the government into "acts of injustice" against the Irish Catholics of the province, and the second was to induce that population to become discontented and disaffected. Baldwin was certain that the government was ready to acknowledge the service of the Irish Catholics in the late rebellion and that they would soon render them the "most ample justice." In the meantime, Baldwin entreated his fellow Irish Catholics to "cultivate and cherish the kindest feelings toward your Protestant brethren, be fully assured they participate not in the harsh and brutal

[31] AAK, MLB 1834-39, Petition of the Irish Roman Catholics of Richmond, October 1838.
[32] *Brockville Statesman*, qtd in Lepine, 30.
[33] *Mirror*, 10 May 1839.

sentiments of the cowardly miscreant who made such a ferocious attack on you." In closing, Baldwin told his "brave and devoted fellow-countrymen" that he was "proud and happy" to have led such "hearts so valiant and arms so stalwart" in the "defense of our country and our good and gracious monarch."[34]

Perpetually anxious about the potential for Irish discord, particularly as the first Irish Catholic migrants entered the province in the 1820s detailed in Chapter 1, Bishop Macdonell failed to capitalize on the clear demonstrations of loyalty from Irish Catholics, and never successfully incorporated the Irish into his own narrative of Catholic loyalty. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, Irish Catholics were not opposed to the sentiments expressed by their bishop, but they did object to the means by which they were articulated. Irish Catholics did not equate loyalty with subservience to the colonial government, particularly one that took a passive approach to the rise of the Orange Order in its territory. There is no question the bishop's public support of the Orange Order in 1836 hurt his reputation with the Irish of the diocese, but so too did the subject of the government allowance, a critical point upon which the Irish and their bishop diverged, and for which the Reform press drew on emotionally charged reminders of the Irish context. Perpetually cautioning them against expressing dissatisfaction with the government, what Bishop Macdonell failed to comprehend was that Upper Canadian Irish Catholics as a whole had a limited interest and ability to use violence to provoke political change. Instead the realities of their liminal status in colonial society meant Irish Catholics could only articulate their discontent within their own carefully articulated and demonstrated narrative of loyalty separate from that of the institutional Church under Macdonell.

[34] *Mirror*, 10 May 1839.

The disconnect between the bishop and the Irish similarly revealed itself in the religious conditions within which Upper Canadian Irish Catholics practiced their faith and constructed parish communities. The conditions, resources, and environment of the Diocese of Kingston facilitated a physical disconnect between the Irish and the institutional Church; but the cultural and political disconnect between the Irish clergy and laity meant Bishop Macdonell was never able to fully capitalize on the influx of Roman Catholics from Ireland to consolidate his Church before his death in 1840. Chapters 2, 3 and 4, demonstrated that though they were at a literal and figurative distance from the Church Irish Catholics, with the migrant Irish clergy, were nevertheless instrumental in the rapid physical and demographic growth of the Diocese of Kingston in this period. Irish Catholics drew on religion to facilitate the process by which they migrated and settled in Upper Canada. Changed and shaped by the Upper Canadian environment, the Catholicism these newcomers practiced was local in orientation, determined by lay priorities for survival, and part of a larger vision for life in Upper Canada.

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