Becoming Irish: How Irish Catholic Identity Was Performed and Changed in the St. Patrick's Day Parades of Toronto and Montreal (1858 and 1866)

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ABSTRACT:

Becoming Irish: How Irish Catholic Identity Was Performed and Changed in the St. Patrick's Day Parades of Toronto and Montreal (1858 and 1866)

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This thesis argues that by comparing the Toronto and Montreal St. Patrick's Day parade of 1858 and 1866, it is possible to see how the traditions were invented and changed in order to create distinct Irish Catholic identities. The comparison allows us to clearly see how the Toronto parade became more and more Irish nationalistic and secular, opposing themselves to a Protestant Toronto, while Montreal's Irish Catholic community used the tradition of parades to insert themselves more and more clearly in the city's narrative by highlighting their Catholic and loyalist affiliations. Through a performance studies and ritual studies lens, the actions and symbols of the St. Patrick's Day parade will be analysed to demonstrate that Toronto's parades became increasingly nationalistic in tone between 1858 and 1866 to culminate in an open debate on the existence of the parade by the influential members of the Irish Catholic community whereas Montreal's parade used the performances of the day to insert themselves, passively in 1858 and actively in 1866, into Montreal's and Canada's society. Looking at the discourses of the leaders in both cities as well as the newspaper coverage demonstrates the fluidity of an immigrant Irish Catholic identity which adapted to its social, geographical and historical contexts which was as dependent on dynamics within the community as it was with outside forces. This thesis contributes to the study of the experience of Irish immigration to Canada by providing an interdisciplinary work grounded in cultural history and strengthened by performance studies.

Keywords: identity; Irish; Canada; Orange Order; Saint Patrick's Day; parades; immigration.

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INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Eric Hobsbawm famously argued that traditions were an invented "set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual and symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition which automatically implies continuity with the past."[1] In order to exist as its own, different and legitimate entity nations needed these rituals and symbols to create the proper history surrounding their existence. A nation could not be defined if it had no reference points of commonality among those identifying with it. Traditions created by rituals and specific events established this common ground shared by members of the same nation and ensured the continuity of these demonstrations of allegiance. These traditions change over time to adapt to the identity now projected by a nation, whether it be a conscious or unconscious shift in mentality, to ensure the relevance of this projected character through changing times. Moreover, as much as an identity represents what a group or an individual is, it is also a statement on what they do not associate with. An identity may be a reaction to another group's identity which they oppose or a historical event which changed their relationship to a prior aspect of their self-definition.[2] It is a fluid and constantly modified concept which adapts and reacts to its ever-changing environment. This web of relations has no definitive beginning and no end since every change comes from a previous

[1] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

[2] For example, the French Revolution of 1789 and its ensuing events defined the French nation as no longer monarchical though kings were previously essential to what was going to become a French identity. The many wars and land conflicts between England and France over centuries also created this opposition between the French and the English and, stereotypically, their identities are as much about rejecting another as they are of celebrating themselves.

state and rituals are as much a part of the past as they are grounds to negotiate the future of a nation.[3]

The St. Patrick's Day parade is an example of a tradition engrained in Irish identity while also establishing those who celebrate it as part of a specifically Irish group. This thesis will argue that by comparing the Toronto and Montreal St. Patrick's Day parade of 1858 and 1866, it is possible to see how the traditions were invented and changed in order to create distinct Irish Catholic identities. The comparison allows us to clearly see how the Toronto parade became more and more Irish nationalistic and secular, opposing themselves to a Protestant Toronto, while Montreal's Irish Catholic community used the tradition of parades to insert themselves more and more clearly in the city's narrative by highlighting their Catholic and loyalist affiliations. The emphasis of both parades is seen when both parades are compared and the importance of the St. Patrick's Day parade as a tradition which also invents new traditions and identity also becomes evident through comparison. In more modern times, St. Patrick's Day and the events of the day are still about the Irish but extend beyond only those who consider themselves Irish. As all rituals, the St. Patrick's Day parade needed to exclude in order to uphold a specific identity and these questions concerning the inclusion and exclusion of some can help understand the dynamics behind Irish identity. Hobsbawm argues that the changes in identity and nation definition are perceived in the invention or modification of traditions. Performances and rituals are crucial contributors to the negotiation and affirmation of these identities and identity formation can be studied through these processes. The parade is a tradition and is still upheld

[3] This thesis will mostly use the word change when speaking of an identity since the word evolution implies an identity or state getting better which this thesis does not argue for. When evolution is used to avoid repetition, it will not signify a positive change but just a difference in the process of identity.

today in places like Montreal, like an important and historical event which gives it an air of importance.[4]

In order to contribute to studies of identity, ritual and performance, this thesis will analyse the role of the St. Patrick's Day parade as a ritual through which Irish Catholic identity in Toronto and Montreal was represented and negotiated in 1858 and 1866. The changes within representations of Irish identity in the St. Patrick's Day parades in both cities exemplify this continuous negotiation of identity while also participating in the establishment of a specific form of Irishness. In Toronto, Irish Catholics had to contend with a tenser political and social environment due to the presence of the actively Protestant and British Orange Order, which emphasised their Catholic nationalistic attachment to Ireland in contrast. In Montreal, the Irish Catholics' presence was less confrontational since they emphasised the similarities they shared with the majority of the French-Canadian population: a Catholic identity. Both immigrant groups shared similarities, especially their Catholicism, but their differing contexts influenced how Irish Catholics interacted with their cities, and how the space in which they lived defined their relationship to their own Irishness. Before explaining the theoretical and historiographical literatures that assist in this study as well as its place within these literatures, a brief overview of the historical context of the 1850s and 1860s in Ireland and Canada is necessary to understand properly what setting these identities and rituals were performed.

The Irish Famine of 1845-1850 created a striking break in Irish history and is used to demarcate an end-point of the old Gaelic traditions and a starting point in Irish history which would be concerned mostly with the Land Question for the next fifty years.[5] Much of 'old

[4] In 2018, Montreal celebrated its 195th St. Patrick's Day parade and the organisers, the United Irish Society, still boasts about the fact that it is the longest continuously run parade in North America. (Though New York's is older, there was not a parade every year.)
[5] Edmond Curtis, *A History of Ireland: From the Earliest Times to 1922* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 318-319.

Ireland' including its Gaelic language and traditions disappeared with those who left or died as a result of the Famine, introducing a new age of politics and patriotism grounded in the English language.[6] The late 1850s was a period still marked by the emotional and physical trauma of the Great Famine though most people were no longer victims of the blight. Post-Famine Ireland was now a place with two developing and opposing political cultures: Loyalism and Fenianism.[7] Though these movements were only nascent at this point in time, they indicate a change and clarification of Irish attitudes towards Ireland's future.[8] Out of the constant outrage coming from the Land Question was born the Irish Republican Brotherhood in 1858 followed by Fenianism in the same year. The Fenians were predominantly Irish immigrants in the United States who had fought in the American Civil War and pledged to return to Ireland to fight for its independence.[9] In summary, the Fenians "despised both constitutional agitation and 'concessions from England' and set the old claim of National independence above all minor questions."[10] The Fenian movement intended to invade Canada from the U.S. in order to exchange it for Ireland's independence; raids did take place on May 31st and June 1st 1866.[11] These raids ultimately failed and are now footnotes in Canadian history due to their lack of impact though many Irish in Canada also were associated with the movement at the time.[12]

Though Fenianism was one of the events defining the 1850s and 1860s, discussions circled more around Canadian issues and its evolving relationship with Great Britain. Indeed, Canada was going through the process of becoming a Dominion. Prior to these years, Irish

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[6] Curtis, *A History of Ireland*, 319.
[7] R.F. Foster, ed., *The Oxford History of Ireland* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1992), 170.
[8] Curtis, *A History of Ireland*, 320.
[9] Curtis, *A History of Ireland*, 320.
[10] Curtis, *A History of Ireland*, 320.
[11] William Jenkins, *Between Raid and Rebellion: The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1867-1916*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 5.
[12] Refer to chapter 3 for the Irish Catholic position on Fenianism.

immigration was already dominant, making up two thirds of the 10,000 – 15,000 British arrivals in the 1830s, establishing the future Canada as culturally British and Irish.[13] Confederation occurred in 1867, but the process which brought John A. Macdonald and his party to unite the provinces started earlier and changes were already being felt in the decades prior to 1860. Indeed, in the 1840s the change from mercantilism to free trade "had profound consequences for the British North American colonies whose administration, defence, trade, and economic prosperity had heretofore depended heavily upon Britain."[14] Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick all obtained self-government by 1854 which demonstrates that independence was part of the political discussions in 1858, the year of the first parade studied.[15] Confederation became a long-term possibility in the two Canadas and in 1864, after many trials and failures, Georges Étienne Cartier, George Brown and John A. Macdonald, leaders of their parties, formed a coalition resolving the constitutional question which included Nova Scotia and New Brunswick after the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences.[16] Though not an official party leader, Irishman Thomas D'Arcy McGee played a crucial role as a 'founding father' of Confederation and in the creation of a Canadian identity while also being involved in many discussions surrounding the place of Irish Catholics and political extremism in this new political state.[17] The British North America Act was signed by Queen Victoria on March 29, 1867 and

[13] H.V. Nettles, *A Little History of Canada*, (Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 2004), 97.
[14] Nettles, *A Little History of Canada*, 116.
[15] Nettles, *A Little History of Canada*, 116.
[16] Peter Waite, "Between Three Oceans: Challenges of a Continental Destiny (1840-1900)" in *The Illustrated History of Canada*, ed. Craig Brown (Toronto: Key Porter Books Limited, 2007), 318.
[17] For an in-depth portrait of McGee refer to David Wilson's extensive biography *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011). In relation to Irish Catholic identity and the St. Patrick's Day parades, the following chapters will explore McGee's relation to these.

proclaimed as of noon on July 1st.[18] The 1850s and 1860s marked a time in Canadian history when questions of loyalty and identity were at the forefront of the future of the colony.

This Canadian context was felt differently in Montreal and Toronto due to their very different populations which possessed various cultural and religious identities. Toronto, a predominantly Protestant city, saw major changes in its composition after the Irish Famine when thousands of Irish Catholics emigrated, constituting twenty-five per cent of Toronto by 1861.[19] As the only other major incomers in those years, "Irish Catholics therefore became the victims of intense discrimination and the targets of a vitriolic No Popery crusade which made diatribes from the contemporary press."[20] Seeing as Catholics in Toronto were almost uniquely Irish the two words became synonyms while Irish Protestants identified increasingly more and more as British due to their political ties.[21] Before the Famine influx, Toronto was referred to as the 'Belfast of Canada' and, though it remained heavily Protestant afterwards, the dynamics of the city's residents slowly changed to include a new group and introducing "new dimensions of religious and ethnic conflict into colonial societies already well endowed with mutual animosities."[22]

In the case of Montreal, throughout its industrial growth starting in the 1850s, it remained a dominantly French-speaking population though its influential Anglo-Scots bourgeoisie gave it a distinctly British tone in its "institutions, architecture and the predominant role played by the English language."[23] This British presence among the elite did not replace French culture since

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[18] Waite, "Between Three Oceans," 322.
[19] Mike Cronin and Daryl Adair, *The Wearing of the Green: a History of St. Patrick's Day*, (London: Routledge, 2006), 38.
[20] Michael Cottrell, "Green and Orange in mid-nineteenth century Toronto: The Guy Fawkes Day Episode of 1864," *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 19 no. 1 (July 1993): 14.
[21] William J. Smyth*, Toronto, the Belfast of Canada: the Orange Order and the shaping of municipal culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015)*,* 44.
[22] Nettles, *A Little History of Canada*, 123.
[23] Paul André Linteau, *The History of Montreal: The Story of a Great North American City*, (Montreal: Baraka Books, 2013), 97.

both groups tended to interact minimally. Indeed, in French Canadian life, the Catholic Church remained a predominant force.[24] And so, the context of the St. Patrick's Day parades in 1850s and 1860s was one of a city separated by language and religion and "between them was the Irish community, with one foot in the English-speaking world and the other in the world of Catholicism dominated by French-Canadians."[25]

As much as Fenianism defined the 1866 attitudes surrounding Toronto's parade, another organisation was extremely influential and important in the British North American colonies: the Orange Order. It was founded in Northern Ireland in 1795 and gained support in English-speaking Canada in the early 1800s where it stood for "community, defence, Protestant solidarity, and colonial loyalty to the British Crown."[26] Their concerns included American expansionism, the prominent French community and the increase of Irish Catholic immigrants from their homeland.[27] The growth of Orangeism was significant in the 1850s rising from 40,000 Orangemen in Ontario to 100,000 by the end of the decade, making this association an important social and political network for emerging Protestants.[28] The organisation was controversial in Canada for some time and its annual processions on July 12th were pronounced illegal in the colonies until 1851.[29] Thomas D'Arcy McGee, the reformed Irish rebel, was as much against Orangeism as he was Fenianism, denouncing its radicalism throughout his Canadian political career.[30] By 1855, the organisation had gained public acceptance through its inclusion of second generation Irish as well as non-Irish members which transformed the Order from an immigrant

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[24] Linteau, *The History of Montreal*, 99.
[25] Linteau, *The History of Montreal*, 100.
[26] C.J. Houston and W.J. Smyth, "Orangemen in Canada" in *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*, eds R. O'Driscoll and L. Reynolds, (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), 750.
[27] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 19.
[28] Hereward Senior, *Orangeism: The Canadian Phase,* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), 47.
[29] Senior, *Orangeism*, 59.
[30] Senior, *Orangeism,* 59.

society to a well-established Canadian networking system of which its members sat on provincial and federal legislatures.[31] Indeed, "by the sheer weight of its numbers, its vociferous rhetoric, and the territorial extent of its constituency, Orangeism was beginning to blend with much of Canadian society."[32]

Beyond politics, the Orange Order celebrated a British Protestant identity, especially on the Twelfth of July during their annual parades in honor of 'King Billy' and his victory at the Boyne. These parades were moments of contention with the Irish Catholics of the city since the Order stood for anti-Catholicism and very ardent Protestantism.[33] These parades consisted of men walking in unity through the streets of Toronto singing triumphant songs such as "Boyne Water" which celebrated the defeat of the Catholics in 1690.[34] These provocative songs triumphing Protestantism over Catholicism were sung whilst "orange sashes and associated regalia were worn proudly as markers of loyalty to empire and Protestant faith."[35] This military stance accompanied by bands and paraders dressed to impress and uphold imperial imagery and Protestant beliefs, made the processions of July Twelfth festive and political assertions of an Orange Protestant identity especially strong in Toronto.[36]

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[31] Jenkins, *Between Raid and Rebellion*, 138.
[32] C.J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 37.
[33] Bryan P. Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 208.
[34] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 244.
[35] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 19.
[36] This regalia included various medals representing the rank of the member as well as the Loyal Orange Lodges (LOL) to which they belonged.[36] These gave a military aspect to the parades and the worn elements associated to specific positions or honors also heightened the rituals and traditions demonstrated on the twelfth of July. Most importantly, lodges represented themselves in parades by carrying a banner with the number of their lodge on it while having as a focal point monarchical portraits, most commonly, King William the third on a white horse, sword in hand. Though the banners date from later than the 1850s or 1860s, the imagery remained similar which gave a sense on continuation and tradition to the LOL. Loyal Orange Lodge #1 (private archive), Rocksprings, Ontario, "Banners".

LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

Eric Hobsbawm also observed that "the study of the invention of tradition is interdisciplinary."[37] The St. Patrick's Day parade is a tradition and, in line with Hobsbawm, to analyse adequately its importance and its place in the formation of identity many disciplines must be used to provide a complete view. In this thesis, the three main disciplines which will support the analysis of March 17th comprise Irish diaspora studies, immigration history and performance studies.

As a thesis focusing on Irish Catholics in Canada, its relevance to the field of Irish diaspora studies is engrained in its very subject. In order to provide a broad view of the Irish Catholic immigrant experience, it is important to situate their struggles and discussions of identity within the discipline of immigrant history which provides a methodology, themes and relevant observations on other immigrant groups which will be applied to this study. Finally, performance studies as a theoretical framework for analysis provides this thesis with an innovative method to interrogate the parade as a performance rather than only as a historical event of which various outcomes occurred. When all of these disciplines combine, they highlight the various dynamics at play while also providing the proper vocabulary to express these relations and the change occurring during the parade. By intertwining all of these methodologies and theories, this thesis contributes to these disciplines by creating an exchange which proves the strength of an interdisciplinary approach.

[37] Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 14.

i. Historiography of Irish Diaspora Studies

When speaking of the Irish in Canada, it is impossible not to mention Donald Akenson's *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer* (1993) and Kerby Miller's *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (1985), the two major references on the subject of Irish immigration to North America.[38] Though these works are now over twenty years old, they remain the primary references when studying Irish immigration since no other works of this proportion have been published since. Both books mention the Irish immigrant population to Canada and its main points of settlement, but neither explore in-depth the Irish urban experience in two of Canada's main cities in the nineteenth century, Montreal and Toronto which indicated the lack of study on the Irish in Canada compared to the United States.[39] There is still a gap, which needs to be filled, in the study of the Irish in urban Canada, especially in Montreal, where few histories of the Irish Catholic (or Protestant) population in the nineteenth century are available.[40]

Indeed, the nineteenth century Irish Catholic community of Montreal remains an under-researched subject. There is no major academic work which comprehensively looks at the Irish Catholic population in Montreal from a historical point of view.[41] Patricia Thornton and Sherry Olson, who co-wrote *Peopling the North American City: Montreal, 1840-1900* (2011) explore

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[38] Donald Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer*, (Streetsville, Ont.:P.D. Meany, 1993). Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[39] Donald Akenson has done some work on the Irish in Canada but he focuses his research on rural Ontario where he posits most immigrants settled. This thesis does not contradict his statement but I aim to research the urban experience where communities lived in closer proximity. See: Donald Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univeristy Press, 1999).

[40] See Matthew Barlow, *Griffintown: Identity and Memory in an Irish Diaspora Neighbourhood*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017).

[41] It is important to note that the same is true of the Irish Protestant population which is even harder to define since they mostly became part of the English Protestant world. See: Ronald Rudin, *The Forgotten Quebecers, A History of English-Speaking Quebec, 1759-1980*, (Quebec: Institut Quebecois de la Recherche sur la culture, 1986).

with great sophistication social mobility to work against, what they believe, is the myth that the majority of Irish Catholics were a low working class population for over a century. Their respective disciplines being sociology and geography, they provide a detailed social history grounded in material living conditions and an extensive study of census data and church records.[42] Their study speaks to material living conditions whereas this thesis is a cultural history looking at the Irish Catholic community's self-perception and explicitly looks at how this identity changed over time through the cultural event of parades. One of their important contribution is deconstructing Irish representation as it is seen by historians or popular culture now and this thesis will look at how the community itself interacted with their identity and outsider perspectives.[43] Though some heavier works were written on the Irish Catholic population in Montreal, they do not focus on the changing Irish identity or on the parade's position within this modification, making them not as relevant as articles written about the period covered in this thesis.[44] Matthew Barlow's recent monograph *Griffintown: Identity and Memory in an Irish Diaspora Neighbourhood* (2017) is an extensive work on the role of the

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[42] Sherry Olson and Patricia Thornton, *Peopling the North American City: Montreal, 1840-1900*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011).

[43] Other works by these two scholars sketch a fractured picture of the environment of the nineteenth century in which Irish Catholics lived and developed the celebrations of St. Patrick's Day. See also: Sherry Olson and Patricia Thornton, "The Challenge of the Irish-Catholic Community in Nineteenth-Century Montreal," 35, no 70 (2002): 331-362. and "Mortality in Late Nineteenth-Century Montreal: Geographic Pathways of Contagion," *Population Studies*, 65, no 2 (2011):157-181. Sherry Olson, "Ethnic Partition of Labour in 1840s Montreal," *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 53 (2004): 159-202. Sherry Olson, "Silver and Hotcakes and Beer: Irish Montreal in the 1840s," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 45, no 1-2 (2011): 179-201.

[44] Dorothy S. Cross' 1969 MA thesis in history also assumes that being Irish is related to one's genealogy without studying how one interprets this Irishness. Though written over fifty years ago, many of her findings are informative on possible sources and provide basic facts on the Irish Catholic population which this thesis will use as starting points for research. She looks at the St. Patrick's Day parade in relation to the Saint Patrick's Society but does not consider how the parade defined Irish identity and the tensions behind its organisation. John Matthew Barlow's soon to be published PhD *"The House of the Irish": Irishness, History, and Memory in Griffintown, Montreal, 1868-2009* does look at Irish Catholic identity formation, centering it around the study of the Griffintown and Pointe St Charles areas.

[44] Dorothy S. Cross, "The Irish in Montreal, 1867-1896," MA Thesis, McGill University, 1969 and Barlow, John Matthew. ""The House of the Irish": Irishness, History and Memory in Griffintown, Montreal, 1868-2009." PhD diss., University of McGill, 2009.

neighbourhood of Griffintown in relation to the evolution of Irish identity but its focus is not on the parade and the years studied do not include the 1850s and 1860s.[45] Future studies would benefit from a merging of performance studies and interdisciplinary work presented in this thesis with Barlow's more historical and cultural approach. The two academics most relevant to this thesis concerning the Irish in Montreal are Rosalyn Trigger and Kevin James due to their subject of study as well as their timeframe. Trigger looks at the struggles which the Irish Catholic authorities, both the clergy and the lay societies, faced in order to gain some control in an already established French Catholic hierarchy from a historian's perspective.[46] She also compares the organisation of the Toronto and Montreal parades to underline the various struggles within the Irish Catholic community without looking at the parade's performance itself as much as the religious and political tensions surrounding it. She includes some discussion of the problems of assuming a unified Irish Catholic identity, since she highlights the many powers fighting to own this identity, without pushing further her analysis to the parade's performance and its relation to identity.[47] Thereby pushing further Trigger's work, this thesis will include an in-depth analysis of the parade through a performance studies lens while looking at its place within the building of an identity thereby pushing further Trigger's thesis through an interdisciplinary approach.[48] Trigger's research looks at the relation of the Catholic authorities to French Catholic authorities in Montreal and to the leaders of the community while this thesis will fill the gap between the authorities and the participators of the parade. Kevin James' article on the history and evolution

[45]Barlow goes further than previous authors by highlighting the problematics of considering Irish Catholics as a monolithic, predetermined group by demonstrating how this group changed within a specific geographic location demonstrating the fluidity of an Irish identity. Matthew Barlow, *Griffintown: Identity and Memory in an Irish Diaspora Neighbourhood*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017).
[46] Rosalyn Trigger, "The Geopolitics of the Irish-Catholic Parish in Nineteenth Century Montreal," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27, no 4 (2001):553-572.
[47] Rosalyn Trigger, "Irish Politics on Parade: the Clergy, National Societies, and St Patrick's Day Processions in Nineteenth-century Montreal and Toronto." *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 37, no 74 (2004): 159-199.
[48] Dorothy S. Cross, "The Irish in Montreal, 1867-1896," MA Thesis, McGill University, 1969.

of the St. Patrick's Society is crucial in understanding the dynamics and tensions within the Irish Catholic community, especially in relation to the Irish Protestant population as well as the Catholic clergy.[49] In the years studied throughout this research, the St. Patrick's Society was the organiser of the parade and understanding how it evolved in its self-definition and within the community illuminates key performances and representations exemplified in the parade. I will add to this research by considering the context of Montreal as a whole through French and English newspapers and include these exterior elements in the relationship of community-building and cultural development to provide a broader view of what the Irish Catholic community was reacting to through the study of the parade.[50] Beyond these authors, there are many articles written on the Irish Catholics in Montreal which will be useful for this thesis including some which consider Irish involvement in politics, class issues and the importance of Catholic Church politics to the Irish community.[51] These articles provide various angles from which one can explore the Irish Catholic population in Montreal. This thesis aims to bring these various perspectives and subjects together in a comparative interdisciplinary work.

In the case of the Toronto Irish, the historiography is more recent and includes monographs which provide deeper coverage of the Irish in Toronto. Works such as Bryan P. Clarke's *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895* (1993) filled gaps concerning the creation of an Irish

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[49] Kevin James, "Dynamics of Ethnic Associational Culture in a Nineteenth Century City: Saint Patrick's Society of Montreal, 1834-1856," *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 26, no 1 (2000):47-66.

[50] By understanding what was happening around the community and the reactions of the majority to the minority of Irish Catholics their own behavior can be better understood.

[51] See: James Jackson, "The Radicalization of the Montreal Irish: The Role of the *Vindicator*," *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 31, 1 (2005), 90-97. Jackson looks at the editors of the newspaper: Jocelyn Waller, Daniel Tracey, Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan who also got involved in politics in support of Papineau's *Parti Patriotes*. Pierre De Lottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889," *Labour/Le Travail* 8/9 (1982): 10. De Lottinville counters Jackson's account of Irish involvement by highlighting the disjunction these men had with the working class Irish Catholics. In this article, DeLottinville successfully argues that the Canteen was more than a drinking place but also a place to find food when one was unemployed and make connections.

Catholic identity in Toronto which he argues was increasingly based on ethno-religious rather than ethno-political grounds.[52] Clarke, supported by other scholars such as Mark McGowan, argues that the Irish Catholic community in Toronto became more integrated and attached to a Canadian identity by the end of the nineteenth century.[53] On the other hand, William J. Smyth in his work on the Orange Order's municipal influence *Toronto, the Belfast of Canada: The Orange Order and the Shaping of Municipal Culture* (2015) argues that true integration of the Irish Catholics did not happen until the 1950s because of the influence of the Orange Order in the years 1850 to 1950.[54] Smyth's work demonstrates how the lives of Irish Catholics were influenced and defined by the Order's policies while also presenting the broader context of Orange Toronto for my thesis.[55]

William Jenkins' comparative work *Between Raid and Rebellion: The Irish in Toronto and Buffalo, 1867-1916* (2013) interacts well with Smyth's work by including observations on class and gender in the Order and the general Irish Protestant population's relation to the Order, most of his arguments are later than the period studied in this thesis.[56] His work focuses mostly

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[52] Bryan P. Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

[53] Mark McGowan also provides information on the Irish Catholic population and their evolution in Toronto but unfortunately, his work does not look at the years concerned in this thesis. He will still be studied in order to understand the broader context of Irish Catholics in nineteenth century Toronto. See: Mark McGowan, *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish and Identity in Toronto, 1887-1922,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

[54] Cecil Houston is also unavoidable when looking at the Orange Order though his works have now been updated and completed by scholars such as Smyth and Jenkins. See: Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980) and C. Houston and W. Smyth, *The Orange Order in Nineteenth Century Ontario: a Study in Institutional Cultural Transfer*, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1977).

[55] Smyth's work does not solely focus on the Irish Catholic condition but also looks at the broader history and power of the Order.

[56] Jenkins also published many articles which consider the class issue in Toronto such as William Jenkins, "Between the Lodge and the Meeting-House: Mapping Irish Protestant Identities and Social Worlds in Late Victorian Toronto," *Social and Cultural Theory*, 4 no 1, (2003): 75-98. Jenkins, "Deconstructing Diasporas Networks and Identities Among the Irish in Buffalo and Toronto, 1870-1910," *Immigrants & Minorities* 23, no 2-3 (2006): 359-398. Jenkins, "Identity, Place, and the Political Mobilization of Urban Minorities: Comparative Perspectives on Irish Catholics in Buffalo and Toronto, 1880-1910," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 25, (2007): 160-186.

on the Irish Protestants while including the spaces and movements where Irish Catholics and Protestants interacted in order to study the social mobility of each group. When it comes to the study of the impact of Fenianism in the Canadian context, Hereward Senior and David Wilson are the two main references.[57] Hereward Senior's *The Last Invasion of Canada: Fenian Raids, 1866-1870* (1991) provides a concise and clear understanding of the Fenians and a thorough but detached analysis on their role in Canadian politics and events.[58] David Wilson takes a new look at Fenianism by looking at its Canadian components including factions in Toronto and Montreal.[59] His impressive biography of Thomas D'Arcy McGee is also important for this thesis since McGee was an important figure in the Irish Catholic community and his opinions about the Montreal and Toronto parades illustrate the various opinions on its existence.[60] Whether as an instigator of radicalism or as a movement against which the Irish Catholic population had to work, Fenianism is an essential part of the historical context of Toronto. The secondary material on Toronto provides a foundation of historical analyses on the subject of Irish identity, Protestant and Catholic, which my work will push further by including a performance studies analysis of how 'being Irish' was portrayed on St. Patrick's Day either consciously or unconsciously. Moreover, these works use the parade as a historical indicator of the inclusion or exclusion of the Irish Catholic population without analyzing in depth what the parade itself meant to the Irish

[57] Works such as Patrick Steward's recent *The Fenians: Irish Rebellion in North Atlantic World, 1858-1876*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2013), Wilfried Neidhardt's *Fenianism in North America,* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975) and other histories from the 1970s map out a general history of the Fenians in relation to mostly American and Irish politics without underlining the impact of the movement on the Toronto Irish Catholic population.

[58] Hereward Senior, *The Last Invasion of Canada: the Fenian Raids, 1866-1870*, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991). See also: Senior, *The Fenians and Canada*, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978).

[59] See David Wilson's introduction for Library and Archives Canada "The Fenians in Canada"; *Irish Nationalism in Canada,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009); "A Rooted Horror: Thomas D'Arcy McGee and Secret Societies 1845-68," *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, vol. 31 no. 1 (Spring 2005), 45-51.; "Swapping Canada for Ireland: The Fenian Invasion of 1866," *History Ireland* 16, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 2008), 24-27.

[60] David A. Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*.

Catholics and whether this day was representative of the majority's idea of what it meant to be Irish Catholic.

Studies of the parades and celebrations on St. Patrick's Day in both Toronto and Montreal, such as Rosalyn Trigger's previously mentioned article, compare the dynamics at play in organising the parades while also demonstrating the tensions within the Irish Catholic communities.[61] Michael Cottrell's study of the importance of Fenianism in the development of the parade in Toronto indicates how parades were used as sites for radical confrontational Irish nationalist politics.[62] Mike Cronin and Daryl Adair's massive and unique work on the history of the St. Patrick's Day parade *The Wearing of the Green: History of St. Patrick's Day* (2006) is the only extensive study of the St. Patrick's day parade though, like most research on the Irish in North America, they dedicate more time on the United States, especially New York City compared to Canada's parades.[63] Their conclusion, that the parades were products of their political and social environment, is taken further by Aoife Monks' assertion that parades are a representation of the continually shifting nature of Irishness.[64] Cronin and Adair speak of the parades as reacting to the historical context whereas Monks argues from a performance studies perspective that the parade itself is also a space of change where what it means to be Irish is negotiated between the crowds and the performers. These two studies of the parades combined is what I aim to produce in my interdisciplinary thesis, a historically based research of the celebrations with a performative analysis of how the celebrations were defined while also defining what it meant to be Irish in the 1850s and 1860s. Moreover, unlike Monks, Cronin and

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[61] Trigger, Rosalyn. "Irish Politics on Parade," 159-199.
[62] Michael Cottrell, "Green and Orange in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Toronto, 57-73.
[63] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*.
[64] Aoife Monks, "'Kiss Me, I'm Irish': Performing The Diaspora and The St Patrick's Day Parade,'" *New England Theatre Journal* 16 (2005), 117-129.

Adair, my thesis will look at the intentions of the organisers of the parade to strengthen the argument that parades were battlegrounds for specific Irish identities. The comparison of two cities will help highlight what was included or left out of the celebration while the decisions on the performance of the parade will be clarified by looking at the context each community was responding to.

ii. Historiography of Immigration History

Since this research is concerned with the nineteenth century, a historical component is essential to establish the context in which the subject of my study took place. Moreover, as a historian, I must be aware of the shortcomings of historical research especially regarding the biases and lacks of sources. Diana Taylor in *The Archive and the Repertoire* (2003) emphases the problematics of possessing an overwhelmingly text-based research which is considered the most legitimate type of source even in our modern age of multimedia.[65] Taylor highlights how ironic it is that written sources on events (the archive), such as parades, are regarded more highly than the parade themselves (the repertoire) since "more precise information could be stored through writing and it required specialized skills, but it depended on embodied culture for transmission".[66] Historians are becoming more aware of these gaps and sometimes include them in their research as evidence to ensure that their conclusions are nuanced and leave some space for further interpretations. Historical geographer William Jenkins, writing on the Irish in Toronto, mentions these issues of sources in *Between Raids and Rebellion* at various times. By acknowledging these gaps, Jenkins pushes his analysis further to include what may have been lost with time or may have never existed coming to different conclusions depending on the loss

[65] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
[66] Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 17.

or non-existence of sources making his analysis harder to refute. Jenkins' observations are in line with developments in the discipline where historians try to diversify their sources while also focusing on the actors of history previously marginalised. Jenkins is also an example of how I will use history in order to organise and analyse my sources during my research at the archives. History warns against taking the sources as facts and guides us in looking at sources within a specific context which will have influenced the writers. A historical methodology will structure my research and my understanding of the archives as an essential tool. Taking from Taylor's idea of the dynamics between the archive and the repertoire and the growing awareness from historians of the flaws of the archive and the discipline's need to expand beyond the 'great man' discourse, this thesis will use the historical knowledge at hand and analyse primary sources with these developments in mind.

