THE IRISH-CANADIAN; IMAGE AND SELF-IMAGE, 1847-1870

by

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We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the ways in which the Irish-Catholic population of Canada was perceived and described by the newspapers of mid-Victorian Toronto and Montreal. A study of the leading political and religious journals at mid-century demonstrates the prolonged existence in Canada of hostile feelings towards the immigrant community, based both on Protestant aversion to Catholicism and on stereotypes of Irish character in general. The thesis argues that these antagonisms and unfavourable images were identified by the Irish community as contributing to its lack of economic, social and political progress. In defence against the hostility which they detected at all levels of society, and which was especially apparent in the vocabulary of disparagement and abuse with which Irish affairs were reported in Canadian newspapers, Irish-Catholics maintained a distinct and self-conscious sense of national community. This sense of group identity was clearly expressed in the emergence of an Irish ethnic press. The thesis presents the reactions of five Irish-Catholic newspapers, in Toronto and Montreal, to the inferior status of the immigrants in Canadian society. While showing the sensitivity of Irish-Catholics to the social, political and economic exclusion produced by their unfavourable reputation, it also argues that the Irish press simultaneously encouraged a coherent Irish group feeling in a conscious attempt to disarm anti-Irish prejudice. Irish-Catholic editors reminded their readers that in Canada the immigrants might prove
that Irish nationality, given the equal opportunity and responsible government which they demanded for Ireland, could develop in loyalty, wealth and social respectability. The thesis concludes that it was this concern with social mobility which made the Irish press so sensitive to the ways in which the Canadian image of Irish-Catholics reflected and reinforced their social, economic and political retardation.
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INTRODUCTION

In the eighteen-forties, many thousands of Irish, most of them Catholics, escaped to Canada from the economic and social distress of famine-stricken Ireland. The one tragic year of 1847 brought some hundred and ten thousand Irish immigrants to Canada, only thirty thousand less than arrived that year in the United States. During the following two decades, the United Provinces received over one hundred and thirty thousand Irish immigrants, more than one fifth of the Irish immigration to North America as a whole. A Canadian community which had few of the public works or community resources of the Republic with which to meet such an influx was confronted with an impoverished Irish-Catholic population, which, by the census of 1851, numbered some two hundred thousand, or twelve per cent of the provincial total. Approximate estimates from balancing census figures for origins and religion, give an Irish-Catholic population, by 1861, of two hundred and eighty thousand. At the census of 1871, it was approximately two hundred and sixty thousand.

The great majority of the Irish-Catholic immigrants settled on the land in Canada West. Thomas D'Arcy McGee claimed in 1866, that almost three-quarters of them breathed the pure and healthful air of the Canadian countryside. Yet, substantial numbers of them also congregated in the cities, especially Toronto and Montreal, which brought to them an even greater attention than was warranted by their total numbers in the province. The Irish-Catholic population of Montreal steadily increased
from census to census before 1871. In 1844, some ten thousand, or one fifth of the Irish-Catholic population of Canada East, was concentrated in Montreal. By the eighteen-sixties, the number had increased to over twenty-two thousand, representing almost a quarter of the total Montreal population. The Irish-Catholic population of Toronto also increased greatly throughout this period. It grew from approximately eight thousand in 1851, to twelve thousand in the eighteen-sixties, or over a quarter of the Toronto population.

The size and impoverished condition of the Irish-Catholic immigration, affected Canadian society at many levels. As well as changing the ethnic balance of Canadian cities, the Irish introduced problems of poverty, crime and social disorder on an unprecedented scale. Their dominant presence in the cities conflicted with the prevailing view of the limitless capacity of the land to support new arrivals. Their Catholicism as well, shattered the virtual Protestant consensus in Canada West at a time when the Protestantism of English-speaking Canadians was pitted against the Catholicism of French Canadians in an increasingly embittered provincial legislature. In politics, as in areas of social concern, Irish-Catholics were at the centre of many of the issues unsettling the Canadian community at mid-century.

Yet, the impact of the Irish-Catholics on Victorian Canada has, for the most part, received indifferent treatment from Canadian historians—not that the Irish immigrants who flooded into the cities and countryside have been ignored. Indeed, their participation in the religious riots, labour disputes, educational and political controversies and social
disorders of the time have demanded attention. Until recently, however, little interest has been shown towards the Irish existence in Canadian society as a distinct, self-conscious, and articulate ethnic and religious group, well aware of its interests and sensitive to its political, social, and economic isolation. Rowdy Irish behaviour on the canals and railroad works, their "mob" contribution to general and municipal elections, the clashes between Catholics and Orangemen, have too often been dismissed as examples of vague and rarely defined "Irish" behavioural characteristics. Even the notorious Fenian episodes, culminating in the assassination of Thomas D'Arcy McGee in 1868, have been presented as little more than examples of an Irish propensity for secret societies and an impulsive patriotism, and dismissed as simple aberrations in their progress to "Canadianization".

The Irish element in socially disruptive, and therefore noticeable, behaviour has been generally presented as a colourful adjunct to immigrant adjustment in general. There has been little analysis of the underlying group solidarity of the Irish community, or its ethnic self-consciousness. Eventual assimilation has masked the Irish historical identity and deprived Canadian historians of the broad frame of reference which continuing Irish nationalism and a much larger total Irish immigration have supplied to Irish studies in England and the United States. Hence they have been more concerned to describe the influences in Canadian society which eventually blended the Irish into the Canadian "national-pie", than to notice the factors which consolidated their sense of national identity and maintained their existence as a troublesome and anxious "third solitude".

It is not that Canadian historians have failed to notice the Irish; they have simply not been concerned to ask the questions which would discover and account for their separate group existence. Paradoxically, even the idea of the mosaic as an explanation of Canadian national character has masked the Irish identity. Basic to that theme has been the absence in Canada of an ideal national type. It has been argued, accordingly, that the Irish, Scottish or English immigrant was relieved from any obligation to abandon his "Old World" culture and adopt a wholly new way of life. Yet, if there was not a "normative English-speaking type" to which the Irish immigrant was expected to adapt, the Canada of the mid-nineteenth century was dominated by the Victorian ethics of hard-work, individual enterprise, and sober Protestant morality. It is apparent that the Irish-Catholics were thought rarely to live up to these norms. Their behaviour was seen to threaten Canadian society at its very roots. Egerton Ryerson, Chief Superintendent of Education, warned in 1848, that "the physical disease and death" which accompanied the Irish famine immigrants "may be the precursor of the worse pestilence of social insubordination and disorder." He stressed the need to educate the Irish in Canada so that they "may grow up in the industry and intelligence of the country and not in the idleness and pauperism, not to say mendicity and vice of their forefathers." Scottish, English or German immigrants, even Blacks, were not regarded with the same suspicion, or subjected to the abuse and criticism provoked by persistent anxiety about Irish behaviour and unfavourable images of their national character.

A proper understanding of these views of the Irish must rest on
their relations with other immigrant groups and on considerations of their status within the community in general. This comparative approach has been outside the scope of specific studies of Irish settlement in Canada, which have simply been concerned to isolate the Irish in the statistical record.  

Such studies have approached questions relating to Irish locations, numbers and occupations, and presented profiles of the more prominent and accessible Irish businessmen and political leaders, but they have lacked the capacity to provide any but the most interpretative analysis of Irish group behaviour. Especially have they neglected to estimate Irish social and economic mobility in comparison with other groups in the community.

The methods of quantitative analysis, however, have begun to provide this necessary perspective for understanding Irish development in Canada. The "new social history" has hinted at a constant and complex Irish presence in many of the areas of social, economic and social mobility on which data analysis is trying to shed light. It has been argued, indeed, that such methods provide the only possible means of answering questions about group interaction. Certainly, analysis of transiency, home-ownership patterns, occupations, school-attendance, illiteracy, crime and poor-relief, and the comparison of these factors among the different immigrant groups, have begun to make clear the existence of highly individual Irish group characteristics.

A social and geographic analysis of Victorian Toronto from the assessment rolls for instance, has discovered the isolation of the city's Irish-Catholics as the only group separated residentially by
class, religion and ethnicity. A comparison of city directories and census returns for Montreal has demonstrated the highly transient lifestyle of its Irish-Catholic population in the eighteen-sixties, its predominance in unskilled occupations and its failure even to approach the wealth or influence of the far less numerous Scottish, English or Irish-Protestant groups. A pioneer survey of the Irish-Catholic position in Hamilton has shown that the fortunes of those born in Ireland worsened in the generation after the famine. Their occupational profile remained distinctive and dismal. Irish-Catholics filled the ranks of labourers and servants while English, Scottish and Irish Protestants settled on their own land or established themselves in commerce or the professions. Irish-Catholics were even forced out of some occupations. When English or Scottish immigrants moved into trades, the Irish-Catholics gradually became excluded and concentrated only in the low-paying areas. Michael Katz, indeed, has speculated that "the Irishman as Nigger" might be a fair summary of his social and economic position in Victorian Canada.

Without an appreciation of the contemporary social perception of the Irish, however, such findings are presented in a statistical vacuum, or at best explained by reference to the general characteristics of Irish settlement in the United States. In its isolation of the Irish as an ethnic group, moreover, quantitative analysis contains an inherent contradiction. The proper limits of ethnic group identity are personal, emotional, and psychological, features impossible to capture in a statistical record. The definition of an Irishman on census rolls,
tax lists, assessment rolls, and all the routinely generated records necessary to quantative analysis, is therefore inadequate. Country of origin is not necessarily related to ethnic origin or ethnic sympathy. Especially is this so in the case of Irish immigrants. Indeed, a major problem in the study of the Irish in the Canadian past has been the difficulty of assessing the social and economic differences between Irish-Catholics and Irish-Protestants, which existed so obviously in the religious area. The census definition of "Irish" also excluded those Irish born in Canada, who in many cases, as was frequently commented, were more fervently Irish than their parents.

It is important, therefore, to be as familiar as possible with sources of opinion which commented on the characteristics thought to belong to the Irish as an ethnic group. This thesis makes such an attempt. A reading of the leading newspapers of Montreal and Toronto at mid-century, revealed the large amount of anxious attention which the Irish attracted. The thesis explores the nature and development of that anxiety and the framework of ideas which coloured it, during a period which experienced the Irish famine immigration, the Fenian raids of the late eighteen-sixties, and the Confederation debates. These events provoked much comment on the nature of Canadian society and considerable speculation as to the place of the Irish within it. The thesis notices the hostile and deprecatory nature of these feelings towards the Irish, which were daily articulated in the aggressive or denigratory vocabulary of the newspapers.

These hostile images of the Irish in Canadian society were
related to the problems and disruptions which a large, destitute and disoriented Catholic immigration presented to the Protestant and French Canadian communities. They were conditioned as well, however, by the reiteration in Canada of the antipathies towards Irish-Catholics which permeated Victorian England. Not only were the social and cultural differences between Protestants and Catholics regenerated in Canada, but the hostile stereotypes of the Irish which developed in England during the agitations for Repeal and Home Rule were faithfully redrawn in the Protestant press. Inferior Irish adjustment in Canada was explained by reference to the helpless condition of their Catholic countrymen at home. The social problems which they presented in Canada, as in Ireland, were given an ethnic explanation.

The fullest and most revealing source of these perceptions of the Irish in Canada is found in the press of the period. The newspapers of Canada West and Canada East provide an extensive survey of contemporary generalizations about the Irish. They collected together reports of meetings on immigration, schemes of colonization, accounts of Parliamentary debates, reports of the Houses of Industry and Providence, and the Police and Gaol Reports. The press also contains information not available elsewhere, such as Board of Health Reports, City Corporation minutes, and local immigration statistics whose originals have been destroyed. Editorials provided commentary on a wide range of issues concerning the Irish. Their interest reflected that of the public. A comparison of the frequency of themes expressed in editorials, with the areas of concern enunciated in public meetings, petitions and Grand Jury Reports,
indicates the close sympathy between editorials and public attitudes towards the Irish.\textsuperscript{35} Newspapers were invaluable monitors of the mid-nineteenth century environment in their reporting and assessment of how Canadian society reacted to its own Irish Question.

The newspapers studied here, were, for Toronto, the Protestant-Liberal \textit{Globe} for the years 1844-1870, and the Protestant-Conservative \textit{Leader} for 1852-1870. For Montreal, they were the \textit{Witness} from 1846-1870, the "bleu" \textit{La Minerve} from 1842-1870, and the "rouge" \textit{Le Pays} from 1852-1870. The \textit{Globe}, edited by the Reform leader George Brown, and the \textit{Leader}, owned by Ulster Protestant James Beaty, and edited by the staunchly anti-Catholic Charles Lindsey,\textsuperscript{36} dominated opinion in Canada West at mid-century. In Montreal, the \textit{Witness}, edited by Calvinist Scot, James Douglas, exemplified extreme Protestant reaction to the large Irish-Catholic presence in Canada. \textit{La Minerve} and \textit{Le Pays}, presented alternately conciliatory and hostile attitudes to the Irish from opposite ends of the political spectrum.

The attitudes expressed in these papers were not articulated without provoking an Irish-Catholic response. Criticism acted as a group stimulus to the immigrants. The thesis presents the range of Irish reactions to the unfavourable image of them in Canadian society. It argues that the social image of the Irish was an all-important factor in their adjustment. Irish leaders urged their fellow exiles in Canada to disprove the Victorian stereotype of them in Ireland as inherently inferior and incapable of self-government, by achieving economic independence and social respectability.\textsuperscript{37} Under conditions of freedom and opportunity in
Canada, they were to give the lie to the hostile images which worked against appeals for Irish Home Rule. By the same token, Irish failures in Canada, their lack of political representation, their overriding poverty, and their predominance in the crime statistics, were pointed to by Irish-Catholic spokesmen as the continuing legacy in Canada of Protestant discrimination against Irish-Catholics. The immigrants reacted with according sensitivity to hostile criticism of them in the Protestant press. The thesis argues, therefore, that Irish-Catholics were acutely conscious of the ways in which their low status reflected and reinforced their inferior social, economic and political progress in Canadian society.

The Irish-Catholic press educated the Irish community to this sense of awareness, grievance and national self-consciousness. It repeatedly insisted that Irish-Catholics were entitled to a full and effective representation in provincial and municipal affairs, prompting the Witness to complain that "their own papers, the only ones they read, have told them in every issue of their superiority," so that "there is no limit to their arrogance." These papers, studied here, were for Toronto, the Mirror, from 1837-1866, the Catholic Citizen, 1854-1857, the Canadian Freeman, 1857-1870, and the Irish Canadian, 1863-1870. For Montreal, they were the True Witness and Catholic Chronicle, from 1850-1870, the New Era, 1857-1858, and the few extant copies of the Irishman. A few selections still survive as well, in other papers, of the Montreal Freeman and the Irish Express. In the eighteen-fifties, no less than seven Irish-Catholic newspapers were published in Montreal and Toronto to counter the hostility of the Protestant press and to defend Irish-
Catholic interests in the community. The thesis argues that these papers, which so far have only been studied in their political and religious aspects, also had a very real existence as ethnic newspapers. They reflected and informed the views of the Irish on the problems they faced personally and in relation to society, furnishing many of them with their only reading material. The fiction, history and poetry that attracted their readers were sensitive mirrors of what went on in Irish immigrant minds. The Irish turned to their newspapers for news of home, accounts of their own activities and organizations, and above all sympathetic advice.

Indeed, the content and dimensions of Irish-Catholic thinking about their environment and themselves, is an essential but neglected aspect in the understanding of their eventual "Canadianization". The cultural and social processes by which they were assimilated to Canadian society cannot be identified without recognizing the strength and manner of their attachment to the psychological props of their old national associations and way of life, without an understanding, in fact, of their adjustment from the inside. This thesis, through an analysis of their press during the first generation of their settlement in Canada, attempts such an understanding.
FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION


3 Globe, Jan 20, 1862.


7 True Witness, 12, 26, 1861.


9 See for instance A. R. M. Lower, Canadians in the Making: A Social History of Canada (Toronto, Longmans, Green, 1958), 207-208. Lower notices the Irish as a violent, turbulent and disruptive element in Canadian history. He introduces them as rioting canallers, as Catholic and Orange protagonists, and even includes the legendary Black Donnellys, to emphasize their impact on the Canadian countryside. Lower explains Irish social disorder as a frontier pattern of behaviour, but one which owed its severity to an Irish propensity for violence.

10 See C.P. Stacey, "A Fenian Interlude: The Story of Michael Murphy," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XV, 1934, p. 154. Stacey dismisses the Fenian episode as "one of the most amusing bits of political comedy played in the provinces in the era of Confederation."


15 Ibid., p. 255.

16 Ibid.


19 See Michael Katz, "Blacks in Hamilton, "The Canadian Social History Project, Report No. 5, 1973-74, pp. 29-37. See also the evidence heard by the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, 1863-1864, Ibid., pp. 38-85. Several comparisons, unfavourable to the Irish, were made between the Irish and Black communities of Toronto.


21 Keep, for example, ignores the distress of the many unemployed, destitute, and starving Montreal Irish, in his conclusion that the election of Thomas D'Arcy McGee as an Irish representative in Montreal West, in 1857, proved that the Irish community, as a whole had prospered since the famine immigration. See G. R. C. Keep, "Irish Adjustment in Montreal," CHR, 1950, pp. 39-46.

23 See for example, Michael Katz, "Homeownership and a Model of Social process, Hamilton, Ontario 1851-1861," Ibid., pp. 264-292, and the other reports of the Canadian Social History Project.


28 Katz, "The Structure of Inequality," p. 117.


31 Troper and Winchester, p. 3.


33 Irish Canadian, Jan. 28, 1863. See also Rev. M. B. Buckley, Diary of a Tour in American (Dublin, 1889), pp. 50-51. The tour was made in 1870-1871.

34 For an analysis of these stereotypes, see L. P. Curtis Jr., Anglo-Saxons and Celts; A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England (Bridgeport, Conn., Published by the Conference on British Studies at the University of Bridgeport, 1968), and Idem, Apes and Angels; the Irishman in Victorian Caricature, (Washington, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971).

Lindsey was editor in-chief of the Leader from 1853-1867. His anti-Catholicism was clearly stated in his Rome in Canada (Toronto, 1877).

The most frequent argument in Victorian England against Home Rule for Ireland, was that the Irish were inherently unfit for self-government. See Curtis, Anglo-Saxons and Celts, pp. 6-9.


One study, for instance, ranks the fervently nationalist Irish Canadian, as a religious newspaper, alongside the British American Presbyterian and the Christian Guardian. See M. Galvin, University of Toronto, 1962), p. 9.
CHAPTER ONE

THE NEWSPAPER IN THE IRISH COMMUNITY

The newspapers of Victorian Canada have been a popular and rewarding source of information for Canadian historians. Indeed, little else exists through which to explore the minds of Victorian Canadians. Yet, while acknowledging their debt, Canadian historians have been careful to warn of the hazards of reliance on newspaper coverage. Newspapers, in this period, functioned as organs of distinct political and religious interests, and, as such, their accounts of past events should be treated with caution and discrimination. This caveat especially applies to newspaper handling of Irish matters. The large Irish presence in any consideration of provincial and local politics, in religious questions and in areas of social policy, conditioned and coloured reporting of events in which the Irish were involved. Episodes such as the canal workers' strikes, the Montreal Gavazzi riots during the summer of 1853, the attack on the Toronto National Hotel on March 17, 1858, the annual disturbances throughout the province on St. Patrick's Day and the Twelfth of July, and the whole Canadian background to the Fenian panic of the late eighteen-sixties, were reported in the press with calculated inaccuracy, exaggeration and distortion. The contradictions and confusion in reports and editorials, makes it difficult to reconstruct the Irish participation in these events with any certainty.
These very limitations on newspapers as accurate documentary accounts, however, reveal as much as the most directed editorials about the general state of public feeling towards the Irish. Their bias and exaggeration, the very tone of their reporting, was a response to what the public expected and enjoyed to read about "Poor Paddy." The exaggerations of the Globe about the fanaticism of Irish-Catholicism says less about Irish-Canadian religious propensities and behaviour, than about contemporary disregard for their social reputation. The complaints in the Irish press about the hostility of the established community, says little about the actual difficulties of Irish adjustment, but much about the sense of isolation which they came to develop. These distortions reflect the newspaper's function as a highly responsive sensor of community feeling. Although many attitudes towards the Irish were conditioned by political expediency and involved a degree of simple posturing, and the reactions of the Irish press were often over-stated, the very taking of these positions by the newspapers reflected the contemporary appraisal of the Irish as a factor with its own distinct consideration in the public mind. For its part also, the Irish community developed its own definition of its position in Canadian society.

Indeed, the struggles within the Irish community against a hostile social, political, and economic environment, were epitomized in the relationships between the Irish press and the leading Protestant and French Canadian journals. The newspapers were direct protagonists in community conflict; they nourished antagonisms, identified grievances, and polarized loyalties. The hostilities that manifested themselves almost every year in violent conflict between Irish-Catholics and Protestants on
St. Patrick's Day and the Twelfth of July, which plagued Irish relations with their French Canadian co-religionists, and which characterized city and provincial elections, were articulated and rationalized continually in the press. The newspaper was the most direct and influential monitor of public sentiment. As such, newspapers provided a vicarious battle arena for the resolution of confused, hostile and bitter group feelings. Thus, the Catholic community could claim the existence of regular and powerful prejudice against the Irish by reference to Globe editorials. Similarly, the very articulation of separate Irish-Catholic attitudes and interests in the Irish press, made them the more open to suspicion and attack. Newspapers, therefore, had a deeper significance than the information they carried and the views the proposed. They encapsulated community feelings about the Irish. Even the financial difficulties of the Catholic press were compared with the growing strength of the Protestant papers as a reflection on the very ethos of a separate Irish-Canadian existence.

Newspapers themselves, came to be regarded as the physical representatives of rival group feelings. Thus, after a meeting of Irish-Catholics in Toronto to organize group action in the 1858 city elections, in the face of Protestant hostility, a crowd of them went to the Globe office as the natural target for their jeers and shouts of abuse. During the scare of November 5, 1864, when Toronto Orangemen were dissuaded from burning effigies of Daniel O'Connell and the Pope, by fears of Irish-Catholic retaliation, the rumour circulated that the latter were arming themselves at the offices of the Mirror and Canadian Freeman.
The Catholic newspapers were focal points of Irish community life. When D'Arcy McGee first visited Toronto in 1855, he automatically went to the Mirror office to be introduced around town. McGee claimed, indeed, that a recognized Irish paper had "a representative character and a representative responsibility." 

Criticism acted as a group stimulus to the Irish community and closely identified it with its newspapers. All the Irish papers announced their resentment at the treatment given the Irish in the Protestant press, which was objected to as impeding the Irish struggle for "equal rights." Both the Mirror, in 1852, and the Canadian Freeman, in 1861, testified to their primary Irish allegiance, by changing their political loyalties from Reform to Conservative because of the hostility towards Irish-Catholics expressed by the Reform champion, the Globe. The Irish newspapers presented themselves as a protective barrier to the Catholic community against what D'Arcy McGee characterized as "the detonating effect of an organized press firing by files." The press greatly contributed to the persistence of anti-Irish feeling and to the Irish sense of isolation in the community. "Surrounded by a hostile majority lashed into frenzied anger by the incendiary appeals of the Protestant press," warned the Irish Canadian, "we have neither sympathy nor assistance to expect outside of our own body." 

The Canadian Freeman reminded its readers of how Irish-Catholics were villified in the Protestant papers. "Every week," it complained, "brings its fresh budget of villainous misrepresentation, unmitigated falsehood, the truth grossly perverted." "Foul calumnies" against the
Irish, it protested, whether in Canada or Ireland, were printed without hesitation by the Protestant papers "whose caterings to the vitiated appetites of their readers are so untiring." The readiness of the press to denigrate the Irish character, directly pandered to the "unjust prejudices" of its readers, many of whom, lamented the Freeman, were "too ready to gulp down every statement, no matter how void of truth, which reflects on the honour, the loyalty or the honesty of Irish Roman Catholics." The real enemy of the Irish community, it realized, was not just the press but public opinion in general;

"It is this unfair bias of the public mind ... that tempts the press thus to misrepresent or traduce the Irish character, not only without the dread of censure, but actually with the hope of strengthening its own influence and adding to its popularity, by exciting the latent prejudices of a class requiring no very strong stimulants to bring them into activity."

