Re-centering the Periphery:

The Protestant Irish of Montreal and the birth of Canadian National Identity

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A Thesis

in the

Special Individualized Program

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Master of Arts (Special Individualized Program) at

Concordia University

Montreal, Québec, Canada

August 2013

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

School of Graduate Studies

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Entitled: Re-centering the Periphery: The Protestant Irish of Montreal and the Birth of Canadian National Identity

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (Individualized Program)

Complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Abstract

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This thesis considers the construction of Canadian national identity and the political and economic forces that shaped it through the focused lens of the Irish Protestant community, a changing immigrant milieu in post-Confederation Montreal. The Protestant Irish community was divided by class, and their different reactions to certain social events and identities meant that the boundaries of their community were constantly being pushed and pulled in different directions, as actors tried to impose their own narratives on the changing meta-narrative of the city. Montreal was a contact zone and immigrant centre where cross-cultural exchange occurred on a daily basis and where ethnic and religious communities were both formed and transformed. This research draws on print media to explore the complex process of identity creation in the popular press and in the popular literature of the day. By examining this quest for new national narratives between the time of Confederation and the First World War, this thesis examines the modalities through which old identities were superseded and transformed for the sake of cultural accommodation and economic expediency.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for their support and acknowledgement of my program of study. Special thanks also to the St. Patrick's Society and the Irene Mulroney Scholarship for helping to fund my research.

I would like to thank the Principal of the School of Canadian Irish Studies and member of my supervisory committee, Professor Michael Kenneally for introducing me to the SIP program. Professor Kenneally's guidance and support for his students has been amazing and it has been a joy to be a student at the School of Canadian Irish Studies at Concordia. I would also like to thank the other members of my Supervisory committee, Principal Supervisor Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin and Supervisor Gavin Foster for their generous and resourceful help and advice. Special thanks to Gearóid for putting the wind in my back to get this thesis finished in two years. I would like to thank other teachers who I have met along the way, including: Robert S. Aiken and Kevin Gould of the Geography department for their illuminating insights on Cultural Geography.

I would especially like to thank Valerie Petit of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society for all her work in unearthing the Society's old minute books, which had not been available to historians before now. Thanks also to Professor Brad Nelson and Darlene Dubiel of the Individualized M.A. Program for all their help and advice in dotting the 'i's and crossing the 't's.

Finally I would like to thank my wife Anne for all her marvellous support, (you got my back no matter which way I was falling!), and my daughter Aoibhe for all her patience and understanding throughout this long journey.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

Introduction

In her memoir on moving from Poland to Canada as a child, Eva Hoffman describes how unusual it was to see how far away Poland was on the map from the perspective of a Canadian schoolgirl. Up to that point Poland had been the centre of her reality and all other points in the world had been measured from there. But in moving to Canada, Poland had been placed on the periphery of her imagination and something of her internal geography had been disrupted. She describes this sensation as having the world "shifted away from my center". It was a process of migration that entailed departure as well as arrival.[1]

In *The Imagined Geographies of Settler Colonialism* Lorenzo Veracini illustrates the difference between colonialism and settler colonialism by using the image of a stationary figure standing on a map. In a traditional colonial mindset one walks across a stationary map with the intention of returning home sometime in the future. For the settler colonist the geographic move is ultimately an act of re-centering, they stand in a stationary position while the map is moved underneath their feet.[2] There is a great difference then between looking *to* a place and looking *from* it. One is always looking *from* their centre *to* their periphery. Different place-centered identities can refuse to be marginalized on the periphery and resist attempts to standardize identity across the colonial territory.

[1] Quoted in Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish, and Jewish Immigrants in the United States*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995) 2.
[2] Veracini, Lorenzo. "The Imagined Geographies of Settler Colonialism." *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity.* Eds. Tracey Banivanua-Mar and Penelope Edmonds. (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) 191.

This sense of re-centering is also tied in with notions of authority and authenticity. Settler colonials often desired Native authenticity while maintaining their own cultural authority.[3] In his 1870 poem 'Dominion Day', Montreal poet and Irish Protestant Benevolent Society member John Reade unites the people of Canada under a common love for their new country:

> Canada, Canada, land of the bravest,
> Sons of the war-path, and sons of the sea.
> Land of no slave-lash, to-day thou enslavest
> Millions of hearts with affection for thee.[4]

The native peoples of Canada are described as the off-spring of a period of time, a more barbaric era in history (Sons of the war-path), while the European settlers are described as the off-spring of a place, on the other side of the horizon (sons of the sea). Reade then uses an example of 'negative identity' in describing the difference between Canada and the United States (Land of no slave-lash), the southern republic having just abolished slavery five years before. One thing that both natives and Europeans share is the 'land' of Canada. It is a land that seeks to unite two disparate civilizations as one while at the same time placing what is perceived as a foreign national culture on the periphery. In his book *Imagined Communities,* Benedict Anderson shows how over the course of the nineteenth century, historians began to write the history of the nation through narrating the stories of ancient peoples who lived on the land. National histories, because they cannot be remembered, must be narrated, "[While] Fermin still thought cheerfully of 'extinguishing' living Indians, many of his political grandchildren became obsessed with 'remembering,' indeed 'speaking for' them, perhaps precisely because they had, by then, so often

[3] Lawson, Alan. "Postcolonial Theory and the `Settler' Subject." *Essays on Canadian Writing* 56 (1995)
[4] Reade, J. 'Dominion Day' *The Prophecy of Merlin and Other Poems*. (Cambridge England: Proquest, 2002) 138.

been extinguished."[5] Reade's poem then can be read not just as an account of Canadian history but also as a remnant of historical mentalité, i.e. the imaginative and intellectual outlook of a certain collective identity. The collective identity I wish to examine in this thesis is that of the Protestant Irish of Montreal in the period from Confederation to the First World War.

This study seeks to understand the nature of the construction of national identity through the discursive practices of print media as well as the study of the political and social acts of different immigrant associations within a mixed urban environment. Political and social acts are shared within a collective identity and need an audience to produce meaning.[6] This audience was found in the social spaces of Montreal, a contact zone and immigrant centre where cross-cultural exchange occurred on a daily basis and where ethnic and religious communities were both formed and transformed.

For Doreen Massey, 'place' is not static despite its embodiment in the concrete and material, but rather it is a process in constant flux, born out of the social relations of its inhabitants.[7] Just as 'place' is not static, 'identity' is neither secure nor stable. It is a temporary discursive state where specific discourses have been stabilized on a specific territory or place. But other discourses exist on the periphery and can come to challenge and destabilize the existing narrative discourse, re-inscribing this place with a new identity. Identity then is always contested and can change over time.[8] In Montreal, ideological discourses and rules of control were changed over time, not just by

[5] Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev ed. (London; New York: Verso, 2006) 198-199.
[6] Poulter, Gillian. *Becoming Native in a Foreign Land: Sport, Visual Culture, and Identity in Montreal, 1840-85*. (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2009) 6.
[7] Massey, Doreen. "A Global Sense of Place" *Marxism Today* (1991): 7.
[8] Thongchai Winichakul. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997) 173.

rapid industrial development but also by the strength of opposition to those discourses and rules.[9] This study does not just look at Canada as a periphery of both North America and the British Empire, or Québec as the periphery of Canada, but also at the Montreal Orange Order as a sometimes recalcitrant member of the Canadian Orange family, and more generally at a Protestant Irish working class as the periphery of a centralizing Liberal economic order.

History of the Irish in Canada

Most Irish Protestants arrived in Canada before the Great Potato Famine and they mostly came from the northern half of the country, i.e. Ulster, North Connaught and North Leinster.[10] In the early days of their settlement in Canada one of the most important focal points of community was that of the Orange Order. Orange lodges spread across Canada in the second half of the 19th century becoming an important locus of the transplanted certainties of a garrison Ulster mentalité that perceived republican threats from south of the border and papist threats from eastern Canada.[11] While many Orange lodges did include people of a high rank, such as John A. MacDonald, the majority of the Order's membership belonged to the labouring and artisanal classes.[12] The increasing industrialization of Ulster meant that many of the Protestant Irish working-class of Canada worked in skilled or at least semi-skilled trades.

Through the course of the 19th century, many Canadian-born Protestants found that their values and fears chimed more and more with those of the Orange Order. The rising profile of the

[9] McKay, Ian. "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History." *Canadian Historical Review* 81.4 (2000): 643.
[10] McAuley, James White. "Under an Orange Banner: Reflections on the Northern Protestant Experiences of Emigration." *The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage, Identity.* Ed. Patrick O'Sullivan. (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992; 1993) 47.
[11] Harris, Cole. "The Spaces of Early Canada." *Canadian Historical Review* 91.4 (2010): 748.
[12] Jenkins, William. "Deconstructing Diasporas: Networks and Identities among the Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1870-1910." *Irish Migration, Networks and Ethnic Identities since 1750.* Eds. Donald M. MacRaild and Enda Delaney. (London; New York: Routledge, 2007) 221.

Catholic Church and the major role it was taking in the political controversies of the new nation meant that Protestants came increasingly to feel that Catholic loyalty was compromised between the queen and the pope. What Catholics viewed as equal rights, Protestants viewed as special privileges. Separate schools, the Jesuit Estates Act and the Riel affair all stoked the fire of Protestant suspicions of Catholic treachery.[13] By the turn of the 20th century the Orange Order was the largest fraternal organization in Canada, a country with the highest Orange membership in the world.

However, on the streets of Montreal these Protestant Irish immigrants came into contact with a pre-existing pre-capitalist culture of seigneurialism, clerical paternalism and the Custom of Paris. Even with the development of urban capitalism in 19th century Montreal, religious communities still owned around 20% of its urban space.[14] In the month before Canadian Confederation in 1867, the descendant of Montreal Protestant Irishman Thomas McCord stated that the English community of Québec had great respect for the French civil law tradition, "The English speaking residents of Lower Canada, may now enjoy the satisfaction of at least possessing in their own language the laws by which they are governed, and the Province of Québec will bring with her into the Confederation a system of Laws of which she may be justly proud; a system mainly founded on the steadfast, time-honored and equitable principles of the Civil Law, and which not only merits admiration and respect, but presents a worthy model for legislation elsewhere." In the end the strongly patrician nature of the seigneurial system and the proliferation

[13] Elliott, Bruce S. "Irish Protestants." *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples.* Ed. Paul R. Magocsi. (Toronto: Published for the Multicultural History Society of Ontario by the University of Toronto Press, 1999) 781.
[14] Young, Brian J. "Revisiting Feudal Vestiges in Urban Quebec." *Transatlantic Subjects.* Ed. Nancy Christie. (Montreal Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008) 140-152.

of Roman Catholic institutions meant that institutional Britishness could be adapted to French Catholic subjects. [15]

Community

In the modern western model of nations, a nation is a cultural community that expresses itself through a common vocabulary of historical memories, myths and traditions. These are propagated through use of the mass media and the public education system[16] Universal literacy had a great influence on urbanized workers who found themselves thrown into atomized and impersonal societies, cut off from the rural communities that gave their life meaning and identity. By the end of the 19th century there was a move away from preliterate and interpersonal forms of community to literate and imaginary institutional forms of community. A state educated workforce led increasingly to identity with the state.[17]

One of the greatest difficulties in studying social groups from the past is trying to decipher how much a historical community bound its members together on a daily basis. It is only through the study of events where members of that community were mobilized for a common goal that such an overview can take place. It is then possible to examine what united members of that group but also the fissures in the group dynamic and the constraints placed on the behaviour of group members.[18] Place-centered identities occupy different spaces than work-centered identities. Place-centered identities centre their memories in the spaces of their towns and villages, in streets and parks as well as hills and fields. For members of the working-class, the sharpest distinctions of

[15] Young, Brian J. "Revisiting Feudal Vestiges in Urban Quebec." *Transatlantic Subjects.* Ed. Nancy Christie. (Montreal Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008) 140-152.
[16] Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1992; 1991) 9.
[17] Bruner, Michael Lane. *Strategies of Remembrance: The Rhetorical Dimensions of National Identity Construction*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002) 6.
[18] Calhoun, C. J. "History, Anthropology and the Study of Communities: Some Problems in Macfarlane's Proposal." *Social History* 3.3 (1978): 368.

space are often those between the spaces of work and the spaces outside work or of home. Community based on a sense of class position is more mobile than place-centered communities.[19]

But group adherence can also be stimulated by an outside threat. Henry E. Hale has noted that people who are defined by a group categorization tend to produce 'distrust, a willingness of individuals to accept centralized group leadership, an emphasis on winning over considering the merits of the particular issue at stake and a lack of intergroup communication'.[20] Ethnic identity is often only identifiable by what we are not, rather than any positive quality of who we are. Much of the time these differences are cultural rather than biological and so are open to challenge and change. In his study on the cartographic creation of the Thai nation Thongchai Winichakul states that if 'Thainess' was difficult to define, then 'unThainess' or differences between other ethnicities was easier. Once 'unThainess' can be defined, then its' opposite 'Thainess' becomes apparent. Winichakul calls this 'negative definition'.[21] In 1899 a meeting of all the Protestant churches of Montreal came together to see if it was possible to integrate their churches more. Many Protestant clergymen spoke of the advantage of Montreal compared to other cities where Christian (i.e. Protestant) unity was more difficult. As Montreal had a Catholic majority, there was a greater impetus for the Protestant population to come together to guard their interests.[22]

National consciousness makes likenesses and differences meaningful. It involves a certain level of self-awareness and also awareness of other groups from which the nation seeks to differentiate itself. National identity only has meaning in its dissimilarity to other nations.[23] The

[19] Taksa, Lucy. "Like a Bicycle, Forever Teetering between Individualism and Collectivism: Considering Community in Relation to Labour History." *Labour History*.78 (2000): 23-24.
[20] Hale, Henry E. "Explaining Ethnicity." *Comparative Political Studies* 37.4 (2004): 469.
[21] Thongchai Winichakul, 5.
[22] 'Protestant Union' *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate* 24 Apr. 1899.
[23] Triandafyllidou, A. "National Identity and the 'Other'." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21.4 (1998): 599.

discourse of national security is also important in the creation of otherness. This is used to maintain existing political and social control against threats within as well as without. The enemy must be created and implicated and then discursively sustained if not actually desired.[24]

Identity

Perhaps one of the main reasons that religion was such a strong bond of community identity in the Celtic peripheries of Britain and Ireland was because unlike Celtic languages, religious denomination was not a barrier to global mobility. In fact in many cases becoming part of a religious group or congregation meant that you could be occupationally mobile and still end up back in your own community so to speak. In the United Kingdom where land and patronage remained the chief assets of economic and cultural power, people of a lower economic class found huge difficulties in making their way up in the world. They would find greater success in the peripheries of the British Empire.[25] Irish Protestant Benevolent Society member John Cordner stated: "The Irish can dig well, as well as fight well, and I desire to see them come to dig our mines, fell our forests and till our soil. Here they can have farms of a hundred acres or a thousand acres, with no landlord to grind or harass them. Here every capable and industrious man may be his own landlord."[26]

But focus on ethnicity as the core form of identity excludes other forms of identity such as social class, occupation and gender. Multiculturalism and bilingualism focus on the differences of equal but separate communities drawing attention away from other divisions based on power and

[24] Thongchai Winichakul, 167.
[25] Hempton, David. *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland: From the Glorious Revolution to the Decline of Empire*. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 175.
[26] Cordner, John, New England Society of Montreal. *The American Conflict: An Address, Spoken before the New England Society of Montreal*. (Montreal: Printed by J. Lovell, 1865) 40.

wealth. Those who believe they have bypassed the limitations of ethnic identity look down upon those who are seen to be caught in the narrow confines of their ethnic community. The original fathers of Confederation were an ethnically, religiously and linguistically divided merchant capitalist class who sought to make constitutional accommodations that would allow them greater scope to develop new economic opportunities.[27] William Jenkins has noted that the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society (IPBS) in Toronto distanced itself from the Orange Order as the Order was frequently involved in public displays of intimidation and violence. The temperance concerns of many of the Toronto IPBS also probably discouraged many working class members of the Orange Order from joining.[28]

Religious identity appears in a different form than class identity. Class identity is born out of production and exchange whereas religious identity is a product of communication through socialization.[29] But in the multi-ethnic spaces of the industrial cities of North America, immigrants mixed and mingled with a plethora of other ethnic groups and rarely stayed within their own communities on a regular basis. Work and religious duty meant that Protestant immigrants frequently interacted with people of other ethnic identities.[30]

Social Network

One way of looking at the interaction of historical communities is through Social Network Theory, which regards community as not tied to place. Especially in modern urban environments, individuals move in and out of places on a regular basis. Social Network Theory sees communities

[27] Dunk, T. "National Culture, Political Economy and Socio-Cultural Anthropology in English Canada." *Anthropologica* (2000): 134-35.
[28] Jenkins, 231.
[29] Smith, 6.
[30] Buckner, Phillip. "Presidential Address: Whatever Happened to the British Empire?" *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 4.1 (1993): 31.

as social constructions that are the result of everyday social interaction. John C. Walsh and Steven High have described the concept of community as an 'exercise in power, of authority, legitimacy, and resistance.'[31] Different sociologists have propounded the notion that group identity is formed not by the individual qualities of the members, but by the attractiveness of the social positioning of the members towards a common point of reference in the social world, in other words, something that produces a common fate.[32] Identifying one's ethnicity then can be a useful rule of thumb when thrown into a society mixed with people of other ethnicities. People may be able to make assumptions relating to socioeconomic potential as well as cultural or political background. In a society where two or more ethnicities live together in close quarters it's not uncommon for one ethnicity to be concentrated in a particular line of work, allowing an assessment of people relating to economic and social status.[33] People wear different identities through the practices of everyday life. Identities then can be seen as tools that people use to navigate the social world in which they live. They can be used so that people can make sense of the social relationships they engage in, situate themselves in those relationships and find opportunities for agency within them.[34] These social encounters then can be based on employment, residence, religion, politics, recreation or social clubs. They can involve political meetings, street interaction, sports events, picnics, dances or church attendance. For example, businessmen operating in a similar trade in different countries may have more in common with each other than with people working in different businesses or trades working in the same region.

[31] Walsh, JC, and S. High. "Rethinking the Concept of Community." *Histoire Sociale-Social History* 32.64 (1999): 262.
[32] Hale, 465.
[33] Hale, 475.
[34] Hale, 463.

Community then whether placed based or not is usually based on a set of commonly-held beliefs or values. Maintenance of this common culture usually depends on greater face-to-face interactions with members than it does with non-members. Regular interaction with non-members can induce some to form new memberships of new communities, and lessen the harm of leaving behind the old community.

Social capital was very important for the Irish in North America. The Irish did not just rely on material wealth but also on their social and cultural resources. Social networks allowed certain groups to exercise power and influence and to develop community action.[35] Immigration to British North America from Britain and Ireland in the 19th century was enormous and many times it was a chain migration through family and friends. The number of brothers in the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society is a testament to the importance of family in making emigration successful: the Workman brothers, Benjamin, William and Thomas, from Lisburn, Co. Antrim; the Gault brothers, Matthew Hamilton and Andrew Frederick from Strabane, Co. Tyrone; and the Drummond brothers, William Henry and George Edward from Mohill and Tawley, Co. Leitrim.

Discursive Creation

As people moved to the New World the specific nature of their hometown or village started to disappear from view and a more general sense of being Irish, Scottish or English began to prevail. Due to distance and regional differences, people in different parts of pre-Confederated Canada told different stories, whether of the Battle of the Boyne, of the *ancien régime* or of the Sky Mother. Each of these stories concerned particular parts of British North America but not all of it. For a majority of people terms were local, regional or transatlantic, rather than national. It was easier to

[35] Barrett, James R. *The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multiethnic City*. (New York: Penguin Press, 2012) 282.

imagine Britain than British North America. People told different stories because there were very few ways of integrating them. Different people in different places usually knew very little of each other.[36] The dominant way of understanding the totality of the Canadian landscape was through newspapers. A cultural shift had to be made in order for people to think of their nation as their home. Many of them never had the opportunity to travel around their country and indeed would have difficulty in trying to imagine it as bounded and sovereign. It was only through such universal discourses as those provided by the education system and mass media, that people could get an idea of their country as something bordered and distinct.[37]

National identity then is essentially a cultural construct and it is through the use of technology that knowledge of national identity creates the 'fact' of it and allows it to come into being.[38] Although the press was the main venue where stories of the emerging nation could be told, these stories usually came from the metropoles and did not allow for a plurality of voices. The commercial centres of Canada had enormous authority to 'name' the communities and peoples they wrote about. The ascription of identity to different communities can also be understood as an exercise in power by dominant cultures in shaping and defining community boundaries. Walsh and High have pointed to the creation of Chinatown in Vancouver which allowed the municipal authorities to point to an imagined group which they could identify as the Chinese community and so could then believe that they knew what individual Chinese Canadians wanted and needed.[39]

[36] Harris, 751-757.
[37] Guibernau i Berdun, M. Montserrat. *The Identity of Nations*. (Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity, 2007) 21.
[38] Thongchai Winichakul, 15.
[39] Walsh, JC, and S. High, 270.

Liberal Order

The French presence in Canada was established before the arrival of the British and their central location and rising numbers meant that they presented difference as a fact of the Canadian nation and stopped it from having a narrow cultural definition.[40] Canada's nationalism would have to be an integrationist nationalism where different ethnic groupings would be joined as part of a territorial nation. But there were also irredentist or pan-nationalist forces who sought to unite people of the same ethnicity outside the territorial nation to create a larger ethno-national state such as a federated British Empire. One of Canada's founding fathers George-Étienne Cartier stated that the protection of cultural difference depended on strong provincial governments who had full powers over cultural affairs. The federal government would be a cluster of different communities, with Canada's identity a political rather than a cultural one.[41] It was among professionals like Cartier that nationalism found many of its strongest proponents. Merchants and traders were attracted to the idea of a centralized and regulated market in a new North American nation. Businessmen and professionals such as lawyers and doctors, journalists and teachers do not create the idea of the nation state, rather they engage in cultural and political practices that disseminate its idea.[42] Anthony Smith has pointed out that the interests and status demands of ambitious professionals are best realized in a civic nation where there is equality of rights and duties, lack of barriers to mobility both geographic and social, and an emphasis on standardized public education.[43] Many members of the IPBS in Montreal were strong supporters of John A. MacDonald's National Policy as it allowed them to protect their businesses, while at the same time

[40] Harris, 758.
[41] Harris, 758.
[42] Smith, 119-120.
[43] Smith, 121.

it developed a strong pride in Canadian manufacture. Other members were strong supporters of imperial federation because it would open up new markets for Canadian products. But it would also have the effect of an enlarged national consciousness that could counter the expansion of the United States. Many IPBS members also avoided any association with the St. Patrick's Society or the Orange Order for fear of being seen as too political or sectarian. They were looking for a greater sense of cultural accommodation in order to maintain their economic hegemony.

Methodology

Through the lens of Social Network Theory I looked at two institutions in Montreal through their social and cultural practices. One was the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society, which is still in existence today. The Society was set up by bourgeois members of the Irish Protestant community in the wake of a religious split with the St. Patrick's Society. I was fortunate enough to visit the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society (IPBS) offices where I got to see many of their minute books and annual reports from the late 19th century onward. This gave me an insight into how the commercial class of the Irish Protestant community helped those less well-off members of the community, and also how they interacted with other national societies and indeed the Canadian government. In examining the more high profile members of the IPBS, I will be taking up the insights of prosopography. Prosopography is the method of analyzing the biographical data of a group of people (in this case prominent IPBS members over a given period) in order to reveal connections and patterns that would influence historical practices. In this sense prosopography is a kind of collective biography where a group of people have something in common, mostly notably in this case that they were both Irish and Protestant. Social Network Theory then helps to bring context to this method of searching for common linkages in a given group. In searching for major Protestant Irish figures of the time I used the *Canadian Dictionary of Biography*. In order to help

me limit and define the parameters of my study, I focused exclusively on those who were born in Ireland before Canadian Confederation, rather than on those who claimed an Irish ethnic identity.