This thesis will rely on and build on more recent works from immigration historians who question how immigrant communities grew and assimilated in their host society while retaining aspects of their previous ethnicity. In the article, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A." scholars observe how most immigrant historians now argue for a process of integration into broader society while retaining some aspects of their ethnicity whereas previous focus was on finding the moment when full assimilation happened.[67]

These new studies are based in the study of the performance of culture while also relying on a deep knowledge of archival sources which this thesis will attempt to produce as well. These works also are interested in the change over time of an identity and the dynamics which bring about these changes within a group as well as those who are unable to participate in this group

[67] Kathleen Conzen and Neils, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawski, George E. Pozzetta, and Rudophl J. Vecoli. "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, 1 (1992): 3-40.

mentality though they may be included in it. Particular immigrant histories such as April R. Schultz's *Ethnicity on Parade* (1994) focus on festivals in order to understand the organisational process behind these festivals and what was decided as being Norwegian at the time of this particular festival.[68] Schultz's methodology looking at the organisers of the parade and their objectives concerning a statement on identity will be used in this thesis when looking at the organisers and understanding the implications of these relationships and struggles. Schultz's definition as something constructed and influenced through public festivals is reinforced by Barbara Lorenzkowski's *Sound of Ethnicity: Listening to German North America, 1850-1914* (2010) where she goes beyond written sources to music and sound as an area of analysis on the construction of an ethnic identity.[69] The importance of music to ethnic development which Lorenzkowski demonstrates will be applied to the study of the St. Patrick's Day parade and the use of music and bands during the celebrations. As Lorenzkowski compares the German immigrant groups of Buffalo, New York to Kitchener, Ontario, Jordon Stanger-Ross compares the variations in Italian ethnicity in relation to their neighborhoods and living space. Indeed, in *Staying Italian: Urban Change and Ethnic Life in Postwar Toronto and Philadelphia* (2009) Stanger-Ross explores how immigrant identities change relevant to their spatial context supporting the thesis of this research that identity is not an inward phenomenon but is very much of its time and place.[70] Both authors demonstrate the use of comparison as a methodology through which similarities and differences can clearly be brought to the surface concerning the expression and definition of ethnic identities. In his work *Special Sorrows* (1995), Matthew Frye

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[68] April R. Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade: Inventing the Norwegian American through Celebration*, (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press: 1994).
[69] Barbara Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity: Listening to German North America, 1850-1914,* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010).
[70] Jordon Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian: urban change and ethnic life in postwar Toronto and Philadelphia,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Jacobson compares Irish, Polish and Jewish immigration to demonstrate how national consciousness was brought to America through the narratives of suffering and injustices suffered in their home country.[71] Jacobson explores how issues of nationalism at home may have influenced the development of group identity and their political beliefs in their new country. The importance of politics brought from the homeland are also considered in this thesis where issues in Ireland affected the identity of the immigrant groups, especially in Toronto.

These scholars examine how immigrant ethnic boundaries were maintained, though they do not deny that these groups changed over time and that people's vision of their own ethnicity also evolved. Orm Overland expresses nicely the possibility of maintaining ethnic identities while also becoming integrated members of American society by highlighting how "paradoxically, to celebrate being Irish on St. Patrick's Day, being Italian on Columbus Day, or Norwegian on the Seventeenth of May is to celebrate being American".[72] My work will also aim to include these nuances within an ethnic group while leaving some space for differences and movement within the communities. My thesis will follow into the footsteps of these studies by continuing the conversation on ethnic communities and their identity formation without denying that assimilation also occurred.

iii. Historiography of Performance and Ritual Studies

Richard Schechner in the introduction to the edited work *Performance Theory* (2003) elaborates on the interdisciplinary aspects of performance studies by explaining that "Performance is an inclusive term. Theater is only one node on a continuum that reaches from

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[71] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: the Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish and Jewish Immigrants in the United States*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).
[72] Orm Overland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*: *Making the United States Home, 1870-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 4.

the ritualizations of animals (including humans) through performances in everyday life […] through to play, sports, theater, dance, ceremonies, rites, and performances of great magnitude."[73] He affirms that to properly study the variety of subjects and event, it is crucial to include more than one perspective from which to understand the relations and dynamics taking place. With this in mind, performance studies and ritual studies will push this analysis beyond a chronological breakdown of the days' events by providing a framework encouraging interdisciplinarity from which to analyse how Irish identity was constructed by the celebrations and the space in which parades, concerts and speeches took place. My use of performance studies will be based mostly on Richard Schechner's theories of performance and ritual as well as Victor Turner's contributions to ritual studies. Schechner's overall theory is based on the idea of constructed identity which "insists that all social realities are constructed".[74] Schechner speaks of everyday life interactions as a performance where he compares an artist's performance, which took training and rehearsals, to everyday life which "also involves years of training, of learning appropriate bits of behavior, of finding out how to adjust and perform one's life in relation to social and personal circumstances".[75] This theoretical basis permits us to investigate the role of St. Patrick's Day in establishing behaviors as "naturally" Irish while also confronting other previously accepted behaviors, rather than only as a celebration of a pre-existing, unmovable ethnicity.

Within Schechner's ideas on performance and performance studies, he examines how various events can be studied as rituals because of their specific significance in a person's life.[76]

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[73] Richard Schechner, "Introduction," in *Performance Theory,* Richard Schechner, ed., (New York, Routledge, 2003).
[74] Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2002), 141.
[75] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 23.
[76] Schechner explains how religious and secular rituals can be difficult to separate since some state rituals can take on qualities of religious rituals. In the case of St. Patrick's Day, it is also difficult to distinguish between religious and

Schechner's argument on ritual creates the opportunity to analyse all the elements included on St. Patrick's Day as ritual and then compare and contrast how each ritual is treated individually by those who enact them as well as the variations depending on the different years and cities studied. Schechner enumerates at least four perspectives from which ritual can be analysed: its structures, its functions, its processes and experiences.[77] The Saint Patrick's Day celebration will be studied using Schechner's previously mentioned perspectives. The structures of the parade will be studied in order to provide light on the organisation of the parade; who is in charge, who makes the decisions and how unanimous these decisions concerning ethnic performance were. The main functions of the parade and their comparison for each city will be looked at through media coverage in order to understand how people saw the parade and its significance. Looking at the processes will include the organisation and planning of the concerts and speeches on Saint Patrick's Day. Finally, the experiences surrounding the parade will be analysed through the primary sources available which spoke of the parade and analysing the language used to describe the parade and the Irish in relation to the events will illuminate how the parade was lived in its time.

It is important to acknowledge the problematics that can occur when analysing ethnicity as a performance since it can seem to take the credibility of the people's behaviors and beliefs away from them and could create a dynamic where the analyst's detached observations take away from the veracity of the events for the participants. This thesis will be thoroughly aware of these issues and will stay away from judging people's beliefs and perceptions of themselves by

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secular ritual since the basis of the celebrations were based on a saint's day but many activities within this day were not specifically religious.

[77] To expand: "structures – what rituals look and sound like, how they use space, who performs them, and how they are performed. Functions – what rituals accomplish for groups, cultures and individuals. Processes – the underlying dynamic driving rituals; how rituals enact and bring about change. Experiences – what it's like to be "in" a ritual." Schechner, *Performance Studies,* 49.

acknowledging how those involved were neither naïve for believing that their ethnicity was natural or disingenuous when they performed what they saw as being Irish. On the contrary, the existence of such a strong feeling of identifying with an imagined community is impressive and how this community came to define itself as such is intriguing. Moreover, in order to avoid generalising the sentiments and opinions performed on a precise day as what all the community always agreed with, Rogers Brubaker will provide a theoretical framework in which to work on events which created a sense of groupness.[78] Brubaker convincingly argues that groups are not a continuous process and that within every group there are sub-groups and marginalized individuals. More importantly for this thesis, Brubaker speaks of the phenomenon of "Groupness as Event" where he explains that "treating groupness as variable and contingent rather than fixed and given, allows us to take account of – and potentially, to account for – phases of extraordinary cohesion and moments of intensely felt collective solidarity, without implicitly treating high levels of groupness as constant, enduring, or definitionally present."[79] With this in mind, we can establish the parade as either a moment of successful or unsuccessful groupness and the elements which played into this without stating that these sentiments and identity were always present in the Irish Catholic community.

The performance studies approach will be strengthened by the use of Victor Turner, a cultural anthropologist who studied rituals, symbols and rites of passage throughout his career.[80] In a posthumous work, Schechner writes of Turner's path to linking ritual and theatre and

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[78] Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*, (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004).
[79] Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*, 12.
[80] In the context of this thesis, his work on ritual and symbols will be prioritised over Turner's theories on rites of passage and liminality which include notions of thresholds and the "between" resolved through ritual. For these concepts refer to *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977); *Schism and Continuity in an African Society: A Study of Ndembu Village Life*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964); *From Ritual to Theater: the Human Seriousness of Play*, (New York City: Performing Arts Journal Publication, 1982).

thereafter praising his "exhilarating explorations into the multiplex, multivocal relationships between ritual and theatre."[81] Schechner's observations on performance studies and the performative capacity of humans is merged into the study of ritual through Victor Turner. In his study of Ndembu rituals, *The Forest of Symbols*, he elaborated rituals and passage rites as akin to dramas and theater and argued that the use of symbols in rituals was integral to the efficacy of ritual since they "bridge bodily experience with more abstract thought."[82] Turner insisted that ritual was an active part of the relationship of construction and sometimes, deconstruction of beliefs, values and meanings rather than a static event. Turner's emphasis on the importance of symbols to communicate messages and bring change is essential to the analysis of the St. Patrick's Day parade's due to the many symbols used on the day.[83] He emphasised the role of symbols explaining how "the structure and properties of a symbol become those of a dynamic entity, at least within its appropriate context of action."[84] Looking at how symbols participated in the change of the definition of Irishness will deepen our understanding of the function of St. Patrick's Day as well as add a level of complexity to the observations of the dynamics taking place on the day.[85] The power of symbols is to evoke concepts and provide a concrete media through which discussion on ethnicity and community can take place. Turner's crucial role in the study of symbols and rituals will broaden Schechner's ideas and observations of ritual ensuring a proper and in-depth analysis of various elements of St. Patrick's Day.

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[81] Richard Schechner, "Preface" in Victor Turner, *An Anthropology of Performance*, (New York: Performing Arts Journal, 1986).
[82] Barry Stephenson, *Ritual: A Very Short Introduction*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2015), 59.
[83] Victor Turner, "Introduction" in *Celebration, Studies in Festivity and Ritual*, edited by Victor Turner, (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982), 11-29.
[84] Victor Turner, *Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970)*, 20.
[85] For more work by Victor Turner on rituals and symbols see also: *The Drums of Affliction: A Study of Religious Processes Among the Ndembu of Zambia.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1968); *From Ritual to Theater: The Human Seriousness of Play,* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982).

In support of these major authors, John J. MacAloon, a historian and an anthropologist, will also provide insight through his work on cultural performances.[86] St. Patrick's Day as a cultural performance dealt with expectations and scripted performances for which MacAloon provides tools to analyse and understand how a cultural performance becomes a cornerstone in a society and how changes in these performances are important in the progress of a community. Catherine Bell's work on ritual and demonstrating its importance as a bridge between thought and action also support the previously mentioned authors looking at the role of ritual as a space of negotiation between a constantly changing society and the traditions kept through ritual.[87] Other researchers such as Michael B. Aune, Valerie DeMarinis, Richard K. Payne and Richard M. Dorson through case studies also provide examples of how to identify the various interactions and powers at play in ritual.[88] Looking more specifically at space and ritual, *Architecture and Ritual: How Buildings Shape Society* (2016) written by Peter Blundell Jones will provide the appropriate theory to develop the interaction between the walkers and the city they interacted with.[89] The use of St. Patrick's Day parades includes this thesis in the on-going conversations on performance and ritual and broadens these discussion with the inclusion of Irish diaspora studies and history combining all these disciplines to develop a thesis based in historical fact, but also pushed further through the methodologies of performance and ritual studies.

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[86] *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle:Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, ed. John J. MacAloon (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Inc., 1984).
[87] Catherine Bell's most significant work: *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). See also *Ritual Perspectives and Dimensions*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
[88] Michael B. Aune and Valerie DeMarinis, eds. *Religious and Social Ritual: Interdisciplinary Explorations*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996) Richard K. Payne, *Homa Variations: The Study of Ritual Change across the Longue Duree*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Richard M. Dorson, ed. *Folktales Told Around the World*, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1975); Richard M. Dorson, "Material Components in Celebration" in *Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual*, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982), 33-57.
[89] Peter Blundell Jones, *Architecture and Ritual: How Buildings Shape Society*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2016).

iv. Methodology

Using the tools provided by Richard Schechner's performance and ritual studies and accompanied by Victor Turner's contribution to the field, this thesis will demonstrate how the St. Patrick's Day parade can be used to present the changes of Irish identity in Toronto and Montreal and the conscious or unconscious battles around the ownership of the day and, consequently, of Irish Catholic identity. Toronto's Irish Catholic identity was one based in Irish political awareness and nationalism in response to the presence of Orangeism, whereas Montreal's community was entrenched in the already present Catholic traditions of Montreal and focused the parade performances on integrating the Irish Catholic community by appearing respectable.[90] This thesis consists of four chapters studying, respectively, the 1858 Toronto parade, the 1858 Montreal parade, the 1866 Toronto parade and the 1866 Montreal parade with a comparison between the two cities in the Montreal chapter of each year. After a short contextual introduction and general description of the St. Patrick's Day parades, the chapters will begin with a performance studies based analysis on the elements of each event and their significance in the definition of Irishness in their respective cities. This section will help highlight how the parades played an important role both within the Irish Catholic community as well as between the Irish Catholic community and the cities as a whole. After looking at the parade itself for answers on ethnic performance, this thesis will borrow the methodology of immigration historians to delve into the societies and notable leaders in charge of the organization of the parades will be studied in order to understand the different issues and tensions behind the parade. These observations and analyses will demonstrate the complexity and variety of opinions concerned with Irish

[90] This thesis focuses on the performance of St. Patrick's Day and how the Irish Catholic identity appeared on this day. It does not argue in any way that this appearance of respectability and unity was actually a part of every day life in the Irish Catholic community.

representation and the deeper implications which were not always visible during the actual performance of the parades. After investigating what happened behind the scenes of the parade, looking at the reactions from various newspapers, both linked to the Irish Catholic community, opposed to it or simply neutral on the subject of Irish Catholic identity will permit to enlighten opinions on the issue of Irish ethnicity both within and beyond the borders of the community. Moreover, newspapers impacted how the parade was spoken of as well as how it was remembered which is essential to a thesis based in a historical subject. In the Montreal chapters (chapters two and four), there is an added section which compares the parades of Toronto and Montreal in the same year. All of the chapters are interdisciplinary and borrow from the three disciplines discussed earlier to provide a comprehensive, inclusive and original perspective on the St. Patrick's Day parades and their role in the evolution of the Irish Catholic communities of Toronto and Montreal.

CHAPTER I:

Toronto's St. Patrick's Day parade, 1858: A Nascent Nationalist Irish Catholic Identity

On March 17th, 1858 around three o'clock, a crowd blocked the streets in the neighbourhood of the St. Lawrence market and when asking what the issue was "passers by were told "a man is stabbed" stabbed in cold blood, by a dark whiskered person, who had received no provocation, and after performing the cowardly act had fled."[91] Mathew Sheady, a banner bearer in the St. Patrick's Day parade was murdered during a violent physical altercation between the Irish Catholic paraders and some Orangemen. An Orangeman decided to drive his cab through the parade to disrupt the events and was then surrounded by angry marchers. Friends of the cabman hearing of this came to defend him and a fight erupted. During these altercations Bill Lennox, an Orangeman and city councillor, came running from Colborne Street holding a pistol.[92] During the riots, Matthew Sheady, was stabbed and died two days later."[93] Sheady's actual assailant was never found and the men involved in the riot where the fatal stabbing took place were all exonerated.[94] More specifically, the man accused of his murder, Daniel Howlett, was released which led some Irish Catholics to blame this on his being Protestant.[95] The Catholic community denounced this as collusion since the men were members of the Orange Order or Protestants. The Irish Catholic newspaper *Mirror* stated that "the verdict has been received with the highest degree of displeasure by the intelligent and respectable portion of the community."[96] As it will be demonstrated in this chapter, Sheady's murder and the inquest following it,

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[91] *Leader,* March 18, 1858.
[92] Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*, 51.
[93] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 159.
[94] Though the spelling of the last name varies depending on the newspaper and the day, this work will use the spelling from the *Mirror*, the newspaper most involved in his murder and inquest.
[95] *Mirror*, April 9, 1858.
[96] *Mirror*, April 9, 1858.

represented on a macro level the tensions and disagreements in Toronto in 1858 surrounding Irish identity which were of a political nature, but also included religious associations due to the inextricability of those two aspects of identity at the time.

This chapter will look at the Toronto parade as a point of departure on the discussion of Irish identity, which will then be compared to Montreal in the next chapter. Prior to the study of 1858, a quick outline of parades in previous years in Toronto will help understand the change in Irish Catholic identity and the growing emphasis on an identity based in Irish nationalist political ideals. After which, this chapter will analyse the aesthetics of the parade and the ritualization of the day combined with a performance studies analysis to explain the significance of the day's celebration to Irish identity. Moreover, observing the interactions and confrontations between the organisers of the parade and the Catholic clergy indicates that the Irish and Catholic parts of the community's identity were not unified and that disconnections existed within the Irish Catholic community. Researching how the various newspapers dealt with the parade and its surrounding events illuminates the environment in which Irish Catholics were performing a specific, nationalistic form of Irishness, as well as how this display was received from those inside and outside of the local Irish Catholic community. Throughout these sections, looking at how Irish Catholics performed and related to their identity during the parade, the various relationships of power involved in the demonstrations of Irishness and the representation of the celebrations and its link to Irish Catholic identity will underscore the existence of an Irish Catholic identity informed by independentist ideals and a distrust between the pro-British and Irish Catholic communities in the city. Political nationalist ideals were of utmost importance because this immigrant population was still very much connected to Ireland while also pushing against the British political climate of Toronto. The conflict which occurred during the parade was the result

of a change in tone from the participants as well as an example of the already hostile environment of Toronto which only needed the performance of Irish nationalist ideals to explode. The centrality of the conflict was defined by the newspapers who addressed mostly if not only, this part of the day, both in Toronto and in Montreal. Toronto's parade became associated with violence though the performances themselves were not violent in their display of Irish nationalism.

From its instigation in 1852 by Bishop Charbonnel, St. Patrick's Day was celebrated in a Catholic context with marching brass bands singing religious hymns and many Catholic organizations, including the Catholic Total Abstinence Society, joining in the march as well as children from the separate schools.[97] The parade soon became "a public assertion of Irish-Catholic religious and national particularity."[98] Though catered to his Irish followers, the French-Born bishop Charbonnel focused the day around Catholicism by building the parade around the St. Patrick's Day Mass and emphasising the events as part of a Catholic Feast Day through sermons which insisted on the link between Irishness and Catholicism and the strength which came out of this particular ethno-religious combination.[99] An example of such inclusion is the sermon made by Reverend Mr. Synott at St. Michael's Cathedral mass on March 27th 1855 where he announced that the Irish congregation there assembled, "joyfully and triumphantly celebrates, on this day, the anniversary feast of her illustrious Apostolic Founder and Patron, the glorious St. Patrick entitled to the veneration of the Catholic World."[100] These words inserted St.

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[97] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism,* 156.
[98] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 156.
[99] It is important that by French, the Bishop was from France, not French-Canadian. To avoid any misunderstanding French-Canadians will always be referred to as French-Canadians or francophones. Cottrell, "St Patrick's Day Parades in Nineteenth-Century Toronto: A study of immigrant adjustment and elite control," *Social History* 25, no 49 (1992), 62.
[100] *Mirror*, March 23, 1858.

Patrick's story into the broader "Catholic World" making him, and the St. Patrick's Day celebrations, part of the many other Catholic feasts celebrated throughout the year. Charbonnel celebrated the day when it coincided with religious ceremonies but never took it as seriously as his Irish parishioners. In 1856, "the Mass for Holy Monday was celebrated, the rubrics of the Church forbidding the celebration of the Mass for St. Patrick's Day."[101] In this case, St. Patrick's Day being on the same day as Holy Monday and Easter Week, the priority went to the Catholic fête. During this period, there was not much controversy in Canada concerning the existence of the parades and there were no open sectarian disturbances during the parade between the Catholics and Protestants.[102] The parades achieved Charbonnel's goal of bringing thousands of Irish men and women to the streets between St. Paul's Church (now St. Paul's Basilica) and St. Michael's Cathedral (now St. Michael's Cathedral Basilica) and, more importantly, into the cathedral where priests could offer a religious understanding of Ireland.[103] Brian Clarke argues that, despite these efforts, the clergy "failed to address its [Ireland] present-day political aspirations and its future destiny as a nation".[104] The disconnection between Charbonnel and his flock created an opportunity for lay associations to include themselves in the organisation and negotiation of Irish identity on St. Patrick's Day.

This lack of cultural Irishness was addressed by the Young Men St. Patrick's Association (YMSPA) which took over the parade in 1856 from the Temperance Society of the City and gave it a distinctly ethnic Irish component. The YMSPA also answered the need for a space or opportunity where "the laity could freely affirm their national allegiance."[105] In 1856 they

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[101] *Mirror*, March 21, 1856.
[102] Mike Cronin and Daryl Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 39.
[103] See Annex 1 for map.
[104] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 156.
[105] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 162.

"seized control of the St. Patrick's Day festivities from the clergy and transformed them into a nationalist demonstration."[106] The YMSPA expressed its conviction that the performance of the parade was no longer centered on the ritual of St. Patrick's Day Mass: Irish identity became an element of celebration in itself. The organisation was used as a channel to express support for Irish legislative independence, but also to defend publicly the more radical views of Young Ireland's militant nationalist movement.[107] The existence in Toronto of a society with strong beliefs and links to Ireland and its political state was a common thread in the 1850s when such societies began to appear in the United States as a reaction to the 1848 Rebellion.[108] The performances which will be studied in this chapter demonstrate how this day took a nationalistic turn when the parade itself became the main event independent of the Mass. As of 1856 the parade reflected a performance of mostly nationalist identity rather than a religious one which is significant when demonstrating and understanding the shifts in the Irish Catholic immigrant identity and its preoccupations in the late 1850s.[109] After the change in the nature of the St. Patrick's Day parade, the Orange Order in Toronto was offended and angered, which resulted in aggressive verbal exchanges during the parades of 1856-57 and the confrontation of 1858.[110]

The attendance at the 1858 parade numbered around two thousand to three thousand men walking from St. Paul's Church to St. Michael's Cathedral where the paraders attended mass.[111] Afterwards, the crowds, led by the YMSPA, went to hear speeches at St. Lawrence Hall; prior to

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[106] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 162.
[107] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 162.
[108] Rosalyn Trigger, "Irish Politics on Parade," 178.
[109] This change towards a political identity is also necessary to understand the popularity of Fenianism in the 1860s and the place of Irish nationalism in Canadian politics and history.
[110] The evening also saw some violence both as retaliation for the events of the day and pre-existing political tensions between Catholics and Protestants. Due to length, this thesis will focus only on the events of the parade which happened during the day. *Ibid*., 40.
[111] See Annex II for map.

the riots, it had been an enjoyable and impressive celebration. The *Leader*, which was a Protestant-owned newspaper with no particular affection for Irish Catholics, reported on the events in a positive manner while also highlighting afterwards the dangers of "bringing large numbers of persons together, unless they be under the control of a proper temper."[112] Prior to the events, the *Leader* described the procession as follows:

> Under the auspice of the Young Men St. Patrick's Society, a very fine procession was organized and proceeded through the principal streets of the city, with bands playing and flags flying. About noon, the processionists assembled in the St. Lawrence Hall, -where they were addressed by several distinguished speakers, - the band playing during the intervals between the addresses.[113]

The *Mirror* also highlighted the presence of the YMSPA, music and the large number of attendees:

> The YMSPA, numbering four hundred members, marched in front, headed by a Band of Music. The rear of the procession was filled by that numerous body "Irishmen in General," who followed the flag of St. Patrick and the Band of No. 2. They numbered somewhere about 800 men. The whole procession after leaving St. Michael's Church numbered nigh 3,000 men. The procession would have been much larger were it not for the bad state of the roads.[114]

Not much description of the parade in general was provided by news outlets in 1858 since the riots and the evening encounters were the main talking points. The *Leader* still took the space

[112] *Leader*, March 18, 1858.
[113] *Leader*, March 18, 1858.
[114] *Mirror*, March 19, 1858.

to speak of the parade in a positive aspect, demonstrating how not all Protestants necessarily agreed with the Orangemen who interfered with the parade. Though their comments on the dangers of bringing many people who do not have "a proper temper" together is negative, the reports show some effort to sympathise with the marchers indicating how important it is not to group all Protestants and all Catholics of Toronto in the same mold. Overall, the events prior to the riots did not differ from the previous years of the YMSPA's organisation being a 'normal' parade in the style of the time, though its message through performance may have been too nationalist for some.

i. Ritual Analysis

According to Schechner's performance theory, events, such as parades, which are not explicitly religious, may still possess specific meanings and can be analysed as secular rituals in order to highlight their importance to a person or a collective group. Secular rituals can be associated with "state ceremonies, everyday life, sports, and any other activity not specifically religious in character".[115] This nomination as ritual emphasises the importance of an event which might otherwise be disregarded as unimportant because of the lack of religious structure to give it importance. In the case of the St. Patrick's Day parade, it comprised both a secular and sacred ritual since it related to Catholicism but also represented an identity beyond a uniquely religious ceremony. Schechner's concept of secular rituals reinforces the possibility of the parade possessing a dual nature relating to its religiosity and its role as a secular ritual. Both aspects feed upon each other to create a complex event which gains importance through various structures such as religious *and* ethnic festivals. By analysing the parade as a performed ritual, we can

[115] Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 47.

highlight how those performances changed and influenced Irish identity on St. Patrick's Day in Toronto and Montreal while also participating in an already existing Irish Catholic tradition.

These dynamics of change within broader traditions are common to rituals which help a person symbolically evolve while the broader ritual remains continuous, gaining credibility.[116] Indeed, as explained by John J. MacAloon, "all cultural performances proper have something of the routine about them in that they follow, or are believed to follow, some sort of pre-existing script".[117] The act of celebrating a specific Catholic saint on a specific day was the "script" from which the Irish Catholics of Toronto were obtaining their sense of continuity and tradition. These traditions also complicated the performance of the ritual since "by acknowledging responsibility to one another and to the traditions condensed and objectified in the "scripts," agents and audiences acknowledge a risk that things might not go well".[118] The 1858 Toronto parade and the events ensuing from it demonstrate how a ritual can be in some ways routine, while also creating tensions due to the type of identity celebrated on such a loaded day. When analysing the parade as a ritual representing the Irish Catholic population in Toronto in 1858, it is possible to hypothesize that this self-conscious display of identity reflected a broader shift in Irish identity from a mostly religious identity, in the beginning of the 1850s, to a proudly nationalistic one and that the known ritual of the parade was used to perform this change.[119]

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[116] Schechner uses the example of marriage in order to describe this stepping stone in a person's personal life while the tradition of marriage remains as the legitimate mark of someone's change. The tradition of parades and of St. Patrick's Day parades were known worldwide and attested to the presence of the Irish in a city while the details of the parades changed depending on the place, but also depending on the community's idea of what it meant to be Irish.

[117] John J. MacAloon,"Introduction: Cultural Performances, Culture Theory" in *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle:Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, ed. John J. MacAloon (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Inc., 1984), 9.

[118] MacAloon,"Introduction," 9.

[119] It is important to note that this essay does not pretend that the parades reflected all of the Irish Catholics sentiment but rather those who took charge of the parade which still indicates a shift among many from a Catholic to a national event. The organisers of the parade will be discussed in detail later.

The use of space and physical interactions with the city by the paraders, who embodied the YMSPA and its Irish Catholic political beliefs, demonstrates one of the ways in which the parade was used to move away from the Catholic aspect of the community's identity. The parade route passed through the affluent and central part of town around King Street and the St. Lawrence Market. The paraders stopped in front of St. Lawrence Hall, a place for various social events in Toronto, to listen to a speech from Thomas D'Arcy McGee. St. Lawrence Hall was in a general area named St. Lawrence Market where there were many public buildings and a permanent farmers' market. The choice of presenting speeches in this non-Irish Catholic area stole from the previously unique importance of the church as a space for this community to exist and evolve. This secular space provided a context independent of the Church's influence for nationalist speeches while respecting the solemnity of the day and without confronting the validity of Catholicism as a central tenet of the saint's day. The choice of introducing this new 'independent' Irish Catholic identity during a significant yearly ritual was effective in ensuring the insertion of an Irish political agenda within the pre-existing identity, rather than creating a new separate identity. Indeed, "this embeddedness of ordering, disordering and reordering in the same performance process is what makes ritual so apt a vehicle for the making and unmaking of social dramas".[120] The YMSPA's claim on Irish identity was reinforced by those who participated and ensured the ongoing importance of St. Patrick's Day in a non-Catholic-specific space.

The act of crowding this affluent area of Toronto created a statement through those taking part in the parade by inserting their bodies, which were physical representations of Irish Catholicism, into Toronto's landscape. Due to the ritualisation of the day, these acts were more

[120] MacAloon, "Introduction," 3.

than regular, everyday acts of walking and standing; they channelled the demands of Irish Catholics to be included in the various narratives of the Protestant city. As Michael B. Aune asserts, "we can see an experience of religious ritual as providing a connecting link between persons and things – and, as a result of such connection, […] reinterpreting the relationship between context and person".[121] The performance of the parade in 1858 was not explicitly military though it took a step towards this direction due to its organisers and the hostile Orange environment in which it took place. The performers demonstrated a secular identity with Catholic undertones, which symbolised how the Catholic Church and Bishop Charbonnel did not solely direct the Irish Catholic community. Taking over the parade, the YMSPA changed the tone to one which was more confrontational, going through the main streets of Toronto and demanding through this action their inclusion in the broader city's context. It was not a military march with organised regiments and uniforms, but the undertones of the parade remained aggressive in their stance of taking back the city.

In order to depict an accurate historical portrait of the significance of the St. Patrick's Day parade, it is crucial to understand the importance of the individual's relationship to the ritual and the group. By marching as an individual within a broadly identified group, the paraders reinterpreted their own relationship with their identity while also participating in physically expanding the space of Irish Catholics beyond the Church. These individual decisions to participate and show support through their presence demonstrated their desire to remain under the umbrella of Catholicism, since St. Patrick remained a prominent Catholic saint, while also standing for Irish nationalism. Irish nationalism being unpopular in the Orange Order and most of the Protestant population of Toronto, the individuals walking at that moment, strengthened the

[121] Michael B. Aune, "The Subject of Ritual" in *Religious and Social Ritual*, 161.

idea that this parade had violent undertones. Since walking in the parade meant that the marchers were supporting the YMSPA, who supported Irish nationalism openly, it confronted the status quo of Toronto creating tensions and alluding to military action without performing clearly this identity yet. The study of ritual and performance complicates the parade by including how bodies and the use of space also participated in the creation and re-creation of Irish identity, as guided by the YMSPA.

As in most rituals, examining the music played indicates a general ambiance and mentality since music is an efficient way to channel feelings while also creating momentum for expression. Barbara Lorenzkowski argues on the importance of studying music which "means examining musical performances not as an "echo" of ethnicity […] but as an occasion to sound out the shape of this ethnicity".[122] Moreover, music cannot be avoided by the participants and the onlookers since it dominates a space and there is "an immediacy about sound – both the sound that delights and the sound that affronts."[123] People can have an almost physical reaction to the different tunes and their messages while the tone reinforces the performance of an ethnicity. The music of the parade changed from religious hymns, which had given a more solemn tone to the proceedings parade, to popular tunes which were more joyful and established a clear secular tone.[124] The songs chosen referred to Ireland, making this less about Catholicism and more about the diaspora's attachment to the homeland. This change from religious hymns to Irish songs is crucial in understanding how the ritual had changed and how it took advantage of an already-established event to bring attention to the Irishness of the day. Lorenzkowski points to "the transformative power of performance" and how using songs can reinforce a type of ethnicity

[122] Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*, 6.
[123] Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*, 7.
[124] Cottrell, "St Patrick's Day Parades in Nineteenth-Century Toronto," 63.

which is engrained in the present context of an immigrant community.[125] The music emphasized Ireland through its songs and the place that the 'old country' and its rebels occupied in those lyrics instead of previous parades where Catholic liturgy was put forth. The use of these songs transformed the Irish Catholic identity and pulled them towards a military past of Irish nationalism compared to previous parades where hymns would have had the purpose of uniting the Irish with the universal Catholic Church rather than singling them out as unique. The use of songs supported the transformation of the Irish Catholic community from one based on religion to one of nationalist, lay convictions. Music put into words and rhythm what ethnicity the paraders were performing on March 17th.