The Canadian Freeman well recognized the weakness of the Irish position. They could only appeal to the judgement of the public against the "unjust aspersions of a partisan press," but at the same time, Irish-Catholic privileges were "exposed to assault on the whim or caprice" of that same public. It was absolutely essential, therefore, stressed the Freeman for Irish-Catholics "to maintain jealously every atom of our political strength," as, not only "the surest guarantee of the preservation of our rights as citizens," but also as "the best means of securing the recognition of our social status and that consideration as an integral part of the community, to which our numbers, our intelligence and our wealth, small though the
latter may be, fairly entitle us." The press, which was their worst enemy, was also to be their means of fighting back;

If then the press will fabricate . . . it is only left for us to fight through the press, and our readers to struggle in their respective spheres for that full measure of social and political equality which in the eye of the law is our due; but of which prejudice in many instances seeks to deprive us and in which an unscrupulous press endeavours to screen or supplement its efforts.20

Many of the Irish journals were established with the express purpose of vindicating the Irish position, as were the Montreal Freeman, after the Gavazzi riots in 1853, and the Montreal Sun in 1877, after the shooting of a Protestant, Thomas Hackett, on July the Twelfth.21 The first issue of the Catholic Citizen, January 5, 1854, announced that "the daily increasing number and violence of attacks on our faith and social character, and the rabid and unchristian efforts to exclude us from the enjoyment of our free institutions, are evils too dangerous to be longer overlooked." It claimed its purpose to be "to fling back in his teeth the wholesale slanders of the Globe against anything and everything Irish and Catholic."22 George Moylan of the Canadian Freeman dedicated his paper to the "welfare of the children of Ireland in Canada." "To seek their moral and social elevation," he avowed, "to vindicate their rights and to repel the ungenerous attacks of those who are inimical to our country and creed, are duties inseparable from my calling."23 The Irish Canadian explained its motivation in similar terms; "We knew that our fellow countrymen formed a separate class from the rest of the community--that they had views, tastes, affections and prejudices different in some respects from other people--that they had 'wrongs to be righted' and interests to be
served that could in no other way be affected." The newspapers studied here as "Irish" or "Catholic" presented a specific appeal to Irish-Catholic group loyalty. None of the other English-speaking papers manifested the same identity with a single national sentiment. The Globe, or the Montreal Witness, despite their strong Scottish editorial influence, did not publish in the "Scottish interest", nor was the Leader of Ulsterman, James Beaty, characterized as an Irish-Protestant newspaper, in the same way that the Irish-Catholic press was identified with Irish immigrants.

The Irish-Catholic papers informed their readers about the ways in which politics, local affairs and the wider constitutional issues affected specific Irish interests. They reported on the progress and activities of Irish institutions, reviewed Irish entertainments and pressed Irish claims for a share of local influence. They also identified themselves as a national press by the presentation of a great deal of Irish material. The Mirror claimed to contain the finest selection of Irish news of any paper on the continent. Its devotion to the cause of Ireland and Repeal earned it a resolution of thanks from Daniel O'Connell himself. Indeed, the Mirror carried so much Irish news and editorialized so frequently on Irish events, that happenings in Ireland were as current to its readers as affairs in Canada. Irish news was a strong selling point. D'Arcy McGee recommended to George Moylan of the Canadian Freeman, that Irish items would be "of pretty general interest to your readers at all times," advising that, "the changed and cheering condition of Ireland ... the growth of her colleges, the achievement of her sons in exile; all these are topics always safe and always gratifying to us in Canada."
Moylan extended his paper's interest in Ireland when, as emigration commissioner in Dublin, 1869-1872, he sent back a detailed first hand weekly account of Irish affairs.28

Even the strictly Catholic press represented a strong Irish character. The first volume of the *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, organ of the Bishop of Montreal, was full of Irish reports of hunger, pestilence, evictions, souperism, extermination, proselytism and emigration. Irish news dominated its selections. A sample issue gives thirty-two notes of Irish news compared to twenty-two from Britain and twenty from the United States.29 Its prospectus acknowledged, "The condition of Ireland must ever be the subject of the deepest interest to all Catholics, especially to those who speak the English language. And as we look for support in a great measure to the generous efforts of our Irish Brethren, it is proposed to borrow largely from the columns of the Irish papers."30 By the end of the eighteen-sixties, the *True Witness* was printing an average of six columns of cuttings of Irish news with generous extracts from Irish journals. Yet, its editor, George Clerk, only supported Irish interests as far as they were compatible with his purpose to make his paper a rallying point for Catholics. Frequently these interests were seen to clash, and attempts were made throughout the eighteen-fifties by the shortlived *New Era*, the *Irishman*, the *Montreal Freeman* and the *Irish Express* to provide journalism with a more pronouncedly Irish rather than Catholic focus. None of these papers survived for long, however, and in Montreal at mid-century, the *True Witness* was the chief Irish outlet. The religious press coverage it provided, illustrates the way in which the Catholicism of
the Irish immigrants was fused with their ethnic identity. The Globe described Catholics as "that semi-ethnic sect," while La Minerve commented that its Catholicism made the True Witness, "ni bleu, ni ministeriel, ni liberal-conservateur," but by nature of its readership "il est vert" and its party allegiance was to "l'Irishisme." Just as a man was identified politically by the newspaper he read, so the existence of a fervently religious or nationalist Irish press presupposed a wide sympathy for those sentiments among the Irish public. Ogle Gowan, Grand Master of the Orange Order in Canada, quoted freely from the Canadian Freeman to prove the disloyalty of Irish-Catholic immigrants, and the Leader claimed that the "treasonable utterances" of the Irish Canadian proved the existence of a subversive element in the Irish community. The Globe asserted that the Catholic community as a whole was to be held responsible for the burning of an Orange Lodge on Yonge Street, in November 1864, because of the support given by its press to sentiments of disloyalty and sedition. It alleged that "there are newspapers in the country which print such stuff nearly every week. These newspapers must have readers to whom their disloyalty gives satisfaction, or they would starve."

The Irish newspapers were more than willing to interpret hostility towards them as a manifestation of feeling towards Irish-Catholics in general. The Mirror protested that it was excluded from the Toronto Commercial News Room because it was "a paper devoted heart and soul to the interests of Ireland and to the vindication of the national character of Irishmen." An Irish member of the Montreal Mechanics Institute
complained that prejudice against Irish-Catholics expressed itself in the exclusion of the *New Era* and Irish newspapers from the reading room; "The scarcity of Irish papers is too well known; there are papers and magazines from different parts of England and Scotland and the United States in it but not one from Ireland . . . although many of its members are Irish. Now I need scarcely say that this looks like something akin to prejudice." And the suspension of the *Irish Canadian* on the suspicion of Fenian activities, and the supervision of its subscription lists by Government agents was presented as a triumphal proof, by its editor Patrick Boyle, of the low regard in which Irish-Catholics were held by the Government.

Newspaper viability was important to the image of the Irish community and its claims for political recognition. Hence, when the financial position of the *Canadian Freeman* looked weak enough in 1860 to threaten its demise, D'Arcy McGee insisted that the editor should give reasons of health for the closure rather than admit that defaulting subscribers had caused a failure of finances. McGee stressed the necessity to "break the fall politically." The Irish press, in fact, constantly faced financial difficulty. Circulation figures and the appeals of Catholic editors for support became part of the ammunition with which the large and growing Protestant press sniped at the Irish community. The *Montreal Witness*, noting that "Roman Catholic journals are not numerous yet it appears difficult to sustain them," drew the conclusion that Irish Catholics were "illiterate and apathetic" and that their press was "trashy and useless". A newspaper worth having, proposed the *Globe*, would be supported;
The only marvel is, that these "Irish Catholic" newspapers get any support at all. They not only confine themselves to one nationality, but by placing themselves completely under the influence of the church, they are read and admired only by the most bigoted and ignorant of that nationality. The great majority of men are moderately inclined; they like to live in peace with their fellow-subjects, and look with disgust and dislike upon the constant and persistent attempts of those who would stir up strife and create discord. This has been the great failing of the Irish-Catholic newspapers. With the idea of representing Irish feeling, they have identified themselves with the most violent and the most rabid, and by using the influence of the church, they have tried to gather a section around them, exclusive and intolerant, bound together by the idea of fictitious wrongs, and by the fancied sufferings of imaginary evils. But facts and the common sense of mankind are too strong for them. Thus it is not only in Canada, but in Ireland itself, that these violent anti-British, anti-Protestant, politico-religious hebdomadals are far from self-supporting. They are all in a most miserable, shaky condition.  

The limited circulation statistics that are available, show for the Mirror, in 1857, a weekly figure of 1,500, and for the Catholic Citizen, a figure of 4,000. The True Witness claimed a weekly figure of 2,837, in 1858, with authorized agents in twenty-one towns. In comparison, the Globe, in 1854, claimed a weekly circulation of 12,288 and the Leader, in 1859, a circulation of 10,751. It is difficult to assess the accuracy of these figures. What is indicated, however, is the predominance of the Globe and Leader, and the growing influence of their daily editions. By the end of the eighteen-fifties, these two papers stood out all over the province as giants of Canadian journalism—"the two great mastodons of newspaper literature"—who by buying out all but their Catholic competition, became the leading spokesmen of Clear Gritism and Conservatism.  

Irish-Catholic editors and correspondents were inclined to attribute most of their difficulties to this increasing influence of the
A letter from "Wolfe Tone" of Quebec exhorted the Irish to establish their own daily newspaper, since their weekly press competed with difficulty against the *Globe* and *Leader*. Commenting on the importance of newspapers in elevating to prominence individuals like Brown of the *Globe*, Couchon of *Le Journal* and Evanturel of *Le Canadien*, he drew the moral for Irish readers; "As with individuals so it is with nations and communities. As daily papers multiply and increase so do the people in intelligence, morality and in the duty each owes the other." The need for an Irish-Catholic daily newspaper was a recurring theme. A visiting Irish priest, Father M.B. Buckley, noted in 1870 that the Irish in Montreal suffered from want of a daily paper to help inculcate "that blessing of cohesion which would make them a compact body, a phalanx of strength and thus a terror to their enemies." The *Catholic Citizen* argued that the "disgraceful political inferiority" of the Irish in Upper Canada was due to the lack of a strong Catholic daily press; "Two or three weekly papers in Canada West will never raise the spirit or intelligence or power of the Catholic to the Protestant body, whose tables are covered with the broad sheets of the daily anti-Catholic press." The *Mirror* suggested that the only answer to Irish-Catholic division and weakness was to combine their weekly journals into one powerful daily. Indeed, the first attempt to develop an Irish-Catholic daily press, the Montreal *Sun*, was greeted by an Irish traveller in 1877 as a sign of their improved social status. Peter O'Leary remarked, "I am proud to say that the Irish in Montreal hold a very good status, having a daily paper of their own, the only one I believe on the continent." The extensive Protestant daily press not only made life difficult
for the Catholic weeklies. It disadvantaged the Irish-Catholic community as a whole. The Citizen warned that Protestants were able daily, to advertise goods and merchandise to a vast public, whereas Catholics lacked this facility. It identified this difference as the answer to "why so many non-Catholics have made large fortunes while the many Catholics around them are at best at a standstill." Advertisements also helped pay for the press, so that both sides benefitted. Meanwhile, "the Catholic scarcely keeps his head above water and is not known out of his own neighborhood, and the community to which he belongs . . . has little or no political power."  

Catholic editors reminded their readers, however, that they could scarcely hope to sustain a daily press, when they did not properly support their weekly newspapers. The Irish press was constantly jeopardized by the slow payment of subscriptions. The defaulting Irish public, at time of financial crisis, was indignant castigated by its erstwhile editorial defenders. The Canadian Freeman published a black-list of offenders and was forced to enlist the aid of Bishop Lynch of Toronto in persuading the Irish to pay their dues. The Freeman complained that the "Irish-Catholics do less justice to their newspapers than any other portion of the community." The Mirror recounted, to the Globe's amusement, "in as doleful strains as ever sprung from the wires of Erin's harp," the difficulties in the way of composing editorials "on the great questions which are agitating the world," and at the same time of attending to "the disgusting labour of dunning beggarly, miserable miserly, neglectful thousands." It lamented that "there are no class
of persons who act more ungenerously and dishonestly with the Catholic press than a certain class of Irishmen. The Citizen warned Irish-Catholics that only their press could help to "elevate them above the degrading position of serfs," and they were obliged, therefore, to support it; "Can it be that Irishmen will live on condemned to labour as oxen ... for the want of a dollar every three months?" Echoing the Citizen's foreboding that the strong Protestant press was giving its readers "an enormous increase in political power ... by putting them in possession of the earliest information on all subjects of political interest," the Canadian Freeman warned that "surely the Catholics of Canada are not less alive to their own interests than are Protestants to theirs." Yet, it had reluctantly to admit that Irish-Catholics were less inclined to support their press;

The lukewarmness and indifference of Catholics in this respect presents an anomaly for which we can offer no solution. In theory they admit--nay, insist upon--the necessity of a Catholic press; in practice, this desideratum is for the most part ignored. Were the want of exponents of Catholic views and mediums for correcting misrepresentations once felt, their utility and benefit might be more generally appreciated. We trust that the Catholics of Canada West by a more generous support of their organs will provide against a contingency which would be sorely felt.

It was a constant theme of the Irish papers, in face of these difficulties, to stress their importance to the Catholic community. The Mirror claimed that though Irish-Catholics were weak in political and social power they were, nevertheless, "represented by journals admitted on all hands to be conducted with energy and ability." It pointed out
how the newspaper was effecting the same transformation in Canada as in Ireland; "Where half a century ago a newspaper was never looked into once in a twelvemonth," it was now "the current medium of instruction and intellligence." It made much of the boast that in the crucial period of the Irish Famine, it was the first Canadian paper to urge "the expediency of our fellow-countrymen in Canada coming forward with assistance to their starving brethren at home." It claimed that if Toronto had the honour of being the first town in British North America to respond to the call for Irish relief it was due to the efforts of the Mirror. The New Era agreed that a newspaper voice was essential if the Irish were to obtain political and social recognition. It pointed to the neglect of Irish interests in the established press, complaining of the Montreal Gazette, during the 1857 election, that "the subject of the election has been referred to in its columns almost every day for weeks, but never once did it even by allusion, admit that there was such an element in the constituency as free citizens of Irish birth and origin." "Without organs," D'Arcy McGee wrote to the editor of the Canadian Freeman, "what are we and where are we?" The situation of the Irish in Canada, insisted Moylan, made a strong press essential;

A population of a quarter million mixed up in a chance medley with over a million people of other origins and other principles; a population of farmers surrounded with hostile or heedless neighbours—or of tradesmen struggling up the first steps of the social ladder; a population of Catholics surrounded by a vast secret society . . . such a population must require in their newspaper press both boldness and prudence.
The Irish Canadian maintained that the press was vital for union among the Irish in Canada, and demanded support; "Unless sustained in this age of intelligence by an honest and uncompromising press, a nationality must droop and fall into absolute nothingness and its interests and identity be scattered to the winds." An independent Irish press, it insisted, was essential for the promotion of the interests of Ireland and the Irish.  

Indeed, there are numerous testimonies from readers to the value which the Irish public placed upon its papers. The difficulty of collecting subscriptions indicated a lack of desire to pay rather than absence of desire to read. A letter from "Eire Ogue," exhorted Irish-Catholics to support the Mirror; "If you are unrepresented in the press of the country you can never elevate yourselves as a class of the community." The value of the Mirror in countering the frenzy of the Globe, he claimed, was recognized by the great increase in Irish subscribers in his area of Brantford. Father J.B. Proulx, writing to J.A. Macdonald for financial aid for the Canadian Freeman, urged that the paper was the means "through which we address our people... If you suffer it to collapse we lose a great deal of our influence." John Mulvey, a founder of the Toronto Young Men's St. Patrick's Association, wrote in support of the Mirror and Citizen, that "If we would have our nationality respected and ourselves powerful, if we desire a medium to communicate our views to the public, our Catholic journals are the safest... for in speaking the honest mind of the people depends their existence." The value of the True Witness to Irish-Catholics was recognized at the time of the Gavazzi riots in Montreal, when, the Mirror claimed, they would have been
otherwise defenceless against "a class of the most vindictive and unscrupulous bigots on this continent." A correspondent to McGee from Cornwall testified to the marked success of the *New Era* "in removing many of the absurd and hereditary prejudices formerly existing against Ireland's creed and children. A large proportion of our population here, who were heretofore accustomed to look upon us as little better than Hindoos... are now beginning to think and acknowledge that the Irish are after all as good as the sons of other nations." He acknowledged the *New Era* as largely responsible for this important concession.

This indispensability of their newspapers to the Irish community, attracted a degree of political opportunism. In 1844, the Irish Tory cabinet minister, Dominick Daly, bought out the Irish Reform paper in Quebec--the *Freeman's Journal*--in the intent of bringing it to Montreal to divide Irish Reformers by confusing their loyalties. The Irish paper, now in the Tory interest, was to appeal for loyalty to Daly as an Irishman. Four years later, the American organization for Irish Republican Union, established a newspaper in Montreal--the *United Irishman*--to promote their cause in Canada. Lord Elgin noted that it was "a miserable parody of the journal with the same title published at Dublin." In 1866, "rouge" supporters of annexation to the United States published the *Irish Express*, an Irish version of their own newspaper, *L'Union Nationale*, to preach the anti-Confederation cause to the Irish public. And Toronto Orangemen, during the election of 1858 concocted their own bogus "Irish-Catholic" newspaper--the *Catholic Tribune*--whose threats of violence and anti-Protestant rhetoric were intended to confirm Toronto citizens in their
hostility and apprehension towards Irish-Catholics as a force of social
disruption.81

The political differences between the Irish-Catholic newspapers
themselves, were indicative of their different reactions to the problems
associated with Irish adjustment to the Canadian environment. The True
Witness took the position that the best course for the Irish immigrant
was to forget his old identity and become Canadian. It insisted that "in
this country there can be no 'national interests' or national considera­
tions of any kind which should prescribe to Irishmen . . . one course of
policy in preference to another." In their national capacity, it reasoned,
"Irishmen in Canada have no interests, rights or duties distinguishable
from those of any other section of the community." It was, therefore,
ridiculous to talk of an "Irish Question" in Canada, as distinct from
the interests of other races. For the True Witness, the only distinction
was one of religion. It admitted that there were "many questions upon which
Catholics and Protestants, irrespective of all ethnological questions, may
be expected to take different sides." There were "Catholic Questions" and
interests, just as there were "Protestant Questions" and interests.82
This religious emphasis prompted the paper to remonstrate with the Mirror,
for reading an article which praised Catholic fidelity under oppression as
an assault on Irish character. The Mirror, it claimed, "has allowed him­
self to be carried away by the warmth of his nationality."83

This dismissal of the Irish element was not popular. A letter to
the Irish Canadian claimed that the Irish Catholics of Montreal did not
consider the True Witness a true exponent of their political opinion.84
Even the clergy had reservations. Father P. Murphy of St. Patrick's church in Montreal, complained that creditable though Clerk's defence of Catholic rights was, he appeared to ignore altogether the existence of the social and political rights of the Irish-Catholics. The Irish priest contended that the man who claimed that the Irish had no rights except Catholic rights was "guilty of a crying injustice towards the Irish people." In fact, he indignantly pointed out, "if they are denied all social and political rights," as Irishmen, "they may be good Catholics . . . but it is the same as if they were condemned to be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'." 85

Criticisms of the True Witness' shortcomings by its readers, illustrates the role which they expected their newspapers to play in the community. The press, for instance, was delegated with the responsibility of maintaining a watchful eye on representatives of Irish constituencies who had influence in awarding contracts for the various departments of local government. 86 The Catholic Citizen warned representatives returned by Irish votes that "if they calculated on stultifying or stupefying or evading an Irishman's love of justice or keen perception of its violation, they should know that an Irishman would resent injury to his dog, let alone the injury of a betrayal of his confidence." 87 The failure of the True Witness to push local grievances, was blamed for the deplorable condition of Griffintown, 88 the Irish district of Montreal, bordered by the Lachine canal, the St. Lawrence river, McGill street and William street. The Catholic paper's neglect of politics was accused of leaving the Irish population "isolée, quant elle pourrait exercer une influence legitime sur les destinées politiques de son pays d'adoption." 89 In response to this need,
The Montreal Freeman intended to be to the Irish in the secular order, what the True Witness was in the religious—"to be solely a political paper, the organ of the Irish." The prospectus of the New Era also emphasized its secular nature. It was supported by a group of prominent Montreal Irishmen because of concern that the Irish in Canada were not obtaining the position and influence their numbers should demand. They felt that the True Witness, as the spokesman of the Catholic hierarchy, was over preoccupied with religious questions, and had failed to present the Irish point of view.

The religious emphasis of the True Witness was criticized by D'Arcy McGee, for its adverse effect on the Irish community. He warned of Clerk's vituperation against Protestantism that "the results of religious newspaper warfare are public results, far extending in their social consequences." By exciting religious hostility, he claimed that Clerk was "ready to sacrifice all those classes of Irish Catholic who are in any way dependent on the good offices and good opinion of Protestant neighbours and Protestant employers." McGee objected that the True Witness was taken as speaking for the whole Irish-Catholic body, despite Clerk's insistence that it was a Roman Catholic rather than an Irish-Catholic journal, and that this was dangerous for peaceful Protestant relations with Irish-Catholics. McGee sought to persuade in the New Era, that Irish-Catholics should look forward to the time when national distinctions would fade away, while recognizing that until then the Irish had to protect their rights. The dissension among the Irish and Catholic papers reflected the different ways of thinking as to how this should be achieved.
A policy of conciliation was articulated in the New Era and Canadian Freeman as an alternative to the religious fervour of the True Witness. It softened, as well, the national extremism manifested by the Catholic Citizen and the Mirror. Both papers were criticized for their lack of moderation in defending Irish interests. The Canadian Freeman claimed that "although we might be prepared to do and dare as much for Ireland as the next man, we have always carefully avoided making a stalking horse of our patriotism or trading upon our nationality." Nevertheless, the Canadian Freeman was fundamentally opposed to attitudes which weakened the Irish as a force in the community. It differed, accordingly, from the True Witness, in its approach to the Irish role in Canadian politics. The latter maintained that Irish-Catholics should maintain political neutrality, boycotting either party and voting according to the merits of each candidate. The Freeman's position was that such a lack of commitment would not command, for the Irish, sufficient influence "to obtain for the starving labourer employment even as a scavenger." It proposed that the Irish-Catholic purpose in politics should be to seek a "fair division of spoils" through political alliances.

Both the Canadian Freeman and the True Witness, however, agreed in their opposition to the openly nationalist Irish Canadian. The latter proposed to provide a want that had been neglected by its Irish counterparts in their concern for recognition and reward for the Catholic community. It claimed that until its appearance, the Irish nationality in Canada had had no real advocate. Although many papers professed to be Irish and
pronounced on what they professed to be Irish hopes and aspirations, they were nothing more than a "flunkey press". The *Irish Canadian* boasted that it kept the Irish emigrant properly aware of events in Ireland, by carrying the sort of Irish news which the other Irish papers excluded. It insisted that a strong nationalist press was necessary to combat the anti-Irish tendencies of Canadian newspapers, claiming that it was the policy of the Protestant press, in their hostility to the Irish immigrants, "to abuse soundly Ireland and the Irish," to publish "every scurrilous paragraph slandering the character of both," and to "refuse publicity to anything savouring of fair play or vindication in their behalf." The *Irish Canadian* endeavoured to "combat the evil influence thus evoked," and supply a resumé of Irish news which would "prove acceptable to the mass of the Irish people in Canada." 

The *True Witness* denounced the *Irish Canadian*'s repudiation of any distinctive Catholic or religious character, as a contradiction of its ambition of "elevating the national character of Irish-Canadians." The *Canadian Freeman* complained that its nationalist tone was harmful to the prospects of Irish traders and to the employment of Irish servants. The *Irish Canadian* was accused of scandalizing its countrymen, bringing suspicion and discredit upon them, prejudicing their interests, and interfering with their prosperity. It recognized that many Irish-Canadians dissented from its doctrines and disfavoured its publication. Yet, it promised to persevere in its ambition to become a "beacon" that Irishmen in Canada could look to for guidance in time of trial and difficulty. A self-conscious nationalism was encouraged to incite new Irish aspirations
and urge new conquests—"conquests both of our own bad habits and the prejudices of our enemies." The paper insisted on its neutrality in politics to maintain its freedom of expression, since it was the compromising of Irish group interests in return for political favour which prompted the establishment of the Irish Canadian in the first place. It claimed to be the only paper in Canada, published in the Irish interest, which existed solely on voluntary subscriptions. In proclaiming this independence, it warned that there would be no end to the "periodical onslaughts made upon the Irish people of Canada, and their shameful exclusion from office and trust," while they continued "in the ranks of our hereditary enemies, lending strength to their arms by our suicidal conduct and actually rivetting more firmly the chains which bind us." 