The other institution I will be looking at is the Orange Order. There was a definite class difference between these two institutions and the Orange Order was a far more openly political organization than the IPBS. In terms of finding out about the Orange Order in Montreal during this time period, my main source is *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* published in Toronto, and covering the years between 1876 and 1905. Of special help were the letters sent in by Orangemen from Montreal and published in the newspaper under various pseudonyms such as 'Black Northern', 'Semper Fidels' and 'G'. I also managed to get hold of the Orange Order of Québec's annual reports for this period. Two Irish born writers and IPBS members of special significance to the discursive construction of identity were John Reade and William Henry Drummond. Through various published articles in the Canadian periodical press, the Donegal-born poet John Reade tried to imagine a hybrid national identity molded from the many different cultures that inhabited the new Dominion. Reade's fellow Irish-born poet William Henry Drummond hoped that his own poetic sketches of rural Québec would help Anglo-Canadians better understand the cultural life of their French-Canadian compatriots.

I also used the census figures in the excellent MAP project (*Montréal, l'avenir du passé)* set up by McGill Historical geographer Sherry Olson and others. The census covers over 180,000 names listed in the Montreal census of 1881. By using it I managed to compare and contrast the employment and religious practices of Irish-born Protestants in comparison to Scottish-born and English-born Protestants of the same time. One of the reasons I chose to concentrate only on those born in Ireland is because there were many reasons for a person to choose their ethnic identity. Phillip Buckner has highlighted the problems of defining Canadian born subjects by the ethnic

identity they put on the census: "…to define ethnicity on the basis of the census definition assumes that a person's ethnic identity had its origins at an arbitrarily chosen point in time in the past. But why is it more logical to include as Irish rather than Scottish someone whose great-great-grandfather lived in Ireland and immigrated to America when their great-great-great-great-grandfather lived in Scotland and immigrated to Ireland?"[44] Defining an ethnic group through the census assumes a consensus of identity across a community of a common ancestry that may not have existed. Censuses in their own way serve as forms of control as they place people under labels, partly creating their identity. Someone born in Ireland may have felt that they had a narrower avenue for choosing their ethnic identity.

Another limitation in my research has been the relative paucity of working class Protestant voices in this study. The monthly messages from the unidentified Montreal Orangemen in *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate* are of special significance in this sense, allowing us first-hand accounts from members of the Protestant working class, including one 'Black Northern', who lived in Point St. Charles. However, the newspaper does not state their nationality. Through lack of space and time I have also not engaged with many francophone sources from this era. What is important to remember about Montreal during this time period is that print capitalism functioned in two languages and so a francophone perspective is always useful when considering the social history of the anglophone community of Montreal.

Literature Review

One of the challenges I take up in this thesis is that laid down by Ian McKay in his 2000 article "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History."

[44] Buckner, 30.

His article examines the notion that Canada was an enterprise in establishing a liberal political and economic order. McKay saw that there was still work to be done on the ways in which Protestantism, British ethnicity, and imperialism fused into the idea of the ideal Canadian individual in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[45] This work addresses the fusion of those religious, ethnic and political characteristics within an urban milieu that was often opposed to their expression.

In any study of national identity and the formation of the nation Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* is an essential source. Anderson's work has shown how modern communication methods such as the national press were important in the discursive creation of national identity and communal consciousness. Anywhere where literacy was increased, national consciousness expanded and it became easier to harness popular support for a nationalist agenda. Of special interest for me in his work is how over the course of the 19th century, language gradually superseded religion as the core method of socialization among different ethnic groups. This is especially insightful in looking at how cultural and political forces in Montreal tried to play down the religious differences between groups.

Following in the vein of Anderson's work is Cole Harris's article "The Spaces of Early Canada." Harris highlights the difficulty of uniting so many different ethnic groups over a vast area. Canadian communities told different stories, many of them relating to the 'old country', or the long history of a piece of the Canadian landscape, or other parts of the world where family immigrated to. The task of the new national intelligentsia to unite these disparate peoples with common and shared narratives would be no mean feat.

[45] McKay, n.16, 627.

In analyzing the Protestant Irish of Montreal, I used Edgar Andrew Collard's 1992 book, *The Irish Way: the History of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society*. Collard's publication is a vanity work of sorts, but its anecdotal insights proved highly illuminating, especially in regard to the Society's relationship both with the Orange Order and the St. Patrick's Society. Robert D. Lewis's *Manufacturing Montreal* is excellent at describing the industrial development of the city over the course of the time period that is the focus of this study. Lewis divides the city between the East, West and Centre and uncovers the historical geography of the working class communities in each manufacturing district. Lloyd George Reynolds's 1935 sociological work *The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada,* gives both a historical and a then contemporary account of how immigrants from Britain and Ireland both integrated and excluded themselves in their new Canadian home. A more recent study of 19th century Montreal has been Sherry Olson's and Patricia Thornton's excellent *Peopling the North American City: Montreal, 1840-1900*. This work uses the MAP Project as a lens through which to sketch the economic and social world of Montreal's different ethnic communities. In Olson's and Thornton's work, the Protestant Irish are lumped together with other Protestant groups under the umbrella of an Anglo-Protestant identity. My work follows on from Olson and Thornton's work by focusing on a specific anglophone community and the political, religious and class boundaries they encountered and transcended on a daily basis.

William Jenkins essay 'Deconstructing Diasporas: Networks and Identities among the Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1870–1910' in Delany and MacRaild's *Irish Migration, Networks and Ethnic Identities Since 1750: An Introduction* is a guiding and informing work on how to use the census along with contemporary city directories to track the social and cultural space of individual Irish figures through their membership of various political and social clubs. He shows how

successful networks are those that are adaptable over time. Upper and middle classes also develop social networks towards market information and credit. People look for where they fit in a process of centering not just in the home, neighbourhood and church but also within a diaspora identity.

Previous theses have been written about the Protestant Irish of Montreal, most notably Wayne Timbers "Britannique Et Irlandaise; l'Identité Ethnique Et Démographique Des Irlandais Protestants Et La Formation d'Une Communauté a Montréal, 1834-1860." Timbers' work is especially good at showing how the early Protestant Irish of Montreal were prominent in the volunteer militia in the aftermath of the 1837-38 Rebellions, and the social connections that developed as a result. Rosalyn Trigger's 2004 PhD thesis "*God's Mobile Mansions: Protestant Church Relocation and Extension in Montreal, 1850-1914*." is also an illuminating study of the various Protestant churches of the city and the communities that surrounded them. It is also a good reference point in learning how to use census information found in the MAP Project.

Theses Overview

In the prologue I look back to an important event in the history of Montreal's Irish community, the killing of Orangeman Thomas Lett Hackett on the 12th July 1877. This was the most prominent incident before the Boer War that united the Protestant Irish community of the city. I look back to the reaction of the Protestant community that week from his killing to his funeral. The first chapter looks at the purpose of immigrant societies in host nations by focusing on the history and experience of the IPBS and the Orange Order in Montreal. The second chapter uses the MAP Project and secondary census sources to try and uncover the economic life of Irish-born Protestants in Montreal. Although previous studies have focused on the Irish as a homogenous

ethnic group,[46] or on the differences between Irish Catholics and Anglo Protestants,[47] this thesis sets out to contrast the social and economic differences between Irish-born Protestants and English and Scottish-born Protestants in order to better highlight their particular experience in an industrialising city. Chapter three analyzes three different areas of Montreal life where a Protestant capitalist class exercised control over its workers and communities. In the cultural spaces of the economy, education and charitable institutions this class sought to inculcate its morals and values as a way of maintaining social authority. In chapter four I look at how two writers used their discursive power to try and narrate a distinctly Canadian history and culture. I will also look at how publisher John Lovell sought to make a space for Canadian publishing between the dominant anglophone worlds of the United States and the United Kingdom. In the final chapter I look at the fallout from the Hackett killing and how class and language gradually came to supersede ethnicity and religion as the dominant identities of Montreal's population.

[46] Bradbury, Bettina. "The Working Class Family Economy: Montreal, 1861-1881." Ph.D. Concordia University (Canada), 1984.
[47] Olson, Sherry H., and Patricia A. Thornton. *Peopling the North American City: Montreal, 1840-1900*. 222 Vol. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011.

Figure 1*: Illustration of the Killing of Thomas Lett Hackett. Canadian Illustrated News, Vol. 16, no. 3, 21st Jul. 1877.*

PROLOGUE: THE KILLING OF THOMAS LETT HACKETT

In February 1877, the Grand Orange Lodge of the Province of Québec decided against holding a 12th of July parade in Montreal for the coming summer. It was believed that holding an Orange parade in the predominantly Catholic city of Montreal would be too controversial and that it could have negative consequences for the wider Protestant community of the city.[48] Instead the Order decided to have a simple church parade where members would walk to church in Orange regalia, and then quietly return home after the service was completed. But by the beginning of the summer news had spread across the city that the Orange Order would be holding a 'provocative' parade on the 12th of July and that a riot could ensue. Members of the city's Irish Catholic Union (ICU), an organization that had been formed in opposition to the Orange Order, were rumoured to be purchasing ammunition. The mayor, with the support of many of the city's leading Protestant figures asked the Order to call off the church parade as he could not guarantee the safety of the participants. The Order replied that the mayor was responsible for keeping the peace and that he should not be intimated by those who did not wish to uphold the law of the land. [49]

When the day finally arrived, the downtown area of the city was thronged with people. ICU member J.C. Fleming noticed that many of the most prominent nationalities of Montreal were present on the streets that day, i.e. French, Irish and Anglo-Scotch. Fleming also claimed that the majority of Montreal's Orangemen were not of Irish descent and even included "Negros and Indians who would be somewhat puzzled to locate the Boyne water or give a lucid explanation of

[48] Jolivet, Simon. "Orange, vert et bleu: les orangistes au Québec depuis 1849." Spring 2010, Bulletin d'histoire politique, 15 Jun. 2013 <http://www.bulletinhistoirepolitique.org/le-bulletin/numeros-precedents/volume-18-numero-3/orange-vert-et-bleu-les-orangistes-au-Québec-depuis-1849/>.
[49] Collard, Edgar Andrew. *The Irish Way: the History of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society*. (Montreal: Irish Protestant Benevolent Society of Montréal, 1992) 67-68.

their principles."[50] For Fleming the mixed-ethnic nature of Montreal's Orange Order undermined its claim to memorialize a specific moment in Irish history.

At some point during the day, a young Orangeman by the name of Thomas Lett Hackett intervened in a melee with the intention of trying to protect some young Orange women from being hassled by what was believed to be a group of Irish Catholics. A fight quickly broke out and in the confusion that ensued Hackett was cornered on the stairway of Dunn & Company on Victoria Square. Hackett pulled out a revolver to defend himself from his attackers but his shots only hit the stone buildings surrounding him. Shots were fired in retaliation, hitting Hackett in the head before he fell dead to the ground.[51]

That night in the Orange Hall on St. James Street the Orange Order let it be known that they would not be intimidated and that in future they would exercise their right to march in the city. They laid the blame for Hackett's death at the feet of Mayor Louis Beaudry.[52] They stated that they had asked for police protection that day and it had been refused. Before his funeral the following Sunday, the Order laid out Hackett's body in the reading room of the Orange Hall. The Hall was decked out in Union Jacks, black drapes and Orange lilies. On a black covered table near his coffin read the sign 'Thomas Lett Hackett, No Surrender.' Despite being shot three times in the head, his coffin was fitted with a glass cover so that his mutilated face could be on display. Newspapers reported that both men and women were moved to tears in viewing his mutilated body. Some 20,000 people passed through the Orange Hall that week and all of them were given scarlet

[50] Fleming, J. C., and Francis Hincks. *Orangeism and the 12th of July Riots in Montreal*. (Montreal: J.C. Fleming, 1877) 28.
[51] Collard, 68
[52] Fleming, J. C., and Francis Hincks, 36-37.

ribbons for the funeral procession that would take place on the 16th.[53]

The heads of the various national societies including the St George's, St. Andrew's and Irish Protestant Benevolent Societies called on the mayor to bring out the military to police the city on the day of the funeral, but the mayor refused and stated that the police were competent enough to fulfill their duty.[54] Orangemen made it known that Hackett's funeral would be far bigger than the church parade, and funeral announcements asked every Protestant in the city to attend. Not only would Protestants from Montreal attend but also Orangemen from Buffalo, Toronto, Kingston and Ottawa. One of the local societies that debated whether or not to attend the funeral was the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society of Montreal. They wondered whether attending such a politically charged ceremony would break their vow to only attend charitable events. Finally, for the sake of paying respect to Hackett's family it was decided to march with the funeral procession. They called on "all Irish Protestant citizens and their descendants be and are hereby most cordially invited to join [with] the Society at the funeral"[55]. Other national organizations such as the Scottish St. Andrew's Society and the English St. George's Society would also take part in the procession. In the end, the response from Orangemen from Ontario and around rural Québec was so large that accommodation had to be found for them in the Victoria Skating Rink on Drummond Street.[56] The Irish Catholic Union warned its members to not interfere in anyway with the funeral procession and that anyone who did would be considered an enemy 'of our race, country and creed.'[57]

On the Sunday before the funeral itself, scuffles and fights broke out in and around the city. An anonymous letter was sent to the Order's Montreal County Master that the drinking fountain

[53] Young, Brian J., and Geoffrey James. *Respectable Burial*. (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003) 73-74.
[54] "From Montreal" *Western Home Journal* 19 Jul. 1877.
[55] Irish Protestant Benevolent Society (Montreal) Minute Book, 14 Jul. 1877.
[56] Collard, 69.
[57] "The Twelfth of July Disturbance" *The Montreal Daily Witness,* 14 Jul. 1877.

in the cemetery had been poisoned.[58] In comparison to the 12th of July, this procession was surrounded by city police as well as volunteer cavalry and infantry.[59] The Orangemen had managed to round up over 1800 members, including 400 arriving by train from Ottawa and almost twice that much from the Eastern Townships. Other Protestants added 2000 more. They began from Point St. Charles, marching in procession to St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church before ending up at Christ Church Cathedral on St. Catherine Street. The funeral managed to unite all Protestant classes of the city from the working men of Pointe St. Charles to bourgeois members of St. George's Anglican Church. The procession stretched for blocks, led by the Grand Marshall of the Orange Order. Disturbances broke out at the corner of St. James and McGill Streets where it was described by one reporter that "right hands found breast pockets, many of them drawing revolvers".[60] In a report on Hackett's funeral, a bystander underscored the power of the press to translate its narrative of events around the world "My God […] people are in a position to bayonet us first and afterwards to telegraph abroad that we are in the wrong, for they possess the ear of the world and grasp the hilt of the sword."[61]

The Montreal lodge to which Hackett belonged, the Boyne Loyal Orange Lodge, thanked the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society for attending the funeral, although the largely non-political IPBS did not want to set a precedent in attending such an event.[62] It shows how much the Hackett killing affected all sides of the Protestant community in Montreal that they could lay differences aside and unite in such force. A few days after the funeral the provincial government formally banned any religious procession which commemorated a political anniversary. However, an

[58] "Hackett's Funeral" *St. Joseph Gazette,* 17 Jul. 1877.
[59] Fleming & Hincks, 41.
[60] Collard, 69.
[61] Fleming & Hincks, 41.
[62] Collard, 69.

amendment to this ban allowed for the parading of certain religious processions as long as they were led by recognized church authorities. As a consequence the March 17th St. Patrick's Day parade would go ahead as usual the following year.[63]

[63] Jolivet, Simon. "Orange, vert et bleu: les orangistes au Québec depuis 1849." Spring 2010, Bulletin d'histoire politique, 15 Jun. 2013 <http://www.bulletinhistoirepolitique.org/le-bulletin/numeros-precedents/volume-18-numero-3/orange-vert-et-bleu-les-orangistes-au-Québec-depuis-1849/>.

CHAPTER 1: IMMIGRANT SOCIETIES

National immigrant societies began to emerge sometime around the end of the 18th century, flowering between Confederation and the First World War, and were still largely relevant up to the 1950's before beginning a steep decline. Various studies have shown that these societies tended to take hold during times of economic success, as they provided new migrants with a social network that could help them better integrate into the host society.[64] Associative traits harnessed old world certainties in the mobile economy of the host environment. But the migration process itself was also liable to amplify and sharpen collective identities based on national, religious or ethnic differences. Being Irish in Ireland, Scottish in Scotland or Italian in Italy represents much weaker self and external identifiers than being Irish in Montreal, Scottish in Sydney or Italian in New York. Host societies usually received immigrants from more than one source and so identity differences were heightened not only alongside the host society but also alongside other immigrant groups.

Irish Protestant Benevolent Society

Immigrant elites were often responsible for creating these kinds of instrumental associations, whose initial purpose may not have been just for the benefit of their clients. Membership was based on a certain degree of already attained social status. Immigrant associations served the social ambitions of established immigrants as well as the social needs of the newly arrived. These middle class associations also became important arenas for communal conformity which in turn was essential to the formation of collective identities. One of the most frequent observations made about voluntary associations is that membership seems to decline as

[64] Moya, Jose C. "Immigrants and Associations: A Global and Historical Perspective." *Journal of ethnic and migration studies* 31.5 (2005): 837.

one moves down the social ladder. As education, income and white-collar employment levels decrease, so does membership in voluntary societies. Even among working-class organizations, skilled, better paid workers are more likely to be members than semi-skilled or unskilled workers.[65]

At its creation in 1834 the St. Patrick's Society was a national and immigrant association open to all Irishmen irrespective of religion. However, it did have a class bias and its membership represented the upper echelons of capital, the professions and civil power.[66] Most of the society's leaders were affluent Protestants who arrived in Canada after Catholic Emancipation in 1829. But developments in Ireland during this period would eventually see a change in the society's identity. Part of this change can be seen by the testimony of an Irish Catholic priest before a British Parliamentary committee in 1825. He was asked by the commission to explain the meaning of the term "Sassanach", he said "The true meaning of it is Englishman. There is no Irish term for Protestant. They first knew a Protestant in the person of the Englishman and therefore they have identified it with him."[67] This inability to untangle religious and national identity would have a profound effect on the development of Irish identity over the course of the next century. By the 1850's, due to the influx of Irish Famine emigrants, the majority of the St. Patrick's Society's members were Catholic. The Irish Catholic clergy and members of the Irish Catholic middle class sought to conflate their confessional and political communities, tying together their Catholicism and their Irish nationalism. By 1856, the Catholic Irish had transformed the St. Patrick's Society into a strictly Catholic institution and the Protestant Irish were asked to form their own society,

[65] Moya, 853.
[66] James, Kevin. "Dynamics of Ethnic Associational Culture in a Nineteenth-Century City: Saint Patrick's Society of Montreal, 1834-56." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 26.1 (2000): 50.
[67] Akenson, Donald H. *Small Differences*. (Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988) 134-135.

the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society (IPBS).[68]

At the creation of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society in 1856, many Protestants were upset at the way the Catholic members had marginalized their religious faith. Protestants complained that even though they had paid for much of the paraphernalia of the St. Patrick's Society, Catholic priests had worked to appropriate the society and its image. They made it known that the St. George's or St. Andrew's Societies do not choose members based upon religious faith, and that if the St. Patrick's Society chose to be an exclusively Catholic society, then it could no longer call itself a national society.[69] As a consequence of the actions of the St. Patrick's Society, the new IPBS had no option but to use the term 'Protestant' in its title. The inevitable sectarian nature of its charter was the obvious result:

> "The object of this Society shall be charitable by nature, to advance the welfare of Irish Protestants in Canada, to afford advice, information to those Protestants immigrating from Ireland to Canada, to promote their settlement therein, to afford pecuniary aid, or to assist in the education of such of their children as may require and merit such assistance, and to engage in such charitable pursuits for the benefit of Irish Protestants in Canada, as may be deemed advisable."[70]

Anglophone newspapers were totally bemused by this separation of national identity on the basis of religion. One reported that 'much evil it may do; the unpleasant sort of strife it may breed'.[71] Especially worrying to members of Montreal's British elite was that this split could affect conscription to the militia in times of civil disorder and that as a consequence they would not be

[68] James, 50.
[69] James, 61.
[70] Collard, 126-127.
[71] James, 59.

able to rely on a united response from the community.

Nevertheless, the society would become more than just a charitable institution for Irish Protestants; it would also be an important social network for ambitious individuals looking for an opening into the world of civic politics. Two of the presidents of the St. Patrick's Society, William Workman and Francis Hincks, would go on to become presidents of the IPBS. Hincks, who was originally from County Cork, was the St. Patrick's Society president from 1845 to 1848. He also led an active career outside the society, as prime minister of the province of Canada from 1851 to 1854 and later as colonial governor of Barbados and the Windward Islands, and of British Guiana.[72] Hincks was author of the Bank Act which allowed all Canadian banks to hold federal charters that would be renewed every ten years upon review of the Bank Act itself. This allowed the Canadian banking system to be updated and revised according to contemporary economic conditions.[73] William Workman was a prominent investor in both rail and banking. He strongly believed that technological progress and the development of the civic infrastructure of the city was essential in securing Montreal's ongoing prosperity. Workman was one of five Irish presidents of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank, an institution set up by a coalition of Irish and French-speaking patrons in 1846. He would later serve as mayor of Montreal between 1868 and 1870. *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* commended men like William Workman and Francis Hincks for being able to link hands with their Catholic brethren in promoting the Irish of Montreal across Canada.[74]

Other founding members of the IPBS included John Cordner, Matthew Gault and William

[72] Collard, 9.
[73] Hallowell, Gerald. *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History*. (Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 2004) 61.
[74] "Hon. Senator Murphy" *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* 44, 5 Jun. 1889.

Clendinneng. All of these men were on the original board of the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge. Matthew Hamilton Gault set up the Sun Life Assurance Company in 1871. The firm developed at a rapid pace and soon had agents working across Canada and later throughout the world. Sun Life was a prime example of how financial and industrial capital could come together and develop beyond its own borders to make an international impact. It used its position as part of the British Empire to expand its services into the Far East and Africa. It managed to reinvest huge amounts of capital gained from insurance premiums into mortgages, electric-power companies and street railways across North America. Gault himself took the seat of Montreal West for the Conservatives in 1878 supporting John A. MacDonald's policy of a high protective tariff. Irish Catholic members of the Montreal Conservatives voted down the original candidate Thomas White because they believed that the paper he had a controlling interest in, the *Montreal Gazette* was too sectarian in its coverage of religious issues in the city. Gault was enthusiastically endorsed by Catholic Conservatives as the candidate for Montreal West.[75] He later played a strong role in promoting the social and commercial strengths of Montreal as Chair of the Committee for the Montreal Exhibition in 1881 and member of the Winter Carnival Committee the following year.

John Cordner was a Unitarian minister who was originally invited to Montreal by the eldest sibling of the Workman family, Benjamin Workman. In the early 19th century Unitarianism was considered at the extreme end of Protestantism, a non-doctrinal denomination where its congregation were encouraged to form their own beliefs. Although denounced by more mainstream Protestant pastors, it's notable that Roman Catholics did not join in these denunciations of Montreal's Unitarian Church. Many Catholics were grateful for the contribution

[75] "The Political Campaign" *The True Witness and Catholic chronicle*, 28:52, 7 Aug. 1872.

Unitarians had made toward establishing their civil rights in the United Kingdom and New England.[76] The city's Unitarian congregation was divided into two groups, one a group of Unitarians from England, the other from America. Both groups were opposed to utilizing a Unitarian minister from the other group as the church's pastor. Benjamin Workman resolved the crisis by nominating John Cordner as the church's minister. Cordner was from Lisburn, near to where the Workman family grew up. As a consequence the Unitarian Church in Montreal became registered as the Unitarian church of Ireland, not of England or the United States.[77] Workman along with his brother William had converted to Unitarianism under the influence of John Cordner.