The auditory elements of the parade were supported by visual references to Ireland. Symbols are important parts of rituals since they are "a thing regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by possession of analogous qualities or by association in fact or thought".[126] Just as the music, symbols used in the parade went from universal Catholic icons to much more colorful and specifically Irish designs through their association with nationalist narratives. These shamrocks, harps and wolfhounds were associated with Catholic Ireland or, to a Celtic but, more importantly, non-British Ireland.[127] Indeed, the harp was already considered the national symbol of Celtic Ireland evoking a past before British control of the island. Mary Louis O'Donnell states that, more than its sound, "it was the instrument's political and social utopian resonances that were dominant."[128] The centrality of the harp in the 1858 parade projected a utopian Irish identity untouched by the British which, though

[125] Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity,* 103.
[126] Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*, 19.
[127] Cottrell, "St Patrick's Day Parades in Nineteenth-Century Toronto," 63.
[128] Mary Louise O'Donnell, "A Driving Image of Revolution: The Irish Harp and Its Utopian Space in the Eighteenth Century," *Utopian Studies* 21, no 2 (2010), 254.

not explicit, would provoke those who identified as British but were born in Ireland.The imagery of the Irish harp became common in the thirteenth century though symbolism of the harp in Christian iconography was already popular in the eighth century in Europe and in Ireland and "the musical voice of the harp was always closely aligned with Gaelic civilization."[129] The Irish wolfhounds were a dog breed used to hunt and were imposing since they could be as big as wolves. More importantly, they were present in Celtic mythology especially in the story of the great warrior Cuchulainn who defeated one of those gigantic dogs earning him the nickname the 'Hound of Culann' or the 'Hound of Ulster'.[130] The hounds referred to a pre-colonial Ireland and to an Irish mythology filled with great warriors and strong Celtic figures.[131]

Catholicism was still an important part of the specific identity the parade was presenting and creating and this importance was visible in the shamrock images on display. The shamrock was a well-known representation of the trinity said to have been used by St. Patrick when he was explaining the phenomenon to converts.[132] In as much as the shamrock was used to represent the possibility of three separate figures being one and the same, it also exemplified an two separate identities, Irish and Catholic, which were inseparable in this symbol. By marching and upholding these images and references, the participants collaborated with their own historic and mythic past. Turner highlights how symbols are not only inanimate objects but rather, are symbols, relationships, gestures which are dependent on their immediate context in order to be given ritualistic while also being "essentially involved in social process".[133] The signs of Celtic Ireland

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[129] O'Donnell, "A Driving image of Revolution," 256.
[130] Peter Berresford Ellis, "Cuchulainn" in *A Dictionary of Irish Mythology*, (Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO, Inc:1987),71.
[131] Cuchulainn was also a pre-Christian figure which could symbolise the will to step away from Catholicism, but the colonisation and christianisation of Ireland complicates this statement. In the space allotted to this mythical figure in this essay, the emphasis is on the pre-British associations rather than the non-Christian aspect.
[132] Phyllis G. Jestice, "Shamrock" in *Encyclopaedia of Irish Spirituality*, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2000), 318.
[133] Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*, 20.

became nationalist in the context of St. Patrick's Day. Interacting with these symbols and actively marching with them brought their Irish background into their present situation in Toronto and insisted on a future based in this Irish past which, to them, was legitimised by the respected public ritual of parading. These symbols also demonstrate the shift towards secularism and with it, to the growth of a more militaristic style though the performance in 1858 was not yet radical in its views an demands since these images referred to a Catholic and pre-English identity without attacking clearly their opponents, though these may have felt the threat caused by the performances. The act of parading in the streets with Irish symbols was, in itself, a provocation in the context of Toronto and, though the motivations of the organisers cannot be fully known, it is clear that they were aware of how these actions and Irish performances would be interpreted as threatening to the habitants of the city.

The importance of parades in 1858 was exemplified on March 17th when a group of Orangemen decided to disrupt the parade and, through this violence, made a statement of what they thought of Irish Catholic public performances. The fact that an Orangeman ran through the parade with his cab demonstrates how he took the event seriously enough to risk physically harming others. His assault, studied as a performance of his religious and political ideals, confronted another group's own identity which emphasises how the parades was taken as a serious representation of Irish Catholic nationalist ideals. Through the extreme act of violence against Sheedy, the perpetrators legitimised the importance of this parade's performance to Irish Catholics in Toronto which was both an expression of their identity as well as a symbol of the need to reinforce communal support. What the riots demonstrated was that the issue of Irish Catholicism and identity were now more political than religious in tone since riots did not occur

when the parade was led by the Catholic bishop.[134] The parades may never have been popular among Protestants, but the overt demonstration of very Irish nationalist ideals which silently rejected British rule was the core transgression that was taken seriously by the Orange Order and its allies. The public figure attacked on this day was not Bishop Charbonnel or other representatives of Catholic Toronto, but a representative of the nationalist movement, which, again, showed that the performances were related more to politics than to religion.

In the case of Toronto's parade, it is important to note the lack of women in the celebrations and, especially, in the organisation of the parade. In her study of a Norwegian-American festival, April R. Schultz demonstrates the importance of looking at what may be missing from a celebration.[135] She argues that, methodologically, silences must be studied to understand better the type of ethnicity put forward and the reasons why some aspects might be left out. For example, when Charbonnel was in charge, women were not organisers of the parade: women could not be priests and due to the paternalistic mentality of the time, it would not seem necessary to consult with them. It is unclear whether women walked in the parade under Charbonnel but it is a possibility since the majority of lay societies in the beginning of the 1850s were started by and directed for women.[136] Though they might have been members, the reality was that the lay societies comprised of women were mostly dedicated to prayer and the devotion of the Virgin Mary. Due to the religious nature of the parade as a precursor to mass and the presence of church-sponsored societies, it is plausible that women were involved in the parades. In 1856, once the YMSPA took charge, the parade became an exclusively male-only affair,

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[134] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 39.
[135] Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade,* 127.
[136]Clarke writes of women lay societies and highlights their involvement in the preparation, not the organisation, of picnics and bazaars, but he does not confirm or deny their presence in the parade under Charbonnel. - Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 84.

though women could watch since it was a public event. The fraternal and political nature of the YMSPA illustrates how the members saw Irishness as a male dominated identity and St. Patrick's Day as an opportunity to display their masculine nationalist strength. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century, though many nations, through revolutions and the bourgeoisie's ascendancy changed the political nature of their countries, "the basic notion that women belonged in a domestic setting while men should run the state and community became widely prevalent."[137] The YMSPA's attitude exemplified this mentality in their celebration of a male saint.[138] Unfortunately, it is impossible to know how women felt about these events but it is reported that, in later years, more women than men attended the parades.[139] Due to what the YMSPA saw as a hostile, Protestant dominated environment, they wanted to display their force in public spaces as a way to take ownership of a geography which was usually not their property. This performance of a muscular Irish Catholic identity could not publicly include women as it would contradict the aggressive nature of the YMSPA. Due to the lack of existing sources, it is difficult to know whether women were helping in the background without being recognised or if they were completely excluded from the public sphere in this instance. Many women's Catholic organisation at the time, such as the Apostleship of Prayer, the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin and the Association of the Children of Mary, were devotional which provided for a social as much as a religious environment where, officially, women would learn their devotions but also

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[137] Allan Greer, *The Patriots and the People*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press Inc., 1993), 201.
[138] In comparison, the Patriots in early-nineteenth century Canada East would profane the queen's image calling her many sexually offensive names and this attitude, as explore by Allan Greer, was less a question of monarchical authority as it was a question of sex. As Greer explains, "it is when we recognize this linkage between public roles for women, sexual disorder, and political corruption and tyranny that we begin to understand why the patriots could even conceive of accusing Victoria Regina – innocent, young, but undeniably a prominent public figure – of being a whore." The masculinity of Saint Patrick may have also participated in the YMSPA's celebration of masculine ideals compared to a more 'docile' women figure. Greer, *The Patriots and the People*, 203.
[139] Greer, *The Patriots and the People*, 165.

occupied a space of their own outside the household.[140] Such groups held missions and jubilees indicating that women were active in the Catholic community and that their being left out of the parade was not only a forgetfulness but was intentional. This information is significant when wanting to know who had powers in defining Irish Catholic identity and how much women were actually involved in these discussions. If they helped build or organise this events they participated in the construction and reaffirmation of Irish Catholic identity.

The parade therefore was a public example of how the internalisation of both Irish and Catholic identities translated and developed. The absence of women in official positions indicates that this public Irish identity was not inclusive and did not represent all of the Irish equally. Throughout this work, it is important to remember that the St. Patrick's Day celebrations embodied a specific type of nationalist Irishness and it is essential to acknowledge the silences in order to properly understand what being Irish meant to some while others were left aside. Through all this, many Protestants were also aware of this Irishness but the majority, as mentioned earlier, felt a stronger tie to the British crown.[141] This did not necessarily make them 'inauthentic' Irishmen and women because identity is not only something imposed on by others but something someone must relate to. In the case of the Toronto Irish, Catholicism took such strong ownership of St. Patrick's Day and literally fought for it to be recognised as part of their Catholic Irishness. Anyone not associating as strongly with this performed masculine and political identity was intentionally left out of the demonstrations of the day. St. Patrick's Day must not be taken as a clear representation of what it meant to be Irish on an everyday basis but

[140] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 63. For more on women's confraternities see Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, "Chapter 4: The Parish and the Hearth: Women's Confraternities and the Devotional Revolution," 62-96.
[141] These Irish Protestants would have had the opportunity to celebrate their identity during the Orange Order 12th of July parades though it would not be a specifically Irish celebration, but rather a British-Northern Irish identity.

rather what it meant to identify with a certain kind of Irishness among certain people on a specific special day of the year.

ii. Organisers

Looking at the tensions between the Catholic clergy and the YMSPA demonstrates the same shift as the parade which reflects the organisers' intentions towards a more overtly political Irish identity. The change in 1856 of the ownership of the parade, from the Catholic bishop towards the openly nationalist YMSPA indicates a trend which continued into the 1860s when Irish nationalism took precedence within public displays. Catholicism became a way of defining Irish nationalists' identities by opposing Protestantism and the Orange Order. In the 1850s, Bishop Charbonnel encouraged Irish immigrants to see themselves first as Catholics, and due to the dominant presence of Protestantism in the city, the Catholic clergy claimed leadership and control of the Irish Catholic population which did not associate with their Protestant counterparts.[142]

It is important not to overplay the importance of the Catholic Church and, especially, its clergy in rallying the Irish. This can, in part, explain how the YMSPA developed the ability to take control and organisation of the parade away from Charbonnel. The 1850s saw a period of dissatisfaction and miscommunication between the French Bishop Charbonnel and his English (or Irish) speaking flock due to the inadequacy of the French priests' ability to relate to their parishioners. Charbonnel himself was very aware of the limitations of his clergy and he always "felt uneasy leading a diocese whose population was predominantly of Irish origin."[143] A document sent in 1858 to the pope by "An Association of Irish Gentlemen" elaborated on the

[142] Cottrell, "St Patrick's Day Parades in Nineteenth-Century Toronto", 62.
[143] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 33.

many issues the Irish had with their Toronto clergymen. The lengthy title itself was explicit: "A Brief View of the State of the Catholic Church in Upper Canada, shewing the evil results of an undue predominance of the French element in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs and of the advisableness of petitioning the sovereign pontiff for a more just proportion of bishops and priests from the Old Country."[144] Though it is impossible to know how this document was received by the population of Toronto, the fact that it existed and was published demonstrates a determination on the part of certain Irish Catholics who could not identify with the type of Catholicism being practiced in Toronto. Their request for "a more just proportion of bishops and priests from the Old Country" indicated that the Catholic Church had not done an effective job of including everyone under its influence. With these sentiments in mind, it became clear that, if the clergy could not satisfy their Irish parishioners in relation to their common beliefs, the yearly celebration of the Old Country organised by these priests would definitely not satisfy the Irish Catholics of the city. Though the Irish were Catholic, they still did not feel attached to the Catholic Church in Toronto where they felt underrepresented among the French clergy.[145] The YMSPA stepped in to correct this underrepresentation on the most important Irish day of the year.

Throughout the pamphlets and the accompanying comments, the vocabulary used to describe themselves and the "foreign bishops and clergy" illustrates how close the Irish were to Ireland and how they still considered they had the right "to direct our own Catholic affairs" even

[144] "A Brief View of the State of the Catholic Church in Upper Canada, shewing the evil results of an undue predominance of the French element in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs and of the advisableness of petitioning the sovereign pontiff for a more just proportion of bishops and priests from the Old Country" published in Toronto, December 4, 1858. Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, Bishop Armand F-M de Charbonnel, P.S.S. fonds, AC 02

[145] Note that by French, it is meant French from France where most of Charbonnel's priests came from, augmenting the alienating effect of a non-Irish and non-Canadian clergy.

though they were no longer in their native country.[146] Even at this time, Catholicism was already linked to being Irish and the type of Catholicism they expected or demanded was one related to their Irish background rather than one related to their new homeland. The pamphlet demanded more Irish priests, to replace the French priests, in order to tend properly to the Irish Catholic community of Toronto which would include the celebration of their national saint. This absence of Irishness was fulfilled by the parade, which was an answer to the dysfunctional relationship between Charbonnel and the expectations of his parishioners. The celebrations of the day, under the auspices of the YMSPA, answered this need to feel an attachment to the homeland without an 'outsider' such as the French bishop. Moreover, by being organised by an Irish lay society it ensured an 'authenticity' which the pamphlets denounced as missing from the French Catholic clergy currently in charge of ecclesiastical affairs.

iii. Newspapers

After examining a performance, it is crucial to explore how it was received in order to assess its consequences and compare this data to the intentions of the leaders and performers. In the case of the 1858 parade, the riots preoccupied news reports, making it difficult to study the actual parade before the altercations took place. There were many different newspapers which reported on the events of March 17th including *The Globe*, a newspaper run by George Brown, who believed that "the Irish papists come in swarms [. . .] to do us evil," and pointedly drew attention to the growth of Catholic institutions in the city as evidence of 'papal aggression.'"[147] With this bias in mind, it is interesting to note that coverage from *The Globe* gave the impression that the riots and evening attacks were in no way connected to either religion or politics but

[146] A Brief View of the State of the Catholic Church in Upper Canada, "Part II," 14.
[147] Dennis Ryan and Kevin Wamsley, "A Grand Game of Hurling & Football: Sport and Irish Nationalism in Old Toronto" *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 30, no 1 (2004): 22.

rather a misunderstanding, or a momentary lapse from both sides. Indeed, *The Globe* explained that "as to the riot on the 17th, its origin was entirely accidental, and we find it is impossible to say which party was to blame. There can certainly be no charge that the unfortunate death of poor Sheady was the result of any party or religious feeling."[148] The articles did not recognise the existence of two distinct groups but seemed rather to affirm that it was only two groups of non-denominational and non-political men who got in each other's way. Considering the active provocation of Orangemen, it becomes evident that *The Globe*'s reports actually blamed the problems on the Irish Catholics when speaking of "certain Irishmen [who] disgraced themselves, disturbed the peace of the city, and endangered the lives of passers-by as well as each other, by getting up a row in honour of the patron saint."[149] Since the celebrations of St. Patrick's Day in the late 1850s were associated with Catholicism and the YMSPA, *The Globe*'s allusion to those "getting up a row in honour of the patron saint" identified them as members of the Irish Catholic community.[150] *The Globe* also commented on its opinion of St. Patrick's Day in general as a day "unfortunately more remarkable for breaches of peace and broken heads, than for peaceful demonstrations in honour of St. Patrick."[151] Though the Irish Catholics were never mentioned directly, this qualification of St. Patrick's Day reflected an opinion from *The Globe* on the nature of the celebrations and, by extension, of the Irish Catholics themselves as troublesome and disrespectful. There was no explicit recrimination of Orangemen, and seeing as the violence was mostly done by Orangemen towards Catholics, this type of 'neutral' reporting indicates favoritism by *The Globe* for the Protestant men who were involved in leading the violence. Though the paper was not demanding an outright end to the celebrations, the overall sentiment

[148] *The Globe*, March 20, 1858.
[149] *The Globe,* March 19, 1858
[150] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 39.
[151] *The Globe*, March 19, 1858

definitely brought its readers to that conclusion. Such comments by *The Globe* exemplified how Irish Catholics identified mostly with a two-part identity since they "found themselves excluded on religious, cultural and social grounds; and in response withdrew in an essentially defensive form of ethnicity."[152]

The handling of the parade in the pages of the *Mirror* demonstrates this defensive ethnicity that was composed primarily of a religious and nationalist identity connecting its readership to Ireland while remaining exclusively Catholic, especially in relation to the parade. The *Mirror* was not the organ of the YMSPA but was a newspaper written for and by the Irish Catholic community of Toronto. It was the longest lasting newspaper in the pre-Confederation era and for twenty-eight years "its pages give us a glimpse of the concerns and anxieties of these people as they struggled to adjust to an alien and often hostile environment."[153]

Whether organised by the Temperance Society of the City or the YMSPA, the *Mirror* supported the festival of St. Patrick and recognised its importance as a demonstration of Irish Catholic presence and respectability. In 1855, the *Mirror* announced "we are happy to inform our readers that the Sons of the Emerald Isle are about to celebrate the anniversary of Ireland's patron Saint, on to-morrow."[154] It is important to note that this announcement was not a paid advertisment, but part of the "General News" section, indicating the *Mirror*'s own independent interest in the events. When the procession passed into the hands of the YMSPA, the *Mirror* also acknowledged their enthusiasm for the procession in 1856 and 1857, highlighting the parade prior to its occurrence each year praising the occasion once it had passed. Indeed, in 1857, the

[152] Cottrell, "Green and Orange in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Toronto," 14.
[153] Curtis Fahey, "Irish Catholics and the Political Culture of Upper Canada: The Case of the *Toronto Mirror*, 1837-1865" in *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*, 812.
[154] *Mirror*, March 16, 1855.

Mirror announced the parade and stated how "from the sterile shores of the Bay of Gaspe to the crystal fountains of the Lakes, the sons of the Cross and Shamrock will show in the presence of the strangers, what of Faith, of Hope and of Charity there is in them."[155] Already embedded in this poetic statement were the two pillars of their Irish identity: the Cross and Shamrock. This announcement also demonstrated how significant the festival was to unite 'all' Irishmen together as well as functioning as a symbol of the "Faith, of Hope and of Charity" which were recognised by the *Mirror* as embodied on this day.[156]

In 1856, the *Mirror* made a point of demarcating the parade as uniquely Catholic emphasising that "the Protestant St. Patrick's Society did not march in Procession at all, so that the whole credit of the celebration is due to our co-religionists."[157] This grounded the festival as an obvious and exclusively Catholic. The *Mirror* reported in great detail the presence of banners surrounding the altar during mass, indicating how nationalist, non-religious ideals were integrated into Catholic space.[158] The banners placed closest to the altar were those of the YMSPA with its nationalist symbols and the banner of the Debate Society beside it. The *Mirror* took the most time describing the YMSPA banner in great detail which created a space for nationalist iconography even within the religious event of the mass. The choice to dedicate so much journalistic space to something related only indirectly to Catholicism highlights the change in the celebrations.

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[155] *Mirror*, March 6, 1857.
[156] Unfortunately, the editions of the beginning of March 1858 are missing but there is no indication that the *Mirror* would have changed its mind on the parade in between 1857 and 1858. Also, when looking at their description of 1858 which follows it is evident that they were strong defenders of the parade and the riots did not diminish their belief in its importance. Logically, this allegiance to the procession would have been present prior to the parade, especially since there was no anticipation for riots happening.
[157] *Mirror*, March 21, 1856.
[158] *Mirror*, March 21, 1856.

In 1857, the *Mirror* went further by finishing its discussion of the upcoming parade with a very distinctive "Erin-go-Bragh!!."[159] This well-known proclamation written in the Irish language separated St. Patrick's Day even further from Great Britain, and consequently Toronto's Irish Catholics, from their fellow Canadian citizens. By 1858, the parade was as much a celebration of Irish Catholicism as it was one of Irish pride disassociated from British rule.

The reports of the 1858 celebrations mostly covered the riots, although the *Mirror* did report that "on the whole […] the celebration was numerous, enthusiastic, and respectable. May St. Patrick's Day ever be celebrated as a day of union and commemoration amongst all classes of Irishmen."[160] In this issue, there was no mention of the riot, probably indicating that the newspaper had gone to press before the events or that the *Mirror* wanted to wait until there was more information before reporting on the events as they did in the next issue. The description in the issue from March 19th 1858 was also very short compared to previous years reports on the riot make it difficult to know what the parade looked like precisely, as the riots were more interesting to the audience than the rest of the procession. This had the effect of undercutting the respectability of those involved. The *Mirror* went on to blame the cabman and the Orangemen for provoking the riots and, consequently, killing Matthew Sheady.

The respectability of the participants was pushed further when the newspaper emphasised Sheady's moral character, describing him as "an innocent man, […] engaged in assisting the Chief of Police to maintain order".[161] Not only was Sheady portrayed as an innocent man, but he was also associated to the police and presented as a person trying to help "maintain order". The *Mirror* also humanised Sheady when mentioning his wife and children who were now orphans as

[159] *Mirror*, March 6, 1857.
[160] *Mirror*, March 19, 1858.
[161] *Mirror*, March 26, 1858.

well as "his relatives [who] are deprived of the sweet pleasure of his company and support."[162] This sentence established Sheady's respectability as well as the immorality of the people who had attacked him.

Contrary to their praise of Sheady, the *Mirror* emphasised the rowdiness and aggressive behavior of the Orangemen especially "cabman Richie, stimulated by a dark feeling of sectarian animosity" who had started the whole affair.[163] The article identified the cabman as a Protestant. Unlike *The Globe*, the *Mirror* centred the events of the procession wholly around religious tensions in which the Protestants, identified as Orangemen, were aggressive and overreacted to the sight "of a harmless green ribbon."[164] Not only was Richie portrayed as belligerent but his temper was contrasted with the harmlessness of the celebrations and its decorations. The other person described by the *Mirror* was Bill Lennox, who interfered in the fight and "whose conduct seems to have been that of a man mad with excitement."[165] Both these descriptions emphasised how these men, being unable to be 'civilised' enough to be in charge of their own emotions and their actions, were the perpetrators whereas the Irish Catholic were only the victims of such uncontrollable rage. Speaking more directly about their membership in the Orange Order, the *Mirror* insisted on their responsibility for the violence and in turning the altercation into a riot, affirming that "this class of men [Orangemen] will not appear in a street fight unless they were armed with some deadly weapon."[166] Though it never directly accused them of killing Sheady, the newspaper's implication was that the Orangemen had the necessary weapons to do so, unlike the paraders who were not of the same "class of men".

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[162] *Mirror*, March 26, 1858.
[163] *Mirror*, March 26, 1858.
[164] *Mirror, March* 26, 1858.
[165] *Mirror*, March 26, 1858.
[166] *Mirror*, March 26, 1858.

Once most newspapers had moved on from reporting the riots and the parade, the *Mirror* kept updating its readers with the inquest into Sheady's death. Not only was Sheady himself a member of the Irish Catholic community, but he was used by the *Mirror* as a representation of the injustice suffered by Irish Catholics both through his death and the unsatisfying inquest held thereafter. The description of Sheady's funeral as one where "all appeared to feel as if a great wrong had been done to the whole, which remained yet unattoned for; all gave vent in indignant language to the pent-up indignation of their hearts."[167] The quote speaks both to the "great wrong" of Sheady's death as well as the "indignant language" caused by the fact that this death "remained yet unattoned for". The newspaper was indignant regarding the trial of Mr. Howlett, a Protestant, in which "the jurors were all Protestants, without one exception." [168] The *Mirror* argued this created a bias for all Protestants while the fate of Catholics was not taken seriously. During the inquest, the *Mirror* denounced the Orange Order's presence in Canada and its role in creating an unfair environment for Catholics: "when a riot has once taken place, so thoroughly is the land affected with the virus of Orangeism, that no justice whatever can be obtained. Even murder is allowed to pass unavenged; and if it be necessary to that end, sheriffs can be found to pack the jury panel."[169] According to the *Mirror*, the Orange Order had manipulated the jury and the inquest was a concrete example of the "virus of Orangeism" of which Irish Catholics were the victims. The inquest was as much about Sheady as it was about the corruption, as reported by the *Mirror*, of the city of Toronto. The newspaper did more than complain about the injustices, they encouraged a movement to counter them:

[167] *Mirror*, March 26, 1858.
[168] *Mirror*, March 26, 1858.
[169] *Mirror*, April 2, 1858.

> There being, then, a radical defect in the criminal laws of the country and justice being rendered only for the Secret Orange Society, which has been already condemned and disapproved by the Queen's Government, it behoves all loyal subjects to organize for the purpose of defending our lives, properties, and liberties, from the murderous attack of their enemies and the enemies of law and order.[170]

The *Mirror* wanted its Irish Catholic readership to prepare to defend themselves against the "murderous attack," introducing a violent tone to the organisation of their defense. Once the inquest was concluded and no one had been charged with Sheady's murder, the *Mirror* remained frustrated to the point where they organized a petition to Parliament, "calling for a special commission to investigate the Sheady […] murder, and insisting that Orangemen must be excluded from the magistracy and juries."[171] An analysis of the *Mirror*'s content and its emphasis on the unfairness of the inquest highlights how, for the Irish Catholic community, the riots were not the central issue in 1858 but rather, a starting point to more serious discourses on injustice and Toronto's sectarianism. It was no longer about a defensive ethnicity; it was about defending one's ethnicity.

In comparison with *The Globe* and the *Mirror*, the *Leader* was a Protestant newspaper founded by James Beaty which acknowledged the sectarian tensions related to St. Patrick's Day and the riots of 1858.[172] The *Leader* was *The Globe*'s main competitor and, as discussed previously, published articles and opinions which discredited *The Globe*. Prior to 1858, the *Leader* treated the St. Patrick's Day parades with little controversy reporting how "the Irishmen

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[170] *Mirror*, April 2, 1858.
[171] This petition had strong language including threats of the use of force. Such language was a precursor to the Hibernian Society which will be studied in the next chapter. - Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee,* 53.
[172] J.M.S. Careless, *George Brown*, (Don Mills, Ont.: Fitzhenry &Whiteside, 1979), 176.

of this city celebrated the Anniversary of their patron saint, with all the honors."[173] Interestingly, it did not make a point of highlighting the Catholic tone of the parade, perhaps either taking for granted that it was implied or wanting to distance themselves from directly complimenting Irish Catholics. James Beaty was a member of the Orange Order which demonstrates how, in times of peaceful performances, the Order's members did not want to provoke discussions of religion and character.[174] The *Leader*'s reports in 1856 were brief but provided a positive image of the celebrations where "there could not have been less than 2,000 persons assembled, and the proceedings were marked by the greatest enthusiasm and cordiality."[175] Though the reasons why the *Leader* chose to speak of the parades in such manner, highlighting the "enthusiasm and cordiality" are difficult to ascertain, the effect was one where the parade was not a controversial space where Irishmen of different religious and cultural backgrounds fought. This tone changed in 1858 when the procession space was literally divided and taken over by Orangemen.

In 1858, the *Leader* began its discussion of St. Patrick's Day with a criticism of Irish Catholics as a whole and the possible dangers associated with the 17th of March explaining that "St. Patrick, we are free to admit, is a very respectable saint; and we should not have the least quarrel with him if he would exercise a little more control over his votaries. His remissness in that respect, is sometimes particularly conspicuous on the 17th of March. So it was yesterday.[176] This critique of St. Patrick himself deepened the sectarian divide while also putting a distinct amount of the blame on those who instigated any celebration on March 17th. It is also interesting that the *Leader* chose to speak of St. Patrick as if he was still alive, infantilizing them by giving the impression that the Irish did not have the capacity to lead their own people properly. Indeed,

[173] *Leader*, March 18, 1856.
[174] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 165.
[175] *Leader*, March 18, 1856.
[176] *Leader*, March 18, 1858.

once again speaking directly to St. Patrick, the *Leader* spoke of the fact they did not discourage large celebrations "but we would remind that respectable saint that there is danger in bringing large numbers of persons together, unless they be under the control of a proper temper."[177] It is clear that this newspaper wanted to put a certain amount of the blame on the Irish Catholics and the existence of St. Patrick's Day celebrations for the violence of 1858.

The *Leader* did not make the Irish Catholics assembled responsible for the riots though it did, especially when compared to the *Mirror*, make them active agitators rather than passive victims. The newspaper characterised the crowd assembled in more negative terms giving the impression that the people present were also part of the issue describing them as "a stagnant crowd, with anxious countenances." The adjectives "stagnant" and "anxious" gave the impression that those present were not as peaceful and orderly as described in the *Mirror*, but rather possessed some lingering disruptive feelings and that the crowds created an atmosphere of suffocation. This contextualisation made it easier to sympathise with the "Yorkville cabman, named Ritchie, [who] broke through the procession on King Street, near the Cathedral" by establishing the environment as hostile.[178] After the cabman "it is said, injured some parties, he was pursued by several of the processionists as far as Lennox's hotel" making the paraders active and aggressive actors in escalating the riots.[179] The article did not dismiss the cabman's role in starting the uproar, but by phrasing Richie's actions in the passive tense, it took away much of the blame and gave the impression that the Irish Catholics were equally as guilty in the final results of the fight.

[177] *Leader*, March 18, 1858.
[178] *Leader*, March 18, 1858.
[179] *Leader*, March 18, 1858.

When speaking of the fatal wound inflicted on Matthew Sheady and the following inquest, the *Leader* was factual in its reports compared to the emotional articles of the *Mirror*. The *Leader* matter-of-factly explained how a banner bearer was wounded and after being brought to a drugstore was rushed to the hospital where he was taken great care of by the doctors. The only sympathetic nod to Sheady was when the *Leader* cited that "the poor man's wound was pronounced to be of a very dangerous matter."[180] There was no mention of his wife, his family or his good character. Again, the *Leader* did not make it impossible to sympathise with Sheady, instead, they created a context and a story surrounding the events which, in some ways, justified or, at least, explained away how things had arrived at this extreme because of the involvement of both Irish Catholics and the Protestants. The *Leader* did not mention the liaison between the Orange Order and the Protestants which entered the fight, nor did it mention specifically that they were Protestants. This created a monolithic statement about Irish Catholics whereas the Protestants involved were presented as individuals rather than representatives of a fraternal society, to which the *Leader*'s own editor belonged.

The reports on the inquest also followed this trend, maintaining some distance from the victim, though the *Leader* did note that "the poor fellow's suffering were intense during Thursday night."[181] When it came to the jury, the *Leader* did not mention their religious denomination, only observing how the group was "a highly intelligent one."[182] After enumerating the names of theses jurors, the *Leader* did not report more on the inquest, underscoring that its result was not of any particular interest. The Protestant bias of the *Leader* is notable compared to the *Mirror*'s Irish Catholic sympathy. Both parties reported and emphasised

[180] *Leader*, March 18, 1858.
[181] *Leader*, March 20, 1858.
[182] *Leader*, March 20, 1858.

different elements of the events in 1858 in order to follow their own beliefs on religious and societal issues.

The story of the Toronto riots and its implications for the Irish population of the city went further than the geographical boundaries of the city. Some francophone newspapers reported the Toronto events and frowned upon the violence which occurred, demonstrating the role of the parade in wider discussions of Irish identity and belonging. Indeed, *La Minerve* went to great lengths to describe the Toronto parade and the events following the riots and the attack on the National Hotel. *Le Pays* did not even report on the Montreal festivities that year but did relate the story that "un porte-bannière a été tué d'un coup de couteau, et l'un des représentants de Montréal, M. McGee, a été attaqué dans la rue, comme il revenait de diner".[183] *La Minerve* was influential for most of its existence and was openly opposed to *Le Pays*, which ran from 1852 to 1869. [184] Much of *Le Pays* coverage of the events came about because of McGee's speech in the Legislative Assembly denouncing the riot and demanding justice.[185] Unlike *La Minerve*, *Le Pays* directly alluded to Toronto's political climate when it wrote "on verra ce que peut faire un gouvernement dont le chef occupe une place très-éminente dans la confrérie orangiste" which put into question the credibility of the present government. It is interesting, though unclear, why *La Minerve*, as a Catholic newspaper, would not also include the fact that some of the men involved in the events of the day were Orangemen, but they either did not know or tried to stay

[183] *Le Pays*, March 24, 1858.
[184] *La Minerve*, in the period from 1854 to 1899, possessed a conservative trend that supported John A. Macdonald's Confederation project and was also affiliated with the Catholic Church - "*La Minerve*," Quebec archives database, http://collections.banq.qc.ca/ark:/52327/278148.
[185] *Le Pays* was against an alliance between the Church and politics as it explained on March 24, 1858 "nous avons toujours répudié l'alliance de la religion avec la politique, de l'Église avec l'État […] C'est pour cela que nous avons combattu les doctrines de la *Minerve* […] qui s'intitulent tout à la fois journaux politiques et journaux religieux".

away from the issue of sectarian and political tensions.[186] The response of Montreal's French newspapers is pertinent in understanding how deep and well-known the socio-religious tensions of Toronto were known across the colony and how the parade was a channel through which these relations and identities were negotiated.