Accusations of dependence on official patronage or on unsuitable advertising, and the consequent charges of disloyalty to Irish or Catholic interests exposed the sensitivity of the Irish press to its reputation. D'Arcy McGee dismissed the hostile criticism of the Catholic Citizen and Mirror as those of the "paid writers and advertising agents of the present ministry," and urged Irish-Catholics to withdraw their support from these papers. The Mirror felt obliged to defend its acceptance of Post Office advertising by explaining that it had the duty to publish lists of uncalled for letters since it had the largest circulation of any paper in Toronto among the class of people to whom such letters were generally addressed. The editor of the Canadian Freeman made much of his paper's concern for Irish good character and virtue, by announcing his refusal to "prostitute his space to the insertion of gross and bestial quack
advertisements,\textsuperscript{105} unlike the \textit{Mirror}, whose lists of remedies for female ailments, it was implied, were little more than inducements to abortion. Such efforts to vindicate a newspaper's integrity to the detriment of the reputation of an Irish-Catholic rival, was underlaid by an element of financial competition. The hostility of the \textit{True Witness} to the \textit{New Era} and the \textit{Irish Canadian}, indicates the threat they presented to its Irish readership. The latter was sold out within fifteen minutes of its arrival off the train at Montreal.\textsuperscript{106} In Toronto, the competition between the \textit{Citizen} and \textit{Mirror} was intense, the former publishing one day earlier to steal a march on its rival.\textsuperscript{107} For its part, the \textit{Mirror} accused the \textit{Citizen} of being a "purchased hireling" and "a second edition of the contemptible \textit{Telegraph}, the Dublin organ of the betrayers of Ireland's rights."\textsuperscript{108} Dispute sometimes degenerated into personal attack.\textsuperscript{109} Two Irish trustees of the \textit{Canadian Freeman} and supporters of McGee, sent in the bailiffs to take possession of the paper after its political \textit{volte face} in declaring support for the Conservatives in 1861. Both parties subsequently appeared in the Police Court on assault charges.\textsuperscript{110} Moylan himself took out a libel prosecution against the \textit{Irish Canadian}, as McGee had done against the \textit{Citizen}.\textsuperscript{111} In return, the \textit{Irish Canadian} listed ten charges of impeachment against the \textit{Freeman} for damaging the Irish name.\textsuperscript{112}

It was common for the Irish newspapers to accuse each other of betraying Irish interests while insisting on the purity of their own patriotic credentials. The editorial introduction to the \textit{Canadian Freeman} claimed it had been founded because the \textit{Mirror} and \textit{Citizen} were "no longer wholly devoted to our interests,"\textsuperscript{113} and for a long period Moylan published
a testimonial to his "true patriotism" from the Tuam Herald. The Mirror claimed the sole glory of having carried on the fight to pardon the exiled Irish patriot, Smith O'Brien, among the papers in the Province. In October 1856, it made a great display of the exile's letter of thanks for its efforts on his behalf. There was easy recourse to the cry of patriotism. D'Arcy McGee was given to denouncing hostility towards him in the Irish press as motivated by unpatriotic self-interest. He blamed the Canadian Freeman's withdrawal of support in 1861, on that "moral distemper which has fastened on some of the weakest members of the Irish family at home and abroad, believing with the Castle tradesmen in Dublin . . . that government money was better than people's money." The Irish Canadian claimed, "we have run our eye over the career of the Canadian Freeman since 1858, in which we can find nothing but ardent and devoted attachment to the powers that be." In turn, the Freeman objected that the Mirror's second reversal of allegiance in 1861, back to the Reform party, was sacrificing Irish interests to the mercy of a party whose principles were those of "oppression towards our race and creed." The New Era, in its role of guardian of Irish well-being, complained that the Mirror was not sufficiently critical of Orangeism to even protest the murder of a Catholic at their hands. "What kind of charlatanism is this," retorted the Mirror, "which trades upon the blood of a countryman for political purposes?" It was a regular feature of these quarrels for each paper to claim a superior morality, accusing its rivals of simply playing the patriotic role to increase subscriptions.

These antagonisms, however, represented more than editorial jealousy or hostility. They reflected the dissensions within the Irish
community on which the papers depended for support. "Party quarrels," the Mirror lamented, "divided the element from which vitality would otherwise have flown," and "that strength which might have lifted the Irish name above the aspersions of its enemies . . . was thus rendered a nullity." The Mirror warned of the dangers of this division; "Let us divide and the experience of centuries has warned us that our destruction is inevitable." Yet, paradoxically, the Irish press, which saw its very purpose as to instill a sense of unity among its countrymen, was a powerful agent in their separation from each other. It was not possible for a single paper to express the variety of frustrations and ambitions within the Irish community as it came to terms with its Canadian environment. The tensions, confusions and rivalries which the Irish papers reveal, mirrored the insecurity and self-consciousness of the immigrants while at the same time making them feel their common identity as Irishmen and Catholics. The working-out of that identity in Canada, against such a background of uncertainty and division, was a development which, through the press in general, attracted a constant and concerned public attention.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE


3 The major disruptions took place in the eighteen-forties, but there was constant labour unrest on the canals and railroads, throughout the eighteen-fifties. The fact that the majority of the labourers were Irish, and that the troubles on the works often contained elements of "Old Country" feuding, did not dispose many editorials to view with sympathy their claims for better wages and treatment. See H. C. Pentland, "The Lachine Strike of 1843," CHR, 1948, pp. 255-277. La Minerve, June 16, 1843, commented on the strike of the workers on the Beauharnois canal, that the Irish could hardly demand more money, when master-carpenters were forced to accept forty sous a day, and the Irish could only handle a pick or axe. It attributed the strike to "l'esprit d'insubordination" of the Irish.

4 Gavazzi was a renegade Italian priest, who drew large and enthusiastic Protestant audiences in Toronto, Quebec and Montreal, to hear his denunciation of the Pope and Catholicism. He announced that his mission in Canada was especially to "the poor Irish." See the Leader, Oct. 28, 1858. In Montreal, June 1853, there were riots outside the church in which he was speaking. Several Protestants were killed and a Protestant chapel attacked. For conflicting accounts see the Leader, Globe and True Witness, during the second week of June 1853. Gavazzi's career and itinerary in Canada, are described in, Frère Robert Sylvain, "Un 'quarante-huitard' du Risorgimento au Canada," La Revue de l'Université Laval, Vols. XI and XII 1957.

5 The Catholic St. Patrick's Society dinner in the National Hotel, Toronto, was disrupted by an attack on the hotel by Irish Protestants, fresh from their own celebration at another hotel. Shots were fired and windows broken. For conflicting accounts see the Globe, March 19, 1858, and the Leader, March 22, 1858.

6 Mirror, Feb. 7, 1851. Globe, Oct. 18, 1856. The Irish Canadian claimed that press attitudes to the Irish were intended to "cater to the tastes of a class of the community who sneer at everything Irish." Irish Canadian, March 3, 1869.
The Mirror's indignation at the execution of an Irish-Catholic Martin Sullivan, in October 1856, made a direct appeal to Irish Catholic group feeling. The Mirror accused the Globe of exaltation over Sullivan's sentence because he was Irish and a Catholic. See Globe, Oct. 18, 1856.

Leader, Aug. 18, 1858.

Globe, Nov. 7, 1864.

Mirror, July 27, 1855. Irish editors were also evident as community leaders. Patrick Boyle of the Irish-Canadian, was President of the Hibernian Society of Toronto. Charles Donlevy, proprietor of the Mirror, was Vice-President of the Catholic Institute; the treasurer was Michael Hayes of the Catholic Citizen. The editor of the Mirror, C. P. O'Dwyer, was Corresponding Secretary for the Toronto Repeal Association. Bernard Devlin, of the Montreal Freeman, served the Irish community as an active and eminent lawyer. George Moylan, of the Canadian Freeman, served on the committee of the St. Patrick's Society in Toronto.

Canadian Freeman, Aug. 29, 1861.

New Era, Aug. 27, 1857.


New Era, Aug. 27, 1857.

Quoted in Globe, Nov. 18, 1864.

Canadian Freeman, Dec. 7, 1866.

Mirror, Oct. 30, 1846.

Canadian Freeman, Dec. 6, 1866.

Ibid.

Ibid.

In July 1877, the Irish-Catholics of Montreal, "deeply indignant at the ferocious tone of the daily papers" towards them, after the shooting of Hackett, held meetings to establish an Irish-Catholic daily paper to defend them. Appeals were made by the clergy of St. Ann's and St. Patrick's which raised sufficient funds to start Montreal's first Irish-Catholic daily, the Sun. See J. C. Fleming, Orangeism and the 12th of July Riots in Montreal (Montreal, Printed for the Author, 1877), p. 52. Fleming, himself sub-editor of the True Witness, complained that there was not a single Catholic
writer on the daily press of Montreal, which had given a prejudiced and one-sided view of the incident, to the disadvantage of the Irish-Catholics. See Preface.

22 Quoted in Irish Canadian, Sept. 23, 1863.
23 Canadian Freeman, March 10, 1864.
24 Irish Canadian, Jan. 28, 1863.
25 Mirror, May 9, 1856.
26 Ibid., Nov. 17, 1843
27 Gibeault, p. 19.
28 Canadian Freeman, Nov. 4, 1869.
30 True Witness, Aug. 16, 1850.
31 Globe, Oct. 25, 1856.
32 La Minerve, Sept. 16, 1858.
33 Leader, Oct. 21, 1858.
34 Globe, July 13, 1859.
35 Leader, Dec. 29, 1864.
36 Globe, Nov. 24, 1864.
37 Ibid., March 18, 1864.
38 Mirror, Feb. 5, 1847.
39 New Era, March 2, 1858.
40 Irish Canadian, March 31, 1869.
41 Gibeault, p. 28.
42 Montreal Witness, Nov. 13, 1858.
44 New Era, July 9, 1857.
45 Ibid.
46 Coffey, p. 38.


48 Robert E. Hill, for instance, claims that the circulation of the True Witness in the late eighteen-fifties, could be counted in hundreds. See "A Note on Newspaper Patronage in Canada during the late 1850's" CHR, 1968, p. 46.

49 The Kemptville Progressionist, quoted in Leader, Oct. 9, 1860.


52 Buckley, pp. 236-237.


54 Mirror, cited in Globe, Sept. 9, 1864.


57 Canadian Freeman, April 18, 1861.

58 Ibid., quoted in Globe, Dec. 13, 1862.

59 Ibid.

60 Mirror, quoted in Canadian Freeman, Nov. 20, 1862. The Mirror explained an embarrassing article which might have been construed as insulting to the Catholic priesthood, by protesting that; "at this season of the year we are half the time out of the office on business, trying to get our own from defaulting Catholic subscribers, and it is no wonder that some things should creep into our columns which are contrary to their usual tenor." See Mirror, reprinted in Canadian Freeman, Dec. 12, 1861.

61 Mirror, Oct. 30, 1862.


63 Ibid., Canadian Freeman, Nov. 20, 1862.
Ibid. 

Mirror, June 18, 1858.

Ibid., Oct., 23, 1857. The Mirror attributed the difficulty experienced by England in recruiting troops to put down the Indian Mutiny, to the fact that the class who would normally be induced to enlist, through "ignorance of Ireland's history and its wrongs," had now been reached by the newspapers.

Mirror, Feb. 12, 1847. The Mirror accordingly resented the fact that the treasurer of the Irish Relief Fund preferred to send communications to the Globe, from which the Mirror was meant to copy. The Mirror deprecated this behaviour, from someone calling himself an Irishman, towards the only Irish journal in Toronto. See Mirror, May 14, 1847.


Gibeault, p. 22.

Canadian Freeman, July 10, 1858.

Irish Canadian, July 8, 1863.

Talman, p. 165.

Mirror, Feb. 7, 1851; April 25, 1851.

Quoted in Lyne, p. 133.

Mirror, June 18, 1858.

Ibid., Jan 23, 1854.

New Era, May 1, 1858.

Mirror, Sept. 13, 1844.


Leader, March 21, 1866

Canadian Freeman, August 27, 1858.

True Witness, Jan. 30, 1863.
83 True Witness, Feb. 6, 1857.
84 Irish Canadian, Feb. 14, 1866.
85 Mirror, Feb. 19, 1858.
86 Cross, pp. 59-60.
87 Catholic Citizen, quoted in Montreal Witness, May 16, 1855.
88 Irish Canadian, Feb. 14, 1864.
89 Letter from "Hibernicus", Le Pays, April 20, 1853.
90 See True Witness, June 16, 1854
91 New Era, May 25, 1857.
93 Globe, March 14, 1861.
94 Ibid.; True Witness, March 30, 1866.
95 Canadian Freeman, Dec. 31, 1868.
96 Leader, April 26, 1859.
97 Irish Canadian, Jan. 24, 1866.
98 Ibid., Dec. 29, 1869.
99 True Witness, Jan. 30, 1863.
100 Canadian Freeman, cited in Irish Canadian, Aug. 24, 1864.
101 Irish Canadian, Jan. 7, 1863; Jan. 13, 1864.
102 Ibid., Dec. 2, 1868.
103 True Witness, June 18, 1858.
104 Mirror, May 23, 1851.
105 Canadian Freeman, Aug. 9, 1860.
106 Irish Canadian, April, 1864.
Mirror, July 11, 1856. At times the Citizen withheld communications intended for both papers, such as the obituary notice for the Catholic priest in Guelph, the omission of which would damage the Mirror's reputation in that area. See Mirror, Oct. 24, 1856.

Ibid., July 11, 1856.

Canadian Freeman, Sept. 5, 1861. See, for example, the bitter personal attack by the Mirror on the private life of Moylan; Mirror, Aug. 30, 1861.

Canadian Freeman, Sept. 26, 1861.


Irish Canadian, Sept. 21, 1864. One charge accused the Freeman of referring to the Irish as "canaille".

Canadian Freeman, July 16, 1858.

Ibid., Sept. 10, 1858.

Mirror, Oct. 10; 31, 1856.

Globe, Sept. 21, 1861.

Irish Canadian, Feb. 5, 1868.

Canadian Freeman, Sept. 19, 1861.

Mirror, Feb. 19, 1858.

See Irish Canadian, Aug. 24, 1864.

Mirror, July 27, 1849.

Ibid., June 11, 1858.
CHAPTER TWO

THE IMAGE OF THE IRISH IN THE CANADIAN PRESS

Historians of the Irish famine immigration to Canada have generally noticed the horror and fear which the immigrants provoked as a consequence of the diseased and destitute circumstances of their arrival.\(^1\) The startling dimensions of the immediate problems of immigrant welfare, however, have obscured the existence of a more lasting concern felt by many Canadians at the presence of such an intensely "national" people among them. Such anxiety was given substance by the prospect of a wholesale and systematic Irish-Catholic colonization of Canada. Several proposals for the organization of a "New Ireland in Canada" were current at mid-century.\(^2\) The most ambitious of them, reviewed by a startled Canadian press as the emigrant vessels began to deliver their first wretched cargoes, threatened to settle through an "Irish Canada Company," extensive communities of some two million Irish-Catholics within a period of four years.\(^3\) In essence, the scheme intended that the colonists should form in Canada "a distinct Irish nation." The "peculiarities and sympathies" of Irish historical recollection, it argued, bound them together and kept them "separated from the rest of the world," making them reluctant to mix with any other people. It anticipated, accordingly that in Canada "a powerful Irish nationality would at once take root," with such "intimate relations of sympathy with Ireland," as to ensure a continuous flow of new Irish colonists.
The Canadian press reacted with hostile intolerance to the national sensitivities on which Irish-Catholic colonization schemes were founded. The *Globe* protested that there was "too much nationality" in the idea of exclusive Irish-Catholic settlements—"too much anxiety to maintain a marked separation in country and religion between the new settlers and those now in Canada."\(^4\) Introducing a theme which underlay a long campaign against the persistence of a separate Irish identity in Canadian society, it warned that "we know not a more serious obstacle to the absolute and unqualified enjoyment of equal rights and privileges by all, than the perpetuation of national distinctions within the same country."\(^5\) It was, in fact, a constant criticism of the Irish-Catholic immigrants in the mid-Victorian Canadian press, that they maintained social and political divisions based on nationality. The English-speaking Protestant and French Canadian papers deprecated the confusion introduced to elections and to educational and constitutional issues by Irish appeals to group loyalty. "National jealousy is rampant among us," complained the *Globe*, "and it is the fruitful source of many public rivalries and dissensions."\(^6\) It insisted that "the people of Canada must be nationalised."\(^7\) The *Leader* protested that Irish immigrants would offer nothing to Canada, nor improve their own circumstances, by continuing in communities "in which every prejudice of their early associations" would be fostered and in which would develop "the feelings of aliens in place of the broader sympathies which should pertain to the colonist who makes Canada his home."\(^8\) It urged that it should be the duty of every patriot, "to fuse all nationalities in one homogeneous Canadian society,"\(^9\) insisting that "every one who really
means well to his country as a Canadian will discontinue any attempt to divide the population on grounds so dangerous to the general welfare as nationality." Yet, nowhere was a separate Irish identity more clearly underlined and perpetuated than in the attention which the immigrants received in the Canadian newspapers.

Canadian reactions to the prospect of a large Irish-Catholic colonization revealed a series of general assumptions about Irish character and its suitability to the rigours of Canadian settlement. The Globe reported widespread fears that the Catholic Irish would be "unaccustomed to the habits and occupations of Canadians," and that they would "sink down into the sloth to which they have been accustomed at home." These anxieties were shared by the French Canadian press. Le Canadien was fearful that Irish "refugés" in Canada would find nothing but suffering and death. It recommended Texas as a better refuge. The Journal de Quebec protested that Canada itself was too poor to support large numbers of destitute Irish, who would be unable to survive the hardships of settlement and end by being a burden on public charity. The Globe warned that a large Irish-Catholic population in Canada, persisting in its old habits and loyalties would be "as great a curse to it as the locusts were in the land of Egypt, and we shall have a second Connaught, a second district of Quebec, a second Naples--no schools, no roads, no progress." The same low estimation of Irish abilities was shared by the Leader. It claimed that "no enlightened economist--no man indeed who wishes well to his country, can seriously recommend a segregation of Catholic Irishmen into communities by themselves."
In opposing the idea of separate Irish colonies as a means of organizing Irish immigration, the Canadian press began to articulate its own view concerning the best practice in immigrant adjustment. Rather than allowing the Irish to settle in communities of their own, it was proposed to place them among Scottish or English settlers, in the expectation that they would prosper far more by imitating the thrift of their neighbours. The *Globe* suggested that it would be better for the Irish to be dispersed among older settlers "whose industry and perseverance will operate as a powerful incentive to their exertions." The *Leader* was optimistic that interspersal would "temper many national and religious prejudices and result in the growth of "larger sympathies, more catholic sentiments and more industrious habits" as a result of "friendly emulation." Even the *Witness* conceded that Irish-Catholics became almost tolerable if mixed with "Anglo-Saxons."

Basic to this thinking was the notion that Irish-Catholics would especially benefit from the example set by Protestant settlers. At a meeting of several thousand Toronto Protestants in February, 1856, to protest Irish-Catholic applications for extensive grants of the Canadian "wild lands," to form, as the *Leader* warned, "a second Ireland where only the 'true faith' would be professed," it was proclaimed that the only way to make an Irish immigration prosperous would be to "scatter them among the population, bring them into contact with civilized men and give every one of them a Bible." The Catholic Irish were otherwise denounced as "a curse to every country they go into, destroying peace and happiness wherever their numbers predominated." The meeting applauded a series of
damning estimations of Irish reputation and character. The Scots, it was claimed came to Canada "with their honesty, their industry, their religion, their Bible, their love for the primer" and with "rare exceptions they do well for themselves and the country." The English also came "on the whole to do us good," as did the Irish Protestant, with his joyousness, versatility, frugality and social habits." But the "Irish Papists came in swarms, on the whole to do us evil."\(^{20}\) The Rev. Dr. Lett warned that the "exterminating masses of Irish-Catholics would not be welcome in Canada," and that it would "go forth to the world that we the citizens of Toronto do not want them."\(^{21}\) Another speaker objected to the Irish-Catholics because "they have no minds of their own--their body, soul and intellect are in the hands of a bigoted priesthood," and Canada risked having its "morality destroyed" by letting them settle. He exhorted his fellow Protestants to turn their faces against the "common enemy."\(^{22}\) The meeting resolved that the perpetuation of Irish communities in Canada would be "a great calamity, dangerous to our civil and religious liberty."\(^{23}\)

The attention which the Irish attracted as potential colonists, continued to follow the progress and development of those who actually settled in Canada. Their circumstances habits and religion, the "peculiarities of their social character,"\(^{24}\) were a constant preoccupation of mid-Victorian Canadian newspapers. This interest in the Irish indicates more than their capacity to provide sensational headlines. The many ways in which they attracted the notice of the public, reveals the special consideration with which they were regarded by their Protestant and French Canadian neighbours. As well as giving full space to the
incidents of Irish adjustment, to anecdotes of Irish behaviour\textsuperscript{25} and to news of Irish community affairs,\textsuperscript{26} those who wrote about Canadian society attempted to explain and draw lessons from Irish behaviour. The terms in which they did so, reveal the persistence in Canada of negative assumptions about Irish character and how those notions were adapted to Canadian circumstances. At the same time, they illustrate the basic values and ideals against which the Irish contribution to Canadian society was measured.

In developing their views concerning the problems of Irish immigrant adjustment, the press was convinced that the best place for Catholic immigrants was on the land. Irish immigration to Canada was considered as a natural addition to the farming economy. It was expected that the Irish peasants would move eagerly into the interior, first filling a need for farm labourers and then moving onto land of their own, forgetting the "penury and starvation" of the "potato patch" to become Canadian farmers.\textsuperscript{27} The "effects on the condition of the emigrants, morally as well as physically," promised the \textit{Globe}, "will be most beneficial."\textsuperscript{28} The \textit{Globe} extolled the possibility of converting what had been a "crushed peasantry," in Ireland, into a hardy and independent yeomanry," in Canada.\textsuperscript{29} Even the "destitute and debilitated" refugees from the famine of 1847, promised "to add to the productive means of the Province as they attained health and strength."\textsuperscript{30} In a population overwhelmingly composed of rural landowners, there was a vital sentiment idealizing yeoman virtues, pioneer struggles, and the superiority of life on the land as the most healthy foundation of national life. The press
radiated confidence in the capacity of the land to accommodate even the poorest newcomer.

The increasing size of the Irish-Catholic city population, however, and their predominance on the public works, made it obvious that many immigrants were not moving on to the farms, in pursuit of a life of "hardy independence." The breakdown of the planned pattern of integration, perplexed and exasperated many Canadians. It had worked for immigrants other than the Catholic Irish. Critics of the growing landless Irish proletariat, failed to recognize that the transition from immigrant to farm labourer to farmer, seen by contemporaries as the most appropriate for new Canadians, was a pattern of adjustment that could not be expected to fully deal with the large number of Irish immigrants. Despite the rhetoric of abundance in the press, the boasts of the *Globe* that "the Canadas can easily support the whole population of Ireland if necessary," and the belief in Canada's "wonderful capacity for employment," full-time farm-work was scarce, and opportunities for poor emigrants to achieve self-sufficiency were much narrower than Canadian editors and public men assumed. Only a few Irish-Catholic immigrants would have been able to make use of the imagined opportunities of the "New World."

Their conviction, however, that farmers were eager for labour in the countryside and the belief that land was available to those who saved a small sum as labourers, persuaded observers that the Irish-Catholic poor who hung about the cities, were idlers who lacked the initiative or enterprise to seek out opportunities. Before the massive Irish-Catholic immigration of the late eighteen-forties and early
eighteen-fifties, Canadians had greeted all emigrants from Britain as countrymen, asserting that initial poverty was no bar to success. The immigrant Irish, however, who massed in the towns and haunted the countryside as wanderers or outcasts, caused legislators and journalists to declare openly that Irish-Catholic immigration to Canada was not welcome. Mayor Beard of Toronto, attacked "the dirty, lazy Irish," asserting that "there was no hope left for us while the 'race' remained. They would not work; they had never worked and it was absurd to expect that they would ever work." The belief that Canada could regenerate the down-trodden of the "Old World" was muted by the suspicion that Irish-Catholic immigrants would remain poor, and deservedly so. They were treated with contempt as a source of cheap labour, in building, railroads, business and in houses, freeing native and other more acceptable immigrant groups to undertake more rewarding occupations. Their poverty and low status in the "land of promise," developed an easy justification. As the most culturally distinct of the large ethnic groups of the day, it was possible to view them as different; and because they were poor as well, it was easy to argue that they were inferior. Their poverty was explained, not in terms of their vulnerability and exploitation as Canada's first labour surplus, but in terms of their background and national character.

Notions of Irish character in general, were supported in the press by regular reference to the history and contemporary experience of Ireland. Reports of Ireland's problems of economic disaster, social unrest, political agitation and religious conflict, dominated the foreign selections on most front pages. The frequent headlines and leading editorials
in the Canadian press, and features by "special correspondents," underlined the news appeal of Irish excitement. Yet, Canadian attention to events in Ireland, represented more than an indication of their newsworthiness. Ireland's experience of the struggle for self-government, the balance between her Catholic and Protestant populations, her experiments with a national education system, the land question, and the debate over church disestablishment, had a direct relevance to Canadian circumstances. The analogies between the constitutional situations of the two countries invited their mutual interest, as sections of the same Imperial community. Events in Ireland, however, were especially noted for the perspective they offered to an appraisal of the situation of her countrymen in Canada. The Globe acknowledged that "Ireland has contributed so large a proportion of the population of our own country that whatever concerns its weal is matter of the deepest interest to thousands in Canada." The interest was pointed. The ways in which the press reported on the condition of Ireland, the reactions of sympathy or exasperation which greeted news of famine and riot, the diagnoses of Irish problems, were extensions of opinion about their situation as immigrants.

The French Canadian press was particularly conscious of close parallels between Irish circumstances and the experience of French Canada. Distress at Irish-Catholic support for the Clear Grit enemies of the Lower Province, provoked bitter reminders to the immigrants to remember from their history that they should have no affection for English-speaking Protestants, and to realize that their natural loyalties should lie with their French Canadian co-religionists. The Catholic Irish immigrants were looked to by the French Canadian newspapers as allies in the defence
of a French Canadian and Catholic identity against the growing Protestant population of Canada West. La Minerve insisted that "les Irlandais libéraux et les Canadiens Francas pour tous les motifs possibles, doivent faire cause commune." Irish-Catholic immigrants were especially urged to join with French Canadians in opposing any movement to change the union of the provinces in favour of the Protestant sector. La Minerve reminded them that union based on representation by population was the grievance which made Ireland seek separation from England. The history of Ireland, it argued, had shown that union between peoples divided by blood, language and religion, inevitably worked to the disadvantage of the lesser population. A union which would give Canada West preponderance in the common legislature, threatened the political destruction of French Canada. It would resurrect in "les possessions Britanniques du 'New World' les intimités et les luttes qui ont troublé pendant si longtemps et d'une manière si désastreuse leur paix et mis des entraves à leur progrès dans le 'Old World.'" Just as the Irish wanted justice in Ireland, they had a duty to join with French Canadians in opposing in Canada the unequal political system which they cursed at home. The exiled Irish in Canada, were hailed in the French Canadian press as living witnesses of the fatal consequences of a legislative union based on representation by population.