Perhaps the most gregarious of all the founding members of the IPBS was William Clendinneng. Originally from County Cavan, Clendinneng began work as a clerk in William Rodden's foundry office in Saint Anne's ward. He eventually rose up to become Rodden's partner before finally buying out Rodden's share of the company in 1868. The company continued to expand under his leadership and by 1884 he had brought in his son as partner in the company of William Clendinneng & Son.[78] Clendinneng was one of the few members of the IPBS who was also a member of the Orange Order. He let known his feelings about his adopted province in a speech at the Wesleyan Missionary Society Conference in Peterboro Ontario in 1873. He commended his provincial neighbours by saying that he could not but pay high praise to the religious character of Ontario which unlike his home province of Québec, was not "untrammelled by any oppressive dynastic system."[79] He would later donate money to the French Canadian Missionary Society which sought the conversion of French-Canadians to Protestantism.[80] But

[76] "Cordner, John", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.
[77] Collard, 16-17.
[78] 'Clendinneng, William' *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.
[79] Wesleyan missionary notices, Canada Conference. New ser. no. 21 Nov. 1873.
[80] *The Journal of the French Canadian Missionary Society* Feb. 1874.

although Clendinneng spoke out against the influence of the Catholic Church, the *True Witness* noted he was a good employer who treated the many Catholics in his service with uniform consideration and kindness.[81] As president of the IPBS, he even attended a St. Patrick's Society concert for St. Patrick's Day in 1875.[82]

What is noticeable about all of these founding members is the esteem and respect with which they were held by the Irish Catholic community of Montreal. Despite this, relations between the IPBS and the St. Patrick's Society were often strained in the aftermath of the split. The St. Patrick's Society's readiness to campaign for Irish political causes such as Home Rule and land reform alarmed some members of the Protestant Society who worried that many of the gatherings organized by the St. Patrick's Society were too political and sectarian. In order not to cause offence, the IPBS was careful to word its decline of such invitations in as formal language as possible, stating that attending such an event would contradict its by-laws. But it also let it be known that no offence should be taken: "this was done from no unfriendly feeling but simply because this Society has always observed the policy of doing their work and helping their fellow countrymen with as little publicity and display as possible".[83] Something of the IPBS's rationale can be seen in a lecture given to the IPBS in late 1911 by Methodist clergyman Rev. T.E. Bourke. Bourke reminded his audience that Canada could learn from Ireland the negative effects of racial bitterness and that they should learn not to stir up racial or religious bitterness in Canada "lest generations yet unborn live to curse them for it."[84] In Montreal the IPBS's increasing involvement with the St. George's and St. Andrew's societies meant that their confessional identity and

[81] "Ald. Clendinneng" *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* 29:24, 29 Jan. 1879.
[82] "St. Patrick's Celebrations in Canada" *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* 25:32, 26 Mar. 1875.
[83] Collard, 71.
[84] 'A Race Worth Knowing' unacknowledged press clipping Nov/Dec 1911. IPBS Minute Book.

Britishness would become more emphasized. In 1864 all three societies worked together to set up The United Protestant Immigrant's Home.

However, in the year following the Hackett killing the IPBS decided to make a special effort to meet with the St. Patrick's Society in a spirit of friendly comradeship. On the 26th September 1878, the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society held their 22nd annual Fete, Pic-Nic and Games at the Shamrock Lacrosse Grounds. Various Montreal societies provided teams to take part in the picnic's races or tug-of-war matches. The IPBS even purchased special religious prizes for the Catholic societies who attended. For a handicap race featuring members of the Shamrock Lacrosse Club, the prize was a portrait of the Pope. For a tug-of-war contest between the St. Patrick's Society and the La Société St. Joseph, the prize was a picture of the Virgin and Child. The judges of these events involved a number of Irish Catholics including William Wilson, president of the Irish National Society and James McShane, member of the Québec legislature.[85]

In 1895 the Protestant Society invited members of all of the city's national societies to its annual dinner. James McShane attended this time as president of the St. Patrick's Society. In 1896 a real breakthrough was made when 40 members of the St. Patrick's Society decided to forego their own St. Patrick's Day dinner to attend the IPBS St. Patrick's Day dinner. Guest speaker for that evening was one of the city's most important Irish Catholics J.J. Curran, who was solicitor general in the federal cabinet. When Curran got up to speak it was reported that "He was glad to see so many Irish Catholics present to assist their Irish brothers in celebrating St. Patrick's Day. (Cheers.) If there was a race on the face of the earth who at home or abroad could not afford to be

[85] Irish Protestant Benevolent Society 'Twenty-Second Annual Fete, Pic-Nic and Games' Brochure, 26 Sep. 1878.

disunited it was the Irish race. (Cheers.)"[86]

In attempting to aid the Irish poor of the city, both societies enforced strict boundaries of who they could and could not help. In one instance an Irishman wanted to return home to Ireland with his family. The difficulty was that while the man was a Protestant, both his wife and children were Catholics. On this occasion the IPBS paid for the Protestant man's fare back to Ireland while the St. Patrick's Society paid for his wife and children.[87] In another instance in April 1885, the St. Lawrence River had overflowed and the lower end of St. Anne's ward was flooded. Help to the victims of Point St. Charles could only be delivered in rowboats. The president of both Irish societies went together through St. Anne's ward along with clergymen of all the denominations who were working together to help out those in need.[88] Fairness had to be seen to be done by the IBPS during the floods however. They surveyed the scene and decided that they could donate $33.70 to relief efforts but only as "soon as the other societies pay theirs"[89] By 1904, the society had on its charitable rolls around 132 families representing 528 people. They dealt with around 63 people a week. The IPBS did not just deal with the poorer classes but also tried to help those who were of previously better circumstances who, through the sickness or death of a close relative, had fallen on hard times. They sought to deal with these cases in a discreet and unobtrusive way so as not to cause social embarrassment.[90]

But the IPBS membership's strict adherence to its founding charter meant that it fenced itself off from identification with a wider, transnational Protestant Irish identity. In 1880 the

[86] Collard, 71-72.
[87] Collard, 46.
[88] Collard, 53.
[89] IPBS Minute Book, 3 May, 1886.
[90] IPBS Minute Book, March/April 1904.

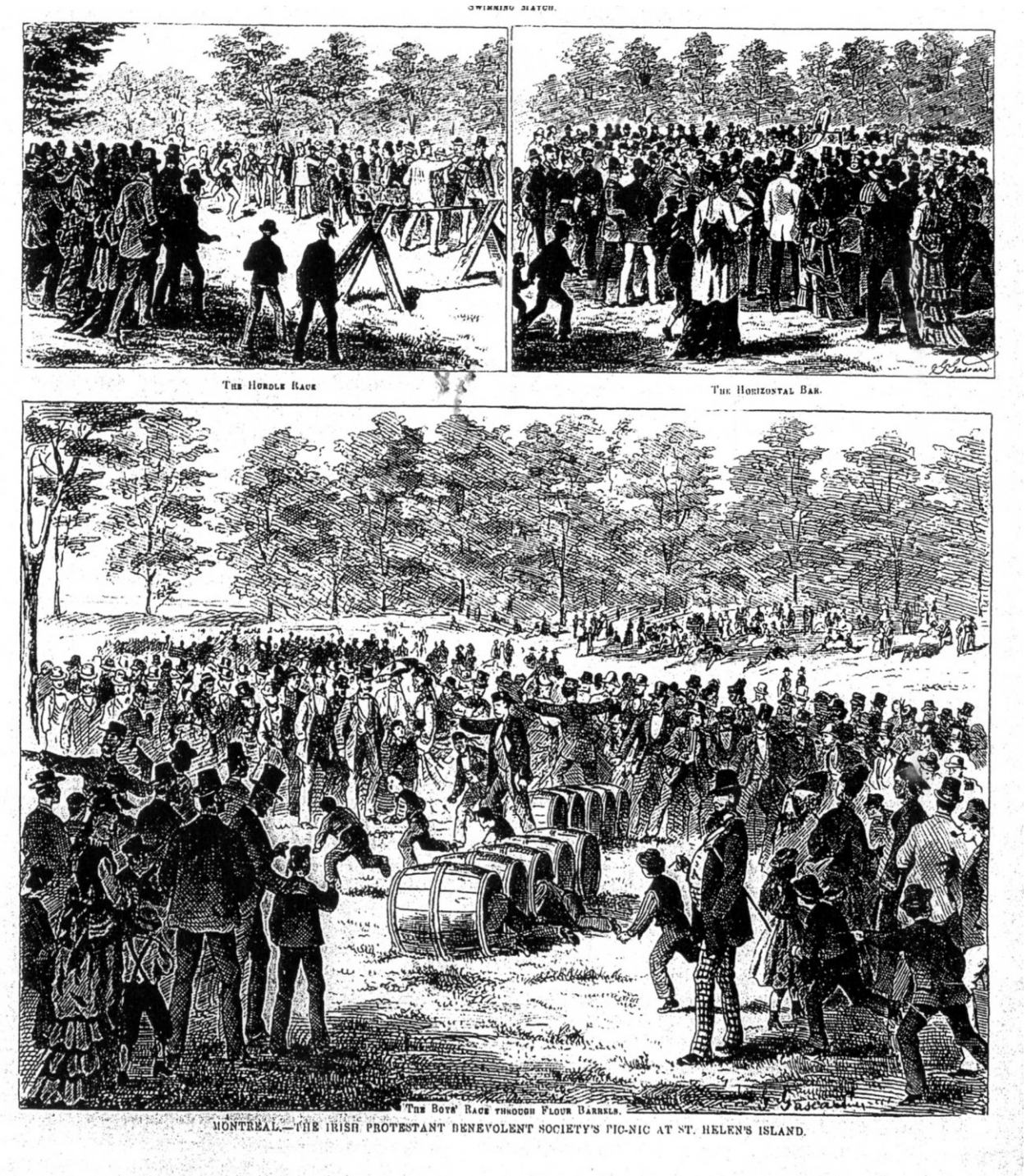

***Figure 2**: Irish Protestant Benevolent Society Pic-Nic at St. Helen's Island, 1874. Canadian Illustrated News, Vol. 10, no. 10, 5th Sep. 1874*

Duchess of Marlborough, wife of the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, made a request for funds for relief of the poor in Ireland. She was the head of a non-denominational committee. The society communicated that they were happy to pass on donations by individuals who wished to contribute to the fund, but that the society itself could not donate anything as its charter explicitly stated that its purpose was "to engage in ... charitable pursuits for the benefit of Irish Protestants in Canada."[91]

Due to their marked denominational diversity, Irish Protestants did not have their own newspapers, or schools or churches and tended to integrate seamlessly with other Protestant groups. A persistent complaint in the IPBS Annual Reports was that its membership was smaller than should be expected. In the 1889 report the committee members were convinced that there were a large number of Irish Protestants in Montreal who were not members of the society and who were not even known to its members. They believed that greater work should be done to identify Irish Protestants and their descendants to try and persuade them to join the society or at least to discover their names so that they could have a greater pool of people to call on in times of need.[92] Ultimately, among the Protestant community of Montreal, the cultural differences between High Church and Evangelicals were greater than that between the Irish and the English.[93] But there was another Protestant Irish institution that throughout the period between Confederation and the First World War had no problem in attracting new members.

Orange Order

By 1879 the Orange County Master for Hochelaga David Grant believed that there were about 500 active members of the Orange Order in Montreal. But that if he accounted for 'slow

[91] Collard, 105
[92] Irish Protestant Benevolent Society Thirty-Third Annual Report, (1889) 7.
[93] W, Vaudry, Richard. *Anglicans and the Atlantic World*. 25 Vol. (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003) 160.

members', i.e. those members who were not actively engaged in the Order, then the number in Montreal would be closer to 3,000.[94] Reporting on a meeting of the Boyne Loyal Orange Lodge in Montreal in 1888, a local Orangemen noted that most of the membership was composed of young men between the ages of 18 and 25.[95] By 1895, the Grand Orange Lodge of Québec was boasting of 4,470 members across the province.[96] The main Orange Hall in Montreal was at 246 St. James Street. In 1894 no fewer than nine Orange Lodges met there at different times every month, including the Loyal Orange Lodges (L.O.L.) of Derry, Victoria, Boyne, Dominion, Prince of Wales and Duke of York, as well as Mount Royal True Blue Benevolent Lodge, Royal Scarlet Chapter and Hobah Royal Black Preceptory. The Hackett L.O.L. met at Chatham Street Hall while the Diamond L.O.L and the Hardiman Lady True Blue Lodge met at the Sons of England Hall on Craig Street. Finally, the Lorne L.O.L. and the Prentice Boys Association met every month at the Fraternity Hall in Point St. Charles.[97] Although like the IPBS, the Orange Order professed a certain national and religious identity, it certainly did not have any qualms in expressing its political and sectarian outlook.

From the time of Confederation until the First World War British Anglo-Canadianism was a dominant feature of Canadian life. Compared to the novelty of a new nation, the British historical narrative was viewed as an empowering identity with which to apprehend the world. It was also a way to counteract the influence of the United States by affirming Canada's membership of an imperial entity that had equal prominence on the world stage.[98] Britishness was to be developed

[94] "Grant v. Beaudry" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 16 Oct. 1879.
[95] "Montreal Notes" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 1 Nov. 1888.
[96] "Grand Orange Lodge of the Province of Québec" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 21 Mar. 1895.
[97] "Montreal Orange Lodge Directory" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 10 May 1894.
[98] Kaufmann, Eric. "Condemned to Rootlessness: The Loyalist Origins of Canada's Identity Crisis." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 3.1 (1997): 129-130.

and supported through continuing contact between the imperial centre and the colonial periphery. As well as national identity, religious identity played its part in the development of Anglo-Canadianism. Linda Colley has stated that for the majority of Britons, Protestantism helped them to make sense of the past and to understand the present. It also helped them to identify their enemies.[99] Examples of these enemies can be seen in the records of the Annual Reports of the Grand Lodge of Québec where there was at least one expulsion of a member every year for marrying "a papist". When the Orange Order first arrived in Canada in the middle of the 19th century its aggressive anti-Catholicism was rejected by a political elite which had long made its peace with the Catholic Church through the Québec Act. The Order was seen as a specifically immigrant and ethnic institution. However, in the aftermath of Confederation, the political power of the Orange Order became more prominent, especially in Ontario, as the new Canadian nation sought to expand itself across the west in opposition to the United States. There was a belief that in order to be a successful member of the British Empire, a sense of internal cohesion needed to be achieved. In the development of the west, a process of 'Ontarianization' took place, which sought to make the politics and culture of Canada's central province the politics and culture of Canada as a whole. The Orange Order was a key element in this early desire to unite the country from sea to sea. With its network of lodges from St. John's to Vancouver Island, there were probably few other institutions which could command allegiance over such a wide geographic area. The Orange Order was adamant in its support for 'One flag, one language, and one school, equal rights for all, special privileges for none.'[100]

However there was resistance in some quarters for such an approach. A member of the

[99] Vaudry, 68.
[100] Houston, Cecil J., and William J. Smyth. *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980) 143-145.

Orange Order in Montreal, Norman Murray, wrote to the *Sentinel* in 1893 to complain that Montreal Orangeman should be more interested in challenging the Roman church on its streets than worry about Home Rule 3,000 miles away in Ireland, or separate schools 1,000 miles away in Manitoba.[101] In another letter to the editor in 1894, Murray criticizes the continued use of the term 'Anglo-Saxon' in the paper in opposition to the French. From his perspective the idea that a nation should be formed via one race, one language and one religion is an idea more easily embraced by Provincial Liberal leader Honoré Mercier and his French-Canadian cohorts than members of the British Empire. Later in his letter he states "I never heard anyone include everything Protestant under that all absorbing word Anglo-Saxon till I came to Canada."[102] At the annual Guy Fawkes Orange Order church parade in Point St. Charles in 1899, the Rev. Dr. Ker said in his sermon that civil liberty is not confined to British blood and the British born, saying that no narrow or one-sided interpretation should limit its "grand circumference."[103]

It is no surprise that the Orange Order gained such a following among new Anglo-Canadians in the middle of the 19th century. The industrial revolution did much to unsettle communal forms of tradition and memory through increasing urbanization, new information technology, and the atomizing effects of wage labour. Such was the case with migrants, who found themselves uprooted from the locations that gave their communal lives meaning and order. Along with this uprooting came a greater desire for impersonal and abstract national identities. In his book *Special Sorrows*, Matthew Jacobson underlines how new information technology allowed traditional communities to be defined beyond a narrow sense of place.[104] Immigrant journals

[101] "Montreal Orangemen" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 29 June 1893.
[102] "The Anglo-Saxons" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 19 April 1894.
[103] "Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 16 Nov 1899.
[104] Jacobson, 55.

sought to overcome the migrant's sense of exile by transcending trans-Atlantic distances and uniting the diaspora community with the history and traditions of the motherland.[105] During the post-Confederation period the anglophone media in Canada played a powerful role in the assertion and creation of identities according to their own values and ideology. The development of print technology in the 19th century was crucial in overtaking oral traditions and becoming the principal outlet for advancing the truth of the external world. The dominant way of understanding the totality of the Canadian landscape was through newspapers.[106] For many British North Americans, the garrison mentality of Protestant Ulster was especially attractive as they sought to define themselves in opposition to American republicanism and French-Canadian Catholicism. *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate* published in Toronto was the most widely read Orange newspaper in 19th century Canada, peppered as it was with news from 'home'. Home in this case being Ireland, and at other times Britain. The paper also recognized the power of the press as the great distributer of knowledge, "The press was the artillery that successfully broke up medieval Romanism"[107] For the *Sentinel*, Britain and Ireland were the centre of an imperial identity whose political and cultural geography was formed and defined in its pages.

While Québec Protestants did look to Ontario for support from aggressive Catholicism, they were not as vocal in seeking to marginalize francophone identity. In her book on the ethnic peripheries of the Soviet Union, Kate Brown describes how myth-making requires a certain amount of distance in order to blur specific details about peripheral identities and amalgamate them into the enemy. Created from afar, the enemy becomes easier to see.[108] This was much the

[105] Jacobson, 56.
[106] Dick, Lyle. "Nationalism and Visual Media in Canada: The Case of Thomas Scott's Execution." *Manitoba History*.48 (2004): 2-3.
[107] "The Banquet to the Montreal Brethren" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 22 Aug. 1878.
[108] Brown, Kate. *A Biography of no Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004) 137-138.

case in 19th century Canada where the *Sentinel* created its' enemies from the comfort of its Toronto offices. It was much more difficult to maintain in Montreal where Orangemen came face to face with francophone Catholics on a day to day basis.[109] The *Sentinel* fought a battle of identity in the popular press claiming that an increased sense of French-Canadian nationalism was being propagated in the francophone press. The newspaper looked to a time when "French-Canadianism" would be unknown. In one of its stronger editorials, exhausted with Québec's complaints about separate schools in Manitoba, the paper called for a stronger assimilation of French-Canadians, "This country can never again be French, and it is cruel and wicked to fill the minds of the simple habitants with this chimera".[110]

In *Special Sorrows* Jacobson quotes the American Polish immigrant journal *Zgoda* in underlining how a sense of obligation was maintained between the diaspora community and the political objectives of the home country. The journal recounted "the heroic deeds of our ancestors; everywhere the outrages perpetrated by the enemies of our nation were protested; everywhere the white-amaranthine Polish flag appeared; everywhere the cry sounded, 'Poland has not yet perished!'"[111] In the pages of the *Sentinel* similar sentiments were expressed around the two most important dates in the Orange calendar; the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne on the 12th July, and Guy Fawkes Night on November 5th. Guy Fawkes Night was especially celebrated in Point St. Charles where the Mount Royal Lodge 'Prentice Boys came out for the annual church parade which would eventually see hundreds of people marching up Wellington Street.[112] At one Guy Fawkes Day concert in Point St. Charles in 1898, the local Orange lodge hired the largest hall in

[109] Indeed during an anti-Jesuit conference in Ontario, Québec Protestants were fearful of attacks on French language rights in Ontario as they felt it would negatively impact their desire for English-language schools in Québec.
[110] "Tyranny in Québec" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 29 Aug. 1895.
[111] Jacobson, 76.
[112] "November Fifth! – Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 15 Nov. 1894.

the west end of the city, the Unity Hall. However the hall was too small to accommodate the 600 people who arrived and in the end many had to be turned away.[113] At other times of the year Montreal's Orangemen put on smaller celebrations for such historical events as the closing of the gates of Derry.

Thus, as the Orange Order sought to re-centre themselves as part of an imperial identity, Québec became increasingly to be seen not as part of the founding centre of Canada but as a recalcitrant periphery. Peripheries are not only geographic, they are also figurative. Their occupants do not just stand on the fringes of settlement; they also exist on the border of morality, taste and culture.[114] In moments of crisis and heightened tension, this 'backwardness' can become sabotage. During the Boer War, Orangemen in Montreal spoke of the treachery of French-Canadian apathy surrounding the war, and in some cases of outright sympathy with the enemy. If French-Canadians spoke in favour of the Boers then what would they do if Britain went to war with France?[115] Irish and French-Canadian Catholics were not only seen as culturally backward, but within the narrative of Anglo-Saxon Protestant imperialism they were also seen as politically dangerous and subversive. The Order in Montreal compared itself to "the position of Derry when it was besieged on all sides with enemies, and our greatest enemy is the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy"[116].

But others saw this threat as too large for it to be usurped by Anglo-Canadian Protestantism alone. The British historian Goldwin Smith claimed that French-Canadian and Irish Catholic disloyalty was a good reason for Canada to join with the United States in the creation of a larger Anglo-Saxon Protestant identity. In a reply to Smith's essay "The Political Destiny of Canada",

[113] "The Gunpowder Plot" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 17 Nov. 1898.
[114] Brown, 15.
[115] "French-Canadian Loyalty" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 16 Nov. 1899.
[116] The Banquet to the Montreal Brethren" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 22 Aug. 1878.

Francis Hincks reminded him that Catholics did not vote as a religious block, and due to the fact that they were so numerous in Canada one could find them across the political spectrum, both liberal and conservative.[117] Hincks, who throughout his long career did much to develop the basis for Canada's constitutionalism, complained that there was no need for the Orange Order in Canada as Canada's Roman Catholics were just as loyal to their new country as Protestants were.[118] He brought this to the fore in one of the Orange trials that occurred in the wake of Hackett's death, lauding Daniel O'Connell for his liberal views and using him as a progressive example of Catholic leadership. Hincks would later state "I am not of the opinion that the Catholic faith prevents a man from being a good subject to a Protestant Sovereign and a true friend to civil and religious liberty"[119] In the aftermath of the Hackett killing, Hincks also reminded Orangemen that the Catholic clergy were a powerful influence in helping to put down the Rebellions of 1837-38.[120]

Something of the frustration engendered by peripheral identities can be seen in an attack by the editor of *The Canadian Spectator* on Francis Hincks due to his criticism of the Orange Order. The editor stated that it was due to Catholics in Parliament seeking the interests of the Church rather than the interests of the State that "the miserable policy had to be adopted of having Provinces and Provincial Parliaments."[121] In 1877, a poem by an Orange Order member under the pseudonym 'Ulster True Blue' highlighted the union of an Orange Canada east and west of Montreal with Ontario as its centre:

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[117] Smith, Goldwin, Hincks, Francis, Blachford, Frederic Rogers, Sherbrooke, Robert Lowe. *The Political Destiny of Canada*. (Toronto: Willing & Williamson, 1878) 28.
[118] "The Recent Troubles In the City" *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle,* 8 Aug. 1877.
[119] "Montreal – The Trial of the Orange Leaders" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 22 Aug. 1878.
[120] "The Recent Troubles in the City" *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle,* 28:1, 15 Aug. 1877.
[121] "Sir Francis Hincks on the Orange Question" *The Canadian Spectator*, 1:35, 31 Aug. 1878.