When looking beyond Montreal to Quebec City, the media was barely affected or not interested in reporting the Toronto parade. *Le Canadien*, *Le Courrier du Canada* and *Le Journal de Québec* reported local Irish festivities in Quebec City but did not allude in any manner to the riots in Toronto, most probably due to the geographic distance between the two cities. Quebec City newspapers were aware of St. Patrick's Day as they mentioned the celebrations and *Le Courrier du Canada* and went even further by speaking of "nos compatriotes d'origine irlandaise" and reminding its readership that "nous tenons par trop de liens de consanguinité et de croyances à la population irlandaise pour ne pas saluer l'anniversaire de leur fête nationale par l'expression de notre sympathie."[187] They were also aware of Toronto since they had articles in every issue devoted to the "Votes et Délibérations de l'Assemblée Légistlative" in Toronto and the development of government in Canada West.[188] The language difference was most probably another factor in the absence of accounts since the *Quebec Mercury*, which supported the interests of the conservative, anglophone bourgeoisie in Quebec, quoted both *The Globe* and the *Leader* on the events.[189] The only comments which preceded these excerpts referred to how an "evil genius raised the signal of discord by passing through the procession, which gave rise to

[186] Seeing as *La Minerve* supported both the Church, which was pro-imperialist, and the Confederation project of which some members, including John A. Macdonald, were Orangemen it did not necessarily want to highlight the issues concerning the Orange Order or Irish nationalist ideals.
[187] *Le Courrier du Canada*, March 20, 1858.
[188] *Le Canadien*, March 15, 1858.
[189] *Quebec Mercury*, March 20, 1858.

pursuit and subsequent encounters."[190] This introduction was generalized siding obliquely with the paraders, but in an indirect manner that obscured what or if they had an opinion on the broader social context. Though some newspapers were actively involved in reporting the event, the absence or passivity of Quebec newspapers indicate that the events in Toronto did not define how St. Patrick's Day and Irish identity were considered across all parts of British North America.

The issues of 'authenticity' and identity portrayal can be studied and highlighted by a ritual and performance studies analysis of Toronto's St. Patrick's Day parade in 1858, indicating how the parade transmitted a specific type of Irishness that went from a religious ritual to ritualised celebrations of Irish nationalism. This change was visible in the parade's visual and musical performances, through the control of the YMSPA. Newspapers' reactions to the parade highlighted the tensions in Toronto amongst the two opposing Irish communities while continuing a gendered silenced towards female participation in the festivities. The drama of 1858 left a mark on Toronto's Irish Catholic community and, due to the riots, "both lay and clerical Irish leaders concluded that a lower public profile would have to be adopted if the acceptance, recognition and prosperity which they desired were to be achieved." [191] St. Patrick's Day as a public moment of Irish Catholic affirmation was cancelled indeterminately. This reaction indicates that, although Irish Catholics were involved in the political development of Ireland, they were also concerned with their own integration into local Toronto society. The common agreement of suspending the parade between the YMSPA and the Catholic clergy, which lasted

[190] *Quebec Mercury*, March 20, 1858.
[191] Cottrell, "St Patrick's Day Parades in Nineteenth-Century Toronto," 64.

until 1862, also indicates that the community was still very close-knit and that the tension between politics and religion remained pertinent for Irish Catholics. Key players in the community contributed to changing Irish Catholic identity while reacting to their immediate context of Toronto as a Protestant and mostly British city. The city's environment was crucial in defining what the Irish Catholics reacted to and how their statements on their identity fit within the narrative of their city and these same dynamics were at play in Montreal's Irish Catholic community in 1858. The very different setting of Montreal will help illustrate how the environment of a city is crucial in understanding how an immigrant group adapted and emphasised certain aspects of their identity whether for or against the main trends of the city's population.

CHAPTER II:

Montreal's 1858 St. Patrick's Day Parade: A Catholic Celebration with Irish Undertones

In April 1856, the *Montreal Witness*, a Protestant newspaper, voiced their frustration at the Saint Patrick's Society (SPS) which "the Roman Catholics have, by the advice of their priests, appropriated the whole to themselves exclusively."[192] Until that Spring, the society had been non-sectarian, accepting members of all creeds since its creation in 1834.[193] By the 1850s, the majority of its members were Catholics and arguments had occurred over the priorities of the society and the influence of the Catholic clergy. The issues surrounding creed exploded when the president of the SPS decided to toast the health of the pope before the queen at the annual luncheon given in honor of St. Patrick's Day.[194] Members of other societies' such as the St. Andrew's Society recorded in their minutes that, in the future, ""if the President should hear before that the health of the Pope was to be proposed before 'the Queen,' it would be his duty to refuse to be present, or retire if so proposed in his presence."[195] The outrage and arguments surrounding the toast issue gave way to a broader discussion on the society's nature and the place of religion in 1850s Irish Montreal. With the active support of the Sulpician priest Father Patrick Dowd, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, the SPS decided to dissolve and start anew under the same, but as a society based on Catholic identification. The Protestants of the society who were now expelled decided to form their own society, the Irish Protestant Charitable Society, which would become the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society. The separation in the SPS, directly explains why the Montreal St. Patrick's Day parade of 1858 was a celebration of Irish Catholic identity,

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[192] *Montreal Witness*, April 16, 1856.
[193] James, "Dynamics of Ethnic Associational Culture in a Nineteenth Century City," 53.
[194] *Ibid.,* 53.
[195] *Summary of the First Fifty Years' Transactions of St. Andrew's Society of Montreal* (Montreal: McQueen and Cornell, 1886), 31.

organised by the newly confessionalized Saint Patrick's Society. The society's Catholic values were now intertwined with the society's own existence in the Irish Catholic community: the parade's celebration reflected this exclusively Catholic identity.

This chapter will argue that Montreal's parade in 1858 reflected a less controversial and more cohesive Irish Catholic identity than what occurred in Toronto without being completely integrated in Montreal's Catholic community. In Montreal, the clergy and SPS, organiser of the parade, worked together in what they saw as a merging of Irish roots and Catholicism. In order to demonstrate accurately this affirmation of Catholic Irishness, this chapter will begin by describing the parade and the SPS's dinner in order to obtain a broader idea of what was included in the parade. The different elements of the parade and its associated social dinner will be analysed through a performance studies and ritual studies lens to understand how religious and nationalist symbols were portrayed as well as the procession's importance as a ritual which solidified both the Irish and Catholic part of the city's identity to a certain extent.[196] After the study of the procession itself, this chapter will examine the organisers to highlight how the cohesiveness of the parade was more than just an external factor but rather, something achieved through a partnership of the SPS and the Catholic clergy. Through the study of various newspapers with diverse political, religious and social beliefs, the external factors relating to the context of Montreal and the less tense relationships between the Protestant, the French Catholic and the Irish Catholics, compared to Toronto, will become clear. Finally, a comparison of Toronto and Montreal will explore how Irishness in both cities was defined and performed as well as the role of their environments in this identity.[197] As much as Montreal's parade was a

[196] The integration will become more obvious in 1866 as is demonstrated in chapter four.
[197] This section will consider these days with Brubaker's groupness as events concept in order to analyse what, doing so publicly, the Irish Catholic community saw as their key associational factors though it may not be as practiced on an everyday basis.

success compared to Toronto's, this thesis also observes that in 1858, the Irish Catholic community were not integrated into Montreal's Catholic identity as active participants but were rather accepted without being involved or in real contact with the French Catholics of the city.

i. Ritual Analysis

Before analysing what type of Irishness was performed in Montreal, it is important to explore how Catholic Irishness gained expression through the day's events and demonstrations. When it comes to the procession, the central point, geographically and chronologically, was the High Mass at St. Patrick's Church situated on what is now René-Levesque Boulevard.[198] The procession surrounded the mass, heading to the church from Place D'Armes and then continued its way into Griffintown and St. Ann's parish which was the working class Irish neighbourhood of Montreal.[199] The official route of the parade in 1858 left Saint Patrick's Hall, Place D'Armes at 9 a.m. after a rainy night and proceeded through St. James St., Bleury and Lagauchetière streets to enter St. Patrick's Church for High Mass. After the mass, the procession resumed, taking the marchers through Radegonde and Lagauchetière Streets, by Craig to St. Antoine, Mountain and McCord Streets, stopping in front of St. Ann's Church in Griffintown, and cheering three times since it was the church of the Irish Catholics which populated the neigbourhood. Afterwards, the procession wound through Wellington, McGill and Notre Dame, and back to Saint Patrick's Hall where the procession officially dispersed.[200] The centrality of St. Patrick's Church's to the Irish community went beyond St. Patrick's Day because of its history as the first Irish church erected in Montreal. This building exemplified physically how the Irish

[198] High Mass consisted of a longer mass where the liturgy was sung, usually more than one priest officiated and elements such as incense added to the seriousness of the ceremony.
[199] For more detail on the class dimensions of the Irish community in relation to Griffintown see: Matthew Barlow's, *Griffintown: Identity and Memory in an Irish Diaspora Neighbourhood*.
[200] *True Witness*, March 12, 1858.

were now a group of their own with a structure to represent them. Prior to its construction "they were Catholics among French, German and other national congregations" whereas the opening of St. Patrick's Church in 1847 during the Famine, when there was an astronomic influx of Irish Catholics to the city, defined them as a distinct community which could now gather at a specific, middle-class location.[201] The church was a visible sign of the strength and establishment of the Irish Catholics which the SPS wanted to showcase on St. Patrick's Day,within a decade of the Famine. Both the actual building and a High Mass dedicated specifically to St. Patrick demonstrated that both the SPS and the Catholic clergy had a willingness to acknowledge each other and work together in the process of portraying Irishness. This Irishness combined Irish ethnicity, as represented through the SPS' lay membership, while keeping the Catholic church, the building and its rituals at the center of their identity, both physically and metaphorically by incorporating various groups and people into the parade who represented Ireland *and* a strong Catholic affiliation.

The different groups and societies included in the parade consisted of the Fourth and Fifth Companies of Volunteer Rifles and their bands, followed by the No. 1 Hose Company walking four by four.[202] The symbolism of a militaristic presence in the case of Montreal presented the orderly fashion in which the Irish Catholic community of Montreal was capable of marching. These were organised and recognised militia groups and having them open the parade included the community into their orderly performance. These militaristic groups were followed by Irishmen from the congregation of St. Patrick's who were not members of Irish societies, followed by supporters with spears or battle axes carrying banners. The weapons seem to have no specific utility but may well have been a display of proud masculinity since war and its

[201] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 41.
[202] A Hose company was a fireman troop. *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, March 12, 1858.

aspects was associated with masculine traits.[203] Having the banner holders also carry weapons would create a sense of strength, stability and security since they were literally holding the symbols with which the Irish Catholic community associated. These banners included a 'Father Matthew Banner', 'Banner of St. Patrick', 'National Emblem Banner', 'Grand Sunburst Banner of Ireland' and, 'Grand Harp Banner of Ireland' showing both the nationalist tendencies while also possessing some religious banners. Irish nationalism was represented through the 'Grand Sunburst Banner of Ireland' and the 'Grand Harp Banner of Ireland' which a large Irish population actively identified with in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a representation of an Irish (non-British) Ireland.[204] The symbols on both these banners became associated in the 1860s and 1870s with the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Fenians, who will be discussed in the following two chapters. The religious tones of the parade clearly highlighted the flag of St. Patrick. The Father Matthew banner not only referenced Catholicism because of his role as a Catholic Irish priest, but also because he founded a temperance society in Cork in 1839 and was known as a staunch crusader against alcohol.[205] His link to Ireland and the Catholic ideal of temperance reinforced this relationship between Ireland and Catholicism as the two equally central pillars of Irish identity symbolised and defined on St. Patrick's Day 1858. Moreover, temperance was also a respectable public cause which emphasised the Irish Catholics respectability in Montreal rather than perform a disruptive type of Irishness. In between the 'Grand Sunburst Banner of Ireland' and the 'Grand Harp of Ireland' banners walked the members of the executive committee of the SPS and the Temperance Association followed by the chaplain and the clergy of St. Patrick's Church. Arriving at the church for the service, the

[203] Greer, *The Patriots and the People*, 204.
[204] Emily Cullen, "Summoning her Children to Which Flag?," *History Ireland* 24, no 6 (Summer 2016): 33.
[205] James, "Dynamics of Ethnic Associational Culture in a Nineteenth Century City," 59.

groups and bands took specific places and performed the national air 'St. Patrick's Day' inside the church, after which the ceremony proceeded "where a sermon suitable to the occasion, was preached at High Mass, and a collection taken for the poor".[206]

When mass ended, the male members of the congregation were invited to join the remaining part of the procession of what the SPS qualified as the "anniversary of the National Festival of Ireland."[207] The bands and volunteer companies were exclusively male. Floats were not a part of the procession and marching men in an ordered fashion reflected the gravitas of military-style marches or a religious procession, rather than a disorganised fête. The inclusion of the all-male clergy added to the seriousness of the event, inextricably linking the festival to religious proceedings, which one hoped would discourage disrespectful behavior and encourage sobriety both for the marchers and the audience. Though solemn at times, the march was also festive as "the streets were brilliantly decorated with triumphal arches, and many colored banners. The utmost enthusiasm, and the most perfect order, obtained throughout" demonstrated how this day was both a serious affair and an exciting celebration.[208]

It is difficult to define the targeted audience for this day since newspapers including the *True Witness, La Minerve, Le Pays* and *Montreal Witness* did not mention those who watched the parade or the number of attendees. The only comment on the audience was made in the *True Witness'* conclusion of the day where it cited that "in spite of unfavorable weather, our Irish fellow-citizens may well feel proud of the display they made, and of the success which attended their celebration of St. Patrick's Day."[209] It could be an easy conclusion to affirm that since there were men in the procession, many women might have watched the parade but seeing as

[206] *True Witness*, March 12, 1858.
[207] *True Witness*, March 12, 1858.
[208] *True Witness*, March 19, 1858.
[209] *True Witness*, March 19, 1858.

there is no data to back up this claim, we will avoid making overly generalised and gendered assumptions on the interests and activity of women on this day. A more plausible explanation would be that since much of the parade was displaying typical masculine features of strength and military accomplishment, the parade was intended as a display of proud, Irish Catholic masculinity. A fair assessment would be that the parade was attended by the families of those participating as well as other relations who also looked at this day as a celebration of their Irish Catholic identity. Due to women's involvement in organising activities, it is a plausible assumption that they helped to make the banners and arches.

The day's festivities ended with an anniversary dinner at Compain's Restaurant, Place D'Armes at 7 o'clock.[210] The tickets were available to anyone who desired to attend, as per the announcement in the *True Witness*.[211] The traditionalist aspect of the dinner began with eleven different toasts, some accompanied by a speech while others were only accompanied by cheers.[212] The first toast was directed to "the Day and all who honour it" and a speech given to connect all of the Irish around the world, concluding that "where there was an Irishman, there would be the toast which he [the chairman] had now the honor of proposing to them."[213] This made the event and the day's festivities take on a greater ethnic aspect and melded the narrative of the Irish (Catholic) Montreal to the wider Irish diaspora. The second toast was to the pope accompanied by a speech on his greatness which was then followed by a toast to the queen with the singing of *God Save the Queen* instead of a speech. The order of these two toasts is crucial in understanding the priorities of those gathered since the toasts defined the priorities and principles

[210] *True Witness*, March 12, 1858.
[211] It is important to keep in mind that since this was not a free event, the participants to the soiree were members of the working class and, most probably, of the upper working class since the event required proper attire as well.
[212] As an example of the symbolic importance of toasts, the Saint Patrick's Society's split occurred after the Queen was not the first toasted which greatly offended the already tense Protestant members.
[213] *True Witness*, March 19, 1858.

of the society's identity.[214] It is important to recall that the toast to the Pope was one of the events which generated the denomination split in the SPS making it only Catholic. The fact that this toast came before the toast to the head of state demonstrated that these men's religious identity was arguably more important than it civic counterpart. The toast and singing of *God Save the Queen* is undeniably important and complicated the Irish Catholic identity of the day by including a respectful acknowledgement to the colonisers of Ireland, but this action was not a strong political statement in favor of the monarchy. There were no other speeches which referred to the queen and it was followed by the singing of the official anthem instead of anyone making an elaborate speech on Queen Victoria. Nevertheless, this second toast, no matter the motivations and reasons behind it, portrayed Irish Catholics as less controversial than their Toronto counterparts. Since the mayor of Montreal and the Catholic clergy were present, it was a way of appeasing their need for proper procedure while still demonstrating that the Catholic Church and their own Irish nationalism was more important than imperial politics or etiquette. The fourth toast was to Napoleon III with no speech, the fifth was to the President of the United States with a quick acknowledgment by the American consul, Mr. Dorwin, to his pleasure of being surrounded by Irishmen who could have such an impact on his native land.[215] The sixth speech was dedicated to "Ireland the land of our Birth" with a speech emphasizing the success of the Irish in the New World.

April R. Schultz points out that "the sense of history and memory is crucial for any analysis of the invention of ethnicity" and a speech on Ireland which emphasised the immigration experience instead of the Irish issues of the time indicates Ireland was remembered

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[214] *Summary of the First Fifty Years' Transactions of St. Andrew's Society of Montreal* (Montreal: McQueen and Cornell, 1886), 31.

[215] It is unclear whether his native land was the United States or Ireland but in the context of St. Patrick's Day, the native land was most likely Ireland.

and shaped in the attendees' minds as a land beyond time and space.[216] The toast maker, C.W. Sharpley, did speak of Ireland in his speech but did not speak of its present political or social context. He focused instead on the sad destiny of emigrants who now felt melancholy towards Ireland which he spoke of as the "land of their births," "the land of their fathers," and the "land of Saints."[217] Sharpley emotionally evoked the unfortunate past which forced people to leave while never mentioning any historical character or event behind the exodus. Schultz argues that this invention of ethnicity is always changing to respond to the need of the moment. The need, as portrayed in this speech, demonstrated how the Irish of Montreal in 1855 needed to remind themselves of their success in the New World in order to justify why they left the "Land of their Birth" while still wanting to celebrate it and include themselves in its history and present.[218]

The role of the High Mass and its significance to the entire day is necessary in order to understand what Irish identity centered around in 1858. High Mass was, in and of itself, an obvious religious ritual, but its significance was not only due to the importance of religion in the 1850s; it gave March 17th a ritualised Catholic tone by associating the parade and the marchers to this central event of Catholic ceremony and belief.[219] By integrating this crucial Catholic ritual into the celebrations, the organisers made a statement that Irishness in Montreal was built on and around a Catholic rather than a political identity. This was not only the Irish marching to and from the church, recognising their Catholicism: it was also the Catholic hierarchy openly

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[216] Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade*, 126.
[217] *True Witness*, March 19, 1858.
[218] The final toast, for which no speech was reported, was to the ladies. This toast gives the impression that women were present at the dinner though the numbers, or their general presence, was not reported further. If the women were present, they were certainly there as companions to the men and did not have a public role in the celebrations.
[219] The importance and strength of Catholicism in the 1850s is also due to the ultramontane movement which demanded the supremacy of the Church over civil society. In Montreal, Mgr Ignace Bourget was very successful in implementing ultramontanism acquiring the independence of the Catholic Church in education as well as creating a strong political power. "Ultramontanism," http://www.thecanadianen cyclopedia.ca/en/article/ultramontanism/, consulted March 3, 2018.

acknowledging the Irish as a specific respectable Catholic ethnic group. Even the priest, Rev. Bentley of the College of Montreal, "dilated with the fervent eloquence of the Catholic priest and Irish patriot" during his sermon, uniting both identities under the umbrella of Catholicism.[220] Rev. Bentley solidified the connection between the Irish marchers and their saint when he explained "that what St. Patrick had been to Ireland that, argued the preacher, should the people of Ireland be at the present day."[221] This legitimised the Irish community as important members of the wider Catholic Church. The Irish made High Mass important by incorporating it to the center of their celebration and Catholicism also accepted the Irish by making High Mass on St. Patrick's Day about them.

In 1858, the clergy were involved with St. Patrick's Day by directly incorporating the Irish, underscoring the idea that one should be both Irish and Catholic on St. Patrick's Day. The singing of a nationalist anthem at the beginning of mass and having members of the clergy take part in the march allowed for the sharing of spaces between those two entities and the building of ritual upon each other. The ritualization of an action and of a day is accomplished through various means including "linking and elevating the action by associating it with sacred values, narratives or figures."[222] It brought an already established sacredness to the affair while affirming the importance of Catholicism to the Irish identity performed on this day. Schechner posits that rituals "are a way people remember. Rituals are memories in action, encoded into actions."[223] This ritualistic march on St. Patrick's Day was a way for those participating to remember their past as immigrants and their history in Montreal including them in the broader Catholic congregation while also protecting their specific Irish heritage.

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[220] *True Witness*, March 19, 1858.
[221] *True Witness*, March 19, 1858.
[222] Stephenson, *Ritual*, 77.
[223] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 45.

ii. Organisers

When looking at Montreal's celebrations, we need to take a closer look at the Saint Patrick's Society to explain why this Irish and Catholic identity were celebrated together rather than a non-sectrian type of Irishness. In 1858, the St. Patrick's Society, a denominational society; the split with the Protestants was only two years old. The parade reflected these religious changes by being an exclusively Catholic affair. The split which occurred was not surprising since "by 1856 the organising principle of Montreal fraternalism revolved around ethno-religious criteria".[224] Religion was still a contemporary issue for the identity of the SPS, which defined itself in part by its rejection of Protestants. The SPS was in charge of the parade and purposefully performed their Irish Catholic identity through the streets as a public act. Indeed, "there was an increasingly assertive aspect to this collective sense of self; Irish Catholics were now emerging as a constituency that was either distant or removed from local Irish Protestants".[225] The SPS had to redefine itself and the St. Patrick's Day celebrations were an effective tool to reaffirm Catholicism as the center of their public identity. This also gave the Catholic Church a dominant role in the organisation of the parade and within the society in general.[226]

It is difficult to know whether the organisers saw their enactment of the parade as being the only and true representation of what it meant to be 'authentically' Irish or Irish Catholic. The IPBS was not invited to walk in the procession and the participation in the High Mass would also be a deterrent. Since the organisers emphasized religion as a main identifier, the SPS could see this day as representing the Irish Catholics and as an opportunity to demonstrate their discipline

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[224]James, "Dynamics of Ethnic Associational Culture in a Nineteenth Century City," 62.
[225] The Irish Protestants' celebrations are almost unknown in the latter half of the nineteenth century. If any, they would consist of private dinners or parties, not reported in the press. - Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 41.
[226] Trigger, "Irish Politics on Parade," 172.

and respectability without taking over Irish ethnicity as a whole.[227] Cronin and Adair observe that "compared to Montreal's ecumenical St Patrick's Day festivities before the 1850s, this was a more Irish nationalist and Catholic affair" which certainly cannot be denied since, prior to the split, other ethnic organisations such as the St. Andrew's and St. George's societies, were invited to partake in the celebrations.[228] The SPS integrated Catholicism to a point where this day could be seen as first a Catholic event with a secondary Irish backdrop. The toast to the queen, though not central, indicated that the Irish in Montreal somewhat distanced themselves from Irish republicanism, even if only symbolically, in order to possess a strategic non-controversial political position which aligned them with the Catholic hierarchy in Canada East.[229] The toast to the pope came first, highlighting how Catholic authority defined the society and March 17th. The choice of the organisers to march through neighbourhoods associated with Irish Catholics gave the impression the day was more about celebrating Irish Catholicism than claiming new territory as representatives of all the Irish in the city.

It is impossible to speak of the Irish Catholic community and its leaders without looking at the Sulpician priest Father Patrick Dowd, and his important influence in the community for almost fifty years. Dowd was himself Irish, born in Dunleer, county Louth, and arrived in Montreal as a priest in 1848, a year after the opening of St. Patrick's Church which was also the hardest year of the Famine.[230] Being Irish gave Dowd credibility in his Irish parish since he understood the socio-political context of his parishioners and created an extra link between him

[227] It is unclear when the IPBS walked again in the parade, but concerning this thesis, no evidence was found for the late-1850s and 1860s which would indicate them participating.
[228] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 84.
[229] The toast only demonstrates that the Irish were willing to leave some space for the British monarchy in an official capacity; it does not necessarily mean they were active imperialists.
[230] Bruno Harel, *Father Patrick Dowd*, last modified 1990, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/dowd_patrick_ 12E .html.

and his flock. He became even more prominent when he opened the St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum in 1850, which established him as a defender of the weak and unfortunate.[231] His role in the organisation of the parade is unclear due to the lack of textual evidence, but it is certain he was an important figure in the confessionalization of the SPS and that he would involve himself in many of their future activities. His insistence on the independence from Protestant or French Catholic structures and networks indicates his determination to create a separate Irish Catholic community, reflected in the parade's public attention.[232] Considering he was the chaplain of the SPS and given the centrality of the Church on the day, it is logical to assume he was involved in the organisation of the route and the High Mass at St. Patrick's Church where he was appointed. The influence of the Church through Father Dowd highlights the cooperation between the SPS and the Catholic Church while strengthening the argument that Montreal's St. Patrick's Day parade reflected a specifically Irish Catholic identity.

iii. Newspapers

The different attitudes towards Irish Catholics in Montreal were visible in the treatment, or lack thereof, of St. Patrick's Day by various Montreal-based newspapers. Out of the newspapers studied for this thesis only one reported at length on the parade either to announce it or describe the events afterwards.[233] The *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* is the source where details of the parade were printed and already used in this chapter to understand how the parade looked and which provided its order of proceedings. *La Minerve* and *Le Pays*, barely

[231] Jason King, "Remembering and Forgetting the Famine Irish in Quebec: Genuine and False Memoirs, Communal Memory and Migration," *The Irish Review*, no 44, 2012, 20-41.
[232] James, "Dynamics of Ethnic Associational Culture in a Nineteenth Century City," 59.
[233] The newspapers include: *Le Pays, La Minerve, Journal de Quebec, Courrier du Canada, Quebec Mercury* and, *Le Canadien*.

spoke of or outright ignored the Montreal St. Patrick's Day festivities.[234] Though both newspapers were extremely different in what they reported and their political opinions, they both had one similarity: the Irish Catholic population of Montreal was unimportant to their readership. In 1858, *La Minerve,* which was associated with the French Catholic Church, dedicated only half a sentence to the Montreal Festival stating that "cette fête nationale des irlandais s'est passé à Montréal comme de coutume" reinforcing its insignificance to the French-speaking newspaper and its readers.[235] As seen in the previous chapter, while some newspapers spoke of the Toronto events, focusing on the violent episodes of 1858 no such events could be reported for Montreal. Newspapers in either language did not record that there had been a parade in Montreal or a dinner. The Quebec City newspapers reported their own marches indicating that they were aware of the presence of an Irish population in the province, but they did not extend these reports to Montreal.[236]

As to why Montreal was barely mentioned, the phenomenon can be explained by the lack of eventfulness. The newspapers wanted a story to tell: Montreal did not have one as salacious as Toronto. If the newspapers were concerned with St. Patrick's Day specifically, there is no logical explanation as to why they would focus only on Toronto rather than Montreal. The reason Toronto was mentioned in some newspapers was for its violent riots, not for St. Patrick's Day itself, and Montreal had no such controversy to offer. The newspapers also paralleled the lack of interest on the part of the French population towards the Irish Catholic population. The Quebec City newspaper *Le Courrier du Canada* did mention the link between Quebecers and the Irish, but rather than being proof that all francophones associated strongly with the immigrant

[234] *Le Pays* was concerned almost entirely with politics dedicating more than half of its pages to reporting on the Legislative Assembly in Ottawa and on politics in Lower Canada.
[235] *Minerve*, March 20, 1858.
[236] *Le Canadien*, March 19, 1858 ; *Courrier du Canada*, March 17, 1858 ; *Quebec Mercury*, March 20, 1858

population, was the exception highlighting that other newspapers did not take the space or time to create such a link.[237] The French-speakers were neither excited nor offended by the public display of Irish Catholics because they did not feel threatened by this immigrant group. Even on the subject of monarchy, which was a subject more tense than others, no newspapers saw the toast to the queen as a strong enough political statement to draw a reaction. When looking at *La Minerve'*s short description of the parade, the sentence implies that Montreal's population knew of St. Patrick's Day and the customs surrounding it therefore did not need to add any details on what this day concerned. Interestingly, after this half sentence on Montreal, *La Minerve* moved on to the Toronto events, once again demonstrating the attraction of the riots to the press. The silence of the other newspapers, both francophone and anglophone, who were not in any way associated with the Irish or the Irish Catholics of Montreal, strengthened the fact that 'outsiders' to the parade were indifferent to its existence and possessed no feelings for or against the Irish Catholic population of Montreal. Even the anti-Catholic and anti-Irish newspaper the *Montreal Witness*, which was a family-led newspaper for all its existence from 1845-1938, did not write about the Montreal procession either before the actual day or afterwards. It did advocate halting the parades in an article about Toronto but did not transplant this issue to Montreal, highlighting how the social contexts of both cities were different as well as the mentality of those in charge of specific newspaper. This laissez-faire attitude towards Irish Catholics exemplifies the non-confrontational environment in which the Irish Catholics celebrated their day.

As much as this attitude could be interpreted as an example of integration, Trigger slyly observes that "while inter-ethnic interaction played an integral role in ethnic group formation in

[237] See Chapter I for more details. *Le Courrier du Canada*, March 17,1858.

Montreal, avoidance of interactions also contributed to this process".[238] With this in mind, the attitude executed by the French newspapers was more complex than a full acceptance of the Irish Catholic community; it was, rather, an acceptance by ignorance. The parade was not a channel to perform political statements as they were in Toronto; it was a celebration of their religion and their success as an immigrant group in Montreal with little participation by any non-Irish Catholics.

iv. Comparison with Toronto

The main point which comes out when comparing Toronto and Montreal's celebrations is how Toronto's parade, due to the context and the relationship between Catholicism and the Irish community, was a performance of a controversial and provocative Irish nationalist identity while Montreal's focused more on performing a respectability which emphasised their religious affiliation to Catholicism. In her article comparing the organisation of St. Patrick's Day parades in Montreal and Toronto throughout the nineteenth century, Rosalyn Trigger argues that "those organizing the processions in Montreal were generally more successful at achieving the appearance of community consensus than their counterparts in Toronto."[239] This study supports Trigger's statement when looking at and comparing various aspects of the parades while a comparison also highlights the different or similar messages of each Irish Catholic community concerning Irish nationalism, their presence in space and the importance of Catholicism within the construction of their identity.

When comparing the route of the parades in Toronto and Montreal, it becomes obvious that the YMSPA had the intention of disrupting the busy downtown sector of Toronto while the

[238] Trigger, "The Geopolitics of the Irish-Catholic Parish in Nineteenth Century Montreal," 567.
[239] Trigger, "Irish Politics on Parade," 159.

SPS decided to remain within the usual Irish Catholic paths. St. Lawrence Market was a busy commercial venue and the speeches made at St. Lawrence Hall disrupted the everyday activities of the market. As for Montreal, the procession did not disturb downtown activities; even if St. Patrick's Church was not in Griffintown or St. Ann's Ward, it was close enough to walk there and back. Those streets were familiar to the Irish Catholics who went to church at St. Patrick's and created a border in which the Irish Catholic celebration could take place. Compared to Toronto, the dynamics of their procession was not confrontational or meant to antagonize demonstrating the different mentalities and intentions of both parades. Cronin and Adair highlight how, compared to Toronto, "St. Patrick's Day celebrations in the largely Catholic and French-Canadian cities of Montreal and Quebec were, by comparison, amicable."[240]

The major difference which emphasises how Toronto's parade was more Irish than Catholic whereas Montreal's was inextricably religious was the position of the Church in both cities, especially the role of the mass and the clergy. It becomes clear that Montreal's parade performed to a much higher degree its Catholic identity, considering that mass was not an official part of Toronto's route and the clergy was not a part of the march compared to Montreal's central High Mass and clergy walking amidst other groups.[241] The centrality of High Mass was replaced by the speeches given at St. Lawrence Hall, a non-denominational space, where people gathered to hear nationalist speeches. The actual act of walking to a 'sacred space' to hear a message is common to both cities, but the spaces and tone of the speeches radically changed what the rituals upheld as the most important parts of Irish Catholic identity: politics or religion. In contrast, Montreal's parade did not present nationalist tones, even though it was now

[240] Cronin and Adair, The *Wearing of the Green*, 40.
[241] Without a comparison, Toronto's parade could seem rather religious, but the difference with Montreal's parade highlights the extent to which Toronto's parade was more concerned with nationalist ideals.

split from the Irish Protestants and could have made its celebration about Irish politics. The Irish undertones of the parade were strongly linked to Catholicism and there were few hints of Irish nationalism being performed on this day.[242] Also, when looking at what the YMSPA stood for in Toronto, the fact that a toast to the queen was given at Montreal's banquet takes on a new significance since Montreal's Irish Catholic community included imperialist symbols in their celebrations making their Irish Catholic identity different than Toronto's staunchly Irish nationalist performance.