The natural allegiance which should exist between French Canadians and Irish-Catholics was a persistent theme in the French Canadian press. Campaigners for Irish votes, professed to detect in the judgements of the English-speaking Protestant press on Irish questions, an expression of English-Canadian attitudes towards French Canada. Observations on the
state of Ireland in the *Globe* and *Leader*, were regarded as vicarious comment on that of the Lower Province. A fraternal sympathy was expressed for the plight of Catholic Ireland, oppressed, exploited and mis-governed by the Protestant Anglo-Saxon. Each St. Patrick's Day, French Canadians were encouraged by their press to display green banners from their windows "comme une nouvelle preuve de l'esprit de respect mutuelle qui anime notre population."\(^{50}\) *La Minerve* reminded both communities;

> combien sont nombreux et puissants les motifs qui doivent les unir à nous et nous unir à eux. Puissions-nous longtemps et toujours marcher ensemble et montrer que les communautés de malheurs et de sentiments qui ont mérité au peuple Canadien et au peuple Irlandais les justes sympathies de tous les hommes honnêtes et vertueux, a eu encore pour effet de faire des Irlandais et des Canadiens un seul et même peuple, d'origines et de langues différentes mais dirigé par une même pensée de liberté civile et religieuse.\(^{51}\)

As a conscious testimony to the common cause of Ireland and French Canada, Papineau in 1848, became vice-president of the Montreal Irish League.\(^{52}\) Both countries, he proclaimed at the St. Patrick's Day Dinner in Montreal, in 1846, "souffraient pour les mêmes causes--les tentatives injustes que l'on faisait pour gouverner leurs majorités par leurs minorités."\(^{53}\) Irish agricultural distress prompted him to warn that the misery of Ireland could repeat itself in Canada, and for the same reason--"Un quart de sa surface est inculte, parce qu'elle n'a jamais eu un gouvernement national."\(^{54}\) Concern over the economic retardation of Lower Canada was a regular platform of the "rouge" press. Lack of encouragement to industry, manufacture and agriculture was blamed for emigration from French Canada to the United States as it was for the emigration from Ireland to Canada.\(^{55}\)
The analysis of Ireland's problems in the English-speaking press was not as sympathetic as the French Canadian. The Globe did not ignore the opportunity presented by Irish history to condemn "the intolerable sectionalism of English Toryism," but there was little tolerance of Irish-Catholic complaints of oppression and persecution. "Irish patriots," in the French Canadian papers, became "Irish convicts" in the English. The Witness saw the essence of the Irish Question as "what is to be the result of Roman Catholic treason and British forbearance." The request to the Imperial Parliament by the Irish-Catholic Bishop Lynch of Toronto, that the same principles of responsible government be applied to Ireland as to Canada, was denounced by the Globe as "disloyal and treasonable." The British Government could find many apologists in Canada for its record in Ireland. The Leader denied that British rule was the cause of Ireland's decline. "That decline," it maintained, "has its roots within," and political change would not alter it. The Huron Signal denied that the Irish had any grounds of complaint against the British Government. It claimed that if the Catholic Irish "do not make that progress in moral and intellectual culture which they should do, the blame can only rest on their own shoulders." The causes in the way of Irish advancement, it insisted, "are to be found in the people themselves rather than in the British Government." The Globe, blamed Irish troubles on Irish ignorance, not the British connection. It catalogued with enthusiasm British measures of improvement in Ireland—the school and college system, improvement in land tenure, agricultural improvement, reduction of the franchise. Even so, it argued that the evils of Ireland
were not those over which government could maintain much control but were due to the "prejudices and passions" of the people. Repeal of the Union, the Globe emphasized, would be "the blackest day that Ireland ever saw." Left to govern themselves, it maintained, the Irish would degenerate into a state of "total anarchy."

The value placed on British institutions and ideas, revealed in these diagnoses of the problems of Ireland, was one of the most constant themes in the mid-Victorian Canadian press. It was especially obvious in the attention which the newspapers devoted to weighing the relative merits of the British and American political systems. The condition and progress of the Irish populations of Canada and the United States, was a regular vehicle for such comparison. The Irish situation in the Republic, argued the Globe, their exploitation on the canals and railroads, their condition in the large cities, was a permanent "raw spot in the social system of the United States." The Leader boasted, that whereas in the United States the Irish were generally "looked down upon" and it was made a "social and political crime to have been born in Ireland," no such feeling existed in Canada. In the British provinces, asserted the Globe, the Irish found the "freedom and position" denied them in the Republic. It was argued repeatedly in the Protestant press, in reply to Irish-Catholic complaints of prejudice against them in official appointments and patronage, that the Irish in Canada suffered from no economic or social disability, save their own shortcomings. Their lack of political influence was attributed to their own division rather than to any discrimination against them. Irish-Catholic protests at Protestant hostility were
discounted as the product of an over-developed sense of persecution and a capacity to manufacture grievance. The Protestant newspapers, on occasions of Irish-Catholic complaints of bias, reacted with exasperation at their failure to appreciate that they were "exceedingly well treated under British rule," 71 in contrast to the social and political exclusion which they experienced in the United States.

The same perception of Canada's constitutional best interests, underlay conservative French Canadian attitudes towards the Irish. Expressions by La Minerve of a fraternal sympathy with the sufferings of Ireland, under the union with England, were intended to encourage Irish cooperation in preserving the Catholic freedom and French Canadian identity, maintained under the happier experience of Canadian legislative union. Fear of Irish-Canadian involvement in the Fenian invasion of 1866, and the threat of annexation to the United States, prompted La Minerve to affirm confidence in the system of constitutional monarchy which guaranteed French and Catholic "immunités." It urged the Irish to apply to Ireland the lessons taught by French Canadian history and experience. The Irish immigrants were reminded that the French Canadians were also a conquered people, but that unlike the Irish, they had accepted the consequences of defeat. Although it recognized parallels between the French and Irish experiences, La Minerve argued that the French had adjusted better. They had been loyal without grovelling and had earned respect from their conquerors. If Ireland had imitated French Canada instead of following impulses of pride, and her obsession with vengeance, suggested La Minerve, she would have suffered less
oppression. Similarly in Canada, the fortunes of the Irish-Catholic immigrants "promettait de s'améliorer par leur soumission." They had only to look to the experience of their countrymen in the United States, La Minerve agreed with the Globe and Leader, to appreciate the liberties they enjoyed under the British crown in Canada. Whereas under the Republican system the Irish formed "une caste à part, une race de parias," the opportunities available to them in Canada, "fournit une nouvelle preuve de la supériorité des institutions qui nous régissent."

In contrast, the "rouge" press saw in the situation of the Irish in Canada, an opportunity to condemn the tie with Britain. Le Pays, in urging annexation to the United States and denouncing Confederation, sympathized with the Irish in Canada as still oppressed by Protestant hostility, to establish that Canadian institutions offered them little more than those of the Republic. It argued that the Canadian system had not enabled the Irish to escape the consequences of their brutalization under British misgovernment. They were still, in Canada, the unfortunate victims of the lawlessness and violent instincts instilled in them by Protestant oppression. Le Pays pointed to the miserable condition of Montreal's Griffintown as a replica of the horrific Irish ghettos in New York and Boston. Irish religious conflict, the excesses of the Gavazzi riots, the yearly skirmishes on July the Twelfth, Irish destitution, vagrancy and misery on the public works, were evidence that despite, in Canada, "le bonheur incomparable de vivre sous un gouvernement monarchique . . . il arrive que nous ne valons pas mieux que nos voisins les Yankees." The hardships endured by the Catholic Irish in Canada.
gave no cause for the celebration of a superior "condition sociale." Rather than presenting an example of the benefits to Canada of British institutions, the Irish continued as victims of the vices "qui regissent le vieux mode, et dont l'Irlande donne un si triste exemple." By thus emphasizing the difficulties of Irish adjustment in Canada, Le Pays looked to their support in its rejection of the British connection.

The context, however, against which both "bleu" and "rouge" newspapers attempted to educate the Irish immigrants to an understanding of their common interests, indicated an underlying tension and misunderstanding between the two communities. Appeals for political cooperation were made against a background of endemic hostility between the potential allies, on the streets, in the city council and even on the steps of their churches. These antagonisms were especially noticed by the English-speaking press, eager to exploit the difficulties in the way of a French Canadian and Irish-Catholic alliance. The Witness reported in 1859 that "a French Canadian boy can hardly pass a few Irish boys without being stoned or vice versa." It forecasted that the animosity between the two communities seemed likely to be perpetuated by their children. Sometimes fighting broke out on a large scale. In 1858, a mob of some five or six hundred Irish from Griffintown disrupted a meeting of French Canadians, in dispute of their claim to locate new docks in the East rather than the Irish West of Montreal. The Globe reported, to denials from both the French and Irish press, that the Irish-Catholics "bear no particular goodwill to the French Canadians, who lose no opportunity of showing contempt for them." Outbreaks of violence on the street extended to
clashes between Irish and French Canadian members of the City Council.
Michael Ryan, the representative for Griffintown, was fined twenty-five pounds for assaulting a fellow councillor, Monsieur Homier. His fine was paid by his constituents as a testimony of support. In the spring of 1854, French Canadian council members refused to vote for assistance to the Irish victims of the disastrous floods that year in Griffintown. Even Sunday mass was not exempted from expressions of antagonism between French Canadian and Irish congregations. Le Pays reported that the Irish members of St. Patrick's church had threatened to burn it down, rather than share it with French Canadians, "ou de battre les Canadiens qui iraient là, afin de les empecher d'y retourner." It was a natural reaction of French Canadian editors, therefore, to blame the failure of French and Irish cooperation on the aggressive instincts and unreasoning hostility of the immigrants.

The sympathy of the English-speaking press lay largely with the French Canadians in their quarrels with the Irish. The Witness found that there was "certainly a wide difference between Irish and French Romanists, the one coarse and slanderous, violent and fond of bloodshed, the other comparatively polite, refined avoiding wholesale falsehood and opposed to brutality." Nevertheless, French Canadians were not exempted from recurrent criticism and scorn in the Protestant press, as examples of the debilitating social consequences of Catholicism. The Witness, which associated progress and prosperity with Divine approval, contrasted the development of Upper Canada "in all the elements of greatness," with the economic retardation of Lower Canada which it described as not only
stationary but "retrograding." The Leader commented that the Celtic race, in which it included both Irish and French Canadians, was "hastening to its dissolution." Sir Edmund Head referred to the French Canadians, in a notorious speech in Hamilton, as "an inferior race." Yet, although French Canadians suffered from Protestant attacks on Catholicism in general, and felt themselves equal victims, with the Irish, of Anglo-Saxon disdain, the circumstances of Catholic Ireland attracted a more hostile attention in the English-speaking papers than did those of French Canada. The Canadian press showed more interest in the progress of evangelical missions to the Irish than in those which spread the word to French Canadians. Irish-Catholicism provided Protestant editors with a wider and more startling range of issues. Famine, poverty, crime and insurrection in Ireland presented themselves as dramatic confirmation of the evil consequences of Catholicism.

The Catholic faith of the Irish was seen to be a menace in Canada as it was in Ireland. The Protestant papers readily catalogued the incidents of Irish immigrant violence and disorder, as a proof that the opportunities for independence and prosperity enjoyed by Protestant settlers could promise little to the Irish while they continued as fanatical slaves to their religion. The Globe denounced Catholicism as "a system of superstition and mental darkness unworthy of the age in which we live," and presented the Irish as examples of its worst consequences. From its vantage as "the unflinching organ of Protestant principles," it warned that Canada had more need of an anti-Irish Know-Nothing Party than did the United States. "Ever since the arrival of the editor of
the Globe newspaper in Canada," protested the Mirror, "he has waged a kind of guerilla warfare against a certain portion of the inhabitants . . . his anti-Popish tendencies . . . preyed upon his brain like a feverish disease." The Witness was particularly alert to the dangers of Irish-Catholicism, warning that Canada was "in danger of having the natives of the soil swamped at every election and hampered in many points by the introduction of an element in the form of ignorant men who will not learn and who are at the beck of a designing priesthood." The minds of Irish-Catholics it described as "dark and degraded." The immigrants were "aliens in blood, speech, in religion, and quarrelsome and reckless of blood." They were bondsmen, slaves of a false religion, and in it every correct moral and social feeling is destroyed." Numerous editorials proclaimed the antipathy of Catholicism to progress and political freedom. The Witness recommended that Protestants send Scripture readers in the Irish tongue to the Irish, claiming that it would be "cheaper to enlighten them than to maintain them."  

Rejection of Catholicism was thought to be Ireland's only salvation, and the spread of Protestant principles the only way "to elevate Ireland in the social scale," and free her from "the mass of moral corruption which has so faithfully been guarded by Priestcraft." The Witness claimed that "Under the influence of Protestant Christianity, the Irishman became a good citizen, intelligent, industrious and peaceable." In its turn, the Globe contrasted the misery and poverty of Catholic Ireland with the general prosperity of the Protestant inhabitants of the north, blaming the "chief cause of the unhappiness of Ireland," on the
"malign influence which the church of Rome exercises throughout the island." The same comparison between the social qualities of Protestants and Catholics were pointedly made with regard to the quality of Irish-Catholic immigration to Canada. It was a stock in trade of platform orators on Protestantism to abuse the "dirt, poverty and ignorance" of the Irish-Catholics. The True Witness noted the general sense of such sermons as arguing that "Popery must be bad for it keeps its votaries poor, because it leaves them so ignorant." One sermon derided "those dirty Papists, always serfs, always doing our dirty work, toiling in canals and on railroads, whilst the overseers and superintendents of the works are good sound Protestants." The English-speaking press displayed a marked preference for Protestant immigrants. The "thriftless, Romanist population of Ireland" was described in sorry contrast to the sturdy, independent, German, Scottish, English and Ulster immigrants. In a feature, entitled the "Progress of Canada," the Globe noted the contrast between Irish-Catholic and Protestant communities in the early Irish settlement area around Peterborough. The township of Ennismore, it proclaimed, was "almost entirely settled by Irish Roman Catholics, who certainly are twenty years behind those of the [Protestant] township of Smith." The Witness, in its own survey of the area, reported that "the difference between a Protestant and a Catholic community is as marked here as in other parts of Canada." Whereas the Irish-Catholic immigrants to the area were "totally destitute of the energy and foresight which are essential to success," and therefore "totally unable to take advantage of the
favourable circumstances of their settlement," the Protestant townships displayed "the fruits of hard and continued toil; which united with foresight and enterprise have created from the forest some of the finest farms in Canada." The distinction between "that enslaved race" of Irish-Catholics, and the "manly and well-informed Protestant population of Ireland," was clear cut. The Leader commented on the Irish enumeration in the 1861 census that "the Irish constitute in some sort two peoples; the line of division being one of religion and also . . . one of race."

The degraded image of the Catholic Irish in the Canadian newspapers was intensified by the numerous anti-Irish reports selected from the English press. There was little dispassionate reporting of Irish affairs in the newspapers of Victorian England. Their aggressive reaction to events in Ireland and to the physical presence of Irish immigrants in the slums of their cities, was a familiar part of Canadian newspaper reading. The Times especially, whose long campaign against Irish causes was conducted with a large vocabulary of abuse, contempt, and ridicule, was a prolific contributor to Canadian understanding of Irish affairs. The Canadian Freeman protested that it was the ambition of the leading English newspapers, particularly the Times, "to egg on the population of the great English cities to a war against the Irish." The press influence in England as a whole, it lamented,"has gone to persuade the English mobs that they are full of hatred to the Irish, and that they must have blood to satiate that hatred."

Irish-Catholic papers resented bitterly the prevalence of such
reporting in the Canadian press. The *Canadian Freeman* denounced the eagerness with which the predilection of "the Times and other unfair English journals for expiating upon the cruel and bloodthirsty instincts of the Irish character," was "copied approvingly into certain newspapers in Toronto . . . as all such articles reflecting injuriously upon Irishmen and their religion."117 The *Mirror* indignantly drew attention to the regularity with which Canadian editorials repeated the invectives of the English "bigot press" against the "heathen Irish."118 The *Irish Canadian* accused the *Leader* of drawing inspiration for its analysis of Irish problems and its condemnation of Irish behaviour "from that arch-enemy of our race, the Satanic *Times*." "Is there no manhood in our public writers," it queried, "that will lift them above their prejudices or prevent them from pandering to a false feeling?"119 It suggested that if the editor of the *Leader* "wishes to write intelligently on the question of Ireland, he "should study it for himself, instead of adopting the unfair and interested assumptions of the English press on Irish matters."120 The *Globe* was also bitterly criticized by the Irish-Catholic papers for its perpetuation in Canada of the "anti-Irish and anti-Catholic malignancy" of the English press.121 The *Globe*, protested the *Canadian Freeman*, "not satisfied with heaping *proprio motu* its daily abuse upon Ireland and everything Irish, has as a last resource, called to its aid the Cockney diatribes of the London *Times*."122 In the eyes of the *Globe*, it claimed, "every idea, no matter how false or absurd about Ireland emanating from that unscrupulously lying sheet, ought to be considered . . . Truth."123 So close was the *Globe*’s sympathy with English attitudes to Irish
affairs that the Mirror mocked that it not only wanted recognition as organ of the Provincial ministry, but also as organ of the Whig ministry in England. 124

This participation in the hostile English reaction to Irish affairs influenced the ways in which the Canadian press thought about its own Irish population. Reports of the poverty, crime, destitution, riot, and murder inflicted by the Irish immigrant population on London, Liverpool and Manchester, persuaded Canadian editors to diligently unearth an Irish problem in their own cities. 125 English newspapers were especially concerned with Irish criminality. 126 Their fears and detestation of the Irish as a criminal class were repeated in Canada. Minds familiar with the constant recital in the English press of Irish depredations and brutal behaviour, with the murder of English policemen by Fenians, 127 and the riots of Irish labourers in London, 128 reacted with hostile anxiety to the threat suggested by the large Irish populations of Toronto and Montreal.

The Irish had an overwhelming preponderance in the Canadian crime statistics. Over half of the men and two-thirds of women charged with crime in Montreal and Toronto in the late eighteen-forties and throughout the eighteen-fifties and sixties were Irish, and most of them were Catholic. 129 The weight of such figures, which were itemized daily in the police columns of the newspapers, supported the common belief that Irish-Catholics contributed disproportionately to the criminal class, and gave substance to widely held fears of rampant Irish crime and debauchery. 130 The problem of law and order was one of the most prominent social issues
in the press at mid-century. A collective alarm permeated society over the great increase in crime and violence which was widely attributed to the influx of criminal elements from Ireland. The Witness trembled at the thought of common Irish villains "trained by the state of society in Ireland to commit murder in retaliation for real or fancied wrongs, who may be hired by any Ribbon society for a few shillings to take away human life." The volume of Irish-Catholic arrests and court appearances progressively worsened their collective reputation. The Canadian press regularly identified the daily list of Irish prisoners by their nationality and religion, frequently reporting the proceedings in an outrageous brogue. In the police courts, "the moral pulse of the city," a long and repetitive list of crimes and unacceptable behaviour was attributed daily to the Irish community, increasing its strangeness and alienation from sober, peaceable and respectable citizens.

In its concern with Irish crime and disorder, the press articulated the dominant social values of Victorian Canada. The criminal tendencies of the Irish were attributed by the Canadian newspapers to their idleness, lack of moral principles and their distance from true religion. They were especially linked to the Irish weakness for drink. Temperance was a major social value in Victorian Canada, and the Irish were castigated as its greatest enemy. The press was full of "sensation scraps" relating to Irish drunkenness. By 1848, the characteristics of the drunk in many temperance stories had become equated with those of an intemperate Irishman. Behind these explanations of Irish criminality was a profound conservatism, worried and confused by the intensifying social problems of
urbanization, and reacting against the Irish immigrants with contempt and fear as an alien assault on society. They were seen to threaten the values and virtues of hard work, religion and sobriety which most English-speaking Canadians considered to be the basis of social order. Middle-class Victorian Canadians were horrified and frightened by the disruption and violence which the Irish seemed constantly to threaten. They were stigmatized in the press as unruly and discontented beings who allowed their criminal passions full freedom.

The preponderance of the Irish in the criminal statistics, as well as worsening their reputation for social disorder and lawlessness, illustrated the self-perpetuating nature of the stereotype. The Canadian Freeman complained that many of the charges for which Irish-Catholics were penalized were too petty to have been brought against Protestant malefactors. A drunken Irish-Catholic, in Toronto, it protested, ran more risk of arrest than a drunken Protestant, especially since nearly all the police constables were Irish Protestants. The statistics for acquittal, moreover, as well as those for arrest, seem to suggest that the stereotype of Irish criminality prejudiced their chances in court. An analysis of gaol and court registers for Middlesex County has shown a sharp difference in rates of acquittal between Irish-Catholic and other ethnic groups at mid-century, suggesting judicial prejudice in the courts relating to Irish birth and Catholicism. Prejudice against the Irish in court is apparent as well in the tone of censure and condescension towards "typical Irishmen of the lower class" adopted by Police Magistrates in Toronto and Montreal. Society and the legal authorities
seemed to have a role in perpetuating the Irish-Catholics as a criminal class.

At the centre of the stereotype of Irish criminality was the feeling that they were corrupted. The degraded and disorganized way of life, which the Canadian newspapers described as typical of the Irish population, the vagrancy, destitution and poverty which they saw on their streets, were blamed on moral weakness. As proof of the low moral condition of the Irish, the newspapers drew attention to the Irish-Catholic life-style. There was a definite distinction in the Irish way of living that separated them in the community. An English observer reported in 1870 that "In Canadian towns, it is still very noticeable that the Irish quarter is at once the poorest and least orderly, and it is in these denser communities that one gets the least favourable view of the Celtic population." The squalor of Irish housing conditions, and the Irish slowness in transforming into models of sober self-reliance, provided evidence to support their image as a police problem and as social outcasts. The dirty houses and filthy streets of Irish areas in Toronto and Montreal were proof of degraded lives and disorderly, brutal behaviour. The "dark hovels" of the Irish-Catholics and their "idleness and wretchedness" was a common analogy in the Canadian press. Punch in Canada reported in 1849, that he had "herded with monstrosities in the meanest cellars of Griffintown in order to study the character of humanity in its lowest phase."  

Definite areas of Toronto and Montreal were known as Irish districts. The Witness complained constantly about "the unwholesome condition"
of Irish Griffintown, protesting that "altogether a more likely place to engender pestilence does not exist on this continent." The "forlorn appearance" of the Irish quarter was contrasted pointedly with "the comfort of French Canadian wards." Conditions worsened in the eighteen-sixties, as the Irish crowded into Montreal from the countryside to fill the open spaces of swamp with shacks and shanties. They retained their peasant life-style even in the city. A visitor to Griffintown in 1869 remarked that "the houses--shall we call them such--of the inhabitants of Griffintown, were a reproduction of the Irish huts in Connemara." Irish sanitary practices, suited to a dispersed cottage life, invited epidemics. "Every house almost," sniffed the Witness, "has a stable, cow-house or pig-sty attached, all reeking with the close vapours." The editor of the Montreal Gazette, recorded his disgust at the "stench and sickening sights" to be seen in "the pestiferous little streets" of Griffintown, "which to our disgrace, rot and reek into the polluted air."