Some thirty shots at Hackett aimed,
While, like a soldier true,
He bravely faced his savage foes
Ere they could him subdue
At length a bullet brought him down
For it had pierced his brain
And […] thrice poor Hackett's corpse
Was reckoned with the slain

Fast spread the news both East and West
As lightening quick doth fly,
And brave Ontario raised her voice
With vengeance in her eye
And thousands of her gallant men
With arms were soon prepared
To aid the men of Montreal
Nor time nor money spared.[122]

By conquering the West, the Orange Order believed that Anglo-Canada had a right to define the national community. But different place-centered identities would remain a constant guard against any attempts to centralize and standardize identity across the whole country. As the editor of the *Canadian Spectator* pointed out, the creation of Provincial Parliaments meant that smaller political and cultural centres would create their own peripheries. The Orange Order's constant referral to Montreal as 'this Catholic City' or 'the Rome of America' was meant to underscore the city's difference from Anglo-Saxon Protestant civilization, but it also had the adverse effect of placing its own lodges on the margins of Canada's commercial metropolis. A similar process of marginalizing through naming was employed by the Order's adversaries. In a letter to the editor of the *Gazette*, Francis Hincks was indignant that Orangemen from Toronto had invited a 'foreigner' from Buffalo in the United States to bring American Orangemen to Montreal for the 12th of July parade planned for 1878.[123] Much like J.C. Fleming's marginalization of the

[122] *Poem on the Montreal Riot, 12th July, 1877 with the Murder and Funeral of the Late Thomas Lett Hackett* 1877. S.l.: s.n.
[123] "Second Letter – To the Editor of the Gazette" *The Irish Canadian,* 8 Aug. 1877.

black and Native members of the Orange Order, Hincks' use of the term 'foreigner' for an American Orangeman seeks to mark Orange culture as alien or treacherous. But the Montreal Order sought to impose their own narrative on the city no matter how marginal the space they had to occupy. As well as referring to their area of Point St. Charles as "Little Derry", the naming of a Montreal Orange lodge as the 'Hackett No Surrender Lodge of Orange Young Britons' indicates the Order's strong desire to anchor their history and identity in the social spaces of the city.[124]

At other times Protestants in Point St. Charles came out as a community to highlight perceived injustices. At one particular rally, they publicized how even though they made up one third of the population of St. Anne's ward, all three of the ward's municipal representatives were Catholic.[125] Writing in the *Sentinel* the anonymous Point St. Charles Orangeman 'Black Northern' noted that Point St. Charles was the only part of Montreal where Orangemen had a solid numerical strength, but as they were part of the same St. Anne's ward that includes Griffintown, their votes were effectively cancelled out. In the area of Montreal where Orangemen were strongest, they were represented in the city Council by what 'Black Northern' described as "three rabid Irish Papists – Messrs. Donovan, Kennedy and McShane."[126]

The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle was the anglophone Catholic voice of Montreal, frequently critical of Orange assemblies in the city. In the aftermath of the Hackett killing, outdoor Protestant gatherings and assemblies found themselves regularly attacked. The *Sentinel* abounded with tales of Protestants being sent down to jail for assaults and Catholics allowed to go free. In the late 1870's 'Black Northern' sent the *Sentinel* a 'Letter from Montreal' every two months or so. In these missives he is scathing about the constant harassment of Protestant gatherings that take

[124] "Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 20 Apr. 1882.
[125] "Indignation Meeting at Point St. Charles" *The Montreal Daily Witness,* 14 Nov. 1877.
[126] "Our Montreal Letter" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 30 Jan. 1879.

place in the city. Returning from an Orange Young Britons concert one evening, a number of Orangemen tried to make their way back to the Point over Wellington Bridge. However, they were advised that a group of Irish Catholic Union men were waiting to ambush them. Some Orangemen were already on the bridge when they were fired upon. A second ambush by another group had the unintentional effect of leaving one of the Catholics dead. Before the concert itself another Orangeman was stabbed on Wellington Street.[127] Further attacks included the harassment of Protestant public prayer meetings in Dominion Square. 'Semper Fidelis' in the *Sentinel* criticized the Montreal papers for calling the attackers "lower class rowdies". He believed that the *Montreal Witness* was afraid to name who they really were, i.e. Irish Roman Catholics from Griffintown.[128] Ten years later the *Sentinel* noted that "roughs" from Griffintown were still targeting Protestants, this time the Salvation Army.[129] Sometimes even Protestant churches in working-class areas of Montreal were vandalized. In May 1899, Taylor Presbyterian Church in Montreal's East End was attacked with stones and bullets. The police blamed the incident on 'rowdies' but some believed that it may have been certain members of the Roman Catholic community fired up in response to the imperial jingoism of the Protestant community in support of the Boer War.[130] St. Paul's Mission in Point St. Charles was another church that came under frequent attack between the months of March and July. Rev. Charles Doudiet was the pastor of the church and an Orangemen. In his annual report for 1902, he stated that people had started to frequent the church in greater numbers since gratings were put up outside the windows to protect them. The church itself was broken into three times and ransacked, and Sunday school children were insulted on their way

[127] "Our Montreal Letter" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 23 May 1878.
[128] "Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 28 Oct. 1880.
[129] "Rowdyism in Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 6 Nov. 1890.
[130] Trigger, Rosalyn. "*God's Mobile Mansions: Protestant Church Relocation and Extension in Montreal, 1850-1914*." (Doctoral Dissertation McGill University, 2004) 451-452.

home. Doudiet claimed that the police were helpless to protect them. Interestingly, he noted that since the month of August, things had quietened down and that more people had been attending the church.[131]

Previously Orangemen were not so resilient. In 1878 'Black Northern' complained that there was about eight or nine Catholic processions a year that occurred in Montreal that passed by unmolested but at the same time Orange parades were considered offensive.[132] He would go on to lament that "The intolerant and arrogant spirit exhibited by the Romish majority in this city, coupled with the dullness of business, has caused a great many of our Point St. Charles brethren to seek fresh fields and pastures new. A pioneer party from this neighbourhood having settled in Muskoka, a great number have followed them, intending for themselves a home in the new country". [133] Unlike in the rest of Canada, the Orange Order in Montreal found their space restricted, not just by the narrowness of streets and the claustrophobia of buildings but by the territorial claims of an opposing culture that sought to impose their own distinctive narratives on the cityscape. An editorial in *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* in the aftermath of the Hackett killing stated "The Catholic people of this country will welcome strife rather than submit to persecution. They will hail civil war with joy rather than be trailed at the heel of an Orange ascendancy"[134] Place-centered identity can then be understood as a discursive creation where a certain discourse has sustained a hegemonic grip on a given area, such as that achieved by the Catholic majority of the working-class districts of Montreal. The necessity for the creation of the Irish Catholic Union was framed as a defence of visible religious identity on the streets of Montreal. J.C. Fleming was convinced that allowing the Orange Order to march on the 12th July

[131] Trigger, Note 260, 451.
[132] "Our Montreal Letter" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 29 Aug. 1878.
[133] "Our Montreal Letter" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 31 Oct. 1878.
[134] Quoted in Fleming, J. C., and Francis Hincks, 51.

would make Montreal like every other village, town and city in Canada where Orangemen insult "the religion of the Irish and the Frenchman, and the nationality of the former"[135] Fleming goes on to state that the ICU was formed so that in Canada there would be at least one city where a Catholic priest can walk the streets without being shoved off the sidewalks and without a sister of mercy being insulted.[136]

Despite Fleming's strident tone, other voices tried to strike a chord of reason. Francis Hincks noted the similarity of the Order's situation in Québec with that of Ireland, advising them that they should no more think of marching in the streets of Montreal than they should in Dublin, Cork, Limerick or Waterford.[137] In the years ahead, further attempts were made to undermine the Order's position in Québec. In 1884 in anticipation of the passing of the Jesuits Estates Act, an act was put forward for the incorporation of the Orange Order. Liberal M.P. and future Irish Parliamentary candidate Edward Blake made a vitriolic attack on the Order and the incorporation act did not pass in parliament. This especially incensed the Orange Order as the Jesuit Estates Act not only recognized the Jesuit Order but would grant them a large sum of public money for lands taken from them over a hundred years earlier. Orangemen in Montreal tried to explain to their Ontarian brethren that things were not as black and white as they appeared in the press outside Québec. In a letter to the *Sentinel* a Montreal Orangeman under the pseudonym 'G' stated that the intelligent French-Canadian workingmen with whom he had daily contact had a very good understanding of constitutional liberty and with regard to the Jesuits Estates Bill, he suggested to Ontarian Orangemen that they refrain from taking the lead in the movement to strike down the bill.[138] Québec Anglophones feared that Orangemen campaigning for the removal of minority

[135] Fleming & Hincks, 56
[136] Fleming & Hincks, 57.
[137] Fleming & Hincks, 66.
[138] "The Jesuit Debate" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 9 Feb. 1889.

language rights in Ontario would conversely affect their own language rights in Québec. Even when the Orange Incorporation Act was finally passed in 1890, an Irish Catholic M.P. from Montreal tried to introduce an amendment that would have prevented the Incorporation Act from being enacted in Québec.[139]

Another problem that the Order faced in Montreal was that there was no frontier for them to expand with the same kind of rapidity they did in other parts of Canada. It had to adapt itself to an already established and foreign cultural geography. With increased industrialization more and more francophones arrived from rural Québec increasing the Catholic majority of the city. Houston and Smyth have pointed out that as a result, communication between the Québec lodges and the rest of Canada was difficult and interregional squabbles were common.[140] By 1883 much of the internal borders of the city were starting to take shape. 'G' noted that year that the Catholic processions had been confined to the francophone part of the city.[141] At the turn of the century, the Montreal Orange lodges witnessed an increase in their membership in line with the continuing rise of the city's population. An example of the greater accommodation of identities that was developing in the city can be seen in Orangeman and IPBS member William Galbraith. Born on the Longford/Cavan border, Galbraith immigrated to Montreal as a young man and like many other Irish Protestants rose quickly in the business and commercial world of the city. By the time he attained the position of Provincial Grand Master of Québec, he already spoke French as a second language due to his large number of Francophone clients.[142]

Both the IPBS and the Orange Order sought to cultivate and maintain their own particular

[139] Miller, J. R. *Equal Rights: The Jesuits' Estates Act Controversy*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979) 133-134.
[140] Houston, Cecil J., and William J. Smyth., 55.
[141] "The Fete Dieu in Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 7 Jun. 1883.
[142] "M.W. Bro. Galbraith, D.G.M." *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 19 June 1902.

Protestant culture and identity among the Catholic majority of Canada's commercial capital. While both institutions propagated their social mission in different ways, they both eventually had to adapt to the realities of their demographic minority status. As evidenced by the outmigration of certain Orangemen from Pointe St. Charles, those who refused to compromise sought to make a new start elsewhere in Canada. But for those who chose to stay, Montreal's multiethnic interface allowed them to refashion their cultural identities in new and accommodating ways, creating a distinctive Canadian-based identification as a result.

CHAPTER 2: READING THE CENSUS

Perhaps one of the most compelling mechanisms for the formation of national identity is the national census. Historically, the census has attempted to fix identity onto the ever shifting relationships between peoples, organizing them into constituent groups, and thereby developing new types of associations between them. The anthropologist Phillip Kreager has stated that even though the idea behind the census was administrative, its effects were conceptual.[143] The census had enormous power to shape policy and opinion in the construction of people(s) as populations. But we should also be aware that people may choose to report different ethnic or religious identities from one census to the next by changing their birth, marriage, occupational or migration histories in order to conform to some desired status. This not only highlights a level of inconsistency in terms of examining trends but also shows how people can revise their self-identification in response to changing circumstances.[144]

Previous work on the census in Montreal by academics such as Bettina Bradbury, Madeline Richard, Sherry Olsen, Patricia Thornton and Rosalyn Trigger have focused on the Protestant Irish as members of a homogenous Irish group or a homogenous Anglo-Protestant group or, as in Trigger's case, a specific ethnic group within a study of Protestant congregations. In my own research of the 1881 census in the MAP Project, I have tried to compare and contrast the occupational and demographic differences not only between Irish-born Protestants and Irish-born Catholics, but also between Irish-born Protestants and other U.K.-born Protestants of the time. By including my own research alongside that of these previous studies we can better extrapolate on

[143] Kreager, Phillip. "Population and Identity." *Anthropological Demography: Toward a New Synthesis.* Eds. David I. Kertzer and Thomas E. Fricke. (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1997) 166.
[144] Kreager, 148.

the specificity of the Irish Protestant experience in Montreal during this period.

In the 1881 census for Montreal, the average age of an Irish-born Protestant was the same as that for an Irish-born Catholic, 43. In comparison, the median age for a Scottish-born Protestant was 41 and for an English-born Protestant, 36.[145] This numbers highlight the fact that the majority of Irish and Scottish Protestant immigration to Montreal occurred a number of years before any significant English immigration. The second half of the nineteenth century also saw a greater number of French-Canadians leave the countryside to seek employment in Montreal and its suburbs, changing the ethnic demography of the city's working-class constituency.[146] Much of the Protestant Irish working-class were centred around the Grand Trunk Railway (GTR) yards of Pointe St. Charles. The location of the GTR firm in St. Anne's ward allowed for a wide variety of occupations concentrated in a small area.[147] A slightly higher number of Irish-born Protestants lived in St. Anne's ward compared to English-born or Scottish-born Protestants. In the second half of the 19th century St. Anne's ward was the most ethnically mixed of all of Montreal's city wards. The number of people resident there claiming an Irish ethnic identity doubled between 1861 and 1871, although by 1881 only one third of those had actually been born in Ireland. Similar numbers were seen for the Scottish and the English. Younger Irish couples and children were mostly of the second generation.[148]

Intermarriage between people of different ethnicities was far more frequent than between people of different religions. In her study of marriage in the 1871 census Madeline Richard found

[145] MAP Project (2013). Sample size included: 5,290 English-born Protestants; 3,329 Scottish-born Protestants; and 2,563 Irish-born Protestants.
[146] Lewis, Robert D. *Manufacturing Montreal: The Making of an Industrial Landscape, 1850 to 1930*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000) 41.
[147] Lewis, Robert. "The Segregated City: Class Residential Patterns and the Development of Industrial Districts in Montreal, 1861 and 1901." *Journal of urban history* 17.2 (1991): 144.
[148] Bradbury, Bettina. *Working Families*. (Toronto Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 2007) 41-43.

that with regard to English Anglicans, Scottish Presbyterians and Irish Catholics, the largest proportion of husbands who married outside of their ethno-religious origin married wives of the same religion but of different ethnic origin. The smallest proportion married wives of the same ethnicity but of a different religion.[149] Richard also noted that the size of an ethnic group was related to the propensity to intermarry, i.e. the larger an ethnic group the lower the husband's tendency to intermarry. The French and the Irish were the two largest ethnic groups in the Montreal census of 1871, and both French and Irish husbands showed the lowest propensity for intermarriage during that time.[150] Even in an ethnically mixed city ward such as St. Anne's the vast majority of couples belonged to the same ethno-religious group. In the 1871 census only eight per cent of married French-Canadians did not have a French-Canadian spouse. Bettina Bradbury noted in the same census that over three quarters of married Irish people had an Irish spouse, with a significant minority (13%) married to English men and women. However she does not distinguish between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants. She also noted that as English and Scottish people had fewer compatriots in St. Anne's, they were more likely to marry outside their ethnic group.[151] Nevertheless intermarriage between Irish Protestants and Catholics did seem to be more frequent than with other groups. Olsen and Thornton have established that by the 1890's about one quarter of Protestant husbands in Montreal had married non-Protestant wives and of these about 70% were marriages between an Irish Protestant husband and an Irish Catholic wife.[152]

What is interesting about marriage rates between different ethnic groups is how they converged over a period of time. In 1861 French-Canadian males married at an average age of 25,

[149] Richard, Madeline A. *Ethnic Groups and Marital Choices: Ethnic History and Marital Assimilation in Canada, 1871 and 1971*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991) 120.
[150] Richard, 128.
[151] Bradbury (2007), 54.
[152] Olson,and Thornton, 163.

Irish males at 27 and a half and English and Scottish males at nearer thirty. This may have related to cultural expectations of each different group. But over a series of time living and working in the same environment within the same occupational status modified those differences. By 1881 men in these wards no matter what their ethnicity married on average at 26. Class differences in marriage age became more prominent than ethnic differences.[153] In 1861, different patterns of marriage, family size, occupational cycle and residence separated French-Canadian Catholics, Irish Catholics and Anglophone Protestants. By 1881 much of these differences had disappeared.[154]

Protestants always had consistently higher rates of home ownership in the second half of the 19th century. Throughout this period Protestants on average owned about a quarter of the homes they occupied compared to 15% for French-Canadians and around 10% for Irish Catholic families.[155] Protestants also dominated the upper ranks of the professions. Between 1861 and 1901 around half of all Protestant household heads were listed in high-status occupations compared to around 15% in low status occupations.[156] Rosalyn Trigger has pointed out that the 1881 census reveals an uptown concentration of the Protestant community in Montreal. At $120 the median rental tax assessment of the average Protestant family was twice that of the city as a whole. Protestants were overrepresented in bourgeois, petit bourgeois and white-collar work and were underrepresented in skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled work which was dominated by French-Canadians and Irish Catholics.[157]

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[153] Bradbury, Bettina. "The Working Class Family Economy: Montreal, 1861-1881." (Ph.D. Concordia University Canada, 1984) 471.
[154] Bradbury (2007), 222.
[155] Gilliland, Jason Andrew. "Residential Mobility in Montreal, 1861-1901." (M.A. McGill University, Canada, 1994) 82.
[156] Gilliand, 93.
[157] Trigger, 49.

However within the Protestant community there were clear differences with regard to earning capacity and occupational status. The median rent for Scottish Protestants derived from the 1881 tax rolls was $140, compared to $100 for English Protestants and $90 for Irish Protestants. Scottish Protestants also had the lowest share of low rents at 34.6% compared to 44.6% for English Protestants and 51.6% for Irish Protestants. Trigger has underscored how throughout this period the occupational profile was consistently lower for Irish Protestants than it was for other Protestant groups.[158] The Map Project lays out 6 different grades of occupational status: 1) business proprietors and those in the professions; 2) white-collar workers; 3) commercial employees; 4) skilled workers; 5) semi-skilled workers; and 6) unskilled workers. 46.4% of Scottish-born Protestants who listed an occupation in the 1881 census were in the top two occupational statuses in comparison to 38% for English-born Protestants and 33.8% for Irish-born Protestants. By contrast, Scottish-born Protestants had 26.1% in the two lower occupational status groups in comparison to 33.5% for English-born Protestants and 41.3% for Irish-born Protestants.

Although Protestants lived throughout the city, they only made up a majority in two census districts centered around the GTR shops in Point Saint Charles.[159] Scottish Protestants were overrepresented in the uptown district, English Protestants in the eastern part of the city and Irish Protestants in working class areas north of the Lachine Canal. As early as 1861 it was more common for Irish Catholic residences to overlap with Irish Protestant residences than it was with other Protestants.[160] The census of 1881 shows that over 48% of Scottish born Protestants lived in the wealthiest ward of St. Antoine compared to 38% of English-born Protestants and 36.5% of Irish-born Protestants.

[158] Trigger, 154-155.
[159] Trigger, 49.
[160] Trigger, 156.

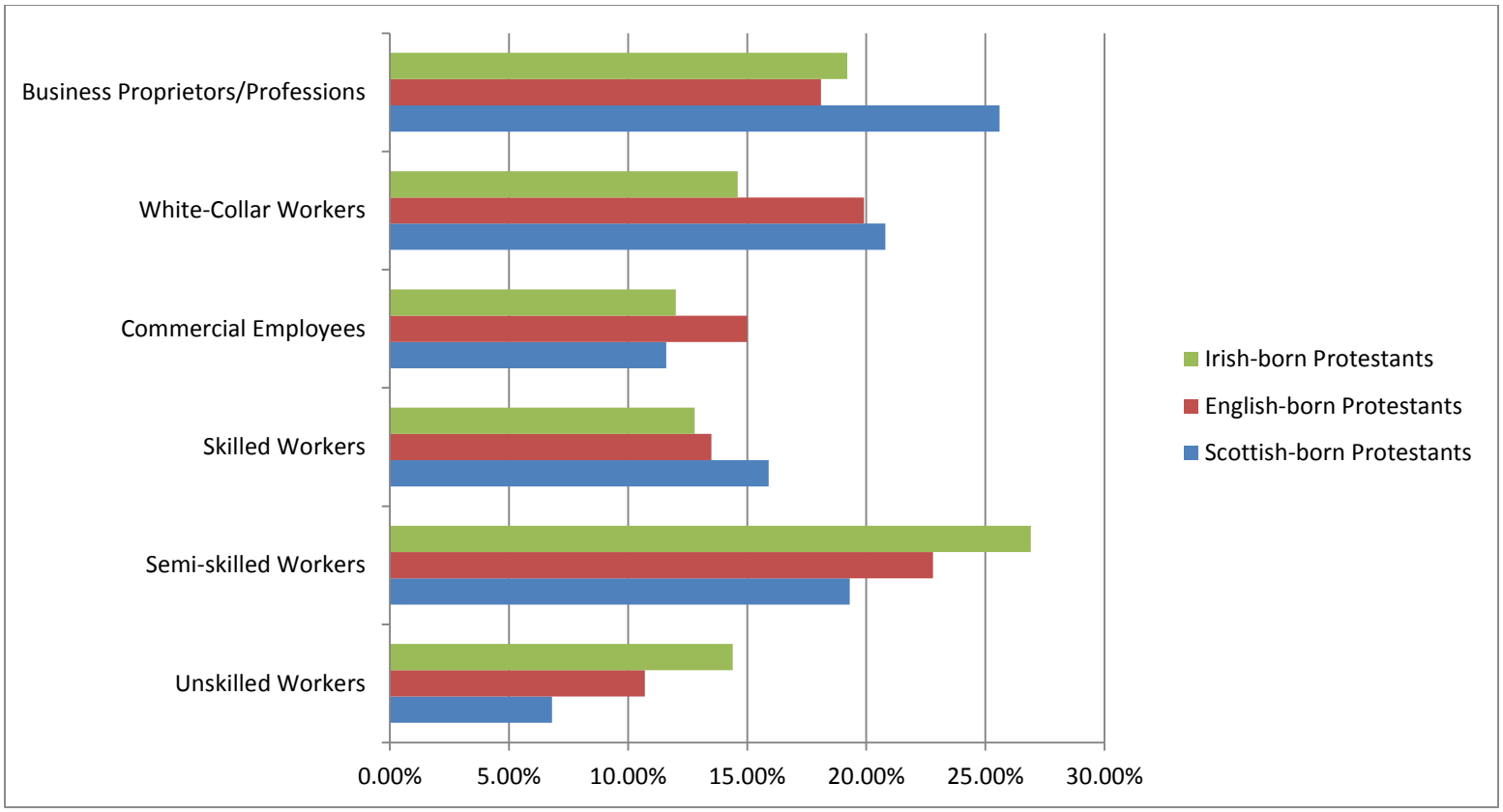

***Figure 3**: Occupational Breakdown of different Protestant groups in the 1881 Census. Sample sizes: 1,207 Irish-born Protestants; 2,826 English-born Protestants; 1,724 Scottish-born Protestants. MAP Project (2013)*

The main employer in the working-class districts where Protestants predominated was the Grand Trunk Railway. The GTR shops were built on farmland purchased from four religious communities in southwest Montreal between Lachine Canal and the St. Lawrence River.[161] The shops themselves accelerated the growth of working-class neighbourhoods such as Point St. Charles as adjoining industries such as ironworking helped to keep jobs close at hand. The GTR had a considerable presence in the 'Point', its offices and workshops giving employment to upwards of 3,000 people at one stage, while the estimated number of people dependant on wages on the GTR was about 14,000. Throughout the 1870's and 1880's immigrants came in large numbers, and soon Point St. Charles came to rival Griffintown as a centre of British and Irish settlement.[162] But whereas earlier labourers had been mainly unskilled Irish workers, these new immigrants were mostly skilled members of the English and Scottish working class. The majority of the Point's workers then were identifiably British, Protestant, and skilled compared to the predominantly Irish, Catholic and unskilled workers from Griffintown who were generally found amongst the rough work of the dock and the factory yard.[163]

The proximity of many of the working-class homes in the area to the GTR meant that a considerable work-home community developed. Even as late as the 1929, many of the wage-earning population of the Point were still finding work at the GTR and its surrounding industries. It was recorded at that time that nearly 200 workers in the motive power shops had followed their fathers and grandfathers into the industry.[164] However, the highest proportion of Irish-born Protestant workers in any employment sector was in the police and security services. Jobs in this

[161] Dickinson, John Alexander, and Brian J. Young. *A Short History of Quebec*. 4th ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008) 123-124.
[162] Reynolds, Lloyd George. *The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada*. 2 Vol. (Toronto: 1935) 117-118.
[163] Reynolds, 120.
[164] Lewis (2000), 248-249.

sector included policemen, security guards, prison officers and night watchmen. While Irish-born Protestants made up just 1.42% of the Montreal population in 1881, they made up 8.01% of the police and security services.[165]

Bettina Bradbury has done much to remind us of the undocumented work performed by women and children in the years of Montreal's industrialization. As women rarely had steady jobs, they may have been reluctant to report them to the census taker. For that reason women's occupations may have been under-enumerated by census takers. In the 1881 census, slightly more Protestant Irish-born women listed an occupation (17.73%) than their English and Scottish-born counterparts (15.06% and 14.47% respectively.) The majority of women who listed a job worked as servants.[166] Of those women who reported working for wages, the vast majority of them were found in the poorer districts of working-class areas, and nearly all of them were married to men defined as unskilled, or who worked in the construction trades. In the 1871 census, around one quarter of women involved in wage labour were married to labourers.[167] Despite all of this help from other family members, men in semi-skilled or unskilled occupations were trapped in a double bind. Significant numbers of women and children in the labour force helped to drive down men's wages to subsistence level.[168]

There was greater uniformity between religious and ethnic identity amongst Scottish and English Protestants than among Irish Protestants. 77.5% of Scottish-born Protestants were Presbyterian, while 64.4% of English-born Protestants were Anglican. Anglicanism was also the

[165] MAP project (2013) Numbers were also disproportionally high for Irish Catholics in this sector. Overall the combined Catholic and Protestant Irish-born population of Montreal in 1881 was 5.77%, but they made up 23.86% of the city's police and security services.
[166] MAP Project (2013).
[167] Bradbury (1984), 322.
[168] Copp, J. T. *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal 1897-1929*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974) 44.

most popular denomination for Irish-born Protestants at 51.4%.[169] As such, Irish Protestants did not dominate in any particular denominational church in the way that the Scottish did with the Presbyterian Church or the English did with the Anglican Church. Trigger noted that the Irish made up a larger proportion of the Methodist community than they did of either the Presbyterian or Anglican community. Due to the Presbyterian Church's large Scottish contingency, they were more likely to be found worshipping in the more affluent uptown area. Methodism's larger Irish congregation meant that fewer Methodist churches would be found in the uptown district. Methodists represented the least wealthy Protestant denomination in comparison to Presbyterianism and Anglicanism. Over 50% of Methodists were listed in low-rent categories in 1881, with only 1.3% listing a rent of over $541. Because of this they had much fewer funds to construct churches and fewer wealthy individuals to act as benefactors to their communities.[170]

In his 1935 study of the British immigrant in Montreal, Reynolds highlighted the fact that much of the semi-skilled and skilled working class lied outside of religious bodies, which were seen as the refuge of the well-to-do. Reynolds noted that church attendance among working-class English immigrants was quite low, as coming from a country with an established church meant that they were not used to making financial contributions toward it. He also remarked how church attendance was considered rather effeminate by many English working men. On the other hand Scottish and Irish workingmen with a strong affiliation to the Presbyterian or Roman Catholic Church showed a higher tendency to be church members.[171] In his study of the social origins of the Canadian industrial elite between 1880 and 1910, T.W. Acheson discovered that six-sevenths of second generation Scottish Presbyterians claimed to be of the Presbyterian faith while

[169] MAP Project (2013).
[170] Trigger, 157-161.
[171] Reynolds, 220-221.