Just as in Toronto, this invitation only to the male members of the congregation highlighted the gendered tone of the Montreal parade. Though both celebrations centered on a projection of Irish Catholic masculinity, the comparison of the goals of these performances demonstrated the difference in the kinds of Irish manliness presented. Toronto's was more an aggressive identity concerned with protecting their own in the face of injustice, which ignited the outrage of the Orange Order. In the case of Montreal, the ordered and synchronised steps of the bands and volunteer companies also performed a stern masculinity, but the emphasis was more on order and control rather than provocation. Again, the inclusion of the British monarch and hymn at the SPS' dinner highlight how Montreal's organisers were concerned with respectability and being acceptable by the city's authorities, both religious and political. Moreover, the fact that this masculinity was performed in their own neighbourhood of Griffintown and St. Patrick's Church decreases the effect of 'pushing back,' which certainly was apparent in Toronto's parade.

Differentiating between the Toronto and Montreal organisers indicates how these 'emerging identities' were constructed and reinforced by the nature and intentions of the

[242] This is not to say that Irish Catholics participating in the parade and the organisers did not have any Irish nationalist ideals and opinions. The statement speaks only to the performance on St. Patrick's Day and the choice of focusing on Catholicism as a primary set of beliefs and identity.

individual involved. Events such as St. Patrick's Day provide insight into how these societies undertook the task of "asserting their influence" and a comparison of two communities with the same general identity as Irish Catholics demonstrates how differently the same identity was celebrated. Unlike Toronto's YMSPA, who were pulling away from Bishop Charbonnel to make the parade a nationalist affair, the SPS cooperated with and was strongly influenced by Father Dowd, an Irish priest, who was the main force behind their split into a denominational society.[243] The SPS accepted moving the celebrations because of Holy Week if necessary, whereas the YMSPA refused, highlighting the different focus of each parade. The YMSPA had attended mass on the Holy Monday following the parade but was not acknowledged in any way during its liturgy.[244] In Montreal, the ceremony actively incorporated the Irish by dedicating the sermon of the mass to St. Patrick and linking him to wider Catholicism, which gave credibility to the whole affair in the context of a Catholic city which ecclesiastical respected this authority. Ironically, the Catholic hierarchy in the dominantly French-speaking Montreal served their English-speaking population better than Charbonnel's bishopric in Toronto, an English-speaking city, by providing the Irish with English-speaking and Irish priests. This type of behaviour in Montreal, especially when compared to Toronto, supports the idea that the cohesiveness between the Irish and the Catholic Church was much more enduring in Canada East.

The similarities between all news sources studied in 1858 was that Toronto was the overwhelmingly dominant subject when speaking of St. Patrick's Day or Irish Catholics in March. Both the English and French press reported these events and gave a similar rendering of the Toronto riots though with their own specific emphases and biases. The comparison gives

[243] James, "Dynamics of Ethnic Associational Culture in a Nineteenth Century City," 59.
[244] Trigger, "Irish Politics on Parade,"182.

insight into what the newspapers valued by the way they dealt with the Toronto violence. As much as newspapers reported on Toronto, they did not jump to the conclusion that the festivities in Montreal should also be banned, clearly demarcating the environment between the cities. Moreover, the fact that the newspapers, both in French and English, reported on Toronto rather than Montreal is explained most easily by the fact that, even in this period, the news stories being reported upon were the interesting and salacious ones. Since the primary goal of a newspaper is to be sold, both languages needed to ensure their paper covered the latest news which catered to the interest and intrigue of humans' fascination for violence and conflict.

An examination of Montreal's St. Patrick's Day parade in 1858 reveals a strong desire by the participants and organisers to connect their Irish roots to Catholicism. The route of the parade walked through the streets of an Irish Catholic neighbourhood while also including the most obvious physical representation of Catholicism: the Church. This dual identity was also reflected by the procession's function as a Catholic ritual and also as a national celebration intertwined into one inseparable Irish Catholic day. The role of the SPS as organiser is easily identifiable since St. Patrick's Day events actually reflected the nature of the society itself as a denominationally Catholic and ethnically Irish society working in close association with Father Dowd and the clergy. The SPS wanted to parade the success of the Irish community in Montreal, mostly to its own members by going into Griffintown and coming back to St. Patrick's Hall. Newspaper analyses develop the fact that, compared to the Toronto Irish community, Montreal

Irish Catholics did not have to contend with as hostile an environment, exemplified in the descriptions of the peaceful parade and those involved in it. Since the majority of the population was French Catholic and was not involved in the questions of Irish and Irish Catholic identities, differing from Toronto's Orange and British context it is possible to explain the lack of tension in newspapers concerning the day and its importance. The procession reinforced the bond between being Irish and being Catholic in a peaceful and non-provocative manner. Though the Irish part of their identity was very important, its expression was less about Ireland's present politics than about remembering their part in Ireland's past and Montreal's present. Catholicism, meanwhile remained crucial to both the past and the present in their role within the city. Both Toronto and Montreal performed these two major aspects of their identity, but in very different ways, demonstrating the importance of religion and nationality to their Irishness and its representation. The 1860s will see an evolution in both identities and Toronto's 1866 parade will illustrate how Irish Catholic identity evolved in the Canadian context becoming even more Irish nationalist while maintaining a respect for Catholicism. Fenianism became an important subject of controversy which began many discussions on Irish identity and the role of Irish Catholic immigrants in Canadian and Irish politics as demonstrated by the various discourses surrounding the 1866 St. Patrick's Day parade and its performance of Irishness.

CHAPTER III:

Irish Catholics' Coming of Age in a Nascent Nation: Questions of Irish Catholic Identity Through Toronto's 1866 Parade

In 1866, the advertisement for Toronto's St. Patrick's Day parade in the *Irish Canadian* announced "ST. PATRICK'S DAY! - A cordial invitation to participate in the festivities of the day is extended to our Brethren in the country, and to Irishmen generally."[245] The advertisement gave the impression that the 1866 procession was an inclusive celebration without a political agenda. The *Irish Canadian* was affiliated with the Hibernian Benevolent Society (HBS), an Irish nationalist organization founded in 1858 by Michael Murphy, a Fenian, in order to patrol the streets of Toronto and protect Irish Catholics from what was denounced by Murphy as a corrupt police corps.[246] Although the invitation was open to the "Irishmen generally, in actuality, this was directed to a specific type of Irishman who agreed with the HBS' political ideals., which included freeing Ireland from its English oppressors, through violent means if necessary, and opposing the repression of Irish Catholics by Protestants in the economic and public spheres of the city of Toronto.

Fenianism was the HBS' solution to liberating Ireland. This mostly American movement sparked conversations on the role of the Irish in Canada and the diaspora's role in Irish politics. Indeed, Fenianism in Canada "persisted and helped to create a new concept of what it meant to be "Irish" " one that was not dominated by melancholic memories of the Famine but by active involvement in changing Irish affairs.[247] Meanwhile, a change in the Catholic hierarchy of the

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[245] *Irish Canadian*, March 14, 1866.
[246] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 162.
[247] Peter M. Toner, "The Fanatic Heart of the North," in *Irish Nationalism in Canada*, ed. David A. Wilson, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 35.

city also influenced discussions surrounding Irish Catholic identity and Toronto's link to Ireland. In 1860, the bishopric of Toronto was passed on from Bishop Charbonnel to John Joseph Lynch, an Irishman born in Co. Monaghan who tended to the Irish Catholic population of Toronto with far greater attention than had the French Bishop Charbonnel.[248] Lynch's arrival represented at a microscale the self-awareness growing in the Irish Catholic population of Toronto. Through the HBS, the community's will to be recognized as an equal member of the city's population was solidified.[249] Both Lynch's influence and the HBS' presence as defenders of Irish Catholics represented the foundations for an Irish Catholic image where nationalistic pride *and* religion were essential. The HBS began as defenders of the city, but went further when they reinstated the annual St. Patrick's Day parade in 1862 to "reassert the Irish-Catholic right to the streets of the city."[250] As Adair and Cronin demonstrate, the historical context of the parades matter in defining what was celebrated and put forth to Toronto's population. In 1866, Fenianism was essential to how the Irish Catholic community divided itself as supporting or condemning the parade and why the community's leaders disagreed on issues of nationalism, politics, and identity. The fear of Fenianism was present in many spheres of 1866 including the Canadian government and military authorities, who spent much time, effort and money in preparing for an attack on the border with the United States of America.[251] St. Patrick's Day was especially important since there were rumours of a Fenian invasion on this day coinciding with the parade which would act as a distraction. Participants in the parade from the HBS would then join forces

[248] Unlike Charbonnel, Lynch was fluent in English and, being Irish himself, understood the needs of a population which had gone through the Great Famine and immigrated to Canada. Moreover, Lynch was aware of the importance of Irish identity for his community compared to Charbonnel who had used Irishness to justify the power of the Catholic church. Michael Cottrell, "St. Patrick's Day Parades in Nineteenth Century Toronto,"65.
[249] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 166.
[250] Cottrell, 'St. Patrick's Day parade in Nineteenth Century Toronto,' 65.
[251] Toner, "The Fanatic Heart of the North," 38.

with the invaders.[252] Though false, these rumors ignited many arguments surrounding the parade, its significance, its representation of Irish identity and its continuing existence as part of Toronto's performative culture.

This chapter begins by studying the parade, as directed by the HBS, and the Irish identity they chose to reinforce through the ritual of the procession. Looking at the performance of Irishness in the parade, analyzing the discourses and opinions of groups and key personalities within the Irish Catholic community, such as the HBS, newly-installed Bishop Lynch, and politician Thomas D'Arcy McGee will demonstrate that the discussions surrounding Irish identity and the parade became extremely tense. The disagreements within the local community were discussed by the greater populations of Toronto and Canada through the press. Newspapers established how controversial the parade was and how much Fenianism impacted the discussion surrounding its existence and what kind of Irishness it presented and represented. By looking at these various integrated aspects, this chapter argues that the Toronto parade of 1866 was not effective in unifying the city's Irish Catholic population, but rather deepened communal divisions in a world where Fenianism was a viable threat. Indeed, the elements of this chapter demonstrate that the parade, organized by the HBS, itself a radical organization, was a celebration of a distinguished and unique Irish identity based on close associations with Ireland while publicly upkeeping the relationship with the Catholic side of their identity.

i. Ritual Analysis

Before analyzing the procession as a ritual, a general description is necessary to understand how these Irish nationalist biases defined the HBS' relationship to St. Patrick's Day.

[252] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 79.

Unlike the 1858 parade organized by the YMSPA, there was no major criminal incident in 1866; with about six hundred participants, it was much smaller than those which had occurred in 1862 and 1863, which had numbered at least two thousand participants.[253] The unfounded rumors of a Fenian invasion circulated prior to the celebration so that "only the die-hard Hibernians turned out to march in the smallest parade in years."[254] As in 1858, a grand High Mass, unrelated to the procession, was held in St. Michael's Cathedral on the morning of March 17th officiated by Bishop Lynch. This separation between the Catholic and lay celebrations differ greatly from Montreal's dynamics and continue to demonstrate how Toronto's Irish Catholic community was less centered on their Catholicism as Montreal.[255] After mass, those willing to walk in the procession invited by the HBS gathered at Power Street. The route was similar to previous years, though the HBS lengthened the route in 1866, intentionally making it pass in front of many Orange lodges.[256] The procession started at 11:30 a.m. at Power Street then: "moved up King Street to Church street, up Church to Shuter street, along Shuter to Yonge street, down Yonge to Queen street, by way of Queen street to Bathurst street, down Bathurst to King Street, and thence, by King street to the place from whence the procession first started."[257] At this point, Toronto Irish Catholics did not have a specific neighborhood which was associated with their community; their "otherness" was a mental state rather than a physical one.[258] Walking in front of the Orange lodges was an act of protest taking themselves out of that state of mind and forcefully putting themselves into the Toronto civic narrative.

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[253] Senior, *The Fenians and Canada*, 90.
[254] Cronin and Adair*, The Wearing of the Green,* 79.
[255] *Globe*, March 19, 1866.
[256] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 78.
[257] *Irish Canadian*, March 21, 1866.
[258] Smyth*, Toronto, the Belfast of Canada*, 151.

Smyth argues that the Irish Catholic community's exclusion in Toronto was related to the city's Protestant community, which was "often hesitant about making space for them in their lives and in the official structures that they controlled and operated."[259] With this in mind, the provocative geography of the route became significant as it represented the mentality of those marching to demarcate space and include themselves within the streets of Toronto. As the procession ritualized the act of walking, the motion became a symbol in itself, communicating the demands of the Irish Catholic community. Barry Stephenson explains the impact of actions and their role in rituals; walking became stylized and formalized reinforcing the ritualization process where behavior and acts become symbols in themselves.[260] Walking took on significance through its potential military overtones which communicated symbolically a desire for Irish Catholics to be included in the streets and everyday life. Walking as a group on a day they identified specifically as an Irish Catholic day where the participants were "headed by a brass band – carrying the usual green banners, and marshalled by about half a dozen equestrians, got up in military costumes" symbolized Irish Catholic presence in Toronto and communicated the desire of the HBS to ensure Catholic life in the city.[261]

This militaristic nationalist identity was also formalized by the brass band of the HBS who performed military tunes like 'The Croppy Boy' and 'God Save Ireland'.[262] Music set the tone of the procession as one with explicitly Irish nationalist beliefs while also providing a marching rhythm for the participants. Space was not only filled with banners and marchers,

[259] Smyth, *Toronto, Belfast of Canada*, 151.
[260] Stephenson, *Ritual*, 74.
[261] *Globe*, March 19, 1866. No description of the banners was found but it was cited in the *Ottawa Citizen* on March 19, 1866 that there were five of them. "The Hibernians had obviously undertaken some military training during the six years of their existence, which probably improved their marching on St. Patrick's Day." Senior, *The Fenians and Canada*, 68.
[262] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 78.

but also with music providing a uniting cohesiveness between the act of marching on St. Patrick's Day and the nationalist symbols. Thus, the symbols on the banners were complimented by the well-known tunes which celebrated rebels in previous Irish rebellions. Songs such as 'God Save Ireland' were well-known ballads among the Irish without specific ownership and the lyrics varied while maintaining nationalist meaning. For example: "God save Ireland, said the heroes / God save Ireland, said they all / Whether on the scaffold high / Or the battlefield we die / Oh what matter when for Erin dear we fall?" would be heard in the procession.[263] When played in streets where Protestant Canadians were the majority population, these songs and the spirit they represented engulfed the space with Catholic-nationalist meaning and, through sound, spread the message of Irish nationalism throughout the various neighbourhoods and thorough-fares.

Speeches also contributed to defining the day as a nationalist celebration. The president of the HBS, Michael Murphy, was the first to speak, explaining how the Irish in Canada were content abroad while also being infuriated for their families in the homeland.[264] Murphy began by stating that "we [Irish Catholics] should feel perfectly satisfied with the Government of this country, its laws, and with the social relations of a vast majority of our fellow citizens."[265] This made the parade and the HBS appear unthreatening and lent credence to the idea of the parade as a demonstration of Irish Canadian loyalty to their homeland. He reiterated this fact by explaining how "as children of a wronged and outraged land, we hate her prosecutor and wish to see undeserved and undefended crimes punished as they merit,"

[263] "God Save Ireland" http://www.celtic-lyrics.com/lyrics/221.html, consulted November 5, 2017.
[264] The veracity and sincerity of Murphy's speech will not be analysed in this chapter since the focus is on how the speech itself functioned in defining Irishness on this specific occasion rather than whether it truly reflected his personal beliefs.
[265] *Irish Canadian*, March 21, 1866.

but this assertion of hatred was then tempered by his assurance that "as citizens of a free country, and in enjoyment of all the rights and privileges accorded to our fellows, we desire no changes save those which the majority wish."[266] Murphy's words defined an Irish Canadian identity with strong links to Ireland while acknowledging the differences between these nations.

While the speech seemingly contradicted the martial aspects of the procession by highlighting Irish contentment in Canada, thus countering rumors of any Fenian presence in the HBS, other sections of Murphy's speech emphasized the Irish Catholic community's dedication to the Fenian cause of independence. After denouncing any invasion of Canada, Murphy stated that there were over forty thousand Irish Catholics in Canada who "were prepared to shed their blood for the redemption of Ireland."[267] This aggressive statement complicated the allegiance of the Irish to Canada and to Ireland. Murphy's words made it possible for an Irishman to be a law-abiding Canadian even while his love of Ireland legitimized a violent paradigm. These connections were enhanced by Murphy's unapologetic hatred of Irishmen who spoke against Fenianism and the HBS such as Thomas D'Arcy McGee. Indeed, Murphy disassociated himself from McGee's moderate politics, more concerned with Canadian affairs, by publicly insulting and questioning McGee's legitimacy as an Irish man and asking the readership of the *Irish Canadian* "what say you to the lip-loyalty and subserviency of Mr. McGee to the Catholic Clergy?"[268] Murphy's rhetoric made McGee, the *Canadian Freeman* newspaper, and the Orange Order his villains, clearly

[266] *Irish Canadian*, March 21, 1866. – In this case, the changes referred to issues of Canadian confederation.
[267] *Irish Canadian*, March 21, 1866. The actual amount of sworn Fenians, according to David Wilson's extensive research, was around 3,000 men which highlights how much Murphy's speech was bravado rather than factual. – David Wilson, "Swapping Canada for Ireland: the Fenian Invasion of 1866," *History Ireland*, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 2008), 25.
[268] *Irish Canadian*, March 14, 1866.

establishing the type of Irish Catholic identity celebrated, performed and ritualised on St. Patrick's Day in 1866.[269] Murpy's Irish identity was defined not only by its link to Ireland's political issues, but also by publicly contradicting other types of Irish identity which he pronounced as illegitimate. His ideas of Irishness were reinforced by his audience: "Mr. Murphy was repeatedly cheered and retired amidst a perfect storm of applause."[270] His performance would not be as significant to definitions of Irish identity if it was not supported by a receptive audience which, through their applause, created a dynamic relationship where they saw themselves represented in Murphy's speech.

This identification with Murphy's rhetoric further ritualised the power of the crowds assembled when various cheers were offered at the end of speeches. The first three cheers were for "old Ireland, the day we celebrate, and all who honour it" followed by three cheers to Bishop Lynch, once again conflating the two most important aspects of Irish Catholic identity on this day.[271] If those assembled masses had refused to offer cheers, the ritualized aspects of the triumphant shouts would not have worked as efficiently in performing a unified Irish identity under the guidance of Michael Murphy and the HBS. Interestingly, the absence of Bishop Lynch from the procession was not mentioned in any speech and the three cheers acted as a testimony of the loyalty of the HBS and the parade's participants to an Irish Catholic clerical authority. The last cheers were directed to Michael Murphy reinforcing the importance of his speech through his significance to the 'true' Irish Catholic community celebrated in the procession on this day. Murphy's cheer was combined with one for James

[269] The *Canadian Freeman* was an Irish Catholic newspaper under James George Moylan, an Irishman, which aligned with Thomas D'Arcy McGee and also had tight relations with the Catholic Church giving Bishop Lynch editorial space. – Peter Oliver, "James George Moylan," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/moylan_james_george_13E.html, consulted March 5, 2018.
[270] *Irish Canadian*, March 21, 1866.
[271] *Irish Canadian*, March 21, 1866.

Stephens, "one of the foremost Irishmen alive today".[272] Stephens was one of the founding members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in Dublin in 1858 whose goal was to push Britain out of Ireland by force of arms.[273] The IRB's American branch, with which Stephens was involved in 1866, became the Fenians and the cheers to Stephens in Toronto demonstrated, once again, the attachment of the participants to Fenian ideals and the ritualization of those beliefs through ceremonial cheers of support.

In 1866, the procession was focused on the HBS and its members as the sole participants. Other societies refused to partake due to the tense political climate and the demand by Bishop Lynch to avoid trouble. For example, the president of the St. Patrick's Society of Toronto, the Hon. R. Spence, during the annual general meeting on March 15th, 1866 expressed his opinion that,

> in the present temper of the public mind – looking to the serious matters discussed in the public journals of late – the threats on the one hand, and the means taken for just and lawful resistance on the other – looking at the circumstances […] I would not be doing my duty were I to invite you to any public celebration on the approaching festival of St. Patrick. [applause][274]

This indicates that the original intention of the society to participate in public celebrations had changed due to "serious matters discussed in the public journals of late" and an awareness of the symbolic importance if they decided to participate. Publicly refusing to join the parade also defined the type of Irish Catholic identity created and re-created in the procession and what type

[272] *Irish Canadian*, March 21, 1866.
[273] Toner, "The Fanatic Heart of the North," 34.
[274] *Canadian Freeman,* March 22, 1866.

of Irish Catholic identity was not going to be performed during the parade. The publication of their decision and the decision itself provided for a different Irish Catholic identity demonstrating that the HBS and Murphy did not have a monopoly on its public representation. Moreover, the parade was not a unifying event but rather forced people to choose what type of Irishness they associated with and whether to perform it or not.

Groups refusing to participate also highlighted the implications for those who did march in the procession and how much the HBS and their supporters were responsible in upholding this militaristic, defiant Irish Catholic identity focused on the homeland's political and social tensions. The absence of respectable groups such as temperance societies, charities, other lay Irish societies, military volunteer bands and religious organisations implied that this parade was not approved by all Irish Catholics. On the contrary, the participants, or those who had the intention to participate, comprised men, women and children though some were prevented to participate due to the weather. The *Irish Canadian* spoke of the schoolgirls of St. Paul's who, regardless of demands made by the bishop "came into the enclosure in front of the church, and poured forth the homage of their pure young hearts in the ballads and music of their own sweet land."[275] Including youth in the public celebrations portrayed the dynamism and passion for Ireland and represented the rightfulness of the public demonstrations executed by "pure young hearts". As the journal of the HBS, the *Irish Canadian* included narratives of youth and young women to legitimise love of Ireland through a "pure" and non-threatening emotion embodied in song. These girls performed a particular Irish identity by singing nationalist songs in front of the physical representation of Catholicism where speech was crucial in building a passion for Ireland while also remaining connected to Catholic decorum and ceremony through the space. Just as in

[275] *Irish Canadian*, March 21, 1866.

Murphy's speech, a dual identity consisting of extreme nationalist ideals of liberation mixed with traditional Catholicism to bring legitimacy to the Fenian cause as the heart of Murphy's s parade.

Women and youth did not actually partake in the procession since it became too cold for them to wait for the procession to start.[276] Nonetheless, the primary inclusion of women and children indicates that this enthusiastic Irish identity included and used various individuals to strengthen itself as an all-encompassing identity. Highlighting the presence of women provided respectability to the event due to the ideas surrounding women and their role in nineteenth century society as mothers and caregivers bringing the private sphere into the public one to soften the HBS' performance. Though the procession challenged the loyalties of other Irish fraternities, the inclusion of women softened the aggressive stance of the HBS while the speeches and overall performances transmitted an Irish Catholic identity largely based on male associations with courage and political involvement. It was noticed in the 1860s that "many women put on the green on Saint Patrick's Day – the *Globe* reported that among the spectators women outnumbered men" which hinted to the shared political beliefs between the members of the HBS and the women surrounding them.[277] Moreover, it is impossible to know whether some of these women saw St. Patrick's Day as a rare occasion where they could show support without being ostracised for being politically active.[278] The lack of women in leadership roles should not be seen as an indicator of their involvement with socio-religious movements. Indeed, "while men, usually members of the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, sat on the committee of management to supervise financial arrangements, it was the women who prepared the food,

[276] *Globe*, March 19, 1866 and *Irish Canadian*, March 21, 1866.
[277] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 180.
[278] It is impossible to prove this in a Toronto or Montreal context, but this needs to be highlighted due to the lack of consideration in previous historical works for the autonomy of women and their role as individual agents of historical tradition and/or change.

decorated the hall, and made fine-point articles."[279] This made women more active than some of their male counterparts in many social organisations. The Saint Patrick's Society's first annual meeting also pointed to the importance of women when the executive committee "further recommend that their successors have power to avail themselves of a committee of ladies to visit families, report cases of distress, and make suitable recommendations," thus proving that women were essential to societies at many levels.[280] There is no way of knowing how involved they were in the preparation of banners or the band rehearsals, but their unacknowledged contributions through their knowledge of the state of families in the community to their actions in relation to celebrations, made them essential to the development of the festivities. Their support or lack of support was essential in the negotiation of the HBS' Irish Catholic identity rituals where staunch nationalism was enacted and Catholicism was acknowledged through ritualised speeches and songs such as the ones provided by the schoolgirls of St. Paul's.

ii. Organisers

Although the HBS was in charge of the procession in 1866, their political Irish identity and their desire to celebrate Irishness publicly amidst a Fenian threat was not accepted by the Irish Catholic community as a whole. Through the study of the disagreements and diverging messages from prominent figures within the community, the issues with which the Irish Catholic community was concerned in 1866 became clear. Moreover, the various opinions held by community leaders on the degree of Irishness in Canada, their relation to Fenianism and their thoughts on Irish politics underscored communal divisions and the extent to which the HBS was unable to create an Irish Catholic identity for the entire city. The fractiousness of the Irish

[279] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 84.
[280] *Canadian Freeman*, March 22, 1866.

Catholic community was visible when looking at the HBS' justification of the procession, Bishop Lynch's letter to his parishioners, and Thomas D'Arcy McGee's vociferous disapproval of the parade and its organisers. This multiplicity of opinions on Irishness demonstrates that the HBS was consciously catering to a particular group of Irish Catholics while openly opposing McGee and his more moderate and inclusive ideas of Irishness.

The discourse of the HBS on the existence of a procession amidst the Fenian controversy was based on their rights as Canadian citizens to celebrate publicly their ethnic affiliations. The *Irish Canadian* denounced how trying to cancel the procession was a method used "to wean, as far as possible, the Irish of these Provinces from the love they still cherish for their own land."[281] In order to be "authentically" Irish, this newspaper considered that people needed to be not only emotionally attached but also active in their relationship to Ireland. The procession was a method of showing solidarity by celebrating a specific Irish identity. To defend the procession against its detractors, Michael Murphy wrote a letter to the newspapers explaining that there was no legitimate base for the fear of the events organised on St. Patrick's Day events. His letter assured that he was "totally ignorant of any cause for such apprehended disturbances, and will say for the Society over which I have the honor to preside, that they are equally unconscious of this anticipated trouble."[282] After dismissing any rumors of troubles, Murphy justified the 1866 procession by explaining how the bishop requested in 1865 that the parade be cancelled and that "in veneration to his Lordship, and in order to second his good intentions, they [the HBS] cheerfully complied with his request".[283] Murphy then explained that since the Orange Order maintained their parade on July 12, 1865 he saw no appropriate reason for the Irish Catholics to

[281] *Irish Canadian*, March 14, 1866.
[282] *Irish Canadian*, March 14, 1866.
[283] *Irish Canadian*, March 14, 1866.

cancel their celebrations a year later. This motivation was also transmitted in the official advertisement for the day where it read that since the HBS "abstained from similarly celebrating the last 17th of March, the Society, in amends for such omission intend to make the present demonstrations more than usually attractive."[284] The notice and Murphy's letter indicate that the HBS was aware of the many oppositions and fears concerning the procession, but that they consciously decided to proceed with public festivities. These discourses put forth the strong relationship the HBS felt for Ireland, which justified their will to celebrate their ethnicity, just as the Orange Order had celebrated theirs. Their vocabulary was firm but these memos did not provoke or insult any individuals or groups, focusing on their rights as Irishmen to celebrate 'their' day publicly.

Prior to 1866 the HBS and Bishop Lynch had built a strong relationship, both parties understanding the importance of the other to maintain credibility in the eyes of the community. The HBS was aware of the dual nature of the Irish Catholic's ethnic identity which explained why "the society's identification with the Catholic Church was essential if it was to gain a popular following."[285] Bishop Lynch was also aware of the importance of maintaining a positive relationship with the Hibernians since their influence spread to "the extent that opposition to it was viewed as traitorous to the Irish Catholic cause, a tag with which few within the community wished to be branded," especially not the figurehead of Catholicism in Toronto.[286] More than passively allowing the existence of the HBS, Lynch shared many of their political beliefs regarding the mistreatment of Ireland and the wrongdoings of England. In a letter written on February 28, 1866 he explained that the existence of the HBS after large waves of Irish

[284] *Irish Canadian*, March 14, 1866.
[285] Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 163.
[286] Ryan and Wamsley, "A Grand Game of Hurling & Football," 23.

immigration "is as natural a consequence to misrule as the falling of a heavy buoy to the Earth, is the effect of the law of gravitation, for the moral order has also its laws."[287] Not only did Lynch pity the events in Ireland, as other clergymen did, he went further and denounced on a moral level England's treatment of Ireland, consequently justifying the HBS' emotional and political involvement with their home country.

Concerning St. Patrick's Day, Lynch wrote a letter to his parishioners which was published in many newspapers including the influential *Irish Canadian*, *Canadian Freeman*, and *The Globe*. The letter asked Catholics to celebrate the day in peaceful, orderly and obedient manners in order to act as proper Catholics should. Lynch explained how this attitude properly reflected their loyalty to their country, to the rest of the city and province. It encouraged a passive Irish Catholic identity indicating a gap between the HBS' idea of a militaristic Irish Catholic identity and Bishop Lynch's emphasis on propriety.[288] The Hibernians publicly denounced Fenian invasions but were also vocal about the possibility of taking arms for Ireland, while Lynch's influential letter indicated a softer approach to Ireland's troubles. When referring to the possible Fenian invasion, Lynch expressed that, "we need not point out to Catholics […] their duty as loyal subjects to repel invasion and defend their homes; for loyalty is a virtue, as it is also a duty towards the Government."[289] This emphasised how Catholicism guided the political behavior of the community towards a loyal and peaceful mentality. Lynch, once again, merged religion and politics, this time using religion to diminish radical political beliefs. Without speaking of the HBS specifically, but rather of violent Fenians, he expressed the complete lack of sympathy he

[287] Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, LAE0701 – St. Michael's Palace, Toronto, February 28, 1866.
[288] The letter was also spoken of in Lower Canada newspapers including *Le Journal de Trois-Rivieres* – see chapter 4.
[289] "Important letter from his lordship Bishop Lynch on the threatened invasion of Canada and the due celebrations of St. Patrick's Day," *Canadian Freeman*, March 15, 1866.

felt for "lawless men, who, pretending to remedy the evils of Ireland, would inflict dreadful injury on the peaceful inhabitants of these Provinces."[290] The Hibernians and their activities on St. Patrick's Day were not mentioned in Lynch's letter thus, no direct connection was made by the highest cleric in Toronto between the "lawless men" and the Hibernians. Of course, since the HBS was seen by many Catholics and Protestants, including McGee and the *Canadian Freeman*, as a branch of the Fenian organisation, Lynch's condemnation of the Fenians could be interpreted as a veiled, or weak, denunciation of the HBS.

Lynch did not explicitly discourage his flock from participating in the procession, preferring instead to speak of the religious and celebratory aspects of the festival. He designated the three days leading to March 17th as special devotions in parishes. He also granted a plenary indulgence to all those who went to Mass and received communion on St. Patrick's Day and offered a papal benediction in St. Michael's Cathedral at the pontifical mass.[291] Lynch only focused on the celebrations put forth by the Catholic Church and did not refer to or make judgements on any other celebrations. While his avoidance of non-religious content may have been to appease the HBS, some evidence suggests he did not perceive the HBS as a threat; in a letter written in Toronto addressed to the Bishop of Ottawa he explained that when he was made aware of the HBS, "j'ai pris les informations concernant leurs constitutions. Je n'y ai rien trouvé qui me fit considérer cette société comme une société secrète condamné par l'Église."[292] This letter to the Bishop of Ottawa, was written after the controversies surrounding the procession, demonstrating that he still felt an allegiance to the HBS and a need to protect them, and himself, through this defense. Though Lynch's leadership did not directly dissuade Irish Catholics from entering the

[290] *Canadian Freeman*, March 15, 1866.
[291] *Canadian Freeman*, March 15, 1866.
[292] Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, LAD04 – St Michael's Palace, Toronto, April 6, 1866.

procession, his words concerning the loyalty and orderliness which a good Catholic should embody did not align with the HBS' active mentality, creating a split in the Irish Catholic community. This divergence caused those who identified with the Church to distance themselves from the HBS as the organization was labeled a possible trouble maker. Lynch's letter represented a different Irish Catholic identity than that projected by the HBS: one that was more concerned with loyalty to Canada and peace. The HBS catered to a specific martial and independent identity and, in 1866, the Irish Catholic community was aware that this identity was political and did not represent the majority. This comparison of the leaders' voices illustrates the different identities at play and the significance of the parade in the discussions on Irish identity. Looking at these discourses also shows how complex Irish identity was since even Lynch was not completely opposed to the HBS, but also not approving of their violent tones. These discourses demonstrate the HBS' conscious decision to support a specific aggressive identity which they saw as the only and 'true' Irishness while also remaining within the respectability of Catholicism and to a limited extent, Canadian loyalty.