Toronto as well, predicted La Minerve, "ne tardera pas à avoir son Griffintown." Its Irish population was congregated in rough shanties on the Don Flats and near the core of the city close to the wharves, with centres of concentration in the southern and eastern sections of the city. The Irish tenement areas around Yonge and King Streets, especially Stanley Street, were notorious for their overcrowded, ramshackle buildings, their "shebeen" shops, Irish rowdyism, drunkenness and assault. Stanley Street was a byword in the Toronto newspapers for Irish violence. It was a standard form of Police Court reporting, to identify prisoners as
Irish by their Stanley Street address. Such was the reputation of the area, that the city magistrate concluded that the very fact that an Irish prisoner actually lived there, was suggestion enough of his criminality. Free-for-all fighting, amounting at times to the scale of "insurrections," provoked the Globe to complain against the existence of such a locality in the heart of the city as a "source of continued annoyance to a large number of citizens." It proposed that some effort should be made "to break up the dens of iniquity and filth which constitute the larger portion of its tenements." Underlying the contempt with which the Canadian newspapers described the degraded and unruly position of the Catholic Irish at the bottom of the social pile, was a deeper anxiety. The crowded Irish populations of Toronto and Montreal were seen as more than a social liability. They frequently provoked panic as a threat to the security of the country itself. Irish centres of population were identified regularly in the press as hotbeds of civil disaffection. Many Canadian attitudes towards the Catholic Irish were coloured by doubts about their loyalty and by fears of their propensity to organized violence. In the debate on the Militia Bill in 1853, these fears were expressed in the proposal that they be prohibited from carrying weapons since "dangerous consequences might ensue from putting arms in the hands of a section of the Irish people." The formation of Irish Catholic Militia companies in Montreal, excited the Witness to panic fears of a St. Bartholomew night massacre of Canadian Protestants in support of an invasion by an army of Irish-Americans. Fears of such an insurrection and an Irish inspired invasion caused consternation several
times at mid-century. In 1848, the political authorities in Canada, expect­ing repercussions of the risings in Europe and Ireland, held their breath for six months in fear of what they perceived as "le péril irlandais." 160 La Minerve reported that the Montreal Irish-Catholic lawyer, Bernard Devlin, at a convention of the New York Republican Union, had promised "que tous les Irlandais de Montréal sont sous les armes, et qu'il n'attendent que son signal pour marcher à la charge." "En Canada," he was alleged to have asserted, "notre argument doit être le canon, le mousquet et le bayonet." 161 The Globe warned that for all Irish-Catholic attachment to Responsible Government, they were "never for one moment oblivious that England is their deadly enemy" and that it "behoves them to be perenially the staunchest foe of that accursed empire." 162 The image of the Irish in Canada in the English-speaking press was continually haunted by the spectre of a widespread Ribbon organization, thirsting for Protestant blood and sworn to vengeance against England. 163

Readiness to believe in the subversive tendencies of Irish-Catholics in Canada reached its peak during the years of Fenian activity in the eighteen-sixties. The organization of a Fenian army in the United States and its threat to invade the British North American provinces, provoked in the Canadian press many expressions of deep distrust for the Catholic Irish population. There is little evidence of any Irish-Canadian support for the idea of a Fenian invasion of Canada. 164 On the contrary, there were many expressions of Irish-Catholic distress at the way in which threats of Fenian hostility added a further menace to their already unfavourable image. It was not easy, however, for the Irish community to
clear itself of the Fenian taint. Editorials and a flood of readers' letters, disclosing suspected Fenian drilling and arming throughout the province, and advising loyal Canadians to be on the alert against their Catholic neighbours, displayed a revealing willingness to expect the worst of the Irish community. 165

The press stimulated these anxieties. The Mirror complained that the Leader and Globe were "continually full of suggestions calculated to stir up the most dangerous feelings in the mind of our Canadian population." 166 The Irish Canadian protested that "the Globe for months has been doing its best to produce a Feniaphobia in Canada." 167 A letter from Perth was indignant that the "slanderous" Globe "uses the term Fenians with regard to all Catholics" and that its "malicious howlings" contributed much "towards causing disunion between parties which would otherwise live in harmony." 168 The Stratford Beacon pointed out that "with some narrow-minded people the idea seems to prevail that if a person is a Catholic he must necessarily be a Fenian." 169 A letter to the Globe warned that the "atrocities of the 'White-Boys' are about to be re-enacted in Canada and our hitherto peaceful country is to be devasted. [sic] by similar horrors to those perpetrated by the midnight assassins in Ireland." 170 Charles Dilke recorded his impression that there was a general fear as to whether "the whole of the Canadian Irish are not disaffected." 171 Many Irish-Catholics lost their jobs, suffered insults, threats and arbitrary arrest during the Fenian panic. 172 Such was the feeling against them, that John A Macdonald had to issue a circular to all crown attorneys in Upper Canada warning them against the
practice of allowing "illiterate magistrates to arrest every man whom they choose to suspect," since there had resulted, "a great deal of uneasiness among the Irish Roman Catholic population in consequence of these hasty and ill-judged arrests." J. L. P. O'Hanley recalled the period as "a reign of terror" against Irish-Catholics."

The insults, abuse, and suspicion which the Catholic Irish community as a whole suffered during the Fenian panic was the natural reaction of a Canadian society which had learnt to accept the idea of the Irish as an inferior and alien race. The hostility to the Irish apparent during the Fenian episodes was not an isolated phenomenon in the history of Irish-Canadian adjustment. It was simply the most forceful expression of an anti-Irish feeling which had long been evident in the Canadian newspapers. The Catholic Irish had been anathematized, blamed and ridiculed for their social habits, poverty and religion. The Canadian Freeman protested that the Globe used the Irish name and race "as synonyms for all that is low and debased in the moral and social order." Under headlines such as "Irish-Catholics the Curse of the Land" and "The Irish Papist a Rebel and a Judas," they had been persistently villified as "Dogans," "Papists," "Religious Fanatics," "Beggars," and "Vermin." It is from such pictures of our religion and nationality," as drawn by the Globe, Leader and Witness, explained the Irish Canadian, "that the majority of Protestants in this country have formed their opinion of us. Taught from so polluted a source, could their conception be otherwise than foul or horrible?" The image of the Irish as a social menace encouraged and intensified the separate group identity which Protestant editors condemned as a stubborn refusal to assimilate. The irony was
apparent to Irish-Catholic editors. "Talk to the Irish of national and religious distinctions:" protested the *True Witness*; "They are everywhere driven to make and keep them up." It was no wonder, admitted the Irish-Protestant chronicler of the history of the *Irishman in Canada*, that the Irish should continue to be "peculiar and puzzling, that their thoughts should not be our thoughts, nor their political passions our political passions," when Canadian hostility and Irish defensiveness caused them to "live amongst us, but not of us, almost as separated as the Jews were from the surrounding population in medieval times."
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO


2. See, William Bridges, The Colonization of British North America . . . (London, 1848), and James Fitzgerald, A Plan of Settlement and Colonization adapted to all the British North American Provinces . . ., (Toronto, 1850). See also, the Montreal Witness, July 30, 1856, for details of a grant of land on the Gatineau to the Catholic Bishop of Bytown.

3. A Pamphlet Addressed to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, First Lord of the Treasury on Irish Emigration to Canada, dated as evidence 23 March 1847 but without title.

4. Globe, May 1, 1847.

5. Ibid.


7. Ibid., April 19, 1848. The Globe suggested that a St. Lawrence Society be formed to encourage Canadian arts, science and literature in an effort to foster national feeling in Canada. The clearest definition of what the newspapers meant by national feeling was that the different immigrant groups should cease to think in terms of old country rivalries and their own group interests. The Irish were identified as the worst offenders. The context in which Irish loyalty to their own group interests was discussed, usually implied criticism of French Canadian sectionalism.


9. Ibid., May 2, 1854.

10. Ibid., Oct. 23, 1858.

11. Globe, April 21, 1847.

12. Quoted in La Minerve, May, 1847.
Ibid.

Quoted in Canadian Freeman, Nov. 28, 1861.

Leader, Feb. 8, 1856.

Globe, May, 1, 1847.

Leader, Feb. 8, 1856.

Montreal Witness, Nov. 24, 1851.

Leader, Feb. 11, 1856. At an Irish-Catholic Convention in Buffalo, New York, in February, 1856, eighty lay and ecclesiastical leaders from Canada and the United States, proposed to form a joint stock company to buy land for Irish settlers in Canada, on an instalment basis.

Leader, Feb. 11, 1856.

Ibid.

Speech of Mr. Holland, Ibid.

Ibid.

A Pamphlet Addressed to Lord John Russell, p. 12.

Irish traits were a popular filler in the Canadian press, even the French Canadian. La Minerve, had a regular section illustrating the peculiarities of Irish character. It was entitled, "Tout a fait, Irlandais."

St. Patrick's Society meetings were almost as fully reported in the Globe and Leader, as they were in the Irish press.


Globe, Feb. 20, 1847.

Ibid., March 3, 6, 1847.

Ibid., Jan. 26, 1848. The Globe predicted, however, that "the proportion of consumers over producers in that vast immigration will be severely felt for some years to come."

Parr, p. 108.
32 Ibid., p. 109.
33 Globe, March 6, 1847; Aug. 9, 1849.
35 Katz, "Irish and Canadian Catholics," p. 35.
36 Parr, p. 113.
37 Ibid.
38 Quoted in Mirror, Oct. 1, 1847.
39 Parr, p. 113.
40 Leader, Dec. 31, 1862.
41 See Katz, Irish and Canadian Catholics," p. 36.
43 Even the French Canadian newspapers had correspondence from Ireland. See the letters to Le Pays, Sept.-Dec., 1865, from Rev. O. V. Perrault. The Globe, in Sept., 1864, printed reports from "Our Own Correspondent" on the Belfast riots.
44 The Canadian Parliament debated resolutions on Irish affairs several times throughout the century. In the House of Assembly, Nov. 4, 1852, W. L. Mackenzie proposed a resolution for an appeal to the Queen for amnesty to the Irish exiles of 1848. See La Minerve, Nov. 9, 1852. The Mirror claimed that the eventual release of Irish exile, Smith O'Brien, was a consequence of an address on his behalf by the Canadian Parliament. See Mirror, March 6, 1857. In June, 1869, the House of Commons debated a proposal to make some Canadian expression of satisfaction at the Bill before the Imperial Parliament for the disestablishment and disendowment of the church in Ireland; See Leader, June 1, 1869. In April, 1882, the Canadian Parliament submitted an address to the Queen, urging the granting of Home Rule to Ireland. Further resolutions in favor of Irish self-government were passed in 1886 by the Canadian House of Commons, and by the Legislative Assembly of Quebec. In 1887, the Canadian House of Commons, the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, and the Quebec Legislature, adopted resolutions against the Irish Coercion Bill. See Stanley W. Horrall, "Canada and the Irish Question; A Study of the Canadian Response to Irish Home Rule, 1882-1893." (M.A. thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1966), pp. 155-164.
This was a persistent theme in French Canadian attitudes towards the Irish. Henry Bourassa, in an appeal for Irish-Canadian support for the protection of the French language, in 1914, claimed that "the only explanation that can be given of the attitudes of those Irish-Catholics, more noisy than numerous, who work hand in hand with the enemies of French Canada, is that they have forgotten the history of Ireland and not learned the history of Canada." See Henry Bourassa, Ireland and Canada, (Montreal, Imprimerie Le Devoir, 1914), p. 14. See also, Claude Trottier, "Lettre amicale et franche, à un Irlandais bien intentionné," L'Action Nationale, Vol. LIV, No. 2, 1964, p. 156. Trottier repeats the complaint that "Les Irlandais Canadiens, Catholics Romains ou pas, Québécois ou autres, se conduisent envers les Canadiens Français, comme des Anglais Protestants."

La Minerve, Feb. 22, 1861.

Ibid., Jan. 12, 1854.

Ibid., Feb. 22, 1861.

Ibid., March 19, 1859. Music for the Montreal St. Patrick's Society dinner on St. Patrick's Day, 1864, was performed by French Canadians, as a token of fraternity. See La Minerve, March 18, 1864, "The Harp that Once Through Tara's Hall," was sung by Mlle. Regnaud, and "Kathleen Mavourneen," by Mlle. Dupres.

Ibid., Jan. 30, 1851.

Papineau was frequently compared with Daniel O'Connell. See La Minerve, June 22, 1843.

Ibid., March 23, 1846.

L'Avenir, April 19, 1848. Quoted in Tucker, p. 546.

Le Pays, May 29, 1866.

Globe, Nov. 23, 1859.

Leader, July 27, 1853.


Globe, quoted in True Witness, March 25, 1864.


Leader, Nov. 25, 1863.
Quoted in *Irish Canadian*, Feb. 18, 1863.

Ibid.

*Globe*, Dec. 29, 1853.

Quoted in *Canadian Freeman*, Nov. 16, 1863. The Freeman reacted with a sense of bitter irony. If "prejudices and passions," were causes of a country's material decadence," it declared "what would become of Canada where they have been lashed into fury repeatedly for the last fifteen years by the unscrupulous writers in the *Globe*... No country ever suffered more from prejudices got up for a purpose and manufactured to order than this Canada of ours."


*Globe*, Nov. 23, 1855.

*Leader*, July 28, 1865.

*Globe*, Nov. 23, 1855.

*Globe*, March 18, 1864.

*La Minerve*, Jan. 18, 1867.

Ibid., March 23, 1866.

Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid., Dec. 7, 1865

This hostility seems to have been based on clashes over employment. Contemporaries who noticed the antagonism between the two communities, seemed unable to understand it. Their myopia was encouraged by the fact that the French Canadians had not really exploited the unskilled employment into which the Irish pushed. Yet, they still regarded these jobs as customarily
their own, and increasingly needed them as outlets. By the eighteen-sixties, however, the Irish had made the unskilled urban employment of Lower Canada, their private preserve. See Pentland, pp. 241-243. Pentland suggests that the French Canadians were the only group in Canada that the Irish felt they could attack with impunity, both in the labor market and physically. The Irish often terrorized the French Canadians on the public works in Lower Canada, where the French were rarely employed as labourers, but regularly as carters and wood cutters.

81 Montreal Witness, May 29, 1858; June 8, 1859.
82 Le Pays, May 19, 1858; Montreal Witness, May 19, 1858.
83 Quoted in Montreal Witness, Sept. 3, 1859.
84 Montreal Witness, Nov. 11, 1857.
85 New Era, Nov. 7, 1857.
86 Le Pays, Feb. 1, 1854.
87 Ibid., Nov. 13, 1866.
90 Quoted in True Witness, Nov. 2, 1855.
91 Ibid.
93 See Mirror, March 5, 1852; Montreal Witness, Jan. 7, 1857, Globe, Feb. 18; 27, 1861.
94 Globe, Feb. 26, 1853.
96 See Globe, June 12, 1855.
97 Mirror, April 25, 1851.
98 Montreal Witness, July 26, 1847.
99 Ibid., May 7, 1862.
Describing the great progress made by the village of Lintowell in Perth County—from one log house to a flourishing community in two years—the Witness emphasized that "The people are principally from Scotland and the North of Ireland, and all are Protestants."

He finds that Irish Protestants were so concerned to distinguish themselves ethnically from Irish-Catholics, that many of those representatives listed in the Canadian Parliamentary Companion, took the trouble to trace their pedigree back to Cromwell, or William the Third's colonists.
Irish Canadian, Dec. 2, 1863.

Ibid., Dec. 16, 1863.

Canadian Freeman, Oct. 25, 1860.

Ibid., Nov. 19, 1863.

Ibid., Nov. 19, 1863.

Mirror, April 25, 1851.


See Mirror, Dec. 19, 1856.

See the selections in the Canadian Freeman, Dec. 12, 1867.

Globe, Nov. 13, 1862.

See Appendix I.


The concern of the Globe with law and order is illustrated in a series of articles in 1865--"Visit to the City Gaol," "Profile of a Policeman," etc. See Globe, during May, 1865.

Bellomo, p. 11.

Montreal Witness, March 9, 1859.

Ibid., Jan. 9, 1861.

James M. Clemens, "Taste Not; Touch Not; Handle Not; A Study of the social assumptions of the temperance literature and temperance supporters in Canada West between 1839-1859," Ontario History, Vol. 64, 1972, p. 145.

Bellomo, p. 16.

Clemens, p. 148.

Canadian Freeman, Jan. 28, 1859.
The Police Report to the Toronto City Council in 1851, listed all officers as English, and all but two constables as Irish Protestants. Even the reformed Police force in 1859, contained only one Irish-Catholic officer out of seven, and seven Irish-Catholic constables out of a total of fifty-nine. Five of the officers and thirty-four of the constables were Irish-Protestant. See Minutes of the City Council, 1859, "Descriptive and Nominal Roll of the City of Toronto Police Force, Organized February 9th 1859."

Harvey J. Graff, "Crime and Punishment in the Nineteenth Century; The Experience of Middlesex County, Ontario," CSHP Report No. 5, p. 150. Irish-Catholics had an acquittal rate in Middlesex County Courts of 13.6%, compared to 24.6% for Irish Protestants, 34.5% for Scottish Presbyterians, 39.8% for English Protestants, 43.0% for Canadian Protestants, and 39.1% for Canadian Catholics.


See Globe, Nov. 25, 1859.
Punch in Canada, Preface to Vol. 1, Jan, 1, 1849.
Ibid., The contrast between the image of the Irish residents of Griffintown, and that of the more respectable citizens of Montreal is illustrated in the sketches in Appendix II.

Cross, pp. 32-36, 200.


Quoted in True Witness, Nov. 10, 1865.
La Minerve, March 31, 1860.
Shea, p. 19.
The British Colonist referred to Irish immigrant housing in the area as the "vilest of the vile," July 23, 1847.
Stanley Street was previously known as March Street, and later as Lombard Street. Denison attributed the change of name to attempts by City Council to improve the area, which he described as one of the slums of the city, with "a very unsavoury reputation." See Denison, p. 178. Nevertheless, Stanley Street was the home of the Juvenile Catholic Library, the Catholic Institute, and the Toronto Total Abstinence Society, all of which met in the Catholic Brick School Room. See Mirror, March 7, 1851; Jan. 23, 1852; Nov. 9, 1855.

Toronto Daily Telegraph, May 21, 1866.
Leader, Jan 29, 1859.
Globe, July 26, 1866.
Leader, March 30, 1855.
Montreal Witness, July 16, 1856.
La Minerve, July 3, 1848.
St. Patrick's Societies, Gun Clubs, and Franchise Clubs, were suspected of being Ribbon lodges, "in direct communication with the Phoenix Society of Ireland and the United States." See Leader, March 7, 1859; Globe, March 1, 1859.
Stacey, "A Fenian Interlude ...," p. 141.
The Globe proclaimed that "society at large is its own best detective." Every Protestant was urged to be "on the lookout for evidence whereby the conspirators may be brought to justice and every little tittle that can be procured will be at the service of the public." Globe, Nov. 24, 1864.

Mirror, Dec. 8, 1865.
Irish Canadian, Jan. 18, 1865.
True Witness, April 4, 1865.
Globe, Nov. 19, 1864.

172 The Irish Canadian reported on March 28, 1866, that "eighty-three Irish-Catholics in the neighbourhood of Montreal, were cast adrift by the Grand Trunk Company last week," for refusing to take the oath of allegiance imposed by the largely Protestant Volunteer Corps being raised by the Grand Trunk. The Irish-Catholics objected, not to the oath of allegiance, but to its being forced upon them in question of their loyalty.

173 Leader, June 29, 1866.


175 Canadian Freeman, Aug. 27, 1858.

176 Quoted in Irish Canadian, Nov. 23, 1864.

177 The Montreal Advertiser, referred to the Irish-Catholics of the city as "little above the beasts." See New Era, Dec. 8, 1857.

178 Irish Canadian, Nov. 23, 1864.

179 True Witness, Feb. 15, 1856.

The isolated and distinct existence of the Irish-Catholic community in Victorian Canadian society, repeated in many ways the general experience of Irish immigrant adjustment in England and the United States. The alien aspect of the immigrants was indicated in the Canadian newspapers, as in the English press, by the vocabulary of disparagement and the tone of superiority with which Irish affairs were reported. In Toronto and Montreal, as in Boston and New York, the separate Irish identity was recorded in their own institutions for the care of the Irish poor and sick, in their national societies, literary and social clubs, and in Irish schools and churches. Yet, the sense of Irish group identity in Canada was self-consciously different from the experience of their countrymen elsewhere. Its special characteristics are apparent in the concern and attention with which the Irish-Catholic newspapers in Canada interpreted their new environment to the immigrants, and defined their responsibilities as Irishmen, as Catholics and also as Canadians. "We are Irish-Canadians" professed the Mirror, "viewing every question as it affects Canada or Ireland."¹ The Irish-Canadian newspapers were not only the best evidence in themselves of an Irish national consciousness in Canada, but were also its most interested and articulate analysts.

The nature and character of Irish national identity in Canada was the subject of constant commentary in the editorial and correspondence
columns of the Irish-Canadian newspapers. The continuing group loyalty of the immigrants was presented as a lasting indictment of English oppression and misgovernment in Ireland, binding them together in the cause of Irish injustice and freedom. In being forced by England to leave Ireland, explained the Irish Canadian, the Irish had come to understand themselves, and in Canada their nationalism had intensified. Bishop Lynch, an ardent and outspoken supporter of Irish Home Rule and a bitter critic of the English record in Ireland, claimed that the Irish in Canada read Irish history with greater avidity than had they remained at home. Irish novels, and histories, on sale at Cosgrove's bookstore in Toronto, and at Sadlier's in Montreal, and serialized in the newspapers, recalled the glory of Ireland's past and the horrors of Protestant persecution. Numerous Irish plays represented the same themes. So strong was the Irish sentiment that he found, that the Rev. M. B. Buckley, in Canada to collect for the Cork Cathedral Fund, could hardly persuade himself he was not at home. Irish-Canadians attended lectures on Ireland in their national societies, literary institutes and Catholic Associations. Despite their poverty, they contributed large sums for Irish famine relief and for the building of Irish colleges and churches. Copious extracts from Irish journals maintained Irish-Canadian antagonism to English rule in Ireland. The author of Ridgeway, an Irish-Canadian novel of the Fenian invasions, claimed that this "constant promulgation of sound information regarding the past and present of our native land" maintained among Irish-Canadians a burning enthusiasm for the cause of Irish nationalism.

There was a vital feeling of participation in Irish affairs. Noting
the annoyance with which Canadian newspapers asked, "Why so perseveringly cry up Irish grievances in Canada?" the Irish patriot, Dr. O'Brennan, lecturing in Toronto and Montreal on the misfortunes of Ireland, responded that "public opinion is the lever with which national wrongs have been greatly removed," and that in Canada, where he estimated that one third of the population was Irish, "above all places he had a right to speak of Irish grievances." Repeal Associations and Catholic Defence Associations continued the struggle in behalf of Irish causes on Canadian soil. The Irish in Canada, it was claimed, would "reiterate the shout of Repeal from the forests of Canada that shall cause the enemies of Erin to fear and tremble." News of the arrest of a priest in Ireland for defamation of a land agent, prompted the Mirror to ask, "Can we in Canada help to decide this issue?" Bishop Lynch outlined the responsibilities of Irish-Canadians towards their mother country; "It may be asked what we can do in this country to redress the evils of Ireland. We can at least protest." Irish servant girls in Montreal bought Fenian bonds on the future Republic of Canada, thinking they would help "free Ireland from the yoke of British rule." Visitors home to Ireland from Canada, felt compelled to send back first hand reports of the circumstances they found there. Father Roche of Prescott reported in "burning words" of the condition of Ireland. Father Flannery reported an emotional visit to O'Connell's tomb. Bishop Lynch received a warm address of thanks from his congregation for reaffirming their bond of sympathy with their countrymen by his visit to Ireland in 1862. The sense of involvement, however, was sometimes too direct to be welcome.
In 1852, James McMahon, a pedlar, was arrested in Stanbridge, Canada West, on a warrant accusing him of having murdered a bailiff in the County Antrim, Ireland, some fifteen years before. In 1855, Simon Peter Kelly, alias Hawkins, was held in custody for indiscreetly confessing to having shot the Deputy Lieutenant of Tipperary in 1847. Others found it equally difficult to escape their past. Many Irish went into the "bush" only to find that they were still little better than "rack-rent-tenants," improving a landlord's property without reward. It was difficult for some to adjust to the idea of a new country. When asked by the magistrate, "Have you no home?" John Murphies replied, "Sure and I live in the County Kerry your honour when I'm at home." The strength of former associations brought violence as well as dislocation. William Mahon, the murderer of an old Englishwoman, was heard to shout during his brutal assault - "Wicklow forever."

In many ways, the Irish immigrants translated their situation in Canada into old country terms. Irish-newspapers interpreted Canadian politics and parties and the major constitutional issues of the day by reference to Irish experience. The Mirror rallied Irish-Canadian support for Responsible Government by equating the slogans of Repeal and Reform. It was a consoling thought, it suggested, that by joining in the Reform movement, "every humble shanty-man buried in the deep recesses of our forest wilds must now bear a part in the great work of Ireland's redemption." The Irish papers argued that both in Canada and in Ireland, identical religious and party enemies wielded power. The Mirror insisted that no true Irishman could vote for the Tories, who had
never accomplished anything for Ireland; "Irishmen will you cherish anew
those principles which were the means of driving you from your native
country?" Canadian Toryism was condemned by the New Era as the "Mimickry of old-country politics." Analogies were drawn between the cor-
rupution of the Cartier-Macdonald administration and the Irish-Tory re-
presentation at Westminster. J. L. P. O'Hanley recalled that Irish-
Canadian experiences of Toryism were "strictly in accord with its history
in unfortunate Ireland." In the Peterborough election of 1855, the
Mirror warned Irish-Catholics not to vote for the Tory candidate who, as
in Ireland, represented the prospect of "ruin, destruction and degrada-
tion to your race and creed." In turn, George Brown and his followers
suffered by association with the English Whigs. During the Haldimand
election of 1851, in which the Irish-Catholic vote was a decisive factor
in Brown's defeat, pamphlets were circulated and publicly read in
Catholic churches, warning the Irish that a vote for George Brown was a
vote for Lord John Russell and Penal Legislation; "Will you help Lord
John Russell to rivet ... spiritual chains around the souls of your own
Countrymen in Ireland? If such be your intention vote for George Brown,
for he too has declared that Popery must be put down." Arguments both
for and against Representation by Population were presented in terms of
the Irish experience of legislative union. It was a general political
rallying cry for the Irish-Canadian papers, whether their sympathies were
Reform or Conservative, strictly Catholic or ardently nationalist that the
immigrants "had the same principles to battle for here as their ancestors
so gloriously contended for on Irish soil."
The identification of familiar issues and enemies in Canada, indicated an awareness of nationality which was as much a consequence of the Irish experience as immigrants as of their sentiments of patriotic sympathy for Ireland. Nostalgia and concern for the fortunes of the "Old Country" were indications as well of the Irish need for ethnic solidarity and group cohesion within their new environment. The immigrants developed a strong sense of national community which extended throughout the whole province. D'Arcy McGee, elected to the legislature in 1857 as "member for Griffintown," claimed to represent all Irish-Canadians. "We are fighting in Griffintown," he claimed, "a battle for Irish equality." The immigrants in the larger centres, he proposed, had a responsibility to their countrymen in other parts of the country. This general concept of Irish solidarity was given practical demonstration at a local level. Irish-Catholic organized to build their own churches, schools and hospitals. St. Patrick's societies provided a forum for the expression of national sentiments and for the organization of community welfare. Collectors were appointed in Irish districts to receive contributions for the immigrant poor as well as for the relief of distress in Ireland. Local agents were financed to supervise the welfare of new arrivals. Destitute Irish children were cared for in the St. Patrick's orphan asylums and in the Catholic House of Providence. The success with which the Irish managed to sustain their institutions, despite their poverty, provided a visible symbol of their national existence. Even Irish-Catholic recreation emphasized their distinctiveness. They gathered together for organized picnics and excursions, and for large football and hurling matches. In Montreal they
fielded a conquering lacrosse team as one of their few chances of excelling in the community.  