Methodism proved to be stronger amongst Irish Protestants, and American-Canadians in the West.[172] The census for 1901 showed that a higher percentage of Montreal's Methodist population had been born in Canada (74%) than either Presbyterians (68%) or Anglicans (66%).[173]

In his own study of Montreal's municipal politicians between 1880 and 1914, Paul-André Linteau has recorded that of the 151 francophones who served during this period, 150 of them were born in Québec. In contrast, of the 83 Anglophones who served, only 40 of them were from Québec. The rest were from Ireland, England, Scotland, the United States, Argentina or other Canadian provinces.[174] Its members were recruited from within the narrow confines of the Anglophone community or recruited from outside the province. The loyalties of this group were more diffuse and extra-regional than their francophone counterparts. In 1881 the Irish had eight members on the city council, the English and the Scottish four each. The French only had 12 members despite making up over half the population. But by the following decade the French had over half the seats on the council and the Irish numbers began to decline.

Although issues such as the Riel affair in 1885 could divide members of Montreal's elite, ultimately they sought compromise and collaboration in the running of the city. In 1881, the year after moulders went on strike at his factory, William Clendinneng marched in the St. Jean Baptiste parade alongside the moulders union, even wearing a union badge.[175] At a later date on the eve of the First World War, Colonel Sam Hughes delivered a speech to the IPBS about the bravery of Irishmen in times of war. Among the other delegates attending was a Mr. Desauliners of the St.

[172] Acheson, T. W. "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910." *The Business History Review* 47.2, Canada (1973): 199.
[173] Trigger, 365.
[174] Linteau, Paul-André. "Le Personnel Politique De Montréal, 1880-1914: Évolution d'une Élite Municipale." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 52.2 (1998): 11.
[175] Bischoff, Peter. "La Formation Des Traditions De Solidarité Ouvrière Chez Les Mouleurs Montréalais: La Longue Marche Vers Le Syndicalisme (1859-1881)." *Labour / Le Travail* 21 (1988): 37.

Jean Baptiste Society who spoke of the loyalty of French Canadians proclaiming, "If we have not fought at the Boyne, we can still take up arms and fight for our country."[176]

With higher rates of interethnic marriage than their Irish Catholic compatriots, more diverse church affiliation than their British Protestant brethren, and an occupational space that lay between the two, the Protestant Irish of Montreal may have been spread too thinly to maintain a strong religious, ethnic or class group identity. They represented a minority of the Irish population and did not dominate in any religious denomination or social class as did the Scottish in the Presbyterian Church and among the business elite. As such, there may have been greater motivation for many of the community's members to integrate into the established Canadian population where they could take advantage of a more mainstream social position.

[176] Unacknowledged press-clipping, IPBS Minute Book 1914.

CHAPTER 3: ECONOMY, CHARITY & EDUCATION

In the period between Confederation and the First World War a patrician Protestant capitalist class worked with the religious institutions of Montreal to exercise social control over the city's workers and underprivileged communities. In the cultural spaces of the economy, education and charitable institutions this class sought to inculcate its morals and values as a way of maintaining social authority. Many of the Protestant Irish industrialists and IPBS members who were involved in these hegemonic practices sought to forge their vision of the new nation through the creed of moral improvement, personal initiative and educational attainment. They saw their commercial ventures as not only helping their profit margin, but also growing the strength of the nation.

Economy

In the debates surrounding Canadian Confederation, many Québec Protestants were fearful that the creation of a provincial legislature would leave them under the rule of a majority Francophone Catholic population. But the British North America Act of 1867 allowed for bilingualism in Québec (Section 133), as well as the maintenance of a separate Protestant school system (Section 93). Québec Anglophones also won guarantees that they would continue to maintain representations in both houses of the Québec legislature and in the Canadian senate. For the next century the Anglophone elite of the province would enjoy a sort of cultural accommodation with their francophone counterparts.

A striking example of the strength of this cultural accommodation was witnessed when former IPBS president and federal Liberal M.P. Thomas Workman tried to attach an amendment to a bill that sought to change the constituency boundaries of Montreal's three parliamentary seats.

Workman was the Liberal M.P. for Montreal Centre at a time when Irish Catholic Michael Patrick Ryan was M.P. for Montreal West and George-Étienne Cartier was M.P. for Montreal East. Workman brought a petition signed by 751 merchants in Montreal Centre demanding that no changes be made to the boundaries of a parliamentary constituency that contributed around 45% of the entire custom revenue to the Dominion of Canada. Workman exclaimed that although his constituency was small, it contained the wealth, intelligence, and enterprise of the Dominion and that they "only asked to be let alone and not overwhelmed by an immense number of voters who differed from them in nationality, religion and occupation."[177] Workman then made a misjudged political *faux pas* by appealing to those members of the House from the Protestant majority in Ontario not to allow the Protestant minority in Montreal to be disfranchised. In the debate that followed, M.P. after M.P. condemned Workman for raising the religious question as part of his argument. Even the Prime Minister himself John A. MacDonald said that although he understood Workman's desire to protect the Protestant minority of Montreal, he regretted that the M.P. had tried to rouse the feelings of the Protestants of Ontario against the Catholics of Québec. MacDonald felt that the original bill was just, and that there was "an equalization of votes, the different interests were represented and jealousy of race was prevented, inasmuch as in all probability the elections would result in the return to Parliament of a French Canadian, an Irish Catholic, and an English Protestant."[178] Workman had to eventually back down from such an onslaught saying that if had said anything to offend Roman Catholics, he wished to withdraw it. His amendment bill was defeated by 95 votes to 21.

[177] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. *Debates*, 1st Parliament, 5th Session, 1872, vol. 5, June 10, 1872. (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing, 2010) 484.
[178] House of Common Debates, (1872), 487.

Workman may not have needed to worry so much. By 1910 some 41% of the industrial elite of Montreal were Presbyterian, 25% were Anglican but only 20% were Catholic.[179] It was believed that Montreal's Presbyterian community alone had an equal wealth to the rest of the city combined. Some observers noted that St. Paul's Presbyterian Church on Dorchester Boulevard had the most influential congregation in Canada. Of the 29 millionaires that lived in Montreal in 1892, eight of them were members of St. Paul's.[180]

Many of these rising economic managers were not the descendants of the early American Loyalists but the later sons of 19th century Scottish and Irish immigrants. As early as 1856, John Cordner had foreseen how the foundations of Canadian nationality were inextricably linked to the development of new technologies, "We are laying the foundations of nationality, I say, and under rare and fortunate circumstances. All the wisdom and experience of the past are before us for help and guidance. The marvelous discoveries and inventions of the present age are fresh before our eyes inviting us to apply and extend them." He would later say, "Our land is a land of freedom, broad, generous, and unrestricted, so that every man, whatever be his creed, country, or color, — whether he be Protestant or Catholic, African or European — may, within our borders, enjoy his natural rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." [181]

Cordner's parroting of the motto of the United States was perhaps a little too idealistic for the professional businessmen and politicians that would come to define 'peace, order and good government'. For historian Donald Swainson, Canada did not produce any great national political tracts, such as the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights or the Communist Manifesto. Instead it focused

[179] Acheson, 195-202.
[180] Trigger, 363.
[181] Cordner, John. *The Foundations of Nationality a Discourse Preached in the Unitarian Church, Montreal, on the Sunday After the Great Railway Celebration, November 1856*. (Montréal: H. Rose, 1982) 12.

on things such as federal-provincial sovereignty, tax equalization and repatriation.[182] Indeed it was through much of this kind of economic pragmatism that Montreal's urban form began to develop. The union of business and political interests made capital and credit available to a new and emerging mercantile-industrial bourgeoisie, allowing for the transition from a staple economy to a commercial manufacturing one.[183] As individuals or as part of financial coalitions this bourgeoisie decided where factories should be zoned and where working-class housing should be constructed.[184] In 1893 for example, William Clendinneng called for the expansion of the city's borders by annexing any neighbourhood on the island to the city of Montreal so that it could compete with the other great centres of North America.[185]

Before the 1880's the defining creed of Montreal politics was to reduce government costs by allowing entrepreneurs free reign to develop their businesses. As many of these industries were centrally located to take advantage of rail and water transportation, by 1881, 10% of Montreal's firms were employing more than 70% of the city's workers.[186] Antrim-born IPBS member Robert Wilson Reford and other shipping magnates promised to provide medical care for sick mariners and sailors so as to relive the Dominion government of any costs involved in treating them, and freeing the ships of the St. Lawrence route from unnecessary government dues and taxes.[187] Even the Catholic Church was ready to invest in many of the new profitable enterprises that were popping up all over the city. The Grey Nuns commissioned the building of a number of multistoried warehouses, which they then rented out to commercial and manufacturing companies.

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[182] Swainson, Donald. "Rieliana and the Structure of Canadian History." *Journal of Popular Culture* 14.2 (1980): 287.
[183] Lewis (2000), 31.
[184] Lewis (2000), 263.
[185] "Secession" Canada-revue 4:16, 22 Apr. 1893.
[186] Lewis (1991), 131.
[187] Reford, Robert Wilson Letter to Charles H. Tupper, Minister of the Marine. *Official report of the debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada*, Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1893. p.3129

By 1881, both the Grey Nuns and Hôtel-Dieu Nunnery warehouses covered a land area of 100,000 square feet with buildings valued in the region of half a million dollars, bringing an annual rent of $21,000.[188]

Early Canadian nationalism was focused almost exclusively on economic nationalism and the protection of Canadian industry. The 25 years after the end of the American Civil War witnessed a tremendous burst of economic development on the part of the United States. Canada, hoping to emulate its southern neighbour, needed to find a way to stimulate home growth. Adopted in 1879, the National Policy sought to encourage manufacturing, build infrastructure and support western expansion. William Clendinneng noted that it was due to the success of the National Policy that his foundry business was able to survive and prosper. In 1879 his business was on the verge of collapse but by 1883, he was employing three or four times as many workers and paying them double the wages he did four years before.[189] Clendinneng had built his foundry in St. Anne's ward and by 1891 it employed 450 workers producing up to 55,000 stoves a year.[190]

Another industrialist and IPBS member was Derry-born Robert Meighen. Meighen was under no illusion that protective tariffs used by the United States were what helped make Canada a nation. He even questioned the idea that Canada had to rely on the United States for trade, saying "place us in direct communication with countries that require our goods, and you can build a wall 99 feet high to the south of us, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and we will go on and prosper"[191] Meighen spoke in favour of retaining grain and wheat manufacture in Canada rather than sending it out in bulk to the United States, as he felt it was a great pity that any of the natural products of

[188] Lewis (2000), 60.
[189] "Success in the Iron and Foundry Trade" *The Canadian manufacturer and industrial world*, 2:4, 9 Feb 1883.
[190] Young (2003) 150.
[191] "Mr. Meighen's Opinion" *Daily Mail and Empire,* 24 Feb. 1899.

Canada should be sent out of the country for manufacture.[192] Meighen's economic manifesto was outlined in a business journal as a belief in "Canada, first, last and all the time." It would come as no surprise that Meighen was trustee of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, the wealthiest religious congregation in Montreal.[193]

But as well as the development of Canadian industry Meighen also believed that a preferential trade agreement between the countries of the British Empire would do much to enhance the prosperity of each individual nation.[194] As well as the National Policy, the Imperial Federation movement found strong favour among Irish Protestant industrialists.[195] George Edward Drummond, steel manufacturer and younger brother of William Henry, believed that Canada should contribute more towards mutual imperial defence. Like many imperial federalists he tried to marry a sense of Canadian nationalism to the broader project of British imperialism. He believed that Canada should do all it could to supply its own needs but that anything it could not produce herself, it should procure in the U.K.[196] Drummond even tried to set up a news agency called Imperial News Agency Ltd. that aimed to send Canadian cable news to Britain.[197] He also favoured a policy of reciprocal preferential trade with other nations within the British Empire. As President of the Canadian Manufacturers Association, he travelled to London to explain that while the association was in favour of diverting trade from foreign countries into more British channels, they also desired to maintain the independence of their industries.[198]

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[192] "The Canadian West" *St. John Daily Sun,* 6 May 1896.
[193] "A Merchant Prince of the Metropolis" *The Busy Man's Magazine*, May 1908, 118.
[194] Meighen, Robert. *Canada and the Empire Address Delivered by Robert Meighen at the Complimentary Banquet Given to George E. Drummond at the Canada Club, July 21, 1904.* (Canada: s.n., 1904) 4.
[195] Acheson, 203.
[196] *The Canadian magazine of politics, science, art and literature*, November 1903-April 1904, 18.
[197] Potter, Simon James. *News and the British World*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003) 94.
[198] Griffin, Watson. 'The Canadian Manufacturers' Tariff Campaign' *The North American Review*, Vol. 183, No. 597 (Aug., 1906): 195-206

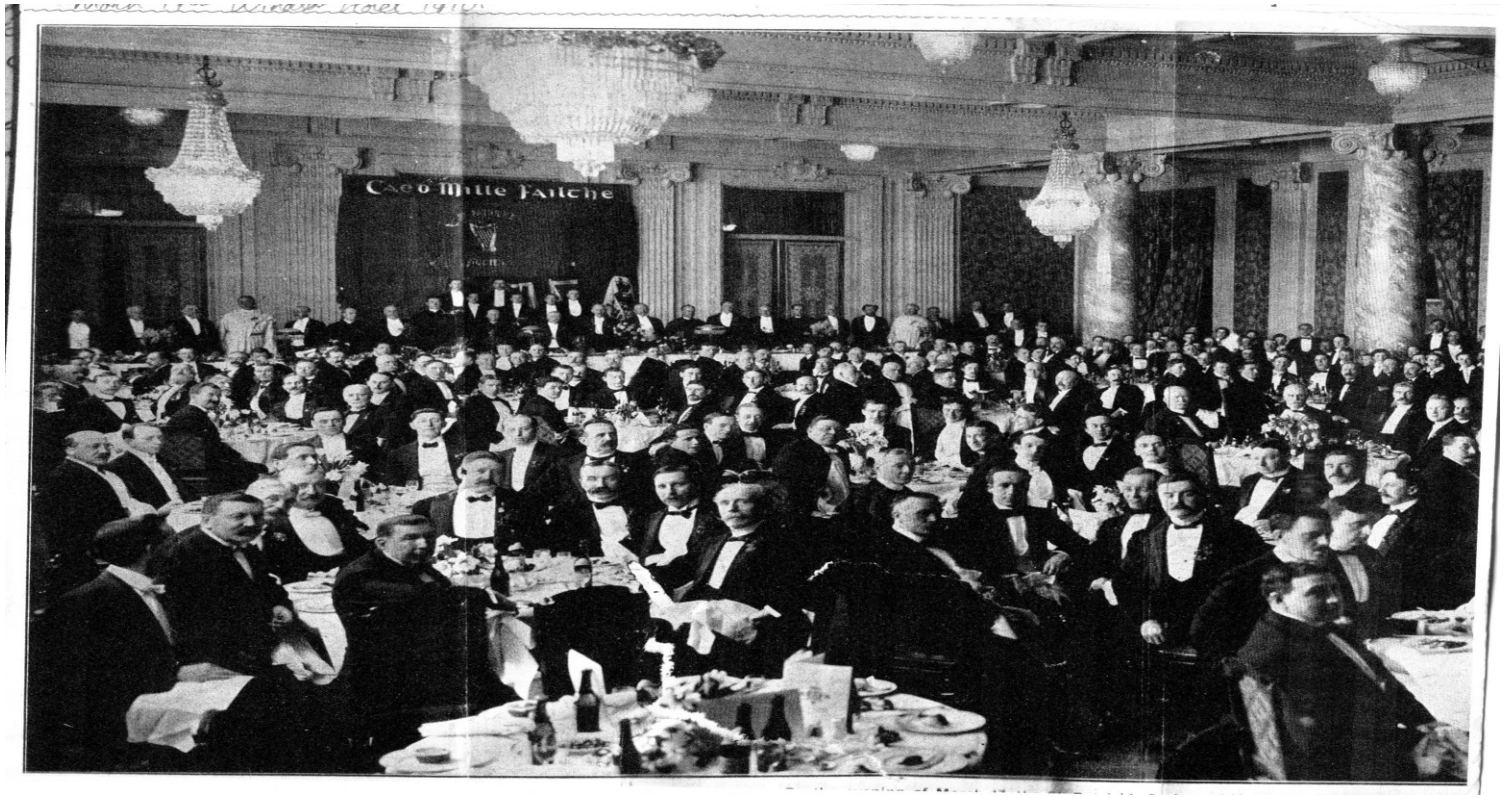

***Figure 4**: St. Patrick's Night Dinner at the Windsor Hotel, Montreal. 17th March, 1910. Unmarked source from the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society Minute*

Charity

In 1897 the social distance between the different class communities of Montreal was highlighted by Herbert Ames in his pioneering sociological work on Montreal's working-class, *The City below the Hill.* Ames found that many people who lived in the more affluent parts of the city knew as little about their compatriots in the less affluent parts as they knew about the people of central Africa.[199] Ames brought to the fore a number of issues which the laissez-faire attitude of previous city fathers had quietly ignored, issues such as overcrowding, high rents and poor water facilities. The organization of workers' discontent into unions, and the demands for a better social service delivery system started to erode the paternalism of the city authorities. It was readily acknowledged that if Montreal was to continue to be the commercial and profit centre of the Dominion, better care would need to be taken in the collective management of the city's development.[200] The urban environment created urban communities with their own needs and social requirements and as such the new intellectual class of municipal politicians needed to bring a certain order to the haphazard expansion of the city.

The central moral concern for many of the industrial elite was that this new urban industrial order seemed to be undermining many of the religious and social values which they held so dear. In various parts of Montreal the effects of industrialization was creating squalor, disease and disorder. In the 1889 report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada, IPBS member Andrew F. Gault did not seem to know much about the inner workings of the factories for which he was a director. When asked about the amount of money that children earned in his factories; how much they were fined for poor work; and if they were allowed to leave

[199] Ames, Herbert Brown. *The City Below the Hill: A Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal, Canada*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1897, 1972) 6-7.
[200] Lewis (2000), 38-39.

to obtain a lunch, Gault said he did not know as that was all left up to the foreman and the individual managers of factories.[201] The city's social services had to be re-organized but without changing the fundamental economics that ordered the city's social relationships. Terry Copp has shown that calls for social change came in many guises from secular progressivism to papal encyclicals, but the sermon was always the same, that the working class should do more to help themselves.[202] Patrician advice rather than social security was the order of the day. Copp believed that it was fear of social disorder rather than a genuine sense of social compassion that brought many of Montreal's charitable organizations into being. Labour unions and their attendant strikes were the foreshadow of impending class warfare.

One IPBS industrialist who clung hard to this patrician view was Robert Wilson Reford. Reford worked with other shipping magnets to try and maintain a free and open labour market in the face of the Montreal workers dock strike of 1903.[203] Reford also spoke in favour of prohibition as he believed that alcohol consumption harmed business. In a cross-examination by the Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic, Reford let it be known that although he did have an interest in the moral welfare of his workers, his support for alcohol prohibition was primarily because of its negative effects on his business. Reford stated that the amount of drink establishments in the vicinity of the wharfs was a disgrace to Montreal. He believed that these taverns were too much of a temptation for many working men and that while some men earned 25 cents an hour, they could arrive home that evening without a cent to their name. When it was suggested that lowering wages would be a better option than prohibition, Reford disagreed, citing the social effects of alcohol as

[201] *Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada: evidence, Quebec, part I*, (Ottawa: A. Senecal, 1889) 374-381.
[202] Copp, 127.
[203] "Montreal Strike" *St. John Daily Sun,* 8 May 1903.

costing too much in monetary terms, (i.e. asylums, hospitals, accidents and crime) compared to what it brought in in revenue.[204]

Many of this patrician class thought that the best way to help change the moral and social world of the immigrant and the underprivileged was through the work of church and immigrant organizations.[205] Certain Protestant charities believed that institutionalization would be a better way of treating the poor than helping them at home, as it would give the poor the opportunity to learn Protestant values such as hard work, temperance, prudence and self-discipline.[206] Work was considered a sacred duty because it led to the betterment of the individual and a strengthening of the bond between the believer and God. In its Annual Report of 1883, the IPBS complained that "a discouraging feature is that those who have been frequently assisted come to look upon it as a matter of course, and make little or no effort to forego it."[207]

But at other times visits to the home were sanctioned as it was felt that a religious presence in the homes of the working class could exert a strong influence. The Protestant House of Industry and Refuge had a close relationship with the City Missionaries, who specialized in home visits to determine the level of assistance needed. The House of Industry and Refuge used these missionaries to help supervise the poor at home when they could not get them to come to the House of Refuge for assistance. Kristofer Erickson has described how the board of the House of Industry and Refuge sought to provide a prayer room on their premises that would allow inmates to worship and eventually depart with 'some good influence brought to bear on them.' Inmates were to assemble every morning for 'short exercises of a devotional character' as well as to attend Sunday

[204] "Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic" *Sessional papers of the Dominion of Canada: volume 13, fourth session of the seventh Parliament, session* (1894) 462-463.
[205] Ames, Vii.
[206] Harvey, Janice "Les Églises Protestantes Et l'assistance Aux Pauvres à Montréal Au XIXe Siècle." *Études d'histoire religieuse* 69 (2003): 53-56.
[207] IPBS Twenty Seventh Annual Report, (1883) 7.

service. The Sunday Service was rotated between different clergymen of different denominational faiths. Alongside labour and prohibition, religious worship was seen as an essential method for transforming the moral character of the people in their care.[208]

One of the main concerns surrounding this idea of the undeserving poor was the issue of so called imposters. In 1871, the directors of Christ Church Cathedral exclaimed that "Those who claim to be the poor of the Church have given your managers a lot of trouble and anxiety, the rigorous identification of impostors, people who do not deserve help and those who have no right to claim funds of the Church probably shoved aside a few people who had to be rescued".[209] The IPBS also suspected that some families were deceiving them. In the IPBS Annual Report of 1876, it was noted that fuel was distributed among 152 Irish Protestant families during the winter months. Such a large amount of families was the cause of general surprise among the society's Charitable Committee. There was a suspicion that not all of those claiming charity were Irish Protestants. They decided that they would examine each case of charity over the following summer to confirm which families were and were not Irish Protestants.[210] By 1897 the society was still looking to 'keep out imposters…as far as was consistent with mercy'. Every applicant for charity was visited to confirm that they were Irish Protestants by birth and that they were bringing up their children in the Protestant faith.[211] But how was one to decide what a Protestant household was? If the head of the family was an Irish Protestant, would that be enough?