Lynch's laissez-faire attitude towards the HBS and his personal persuasions about Ireland explain his moderate stance towards St. Patrick's Day celebrations compared to Thomas D'Arcy McGee's ardent opposition to Murphy, the HBS, and their planned procession on March 17th. Upon his arrival in the country in 1858 where he was invited and welcomed by Montreal's Irish community, he was still a controversial figure due to his past in the Young Ireland movement and his exile to the United States.[293] By 1866, McGee had not only disassociated himself from extremist groups such as Young Ireland, but disapproved of most extremist groups, especially the Orange Order and the Fenians which were both popular during his political career. Though in

[293] Toner, "The Fanatic Heart of the North," 36.

his own time he was accused by either side of being a traitor, McGee explained his view in 1866 that "Orangeism has been made the pretext of Fenianism, and Fenianism is doing its best to justify and magnify Orangeism."[294] McGee was preoccupied by the effect of the HBS marching and the Fenian undertones involved in relation to the position of Irish Catholics in Canada and their reputation, especially since he was closely involved with Confederation plans.[295] As mentioned in chapter one, McGee sided with the leaders of the Young Men's St. Patrick's Association in their decision to cancel the parade after the riots of 1858, indicating his changing political views to a more moderate position.[296] Due to his political alliance with some notable Protestant figures such as George Brown of *The Globe* and his position in the Liberal-Conservatives which was not supported by most Irish Catholics, McGee was no longer a strong leader of the Irish Catholic community.[297] By 1866 McGee had lost his influence in his own district in Montreal and the HBS was attacking his credibility in Toronto calling him a hypocrite and traitor to the cause of Ireland.[298] McGee's involvement in Toronto was mostly as a commentator and social leader since he was involved in Canadian politics rather than only municipal ones. He was a well-known figure in all of what was to become Canada because of his close relationship to John A. MacDonald and his vociferous opposition to Fenianism and the HBS illustrates the problematic position of these organisations and their lack of unifying power against a more moderate but charismatic politician. Though not a politician in Toronto, McGee was concerned with Canadian politics as a whole and, especially, when it came to the status of Irish Canadians in the soon to be formed Dominion.

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[294] *Canadian Freeman,* March 15, 1866.
[295] David Wilson, "Introduction," in *Irish Nationalism in Canada* ed. David Wilson (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 6.
[296] Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*, 56.
[297] Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*, 127.
[298] Toner, "The Fanatic Heart of the North," 38-39.

McGee saw the procession as a communicative ritual of problematic ideals including Fenianism, violence, and disorder. McGee's intense disapproval of the parade demonstrates how important the procession was as a political statement concerning the Irish in Canada. As he observed in a letter to Lynch, "it involves all Catholics even including your Lordship" reaffirming the importance of the day for the broader community while highlighting his awareness of the parade as building a non-inclusive Irish identity.[299] McGee's affirmation to Lynch that this concerned all Catholics meant that the procession needed to be taken seriously since its performativity spoke for all of them. His serious approach to the subject illustrated the extent to which the St. Patrick's Day celebrations concerned much more than a saint's day by1866: they were also a visual representation and performance of problematic ideals within the clergy

McGee's reaction highlighted how much this issue divided the city of Toronto as well as the Irish Catholic community itself. He perceived that nationalist symbols used in the procession created a potential for conflict, especially as the cultural significance placed on the parade had already escalated Protestant-Catholic tensions. He pleaded with Bishop Lynch: "I do most respectfully beseech you (seeing what I <u>see</u> and cannot more fully explain) do not support the procession of a Society, already more than suspected to enter your Cathedral Church."[300] McGee attempted to persuade the bishop to refuse entrance into the Cathedral to members of the HBS and to write a letter encouraging the Irish Catholics to observe the day with temperance and order. McGee insisted that Lynch needed to discourage the parade and that "it is a question for Murphy and his gang whether they will voluntarily obey their own Bishop, or be *put down* by

[299] Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, LAF0308 March 7, 1866.
[300] McGee to Lynch, Lynch Papers, ARCAT L AF 0308, March 7, 1866.

Mr. Medcalf (the Mayor) and the troops."[301] This affirmation obviously illustrates that McGee was hoping for the parade to be banned, if not by the bishop then by the local authorities who would interfere. As previously stated, Lynch did send out a letter to his parishioners though it was not as harsh as McGee had demanded since the parade, and its immorality, was not mentioned in Bishop Lynch's letter. McGee's influence in Canada was fading since neither Catholic authorities or municipal authorities interfered with the procession. Lynch's letter and McGee's efforts to have the parade cancelled did not calm his nervousness of the day since he asked in a later letter if "a layman in your Lordship's confidence can keep us informed during Saturday forenoon of the facts as they arise".[302] McGee vocalised the fear of many who thought a Fenian invasion would happen that March.

McGee's objection was motivated by the HBS' ownership of a festival since, to many including himself, the parade represented Irishness, not only their radical branch and such displays would have the possibility of confusing the HBS' performance as the sole definition of Irishness in Canada. McGee's ideas on politics whether Irish or Canadian were made public through the *Canadian Freeman* and the interactions between the newspapers and between Murphy and McGee made the discontent surrounding Irish identity public knowledge. McGee's energetic efforts to ban the Toronto parade become especially interesting considering he gave a speech at Montreal's parade congratulating his fellow Irishmen on their devotion to the Church and to their sovereign and ending by emphasising how much Irish Catholics of Montreal were integrated by repeating Mayor Stairnes words "que Montréal ne vous considère pas comme des étrangers, mais comme les enfants du pays".[303] His focus on the Toronto parade exemplified the

[301] McGee to Lynch, March 7, 1866.
[302] McGee to Lynch, Lynch Papers, ARCAT L AF 0309 Montreal, March 14,1866.
[303] Translated to French in *Le Canadien*, March 19, 1866.

importance of the context of the parade since Toronto's was performed amidst invasion fears and organised by a radical group. Once again, McGee's Irishness was also one with grey areas where he celebrated Montreal's Irishness while denouncing the HBS and St. Patrick's Day in Toronto. As it will be demonstrated further in the next chapter, St. Patrick's Day and the many discussions around it prove that a timeless, monolithic Irish-Canadian identity did not exist. Within Toronto, due to these confrontations, *groupness as event* in the Toronto parade did not occur. A moment of united identity where a group experienced cohesive beliefs and goals failed because of the public debates which ensued from the differing viewpoints on Fenianism, and the treatment of the issues in Ireland.

iii. Newspapers

In 1866, it was unavoidable for newspapers to speak of St. Patrick's Day without mentioning of the HBS and Fenianism. The fact that the HBS was organising a procession on the same day as the rumor of a Fenian invasion made it impossible to disassociate these issues especially since the HBS' president was known to be a member of the Fenian brotherhood. The fear of a violent invasion and of the negative impression it would create for Irish Catholics in the Canadian consciousness created a discomfort for all major newspapers except for the *Irish Canadian,* which was affiliated with the HBS. Indeed, the *Canadian Freeman* summed up this feeling when it observed that "much anxiety is felt and expressed throughout the city […] Should it take place, a very slight cause might lead to terrible consequences. A foolish act or an insulting expression, on one side or the other, might bring about a riot and serious loss of life."[304] The discussions surrounding the parade were repetitive since many newspapers quoted each other, including the

[304] *Canadian Freeman*, March 15, 1866.

Ottawa Times, which republished the above quote from the *Canadian Freeman* on March 16th, one day after it was published in its original newspaper. Similarly, the *Ottawa Citizen* discussed how "to-morrow is looked forward to by all peace-loving citizens with a good deal of anxiety and the hope is very generally expressed that the day may pass over without any disturbance."[305] *The Globe* was staunchly opposed to the HBS and focused their energies on denouncing Fenianism in general especially reporting activity in the U.S.A.[306] They did not become as deeply involved as the two Irish Catholic newspapers on the issue of St. Patrick's Day due to their distance from Irish Catholic ethnicity debates. As will be seen in the next chapter, the francophone newspapers of Lower Canada manifested communal anxieties and reassured their readership of the improbability of a general Fenian attack. These Lower Canada newspapers were aware of the tensions in Toronto, but were not involved in the debates surrounding the existence of the parade. Rather, they spoke against Fenianism observing that "si nous le combattons, ce n'est donc pas par excès de bienveillance pour le gouvernement anglais, mais par sympathie pour les Irlandais eux-mêmes."[307] They spoke of the Irish question in general but were not as embedded in Irish identity discussions as the Toronto and Ottawa newspapers since francophone newspapers were geographically, politically, and culturally further removed from Toronto.

The discussions in the newspapers prior to St. Patrick's Day reflected the various ideals and opinions of leaders both in the Irish Catholic community and across the city. The *Irish*

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[305] *Ottawa Citizen*, March 16, 1866.
[306] For a detailed analysis of the *Globe*'s response to Fenianism see: David A. Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*, volume 2; Hereward Senior, *Orangeism: the Canadian Phase*, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972); Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: a Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1980); William Jenkins, "Patrolmen and Peelers: Immigration, Urban Culture, and 'The Irish Police' in Canada and the United States," *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, Vol. 28/29 no 1-2 (Fall 2002 – Spring 2003): 10-29.
[307] *L'Ordre*, March 16, 1866.

Canadian, as the mouthpiece of the HBS, was involved in the Irish cause but they also had "no sympathy with those who would bring war and its attendant horrors amongst peaceable and unoffending people with whom our lot is cast."[308] Even though Murphy's speech claimed there were 40,000 Canadian men ready to fight in Ireland's uprising, the *Irish Canadian* also maintained a peaceful political stance in relation to Canada stating "and should they [the Irish in Canada] decide for confederation, or, better still, annexation, we shall not be an impediment in the way of its accomplishment."[309] While the *Irish Canadian* did not promote a violent insurrection, it did publish violent accusations against Thomas D'Arcy McGee and the *Canadian Freeman* such as when they described McGee as displaying "such a disposition for vilification and abuse as to alienate from him many persons who otherwise would have passed over in forgetfulness his vituperative and backsliding conduct."[310] As William Smyth observed, "there may well have been support among Toronto's Catholics for the Fenian brotherhood and their armed invasion of Canada, but these insurrectionary activities were unambiguously condemned by secular leaders such as Thomas D'Arcy McGee."[311] Smyth used the newspaper discussions to highlight the complexity of the Catholic community where the *Canadian Freeman*, a self-identified Irish Catholic newspaper, "earnestly hope(d) they will have the good sense to renounce their privilege to walk on St. Patrick's Day, in order to prevent the possibility of disastrous results."[312] Murphy answered what qualified as an "apprehension on your part of the likelihood of disturbance on that day" with a direct letter to the editor of the *Canadian Freeman* in the pages of the *Irish Canadian*.[313] Moreover, the *Irish Canadian* directly insulted McGee and

[308] *Irish Canadian*, March 21, 1866.
[309] *Irish Canadian*, March 21, 1866.
[310] *Irish Canadian*, March 14, 1866.
[311] Smyth, *Belfast of Canada*, 123.
[312] *Canadian Freeman*, March 15, 1866.
[313] *Irish Canadian*, March 14, 1866.

his alcoholic tendencies, pointing out that, "McGee's loyalty to everything British just now is easily accounted for. He is a minister of the Crown and receives for his services, as such, 5,000$ a year which is scarcely sufficient to pay his whiskey bill."[314] These same observations were made during Murphy's speech on March 17th demonstrating how connected the newspaper was with the HBS. The gist of the *Canadian Freeman*'s response can be found in their commentaries of the procession and Murphy's speech where they "acknowledge the attention which the leading orator of the occasion bestowed upon ourselves. This is the best proof that our exposure of Fenianism and of the self-seeking patriots connected with the "huge swindle" has excited the bile of one individual at least in Toronto who is living and trading on a movement which every honest and honorable Irishman regards with contempt and disgust."[315] Interestingly, the fights concerning St. Patrick's Day were not instigated by the Protestant press but rather between the two Irish Catholic newspapers struggling to win the Irish Catholic community. The role of newspapers in Toronto was crucial in setting the context of the parade and creating this anxiety towards the parade because of their opinions and the aggressive back and forth between these newspapers which exposed the unrest.

The description of the parade once it had passed was anti-climatic: most newspapers barely reported the events. Indeed, the *Ottawa Citizen* and the *Ottawa Times* most likely used the same source since their description of the procession identically observed that "thanks to the good sense of all parties interested, the event passed off in the most orderly and agreeable manner."[316] Their articles did recall the anxieties felt before the events when they each described how "in fact, there was not even the appearance of a disturbance of any kind, preserving the

[314] *Irish Canadian*, March 21, 1866.
[315] *Canadian Freeman*, March 21, 1866.
[316] *Ottawa Citizen*, March 19, 1866, *Ottawa Times*, March 19, 1866.

context in which the parade occurred while also congratulating the participants for their unexpected respectability.[317] Francophone newspapers also possessed similar reflections on the event though these were even more succinct usually being one sentence stating that "À Toronto, la procession irlandaise a eu lieu très paisiblement."[318] The *Quebec Mercury* also reported that the "St. Patrick procession here [Toronto] passed off very quietly."[319] The *Courrier du Canada* spoke of the procession in one sentence, reminding its readers that, "À Toronto, où l'on craignait le plus une collision, tout a été tranquille."[320] Even the *Globe*, which wanted the procession cancelled, summarized that "altogether, the exhibition differed in nothing from the usual annual parades of this description; and was closed at Power Street by speeches from Mike Murphy, Pat Boyle and Jerry Murphy."[321] These reports embedded into popular memory the stress surrounding St. Patrick's Day while also making the events almost forgettable due to the lack of description and details. In this case, the fear of a Fenian uprising dominated the conversations prior to the day; when this fear was not realised, little attention was given to the actual proceedings thus making the procession a footnote in the press. It is also probable that newspapers which were not involved directly in the fight for or against the HBS simply were not interested due to the nature of journalism which has always focused mostly on dramatic or colorful stories rather than spend time on reporting the uneventful.

The *Irish Canadian* and the *Canadian Freeman* both gave ample space to the celebrations while maintaining their political ideals and their mutual contentions. The *Irish Canadian* described every aspect of the event in positive terms, highlighting the enthusiastic

[317] *Ottawa Citizen*, March 19, 1866.
[318] *Le Canadien*, March 19, 1866.
[319] *Quebec Mercury*, March 17, 1866.
[320] *Courrier du Canada*, March 19, 1866.
[321] *Globe*, March 19, 1866.

ambiance of how "tasteful badges and silver harps of the Hibernians here and there soon cropped up."[322] The newspaper went into great detail and used a biased style which was more narrative than analytical journalistic reporting. For example, speaking of the day and the banners with "the venerable profile of the great Saint whose memory was being duly honored" where "between 1,250 and 1,500 as lighthearted Irishmen as could be picked out of any section of Upper Canada" could be observed by "quite a number of respectable lynx-eyed detectives."[323] Use of adjectives such as "venerable," "great Saint," "lighthearted" and "respectable lynx-eyed," made the article less of a report and more of a story of its own with imagery and descriptions which could enter the imagination. Moreover, the estimation that there were 1,200 to 1,500 men present in the procession also brought excitement to the events and may have been exaggerated to impress their readers. Indeed, the *Canadian Freeman* in its description of the parade settled on 600 as the number of participants which was less than half of what the HBS boasted.[324] The actual number is impossible to tell though most scholars agree that it was probably closer to 600. The *Canadian Freeman* did not report the procession in such a colorful manner, but found it "more pleasing to refer to the religious character of the day" instead of speaking of the events where "the lives of hundreds were placed in jeopardy on St. Patrick's Day, by the hot-headed folly of a few individuals."[325] The *Freeman* did not portray the day as successful due to what they saw as an irresponsible decision from the HBS to go forward with the event. Instead, the *Canadian Freeman* focused on the Catholic celebrations which took place around the city during mass and to the fact that "no procession, nor banners, nor persons wearing regalia would be allowed to

[322]*Irish Canadian*, March 21, 1866.
[323]*Irish Canadian*, March 21, 1866.
[324] *Canadian Freeman*, March 22, 1866.
[325] *Canadian Freeman*, March 22, 1866.

enter the Cathedral or any of the churches."[326] Their stress on the successful Catholic ceremony and their disassociation of the HBS from Catholicism discredited the society's claim to the Irish patron saint's day. Speaking of the fact that their banners and regalia were rejected by Bishop Lynch took away the power of these symbols to represent an Irish Catholic identity. In order to possess a symbolic and ritualistic power, these symbols need to be approved and encouraged by Bishop Lynch and the Church since the religious part of Irishness was essential to the community in Toronto in this period of time when they associated culturally with Catholicism.

The response to the different reports of the day by the individual members of the community is impossible to study. The majority of the newspapers possessed a rather negative, or at least sceptical, view of the procession and its effects in the contemporary context. The *Canadian Freeman* noted that in "London, Brantford, Dundas, Hamilton, Peterboro, Lindsay, Cobourg, Perth, Ottawa &c. where St. Patrick's Day had been usually celebrated by a procession, in deference to the wishes and advice of the Rev. Clergy there was no outside demonstration this year."[327] The fact that all these cities refrained from a procession and mostly celebrated with mass and family dinners indicated the pulse of the Irish in Canada West was likely in line with the *Canadian Freeman* and other newspapers demanding the procession be cancelled. The lack of description in most newspapers contributed to the emphasis put on the fear of the parade and its link to Fenianism rather than the actual parade where nothing happened of note. Both newspapers of the Irish community maintained their views concerning the procession in their descriptions and for newspapers outside of Toronto in Canada West and East, the feeling which was taken from the "non-events" was most probably one of relief. It was not

[326] *Canadian Freeman*, March 22, 1866.
[327] *Canadian Freeman*, March 22, 1866.

relevant for them to dedicate much space to a procession in another city where there were no events which would impact the politics of their country. In the end, reports of the procession concerned the Toronto Irish Catholic community and the city of Toronto more centrically once the national threat of Fenianism was taken out of the equation.

The 1866 Toronto parade organized by the HBS was a celebration of a specific political Irish identity radicalized by its close and strong association with Ireland while maintaining a significant Catholic aspect. The ritualization of the procession through music and banners demonstrated how Irish Catholics performed an identity that demanded to be recognized in a Protestant city while also showing their solidarity to Ireland's continuing oppression. The speeches and interactions with the crowds reinforced this identity while also differentiating between the various attitudes of the Irish in Canada and in Ireland. This Irish identity was not monolithic and the organization of the procession was problematic, visible in the discourses of the leaders of the community that showed a variety of points of view on "Irishness". An obvious power struggle between Michael Murphy and Thomas D'Arcy McGee in relation to the true Irish identity was also complicated by Bishop Lynch's midway stance. Though these men disagreed on where the energies of the Irish community should be put, their interactions highlight the key positions held both by the political and religious aspects of Irish life which still constituted the basis of Irish identity in Toronto. The newspapers of the day were useful in exposing this negotiation of Irish identity, although most reports on St. Patrick's Day had more to do with

denouncing Fenianism and the fear of an invasion rather than directly addressing the role of the parade to local Irish identity construction. The *Irish Canadian* and the *Canadian Freeman* were caught in an editorial battle over the credibility of the HBS and the importance, or not, of parading in the streets. Once the procession had occurred, most newspapers barely referenced Toronto due to the lack of events, unlike in 1858, while the two Irish Catholic newspapers remained encamped in their differing versions of Irish identity as either pro-HBS or a more passive Catholic-Irish identity. The importance given to the procession and its implications prior to the 17th of March and the reaction to it afterwards confirms the importance of the day as a symbol of Irish identity. The controversies surrounding the day emphasise how St. Patrick's Day was and remains a moment of negotiation and confirmation of group identity. This importance was recognized in 1867 when the celebrations of St. Patrick's Day were celebrated 'in-house' with no public procession though it was not yet the end of the parades.[328] In 1868 Lynch permitted the parade to start again but there was minimal participation compared to the early 1860s demonstrating a shift in Irish Catholic identity away from Irish nationalist protests with which St. Patrick's Day was associated.[329] St. Patrick's Day and the Irish Catholic population became more concerned about their position within the new Canadian nation rather than looking to Ireland and its politics for a local definition.[330] In Montreal, this effort to be included in a Canadian narrative was already part of the 1866 parade where the performances provided an image of inclusion and respectability for the Irish Catholic community as will be demonstrated in the next chapter.

[328] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 80.
[329] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 80.
[330] Cottrell, "St. Patrick's Day Parade in Nineteenth Century Toronto," 65.

CHAPTER IV:

Promotion of the Hyphenated Irish-Canadian Identity at Montreal's 1866 Parade

As any Montrealer can attest, the success of an outdoor winter event depends on the weather. With regards to the St. Patrick's Day parade, this awareness means that the planning and organizing of the procession is always accompanied by the hope of clement and clear conditions. The weather was taken into consideration when the *Quebec Mercury* reported that the1866 procession "has been favored by a beautiful day and, for the season, fair streets."[331] The favourable climate was also used to introduce the triumph of the day as a whole and to emphasize its popularity among the Irish Catholic population. The *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* (*TWACC*) began their description of the day in 1866 by acknowledging that "the day though cold was fine and dry, and the Procession with which our Irish fellow-citizens celebrated their Religious and National Festival surpassed in beauty all former celebrations of the kind."[332] The Montreal parade more aligns with Schultz's definition which emphasizes the creation of dialogue in which Irish and Irish Catholic identity could be negotiated and celebrated in the diaspora rather than focusing on group territorial claims. The following analysis will provide the tools necessary to extract dialogues of the Irish Catholic population on St. Patrick's Day and understand what this day meant to Irishness in Montreal in 1866 when Fenianism, Confederation, and British loyalty were all present concerns. Moreover, this chapter highlights the necessary discourse and identity negotiations required in order for an immigrant group to be included as a member of Canadian narratives and myths.

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[331] *Quebec Mercury*, March 17, 1866.
[332] *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, March 23, 1866.

This chapter will analyse what made Montreal's 1866 parade as successful as the weather was favorable for the Irish Catholic population. It will also examine how the ritual of St. Patrick's Day strengthened the community's respectability among other "groups" in Lower Canada. Studying the ritualization of the procession reveals how elements contributed to a pacifist and loyal ambiance which projected the Irish in Montreal as Catholic members of the British Empire. The middle class, pro-British, masculine and Catholic values performed in the procession reflected the mentality of its organiser, the St. Patrick's Society (SPS) though not all participants would associate with this class on a regular basis. A key aim for this chapter is to properly demonstrate why the focus of the procession projected this type of respectable Irishness in Montreal. Though the SPS did not publicly support Fenianism, it is difficult to know how much the members were involved with the secret society and how much of a conscious performance of loyalty the St. Patrick's Day parade was.[333] With this in mind, the motivations and performances of the parade take on even greater meaning as it became as much about the immediate historical context and internal beliefs as it was about defining Irish Catholic identity. As Schultz explains, ethnic celebrations "were not – and are not – monologues of the groups in power, but multilayered and ongoing dialogues that are part of the larger creation and re-creation of cultural identities."[334] The procession was built through the interaction of these organisations and individual experiences. After considering the experience of the parade itself, newspaper discourse analysis will provide significant insight regarding the vision of the Irish in Montreal in consequence to the day's proceedings. All these factors combined to form what the procession represented and how it functioned as an Irish ritual in 1866 Montreal.

[333] See David Wilson's work for some information of Fenianism in Montreal. David Wilson, "A Rooted Horror," 46.
[334] Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parades*, 13.

i. Ritual Analysis

As in 1858, the procession began at 9am at Place d'Armes in front of St. Patrick's Hall and continued to St. Patrick's Church where High Mass was held by the Rev. P. O'Farell. After mass, the procession started again and headed east where it stopped in front of St. Lawrence Hall, the temporary residence of Governor General Lord Monck, who gave an impromptu speech to the cheering crowd. Afterwards they assembled at Victoria Square to hear speeches from MP Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Mayor Chauveau, and other members of the civic community. The procession then walked to their end point in front of St. Patrick's Hall and listened to a short speech by the St. Patrick's Society's president, Bernard Devlin.[335] No controversial events occurred in 1866 and actually, "ce qu'il y a eu de remarquable dans cette célébration dit un journal de Montréal, ça été le calme et la dignité avec lesquels tout s'est passé."[336] While detailed information on the groups present and the order in which they marched is not available, on March 23rd, 1866 the *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* reported that the procession included "bands of music playing, and banners flying, mustered in their designated places and the whole marched in splendid order." As in 1858, marching was reserved for the men of the Irish community, once again proclaiming Irishness in Montreal as a publicly masculine entity.

An analysis of the parade route shows a shift in the 1860s where the parade alternated annually between an "eastern" and "western" route, demonstrating how the Irish community had evolved geographically in Montreal.[337] No longer only in Griffintown, the parade followed the Irish Catholics by going down St. Lawrence Main Street, which was more accessible to those who had established themselves in the east end and switched the route depending of the years to

[335] *Le Courrier du Canada*, March 19, 1866.
[336] *Le Courrier du Canada*, March 19, 1866.
[337] Trigger, "Irish Politics on Parades", 172.

accommodate as many Irish Catholics as possible.[338] As Stanger-Ross acknowledges when comparing Italian establishments in Philadelphia and Toronto, "recognizing that ethnicity is a social practice rather than an immutable attribute, historians have detailed its change over time."[339] The change of the route shows how Irish Catholic identity, on St. Patrick's Day, went beyond Griffintown. This day expanded an identity closely associated with St. Patrick's Cathedral and Griffintown to a new area represented by marching down St. Lawrence Main Street.[340] The change in route for 1866 may also reflect the difference in class between the SPS middle-class and the working-class of Griffintown. There are no records to show there were any objections to the change of the route as a reflection of class differentiation and Griffintown remained a spatial identifier of Irish Catholics in Montreal afterwards.[341] Going through these streets was more than a walk; with every step participants affirmed an Irish Catholic identity that interacted with the cityscape in a peaceful manner, not only influencing their own views of the city but also impacting how the city interacted with those marching. Other than the St. Patrick's Day processions, the Irish had already interacted with these streets during the 1843 canal workers strike where charivaris, menacing marches, and solemn processions were used to demonstrate their strengths or their seriousness to the rest of the growing city.[342] The use of space in 1843 is significant since the orderly procession from Griffintown to the commercial district by Notre Dame Street gave a new and respectable image to all Montrealers of a

[338] Trigger, "Irish Politics on Parades", 172.
[339] Stanger-Ross, *Staying Italian*, 7.
[340] It is crucial to remember that this study focuses on the meaning of St. Patrick's Day in Irish Catholic identity and, as identity is in constant change, what may be true on St. Patrick's Day would not be so throughout the year.
[341] For more work on Griffintown and its class implications see Matthew Barlow's work on Griffintown from the 1900s to present day – Matthew Barlow, *Griffintown: Identity and Memory in an Irish Diaspora Neighbourhood*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017).
[342] Dan Horner, "Solemn Processions and Terrifying Violence: Spectacle, Authority and Citizenship during the Lachine Canal Strike of 1843," *Urban History Review*, Vol. 38 no 2, (Spring 2010), 36-47.

community who had previously been portrayed as workers and described as thugs.[343] Walking in the space in an organised manner created a new relationship between the projected image of workers and the city which continued to be developed during the St. Patrick's Day procession two decades later. The SPS' influence as the leaders of the parade was felt in this created sense of harmony within a community which, realistically, had members of various classes and different social circles.

Peter Blundell Jones explores this complex two-way relationship between space and activity and explains how "buildings provide prompts for action and frameworks to define relationships with fellow human beings in forming societies and communities."[344] The route provides a framework in which the relationship between the Irish in Montreal and the space they entered was defined. By walking in the eastern streets which were "pavoisés de drapeaux, on y voyait même des arcs de triomphe", the participants physically placed themselves within Montreal's history and included themselves in the streets' appearance with these triumphal arches. The psychological impact of this interaction also remained since "shared social activities leave traces that can be read" by the memories of the paraders who, afterwards, saw this space with the procession's context in mind.[345] Through marching, the Irish community associated itself with the city both visually and psychologically, which was remembered on the generally French-dominated streets. Thus, the parade altered ideas of Irish-Catholic identity while also molding the French-Catholic identity in relation to an immigrant group.[346]

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[343] Horner, "Solemn Processions and Terrifying Violence," 42.
[344] Peter Blundell Jones, "Introduction," in *Architecture and Ritual: How buildings shape society*, 3.
[345] Jones "Introduction," 4.
[346] Unfortunately, there is no information on what was on the banners and arches but they probably fit the banners and flags in the procession which will be analysed later on as being mostly Catholic and Irish in representation.

If there was any external protest about the procession route or the stops it made, it was not publicly emphasized; no public disagreements beforehand or disruptions on the day of the parade occurred. The parade in Montreal was also well attended in 1866 which demonstrates that, for at least one day, a major part of the Irish community associated with the Irish identity being promoted.[347] It was even reported in *Le Journal de Quebec* that "la procession était immense […] Toute la population irlandaise a pris part à cette fête. Ça été un grand jour pour Montréal."[348] Whereas it is impossible to estimate the percentage of Irish people in Montreal who took part in the celebrations, this description illustrates that a majority of the Irish-Catholic population participated or attended the procession or, at least, High Mass.[349] The fact that "it was a great day for Montreal" supports what was previously argued; as much as the interactions between the parade-goers and Montreal's geography influenced the definition of Irishness, this same procession also influenced Montreal's identity. The marchers also played a role in this day since their presence and actions solidified the representation of the Irish in Montreal as peaceful, organised and respectful citizens of Canada and the British Empire.

In order to create the solemnity required to make St. Patrick's Day a ritualised day, the various groups involved approved and actively participated in this performance through their displayed banners or through their presence in the procession. The groups in the parade defined a similar Irishness as in 1858 when Catholicism was embodied in every group since there were no Protestant groups present. While there may have been lay Irish societies present, all were affiliated either through sponsorship or support with the Catholic clergy or association with a parish. Temperance groups such as the Temperance Society, the Temperance Society of St.

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[347] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 83.
[348] *Le Journal de Quebec*, March 17, 1866
[349] *Le Journal de Quebec* does not mention whether it is a Catholic, Protestant or 'just' Irish day but for the sake of this article we will presume that it is still mostly Catholic as it will be demonstrated throughout this chapter.

Ann's and St. Patrick's Abstinence Society were not only supported by the clergy but represented what, at the time, were core Catholic values of self-control and respectability. The ritual surrounding the procession was enhanced by these legitimate groups which brought solemnity and tradition to the more celebratory aspects of the day and reminded those attending and watching the procession of the proper decorum to be had on a Catholic saint's day.

The ritualistic aspect was also enhanced by the six or seven bands which brought grandeur to the events. The majority of the bands were militaristic, impersonating or performing a level of discipline which also ensured the success of the ritual as a projection of an orderly community while also demonstrating their strength and numerical importance.[350] The music and the marching could have been used to threaten and provoke Montreal's francophone community, but instead, this military performance demonstrated how such a big group could be 'controlled' and could walk in the streets without being the genesis of public violence. The music ritualised the procession by turning what could be a walk through the streets into a communal act of walking together bringing weight to the act while also creating the effect of a unified group. A disorganised group of people walking in the streets would not create the same powerful dominating dynamic as people marching in organised rows taking over the streets through their actions without any violence required. These bands brought rhythm and ambiance to the procession while remaining in specific ranks, adding to the pomp of the procession through their music and their physical militaristic performance. The SPS was aware of the importance of music to create a particular effect, as seen in the discussions included in the minutes of the general meetings of March 5th and March 9th.[351] Indeed, the only topic discussed in the general

[350] These bands included "Les Chasseurs Canadiens, Régiment du Prince de Galles and Les Carabiniers Victoria des Enfants des Écoles Chrétiennes, etc."- *La Minerve*, March 19, 1866.
[351]March 5, 1866 and March 9, 1866, St. Patrick's Society Minute Books, St. Patrick's Society Fonds (P026), HA1150, Concordia University Archives.

meetings related to the procession was in regards to the band hired for the day. The treasurer informed the members that due to overdue fees by some members, the SPS could not afford a proper band. To remedy the situation, on March 9th it was voted to levy a tax of twenty-five cents per member to obtain a brass band instead of a smaller pipes and drums band. This demonstrates that the SPS made conscious efforts to project an image which would make them appear as a legitimate organised but imposing group, in order to be respected by Montrealers and the authorities, with a proper band heightening the status of their procession. The performance of the music bands had for effect to take over the space while remaining within organised ranks through which it can be concluded that the SPS and those marching used music to define their own identity in Montreal rather than as a tool of provocation to outsiders. St. Patrick's Day in Montreal was about establishing an Irish Catholic identity within the city rather than to project their identity onto others in provocation.