The Irish-Catholic sense of group solidarity, was underlined by demonstrations of community loyalty against the forces of authority. Many a simple arrest developed into a battle with the police as Irishmen tried to free their countrymen from the constables. Irish-Catholics, fined for their attack on the Orange Day dinner in the St. Charles saloon, in Montreal, had their fines made up by subscription. The magistrates court in Toronto was notorious for its noisy crowd of Irish spectators who shouted encouragement and sympathy to Irish prisoners and applauded their performance in the dock. Irishmen convicted on capital charges became national martyrs. La Minerve reported that during the trial of Michael Fennell and John McKeown for murder, during a disruption of the polls in the 1844 Montreal election, the court was full of Irish, who strongly demonstrated their sympathy and support for the prisoners. The execution of a young Irish-Catholic couple, the Aylwards, for the murder of their Protestant neighbours was condemned in the Catholic press as judicial murder. Such basic expressions of community spirit were matched by a ready resentment at the idea of group betrayal. After an Irish-Catholic assault on the Protestant Fire Company in Griffintown, Irish property owners called a meeting to express their abhorrence of such conduct. The meeting had to be cancelled, however, because of unmistakable hints that "the leaders would not be allowed to whitewash themselves by meaningless resolutions at the expense of their followers, but that all must stand or fall together." The same standards were applied in a
wider context. D'Arcy McGee and James G. Moylan of the Canadian Freeman, both suffered from the stigma of having sacrificed their group loyalty to their general standing in the community. Moylan received death threats for his support for the suspension of Habeas Corpus during the Fenian scare of 1866. It was the dilemma of McGee's political career also, that many of his followers felt that "Irish class interests—the civil and religious liberties of the Irish-Catholic body" which he had been elected to defend, were being made subservient to his general duties as a legislator. In his attempts to teach the Irish their duties as Canadians, McGee was accused of forgetting his own responsibilities as an Irishman.

The consciousness of a coherent group feeling was heightened by the Irish-Catholic sense of exclusion from full participation in society. Their sense of identity increased as they perceived themselves to be the victims of bigotry and discrimination. Accounts in the Irish papers of Protestant bias, especially the influence of the Canadian Orange Order, constantly reminded them of specifically anti-Irish and anti-Catholic elements in Canadian society. The size, number and power of the Orange Lodges, especially in Toronto, were pointed to as evidence that, as in Ireland, "Irish-Catholics would have to fight the same old battles of civil and religious liberty in Catholic Canada." The dangers of Orangeism to Catholic rights and privileges was a popular political platform in the Irish-Canadian press. The influence of Orangemen on juries, their predominance in municipal government, their control of patronage, raised in the Catholic papers "the overwhelming question whether Orangeism was to become in Canada, as it was in Ireland, a
political power overawing the highest judicial and executive authorities." In "the field, in the city and in the court," warned the New Era, "Orangeism operates against the material well-being of the Irish." The True Witness, found the curse of Orangeism "more grievous in Upper Canada that it ever was in Ireland." Its menace was intensified by recalling the horrors of its history in Ireland, which were constantly paraded in the Catholic press, to stimulate Irish-Catholics to oppose Orangeism with their votes.

The virulence of Canadian Orangeism, the perpetuation of "Old Country" grievances which had no relevance to Canada, were attributed by the Irish-Catholic press to the climate of sectarian hostility maintained by the Protestant newspapers. The violent clashes between Orangemen and Irish-Catholics, the Orange attempts to blow up the Catholic House of Providence in Toronto and their threats to burn every house in Stanley Street, the exclusion of Irish-Catholics from Orange dominated townships, and the record of internecine assault and murder, were regretted as the logical outcome of the religious hatred to which Canadian Protestants were excited by the denunciation of Catholicism in their newspapers, from their pulpits, and even in their classrooms. The Globe especially, was singled out for its deliberate enmity to Irish-Catholics. George Brown was accused by the True Witness of "cleverly using the bigotry and fanaticism of 'No Popery' to build his political fortune." While appearing as "an apostle of civil and religious liberty," protested the Irish Canadian, Brown had "sown deep in Canadian soil the sectarian hate of the Old World." The Globe editorials on the separate school controversy,
and the "Papal Aggression" in England, were credited with doing more to fill the Orange Order with "unreasoning bigots" than a dozen Grand Masters. The growth of the Order intensified Irish-Catholic isolation in the community, as it attracted not only Irish Protestants but also Scottish and English recruits. Canadian Orangeism became identified in the Irish-Catholic press with the Know-Nothing nativism of the United States. The constant reiteration of the Catholic menace in the Protestant papers was blamed for raising "insurmountable barriers of separation" between Irish-Catholic and Canadian Protestants, involving them in political and social as well as religious warfare, in which the Irish-Catholics saw themselves as inevitable victims.

The Irish-Catholic press presented its readers with a full catalogue of examples of anti-Irish bias. Protestant hostility was uniformly blamed for lack of Irish-Catholic social and political influence. The Irish Canadian warned Irish-Catholic immigrants to Canada that they should be "prepared to be frowned down upon and insulted." They would find out through bitter experience, it predicted, that whether as day labourers, as artisans or as parlour maids their prospects would be dampened, their chances curtailed and the opportunities for employment lessened because of their religion. It was explained to Irish readers that in Protestant eyes they were the "pariahs of society," fated to endure "social, political and public persecution." The Irish experience in Canada was described as one of "enslavement," in which they had been "trampled on and insulted, stripped of liberty and denied justice." "Paddyism and Poperyism," complained the True Witness, were "unpardonable sins in the eyes of liberal
and enlightened Protestants." They were "a race proscribed," considered "aliens" and "ostracized as such." In a land of supposed civil and religious liberty, the Mirror protested, "why should any class or denomination be under the ban of exclusion?" Yet, the familiar strictures of "No Irish need apply," were discovered at all levels of society. Irish-Catholics claimed a lack of proper representation in Parliament because of the refusal of party leaders to accept their candidates. In the House of Commons itself, they were subject to "sneering allusions," "contemptuous language," and "constant taunts respecting our nationality." In every department of state and in the city corporations especially, the Irish press reminded its readers that there was a ban placed on them on account of their religion. In Toronto, in 1850, the Mirror indignantly noticed that the Corporation had not employed a single Irish-Catholic although they formed over a quarter of the city population. It identified an "official determination of excluding Irish-Catholics from any post of honour or emolument in the province." Irish-Catholics, it was claimed, were not included on Jury Lists, and were shut out from the Customs Department, and the Post Office and Excise Department. They were denied public contracts and municipal employment. In Montreal, the delapidated condition of Griffintown was blamed on its neglect by City Council. Councillor Donovan resigned because of prejudice against him on the council and over the deliberate exclusion of Irish-Catholics from the Fire-Company. The dismissal of Irish servant girls from even their humble occupations was blamed on the influence of the Protestant press in disseminating calumnies against the Irish character.
Protestant Ascendancy, lamented the *Mirror*, which the Irish had thought to leave behind them in Ireland, "was fully and firmly established in Canada," and manifested itself daily "in a social, political and religious sense."85

Irish-Catholic resentment at their "unfair and vigorous social and political proscription,"86 was deepened by a full sense of their contribution to Canadian economic, social and political development. The *Irish Canadian* boasted that "to no other people is the prosperity of our adopted country so much due as to the Irish," who had subdued the forest and opened the country, erected the public works and built the towns and cities.87 Protestant domination was an unjust recompense, protested the *Canadian Freeman* when "we have helped to build up your railways, to dig your canals and the soil around for inches deep is moist with our sweat."88 The lack of Irish representation in Parliament, objected the *New Era*, was a mockery of Irish numbers, industry, and their loyalty to Canadian institutions.89 Their lack of reward showed in the absence of Irish names on the map of Canada. "Let it strike at the heart of the hard-working Irish of Upper Canada," proclaimed the *New Era*, "that their very existence is blotted out by the underground ramifying English prejudice of North America."90 The *Mirror* reminded its readers that the Irish, whose bones and sinews and hard labour had converted the muddy streets of Toronto into beautiful avenues, were those who worked hardest in the community and yet were the worst paid.91 "Poor Paddy," it lamented, "how you do work your passage on the canal boat."92
Irish-Catholic feelings of social and political inequality in Canada, their sense of grievance and injustice, encouraged the aggressively nationalist Irish Canadian to declare for severance of the British connection and for annexation to the United States. In the Republic, it claimed, where Fenian leaders were free to loudly declare for the armed liberation of Ireland, there was "no parallel to the bigotry and unscrupulousness towards Irish-Catholics found in Canada West." It argued that "there do not exist half the drawbacks to the advancement of our co-religionists socially and politically in the United States that exist here," and reminded its readers that many Irish-Canadians had gone to the States "to seek that employment, appreciation and advancement which they would not find here if they remained till they rotted." Such sentiments were confident of a wide and sympathetic response among Irish-Canadians, many of whom had close ties with their countrymen in the United States. In winter, the southern cities and public works attracted a regular migration of Irish-Canadian labour who readily identified with the nationalist rhetoric of the exiled Irish patriots in the United States. The extent of popular Irish-Canadian attraction to the Republic, and sympathy with the revanchist aspirations of the American Irish, were emphatically demonstrated by their angry response to the hostile account of Irish conditions in the United States presented by D'Arcy McGee on a visit to Ireland in 1865. In a notorious and widely reported speech at Wexford, in which he claimed that the patriotic fervour of Irish-Americans grew solely from their alien position in the Republic, McGee presented a damming picture of Irish life in American cities, while extolling the wealth, happiness and prospects of
his countrymen in Canada. His account of the social and religious contentment of Irish-Canadians, their prosperity and political opportunity, at the expense of the Irish-American reputation, was fiercely repudiated by his own constituents. Hundreds of Irish in Montreal, signed a disclaimer against McGee's euphoric comparison of Irish-Canadian progress with the moral degradation and material decline of the Irish in America. A flood of letters to the Irish Canadian insisted on the well-being of the immigrants in the Republic in direct contrast to their experience in Canada. Father Beausang claimed that Irish-Canadians were leaving in their thousands for the United States. "In Canada," he stated, "there is poverty, depression and discouragement." The overcrowding, poverty and wretchedness of Irish city districts, the hundreds of "stalwart" but unemployed Irish on the streets of Toronto and Montreal, the distress caused by Protestant bigotry, and the prejudice against the Irish, even in Catholic Lower Canada, were presented as a sorry contrast to the refuge and success which the Irish had found in the United States.

The more conservative Irish-Catholic press in Canada, however, agreed with McGee in his criticisms of life in the United States. In contrast to the "democratic despotism" of the Protestant Republic, Irish editors were concerned to convince their readers that despite injustices toward them, Irish-Catholics enjoyed many advantages in Canada. The attraction was not economic. The True Witness appealed to prospective immigrants to stay in Ireland if they possibly could, since the challenging climate of Canada, their own weak physical condition, and the lack of employment for unskilled labour created "a fearful amount of
pauperism."  

It insisted, however, that if an Irishman had to emigrate, then Canada possessed "peculiar advantages" over the United States "in a moral and religious point of view." Although Canadian Protestants, it admitted, were, "it is true, quite as bad, quite as ready to persecute Catholics as are the Know-Nothings in the United States" they were not as numerous, and thanks to the Catholic population and the "high moral tone" of Lower Canada, they were "in a great measure incapacitated from giving full play to their Protestant bigotry." The Irish clergy expressed general alarm at the threat to religion and morality in the United States. Bishop Lynch, in a letter to the *Dublin Freeman*, warned Irish immigrants against the dangers of life in the Republic, where "they pass from the landing stages like a torrent of rain into the sewers of society." Father Dowd, at the consecration of the corner-stone of St. Anne's church in Griffintown, in 1851, pointed out "the many mercies for which the Irish in Canada have abundantly cause to be thankful," in contrast to the oppressed condition of their countrymen in the United States. The *True Witness* argued, moreover, that "even upon secular and political grounds" Irish-Catholics were better off in Canada than in the Republic because of the security which monarchical institutions provided against mob violence and mob persecution." Nativist outrages against the Irish in American cities, prompted the *Mirror* to see no alternative for the Irish but a speedy escape to Canada, where rational laws gave safety and protection. Despite the difficulties due to their minority position in Canada West, it asserted, Catholics in Canada, had "more liberties and privileges than in Ireland, the Eastern States or even in France."
Bernard Devlin, President of the Montreal Young Men's St. Patrick's Association, reminded the Irish that their "exile" in Canada was "exempt from that despotic oppression which renders it almost unendurable by our expatriated countrymen in the neighbouring Republic." Paradoxically, British rule, which even the most conservative Irish-Canadian opinion denounced as deleterious in Ireland, was accepted in Canada as a protection and guarantee of Irish-Catholic hopes for social and political equality, against the extreme Protestant bigotry of "Yankeeism." In Canada, promised the True Witness, despite all their difficulties, the Irish had the opportunity to exercise an influence and command a consideration which was "utterly impossible" to the Irish in the United States.

The Irish papers recognized, however, that if in Canada Irish-Catholics were the potential equals of other national and religious groups in political and economic strength and in social prestige, the burden of proof was on them. Editorials persistently blamed the Irish-Catholic community itself for its social, economic and political retardation. "As in Ireland, so in Canada," accused the True Witness, "the grievances of which Catholics complain are the direct result of our own cowardice, our own laziness, our own treason and our own corruption." Lack of political influence was blamed on the Irish inability to take a decided and consistent stand on issues which concerned them. Instead of impressing their political enemies with their numerical strength, ran the complaint at election time, the Irish allowed themselves to be used. They were too easily convinced, scorned the True Witness, by harangues at the
hustings and electioneering intrigues, by "bombastic appeals to the 'Irish vote' and the 'Irish interest.'"

When choosing parties, lamented the Canadian Freeman, they were influenced by local considerations, personal motives or bar-room politicians, without considering the group interest or inquiring into policy or principles. "Ours is the only nationality in Canada," it declared, "that has allowed its strength and unity to be impaired by knaves and demagogues." It castigated those Irish-Catholics who made their countrymen a "laughing-stock," by allowing themselves to be "misled and duped and sold by those who make sport of their gullibility, and capital of their prejudices." To make themselves respected, insisted the New Era, Irishmen had to prove that their vote was "worth more than a glass of whiskey." On voting day, mocked the Mirror, half the Irish in Toronto would hide under their beds, and the other half would get drunk, make fools of themselves and side with the winning party.

As damning to the social and political prestige of the Irish community as this blameworthy susceptibility to political manipulation, was its reticence in bringing forward its own candidates for office. The Mirror scorned that the Irish in Toronto would never have the courage to bring out a candidate as long as they "did not dare to think for themselves or dare not be ashamed of being Irish." The Canadian Freeman rejected "stereotyped" Catholic complaints at their lack of representation in Parliament, arguing that the fault was greatly with the Irish themselves, since those who felt they were suitable candidates, failed to take the proper steps to gain influence and popularity. No political leader, it argued, could be expected "to ring the bell in every county and riding and
shout out "is there any Catholic here who wishes to go into Parliament, if so let him show himself and that is enough." Lack of ambition was a common criticism of the Irish community by its newspapers. The *Mirror* recognized that "we have too low an estimate of our abilities, and far too many consider themselves to be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.'" This self-effacement, it realized, was induced by "that inferiority to which we have been accustomed in poor Ireland." "But," it insisted, "we must shake off this lethargy, we must assume a lofty and manly attitude. We must write, speak, agitate until we convince our rulers of our determination to be placed upon an equality with all other men, no matter of what creed or country." Under the headline "Aspire," even the *Irish Canadian*, usually so willing to see the Irish as victims, exhorted the immigrants to be "ambitious, work hard and persevere." It warned its readers that bigotry and prejudice were not the only obstacles to social and political advancement, but that effort and endurance had much to do with success. "With what intensity of zeal and effort," it demanded, should not an Irish-Catholic in Canada, "strike out into the current of everyday life to show the blindness of the prejudice that opposes him and the undeservedness of the social contempt in which he is often held." That the Irish-Catholic did not "stand on even terms with others" it acknowledged, was evident in many ways, but it admitted as well that "the fault is as much our own perhaps as anybody else's and we desire to remove it." A common theme in all the Irish-Canadian newspapers was that Irish-Catholics were themselves to blame for their social inferiority,
because of their inability to demonstrate their common identity through political unity. The Irish vote was frequently split by opposing Irish-Catholic candidates standing in the Reform or Conservative interest, but claiming a primary allegiance as Irishmen. Clashes between rival Irish factions were a violent aspect of Montreal elections in the eighteen-sixties. In 1861, McGee's supporters attacked the hustings against the Irish candidate Thomas Ryan, former President of the St. Patrick's Society. In the 1867 elections for the Dominion Parliament, in which Bernard Devlin ran against McGee as the Irishman's candidate, Devlin's supporters violently broke up McGee's meetings. Editorials and letters persistently denounced this spirit of faction and controversy as damaging both to Irish social character and to their political strength. The Catholic Citizen protested that Irish energy was "frittered away in petty bickerings," whereas, if the Irish could concentrate their energies "upon the advancement of our own peculiar welfare as a peculiar people we should form less of the floating population of the country than we do today." A letter to the New Era asserted that if the Irish could only show a common front, they could "do something to elevate ourselves to the level of those around us who have hitherto dared to asperse our public character ... and treat us with studied contempt." The Irish Canadian lamented that the Irish in Canada "have always permitted their feuds and jealousies to destroy their legitimate power if not their identity." They were warned that they would never obtain a proper share in the public administration "until we make up our minds to unite our power instead of pulling in opposite directions, for then only will
the effect of our force be felt and the directions of our union made happy."

The Irish-Canadian press and public leaders demonstrated an urgent concern to inform Irish-Catholics of their political potential, to teach the Irish public to "properly value the importance of their position." Bernard Devlin's proposal in 1854 for the combination of all the St. Patrick's Societies in the province into one organization under a single direction was widely applauded. Such an alliance, it was urged, would "show that we are determined to be judges of our own conduct." "If we are but true to ourselves," Devlin promised, "we have it within our power to attain a position which must always command respect and guarantee the faithful observance of our rights." The Irish were encouraged to assert themselves, to assume a more independent position and to express their group identity through the franchise. D'Arcy McGee warned that "we cannot rise simply by wishing it to a position of political equality." Above all, it was necessary for the Irish to organize. For want of a proper political organization, proclaimed Devlin, Irish influence was "uselessly if not injuriously exercised and almost invariably ungenerously acknowledged." The Catholic Institutes especially, supported the press in its task of giving the immigrants lessons in political education. At the formation of the parent institute in Toronto in 1851, it was resolved to promote "such a perfection of organization and such unity of action on the part of the Catholics as will insure to them their proper weight at the hustings . . . and thereby procure a fair representation of their views and wishes in all the elective
bodies of the country." The Institute, explained the *Mirror*, would act as a guide to the political movements of the day, showing the right party for Irish-Catholics to support when Catholic principles were involved. This concern to organize Irish voting strength was especially apparent in the efforts of the Institute and the press to acquaint the immigrants with their position following the lowering of the franchise qualification in 1854. "When the enlarged franchise comes into operation" predicted the *Mirror*, "Irish electoral power will be overwhelming." The *True Witness*, which regularly published an "Irish Catholic Voters' Guide," exhorted its readers to use their votes with firmness, discretion, and in the proper direction. "Throw not one vote away," it urged, "in the ward, in the municipality or in the county. It is in your own hands to make both be felt." The terms on which voting was allowed were carefully pointed out to secure proper Catholic conduct at the polls. Specifically political Irish organizations were formed to promote Irish political solidarity. In the Toronto election of 1858, an attempt was made to organize an Irish-Catholic voting bloc. In Lower Canada, Associations of "Friendly Sons of St. Patrick" were accused of "securing influence for electioneering purposes" through the threatening tactics of Ribbonism. In Upper Canada, "The Irish Society of Canada," more ambitiously and more peacefully, planned a series of county and grand conferences "to diffuse sound political information" as the basis of "Irish enlightenment and Irish advancement."

Through the organization of Irish-Catholic voting strength, the Irish press hoped to impress the rival political parties with the
importance of cultivating and rewarding Irish-Catholic support. "We must inspire fear if not affection in our public men" advised the New Era. The effectiveness of the Irish vote was stressed accordingly. The Mirror warned "that without the assistance of the Catholics, the Reformers of Upper Canada as a party would be utterly powerless." In the struggle over Representation by Population, the True Witness was confident that victory would rest with that party to which Irish influence was given. In Upper Canada at Confederation, the Canadian Freeman, boasted that the Irish-Catholics could decide an election contest in no less than thirty constituencies, on whatever side they cast their vote. The Irish press kept a careful file of Irish election victories. The defeat of George Brown in the 1861 election in Toronto, and the sweeping Conservative gains in that year were accredited to the change of Irish allegiance, as was the Conservative defeat in the Leeds election of 1864 and the return of Isaac Buchanan for Hamilton. The Hibernian Benevolent Society of Toronto, exuberantly claimed to be able to bring down the government by its control of Irish voting strength. Such confidence in their united political ability, and the uncomfortable dilemma of choice between the anti-Catholic and anti-Irish "Clear Grits" and the Orange based Tory party, even encouraged the idea of an exclusively Irish-Catholic political party in Canada. The Irish Canadian avowed its determination "to stand clear of local political parties and to urge the unity of our countrymen for their own advantage." Irish candidates for office were instructed to stand as national representatives and not compromise themselves by "place-begging," which had been in Ireland, "the
prostration of her national dignity." They could serve their countrymen better, the paper argued, by staying in the ranks as fellow workers. Those who objected to a lack of government situations for the Irish, it protested, were simply contributing to the system by which their real strength was ignominiously bartered and destroyed. 

In general, however, the Irish papers were anxious that Irish-Catholics should not invite hostility by singling themselves out in a political grouping which might only consolidate all Protestant opposition. The Mirror warned that an Irish-Catholic combination would only encourage an anti-Catholic party of exceptional strength and advised Catholics to vote for any candidate who proved favourable to Irish interests. The Irish-Catholic press took the responsibility of identifying for the Irish public the existence and exact nature of such interests. Each election issue and proposal for constitutional reform was viewed from a peculiarly Irish perspective. The press applauded, accordingly, the intention of an Irish-Catholic political Convention in Toronto in 1867, to establish a fair and equal representation of Irish-Catholics under Confederation. The conservative Irish editors denied, however, that such a result could be brought about by the "ostracism and exclusiveness" of a separate Irish-Catholic organization. The lack of Irish influence, recognition and reward in Canadian political life, could be best remedied, the Irish newspapers taught, by the pressure they could exert on existing parties, as an organized, informed and united body. This attitude was more than a practical assessment of political realities. It demonstrated a willingness to view Canadian politics with a wider vision than that of group
interest. The idea of an Irish party for political purposes, recognized the Mirror, "is scarcely desirable . . . for it would be bringing to bear on Canadian questions an extraneous influence of very questionable justice." 157

Irish-Catholic ambitions for political respectability were supported by the concern expressed by editors and community leaders for their social reputation. A dominant theme in all the Irish-Catholic newspapers was their intention to "improve" the Irish, to teach them a spirit of industry, self-reliance and respectability, while fighting for their rights. The Mirror recognized that many Canadians regarded the Irish as "guided by impulses and by moral rules of conduct different from those which direct their fellow subjects." 158 The Irish press, in its campaign for Irish social and political advancement, was sensitive to the truth behind such an estimate. The Irish Canadian stated its resolve to make the Irishman in Canada "lose the bad habits which stick and are hard to eradicate," proclaiming that "our great object of course, must be, as a people cast here among many others, to gain respect." 159 The Mirror professed that "our dearest object is the elevation of our national character," and the "enlargement of the moral standing and general reputation of our countrymen." 160 The Irish press exhibited great sensitivity to the public estimation of Irish character. The New Era, for instance, complained at the large attendance of Irish at plays and performances which presented English caricatures of Irish behaviour. D'ArCY McGee stormed out of one such performance. 161 Irish papers were quick to condemn behaviour which further contributed to the unfavourable Irish stereotype.
Editors who were loyal to the idea of Irish Home Rule were hostile to Fenianism because it confirmed the popular image of the Irish as an immature, undignified and impractical people. The image they preferred was described by the *True Witness*. The truly patriotic Irishman, it suggested, is "he who sets a living example of integrity, sobriety and of unostentatious piety and Christian charity in Canada."\(^{162}\)

Irish editors especially condemned the Irish perpetuation in Canada of their reputation for violence. Complaining of the traditional fighting on St. Patrick's Day and July the Twelfth, the *Mirror* protested that "it is impolitic in the parties concerned to degrade their own character—national and social—by their disgraceful conduct."\(^{163}\) All Irishmen were exhorted to forget old enmities for the sake of peace in their new home, and for the benefit of Irish social standing in general. Editorials which sympathized with the justice of Catholic grievances against Orange aggression, nevertheless denounced their internecine feuding. "Shame!" cried the *Mirror*, "that Irishmen should be the corroding cancer of their adopted country, and cause the rest of the world to despise them because they despise each other and trample on them because they trample on each other."\(^{164}\) "We can never be respected as a people," it warned, "so long as we live at enmity among ourselves."\(^{165}\) It reminded Irishmen that in Canada they enjoyed all the blessings of rational freedom; that they were protected and encouraged by the laws, and that the least return they could make for such benefits was to be orderly and peaceable.\(^{166}\) The President of the Toronto St. Patrick's Society in 1859, urged Irish-Catholics to make the symbolic sacrifice of foregoing their public
processions, arguing that nothing could do more to advance their social and political condition than to abandon these displays—"for the sake of example, for the sake of proving to our Protestant countrymen that we are lovers of peace . . . ready to surrender a fondly cherished observance for the general good of Canada." The Irish papers bitterly denounced the riots of labourers on the public works as bringing opprobrium on Irish-Catholics in general. The *Mirror* suggested that "cheap, short but expressive addresses" be distributed among the labourers to enlighten them "as to the disgrace their conduct reflects on Ireland." It was optimistic that Irishmen would live in harmony if they were only made aware of the "horrible jests and fiendish taunts" to which their faction fights gave currency and of "the glow of delight with which newspaper editors chronicle their faults to the world."