The IPBS also felt that many immigrants who were arriving in Canada were being misled. The economy was in a depressed state in the immediate aftermath of Confederation but immigrants

[208] Erickson, Kristofer A. "Montreal's Great Experiment: Poverty and the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, 1863--1901." (M.A. Queens University at Kingston Canada, 2003) 130-132.
[209] Harvey (2003), 59.
[210] IPBS Minute Book, (1876)
[211] Irish Protestant Benevolent Society Forty-First Annual Report, (1897) 12.

were being told that work was readily available. The IPBS lobbied the government to make sure that a more accurate representation of what Canada could offer was being circulated. Protestants were also fearful of the role of the Catholic Church in the alleviation of the poor. By becoming dependent on the Catholic Church for help, many poverty-stricken Protestants it was believed would be putting their faith in danger. The fear of losing souls prompted the Protestant clergy to create better support services for the Protestant poor of the city. The Protestant ideology was not to become dependent on aid, but at the same time the churches could not allow the Catholic Church to be the sole provider of that aid. For Protestants this precipitated the tension at the heart of providing poor relief. In one instance the IPBS heard that an Irish Protestant by the name of Forsyth was taken ill and was being looked after at the Hotel Dieu Hospital. As his illness was thought to be incurable, the hospital nuns allegedly offered him a home at the hospital if he promised to change his religion. Such was the society's concern that they called to the hospital to see what could be done in the matter but were told that Forsyth had already been discharged a number of days earlier.[212]

These charities and middle-class welfare organizations were also expressions of bourgeois value systems. Philanthropic activity could be viewed as a form of class control as urban elites viewed the increasing abjection of the poor as having the potential to undermine the established order. Social reform movements were then a way of preventing civil disorder.[213] At an earlier date John Cordner had established the link between the internalization of social morality and economic development, "Truth, righteousness and love — these are everlasting as God himself, and to have these embodied in the living men and women who form a nation, cementing them together as a

[212] IPBS Minute Book, 5th Oct. 1896.
[213] Erickson, 20-22.

whole, guiding their thought, and directing their action — this is to fix therein a god-like principle of permanence. And not only of permanence, but of progress."[214]

But religious and immigrant charities were also a way for different classes to interact with each other. Protestant churches encouraged their flocks to get involved in the administration of charitable work and to make donations to various charities and institutions. This played a role in maintaining and creating community identity.[215] William Workman made it known that his charitable contributions were made to both Catholic and Protestant institutions. As Vice-President of the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge he contributed $2,000 to its upkeep in 1866.[216]

Ultimately the power of the Catholic Church in Québec meant that the Protestant churches had to increasingly unite as a community of 'non-Catholics'. Something of this communal unity can be seen in the IPBS's description of those looking for relief as "our poor". For example "the homes of our poor have a much better appearance, generally speaking, for the assistance rendered by our Society."[217] And "Our poor are all in pretty good shape for the spring and summer, with fairly good prospects."[218] While the possessive article "our" evoked the extended family ideal of ethno-religious identity, the comments on their appearance catered more to a class-conscious display of bourgeois respectability.

The Montreal Protestant House of Industry attempted to unite all of Montreal's charities under a common 'United Board of Outdoor Relief' with which they could co-ordinate the relief of the Protestant poor. But many of the national societies maintained their individual roles as they felt helping people of other nationalities would undermine their role as national associations.

[214] Cordner (1982), 27.
[215] Harvey (2003), 57.
[216] "William Workman Esq." *Illustrated Saturday reader* 3:54, (15 Sep., 1866) 18.
[217] Irish Protestant Benevolent Society Forty-Second Annual Report, (1898) 14.
[218] Irish Protestant Benevolent Society Forty-Second Annual Report, (1898) 15.

Despite the religious plurality of the Anglophone community of Montreal, the efforts by the House of Refuge to unite the different societies shows how larger institutional structures were becoming a more favoured way of dealing with the poor than the traditional immigrant associations.[219] In 1865, a number of the churches came together to form the Montreal City Mission. Later associations founded by the Protestant societies included the Montreal City Missionary Relief Society which later joined up with the United Board of Outdoor Relief, and eventually became attached to the Montreal Protestant House of Industry. As Montreal's institutions became increasingly divided along confessional lines, the Irish Protestant community became more and more drawn into a British anglophone identity.[220]

Education

One of the major ways that the two linguistic elites could exercise power was through the control of education. The Catholic Church for example believed that it had a duty to Catholic children to provide them with a Catholic education, while at the same time fearing the secular influence of state-controlled education. Protestants on the other hand believed that they could not entrust the interests of their minority community to officials who did not share their culture.[221] Resisting the calls for a common educational system, the Catholic Church adhered to the principal of "subsidiarity" as recommended by Pope Pius XI. This principal expressed the belief that it was an act of injustice to transfer power to larger institutions that could be performed and provided for by smaller community institutions. The Catholic Church demanded the right to create its own Catholic School Board free from the influence of an integrated public school system and all that

[219] Erickson, 135-136.
[220] James, 62.
[221] Mair, Nathan H., and Québec. *Quest for Quality in the Protestant Public Schools of Québec*. (Québec: Gouvernement du Québec, Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, Comité protestant, 1980) 24-25.

would entail. In general the Montreal Protestant community welcomed this opportunity to fund their own schools away from the interference of the provincial government.[222] Although schools were confessional, Protestant schools were not tied to any particular church. They were thought of as schools for all non-Catholic children.

The headquarters of the Protestant School Commissioners was situated on the slope of Mount Royal, a social world away from the Protestant working-class world of Pointe St. Charles. In November 1871, a delegation from Pointe St. Charles came to the Commissioners' headquarters to hand them a petition from the heads of 272 Protestant families requesting the opening of a school. This school would help aid the 500 children in the Point who had no access to public education. The School Board had already opened a school in nearby Griffintown, but the families of the Point felt that this was not enough to meet their needs.[223] The School Commissioners were eventually successful in setting up a string of primary schools across the city catering to the needs of individual Protestant communities. The Protestant people of Point St. Charles had a strong sense of community but this sense of local community was not necessarily mirrored by the Protestant School Board, which was more concerned with a citywide project of establishing an education system that would serve and advance the needs of the Protestant elite. The fact that the School Board Commissioners were appointed rather than elected by members of the community meant that petitions were often the only way communities such as Point St. Charles could get their message across.[224]

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[222] Stevenson, Garth. "English-Speaking Quebec: A Political History." *Québec: State and Society.* Ed. Alain Gagnon. 3rd ed. Peterborough, (Ont.; Orchard Park, N.Y.: Broadview Press, 2004) 335.
[223] MacLeod, Roderick, and Mary Anne Poutanen. *A Meeting of the People*. 15 Vol. (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004) 101.
[224] MacLeod & Poutanen, 104.

Early on the Protestant School Board did much to make their authority known. They felt it was unfair that the city's education grant was distributed according to the size of population. In 1867 the Protestant School Board received a grant of $2,769.60 while the Catholic School Board received $7,045.88. The Protestant School Board believed that it would be better if the grants were allocated according to the amount of tax revenue created by each religious community. Due to the fact that the majority of the city's Irish and French-Canadian Catholics were not property-owners, and therefore not taxpayers, this would mean a much greater income for the Protestant School Board. The 1846 Education Act had stipulated that school revenues should be financed through taxing property owners. This would make the school commissioners accountable to the taxpayers. The assumption was that what one derived from a public service was what one had contributed. If Protestant schools did not receive all the income from Protestant taxpayers then Protestants would be subsidizing Catholic schools and this they could not abide by.[225] At a meeting of the Civil Rights Alliance in the Mechanics Institute, William Clendinneng complained that because he owned some land in St. Henri, he had to pay a school tax which he believed went toward educating children in a form of worship he did not agree with. He exclaimed that he had no problem paying school taxes but he wanted to know that the children of the area received "a good sound English education." The *True Witness* replied by asking Alderman Clendinneng if he would prefer that these children received no education at all, as that, they believed would be the alternative to a Catholic education.[226]

By 1869, the Protestant School Board was deriving more funds from the city council ($16,643.66) than the Catholic board ($15,163.14). However, government grants were still

[225] MacLeod & Poutanen, 117-118.
[226] "The Civil Rights Alliance" *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle,* 27:34, 6 Apr. 1877.

attributed on the basis of population, $10,303.92 for Catholics versus $2,772.89 for Protestants. Nevertheless the Catholic School Board now had $25,467 to cover the cost of educating around 75% of the city's children in comparison to the Protestant School Board who had $19,416 to educate 25% of the city's schoolchildren. The Protestant School Board had the resources to significantly improve the nature of its schools and education system. The increased budget also had the additional prestige of demonstrating the superior tax revenue collected by Protestants. The Protestant community could now claim a more even role in the development of the city's education alongside their Catholic counterparts.[227] The support of separate schooling was one of the main differences between members of the Montreal Orange Order and the Canadian Order at large. In an interesting defense of separate schooling, Norman Murray wrote to the *Sentinel* from Montreal, proclaiming that separate schooling was better than an integrated system of education because all the best and most vocal converts to Protestantism were educated in Catholic schools. He strongly protested against the idea that one language and one school were essential to the building up of a great nation, and believed that Protestants would get a better religious education in a Protestant school than in a state school with Catholics.[228]

Education was a matter of great pride to many members of the city's Protestant elite. Protestant business leaders often talked about the education of every man as a way of increasing general intelligence. There was an economic motive to many of their calls for increased education as they believed that a more educated populace would lead to the personal enrichment of individuals and subsequently benefit the quality of life in the nation and the community.[229] The building of libraries and museums as well as the creation of historical and natural history societies

[227] MacLeod & Poutanen, 118-119.
[228] "That Curious Theory" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 15 Sep. 1892.
[229] Mair, 25.

were all part of growing desire to propagate education, and more essentially 'ideas' among the working classes. By bringing the outside world into the space of the museum, the archive or indeed the classroom, it could be studied and harnessed as a general knowledge that would allow explorers, traders and administrators to return to that same outside world with greater capacities.[230]

One of the Board of School Commissioners of Montreal was IPBS President J.C. Wilson, who had an enormous interest in the development of the city's education system.[231] Originally from Antrim, he was educated at the McGill Normal School and maintained a life-long gratitude for the education he received there. He would go on to offer an annual prize of $40 for competitions in the elementary classes of the Normal school.[232] He even worked as a school teacher before moving into the commercial world, serving as vice-President of the Québec Provincial Association of Protestant teachers.[233] Towards the end of his life, Wilson offered to contribute $5000 towards the construction of an institution in Montreal in which young men might obtain a practical, technical education of the highest and best quality.[234] The educational attainment of institutions such as the High School of Montreal and McGill University was essential in maintaining a bourgeois class of professionals such as doctors, lawyers, clergy and business leaders. William Workman became a director of the Fraser Institute which promoted education in arts and sciences.[235] In his will Workman left money to a number of Protestant charities including the IPBS and the Protestant House of Industry. But his love of education meant that he also left the extraordinary amount of $121,000 to McGill University to establish a department of mechanical

[230] Dickinson and Young, 157.
[231] The Canadian parliamentary companion, (1887) 175.
[232] "The McGill Normal School" *The journal of education* 16:6/7 Jun./Jul. 1872
[233] *The educational record of the province of Quebec*, 3:6, (Dec. 1883) 319.
[234] "Personal" *The week* 12:52, 22 Nov. 1895.
[235] "The Fraser Institute" *The Canadian journal of commerce, finance and insurance review* 21.17, (23 Oct. 1885) 817.

engineering in Applied Science.[236]

The city's more prestigious Protestant schools resided in St Antoine ward. It was in this ward where one could find the highest concentration of Protestant property owners who paid the highest school taxes. This Protestant community from above the hill stood in stark contrast to the urban downtown core and to the working class neighbourhoods of Point St. Charles. This area was a safer and quieter part of the city, especially for adolescent girls. But it was also sign of success for students from outside the area to be able to attend schools in St. Antoine. There was a strong sense of social prestige for less well-off Protestants to send their kids to school there.[237]

By the beginning of the 20th century the Protestant School Board was responsible for not only educating members of the Protestant middle and upper classes but also the children of the Protestant and Jewish working class.[238] The difference in the quality of education could be seen in the sorts of resources Protestant schools could offer their students. Because the Protestant schools were receiving more in tax revenue to educate half the amount of children that the Catholic School Board had to, they were able to pay their teachers double the salary of what teachers could receive in Catholic schools, as well as providing better facilities such as kindergarten classes, art rooms and gymnasiums.[239]

Through consociational agreement with the Catholic Church, the Protestant elite of Montreal opened a social and cultural space where they could consolidate their economic power and their cultural sovereignty. Many members of the IPBS in Montreal were strong supporters of economic protectionism as it allowed them to protect their businesses, while at the same time it

[236] "Comme Dans La Vie" Le monde illustré, 7:15, 10 Mai. 1890.
[237] MacLeod & Poutanen, 124-125.
[238] Copp, 69.
[239] Copp, 63.

developed a strong pride in Canadian manufacture. Greater cultural accommodation with the Catholic majority allowed them to copper fasten their economic hegemony.

CHAPTER 4: THE DISCURSIVE CREATION OF IDENTITY

In 1858, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, by then one of British North America's most influential politicians, published a collection of verse called *Canadian Ballads* to highlight the history of Canadian cultural achievement. In it he stated that of all forms of patriotism, a public-spirited patriotism in literature was not the least admirable.[240] Originally from Carlingford, Co. Louth, McGee would go on to become one of Canada's founding fathers and was instrumental in guaranteeing minority education rights as a provision of Confederation in 1867. However, it was through his experience in the nationalist movement of the Young Irelanders in the 1840's that McGee realized that for political nationalism to be successful, a nation would need a national literature. A number of IPBS members were involved in the early development of Canadian literature, most notably the writers John Reade and William Henry Drummond, and the publisher John Lovell,

Originally from Bandon in Cork, IPBS president John Lovell played a huge role in the early development of Canadian print-publishing, especially with regard to education. Up until the 1860's Canadian schools used the Irish National Series of Schoolbooks. However, around this time a number of American schoolbooks started turning up in Canadian schools that focused almost exclusively on American history and culture. In order to counteract this influence Lovell developed his own 'Lovell's Series of Schoolbooks', the first series of textbooks written specifically for Canadian schools. His first title was *The geography and history of British America*, *and of other colonies of the empire.*[241] His work in the publishing of schoolbooks specifically adapted for the

[240] McGee, Thomas D'Arcy. *Canadian Ballads and Occasional Verses*. 37268 Vol. (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1998; 1858) 7.
[241] 'Lovell, John', National Archives of Canada, et al. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. Ottawa: National Archives of Canada and National Library of Canada, 2003.

Canadian market was seen by many as a proud patriotic endeavour. The 'Canada Educational Monthly and School Chronicle' said of the publication of his geography textbooks that Lovell's "many and important publishing enterprises testify also to the irrepressible public spirit which has been signally manifested in all his work."[242]

Lovell was a passionate and invaluable supporter of Canadian literature, both in English and in French. Together with his partner John Gibson he launched the *Literary Garland*, the first successful literary magazine in North America, and also the first to pay its contributors. Following on from D'Arcy McGee's *Canadian Ballads*, in 1864 he published *Selections from Canadian Poets* which included a number of established poets beside newer ones. Some of the early French-Canadian works he published included Michel Bibaud's *L'encyclopédie canadienne* (1842–43), James Huston's *Le répertoire national* (1848–50), and the second edition of François-Xavier Garneau's *Histoire du Canada* (1852). Lovell also published music books and sheet music of Canadian composers as well as issuing novels in both French and English translations.[243] He even employed commercial agents across Canada to gather information for his Dominion and Provincial directories. These practical reference tools were perhaps even more important than literary publications in forging a strong sense of national consciousness in that they created a national business database that companies across Canada could use to build commercial networks.[244]

Lovell was a devout Anglican and warden of Trinity chapel. He readily contributed funds to the construction of Christ Church Cathedral. But he also recognized the work of the Grey Nuns, providing them with a small hand-press so they could do their own printing. This small act of

[242] "Lovell's Intermediate Geography" *The Canada educational monthly and school chronicle*. Vol 1. (Sept.1879) 472.
[243] 'Lovell, John', National Archives of Canada, et al. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. Ottawa: National Archives of Canada and National Library of Canada, 2003.
[244] "Lovell's Dominion and Provincial Directories" *The Journal of Education*, 14:3, (Mar. 1870) 48.

generosity would later pay him dividends when a strike occurred at his printing press. The nuns took up the mantle and were more than happy to help him out.[245]

Lovell was a strong supporter of tariffs to protect Canadian industry and by 1858 the provincial government had introduced a number of tariff measures to help raise revenues and protect local manufacturers. In a letter to the Gazette he explained why he supported the measures: "All we say is, put us on an equality with the United States. […] They will not alter their policy. We must remodel ours; otherwise it will be impossible for Canada ever to boast of extensive publishing-houses, or to bring out the talent that is latent in the country."[246] In the aftermath of Confederation Lovell campaigned in London to have the Foreign Reprints Act of 1847 amended to specifically allow Canadian publishers the right to reprint British copyrighted works. American publishers withstood all attempts by Canadian publishers to bring Canadian books into their market. The British supported the American publishers because they didn't want to produce special licenses for printing, and also they didn't want a book's copyright to be dependent on its place of manufacture. Other British publishers believed that colonials should not be allowed to reprint their books. Canadians protested that British publishers issued their books at a price beyond the means of most colonial readers. In contrast, American publishers were allowed to reprint the book but without remunerating the author.[247] American publishers could then export the books to Canada where the Canadian reader had to pay extra duty on it. In the end Lovell and his colleagues failed to get copyright legislation changed because Canada's position in the aftermath of Confederation was still semi-colonial. Any Canadian laws that were inconsistent with British laws would be disallowed.

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[245] 'John Lovell' *Canadian Journal of Fabrics,* 10:7, (July 1893) 207.
[246] 'Lovell, John', National Archives of Canada, et al. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. Ottawa: National Archives of Canada and National Library of Canada, 2003.
[247] "Literary Notes" *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, 2:1, (July 1872) 96.

In a letter to Sir John Rose, the Canadian representative in London, Lovell accused the British of having handed control of the Canadian market to the Americans. Lovell decided to force the issue by travelling over the border to Rouses Point in upstate New York and setting up a printing plant there. In 1873 he moved his family across the border and began printing British books and then importing them into Canada. These pirated American works were charged at 12% duty, but soon Lovell was getting more orders from within the United States than he could handle. Montreal Irish Catholic MP Michael Patrick Ryan spoke up in Parliament for Lovell explaining that the state legislature in New York had exempted Lovell's business from paying tax for ten years in order to provide jobs for up to 500 people in the Rouses Point area. Ryan complained to the Canadian Postmaster General that Montreal had lost these jobs due to the prevaricating of the federal government.[248] Lovell later made it known to the Manufacturing Committee of Parliament that unless he was allowed to reprint English works, and foreigners (i.e. Americans) were stopped from entering the market, he would leave the country and publish in the States.[249]

While Lovell battled to repatriate Canadian publishing, Thomas D'Arcy McGee's literary success led to other attempts at telling the story of Canada's beginnings and founding myths, most notably through the work of his friend and fellow Montreal Irishman John Reade. Reade was born in Ballyshannon in Donegal and educated at Portora School, Enniskillen, and Queen's College, Belfast, before landing in Montreal in 1856. In the same year of his arrival, at the age of just nineteen, he founded the Montreal Literary Magazine.[250] For the next sixty years, Reade would devote himself to the development of a national literature in Canada. As a Protestant Irish man, Reade felt keenly that the prejudices and sectarianism of the old country should, as much as

[248] 'The Copyright Question' Debates and proceedings of the Senate of Canada (1873) 262.
[249] "From the Capital" *The Canadian Illustrated News* 9:20, (16 May 1874) 306.
[250] 'Reade, John', National Archives of Canada, et al. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. Ottawa: National Archives of Canada and National Library of Canada, 2003.

possible, be left behind there. In his tribute to D'Arcy McGee, Reade spoke in praise of McGee's time with the Young Ireland movement. Reade acknowledged the power and range of *The Nation* newspaper while not endorsing its position. He recognized the tremendous capabilities of their writers and remarked on how many of those writers had gone on to great success in the professions. However, he also reserves a disapproving note for those who "turned their pens into swords" and met their inevitable fate in open rebellion.[251]

In many of his own early periodical articles, Reade tried to mold a hybrid national identity out of the many different cultures that inhabited the new dominion. In one such article called 'Our Canadian Village', Reade walks his readers through his vision of an archetypal Canadian community. He leads us past numerous churches of all Christian denominations and introduces us to the village's inhabitants, who are a tried and tested mixture of national stereotypes; the argumentative Irishman, the thrifty Scot, the enterprising American and the affable French-Canadian.[252]

Reade was also passionate in his study of Native American language and literature, and believed that allowing Native languages to vanish without studying their history 'would be a neglect only less blameworthy than the destruction of the historical monuments of Central America and Mexico'.[253] He wished to preserve much of the heritage of aboriginal people as a way of laying the foundations for a national culture. At a time when Canada was trying to imagine a national community, to be engaged in an evocation of ancestral civilizations and primitive cultures was a way for Europeans to identify with the land of the New World and create a legitimate cultural

[251] Reade, John. "Thomas D'Arcy McGee-The Poet" *The New Dominion Monthly* (Feb. 1870), 17.
[252] Reade, John. "Our Canadian Village." *British American magazine* 2.5 (1864): 482-9.
[253] Reade, John, and Royal Society of Canada. *The Literary Faculty of the Native Races of America*. 62447 Vol. (Montreal: Dawson, 1999; 1884) 30.

history. Reade hoped to develop a sense of enlightened imperialism where intermixing between cultural groups would allow the nation to uncover its latent vitality. He paints a picture of a multi-national Canada, where, through a liberal education system, different nationalities would eventually meld into an idealized Canadian subject. He describes this process as "rubbing away their roughness by mutual consent".[254] In his 1892 article on the study of folklore in Canada, Reade spoke of his desire to include all of Canada's peoples in the development of a unique communal identity:

> "…there is surely no reason why, in the Dominion of Canada, with our Esquimaux and Indians, our French and English, with their kinships and their diversities, our Celts of Wales and Man, of Ireland and the Highlands, and our scattered colonies of Teutons, Norsemen, Hungarians and Chinese, all living amongst us the lives that their fathers led, professing their ancestral creeds and speaking their mother tongues, we, too, may not add our mite to the treasury of knowledge and make Canadian folk-lore a felt reality in the world."[255]

Reade saw that this new Canadian identity would not just rely on the mixture of native cultures and the founding European colonies of the British and the French, but also on the new central and eastern European immigrants who became more prevalent in the late 19th century. Of special note is his inclusion of the Chinese in this new national identity. Many Chinese workers were employed on low-wages to complete the western stretch of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the grand industrial enterprise that would eventually unite eastern and western Canada. However, the Chinese were also subject to unfair treatment by the federal and provincial authorities in Canada and by the early 20th century numerous laws would be passed to restrict the influx of Chinese workers into the country. In 1885, the Electoral Franchise Act was enacted to determine

[254] Reade, John. "Our Canadian Village." *British American magazine* 2.5 (1864): 483.
[255] Reade, John. "The Study of Folklore in Canada." *The Dominion Illustrated Monthly* 1.5 (1892): 392.

who was eligible to vote in Canadian elections. Brought forward by John A. McDonald, the Act enfranchised the First Nations people of Eastern Canada while at the time disenfranchising all those of 'Mongolian or Chinese race'. MacDonald believed that the Chinese were too foreign to be allowed Canadian citizenship. They had neither British instincts nor aspirations. A number of MP's spoke against the act including Matthew Gault who testified that the Chinese in Montreal had a good reputation, were an industrial people and even voted in the previous federal election.[256] Reade's tacit acknowledgement of the Chinese role in the expansion of the Canadian nation was an enlightened position to take considering the period in which it was written.