Though the traditional Irish Catholic identity seen in 1858 was also present in 1866, the route and speeches on the day purposefully strengthened the pro-British aspect of Irishness constructed, celebrated and performed on March 17, 1866. Due to where the procession stopped and who spoke on Irish Canadian loyalty to the Crown, the procession focused on acceptance into Canadian society and showed support for the British Empire whilst marching with the nationalist Irish Harp banner. After High Mass, the groups started their eastern circuit where the Governor General, Lord Monck, spoke of his admiration for the show of loyalty from the Irish to the British Crown.[352] Though he was Irish-Protestant, the crowds still cheered for Lord Monck demonstrating that, at this point in time, the tensions between the Catholic and Protestant Irish populations in Montreal were not significant enough to render this interaction as offensive to

[352] *Le Courrier du Canada*, 19 mars 1866.

Catholic beliefs. However, it is also possible that due to Fenianism and the ongoing tensions between Ireland and England, the Irish in Montreal were aware of their precarious state and used this moment to display allegiance to the Crown and Canada rather than be associated with Fenianism.

The shadow of Fenianism was essential to the context surrounding the speeches and actions performed on this day. Monck acted as a ritualistic leader guiding the participants' thoughts in the proper direction while outlining the purpose of the event and its significance for the community. Monck opened his speech by congratulating paraders on their festive and enthusiastic demonstration of British loyalty. He explained to them how this demonstrated "an evidence on your part of loyalty to our gracious Sovereign and of attachment to the institutions of our land".[353] As a ritual leader, Monck used his status to publicly outline this event as an official celebration of the Irish in Montreal's "loyalty to our gracious Sovereign". Victor Turner observes "that any major ritual that stresses the importance of a single principle of social organization only does so by blocking the expression of other important principles."[354] The speech made by Monck presented his audience with a singular view on the Fenian situation and clearly outlined Irish Montreal's stance by speaking of what he saw as the effect of this procession. Monck did not refer to Catholicism but defined the function of the ritual when asserting that the procession was also "a protest on your part against the principles and designs of wicked men who would disgrace the name of Irishmen by their conduct."[355] Monck's qualification of Fenians as "wicked men" presented those in the parade as the righteous men who, through this ritualistic procession, upheld the proper values of the Irish community. His

[353] *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, March 23, 1866.
[354] Turner, *Forest of Symbols*, 40.
[355] *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, March 23, 1866.

speech individualised the procession's effect by making everyone in the parade a voluntary participant in this purification process for the reputation of the Irish in Canada.

These voluntary participants not only received their identity from Monck, but also participated in reinforcing his vision by cheering him during his speech. This positive interaction solidified the Irish Catholic community's place within Montreal *and* in Canada. This actually demonstrates that the majority of marchers were aware of British ties and they adhered to the ritualistic ideals espoused by Monck's speech, at least in the public setting of the parade. Monck was not only a leader in this case but was also the ultimate symbol of British rule through his title of Governor General- the queen's representative. His approval made the procession a ritual that permitted "people to connect to a collective, even mythic past, to build social solidarity, to form a community."[356] In 1866, the Irish in Montreal became part of the greater British collective in this public event though the motivations and truthfulness of the loyal sentiments may not have represented that actual beliefs of the participants. Monck's speech ended with an impromptu singing of "God Save the Queen" through which his words were then validated by the crowd using the anthem. As this hymn was one of the most sacred and important musical symbols representing loyalty to the British Crown, its singing demonstrated how they felt about these words, or how the wanted to be seen as feeling, and the process of integration which occurred through this interaction and acceptance. As Richard Schechner points out, the singing of national anthems is in itself a ritual which do not "so much express ideas as embody them."[357] In some ways, the anthem sealed the positive relationship between Britain and the Irish in

[356] Schechner, *Introduction to Performance Studies*, 77.
[357] Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 50.

Montreal publicly. One could argue that the hyphen in Irish-Canadian was solidified during this ritual process and celebrated for the rest of the day.

Although this chapter has looked at the ritual elements of the parade and their effect on the community as a whole, it is important to recognise that rituals and their symbols possess messages which are also received individually and in potentially dissimilar ways. Turner notes how an anthropologist can describe a ritual and its objective but the participant may not understand it in exactly the same way since "his vision is circumscribed by his occupancy of a particular position, […] the participant is likely to be governed in his actions by a number of interests, purposes, and sentiments dependent upon his specific position."[358] By looking at what or who is ignored in this situation, the nature and objective of the ritual will become more clear as well as how St. Patrick's Day was experienced by different subgroups. The two lacking elements which will be discussed in this case are those of class and gender which are not directly noted as being absent in any newspaper or speech from the time.

The procession included at least two Temperance Societies (St Ann's and St Patrick's) which, while inclusive of female members, specified on March 16, 1866, that the procession would be "joined by the male portion of the various Irish Congregations."[359] In this case, St. Patrick's Day Irishness was not representative of 'everyday Irish life' since the mixed societies only included their male members and the many prayer groups and charities which were female-only were not permitted to march. The fact that the speakers addressed the crowds as "Gentlemen" and only spoke of "Irishmen" also assumes that women were not present as participants of the parade since their presence would have been acknowledged had they been active, visible participants.

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[358] Turner, *Forest of Symbols*, 27
[359] *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, March 16, 1866.

The speeches themselves only spoke of the Irishmen or men and never acknowledged how Irishwomen fit into the politics and social reality of Fenianism and their state in the community. Interestingly, not only were Irish women part of the community as wives and mothers, but "the Montreal sample reveals among Irish women a relative economic autonomy, a longer life outside the married state, and a wide and varied experience of urban life."[360] Unfortunately, as in 1858, there is no written evidence of female participation in the organisation of the parade. Although the St. Patrick's Society was all-male it is difficult to believe that the women's opinions never influenced definitions of Irish identity in Montreal through their conversations with husbands and sons. It is difficult to know women's opinion of the St. Patrick's Day rituals, but it is definite that the day, whether conscious or unconscious, was not developed to include them.

The previous 1858 Montreal chapter discussed the male-dominated middle-class mentality and membership of the SPS and, just like St. Patrick's Day "their very 'fraternal' character reveals the increasing horizons, and gendered limits, of middle class public politics."[361] These politics were concerned, as demonstrated in the parade, with showing how orderly and respectable the Irish in Montreal were and incorporating themselves into the Canadian narrative. The only 'lower classes' represented were in the children from the Écoles Chrétiennes which were schools founded by the Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes who provided education for disadvantaged children.[362] Rather than an inclusion of the 'lower classes,' the children's presence can be interpreted as a gesture of charity from the middle-class which provided these children with the opportunity to educate themselves and later join the middle class. Those who were

[360] Olson and Thornton, "The Challenge of the Irish Catholic Community in Nineteenth-Century Montreal", 361.
[361] James, "Dynamics of Ethnic Associational Culture in a Nineteenth-Century City," 52-53.
[362] "Écoles Chrétiennes au Québec," Patrimoine Culturel du Québec, accessed October 2, 2017, http://www.patrimoine-culturel.gouv.qc.ca/rpcq/detail.do?methode=consulter&id=8321&type=pge#.WdZ1cFvWzIU

omitted from the St. Patrick's Society ranks and the day's festivities were day labourers, sailors, longshoremen, petty thieves, and the unemployed.[363] In his essay on Joe Beef and the Irish working-class culture in Griffintown, Peter DeLottinville uses Joe Beef's tavern ,which opened in the late 1860s, as a site of working class culture, observing that "middle-class Montreal saw this tavern as a moral hazard to all who entered and a threat to social peace."[364] These tense relationships within the Irish Catholic community explained why certain groups were omitted and why the procession seemed unified in its representation of Irishness.

ii. Organisers

As in 1858, the parade was organized by the SPS which possessed a similar structure from when it broke with Protestantism in 1856. Through its membership and influence in the Irish middle-class community, the SPS maintained the organisation of St. Patrick's Day for decades to come. While not every Irish person in Montreal was a member of the SPS, the society had gained the status of the national organisation representing the Irish to Montrealers. There were no other societies which could rival the popularity and influence of the SPS within the Irish community. As such, there were few tensions concerning governance of St. Patrick's Day. Individuals may have taken issue with the SPS' "propensity for intertwining colonial politics with the rhetoric of loyalty and nationality" but these voices were not numerous enough to take control of St. Patrick's Day away from the SPS.[365]

As representatives of the "respectable" Irish in Montreal, the SPS focused their energy in 1866 on demonstrating Irish Catholics' loyalty to the Crown in order to remain in the good

[363] DeLottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working Class Culture in 1869-1889," 10.
[364] DeLottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal," 10.
[365] James, "Dynamics of Ethnic Associational Culture in a Nineteenth-Century City," 48.

graces of the Canadian government and the representatives of Queen Victoria. They had to be aware of the mistrust cast on Toronto's Irish Catholics, the fear of a Fenian invasion, and needed to counter this mindset by a show of great allegiance to the British Empire. Devlin's emphasis on how ordered the day had been also indicated that the SPS wanted to maintain the status quo of Catholic and British peaceful cohabitation. Devlin was not a known Fenian but his strong Irish nationalist sympathies would of made him aware of the importance to, at least, seem respectful to authorities in order to avoid connections between the SPS and the independent movement.[366] With tradition in mind, the minutes from the monthly meeting of March 5, 1866 indicate that a similar route to 1865 was voted on unanimously by the sixty members present without any debate.[367] There is very little discussion available in the minute books of St. Patrick's Day as a separate committee was appointed to the organisation of the parade.[368] This lack of content on the parade indicates the organisation did not face many problems or debates since no issues, except the budget for the bands, needed to be brought to the attention of the members attending the general meeting. The insistence on physical orderliness was an enactment of who they were as a group and by participating in the act of walking in a specific order with decorum, the Irish in the procession strengthened and reaffirmed this particular aspect of Irish identity in Montreal. This performance, which was already present in 1843 during the Lachine Canal strikes, became a renewed part of their fundamental identity and shaped their relationship with the British authorities and ideals in relation to the immediate context of Fenianism.

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[366] Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*, 309.
[367] Concordia University Archives, St. Patrick's Society Fonds, HA 1150, March 5, 1866.
[368] This special committee was elected in April of 1865 and was only titled 'the committee'. The exact function is not described. It can be assumed that the committee was in charge of various events throughout the year with the procession being a main one.

It is crucial to considerations of the diversity of experience within the Irish Catholic community throughout the year that St. Patrick's Day and the vision of the SPS be interpreted as a moment which Brubaker qualifies as "Groupness as Event" rather than a representation of a constant Irish Catholic identity. His theory permits to look at an event as a group which 'happens' at a precise moment in time without being a continual identity.[369] It is evident that within the Irish Catholic community there were internal tensions which, for one day, were forgotten or ignored and to create this idea of a united Irish Catholic community. Some tensions existed between those who felt more loyal towards Canada and those who wanted to remain involved in the Irish nationalist cause.[370] David Wilson, in his extensive research on Fenianism, affirms that at this point there would have been around 300-400 Fenians in Montreal hidden among the Irish population, including the SPS, but there was no altercation in Montreal and its actual strength is difficult to measure due to the secrecy of the movement.[371] This fact illustrates the presence of dissenter voices which were not heard on St. Patrick's Day either in the procession or in protests surrounding the procession unlike in Toronto. Whether the Fenians present were caught up in the "groupness" of the moment or, more likely, pretended to be loyal in order to further create the impression of the inexistence of a threat, the day itself remained in the possession of the SPS and their loyal agenda.

Another continuous tension was between the Catholic Church and national societies and their power over the community. On St. Patrick's Day, however, this was not an issue in Montreal since the procession celebrated an Irish Catholic identity and High Mass was a focal

[369] Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups*, 12.
[370] Trigger, "Irish Politics on Parades," 174.
[371] David Wilson, "The Fenians in Montreal: 1862-68: Invasion, Intrigue and Assasination", Eire/Ireland, vol. 38 no. 3-4 (Fall/Winter 2003), 123.

point.[372] The biggest opponent to the St. Patrick's Society in 1866 was politician Thomas D'Arcy McGee due to his strong opposition to the president of the SPS who was also his Liberal political opponent, Bernard Devlin.[373] McGee was very vocal on his distrust of Devlin and tried in many instances to implicate him in the Fenian conspiracy.[374] With regards to the procession, McGee was surprisingly not involved in the celebrations of his own city, being more focused on Toronto and putting his energies, as was demonstrated in Chapter Three, towards stopping the Hibernian Benevolent Society's parade. It is uncertain why he dedicated more time to the Toronto parade but one logical explanation involves the more imminent threat of Fenian raids in Canada West and the HBS' power in Toronto. Also, by 1866 McGee was no longer popular with his Irish constituents in Montreal and likely understood that, with Devlin at the helm of the SPS, his opinion on the parade would not be taken into consideration. McGee was still given the opportunity to speak after Lord Monck's address and though "his detractors claimed that the audience mocked his words, cheered loudly for Bernard Devlin, and did not sing 'God Save the Queen' their attitudes did not impact the credibility of the procession as a solemn affair".[375] Most newspapers did not refer to these altercations and spoke of McGee as being part of the procession and giving a patriotic speech along with other politicians.[376] If some individuals and supporters of Devlin experienced this moment as an opportunity to demean McGee in public, it was not widely received or reported by the media in this way.

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[372] The main concern of the Church in this period was countering Fenianism. Since the day was a celebration of Catholicism and of British loyalism there were no issues to be had about the nature of the event.
[373] Interestingly, Devlin had beaten McGee in the presidential elections of the SPS in 1865 which may also explain why he felt strongly against Devlin. McGee was expelled from the society in 1868, a few months before his assassination, due to his strong opposition to Fenianism.
[374] Trigger, "Irish Politics on Parades," 187.
[375] Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*, 266.
[376] These newspapers include Montreal newspapers such as *La Minerve, True Witness and Catholic Chronicle, Montreal Witness* and *L'Ordre*, as well as other newspapers in the province such as *Le Canadien, Le Journal des Trois-Rivières, Courrier du Canada, Journal de Quebec.*

iii. Newspapers

Newspapers provide historians with the written evidence of how events were remembered by male reporters or spoken of in the days following the parade. As much as events themselves are important for those who participated in the rituals and performances which enter into the dialogue of Irish identity, the portrayal of this interaction is crucial in then translating what the event signifies to the rest of society. Newspapers need to be studied because their content guided conversations surrounding the parade. In the case of 1866, the function of reporting on St. Patrick's Day in Montreal was to reassure the Canadian population and the British authorities that the Irish community in Montreal posed no political threat. Moreover, newspapers possessed congratulatory tones for the Irish community reaffirming the claim the Irish had to Canadian identity and society. The *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* summarised the overall media dialogue surrounding the procession's success, reporting that the "whole marched in splendid order to St. Patrick's Church where solemn High Mass was sung" emphasising the orderliness and grandness of the event.[377]

Opinions surrounding the procession and its legitimacy during the Fenian scare influenced how it was reported and whether those reporting wanted it cancelled or encouraged the event. The newspaper opinion prior to the parade in various cities, either Francophone or Anglophone, was unanimous on the incredulity of a Fenian attack and distinguished clearly between Ireland, Fenians, and the Irish in Canada. The newspapers also admitted to the issues of oppression in Ireland but did not concede that it was a Canadian matter. A quote from one of two articles on Fenianism published in the same edition of *Le Canadien* exemplifies the general feeling on

[377] *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, March 23, 1866.

Fenianism, the result of an attack and the difficulties in Ireland, "On arrivera uniquement à faire couler le sang de Canadiens fort innocents de la conduite de la mère patrie, et en admettant l'absurde, c'est-à-dire le succès de l'invasion fénienne, le résultat serait que le Canada serait opprimé tout autant que l'Irlande. "[378] This affirmation that "la mère patrie" is oppressing Ireland demonstrates that Canadians were aware of international politics and of the mistreatment of Ireland by Britain, but did not associate with the Irish cause enough to provoke any action. As its own colony was in the process of gaining dominion status, this quote also highlights how aware Canadian newspapers were of Canada's position as a colony which could fall to the state of Ireland if it fought againt Britain. A similar discourse appeared in *Le Courrier du Canada* where, in the days preceding St. Patrick's Day, it recognised that Ireland was mistreated by Britain but that a Canadian protest would do nothing to help Ireland but rather put Canada in an unfortunate position with England. These discourses did not ask for the procession in Montreal to be cancelled and in some cases, such as with *La Minerve*, the procession was spoken of highly announcing that "d'après les préparatifs qui ont été faits tout annonce qu'elle sera célébrée avec splendeur à 9 heures du matin."[379] *La Minerve* even published a detailed concert program indicating its support of the festivities and its understanding that the Irish Catholics of Montreal were not to be generalised as Fenians.[380]

This differentiation was present in other newspapers such as *Le Journal de Trois-Rivieres*, a strong advocate for Catholicism which translated and published Bishop Lynch's address to his Toronto parish to highlight the differences between the Irish Catholic population and the "bad" Irishmen of this country and in the United States.[381] It did not suggest that

[378] *Le Canadien,* March 16, 1866.
[379] *La Minerve*, March 17, 1866.
[380] *La Minerve*, March 16 and 17, 1866.
[381] *Le Journal de Trois-Rivières*, March 16, 1866.

Montreal should cancel the parade but underscored how the majority of Irish (Catholics) in Canada did not adhere to Fenian politics. In no Quebec newspapers studied for this research were Fenians generalised to encompass all Irish people in Canada making Fenianism a problem of its own not associated to St. Patrick's Day or those who participated in it.[382] Indeed, when the press spoke of the Irish in Canada it was not in a negative or generalised manner "although both Baldwin and Thomas D'Arcy McGee, for example, appeared fairly often in cartoons of the period, they were never subject to […] brutal distortions or stereotyping" as the Irish were in the United States and England.[383] The Irish in Canada in the Quebec press studied were just that: Irish immigrants who now lived in Canada as Canadians while retaining some Irishness which did not conflict with the empire's ideals.

Even the *Montreal Witness*, which as the main media outlet of the Irish Protestant community often opposed Irish Catholics in Montreal, did not damn the whole Catholic community when it ardently spoke against Fenianism. It differentiated between the Irish in Montreal and Fenians and even published a letter from the American Archbishop McCloskey, which it qualified as "interesting as developing the set antagonism between Catholicism and Fenianism."[384] By opposing Catholicism and Fenianism, this Protestant newspaper also created nuances in the Irish Catholic representation by not associating Catholicism with Fenianism. The articles did not explain why such a difference was important but one could assume that, associating itself as Irish but Protestant, the *Witness* was aware of the different voices in the community. More likely, as other news outlets emphasised the improbability of an invasion and

[382] It was reported in the *Journal de Quebec* that the Quebec city parade was cancelled by the organisers and celebrated with a mass at the demand of the clergy. No such demand was made in Montreal and the Montreal parade was much longer than the one in Quebec. *Journal de Quebec*, March 19, 1866.
[383] Bruce Retallack, "The Paddy, the Priest and the Habitant: Inflecting the Irish cartoon stereotype to Canada," *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, vol. 28/29 (Fall 2002 – Spring 2003): 131.
[384] *Montreal Witness*, March 14, 1866.

focused on reassuring the population, the *Witness* did not want to infuriate the Irish Catholic population or provoke them to retaliate by joining the ranks of the Fenians. Nonetheless, on the day of the procession a plea was made in its pages speaking to "the good disposition of the great majority of our Irish fellow citizens" when asking them to cancel the procession at the risk of not being "able to prevent very different and, perhaps, dangerous characters from joining it."[385] Interestingly, the *Witness* only made this demand on the day of the actual procession rather than in the weeks beforehand when they had written on Fenianism and the state of the Irish in Canada. The use of "our Irish fellow citizens" emphasises how the Irish Protestants of the *Montreal Witness* did not want to create opposition with the Irish Catholics by including all Irish(men) in the same cluster.[386] Moreover, the same article also asks Orange Order members not to interfere, ensuring this event did not turn into a portrayal of Irish Catholics vs. Irish Protestants. The fact that nothing of major impact happened in the parade is partly due to the pro-British and peaceful stance taken on by the procession and reinforced by the opinions of newspapers which encouraged their readers not to oppose or provoke the participants of the parade. As much as the event itself created this idea of Irish Catholics as ordered men, the newspapers supported this stance in the weeks prior to the procession. As Trigger observes, "the overall continuity and smooth-running of the procession from year to year can, in part, be attributed to the fact that the right of Irish Catholics to celebrate […] was never seriously contested by other groups in the city."[387] This fact is exemplified by the *Montreal Witness'* soft attitude on the parade.

In contrast, the organ for Irish Catholics in Montreal, the *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, unsurprisingly dedicated space to Irish affairs, speaking against Fenianism and

[385] *Montreal Witness, March 17, 1866.*
[386] *Montreal Witness*, March 17, 1866.
[387] Trigger, "Irish Politics on Parades," 174.

announcing the procession and concert. Unlike the other newspapers, a whole page, and sometimes more, was dedicated to Irish politics and events happening in Ireland. Indeed, "whereas two or three columns were given to "Irish Intelligence" in 1851 and 1852, the average was nearer five columns by 1866 and 1867" which corresponds to the rise of Fenianism and indicates awareness of Ireland within the literate Irish immigrant community.[388] The *True Witness* did not combine issues concerning Ireland and Fenianism with the procession making the parade its own entity apart from the homeland identity. Though in the same newspaper, the parade was announced separately and its route was published on March 9, 1866. An advertisement was also made on the same day announcing that "The St. Patrick's Society will give a grand promenade concert, in the city concert hall, on Saturday evening 17th March" and that further details were to come.[389] They never spoke of the importance of the day and why it was important for the Irish community to attend the events specifically though they made efforts in denouncing Fenianism and Britain's politics in other sections of the newspaper. This indicates how those in charge of the procession and the Irish Catholic media did not want to associate in any active way with Fenianism.

The *True Witness* reflected the efforts of making St. Patrick's Day about the Irish in Montreal and their loyalty to the Crown without mentioning Fenianism at all. It emphasised the grandness of the affair and its orderliness from the beginning describing how prior to the start "bands of music playing, and banners flying, mustered in their designated places, and the whole marched in splendid order to St. Patrick's Church where solemn High Mass was sung."[390] The "designated places" and the "splendid order" in which the participants marched to "solemn High Mass"

[388] Keep, "Irish adjustment in Montreal," 41.
[389] *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, March 9, 1866.
[390] *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle,* March 23, 1866.

separated the Irish in Montreal from the chaos and fear evoked by Fenianism. Lord Monck's speech referred to Fenianism without saying its name, but the actions of those in the procession and the vocabulary used to describe the parade in the *True Witness* negated Fenianism by ignoring it. Their type of Irishness was non-confrontational and was defined on St. Patrick's Day as encouraging a peaceful and supportive relationship between the Irish in Montreal and colonial politics while also separating themselves from the issues in Ireland. The *True Witness'* positive attitude towards the parade and its self-awareness about rising tensions within the Irish community due to Fenianism was to be expected but many other newspapers also supported this positive reporting making the parade a success for people beyond the Irish-Catholic community. This shows the effectiveness of the day as a product of "groupness as event" and how it shaped a non-threatening Irish identity for outsiders.

iv. Comparison with Toronto

As in 1858, both parades used military symbols and marching but to very different ends and effect. Toronto's parade was a stronger affirmation of the YMSPA's previous statement on the presence of Irish Catholics in the city, while Montreal's events not only presented the community as respectable, but pushed to now include them into the narrative of the city and nation. These differences in mentality and objective can be seen in the route of the procession which, in Toronto compared to Montreal, disrupted the established landscape by marching in front of Orange lodges and using the act of walking to conquer the downtown area. The Hibernian Benevolent Society's previous relationship with the Protestant population made this route a political statement in which the Catholic community, without permission, demanded equal treatment in the streets of Toronto. In Montreal's case, the route was focused on the well-known Irish Catholic spaces of Griffintown and St. Patrick's Church while also marching in more francophone parts of the town in order to include their narrative

into the city's already established landscape. Unlike Toronto, Montreal's Irish Catholic community and the St. Patrick's Society did not have previously negative experiences with the francophone residents, creating a safe space in which to march while the significantly fewer Orange lodges also contributed to the peaceful route choice.[391] As discussed in chapter one, the YMSPA's interpretation and performance of Irish Catholic identity was not explicitly militaristic, but, when compared to Montreal, it becomes clear that its intents and symbolism leaned towards an aggressive provocation against the Protestant population whilst Montreal used their numbers and forces to include themselves within the city instead of pushing against it. Both cities could be seen as using militaristic undertones in both years studied, but the context and reception of the parade is crucial in understanding how using the orderliness of military marches was adapted to each city and to the intentions of each Irish Catholic community. The dynamics of space ownership differed between the groups and were highlighted by the difference in the ritualization of the celebration where the lines of marching paraders either attempted to demonstrate the threatening aspect of the community or, in Montreal, to show how all this force can be aligned with the city and country's context.

Both parades consisted of male members and possessed a militaristic aesthetic reinforced by bands and the marching style, the performances in each city resulted in differing messages on the place of the Irish Catholic community in their city and their country. Toronto's militaristic style reinforced, an Irish Catholic attitude of defiance brought to the front by the HBS which saw their fellow Irish Catholics as under siege in a Protestant city. Due to the controversy around the existence of the procession that year and the relationship between the HBS and Fenianism, military marches were less a show of order than defiance of authority. On the other hand, Montreal's equally militaristic performance occasioned congratulatory remarks by all speakers and the press

[391] Montreal in 1859 had thirteen lodges and the whole province had 71 while Canada West had 578 including Toronto which was the urban center of Orangeism. – Senior, *Orangeism: The Canadian Phase*, 62.

congratulating and describing the respectability of the community as a whole due to its militaristic discipline and orderliness. This military credibility was underscored by the participation of military bands as well as the presence of various groups promoting 'proper' Catholic values of cooperation, temperance, and respect for authority. Toronto's procession did not advertise any other groups than the HBS, which also contributed to the general anxiety surrounding the parade since the HBS promoted a specifically radical Irish identity which was not mitigated in the procession by other respectable groups from local society. Moreover, the groups which had considered celebrating St. Patrick's Day, such as the Toronto St. Patrick's Society, decided to cancel these plans due to the hostile climate and publicly explained their decision highlighting how any celebrations on the day would cause unnecessary fear. The HBS procession was as much an affirmation of what it saw as an 'authentic' Irish identity while also being a reaction to the tense socio-political context in which their march was interpreted as defiance. Montreal's ritualization of the procession emphasised a pacifist and pro-Britain attitude through the ritualization of orderliness and Catholic celebrations. Community leaders wanted to promote this type of respectful Irish Catholicism due to the awareness of the dangers of Fenianism and the importance of catering to the Catholic hierarchies in Canada East.

The rituals in Toronto and Montreal definitely reflected two different interpretations of Irish Catholic identity in Canada. The HBS' militaristic and defensive approach to relations with the Protestants of Toronto differed from the middle-class respectability which the St. Patrick's Society of Montreal aimed to portray and encourage. The tone of the parades and the message and symbols enacted in their rituals depended on the leaders of the celebrations and the pre-established character of their societies. The Toronto procession was seen as problematic because of the HBS' political attitude and the fact that its president was a known Fenian. The SPS in Montreal was a non-controversial cultural society and its president was an influential politician with a respected pedigree

despite his strong ties to Irish nationalism and McGee's disapproval of him. The acceptance of the organising society by influential members of the Irish Catholic community was also important in the creation and reception of each respected procession. In Toronto, the HBS was not seen as speaking for the majority of the Irish Catholic community whereas the SPS in Montreal gave the illusion of representing all of the Irish Catholics in Montreal. The disagreements in Toronto between the HBS, Bishop Lynch and Darcy McGee compared poorly to the apparent unity within Montreal's community. This emphasises how impactful the image and reception of the organisers were in defining the dynamics between the procession and the city as well as the procession's relationship to the local Irish Catholic community. Toronto's parade demonstrated that the choice from the HBS to organise the procession independently from the Catholic church created a split between the Irish and the Catholic aspects of the community's identity. This divide and power struggle made the parade not as popular in the community where some individuals identified with the Catholic side of Irish identity more than the political or did not appreciate the radicality of the HBS. The HBS promoted a specific type of identity which spoke to a smaller number of people in the community compared to Montreal where a broader Irish Catholic cultural identity had ecclesiastical support and attracted more members of the community who associated with the cultural or religious aspect at various intensities.[392]

The newspaper coverage of the Toronto parade prior to the day included a discussion of Fenianism and the possible invasion just as the newspapers in Canada West also spoke of Fenianism and the invasion when speaking of March 17th. The difference was that in Toronto the procession was seen as inappropriate due to the HBS' ties to Fenianism and the geographical closeness of Toronto to

[392] Montreal's procession did promote a specific Irish Catholic identity, but the comparison demonstrates that this identity was broader since it could include people who felt a smaller or greater attachment to Catholicism, Irish culture and Ireland compared to Toronto's radical and pointed political identity.

the possible invasion. In Montreal, and Canada West in general, Fenianism was discussed because it was part of the current national events. Most newspapers dedicated some time in demonstrating the improbability of an invasion rather than speaking against the Montreal procession. Moreover, the existence of the parade itself, and the role of the HBS, was doubted not only by opponents of the Catholic community but also within the community. The *Canadian Freeman,* a self-identified Irish Catholic newspaper, did not agree with the parade or the HBS' involvement in the Irish Catholic community. In Montreal, the *Montreal Witness*, the Protestant newspaper, demanded to reconsider going forward with the parade but even then, the discourse was respectful and not insulting to the Irish participants. Toronto's newspaper disagreements highlighted how the Montreal Irish Catholic community succeeded in presenting a unified front through the conversations in the newspapers since those participating in the parade were not distinguished from the Irish Catholic community as a whole. Unlike Montreal, the rest of the Toronto procession was not described in much detail except in the Irish Catholic newspapers, which did not add anything significant to the discussion on Fenianism. In comparison, the order in which the parade was executed in Montreal was highlighted by many newspapers and space was allotted to a summary of the governor general's speech. This sign of approval by the highest ranked political figure in Canada, not only the Irish community, participated in recounting the procession and its members as respectable and as a part of a Canadian narrative. Though Montreal's parade demonstrated the power of the Irish Catholics both in numbers and its organisation the newspapers focused their attention on the respectability of the day and of the effect of such great numbers cheering on the governor general as an act of loyalty. With this in mind, the military aspect of the parade was interpreted, not as a demonstration of threat against authorities, but rather, as demonstration of the significant number of Irish Catholics supporting the nation and its status quo. When comparing Toronto and Montreal, it becomes clear that the press' impact was

essential on how the processions were received both in the community and by the wider Canadian population since the performances themselves did not last as long as the reports and interpretations of these.

As in 1858, St. Patrick's Day in Montreal remained a Catholic festival associated with Irish politics and cultural memories, but the Irish were now preoccupied with their inclusion in Canadian narratives rather than Montreal-centric ones. The parade demonstrated how the St. Patrick's Society and the marchers reacted to the contemporary context of Fenianism by publicly enhancing their loyalty to the Crown. Through ritual analysis, it becomes clear that the orderliness and speeches were meant to show Canadians that the Irish in Montreal were non-threatening. The ritualistic function of the day was successful through a martial procession which included symbols and representations of Catholicism. Through speeches by representatives of the queen and Canadian parliament as well as the exclusion of certain disorderly groups, an Irish-Canadian Catholic identity was reshaped in 1866. The St. Patrick's Society's status as a respectable middle class organisation imprinted the procession with their values and desires to demonstrate the discipline and respect of the Irish in Montreal for the British whether these were real feelings or a conscious effort by the organisers to portray this as their identity. Within the organisation, the lack of conflict when it came to the existence and proceedings of the parade also reinforced this idea. The majority of coverage by newspapers echoed these themes and ensured that the memory of the parade would also be positive. When compared to Toronto and

the strong tensions surrounding that procession's very existence, Montreal's celebrations of St. Patrick's Day in 1866 indicated how the Irish population in Montreal could identify with Ireland while also placing themselves within the broader boundaries of the British Empire.

V: CONCLUSION

Shortly after midnight on April 7, 1868, in Ottawa, Thomas D'Arcy McGee's landlady, Mrs. Trotter, heard footsteps outside her dining room window. As she approached the door, she heard something resembling a firecracker. When the door opened, she found McGee hunched forward on her doorstep, shot in the head, his face unrecognizable. McGee had wanted to see the death of Fenianism; his murder was allegedly executed by a Fenian, or a Fenian sympathizer, Patrick James Whelan.[393] Questions regarding true Irish identity and loyalties had made McGee another victim who joined Matthew Sheady, stabbed in the 1858 St. Patrick's Day parade, as an Irish Canadian martyr. The same night, McGee had spoken in the House of Commons until 2am and given what David Wilson characterizes as "a kind of epitaph," defending the union of Canada and qualifying himself passionately as a Canadian, not an Irish Canadian.[394] He stood up and in response to concerns by the Nova Scotia representatives of unfair treatment between the provinces proclaimed that "I speak here not as a the representative of any Province, but as thoroughly and emphatically a Canadian, ready and bound to recognize the claims, if any, of my Canadian fellow subjects, from the farthest east to the farthest west, equally as those of my nearest neighbor, or of the friend who proposed me on the hustings. (Great applause)."[395] In his last hours, McGee identified solely as a Canadian putting into words his convictions that an immigrant could be integrated and become Canadian even without being born on Canadian land. Until the end, the possibility of changing one's own identity was at the center of McGee's politics and beliefs whether it be about Confederation or the symbolism of St. Patrick's Day. The

[393] Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*, 343.
[394] Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*, 338.
[395] Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, April 6, 1868, 471.