Intemperance was identified as a major obstacle to Irish social progress. "If the graves of the Irish in Canada could yawn and give up their dead," remonstrated the *Mirror*, "what a story of poverty and misery, the result of an excessive use of whiskey, would fall upon the ears of the living." A "perusal of the Police Reports and chapters of accidents in various cities," provoked dismay at the "flood of misfortunes" produced by the Irish "Whiskey Devil." The *Mirror* produced regular tables of the names of Irish arrested for drunkenness and the amount of fines paid, in a long campaign to impress the value of sobriety on the Irish community. It deplored the frequency with which Irishmen threw away a week's labour to pay for being drunk and disorderly, condemning the waste of money as a betrayal of group interests. Apart from the
general misery, accidents and violence induced by whiskey, the money lost in fines was an amount of capital, which, if placed in the Catholic Savings Bank, would add greatly to the general wealth of the Irish community. Thomas Barry, of the Toronto Total Abstinence Society, exhorted Irishmen to "wipe away that foul national stigma that is so long attached to our national character as the "drunken Irish." He regretted that the immigrants seemed to be "indifferent to the blessings of temperance." Instead of saving their earnings and becoming prosperous and industrious, they were compelled to live a life of poverty because of their addiction to the tavern. Drink was also blamed for Irish unemployment. Father Fitzhenry, a leading advocate of Irish temperance in Toronto, explained that "during the summer the drunkard labours and drinks. When winter brings scarcity of work he is discharged because of his unsteady disposition." Temperance orators spoke of the respectability and high standing which the Irish might claim in Canada, were they to avoid intemperance and its concomitant evils. The message seemed to have its effect. The Irish temperance societies reported huge enrollments. In one year the Montreal St. Patrick's Total Abstinence Society reported twelve hundred and fifty-one new members. In Toronto, the St. Patrick's Temperance Society stamped its character on St. Patrick's Day celebrations, organizing Temperance Pic-Nics and "dry" national dinners. Not all recruits or even their mentors persevered against temptation. The Witness reported with malicious relish the arrest of an Irish temperance preacher, found drunk in the gutter. Yet, increasing Irish sobriety was a phenomenon which contemporaries thought worth of remark. Father Buckley was assured
by Father Dowd that he had not seen a drunken Irishman for five years. He confirmed himself that he had not seen any signs of over-indulgence on St. Patrick's Day. "This is very creditable to our people," he was gratified to report, "and clearly proves that there is nothing in the national character incompatible with temperance." As much as they were concerned to "improve" the Irish social status, however, the Irish-Canadian newspapers were loyal in the defense of their national character. While deploring the consequences of intemperance, Irish editors emphasized that its origins were not in any innate Irish disposition to drink, but in the enforced idleness and wretchedness of peasant life in Ireland, and in the misery and dislocation of their adjustment as immigrants. The same causes mitigated the Irish reputation for lawlessness. The Irish Canadian explained that "those who are driven from their native land with all the old ties rent asunder, wretched and destitute, fall rapidly into intemperance, and from thence the downward path is easy." It was not surprising, suggested the Canadian Freeman that the Irish "in their deep distress and in their hour of dejection" should yield "to the weakness which for the most part causes them to figure in the police courts." The Irish press strongly objected, therefore, to the alacrity with which the Protestant press emphasized Irish criminality without any explanation of the causes which led to their offences. The True Witness insisted that few of the Irish who appeared in court were guilty of anything more than poverty, and that the majority of Irish "criminals" were simply the hungry and the homeless, in need of protection rather than punishment. Yet, protested the Canadian Freeman,
"to palliate in any manner the faults of the offenders would not suit the purposes of the "Globe," since, "the slur upon the Irish would thereby lose its malice and point."  

In their defence of the Irish against their criminal stereotype, the Catholic newspapers were particularly resentful of the treatment they received in the police court reports of the Protestant press. The New Era complained of the keeping of a "Calendar of Crime by Nationality," in which only the Irish were identified. "We hear nothing of the nationality of 'McGaffrey' or 'Cummins,' it protested. "But if in any corner of the Province or any back street of the City, a scoundrel with an Irish name commits an outrage, his crime is at once gazetted, not only as his, but in some way or other connected with national principles or causes." A letter to the Leader objected to the "continual flings" against the Irish which appeared daily in the police court reports of the Globe. Such was the Globe's malice, the writer protested, that "it frequently occurs that when a Scotchman is arrested his nationality is changed to Irish."  

The Mirror deplored the press habit of singling out the Irish and "attributing to them faults and failings which are common to mankind, as if they alone were guilty and degenerate."  

Irish protestations at this malicious enlargement of their criminal reputation included a vigorous denial of the validity of the criminal lists in which they figured so prominently. The Canadian Freeman remonstrated against "the cordial unanimity that influences all Protestant prison officials to seize every opportunity of blackening the character of the Irish community by fraudulent criminal statistics."  

The lists of Irish criminals which
provided the Protestant press with so much ammunition against their religion and nationality, were claimed to be falsely augmented by separately recording the repeated committals of habitual Irish offenders, a practice which conspired to distort the law-abiding character of the Irish community in general. \(^{190}\) Toronto Gaoler Allen, who was also Orange Grand Master, was accused, moreover of attributing to Catholics a large proportion of the crimes committed by his Orange confederates. Some of the Irish in gaol in Toronto, the *Canadian Freeman* asserted, had even been duped by whiskey into getting arrested so as to add a "reinforcement for the stone and hammer heap," since the gaoler was allowed to pocket the proceeds of stones broken by convict labour. Certainly, it insisted, the Irish were "infinitely more sinned against than sinning."\(^{191}\)

The panacea for Irish poverty, crime and intemperance, their release from social and economic victimization, the salvation of their national character and the general basis for their material and moral development was uniformly considered by the Irish press to be their rejection of city life and wage labour, and their return to the land. Settlement on their own farms, promised the *True Witness*, would rescue the Irish "from that physical, social and moral degradation to which they are as much condemned in the new as in the Old World."\(^{192}\) A "Canadian Directory for Promoting Catholic Settlement" was organized in 1856 to help the Irish take advantage of the public land released for settlement, by the Government, in the Ottawa valley.\(^{193}\) The Irish press regularly published information as to the best locations for settlement and gave advice on land clearance and early survival. New immigrants
were constantly urged to move immediately into the country rather than hover about the cities and public works. Whereas the Protestant press blamed the Irish for many of the social problems of their growing cities, the Catholic newspapers reversed the roles. They shared the same idealization of the rural and pastoral life, but while the Protestant papers intended that settlement on the land would develop in the Irish the habits and character of Canadians, Irish leaders sought to consolidate and protect the Irish national and religious identity. "Our people are, and have been, for the most part, given to agricultural pursuits," claimed the *True Witness*, "and it was never safe to expose them to the contaminating influence of an over-crowded, sweltering city . . . for ours are a people ever prone to imitate and fall in with the prevailing habits of their associates." Catholic editorials exhorted the immigrants to "the speedy occupation of the soil," extolled the dignity of agricultural labour and the "beatitudes of a settler's life," in comparison to the easy temptations and "pestiferous atmosphere" of the city, and praised a rural existence as contributing most to health, happiness and independence. Work on the land was advocated as affording the best opportunity both for individual advancement and Irish social progress in general. By giving the "poor, homeless exiles an interest in the soil" urged Father O'Brian of St. Anne's, "they will become steady sober and industrious . . . they will become in short a body of comfortable and respectable yeomanry." On the land, proclaimed the *Mirror*, "instead of being the ignominy of their country," the Irish in Canada would become again, "a bold peasantry, their country's pride." Situated permanently in their own homesteads,
they would "add strength and numbers to the Irish interest." The rights of ownership would raise them to an "equality with their fellow men, whose labourers they have hitherto been." In agricultural employment, the Irishman would learn "the habits of economy and prudence" instead of exposing himself to the "baneful and pernicious influence of a life on the canal or railroad." The Irish labourers on the public works were considered to be "politically but cyphers and morally a disgrace." On the soil of Canada, however, their energies could be directed to purposes of usefulness and profit. The Irishman who went on to the land could secure for himself an independent estate instead of becoming "an outcast on the public works, where he was nothing but an object of scorn." The Mirror exhorted the Irish to "flee the cities of the plain to the undulations of a land overflowing with milk and honey, in peace and productive labour."

The preoccupation of Irish-Catholic editors, priests and public leaders with the physical and moral welfare of the Irish community, and their concern for its social standing, was clearly expressed in the emphasis they placed on the importance of general education. The message was proclaimed on the St. Patrick's Day banner which stood on the altar between the banners of Temperance and the Irish Harp--"Knowledge is Power." The Irish response to the denial of their rights to separate school funds in the eighteen-fifties, indicates their cultural solidarity in the interests of the education of their children. A vital object of the Ladies' Catholic Benevolent Society in Toronto, for instance, was to provide for Irish children unable to attend school for want of clothes. In its first year of organization, in 1854, it distributed three hundred items of clothing to Catholic children and forty-four pairs
of shoes. There was an immediate concern as well, however, for the needs of Irish-Catholic adults and young men. The Catholic Institutes especially, were intended to give Irish-Catholics a chance "to cultivate their social and intellectual qualities," through popular lectures on social and political economy, circulating libraries and reading-rooms. A manifesto from the Toronto Catholic Institute, urging the formation of similar societies throughout the province, declared that Protestant disregard for Catholics in Canada was due to the fact that their impressions were derived "from having come more frequently in contact with the humbler and less enlightened of our co-religionists." The basic motivation behind the idea of Catholic Institutes was the acknowledgement that this ignorance had retarded Irish-Catholic social progress. Catholic intellect needed to be properly equipped to counteract Protestant prejudices. The President of the Catholic Institute in St Thomas exhorted Irish-Catholics to advance their social position. He asked if they were "so degenerate as to remain content to be pointed at by the finger of scorn as the ignorant, uneducated Irish-Catholics, fit for no position in society unless to excavate hills, dig canals or carry the hod," while "all other sects are endeavouring to improve themselves" and by so doing "leave us in the shade and attribute the cause to the religion we profess."

The value placed by the Irish community on self-improvement was demonstrated by the success of the Juvenile Catholic Library Association of Toronto, founded in 1847, and later taken over by the Young Mens' St. Patrick's Association. In 1856, it was described as "in the zenith of its power and influence." From a membership of a hundred and twenty in
its first year, it reached its peak in 1853, when a collection of six hundred books was purchased solely by penny subscriptions from youths under twenty-one. "Whatever of intelligence, of learning, of intellect, self-reliance and national pride, the Catholic youth of Toronto have acquired, acknowledged the Mirror, "have been in great part drawn from the shelves and social meetings of this pioneer society." The break-up of the Toronto Catholic Youths' Debating Society in 1855, caused the Mirror some anxiety. It feared that the eagerness of young Irish-Catholics for intelligence would lead them to "obtain the desired instruction by attending lectures and joining in debate" at Protestant societies, "where their faith and the country of their ancestors are held up to ridicule." The Irish press was particularly concerned at the choice facing young Irish-Catholics, between attending Protestant Evening Schools, or spending their nights "in dancing parties, saloons etc." The Mirror called for the establishment of Irish-Catholic Evening Schools to meet the demand. In the meantime, the Irish were exhorted to participate in the literary and social activities of the St. Patrick's Association, whose library and news-room, regular debates, lectures, essays and recitations, would instill "better tastes and more profitable habits." A letter to the Canadian Freeman from "A Working Irishman and Member," proclaimed: "Thus will the spirit of emulation stir within them--thus will the love of their race be cherished and honour acquired for themselves and for us." The importance attached by the Irish community to self-improvement, the stress placed by its leaders on respectability, were a conscious
refutation of the popular fear of the Irish as a social menace. The concern of Irish editors to locate the immigrants in peaceful and prosperous settlement on the land, away from the debilitating influences of the city and public-works, and their attempts at political education and organization, indicate, indeed, an awareness of social mobility which militated against any tolerance for social disorder. Irish leaders preached, rather, a sense of Irish mission in Canada which denounced any cause for perpetuating their unfavourable public image. The *New Era* reminded the immigrants that "in order to create a respect for the land from which they have come, let their conduct among strangers be of such a nature as to command respect." A letter to the *True Witness* claimed that "If any influence for the good old land is required it is by our own social weight alone we can exercise it." The *Mirror* exhorted Irishmen to remember that in Canada they had the opportunity to "offer a sound proof to our fellow subjects of the empire and to the whole world the soundness of our country's claims to be treated with consideration and respect." They had a duty, it insisted, to demonstrate that Ireland suffered from "bad government" and "vicious laws," by showing that "the so-called lazy, improvident Irish peasantry, who could not procure food enough to preserve life, or clothes enough to cover their bodies in their own country," could succeed in Canada. The prosperity and progress of the Irish in Canada, argued the *Canadian Freeman*, would prove that "there is nothing in the nature of Irishmen to prevent them from making their country prosperous and happy." M. W. Kirwan, successor to George Clerk as editor of the *True Witness*, urged that "we Catholics and
Irishmen of Canada should do all we can to build up here a power becoming our mission—to prove that our national altar and our national life is free from stain." In Canada, Irishmen could "repel the doctrine that there is no hope left for Ireland's nationality."

In vindication of their assertion that, given responsible government and equal rights and opportunities, the Irish could become leading and responsible citizens, there was a vital insistence in the Irish-Canadian newspapers on the loyalty of the immigrants to Canadian institutions. In reply to the expression of public doubt and fears of an inherent Irish disposition to social and political insubordination, Irish editors repeatedly stressed the loyal record of the Irish in Canada, referring back to their demonstration of allegiance in 1837 to prove the injustice of their rebellious reputation. During the months when the Trent affair of 1861 threatened war with the United States the Irish communities in Toronto and Montreal volunteered to organize their own, exclusively Irish regiments in their desire to emphasize their loyalty by acting as a body. Yet, their declarations of loyalty to Canada did not diminish their criticism of British rule in Ireland. The aspirations of Fenianism for the liberation of Ireland received a general sympathy in the Irish-Canadian newspapers, until they threatened the security of Canada. Irish editors easily reconciled the seeming incompatibility of Irish affirmations of loyalty to British rule in Canada and their denunciations of its presence in Ireland. The constant theme in editorial discussion of Irish problems and in St. Patrick's Day speeches was "Give to Ireland what Canada has." The Irish papers proclaimed that Irish contentment
with conditions in Canada was condemnation in itself of circumstances in Ireland. By making their appeal for Irish freedom from a basis of appreciation of their liberties in Canada, the immigrants claimed to be demonstrating their loyalty as Canadians.

There was no recognition in the Irish-Canadian newspapers, therefore, of a contradiction between their encouragement of Irish national identity, and the development of the sympathies of the immigrants as Canadians. The assertion of Irish national consciousness, indeed, signified an acceptance of those social values which the immigrants were thought to threaten. Irish sensitivity to the existence of prejudice as an impediment to their full and equal participation in Canadian public and political life, sprang from their ambition to demonstrate that there was nothing incompatible between Irish nationality as such, and the achievement of economic and social respectability. Yet, by its criticisms of those aspects of Irish behaviour in Canada, which injured their social and political standing, the Irish press further contributed to the hostile perception of the immigrants in the Protestant newspapers. At times, the Irish press, which existed to defend and advance the Irish reputation, became its worst enemy. By reminding the Irish that they should be temperate, and in exhorting them to peaceful relations with their neighbours and with each other, Irish editors admitted that many of the Irish were drunkards and that many were violent. By encouraging the immigrant to a life on the land they underlined the problems of their urban existence. In debating the criminal statistics, they emphasized the poor, homeless and wretched condition of Irish immigrants, thus confirming their degraded
position at the bottom of the social heap. In urging the Irish to unity, they acknowledged that at most times they were disunited. Above all, by pointing out to the Irish in Canada why they should be loyal to their new home, Irish newspapers increased suspicions that many were not. In its appeals to a sense of Irish nationality, therefore, as a basis for adopting standards of behaviour which would improve the image of the immigrants, the Irish press only succeeded in arming those prejudices which confirmed their inferior status.

Yet, Irish social aspirations in Canada, depended on the full assertion of an Irish group identity. By demonstrating its national strength, respectability and influence, the Irish community hoped to achieve an equality of social prestige and political recognition. The assertion of Irish group consciousness, by appeals to past experiences and present responsibilities, represented neither a stubborn retention of Old Country associations, nor a rejection of Irish duties as Canadians. It demonstrated, rather, a sense of Irish frustration at their political, economic and social exclusion and their eagerness to participate more fully in Canadian public and political life. Irish editors urged that it was not at all contrary to their duty as Canadians for the Irish to advance their cause as a nationality, since the Irish community could best contribute to Canada by working to improve its own condition and to elevate its own standard. It was the paradox of Irish newspaper attitudes towards immigrant adjustment in Canada that the national and religious distinctions, which helped keep the immigrants apart from the wider community, were encouraged and maintained by their press as the means of demanding equality within it.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1 Mirror, March 14, 1856.

2 Irish Canadian, Sept. 13, 1865.

3 Ibid., Jan 28, 1863.

4 See Mirror, Feb. 22, 1850, for advertisement by Cosgrove's bookstore, announcing the arrival of pamphlets by the Irish exile O'Donohue.

5 The titles of these serials, indicate the patriotic nature of the Irish-Canadian literary diet; The Fortunes of Colonel Torlogh O'Brien; A Tale of Aughrim and the Boyne, (New Era, Nov. 1857); Kenny Kilfoy or Murder will Out; A thrilling tale of peasant life, (True Witness, May 1858); Shawn na Sogarth; or the Priest Hunter; an Irish Tale of Penal Times, (Ibid, Aug. 1860); Crohore of the Bill Hook, (Ibid., Oct., 1862); Tales of the Jury Room, (Canadian Freeman, July, 1858); Con Cregan the Irish Gil Blas, (Irish Canadian, March, 1869); The Catholic Soldier, (Mirror, Sept. 1850).

6 Irish plays were a popular item of entertainment in mid-Victorian Toronto and Montreal. Many appealed to both Irish and English audiences. The Irish were moved by the representation of themes of eviction, fidelity, oppression and emigration, while English audiences enjoyed the generally pathetic or comical delineation of Irish character. The following presentations were a standard part of the repertoire of Canadian theatre companies; Ireland and America; An Irishman's Heart; Colleen Bawn; Ireland as it Was; Kathleen Mavourneen; Kate Kearney; Katy O'Shiel; Arrah na Pogue; The Green Bushes; Wild Oats; The Limerick Boy; Robert Emmett; The Irish Tutor; The Rose of Killarney; The Irish Emigrant; Peep O'Day; The Irish Lion; The Irish Attorney; The Irish Cousins. There are several testimonies to the effect of these plays on the Irish community. A witness at the trial of James Whelan for the murder of D'Arcy McGee, testified that Boucicault's Arrah na Pogue, which Whelan had seen in Montreal in 1867, had had a disturbing effect on him; "The play's about hanging a man for 'the wearing of the Green,' and that roused Whelan." See T. P. Slattery, They Got to Find Mee Guilty Yet, (Doubleday Canada Ltd., Toronto 1972), p. 144. For evidence of the emotions roused at a concert of Irish songs, see the account by "Terry Finnegan," of Jack Dillon being raised to such a pitch by the singing of "Garryowen," that he got into a fight with another Catholic, who he mistakenly thought was whistling the "Protestant Boys." Letters of Terry Finnegan to the Hon. D'Arcy McGee, (Toronto, 1864). The Toronto Irish showed great enthusiasm in May 1852, at the arrival of the famed
Irish singer Catherine Hayes—"the Swan of Erin," the "Sweet Warbler of the Channon." There was an even greater attendance on her second night because of the "sneering criticism," of the Globe, who "could not conceal his anti-Irish bile," and was "rash enough to spit forth a little of it at Miss Hayes, thereby displaying at once the extent of his ignorance and his national prejudices." See Mirror, May 28, 1852.

7 Buckley, pp. 50-51.

8 See for example, Mirror, Sept. 18, 1846. The lectures in Montreal of Mr. Mooney, the Irish historian, were reported as gripping his audience "by the generous and impassioned sympathy which he exhibits for the land of his birth, its glory and its wrongs." See also the True Witness, May 11, 1860, for the address of Father Farrell to the St. Patrick's Literary Association on the subject of 'Ireland as she has been—as she is—as she ought to be.'

9 Globe, June 29; July 18, 1863, reported that the Irish Relief Committee in Toronto had collected over $1,000. The Leader, Jan. 23, 1862, reported that the Irish Relief Committee in Montreal subscribed $900, on the spot. The Montreal Irish Relief Fund, raised over $3,000, to be sent to Ireland. See True Witness, Jan. 24, 1862. The Mirror reported, March 5, 1847, that "some of the collectors have stated that they have received money from many to whom they felt more inclined to offer aid."

10 See the New Era, Sept. 22, 1857. Father Michael Duggan from Longford, Athlone, was collecting contributions in Montreal for his church back home. The Irish Canadian, Dec. 30, 1863, published a circular from St. Brigid's orphanage, Dublin, asking for assistance.

11 See the headline in the True Witness, Aug. 20, 1852—"Massacre of people at Sixmilebridge by the Military." On Sept. 17, 1852, it editorialized in vitriolic terms on the English soldiers, "transfixing with their bayonets the Popish dog for presuming to look cross at his Anglo-Saxon lord and master."

12 James M. McCarroll, Ridgeway, (Buffalo, 1868), p. 232.

13 Irish Canadian, Feb. 17, 1869. Dr. O'Brennan was the author of Irish History and Antiquities. See also the Mirror, April 2, 1852. In petitioning for a pardon to the Irish exiles, the Mirror claimed that Canada might more effectively intervene in the issue than Ireland herself. The paper was gratified to note, March 21, 1856, that petitions for the release of the exiles were being signed all over Canada.

14 Mirror, May 14, 1841. An important function of the Canadian Repeal Associations, was the contribution of funds to the parent body in Dublin. The Catholic Defence Association performed the same service.
See True Witness, June 6, 13, 1861. It reported that three hundred subscribers contributed one hundred and sixty pounds to the Catholic Defence Association. The True Witness acknowledged this as a large amount, considering the means of most subscribers. The Canadian Irish Associations, had a direct political involvement. The Montreal branch of the Catholic Defence Association was established for the express purpose of aiding Irish bishops to violate the Penal Laws; "We must be prepared," insisted the True Witness, Sept. 12, 1851, "to assist our fellow countrymen with something more substantial than mere verbal expressions of sympathy with their wrongs."

15 Mirror, Oct. 8, 1841.
16 Ibid., July 26, 1850.
17 Globe, March 19, 1864.
18 Irish Canadian, Nov. 15, 1865--"and they's spend their last shilling for that." A Fenian bond in this instance, sold for four pounds. See Leader, Dec. 29, 1865.
19 Canadian Freeman, Aug. 29, 1861. It was his second visit in twenty-eight years. He was "really truly humiliated on their account."
20 Ibid., Aug. 27, 1858. Father Flannery promised to contribute a series of weekly articles from Ireland. For other letters see Canadian Freeman, July 16, Sept. 17, 1858. See also New Era, Feb. 16, 1858, for a letter from "A Young Canadian Celt," describing his visit to Dublin.
21 Globe, Sept. 6, 1862.
22 True Witness, July 23, 1852.
23 Leader, Aug. 16, 1855. He was released on Dec. 28, under writ of Habeas Corpus.
24 True Witness, Dec. 5, 1851.
25 Leader, June 19, 1855. On being pressed he was less certain; "I think its in Canada your honour." He had been arrested for throwing stones at a father and son gymnast team at the circus.
26 Montreal Witness, June 5, 1861. He had come to Canada from Wicklow with his parents.
27 The Irish-Canadian press, for instance, constantly referred to the Irish experience in their opposition to common schools. See True Witness, Oct. 10, 1851, for the letters of the Archbishop of Armagh on National Schools. The Irish example strengthened Catholic opposition to common schools in Canada, See Globe, Sept. 12, 1859.
The friends of good government for Ireland cannot fail to see that her cause is identified with that of Canada. . . . The Irishman who acts against the principle of Responsible Gobernment is an enemy to his native country.

Ibid., Sept. 18; Oct. 9, 1840; Jan. 2, 1841.

Ibid., March 20, 1840.

New Era, Jan 19, 1858.

Canadian Freeman, June 17, 1859.

O'Hanley, p. 232.

Mirror, Nov. 23, 1855.

The Catholic Citizen, quoted in True Witness, May 18, 1855, reminded Irish-Canadians that in England, the Reform party was loudest in protest against the claims of the starving Irish multitude, and that in Canada, as in England, the Reform press was crowded with calumnies against Irish-Catholics.