Running through all of Reade's work is a yearning for cultural hybridity, an amalgamation of the most positive aspects of each ethnic identity. In one of his articles on 'Nation Building', Reade reminded his readership that the English were an amalgamation of Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Danes and Romans and that this mixture produced a great civilization, one which Canada will one day hope to supersede.[257] In his most famous paean to Canadian patriotism 'Dominion Day', he writes:

> Rose-wreath and fleur-de-lys.
> Shamrock and thistle be
> Joined to the maple tree
> Now and for aye![258]

Reade placed special importance on seeing a place for native peoples in this hybridization of Canadian identities. In an 1887 edition of the national periodical *The Week*, Reade pointed to a

[256] Stanley, Timothy John. *Contesting White Supremacy: School Segregation, Anti- Racism, and the Making of Chinese Canadians*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011) 83.
[257] Reade, John. "Nation Building." *The Week* 4.30 (1887): 480.
[258] Reade, J. 'Dominion Day' *The Prophecy of Merlin and Other Poems*. (Cambridge England: Proquest, 2002) 141.

number of studies done by various anthropologists which showed that many of the Iroquois of Québec had intermarried with white families, allowing certain members of the Senate, the universities, the army and the navy to show visible native ancestry. It was believed that this blending of the two races, would help to establish good will and peace between whites and natives, "Let us hope so", comments Reade, "so far unhappily it has not had that result either in the United States or Canada. But then look at the Celt and Saxon in Ireland after seven centuries of intercourse"[259] This reference to Ireland as an example of the difficulty of uniting two different ethnicities is Reade's warning against the political and cultural separation of different ethnic groups. Intermarriage between various ethnic groups such as the English, the Scottish, the Irish and the French should become a model for other new immigrant groups to adapt to an inter-ethnic rather than multi-ethnic Canada.

Reade's contemporary William Henry Drummond also looked towards a non-British community to express the uniqueness of the Canadian experience. Drummond was born in Mohill, Co. Leitrim in 1854. His father was a policeman in the Irish Constabulary who was eventually dismissed from his position over an argument with a local landlord. Drummond immigrated with the rest of his family to Montreal in 1864. He eventually trained as a medical doctor and went to work in the Eastern Townships of Québec. He began writing poetry about the French-Canadian habitant in the early 1870's but his first volume of poetry *The habitant and other French-Canadian poems* was not published until 1897.[260] Much of Drummond's regular English language poetry was deemed quite stiff and overly-formal. However, his verse writing in the broken-English of the French-Canadian habitant was considered much more vigorous and animated. Drummond's poems

[259] Reade, John "Nation Building." *The Week* 5.3 (1887): 37.
[260] National Archives of Canada, et al. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. Ottawa: National Archives of Canada and National Library of Canada, 2003.

of French-Canada were considered a sort of dialect poetry where he would try to imitate the speech of a people speaking English as a second language. His poetry readings were particularly popular at the time amongst a largely English-speaking Canadian audience. This was largely due to the fact that his poems about rural life focused more on country people and their trials and tribulations than it did on the beauty of the natural landscape. Unlike the stifled formal language of the educated urban bourgeoisie, Drummond projects the unassuming, frank opinions of his habitant characters in order to show his English-Canadian audience how the habitant enjoys life without the pretensions of material desire or social aspiration. In a similar way, his contemporary John Milton Synge used the peripheral lives of his Aran Island characters to highlight how their language retained a sense of vitality**.** The greater a character's distance from the imperial and industrial centre, the greater their language deviates from Standard English and the more untamed and vibrant it is in its expression.[261] Drummond remained close to his own family, and his childhood in rural Ireland made him nostalgic for country life and the folklore and traditions he left behind. Although he never made any formal link between those Irish childhood experiences and his later life as a doctor in rural Québec, a posthumous publication of his poetry called 'The Great Fight' made such a connection in a visual sense. In the aftermath of his death in 1907, Drummond's wife May Harvey Drummond published this collection of his poetry with sketches by the artist Fredrick Simpson Coburn. In the introduction to the collection, May Drummond outlines the course of her husband's life, her prose interspersed with Coburn's illustrations of rural Ireland. Coburn's illustrations of rural Québec are then interspersed with the poems themselves (See Figure 5). Tellingly, there are no illustrations of urban Montreal, the place where Drummond spent most of his life.

[261] Kiberd, Declan. *Inventing Ireland*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995) 173.

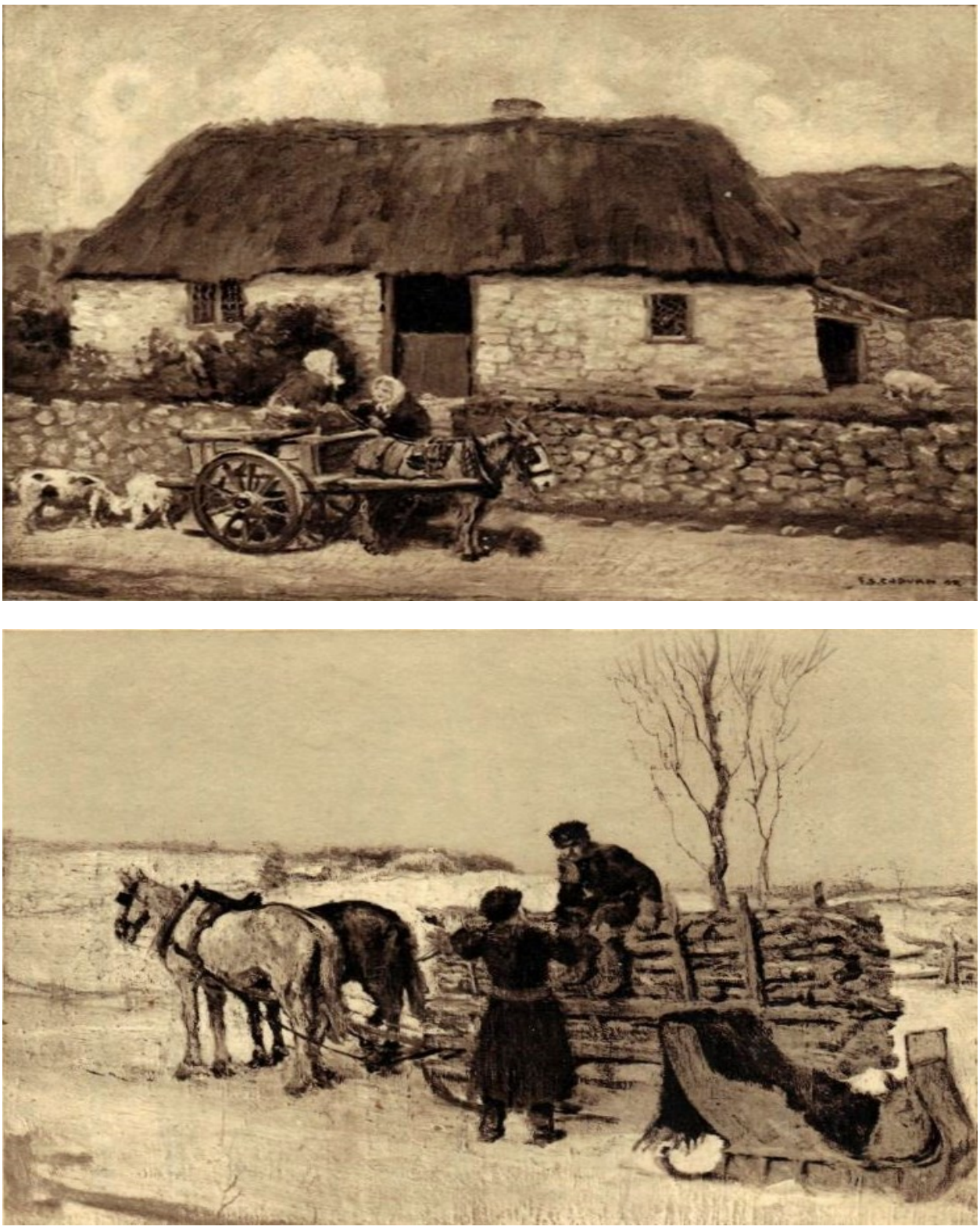

***Figure 5**: Sketches by Fredrick Simpson Coburn from Drummond, W. H., & Drummond, M. I. H. 1905. The Great Fight; Poems and Sketches. Memorial Ed. New York: G.P. Putnam's Son*

In the poem 'The Curé of Calumette', Drummond emphasizes how the Irish and French-Canadians would make a good match for each other, echoing Reade's enthusiasm for racial hybridity:

> Hees fader is full-blooded Irish, an' hees moder is pure Canayenne,
> Not offen dat stock go tegedder, but she's fine combination ma frien'
> For de Irish he's full of de devil, an' de French dey got savoir faire,
> Dat's mak'it de very good balance an' tak' you mos' ev'ry w' ere.[262]

Much like his contemporaries in the Irish Literary Revival, Drummond looked to the rural hinterland as a natural repository of feeling and sentiment, and as a bulwark against some of the forces of modernity such as urban decadence and corruption. In the late 19th century many French-Canadians left Canada looking for work in the larger towns and cities of urban New England. Drummond saw this as a troubling development, as Canada would be losing much of what made its culture distinctive. In the poem 'How Bateese Came Home', Bateese is chided by his friend Napoleon for immigrating to the United States and returning home speaking English. He also remarks on how Bateese seems corrupted by the values of his new country and how his culture and family environment would be better protected if he stayed in Canada:

> I say "For w'at you spik lak dat? you must be gone crazee
> Dere 's plaintee feller on de State, more smarter dan you be,
> Beside she 's not so healtee place, an' if you mak' l'argent,
> You spen' it jus' lak Yankee man, an' not lak habitant.[263]

Drummond's concern over the emigration of French-Canadians points to a larger discourse about the ambivalence and anxiety that underlined many aspects of settler society. British settlers

[262] Drummond, William Henry. *Complete Poems*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1926) 132.
[263] Drummond (1926), 23.

were part of the imperial centre but found themselves on the edge of empire, with a divided sense of loyalty between their land of origin and the new world. The post-colonial literary critic Alan Lawson calls this divided sense of loyalty a double inscription of authority and authenticity.[264] British imperial Canadians were aware of their own political authority, but they also used their discursive power to help create the pastoral 'authenticity' of their Native and Francophone fellow countrymen.

Similar discursive practices occurred during the Irish Literary Revival. Declan Kiberd has highlighted how many Irish writers managed to rebrand negative stereotypes of the Irish and use them as positive cultural traits. The strategy of the revivalists thus became clear: substitute words with negative connotations for those with positive ones, e.g. for superstitious say religious, for backward suggest traditional, for irrational use emotional. However, this rebranding was not a rejection of superficial labeling as such, merely a reinterpretation of already existing prejudices. The danger was that the Irish could now wear these epithets as a badge of ethnic pride.[265] This power of description was echoed in many British Canadian portraits of French-Canadians. In "Our Canadian Village", Reade sets out a rather condescending image of the habitant:

> "He cannot argue very profoundly it is true, but he can defend with his own weapons – earnestness and faith. He has no others, but he uses these sufficiently to let you know that he is a true Frenchman and a sincere Catholic. Everybody likes him and wishes well to him and to charming young madame and to little Angelique."[266]

This back-handed compliment to naïve French-Canadian pluck is further expounded on in Reade and Drummond's poems in honour of the French-Canadian heroine Madeleine de Verchères.

[264] Pollock, Grace. "William Henry Drummond's True "Canayen": Dialect Poetry and the Politics of Canadian Imperialism." *Essays on Canadian Writing*.79 (2003): 110.
[265] Kiberd, 32.
[266] Reade, John. "Our Canadian Village." *British American magazine* 2.6 (1864): 591.

Verchères became renowned throughout French-Canada in the late 17th century for her quick thinking in thwarting an Iroquois attack on a rural French settlement. In both poems, the figure of Madeline is used as a national icon of courageousness, one who is devoted to God and fearlessly fights for her country. In Drummond's poem she cries out to 'Fight for your God and country and the lives of the innocent ones,[267] while for Reade she exemplifies the ideal that 'to shed your blood is noble, fighting with your country's foe'.[268] The notion of the shedding and intermingling of blood is a frequent theme in Reade's poetry of national identity. Even in Drummond's *Madeleine de Verchères*, Madeline rouses the 'Norman blood' in her compatriots so that they are better able to fight the Iroquois. This idea of a shared Norman culture between British and French-Canadians was a prominent feature of late 19th century Canadian nationalism.[269] In one of his most well-known poems 'Hastings', Reade views the Norman invasion of England as a bloody and necessary prerequisite to the creation of a new race:

> The Sussex woods were bright and red on that October morn;
> And Sussex soil was red with blood before the next was born;
> But from that red united clay another race did start
> On the great stage of destiny to act a noble part[270]

Reade goes on to describe how the Battle of Hastings was the culmination of a long history of invasions and racial hybridity that would see the blood of the Celts, the Romans, the Saxons and the Vikings mingle with that of the Normans to produce the modern-day British people. Reade calls on his fellow Canadians to remember the Battle of Hastings as the moment when distinct

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[267] Drummond, William Henry. *Phil-o-Rum's Canoe, and Madeleine Vercheres; Two Poems*. (New York; London: G.P. Putnam's, 1898) 8.
[268] Reade, John. *Madeleine De Vercheres. (*Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company, 1890) 16.
[269] Coates, Colin MacMillan, and Cecilia Louise Morgan. *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine De Verchères and Laura Secord*. (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2002) 53.
[270] Reade (2002), 100-101.

peoples were brought together to create a new nation, "And as we gather into one let us recall with pride / That we are of the blood of those who fought where Harold died."[271] Uncovering a national history is not just a process of creating shared memories, but it often involves that consort of remembering, forgetting. Specific national memories must be sorted and categorized in order to uncover those worth remembering in a process of inclusion and exclusion. By the time of the IPBS Annual Concert at Windsor Hall in 1903, Drummond felt that enough time had passed since the 1837-38 Rebellions for him to recite his poem called the "The Papineau Gun", in which his habitant character speaks of his father's loyalty to Wolfred Nelson and Joseph-Louis Papineau.[272] This was a bold move by Drummond as there were many former IPBS members who had fought with the crown forces during the Rebellions.[273] But by 1903 enough of them had passed away that Drummond felt he could acknowledge the loyalty of some of the habitants for the Patriotes without offending loyalist sensibilities.

But how were these Irish poets viewed by their French-Canadian counterparts? An insightful review of John Reade's own poetry by the Francophone periodical *Revue de Montréal* in 1879 points to a perceived link between Irish romantic sentiment and Catholic mysticism:

> But Mr. John Reade, like poor Darcy McGee is first and foremost an Irish poet. The Emerald Isle has printed its stamp on all his works, and although he belongs to the Anglican Church, where he even studied theology, this stamp if he will allow us to say, is Catholic rather than Protestant. This is the case, however, for most Protestant poets and orators of the country of his birth.[274]

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[271] Reade (2002), 102.
[272] IPBS Annual Concert Programme for 3rd Feb. 1903.
[273] Timbers, Wayne. "Britannique Et Irlandaise; l'Identite Ethnique Et Démographique Des Irlandais Protestants Et La Formation d'Une Communauté a Montréal, 1834-1860." (MA McGill University, 2001) 75.
[274] 'Mais M. John Reade, comme ce pauvre Darcy McGee, est bien et dûment un poète irlandais. La verte Erin a imprimé son cachet sur toutes ses œuvres, et, bien qu'il appartienne à l'église anglicane, où il a même étudié la théologie, ce cachet, s'il veut bien nous permettre de le dire, est plutôt catholique que protestant. C'est le cas, du

The idea that every Irish writer has a Catholic disposition no matter what their religion is an illuminating observation. Throughout much of the 19th century Anglo-Irish Protestant writers would develop an increasingly Romantic literary vision as their political power on the island began to diminish. This would ultimately culminate in the largely Protestant led Irish Literary Revival of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. There were many reasons for this turn towards the Romantic, one of which was to provide an outlet for the spiritual imagination that the Protestant faith could not accommodate in a post-Darwinian world. Protestantism had developed a strong disapproval of the mystical and tended to emphasize the mind over the heart or the literal over the emotional. These Protestant Irish writers also hoped that celebration of a common Irish folklore would help to undermine religious differences. In his pre-Confederation article 'Our Canadian Village', Reade points to the lack of sectarianism in his idealized picture of the new Canada: 'Christianity with its windings is also moving on to another sea-infinitely deep and broad. I only mean Christianity that is of Christ.'[275]

Although William Henry Drummond's poetry proved to be highly popular, there seemed to have been resistance from some quarters at the time regarding the depictions of French-Canadians in his poems. In her introduction to another posthumous 1908 collection of her husband's poetry, May Harvey Drummond pointed out that Louis Fréchette, a Francophone fellow poet, had defended her husband's poetry in the face of complaints put forward "by a few of the French-Canadian people of Québec, namely, that these verses were written in a spirit of mockery".[276] Unfortunately for Drummond's legacy, these accusations of mockery would only

reste, pour la plupart des poètes et des orateurs protestants du pays de sa naissance' V., H. "Un Poète Anglo-Canadien." *Revue de Montréal* 3.3 (1879): 190.

[275] Reade, J. "Our Canadian Village." *British American magazine* 2.5 (1864): 483.

[276] Drummond, William Henry, and May Isabel Harvey Drummond. *The Great Fight; Poems and Sketches*. Memorial ed. (New York: G.P. Putnam's sons, 1908) 31.

increase in the decades to come. The rising tide of Québécois nationalism in the 1960's and '70's meant that Drummond's habitant poems were increasingly seen as derogatory or even outright racist. By the 1980's Drummond seemed to have been quietly dropped from the Canadian literary canon. A standard poetry anthology used on Canadian literature courses today, *Canadian Poetry from the Beginnings to the First World War*, does not feature any of Drummond's poetry, despite the fact that he was the best-selling and most widely read Canadian poet of the pre-First World War era.

Even if Drummond's intention was not one of mockery, he still paints his habitant types as little more than pawns in the development of the Canadian nation. Rural Québec is for Drummond a place that never changes, where there is no advancement; time has come to a standstill. An illuminating story about Drummond's return to Ireland gives some indication of this psychological desire for a timeless rural haven. On a speaking trip to Britain in 1902, he had a strong desire to revisit the scenes of his childhood in Leitrim and Donegal. When he did return to Ireland however he only ended up staying a night in Dublin. The following morning he got back on the boat to Glasgow and returned home to Canada, never to visit Ireland again. In that one night in the Irish capital, Drummond realized that the Ireland of his childhood imagination could never be recaptured. Instead he replaced it with habitant world of French Canada, a place he could go back to again and again secure in the knowledge that it had never changed. As hinted at by Coburn's sketches Drummond was compensating for the experience of exile and the dislocation of immigration by constructing an idyllic vision of rural Québec and French-Canadians that would emotionally replicate the lost world of childhood and home.

Unlike Drummond who was brought to Canada by his family when he was 12, John Reade made his own choice to move to British North America when he was 19 and seems to have been

more successful at putting Ireland behind him. IPBS membership lists from this period show Reade as a member during the 1880's, but he seems not to have renewed his membership in the 1890's perhaps finally feeling at home in his adopted national identity. In his poem 'Killynoogan' he returns to his childhood in Ireland recalling the solitude and sustenance it gave him. But he also embraces change and realizes that while he can never return, the place will always stay with him:

> XXIV.
> Dear old Killynoogan, thee.
> Once so full of life and glee.
> Lifeless, desolate, I see!
> XXV.
> But, beloved and sacred spot.
> Nought of thee shall be forgot.
> Till what I am now — is not.[277]

Matthew Arnold saw the relationship between England and the Celtic periphery as a marriage between the masculine virtues of the English and the feminine virtues of the Celts. The Celtic past could remain as a subject of academic and aesthetic study, something that modern progressive British people could take pride and cultural sustenance in. Like Arnold, Drummond portrays the French-Canadian subjects of his poems as innocent children of nature, contrasting their vitality with their quaintness, oblivious to the forces of modernity. The habitant would safeguard Canada's rural idyll and not interfere with British Canadians' industrial progress. Canadians could then have the best of both worlds, appreciating the simplicity of the French-Canadian past alongside the prosperity of the British-Canadian future. Similarly John Reade's appreciation of Native literature and his wish for cultural hybridity, disguised a more troubling

[277] Reade (2002), 97.

desire for assimilation and appropriation. Reade's hybrid Canadian was not a 'unitary' figure, someone who bridged identities and brought mutual understanding between natives and settlers, rather, intermarriage between natives and whites was seen as a way of 'civilizing' native peoples and integrating them into the dominant European culture. This new Canadian was a culturally British subject who could now rightfully claim some ancient connection to the Canadian landscape.

Both of these Protestant Irish writers sought to develop a new communal consciousness through the imperial identity of the nation state. It's difficult not to see in these discursive constructions of identity, a longing by these writers to overcome the political fear and loathing that so marked their homeland. But although their intentions were to prevent any sectarian or bigoted dogmas from taking hold in this new peaceable kingdom, their discursive power would simply render other ethnic groups as passive and pliant to their own national imaginings.

John Lovell continued to push for protection of the local manufacture of books, but by 1885 the Berne Convention had effectively removed the place of manufacture as a condition for protection. Lovell tried to protect his own business from these changes by specializing in publications where there was no foreign competition such as textbooks, maps, guides, city directories, gazetteers and copy books. In 1889, Lovell told the Privy Council in Ottawa that English publishers ignorance about Canada was profound, and that they "treated Canada as if it was part and parcel of the United States". By 1886, the 76 year old Lovell had undertook to publish a book titled "Lovell's Gazetter and History of the Dominion of Canada" at a cost of $150,000.[278] The Gazetteer promised the history of "every county, district, parish, city, township, town, village, island, lake and river in the eight provinces of the dominion of Canada in eleven volumes."[279]

[278] 'A Great Undertaking' *Books and Notions*, 3:4, (Nov. 1886): 52.
[279] "Prospectus of Lovell's Gazetteer and History' *The index of current events*, 2:36, (7 Oct. 1889): 9.

Lovell wanted in the end to "put this magnificent country fully, fairly and tellingly before our own people, the Mother country and the rest of the world."[280] Although he eventually failed to see it through, it was "simply a desire to pay one last great tribute to his beloved country […] no man ever loved Canada with a more intense and constant love than he."[281]

[280] 'Books and Stationary' *The monetary times, trade review and insurance chronicle*, 25:45, (6 May, 1892): 1845.
[281] "John Lovell" John Lovell' *Canadian journal of fabrics* 10:7, (July 1893): 207.

CHAPTER 5: 12TH JULY 1878 & ITS AFTERMATH

In the year following the killing of Thomas Lett Hackett, the Orange Order made repeated declarations that they would march in Montreal on the first anniversary of his death to show that they had the right to march anywhere 'on the King's highway'. But due to the fatal consequences of the riot the previous year, the city was not prepared to allow an Orange parade on its' streets on the 12th July 1878. In a letter to The *Montreal Daily Witness* in March of that year 'Another Englishman' warned that the Orange Order "gathers strength from opposition".[282] The Montreal Order was also engaged in attempts at re-centering through appeals to political hierarchy. In the lead up to the July 12th parade, they specifically appealed to the Prime Minister over the head of the Mayor to request that the federal government send in a military force to uphold British law in the city and allow them to march. In return, the Order promised not to bring in fellow members from Ontario to help them out.[283]

As Canada's mercantile centre, it was important for Montreal's commercial interest that the city was not shut down due to parades, marches and the potential riots and skirmishes that they could induce. The Order complained that many of the Protestant elite in Québec were not doing enough to stop the march towards Popery in the province for fear of losing the almighty dollar.[284] Much of the business owning class of the city were Protestant, but many of their workers were Catholic Irish or French-Canadian. In the pages of the *Sentinel*, 'Black Northern' bristled with the rumour that a young Protestant man was refused work at a local bakers where the baker reportedly said that because all of his workers were Catholic, a Protestant worker would not fit in.[285]

[282] "Orange and Green" *The Montreal Daily Witness,* 15 Mar. 1878.
[283] "The Position in Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 11 Jul. 1878.
[284] *Report of the Grand Lodge of Quebec* (1889) 14.
[285] "Our Montreal Letter" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 12 Dec. 1878

Antagonizing a major section of the city's Catholic working-class could lead to a loss of worker hours for business and an increase in costs for the city. Francis Hincks said of the Orange Order that year "I have only to suffer like the taxpayers generally from the enormous expense to which they annually subject the city of Montreal."[286] Even the Protestant Anglican bishop of the city had to write to the Order to request that they not march on the anniversary of Hackett's death.[287] The control of space and the control of people in that space were seen by the city's merchant class as means of protecting their material interests. The previous year it was reported that men from the larger work establishments who were marked as absent without leave on the 12th July were summarily dismissed.[288] In preparation for the march the *Montreal Star* stated "Will the merchants and other influential men of Montreal stand this making of their fair city a rendezvous for faction fights and these for the most part from elsewhere".[289] Montreal City Councillors were criticized for the fact that although Protestants paid one half of the municipal taxes, two-thirds of the city's police force was Catholic. *The Canadian Spectator* felt it was only right that Orangemen should expect protection from violence when attacked.[290]

On the morning of the 12th July 1878, Mayor Beaudry called out a volunteer militia of 486 men known as 'the specials'. This militia included 373 Irish Catholics, 103 French Canadians, 5 Scottish men 4 Englishmen and one Belgian. This temporary police force lined up outside the Orange Hall on St. James Street.[291] As the Orangemen called out to 'fall in' to start the parade, the police force intervened and a large melee ensued. Seven Orangemen were arrested.[292]

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[286] "The Orange Question" *The Daily Telegraph* (Quebec), 28th Aug. 1878.
[287] "Well Spoken" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 6thMay, 1878.
[288] "The Orangemen" *St. Joseph's Gazette,* 14 Jul. 1877.
[289] Quoted in "The Twelfth In Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 30 May 1878.
[290] "The Times" *The Canadian spectator,* 1:20, 18 May 1878.
[291] "Grant v. Beaudry" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 16 Oct. 1879.
[292] "Annual Meetings – Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 16 Jan. 1879.