1866 parade demonstrated his thoughts on how the Irish in Canada would benefit from a unified nation which included them as allies rather than as a Fenian threat. Considering the importance he conferred to parades as a tool to unite or divide, McGee's funeral on April 13th was, appropriately, the grandest British North America had ever seen. In a city of approximately 105,000 inhabitants, 15,000 people participated in the funeral parade while another 80,000 gathered to see his hearse pass.[396] Though McGee had opposed Toronto's 1866 parade, it was not necessarily any public performance which McGee disapproved but a certain type of radical Irish nationalist performance underlining how important McGee thought these performances were even beyond the day of their celebration. As a father of Confederation, McGee understood what tools were necessary and effective in shaping an identity. His response to the 1866 Toronto parade was in direct relation to his insistence that Canadian identity could include Irish and other immigrant groups who demonstrated loyalty to the nation. His reaction to the parade emanated from its ties to Fenianism which he saw as working against his goal of a unified Canadian identity. He wanted the Irish to be seen as builders and active participants in this country rather than caught up in politics of the homeland.

This thesis has investigated the Irish Catholic communities of Toronto and Montreal to understand their relationships to religion, Irish nationalism and British loyalism as well as their own city's identity. The analysis of these dynamics were studied through the public performances of the St. Patrick's Day parades in 1858 and 1866 making it possible to visualize the identity performed and the various influential elements in the organizational elements. As McGee's speeches demonstrated, questions of immigrant identity as either a part of or against Canada as a nation were relevant after the question of Confederation. The process of identity

[396] Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee*, 384-385.

formation was influenced by Irish communities' links to the Catholic clergy, Irish nationalism and British loyalism and their own city's contexts which played a role in defining their own changing identity and position in Canada and Ireland's affairs.

The relationship between Catholicism and the Irish Catholic community in both cities was a fundamental aspect of identity which differentiated them from the Protestant Irish of Toronto or integrated them with the Catholic city of Montreal. As years passed, the relationship of the community to its Catholic leaders continued to influence St. Patrick's Day and the Irish Catholic identity performed on this day. In the 1870s, a newly formed group- the Catholic League- took over the parade from the HBS and focused, as Montreal had in the 1860s, on promoting the loyalty and Canadianness of the Irish Catholic community. By doing so, they attempted to distance themselves from previous Irish nationalist tones and project a more peaceful and cooperative identity.[397] The transition towards the hyphenated identity of Irish-Canadian becomes clear when looking at the difference in the organisers and their objectives on making the Toronto parade peaceful and centered on civic engagement. These same Catholic identifying organisers decided to cancel indeterminately the parade in 1877 since they thought "St. Patrick's Day parades were now seen […] as unhelpful in that they perpetuated the Irish-Catholic sense of distance and difference from other groups in Toronto."[398] The parades of the late 1850s and the 1860s were successful in engraining this sense that the Irish Catholic community was separate from its Protestant counterparts and their Catholicism played a role in maintaining this difference. Compared to the 1850s and 1860s, the role of the parades in the 1870s was unsuccessful due to the press and controversies associated with the parade's

[397] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 80.
[398] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 80.

nationalist past which led to its indefinite cancellation in 1877.[399] The decision to stop the parades was agreed to by the community itself and the *Irish Canadian* expressed that "as a duty to the concord of society, to peace and order, to industry and steadiness, to the perfect unity which proves strength to the State, those processions which are instances of bad citizenship in this country […] ought to be abandoned."[400] This plea for steadiness and orderliness echoed Bishop Lynch's request to his parish in 1866 when he demanded Catholics behave in a peaceful and non-controversial manner during the height of Fenian threats.

When comparing Toronto to Montreal, the difference between the authority and the role of the Catholic clergy becomes obvious; where Toronto tried to distance itself from the clergy's control while remaining Catholic and opposing the Orange Order and Protestantism, Montreal's community embraced Catholicism and its religious leaders in the community such as Father Patrick Dowd.[401] Toronto's organisers had succeeded in avoiding direct control from the Catholic clergy; this made it harder to come back from such nationalist and controversial themes in the 1870s. Conversely, Montreal embraced, either willingly or not, the guidance and support of the Catholic Church and after the SPS confessionalised in 1856, Catholicism took on an even bigger role in the parade and in the definition of local Irish Catholic identity. Montreal's parades became about highlighting their religion and promoting the inclusion of Irish Catholics in Montreal society because of this shared trait with French-Canadians. Parades under the SPS did not change much though they took on more overt political views in the 1870s and 1880s, encouraging Home Rule in Ireland while remaining under British rule, evoking a similar position

[399] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green,* 80.
[400] *Irish Canadian*, April 5, 1876.
[401] This statement does not apply to the actual religious beliefs and practices of each community since it is impossible to say which was 'more Catholic'. This comparison only applies to the performances of Irishness on St. Patrick's Day and the relationship between the organisers and the clergy.

as to Canada's Dominion status.[402] Religion remained important in their displays of identity and the British flag flying over St. Patrick's Cathedral was the epitome of symbolising the importance of religion in the performance of an Irish Catholic community loyal to the British crown.[403]

Both communities defined their identity in relation to British and Irish politics. Irish nationalism in Toronto was arguably the strongest aspect of Irish Catholic identity as presented in the parades studied, not only in their political speeches but also through the symbolism which emphasised an Ireland independent of British rule rather than Montreal's heavily present Catholic iconography. This Irish nationalism so strongly defined the parades, especially in the Fenian era that it became an obstacle to the Irish Catholic community desiring to integrate Canada in the 1870s.[404] In Montreal, the parade-now the longest running parade in North America- continued every year.[405] The performance of British loyalism, as organised by the SPS and the Catholic clergy, made the Montreal parade less controversial than Toronto's since it not only aligned itself with the dominant religion of the city but also with the colonial authority of Great Britain.[406] As much as remaining Irish within these dynamics was crucial to the parade, British loyalism created an Irish Catholic identity that was less defensive than Toronto's and more easily acceptable to Montreal's society as a whole.

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[402] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 86.
[403] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 87.
[404] The actual assimilation of the Irish Catholic community and their desire to become Canadian rather than Irish is subject to debate, but concerning the parade, it was stopped due to its controversial past and the desire to portray a more peaceful identity. For more information on the integration of Irish Catholics in Toronto see: Trigger, "Irish Politics on Parade," 159 – 199.
[405] Some parades, such as New York's, are older but were cancelled or stopped at some point in time, whereas Montreal's happened every year since its instigation in 1824.
[406] It is interesting to note that the Orange Order kept performing their identity on the 12th of July in many cities in Canada with Toronto as one of its central cities for the celebration. They still possessed the similar loyalist and Protestant identities as in the pre-Confederation era. - Michael Wilcox, *Canadian Encyclopaedia*, "Orange Order in Canada," www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/orange-order. Consulted on April 4, 2018.

Questions of politics and nationalism in Montreal remained relevant long after the 1860s and became the central issue when the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) took over entirely in 1919 to 1929. The AOH presented an Irish identity defined by its opposition to British loyalism and its staunch Irish republicanism.[407] As in Toronto in 1866, the AOH wanted to present a martial parade to prove the presence of military groups such as the Hibernian Knights and the Hibernian Rifles who were ready to defend Ireland through battle.[408] Gender was also still important in the performance of politics as members of the AOH needed to be men in between the ages of eighteen and forty-five and in good physical health, presenting the Irish Catholics as young, organised and strong men. The AOH proclaimed this voluntarily provocative, masculine stance to the organising committee of the parade when speaking of their desire to change the parade route because "the Irish were not parading for their own but rather to advertise their members and influence and strengths to the other members of the Community."[409] These politics and viewpoints on nationalism continuously defined the Irish Catholic community of Montreal since one could not be a member of the SPS and of the AOH due to their different approaches to nationalism and reputations. Irish Catholics had to choose which identity they associated by choosing which group they joined and these decisions, in turn, defined the power dynamics of the parade since the most popular and influential group would obtain more say on the day and its celebrations. In Toronto, Irish nationalism did not disappear but due to the century-long disruption of the parade, its relation to the performance of Irish identity on St. Patrick's Day changed. The focus of the Irish went from celebrating their Irish nationalism to being a part of

[407] Unlike the Home Rule movement, republicanism stood for complete independence from Britain and the possibility of this happening without a war was unlikely. Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 87.
[408] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 87.
[409] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 89.

Canada while also remaining up to date with news from Ireland, without the parade as a vehicle to negotiate their attachments.

The relationships between Catholicism, Irish nationalism and British loyalism were not only defined by the community but were also influenced by the environment in which both groups interacted. It is impossible to understand the enduring importance of the parade and its dynamics without examining why and how Irish Catholics defined themselves in response to where they lived and how their beliefs on Ireland, Catholicism, independence, Canada and the United Kingdom was treated in those contexts. For example, in the post-Confederation, both Irish Catholics and Protestants could ponder the possibility of entering this national narrative which is why the parades attempted to focus on these feelings of Canadian pride in Toronto. In pre-Confederation Montreal, the decision, conscious or unconscious, to celebrate Catholicism included the Irish community in the fold of the city and made their transition into Confederation easier, at least during public celebrations on St. Patrick's Day. Without acknowledging the importance of the context, one might think that the Irish in Montreal were more fervently Catholic than their counterparts in Toronto when actually the fact that Catholicism made it possible for them to live peacefully may have been central to their identity. Moreover, Montreal's tradition of national festivals such as St-Jean Baptiste, Bastille Day and later labourers marching on May Day, made St. Patrick's one of many performances seen and heard in the streets of Montreal.[410] Though the choice to decide to cancel the parade in Toronto came from the organisers, and so, from the inside, the context is crucial in understanding why this decision was taken in order not to assume than Irish Catholics stopped identifying as Irish but were answering to a broader group. In Montreal, the city also influenced the parade and its

[410] Cronin and Adair, *The Wearing of the Green*, 87.

organisers into performing loyalty to the British while modern parades try to remain apolitical in order to make sure as many people feel included as possible also answering to the modern context of diversity and immigration.

Irishmen and Irish women in Canada in the 1850s and 1860s attempted to define themselves in relation to their roots as well as the new space they inhabited. The St. Patrick's Day parade was a tool to promote, negotiate and defend a particular Irishness to the public and to themselves. This interdisciplinary study has provided a new framework to study Irish identity in Canada by incorporating the historical methodology of text and archival analysis with performance and ritual studies in order to make these historical events come alive as the performances they were rather than only as textual evidence. A Performance Studies framework strengthened this thesis by placing the parades in their own time and providing a context to understand the significance of the details and actions of each parade within each cities' context. This framework helped illustrate how and why the actions of this day were significant and how these help create and re-create distinct Irish Catholic identities and expanded the definition of what it meant to be Irish in different cities and years. Performance studies theory permitted this research to consider the movements of identity and look at all of these events as defining moments which contributed to the growth of a non-static Irish Catholic identity. Examining the history surrounding the parade deepened understandings of this performance making it impossible to separate the historical analysis from the ritual analysis. Future studies should focus on issues of class and the differences in identity performances incurred by societal and financial divisions. In the future, acknowledging how organisers of the parade wanted to represent the Irish identity of the city compared to the actual alignment of less fortunate classes will further deepen the understanding of the dynamics of identity association within the Irish Catholic

community and provide a broader portrait of those grouped under this ethnicity. This thesis integrated gender as a main point when considering those who were excluded from a specific Irish Catholic identity and the study of other sub-groups and various classes will help understand even more the role of the parade in the negotiations of identity among very different groups of people within a community sometimes portrayed as monolithic. Finally, studies on Irish public events, like parades, either Catholic or Protestant, would benefit from in-depth research on the role of women in these events and the meanings of gender in relation to Irish identity and questions of authority. Understanding the extent to which women were involved in organising and supporting these events would include a significant part of the population too often left aside creating the impression of their inexistence when their presence was essential to the creation of Irish identity.

McGee's view on the importance of parades in communicating political and social messages may seem less relevant for today's St. Patrick's Day which is mostly associated with the drinking of alcohol and the wearing of green. Contrary to this belief, the organisers of Montreal's parade and many of its participants still feel the legacy of the first parades in the city and use this day as a celebration of immigration and diversity. Though McGee's Canadian utopia was not fully realised, his ideals of acceptance still speak to some who, today, are in need of this acceptance. The Irish Catholic communities may now be fully integrated and their contribution to the building of Canada recognised, there are new groups of immigrants coming from war-torn countries and pushed out of their homeland who seek refuge in McGee's ideas. Indeed, the refugee crisis in Syria created a new flood of immigrants to the country and understanding how to welcome them properly in order to create the most positive exchange is crucial. Some may wonder how relevant the St. Patrick's Day parade is in relation to such global issues, but

considering the Greek float from the 2016 parade was a refugee boat with a sign reading "Welcome to Greece," the parade can still be a useful and impactful space to start discussions and perform one's own identity. The float was a platform on which a small fishing boat was surrounded by waves and a person with their arms extended representing a cry for help, either as they were drowning or trying to come onto the boat. This float was not destined to be specifically about refugees, being the Greek float, but they recognised the potential impact of their statement due to the powers of performance in a well-established and respected parade. The context of the on-going crisis and the many painful stories surrounding the refugee experience made this float relevant not only to the parade and its immigration theme, but also to the global context of human movement. This float brought back the narrative of exile to a parade which now claims to celebrate successful immigration and the conservation of one's roots while also being integrated into Canadian society. Parades remain an important way of presenting one's identity and situation with visual and performative skills which are more evocative than speech on celebratory days such as these. Similar to the parades in Toronto in the 1850s and 1860s, this float is a testament to the fact that parades are opportunities to debate identity and demonstrate political opinions. McGee may not have agreed with the controversial message of the Greek float, but he would agree on the power of the parade in the process of identity affirmation. The Irish community and their expressions of identity on St. Patrick's Day should not be seen as frivolous festivities, but as an accessible way to understand and discuss underlying issues of identity. The Irish not only contributed to the shaping of the country at its beginning, they can continue to show us, learning from their experiences, how to treat immigrants and ensure that their full potential be encouraged to flourish so they can also become productive members of society.

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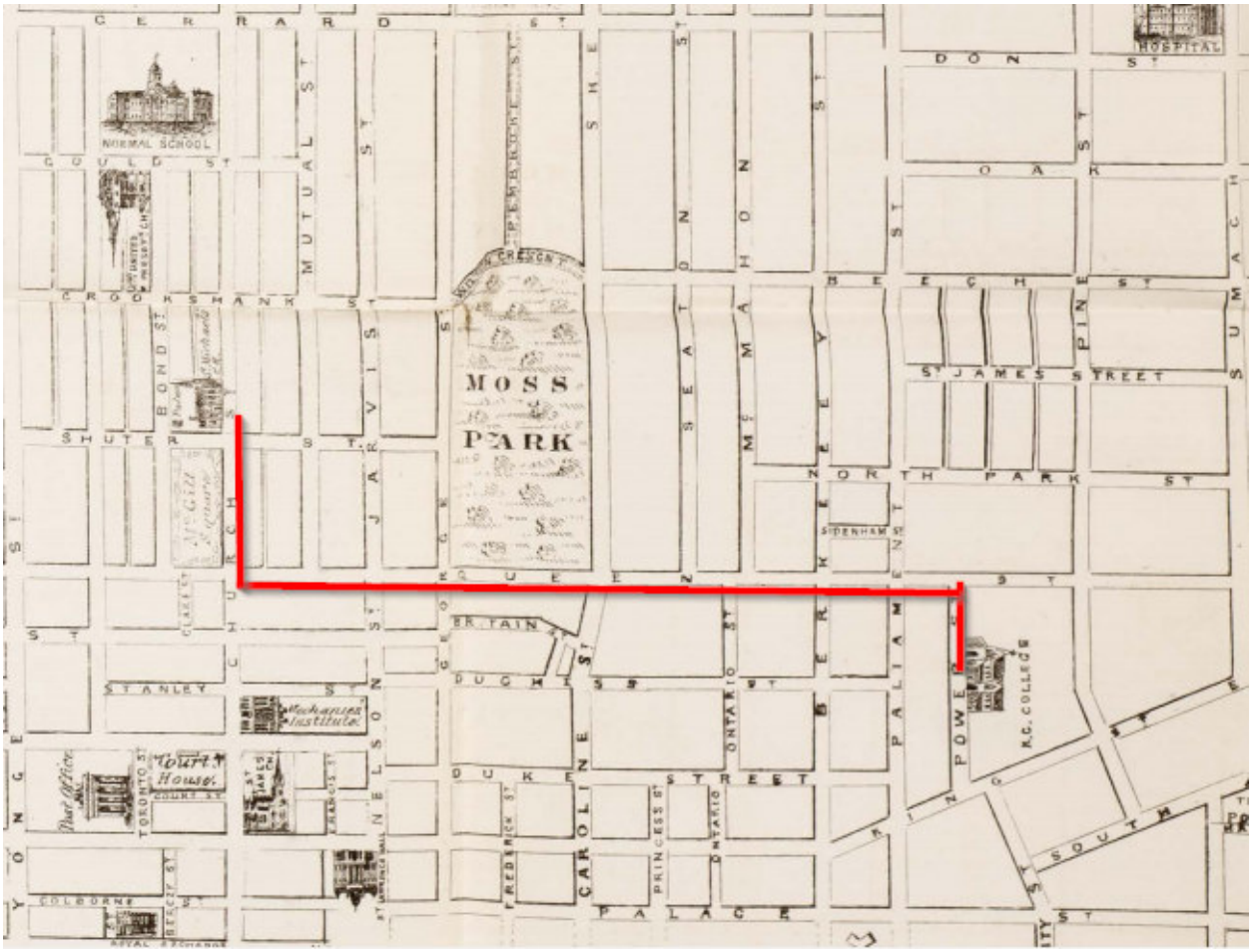
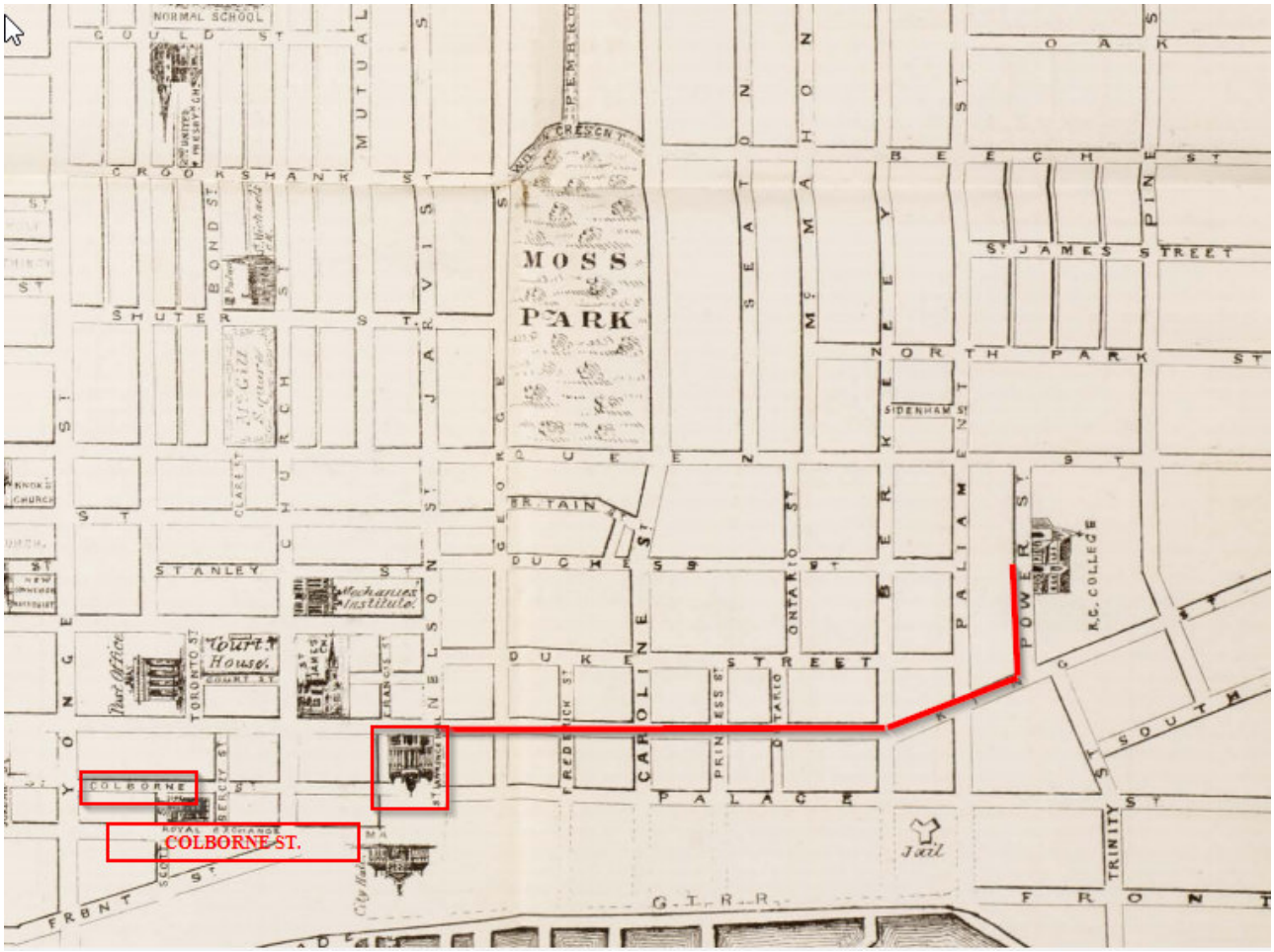
APPENDIX I

Church Organised Parade Route



APPENDIX II

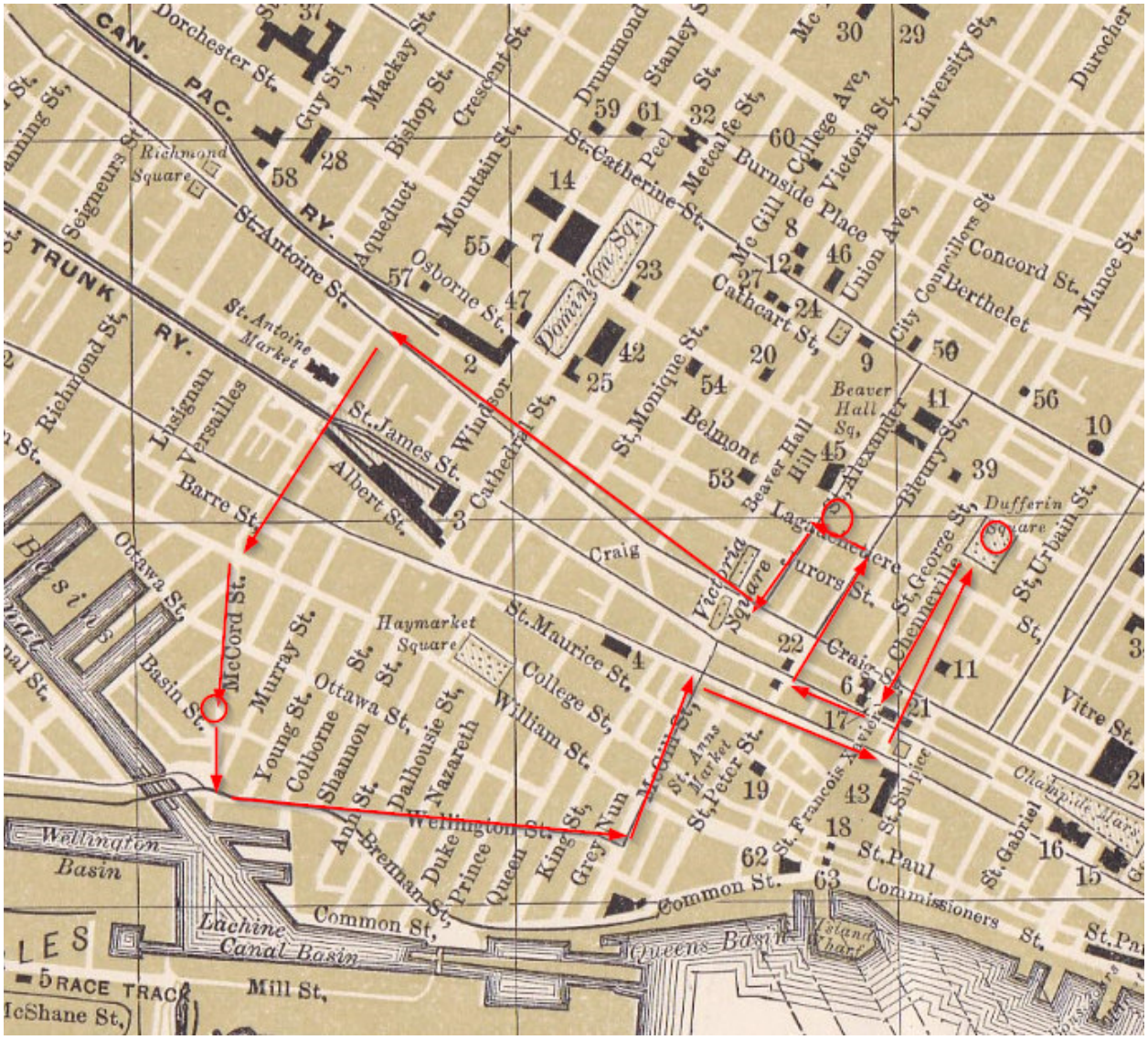
1858 YMSPA Parade Route



Note : Colborne Street from which Bill Lennox came running when the riots started.

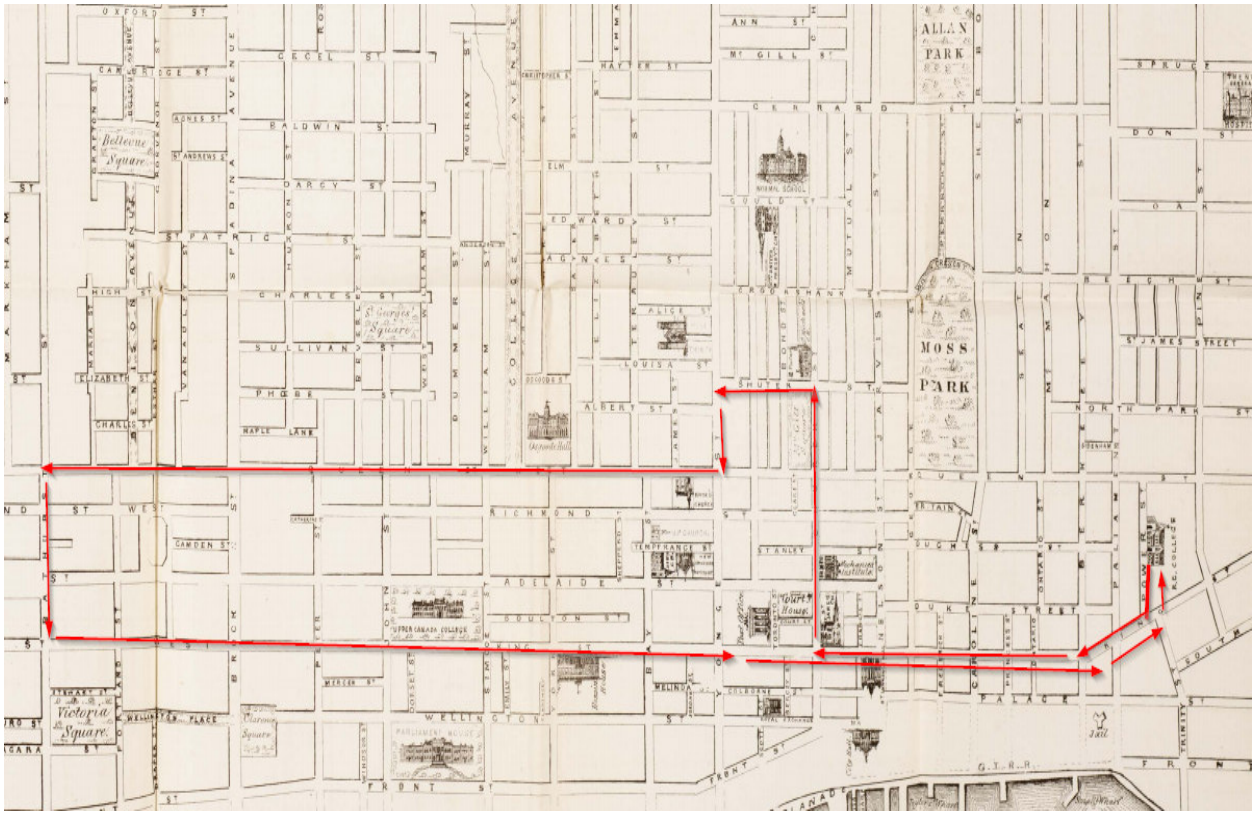
APPENDIX III

Montreal 1858 Parade Route



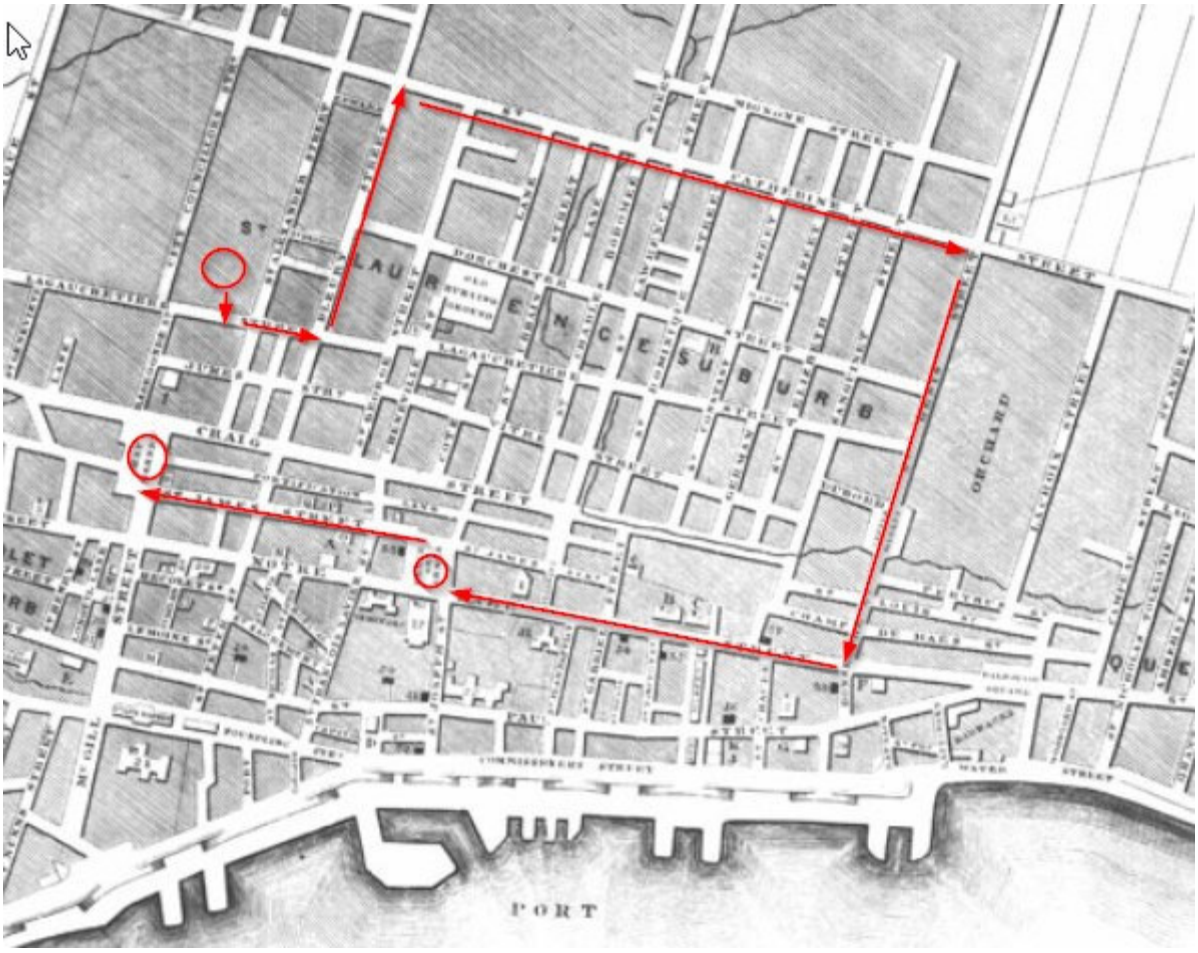
APPENDIX IV

Toronto 1866 Parade Route



APPENDIX V

1866 Montreal Route



Note: Compared to 1858, most of the parade took place on the East side of St. Patrick's Church.

APPENDIX VI

Greek Float Montreal 2015 Parade