Mirror, April 19, 1851; "Would you bring shame and disgrace upon the memory of the martyred dead whose kindred dust now sleeps in the graveyards of Erin . . . If so vote for George Brown."

True Witness, Feb. 15, 1861; Feb. 27, 1863.

Speech of J. G. Moylan, quoted in Leader, Jan. 29, 1861.

Leader, Nov. 5, 1865, recognized that McGee "is not only the representative of a constituency but of a pretty large section of the entire electoral body."

New Era, Dec. 10, 1857; "The electors of Montreal who have taken the determination to place one Irish-Catholic in parliament, have done so far more for the sake of their friends throughout the province than for their own sake."

Unlike the Protestant General Hospital, whose patients were limited to Montreal, St. Patrick's Hospital admitted the sick from all over the province—a conscious example of the wide extent of Irish group responsibility; See the True Witness Aug. 20, 1852; "There is scarcely a town in the country which has not furnished a representative of the present number in hospital." Funds were raised by church collections and at bazaars. It was even suggested that a poor-box, with "St. Patrick's Hospital" written on it, be placed in every Irish grocery and tavern in the city. In five years, from its founding in 1852, St. Patrick's Hospital
admitted 2430 Irish out of a total admission of 3214, See True Witness, May 21, 1858.

42 See Globe, Oct. 18, 1866.

43 New Era, June 3, 1857; True Witness, June 5, 1857. The Montreal St. Patrick's Society voted $100 towards paying someone to watch over the interests of the immigrants from Ireland as they arrive," and to "direct them to respectable lodgings." See also the True Witness, Dec. 25, 1851, for the proposal to erect an Irish Emigrant Lodging House on the Liverpool model. It would be supplied by Irish retailers who would continue to provide for the immigrants after they had settled.

44 The Irish orphans were a poignant reminder to the Irish community of their past sufferings and their present responsibilities. The Mirror recalled to its readers that the parents of the orphans had been victims of oppression, in urging them to give generously to the orphan fund. Bishop Lynch emphasized that the orphans of the House of Providence were "not the orphans of common people, but were the children of those who had been dispossessed of the land in Ireland and had come to this country and perished." See Leader, March 18, 1867. The sense of community that the orphans represented included the Irish-Catholic soldiers in the 20th regiment, garrisoned in Montreal. They contributed seventeen pounds towards the St. Patrick's orphans in 1851. See True Witness, July 25, 1851. The links between the Irish soldiers and the Catholic immigrant community, caused great concern during the Fenian panic.

45 Buckley, p. 56. The Shamrock Lacrosse Club, was formed from Griffintown artisans, and encouraged by Father Hogan of St. Anne's "for he knew the strong prejudices existing against his countrymen, and was glad to discover at least one new means by which they could cover themselves with honour."

46 For one example, see Le Pays, Sept. 26, 1855. Five Irishmen were arrested for trying to free a countryman from the hands of the police.

48 Leader, May 11, 1865.
49 La Minerve, Aug. 7, 1845.
50 See True Witness, Jan. 16, 1863.
51 Montreal Witness, Aug. 7, 1857; The property owners were worried by the threat of Insurance Companies not to deal in Griffintown. The Protestant press reported that the Fire Company had been deliberately called out to an ambush.
A particularly bitter accusation against McGee was his refusal to intervene in the Aylward case. See Irish Canadian, April 24, 1865. The Irish papers were especially critical of McGee's alliance with George Brown--"the reviler of our race and religion"--after he had been elected "to avenge Irish-Catholics from Brown's insults." See True Witness, quoted in Globe, May 27, 1859. For a hostile summary of McGee's career, see Irish Canadian, April 13, 1864. The disappointment of the Irish community with McGee is described in W. M. Baker, "Turning the Spit; Timothy Anglin and the Roasting of D'Arcy McGee," CHA, Historical Papers, 1974, pp. 135-156.

The fullest studies of Orangeism in Canada are W. S. Mood, "The Orange Order in Canadian politics, 1841-1867," (M.A. thesis University of Toronto, 1950), and Hereward Senior, Orangeism; The Canadian Phase, (Toronto, McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972). Little attention is given in either study to the attitude of the Irish-Catholic community to Orangeism.

The New Era, in 1857, identified thirteen M.P.'s as Orangemen, half the magistracy in Upper Canada, and the bulk of the employees in the Customs House, Post Office and Land Office. A great Irish-Catholic objection to Sir Edmund Head, was his official recognition of the Orange Order at Government House on July 12, 1859. See Canadian Freeman, Oct. 24, 1861.

For the violent history of Orangeism in Toronto, see the Irish Canadian, Nov. 9, 1864.

Letter of Bishop Lynch to the Mayor of Toronto, quoted in Globe, Jan. 4, 1866.
The sub-editor of the True Witness, J.C. Fleming, claimed that "the majority of the Orange body of Montreal is not at all composed of Irish or of men of Irish descent, but includes even negroes and Indians." Fleming, Orangeism, p. 28.

True Witness, Sept. 8, 1854; New Era, Nov. 26, 1857. As a specific instance of American anti-Irish feeling extending to Canada, see the True Witness, March 21, 1856. The True Witness reported that five poor Irishmen were held in jail in Montreal at the instigation of the American Consul, on "trumped up" charges of being involved in the death of an American sailor. An American witness was given bail, but an Irish witness was held in prison with the accused.

Mirror, April 18, 1856.

Irish Canadian, Sept. 29, 1869.

Ibid., June 30, 1869.

Ibid., Jan 20, 1869.

True Witness, Nov. 24, 1854.

See Annual Concert and Ball of the St. Patrick's Society, Montreal, 15th Jan. 1872. Address delivered on the invitation of the Society by John O'Farrell esq., Advocate, President of the Hibernian Benevolent Society of Quebec, p. 28.

Mirror, Jan. 22, 1847.

Ibid., May 31, 1861. See the letter from an "Irishman," Toronto, who had come to Canada looking for a job as a coachman; "I went to several places and the people generally asked me, 'are you a Protestant?' and if I were an 'Englishman.' Of course I told them that I was an Irishman and a Catholic and had lately arrived in this country. It was no go; they wanted none but Protestants."

The Mirror, Nov. 30, 1855, protested that "Irish votes are very valuable and thankfully received at elections; but when an Irishman has the presumption to aspire to a seat in Parliament, he is left in the lurch--the Conventicles meet and convict him of 'Popery.'" It recalled the 1851 election in Toronto, in which Presbyterian Reformers, at the instigation of the Globe, would not vote for the Irish Reform candidate, T. J. O'Neill. For an account of that election, see Mirror, Dec. 5, 1851.

Leader, Oct. 17, 1863. Sandfield Macdonald especially, was notorious for his contemptuous attitude towards the Irish. He referred to the quarantining of Irish immigrants at Grosse Isle, as "whitewashing." See Irish Canadian, Oct. 21, 1863.
Canadian Freeman, April 29, 1859. Toronto City Council turned down a request for aid to the Catholic House of Providence and orphan asylum. The rejection, on grounds of their exclusive Catholicity, claimed the Freeman, "is eminently worthy of an Anglo-Saxon corporation."

Mirror, Nov. 8, 1850.

Mirror, quoted in True Witness, Oct. 6, 1854.

Irish Canadian, Jan. 10, 1866.

See Canadian Freeman, Nov. 5, 1858; "Nowhere have Catholics been treated with more injustice than by the present corporation. Contracts were withheld from men whose estimates fairly and justly entitled them to the work, which was given out to partisans, at far greater expense to the city, and Catholic contractors were obliged to work as sub-contractors or labourers."

See New Era, June 15, 1857, Letter from "Fair Play," complaining that Irish-Catholics were discriminated against in public employment and that "to remonstrate ever so mildly or respectfully against such injustice is denounced as clamour to an Irish-Catholic, whilst in everyone else it would come as a matter of course."

See La Minerve, March 22, 1867.

Canadian Freeman, Aug. 29, 1867.

Mirror, May 16, 1851.

True Witness, Jan. 30, 1863.

Irish Canadian, Jan. 21, 1863.

Canadian Freeman, Nov. 17, 1864.

New Era, Nov. 12, 1857.

Ibid., March 4, 1858.

Mirror, Feb. 12, 1847.

Ibid., April 2, 1847. It added, "Really the more we contemplate the position of our fellow countrymen in Canada, the more we think of the Connaught man's privilege of paying his passage by dragging the tow-line on the canal track."

Irish Canadian, April 12; Dec, 27, 1865.

Ibid., Jan. 24, 1866.

Pentland, p. 220.
The report of McGee's Wexford speech, which appeared in the Dublin Evening Mail, was reprinted in the Irish Canadian, June 7, 1865.

Irish Canadian, June 28, 1865.

Ibid., July 12, 1865.

Ibid., Aug. 16, 1865, March 14, 1866.

True Witness, May 4, 1855; Feb. 30, 1860.

Ibid., May 31, 1861; June 13, 1862.

Ibid., July 20, 1855.

Ibid.

Quoted in Leader, June 4, 1864.

True Witness, Aug. 8, 1851. See also the sermon by Father O'Brian of St. Anne's. The Irish in the United States, he proclaimed, were "persecuted as Catholics and as Irishmen despised . . . toiling like slaves and as slaves oppressed from day to day and from year to year without ever bettering their condition, bringing up their children in the midst of unparalleled wickedness and corruption." Ibid., Jan. 18, 1856.

Ibid., May 4, 1855; July 4, 1856.

Mirror, Sept. 1854.

Ibid.

True Witness, Sept. 15, 1854.

The True Witness, described "Yankeeism" as "the extreme of Protestantism--mean, selfish, sensual--the lowest stage of non-Catholic degradation." Quoted in Montreal Witness, Aug. 8, 1855.

Ibid., Feb. 27, 1857.

Ibid., Nov. 13, 1857.

Ibid., April 2, 1861; Canadian Freeman, Oct. 15, 1863.

True Witness, April 12, 1861.

Canadian Freeman, Oct. 15, 1863.

New Era, July 25, 1857.
Bernard Devlin called for a general organization of Irish Catholics in Canada, by combining all the St. Patrick's Societies in the Province into a single society. He proposed a general constitution for the Association, with a central committee. See True Witness, Sept. 15, 1854. The idea was repeated by the proposal of the St. Aylmer's St. Patrick's Society in 1857 for a grand Convention of St. Patrick's organizations, and in the appeal of the St. Patrick's Society of Montreal in 1869 to form, for political purposes, a "Grand Dominion Irish Catholic St. Patrick's Society." See Catholic Citizen, quoted in Montreal Witness, Dec. 10, 1856, and the Canadian Freeman, Aug. 5, 1869.

The Catholic Institute was formed to meet the Protestant crusade against "Papal Aggression," at a meeting in Toronto, August 1851, of three to four hundred of "the most intelligent and respectable of our Catholic population." For accounts of the immediate establishment of Catholic Institutes in London, Guelph, St. Catherines's, and Hamilton, see the Mirror, Oct. 10, 17, 24, 27, 1851.
135 Mirror, Sept. 26, 1851. The Institute would also provide the necessary organization "to resist the sort of bigoted aggression and penal laws common in Ireland, should they be introduced in Canada."

136 See New Era, Dec. 8, 1857. The reduction of the franchise qualification from a yearly rent of ten pounds, to one of seven pounds ten shillings, was expected to add "fully fifteen hundred to the former Irish vote," in Montreal.

137 Mirror, quoted in True Witness, Oct. 6, 1854.

138 True Witness, July 16, 1858.

139 Mirror, May 19, 1854.

140 Canadian Freeman, Aug. 20, 1858. A notice was circulated to Irish-Catholic voters, warning them that they "should hold themselves free from pledges to any candidate in order that they may be prepared to follow unanimously the course which the general meeting will see fit to adopt."

141 Leader, March 7, 1859.

142 Project of an Organization to be called the Irish Society of Canada, (London, Canada West, Sept. 4, 1861). See also True Witness, Sept. 27, 1861.

143 New Era, Nov. 14, 1857.

144 Mirror, Jan. 17, 1851.

145 True Witness, July 3, 1863.

146 Canadian Freeman, March 28, 1867.

147 The Leader, Jan. 29, 1861, reported a meeting of seven to eight hundred Irish-Catholic electors of the Toronto East Division to pledge support for John Crawford in his election battle with George Brown. The precise reasons for Irish-Catholic opposition to Brown were stated as "his extreme views and illiberality," his "clannish disposition to unite and co-operate with the more honest and less selfish men because of their being Irishmen and Catholics, and his "unhappy propensity of playing off class against class and creed against creed." Canadian Freeman, July 18, 1861.

148 The Irish-Catholic vote was given against the Solicitor-General West, A. N. Richard, as a mark of Irish disfavour to Sandfield-Macdonald, for his exclusion of McGee and Foley from the cabinet. In the previous election claimed the Irish Canadian, most Irish voters in Leeds
had supported Richards. But, "our national honour must be maintained and all attempts to ignore our rightful position in Canada must be punished. We are not to be treated with impunity." Since Sandfield-Macdonald had shown that "No Irish need Apply," he "must not therefore complain now when he finds that he need not apply to the Irish." See Irish Canadian, Feb. 3, 1864.

149 Globe, May 6, 1864.
150 Ibid.
151 Irish Canadian, Jan. 13, 1864.
152 Ibid., June 16, 1869.
153 Ibid.
154 Mirror, Nov. 12, 1855; July 18, 1856.
155 Canadian Freeman, July 4, 1867.
156 Canadian Freeman, quoted in Leader, July 8, 1867.
157 Mirror, Feb. 7, 1851.
158 Ibid., May 24, 1844.
159 Irish Canadian, Jan. 21, 1863; Feb. 4, 1863.
160 Mirror, Feb. 5, 1847.
161 The Leader's review of Boucicault's Colleen Bawn, illustrates the manner in which the Irish were generally represented on stage in Canada: "There was plenty of whiskey, plenty of love-making, lots of misunderstandings and the general hullabaloo appropriate to Irish plays. Outbursts of applause now and again interrupted some quaint characteristic Milesian peculiarity." Leader, Dec. 28, 1861. See also the reviews of the following Irish farces: Head Centre Stephens in America (Globe, May 12, 1866), The Happy Man or the Magic Shirt, (Leader, May 18, 1858), The Omnibus (Ibid., June 2, 1869), Dennis and Biddy, or Love in the Emerald Isle, (Ibid., June 8, 1869).
162 True Witness, Jan. 3, 1862.
163 Mirror, Aug. 2, 1850.
164 Ibid., Jan. 1, 1847.
165 Ibid., Feb. 5, 1847.
166 Ibid., Aug. 2, 1850.
167 Canadian Freeman, Feb. 25, 1859.
168 Mirror, April 16, 1852.
169 Ibid.
170 Quoted in Montreal Witness, Sept. 21, 1859.
171 Ibid.
172 Ibid.
173 Mirror, March 24, 1854.
174 Ibid., Nov. 9, 1855.
175 Ibid., March 23, 1855.
176 True Witness, Feb. 16, 1866.
177 Mirror, March 24, 1854.
179 Buckley, p. 247.
180 Ibid., p. 233.
181 Mirror, March 24, 1854; True Witness, Feb. 20, 1852.
182 Irish Canadian, May 10, 1865.
183 Canadian Freeman, April 6, 1865.
184 True Witness, Feb. 20, 1852; March 17, 1854; Feb. 3, 1860.
185 Canadian Freeman, April 6, 1865.
186 New Era, Sept. 12, 1857.
187 Leader, July 27, 1865.
188 Mirror, Dec. 6, 1850.
189 Canadian Freeman, Jan. 28, 1859.
190 Ibid.
Ibid. The Freeman suggested that Gaoler Allen obtained twenty dollars worth of labour for twenty cents worth of whiskey given to "a batch of foolish Catholics."

True Witness, Feb. 29, 1856.

See Mirror, Nov. 16, 1855; True Witness, May 30, 1856.

True Witness, Feb. 15, 1856.

Mirror, Nov. 14, 1851.

True Witness, June, 13, 1862.


Mirror, July 16, 1852.

True Witness, Jan. 18, 1856. Father O'Brian described in glowing terms the advantages awaiting the emigrant both as regards body and soul, if he be enabled to settle at once on a good farm of land in a rural district, far away from the foul and pestilential dens to be found in the dark recesses of every city."

Mirror, Nov. 16, 1855.

True Witness, March 26, 1852. The editor acknowledged, "there is weight and importance in title deeds."

Ibid., Feb. 15, 1856.

Mirror, Nov. 14, 1851.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid., Sept. 19, 1856.

Ibid., March 19, 1852.


Mirror, Sept. 19, 1895.

Ibid., March 2, 1855.
A founding resolution of the Toronto Catholic Institute stated "we are of opinion that the advancement of our social and political position, the efficient discharge of our duties as citizens, the attainment and protection of our dearest rights--nay, even the safety of our civil and religious liberty and our full participation in the ample educational endowments of the province imperatively call for the proposed Association."

"There are about three hundred young men in Toronto, principally mechanics and merchants who are Irish and Catholic by religion and descent, who [since the demise of the debating Society] have no public means of learning how to read, write or speak with ease or elegance."
229 Irish Canadian, Sept. 2, 1868; True Witness, April 29, 1864; Dec. 29, 1865; March 23, 1866.

CONCLUSION

The ways in which Irish-Catholics were perceived and described by the newspapers of mid-Victorian Toronto and Montreal, indicate the prolonged existence in Canada of an anti-Irish prejudice, based both on Protestant aversion to Catholicism and on stereotypes of Irish character in general. These antagonisms and hostile images were identified by the Irish community as contributing to their economic, social and political retardation, which they measured against the success of other, more assimilable immigrant groups. In defence against the hostility which they detected at all levels of society, and especially in the Canadian press, Irish-Catholics in Canada maintained a distinct and self-conscious sense of national community. This sense of isolation was clearly expressed through the emergence of an Irish ethnic press, which demonstrated the sensitivity of the immigrants to their social, political and economic exclusion. At the same time, however, this coherent group feeling, based on sentiments of national loyalty, was encouraged and maintained by the Irish-Canadian newspapers in a conscious attempt to disarm anti-Irish prejudice. Irish-Catholic editors argued that in Canada, the immigrants might prove that Irish nationality, given the equal opportunity and responsible government which they demanded for Ireland, could develop in loyalty, wealth and social respectability.

The aggressive and deprecatory attitudes towards Irish-Catholics evident in the Protestant Canadian newspapers, reflected the anxiety that the immigrants would perpetuate in Canada the characteristics of moral
weakness and social disruptiveness to which Protestant opinion in Canada, as in England, attributed the poverty and wretchedness of Ireland. In the expression of these hostile assumptions about Irish national and religious character, Canadian editors also indicated the dominant social values of Victorian Canada. It was widely accepted that Irish-Catholics threatened the behavioural standards of hard-work, individual enterprise and sober Protestant morality. Yet, it was also anticipated that Irish-Catholics could be taught to adopt the habits of Canadians by emulating Protestant settlers, in pursuit of independence and self-sufficiency on the land. Canadian editors revealed an unrealistic belief in the limitless capacity of the land to support new arrivals, and to regenerate even the degraded Catholic peasantry of Ireland into a sturdy Canadian yeomanry. They presented a confusing balance of arguments, therefore, between acceptance of an inherent Irish inferiority, and an optimistic environmentalism.

Large numbers of Irish-Catholics did not follow the settlement pattern expected of them. Actual opportunities for the successful settlement of the many Irish immigrants on farms of their own, or even as agricultural labourers, were more limited than Canadian editors supposed. Where land was cheaply available and workable, as in the Government free grant areas, Irish-Catholic leaders encouraged the immigrants to establish themselves on the soil. The numerous immigrants who stayed on the public works, or in the cities, however, produced a Canadian image of them based on their urban presence. The growing, unskilled and poverty-stricken Irish populations of Toronto and Montreal,
whose Irish communities greatly increased at mid-century, as immigrants returned from the surrounding countryside, confirmed suspicions that the Irish were incapable of self-improvement, and were themselves responsible for their own misfortunes. Irish urban existence in Canada, and its accompanying crime and social disorder, were attributed to an inherent Irish lack of ambition, initiative and moral fortitude. Stereotypes of Irish character in general, were adduced accordingly, to explain their anomalous existence as a persistently poor and socially immobile mass, incapable of participating in the imagined opportunities of the "New World." Inferior Irish social and economic adjustment in Canada, which were the natural consequences of their vulnerability as Canada's first labour surplus, were explained in the Protestant press by reference to derogatory Irish ethnic characteristics. Irish social mobility in Canada came to depend on escape from their public image as well as from their economic circumstances.

The degraded image of the Irish in Canada, was not just the result of Canadian experience of the immigrants. It was influenced as well by the numerous anti-Irish reports reprinted in the Canadian newspapers from the English press. English-speaking Canadians were familiar with the hostile reactions of Victorian Englishmen to Irish affairs and to Irish immigrants, and adopted the same hostile attitudes. Canadians were especially influenced by the English stereotype of the Irish as a criminal class, which persuaded them to detect dangerous elements in their own Irish population. Irish preponderance in the Canadian criminal statistics both strengthened their anti-social image and demonstrated the
self-perpetrating nature of the stereotype.

Fear of the Irish as a social liability extended to a concern that they were a danger to the security of the country itself. Many Canadian attitudes towards the Irish were coloured by doubts about their loyalty to British institutions. This belief in an inherent Irish tendency to political insubordination persisted despite declarations and demonstrations of loyalty from the Irish community, and their record of allegiance. It culminated in the panic fears of an Irish insurrection in Canada in support of a Fenian invasion. The insults and abuse which the Irish suffered in these years, were the natural reaction of a Canadian society which had learnt to regard them as an alien and inferior race. Canadian historians of Fenianism have generally drawn attention to its lack of support from the Irish in Canada. They have failed to notice, however, the readiness of the Canadian community to think the worst of its Irish population. This antagonism was not an isolated phenomenon in the history of Irish adjustment in Canada. It was simply the most dramatic expression of an anti-Irish feeling which had long been evident in the Canadian newspapers.

The amount of justice or accuracy in the hostile perception of the Irish in Canada is difficult to ascertain. The images of them as disloyal, intemperate, criminal and improvident, are much clearer than the reality. Certainly, the frequency with which the Irish-Canadian newspapers remonstrated against Irish social disruption, and their very insistence on the loyalty of the immigrants, seems to indicate that there was some basis to Canadian fears about the Irish presence. Irish editors were as much
concerned to impress upon the Irish immigrants that they owed allegiance to Canada, as to convince Canadians that they really were loyal. Yet, there is also apparent in the Irish newspapers a consciousness of social mobility which would have militated against social disorder. The Irish were encouraged to work hard, to be ambitious and to persevere. That many of them believed in the promise of self-improvement is evident in the concern of the Irish community with education and in the efforts and success of the Irish temperance movement. It is also indicated in the anxiety of Irish leaders to settle their countrymen on the land. Whether the Irish formed a large city population by choice or necessity are questions which require a sophisticated analysis of their movements between city and farm. It does seem clear, however, that where free land was available for settlement, Irishmen who had lacked the capital to locate in settled areas, were encouraged by their leaders to attempt life as respectable farmers.

It was this concern with social mobility which made the Irish press so sensitive to the ways in which the Irish image reflected and reinforced their inferior social, economic and political progress. The Irish newspapers, which were intended both to defend and advance Irish social and national character, consciously sought to refute the degraded image of the Irish as a social menace, by encouraging a sense of national identity in pursuit of social respect and political influence. This ambition related both to Irish social advancement in Canada, and to their mission, as Irishmen, to belie the Victorian stereotype of them as inherently inferior and incapable of self-government. Expressions of
Irish national consciousness further contributed to Canadian perceptions of the immigrants as alien and disloyal. Yet, it was a basic theme of the Irish newspapers that Irishmen in Canada, by advancing their own national interests, could best fulfill their responsibilities as Canadians. The Irish nationality could best contribute to Canada, they argued, by working to improve its own condition, through politics, education and sobriety, and by raising its own standards. The sense of Irish nationality was encouraged, therefore, to facilitate their acceptance as social and political equals.

The processes by which that acceptance eventually developed are less obvious than the fact that throughout much of the Victorian period, the Irish community in Canada felt itself to be confined socially and politically by its unfavourable image. Much further questioning of the statistical data of Irish adjustment is necessary for a better understanding of Irish opportunities for economic and social advancement. While it is evident that many Irish immigrants expressed frustration at their lack of social and economic progress, it is not clear how restricted they actually were. It is to be hoped that the identification of those aspects of Irish behaviour which most concerned contemporaries, and the sensitivity of the Irish themselves to their social status, will lead to those questions being asked.
APPENDIX I

Annual statistics of arrest in Montreal, 1853-1866, taken from the Reports of the Chief of Police to City Council, and published in the newspapers. Statistics of arrest for females are given in brackets.

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<td>2175</td>
<td>925</td>
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Annual statistics of arrest in Toronto, 1853-1868, taken from the Reports of the Chief of Police to City Council, and published in the newspapers. Statistics of arrest for females are given in brackets.

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<table>
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<td>1304 (846)</td>
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APPENDIX II

The following sketches appeared in *Canadian Illustrated News*, Vol. VII. No. 17, Saturday, April 26, 1876. pp. 261 and 264. The contrast is quite clear between the sturdy, noble and resolute family in the first sketch, and the disreputable Griffintown Irish in the second. Note the plaids, the claypipe and the bottle, as ways of depicting the Irish, and the urchin children playing with the rats. Note also, the crowded street and the absence of any trace of nobility in the Irish characters depicted.
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