For the next few years, the Hackett affair played out in the courts as mayor Beaudry sought to prevent the Order from any future marches in the city. In the skirmishes that ensued following the 1878 attempt to march, one of those who was beaten and eventually arrested was the Grand Marshall of Québec. He would eventually sue the mayor for damages. A test case was brought to see if the Orange Order was a legal institution and did they have a right to march. The mayor claimed that as the Orange Order was not incorporated, and that their annual reports and membership was not open to the public, then they must be considered a secret illegal organization.[293] The case dragged on until the end of 1879 with different narratives of the Hackett affair and its aftermath brought to the attention of the Montreal public. The judge eventually ruled the lawsuit as invalid as a way of having to avoid coming down on one side or the other, leaving the competing narratives unreconciled.[294]

The Orange Order hoped to solidify their account of Hackett's death in the public domain by attempting to erect a monument to him. They initially announced that they were willing to have the moment erected in Victoria Square where Hackett was killed, with an inscription to denounce the mayor of Montreal. Although it is difficult to know if they were entirely serious with this suggestion, it did have the desired effect of antagonizing the Catholic community.[295] The Order eventually saw the Hackett Memorial Monument erected in Mount Royal Cemetery. The struggles that went into the erection of the monument are still evident in a blank space on its epitaph. The trustees of the cemetery exercised the right to approve the inscription on the monument before its placement. They were shocked to discover that on the inscription it stated that Hackett was "Barbarously Murdered / by an Irish Roman Catholic mob". Not wishing to upset

[293] "Beaudry's Defence" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 5 Jun. 1879.
[294] Olson & Thornton, 333-334.
[295] "The Hackett Monument" *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, 29th Aug.1877.

Figure 6: *Monument Engraving at Thomas Lett Hackett's Grave. Photo: R. Jess 26/10/2013.*

the multi-religious and multiethnic nature of the cemetery, the mostly Protestant trustee board had the offensive line removed. The trustees made a specific request to have the monument placed near the entrance so that if violence did break out, it would not engulf the whole cemetery and could be more easily stopped.[296]

Hackett's memorial featured the first statue of a female allegorical figure ever used on a Montreal monument.[297] In an age when moral values were assigned to femininity, Hackett's

[296] Young, & James, 75.
[297] Gordon, Alan. *Making Public Pasts*. (Montréal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001) 138.

monument sought to display the idea of innocence betrayed. Towering over the headstones of other more prominent figures in Montreal's history, it may seem unusual that such a monument could have been created for a person who's most remarkable deed was that he was shot dead armed with a revolver and sixty bullets in his pocket.[298] But establishing a place of honour is both a symbolic and political act. During the 19th century places of memory were used to create a topography of a people as a way of maintaining institutional continuity and existing power relations[299] Hackett's monument was used to personify the Orange Order's struggle in Montreal as much as to commemorate the victim of the 12th of July.

In the months following the 1878 debacle 'Black Northern' wrote to the *Sentinel* condemning the IPBS for inviting to their fete to act as judges many of the men who had condemned the Orange Order over the previous two summers:

> "I ask the gentlemen at the head of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society, if they think the gift of a few prizes is sufficient atonement for the unavenged blood of their young countrymen […] As a Protestant of Irish descent I have but one feeling in the matter – that of shame, to think that a society whose aim is to relieve the necessities of the poor and unfortunate of our own race and creed should seek for support and assistance from those whose hands are red with the blood of our brethren, and that the sacred cause of charity should be degraded by being turned into an advertisement for time-servers. Go on, gentlemen of the committee of management; carefully follow the course marked out for you by the political turncoat, Hincks. You have earned the laughter and contempt of the Papists, and filled every Protestant worthy of the name with feelings of disgust"[300]

In this tirade against the invitation of prominent members of the Irish Catholic community to the IPBS fete, something of the class differences between the Orange Order and the IPBS begin

[298] Young & James, 75.
[299] Till, Karen E. "Places of Memory." *A Companion to Political Geography.* Eds. John A. Agnew, Gearóid Ó Tuathail, and Katharyne Mitchell. 3 Vol. (Oxford, UK; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2003) 289-294.
[300] "Our Montreal Letter" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 17 Oct. 1878.

to emerge. 'Black Northern' raged against a Protestant organization that seemed to be putting its desire for respectability above and beyond its adherence to ethno-religious identity. Over the following years there was increasing frustration felt that many more prosperous Protestants did not want to be associated with the Order. At a meeting of the provincial Grand Orange Lodge of Québec in 1888, it was mentioned that many of the brethren in Québec were disheartened not only by the opposition of Catholics but especially by those "calling themselves Protestants"[301] The Order noted that there were Protestants in Québec who did not want to be identified with the institution due to the nature of their business connections.[302] Norman Murray wrote a letter to the editor of the *Sentinel* in 1892 in which he stated "I know several members who object to their names ever appearing in the public press as members of the Orange Order. For that reason you can never get them to come to the funeral of a brother or to a twelfth of July dinner, or a celebration of any kind."[303]

But within the city of Montreal even working-class Protestants were becoming less segregated from their anglophone Catholic peers. With the passing of time not only class but also language would overcome differences of religion and ethnicity. Already by the 1880's there was a shortage of skilled Protestant labour, and more and more Protestant owned businesses started extending work opportunities to English-speaking Catholics. This would eventually narrow the gap between the two religious groups while at the same time widening the gap between the two language groups.[304] This evolution from a religious identity to a linguistic one could also be found in the sphere of education where the Protestant School Board had to increasingly accommodate new immigrant children such as those from the Jewish and Greek Orthodox communities. These

[301] "Province of Quebec" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 22 Mar. 1888.
[302] "Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 1 Aug. 1889.
[303] "Light Under a Bushel" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 17 Mar. 1892.
[304] Olson & Thornton, 344.

new immigrant families felt more at home amongst an ethnically diverse Protestant community and within a Protestant education system that was open to intellectual tolerance.[305] Institutional separation is important in the transmission of cultural identity and the more an immigrant community resides in the host environment, the more it starts to resemble the demographic, cultural and socioeconomic make-up of the general population.

With the development of Canadian cities, class and ethnic identity became increasingly disassociated. In her study of working class families in late 19th century Montreal, Bettina Bradbury recorded that over the course of a 20 year period between 1861 and 1881, marriage patterns, number of children, family labour commitment and residential arrangements overrode ethnicity as a major determinant of Montreal families strategies and actions. Old attitudes and practices were adjusted to the new realities of the city in the New World.[306] Propertied elites created a class identity that the children of immigrants could aspire to. The desire for young people to get ahead meant that many were co-opted into the behaviour of their well-to-do neighbours.[307] Heads of households who were born in Montreal were on average employed in higher status jobs than those born outside Montreal.[308] George Reynolds noticed in the early 1930's that the Canadian-born sons and daughters of British immigrants had been gradually moving out of Point St. Charles over previous years and started moving to the more desirable neighbourhoods of Rosemont, Verdun and Notre Dame de Grace. Newer immigrants from continental Europe began to take their place in Point St Charles.[309]

At the same time, both Protestant and Catholic Anglophones moved in and out of Montreal

[305] MacLeod & Poutanen, 134-135.
[306] Bradbury (1984), 474.
[307] Olson and Thornton, 344.
[308] Gilliland, 131.
[309] Reynolds, 125-126.

with greater ease than their Francophone counterparts, and it was not uncommon for Anglophones to move to the U.S. or to other parts of Canada in response to industrial or professional opportunities.[310] In George Reynolds' study a Protestant minister told him that his congregation had undergone a two hundred percent turnover in just seven years. Another Protestant minister stated "All the people here have a transient mentality. I could not tell you how many members we have in this church—I just don't know. I sent out notices to all the members of our congregation a week ago; this morning I got eighty of them back, marked 'Moved' or 'Not Known.' People move so quickly that we cannot keep track of them . . . They give transiency as an excuse for not supporting the church, too."[311] Between 1860 and 1900, there was net emigration from Canada which was only reversed with the coming of the new century.

Reynolds also noted that first generation British immigrants became more and more Canadian over time. New British immigrants had a tendency to join British organizations in the first ten years of their residence in Canada. However, after those first ten years they became increasingly drawn into specifically Canadian institutions as their institutional contacts expanded.[312] But the rate at which immigrants from Britain and Ireland integrated into their host society seemed to differ depending on the culture and geographic origin of the immigrant. T.W. Acheson has suggested that the Scottish and Catholic Irish both maintained their identity into a second generation in comparison to the English and Protestant Irish who integrated more readily into the host environment.[313] In 1935 Reynolds remarked that immigrants from rural parts of Britain and Ireland tended to retain their cultural differences for longer than people from urban areas. Interestingly he also noted that the Scottish were more likely than both the English and the

[310] Olson and Thornton, 57.
[311] Reynolds, Note 146.
[312] Reynolds, 229.
[313] Acheson, 197-198.

Irish to retain their cultural heritage.[314]

For Reynolds, superior education and white collar employment made the immigrant more likely to adapt himself to Canadian customs, and to be less enthusiastic of joining immigrant institutions.[315] In the 1901 Annual Report of the IPBS a complaint was made that very few members had turned up to the quarterly meetings over the previous year.[316] Something of the newer kind of immigrant that was arriving can be discerned in the annual report of 1895 which stated that the then class of Irish Protestant immigrant coming to Canada merely required advice and assistance on gaining employment rather than receiving charity.[317] By 1913 a journalist observed how the congregation of St. James Methodist Church was truly a 'national' congregation, in that it was an assembly of Canadians. Although there may have been some old country people present, he remarked that they were not in evidence.[318]

The immigration of Irish Protestants would continue to decline with the dawn of the new century. In 1899 the emigrant committee of the IPBS recorded that their work was much lighter than in recent years. By 1916, the same committee noted that they had only one or two demands from immigrants for assistance.[319] In the aftermath of the First World War the government was increasingly providing assistance for immigrants that it had not before. Federal expenditure on social assistance had jumped from 2.5% in 1911 to 13.1% in 1921[320] When the IPBS was first set up, its name and identity announced that its services were restricted to those of a certain religious

[314] Reynolds, 235.
[315] Reynolds, 145.
[316] Irish Protestant Benevolent Society Forty-fifth Annual Report, 1901.
[317] Irish Protestant Benevolent Society Thirty-Ninth Annual Report, 1895.
[318] Trigger, 365.
[319] Collard, 94.
[320] Moscovitch, Allan, and Jim Albert. *The "Benevolent" State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada*. (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987) 19.

faith and ethnic origin. It was created at a time when it was assumed that each community should provide for its own. But in the modern welfare state where the legal right of all to obtain welfare services was positively upheld, the allocation of aid based on religion and ethnicity was seen as more and more outdated. Ethnic and religious ties also lessened over this period as Irish Protestants increasingly married those of other nationalities. Gradually over the years, the IPBS membership was made up less of the Irish-born and more of those of Irish descent. Eventually its identity became a sort of 'Irish-Canadian' Protestant Benevolent Society, where members of Irish descent would help those in need who were also of Irish descent.[321]

In the run up to the First World War more and more Irish left Montreal for better opportunities in the expanding frontier settlements of the west.[322] Montreal's industrial elite looked outside Québec for their cultural sustenance. In one lecture at an IPBS meeting in 1912, a Mr. Wilson-Smith believed that all Irishmen of whatever religion should agree about Home Rule. He went on to say that he did not mean Home Rule for Ireland, but Home Rule for Montreal as he objected to sending men from Montreal to the Québec legislature to be told what to do with their own money.[323]

The arrival of the Great War in 1914 was crucial to the development of Canadian national identity. Warfare is one of the great mobilizers of national consciousness, a centralizing force that cuts across the boundaries of community, and is also an abundant provider of myths and memories for future generations.[324] This was not only evident in Canada; it could also be seen in Ulster where the impact of the Great War fuelled a stronger sense of Ulster localism rather than British

[321] Collard, 94.
[322] Collard, 126-127.
[323] IPBS Minute Book 4 March, 1912.
[324] Smith, 27.

imperialism.[325] Montreal's two Irish societies even came together to support the creation of an Irish Canadian regiment, the 199th Battalion Duchess of Connaught's Own Irish Rangers. Although created in 1915, the battalion was eventually absorbed into other regiments.[326]

In the years following the Hackett killing, the Orange Order in Montreal frequently took the train on the 12th July to rural parts of Québec such as Huntington where they could enjoy the day free from the claims of an opposing culture. However, some Orangemen would complain that they could not afford the expense of seven to ten dollars for such an excursion so early in the summer.[327] The Order was finally able to march on the streets of Montreal in full regalia in 1895. But this was simply a march from the Orange Hall on James Street at 7am to the train station where they took the train to Ottawa for the day.[328] In 1897 the Order was looking forward to its biggest ever church parade in Montreal and claiming that their membership had risen by 600% over the previous ten years.[329] By 1899 the Order were able to march "with our colors flying without fear of being molested and can hold any manner of demonstrations which we think wise or convenient"[330]

Ultimately it was the imagined community of British imperialism that the Protestant Irish of Montreal felt could best unite their Canadian and Irish identities. John Reade admitted that while the British Empire may not be the ultimate expression of mankind's highest achievements, its political virtues were better than anything else in modern practice, and for that reason it needed to be defended.[331] In the 1880's and 1890's, many members of the IPBS came increasingly to support

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[325] Jackson, Alvin. "Irish Unionists and the Empire 1880-1920: Classes and Masses." *An Irish Empire?: Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire.* Ed. Keith Jeffery. (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1996) 139.
[326] Collard, 92.
[327] "Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 25 Feb. 1897.
[328] "Good News from Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 25 Jul. 1895.
[329] "Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 25 Feb. 1897.
[330] "Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 16 Feb. 1899.
[331] Reade, John. "What is Imperialism?" *The Canadian Magazine,* 19 (1902): 316-8.

Home Rule for Ireland because they believed it was the best way to maintain the Empire. Alvin Jackson has stated that "self-government propagated imperial swans out of Anglophobic, nationalist ducklings - creating imperial statesmen out of a Boer like Smuts or a Québécois like Wilfred Laurier"[332] Members of the IPBS including Thomas Workman, William Clendinneng, Andrew Gault and Matthew Gault attended a lecture by Justin McCarthy, the Irish Parliamentary Party M.P. for North Langford speaking in favour of Home Rule.[333] By 1888, even Orangeman William Clendinneng had written a letter to the Parnell Defence Fund in support of its cause stating, "my sympathies are with you, my heart's desire to see my native land on the same footing as other free lands all over the world.[334] Clendinneng was part of a delegation that received William Redmond to the city of Montreal as a member of the Parnell Division of the Irish National Party.[335] It is unknown if Clendinneng remained an Orangemen into the 1890's for by 1893 he had sat on the platform at a grand rally in support of Home Rule at Montreal's Windsor Hall,[336] while fellow IPBS member and Orangeman William Galbraith appeared on the platform of an anti-Home Rule meeting four days later.[337]

But while Galbraith and others tried to publicize the fact that not all Irishmen in Canada were in favour of Home Rule for Ireland, a clear majority were. In a speech to the Canada Club in 1904, Robert Meighen declared that support for imperial free trade was analogous to support for Home Rule.: "There was a political issue, you will remember, in which the Parliament of Canada did interfere. In that great political issue that was before the people of Great Britain, Canada stood

[332] Jackson, 124.
[333] "Home Rule" *The True Witness and Catholic chronicle*, 37:14, 10 Nov. 1886.
[334] Letter to W.D. Burns Esq, Hon. Secretary P.D.F. Committee, *The True witness and Catholic Chronicle*, 39:13, 31 Oct 1888.
[335] "A Parnell Delegate" *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle,* 41:39, 22 Apr. 1891.
[336] "For Ireland's Cause" *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle,* 42:44, 24 May 1893.
[337] "Montreal" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 1st Jun. 1893

up and passed a resolution in favor of a policy that a great majority of my countrymen were in favor of, viz., home rule for that lovely Emerald Isle, that green isle, where ever green shall be its groves, and bright its flowery sod — where first my childish spirit learned to love its country and its God."[338]

[338] Meighen, Robert. *Canada and the Empire Address Delivered by Robert Meighen at the Complimentary Banquet Given to George E. Drummond at the Canada Club, July 21, 1904.* (Canada: s.n., 1904) 10.

CONCLUSION

As Benedict Anderson has shown, up until the 19th century, religious faith was at the core of many western peoples' identity. Rising levels of literacy in the 19th century via state education along with increased consumption of print media meant that language began to supplant religion as the cultural boundary of nationwide communities. It is perhaps a great irony then that even though Anglophones were the majority linguistic community in Canada, its publishing business was kept in a semi-colonial state. Despite the fact that the Empire provided Britain with all the material wealth it needed, British publishers realized that the world's largest anglophone readership actually existed outside the Empire. If language played a greater role than the economy in creating that intense emotional attachment known as national identity, then one can understand the profound sense of betrayal John Lovell must have felt for not receiving preferential treatment over his republican neighbours in the publication of British books. William Henry Drummond was also aware of the importance of language in the creation of a communal identity. His verse writing in the broken English of the habitant was an attempt at opening a portal to a cultural world that was unknown to many Canadian Anglophones. His efforts can be viewed as a clumsy and primitive step in nation building, trying to bridge the significant cultural divide between two language groups who shared the same national territory.

In trying to unearth a narrative for Canada's identity, John Reade looked beyond 1690 and the religious divisions of the Battle of the Boyne and the siege of Derry, to 1066 and the cultural union of Norman and Anglo-Saxon. But as Benedict Anderson has pointed out, Harold and William were not dancing partners or brothers; William was the conqueror who usurped the power

of his former foe.[339] If they were united, then it was on the Normans' terms. To serve the narrative function of the nation's biography, stories have to be selectively chosen from history. Once the political danger and fear of treachery that surrounded the 1837 Rebellion had been well and truly consigned to history, Drummond picked from the past the narrative of habitant support for Louis-Joseph Papineau to use as an ode to French-Canadian resilience and loyalty. But the Orange Order still retained that sense of fear and danger. When the Order looked to Québec, especially rural Québec, they saw a backward enclave that was tied to a sense of the past, where the population was unable to advance itself. An identity tied to place is often associated with stasis and reaction, whereas time (e.g. from 1690 on) is associated with movement and progress. However, Drummond looked at that same picture of a rural Québec in stasis and instead romanticized it as an enduring idyllic remnant of the new nation's history.

The power to name was also a notable feature in the shaping of community borders. When the Orange Order demanded that Montreal newspapers label those who attack Protestants by their ethno-religious identity, (i.e. Irish Catholics), instead of their class, place-based identity, (e.g. 'Griffintown rowdies'), they were acknowledging that the identities that had once shaped and defined their worldview were being shifted to accommodate Montreal's increasingly socio-economic structure. This was also the motive behind the removal of the term 'Irish Catholic Mob' from Hackett's monument by the Protestant board members of the Mont Royal Cemetery.

For the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society the limits of its charity were very tightly defined, not only by religion and ethnicity, but also by the territorial limits of the city. One of the great ironies of the IPBS was that while they were surprised from time to time to find a large

[339] Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev ed. (London; New York: Verso, 2006) 201.

amount of families looking for assistance, they were also frustrated to find themselves short of members. It was as if the social mobility of their community was not as active as they hoped it would be.

Ultimately it was the IPBS Liberal Order Framework that was to win out over the Orange Order's imagined community. For Linda Colley anti-Catholicism was the most important glue in the development of a British national identity in the 18th century. But anti-Catholicism could serve different ends in post-Enlightenment Europe. For much of the continent, Catholicism was associated with reactionary forces and the spirit of conservatism. However in Britain and Ireland, it was often liberals who championed Catholic rights and liberties in the face of a conservative established church, much to the consternation of more 'loyal' Protestant guardians. Unitarian William Workman once said to a friend that he was "accustomed to vituperation from opposing Protestant sects (never from Roman Catholics)."[340] Unlike Protestant dissenters, the Catholic Church looked to the state for support in propagating their own social policies such as separate schooling.[341] For this reason the Catholic Church was strongly supportive of state power in Canada and was prepared to endorse its economic hegemony in return for the social and cultural management of its communities. The Protestant elite had to make social and cultural compromises with Montreal's Catholic identities as they were crucial for its material survival. An accommodation with the Roman Catholic Church was actually conducive to its economic vision. The prevailing feature of industrial Montreal was its combination of economic liberalism and social conservatism. This adherence to traditional values meant that the demands of labor unions and political reformers could be more easily challenged. Perhaps there was no better example of

[340] 'Workman, William' National Archives of Canada, et al. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*. Ottawa: National Archives of Canada and National Library of Canada, 2003.
[341] Hempton, 148-49.

this than when the Grey Nuns came to help out Anglican John Lovell during a strike at his printing works. With the help of the government, banks and manufacturers were able to overcome ethnic divisions for the sake of building the economy. In contrast, labour and political reformers ran up against religious and ethnic divisions on a more frequent basis, as issues such as seasonal unemployment, low wages and overcrowded housing were not on the agenda for many national or religious charitable organizations. [342]

For the Orange Order, the multiethnic nature of Montreal meant that loyalties were too divergent; they believed that more should be done to make loyalty centripetal to one nation, one language and one school system. The *Sentinel* complained that many Protestants were happy to see the Protestant missionaries convert "a Chinaman or Patagonian" but were indifferent to the conversion of French-Canadians.[343] While some members of the IPBS were members of the French Canadian Missionary Society, Protestants in Montreal were generally not supportive of large-scale efforts to convert Roman Catholics. The conservative social morality of certain Catholic orders such as the Sulpicians chimed with their interests as employers of labour. Much like the actions of the Orange Order, such conversion efforts would upset the social harmony of the city.[344] Where once language was the personal choice in a social world divided by religion, now religion was increasingly seen as a personal choice in a social world divided by language.

For Ian McKay, post-Confederation Canada was 'essentially a liberal empire, not a nation, and not a democratic state'[345]. This willingness to forego cultural affirmation for the sake of economic expediency can be seen in the two most active members of this thesis, Francis Hincks

[342] Dickinson & Young, 268-269.
[343] "The French-Canadian Problem" *The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate,* 30 Dec. 1897.
[344] Trigger, 24.
[345] McKay, 645.

and William Clendinneng. Francis Hincks was IPBS president in 1875; Orangeman and industrialist William Clendinneng was IPBS president in 1876. In the aftermath of Hackett killing in 1877 Hincks would make his strong feelings known on the issue in court and in the newspapers while Clendinneng kept quiet, probably out of respect for the older man's experience and standing. Although he tried to maintain a veneer of dignified tolerance, in a letter home to a friend in Belfast, Hincks shows up his exasperation with both religious communities in an undisguised outburst of patrician contempt: "I was pretty sure that you would approve of my views on Orangeism which is a curse to any country…The Catholics are a bad lot too. The organ here (*The True Witness)* is brewing the worst spirit in fact, it is hard to decide which is the worst."[346] But the fact that both he and Clendinneng remained members of the IPBS shows how much their economic and class position overrode any desire to battle each other in public. When Hackett's monument was finally completed, it was Clendinneng who paid for the railing that surrounded it.[347]

[346] Hincks, Francis to. Dr J. S. Drennan. Personal Letter, 1878 Belfast: Irish Emigration Database. 2013 (*my italics)*
[347] *Report of the R.W. Grand Lodge of Quebec (*1887): 9.

Figure 7: *Thomas Lett Hackett Monument, Mount Royal Cemetery, Montreal.*

Photo: R. Jess 26/10/2013

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